

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

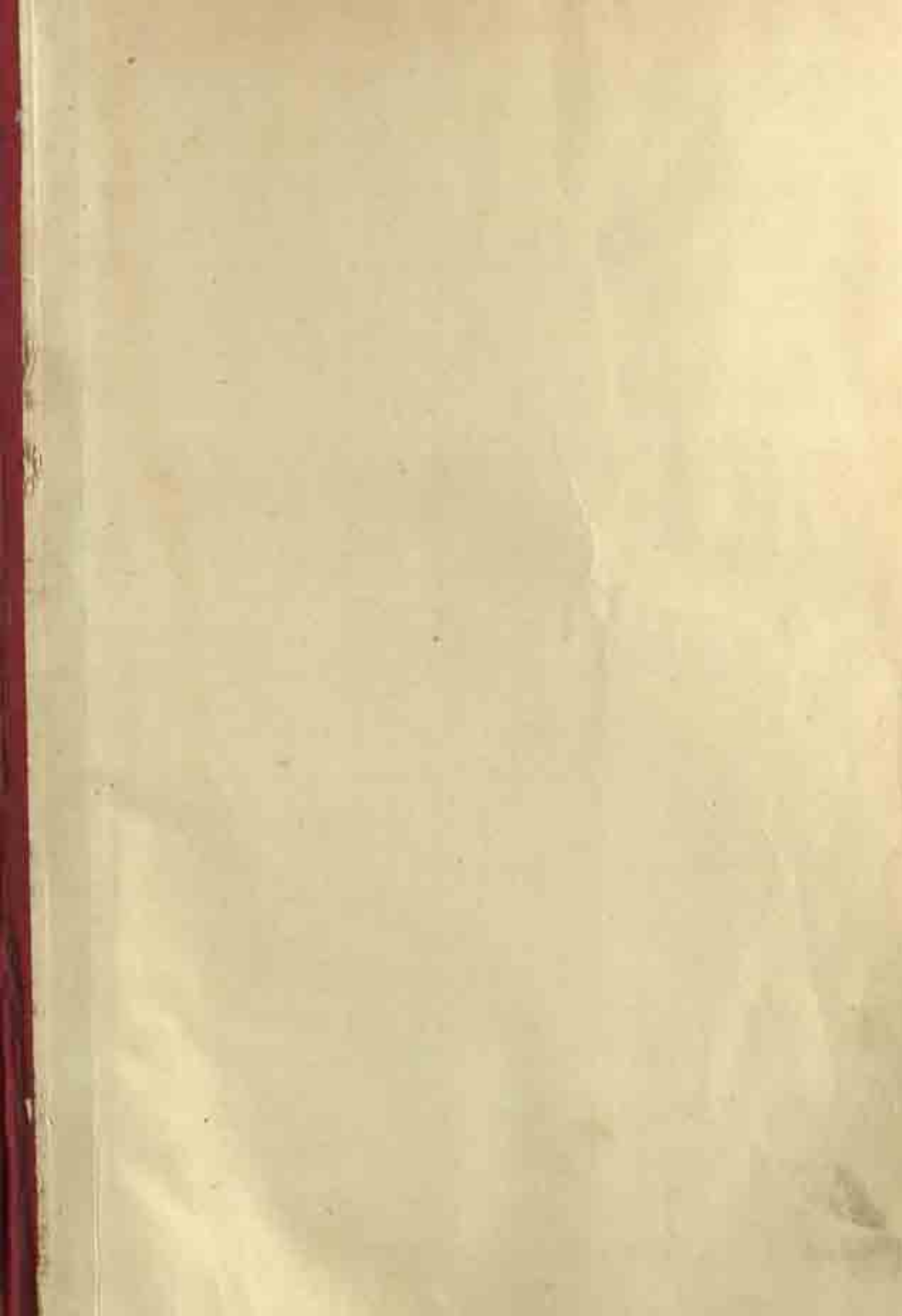
CENTRAL
ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY

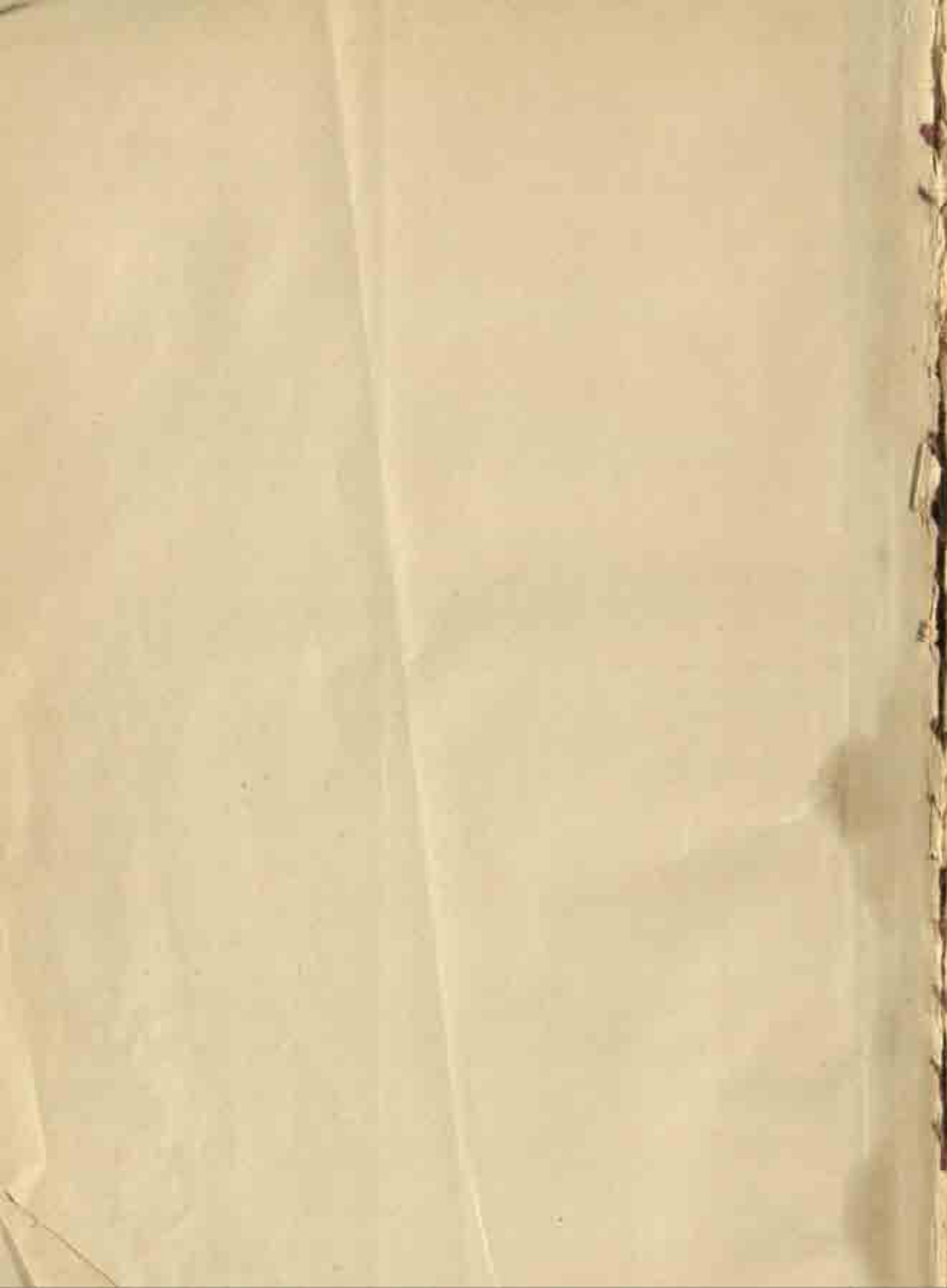
ACCESSION NO. 35061

CALL No. R297.03/E.I.

V.3
L-R

D.G.A. 79





THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION
125 WEST 4TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION
125 WEST 4TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

ORIENTAL LIBRARY NEW DELHI
Acc. No. 35061 Vol. 3
Date 3-2-59
Call No. R 297.03
E.I.

ORIENTAL LIBRARY NEW DELHI
Acc. No.
Date
Call No.

Am 675

R 297.03
E.I.

35061



LABBAI (LUBBAY) (Tamil, *Ilappai*, said to be a corruption of 'arabi'), a class of Indian Muslims, also known as *Dionakas* (Skt. *devanaka*, "Greek, western"), supposed to be descended from Arab immigrants who intermarried with native women, but now having nothing to distinguish them from the aboriginal people, except their mode of dress and manner of shaving the head and trimming the beard. In 1911 they numbered 401,703, found chiefly on the E. coast of Southern India. Most of them are Sunnis, of the Shāfi'i *madhhab*, and their head-quarters are at Nagore, the burial place of their patron saint, Shāh al-Hamīd 'Abd al-Qādir (ob. 1600), commonly known as Kādir Wali or Mīrka Shāh (see *Gazetteer of the Tanjore District*, p. 243). They read the Qur'ān in Tamil translation, written in Arabic characters. They are industrious and enterprising, especially as fishermen and traders.

Bibliography: E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Madras 1909, iv. 198 sqq.; Kādir Husain Khān, *South Indian Muslims*, Madras 1910, p. 29 sqq.; *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, Madras 1893, iii. 437. (T. W. ARNOLD)

LABBAIKA. [See TALMIYA.]
LABID b. RABI' A. AḤ 'AḤ, an Arab poet of the pagan period, who lived into the days of Islam (*muhaddram*), belonged to the family of Banū Dja'far, a branch of the Kilāb, who belonged to the Banū 'Amir and therefore to the Ka'ab Hawāzin. According to Ibn Sa'd, vi. 21, he died in 40 (660/661) in the night on which Mu'āwīya arrived in al-Nakhaila to conclude peace with Ḥasan b. 'Alī. Others, like Ibn Hādjar, iii. 657, whom Nöldeke (*Fünf Mu'allafat*, ii. 51) thinks ought to be followed, give 41 A. H., others again 42. He is said to have reached an unusually great age (al-Siddiqī, *K. al-Mu'ammarn*, ed. Goldziher, ch. 61). In fact he makes several allusions to this in his poems. The date of his birth can only be approximately fixed. Even before 600 A. D. he seems to have attained a prominent position in his tribe by his command of language. As quite a young man he is said to have accompanied a deputation from his tribe to the court of king Abū Kābūs Nu'mān of al-Hira (c. 580—602), and when the latter was incited against the Banū 'Amir by his friend Abū Rabi' b. Zayd al-'Alat (of the tribe to which Labid's mother belonged), Labid succeeded with a satirical *raḡas* (*Dirwān*, No. 33) in so ridiculing him to the king that he restored his favour to the Banū 'Amir. A verse from Nu'mān's answer to his courtier who sought to defend himself from the lampoon on him became proverbial (cf. al-Mufaḍḍal, *al-Fihrist*, i. 41 sq.; al-'Askari, *Amthal*, on the margin of Ma'idnī, ii. 117, 7—18;

al-Ma'idnī, ii. 33; *A. al-Aghani*, xv. 294 sqq.; 91 sqq., xvi. 22 sq., 21 sqq.; 'Abd al-Qādir, *Kānānat al-Adab*, ii. 79 sqq., iv. 171 sqq.). In his later poems Labid also often prides himself on having helped his tribe by his eloquence. He remained loyal to his tribe even when a famous poet and scorned the profession of a wandering singer, practised by his contemporary al-'Ash'ā. But the coming of the Prophet Muḥammad threw him out of the usual groove. We do not know the exact date of his conversion to Islām. As early as Djumādā II of the year 8 the chiefs of the tribe of 'Amir b. Sa'sa'a, 'Amir b. Tufail and Arbad b. Ka'is, a stepbrother of Labid, seem to have negotiated in Medina about the adhesion of their tribe to the new constitution without reaching any result (see Caetani, *Annali*, ii. 90 sqq.). Both men are said to have soon after come to an untimely end, 'Amir from plague and Arbad from a lightning stroke; the latter story seems to find confirmation in Labid's lament for him (*Dirwān*, No. 5). The accusation on the other hand that Arbad attempted to kill the Prophet is quite incredible; for in that case Labid could hardly have composed several elegies on him and they would certainly not have been included in his *Dirwān*. In the year 9 the tribe again sent a deputation to Medina which included the poet and an agreement was reached. Labid is said on this occasion to have become a Muslim. He later migrated to Kufa where he died. Of his family only a daughter is mentioned who is said to have inherited his talent (see al-Ma'idnī, ii. 49, 13 sqq.; al-Ghazālī, *Mafāhīl al-Budūr*, i. 52, 7 sqq.).

Labid's poems were very highly esteemed by the Arabs. Al-Nābiḡha is said to have declared him the greatest poet among the Arabs or at least of his tribal group, the Hawāzin, on account of his *Mu'allafat*. He himself is said to have claimed third place after Imru' l-Qais and Tarafa. Al-Djumahī (*Tuhfat al-Su'ara*, ed. Heil, p. 29 sq.) places him in the third class of pagan poets along with al-Nābiḡha al-Dja'dī, Abū Dhur'ah and al-Shammākī. Labid showed himself equally master of the *hijazī*, the *marthiya* and the *ḡazal*. One of his *ḡazals* was adopted into the collection of *Fünf Mu'allafat* and is thought by Nöldeke (*Fünf Mu'allafat*, ii. 51) to be one of the best specimens of *ḡazal* poetry. Labid uses the traditional pictures Beduin poetry. Labid uses the traditional pictures from the animal world — wild asses and antelopes fleeing before the hunter and fighting with his dogs — as charmingly as the usual complacencies about drinking bouts. He seems on the other hand to have only cultivated the *muḥabba*, because it had been traditional. He deals far less with the subject of woman's love than with the description of the *Aḡal* which he likes to compare with

artistic calligraphy. He is also fond of recalling memories of places of his native district, the palm-groves and irrigation works of which continually move him to charming descriptions; indeed in one such connection he gives the whole itinerary (*Dīwān*, No. 19, v. 4-299.) of a journey from central Arabia to the coast of the Persian Gulf (see von Kremer, *op. cit.*, p. 12). As his almost contemporary Abū Dhū'ayb is fond of doing, in the *Ma'allāqāt*, v. 55-299, he turns however once more to his beloved and thus combines the *naṣīb* with the main part of the *ḥaydū* to an organic whole; but for him this is simply a mode of transition to a new descriptive passage. His poetry is however distinguished from that of other poets of the pagan period by a certain religious feeling which seems to have been not exactly rare among his contemporaries, even before Muhammad's mission. While Zuhair, for example, still expresses his practical wisdom derived from the experience of a long life, in plain though impressive language, Labid on such occasions always strikes a religious note. He certainly did not profess Christianity nor can we see in him a representative of the so-called Hanifa of the *Sīra*, as von Kremer wished to do. In him rather we find the belief in Allāh as the guardian of morality finding particular expression, a belief widely disseminated in Arabia by the preaching of the Christian church. Such passages mutually invited the Muslim traditionists to increase them, indeed a later author went so far as to ascribe to him a verse by Abū 'l-Atāhiya (fig. 18). But many passages of his *Dīwān* seem to owe their inspiration to the Qur'an. The statement that he wrote no more poetry after his conversion to Islam is obviously an invention (see Ibn Sa'd, vi. 21, repeated later, e.g. by al-Jūzjānī, *Maṣābiḥ*, i. 52 infra); it is contradicted by the simple fact that poems 21 and 53 of the *Dīwān* were only composed shortly before his death (*K. al-Aghānī*, xii. 101). The description of Paradise (*Dīwān*, No. 3, 4) is certainly inspired by the Qur'an like the idea that precedes it, that a record is kept of the doings of men. Under the influence of Islam in Nos. 39 and 41, verse 11 of which, as Ibn Kātib (K. al-*Ḥisr*, p. 153, 1) already points out, certainly must be written after his conversion, it is not to be considered an interpolation, he replaces the *naṣīb* by pious admonitions. Thus he creates a new artistic form, that of poetical parenesis on the transitoriness of human life; besides the Qur'an he may of course have been influenced by Christian preaching. He only follows older models in the connection when he combines admonition with the avowing of blame from a woman. In No. 14, as in Taraf's *Ma'allāqāt*, verses 56-299, 63-65 (cf. Caillet, *Des Schickel*, p. 8), where this is however only an episode in the *ḥaydū*.

Labid's *Dīwān* was edited, according to the *Fihrist*, p. 158, by several of the greatest Arabic philologists, al-Sukkari, Abū 'Amir al-Shalabi, al-Azma'i, al-Tūsi and Ibn al-Sukūn. Of these editions only half of that of al-Tūsi with a commentary has survived in the manuscript edited by al-Khalidī [see below] of the year 589. All other MSS. are much later, e.g. those in Leiden, Strasbourg and that in Cairo not yet edited which also contains the *Dīwān* of Abū Dhū'ayb, ed. by J. Hill.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, *K. al-Tabaqāt*, v. 420/1; Ibn Kātib, *Libro Fecit et Postarum*,

p. 148-156; Abū 'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *K. al-Aghānī*, xiv. 90-98; *Dīwān Labid al-Amiri Rawayat al-Tūsi*, al-Tūsi al-*alā* bi-Hār al-Naṣīb al-mawḥūda 'inda Ṭāḥī al-Shalabi 'Yūsuf Ḥiya al-Dīn al-Khalidī al-Maḥḥāḥ (Vienna), al-Ḥawāṣī 1297; A. von Kremer, *Über die Gedichte des Labid*, S. B. Ak. Wien, xlviii, No. 2, p. 555-603; *Dīwān des Labid, zweiter Teil, nach den Handschriften in Straßburg und Leiden mit den Fragmenten, Übersetzung und Biographie des Dichters aus dem Nachlass des Dr. A. Huber*, ed. by Carl Brockelmann, Leiden 1891; *Die Gedichte des Labid nach der Wiener Ausgabe abdrucken und mit Anmerkungen versehen aus dem Nachlass des Dr. A. Huber*, ed. by Carl Brockelmann, Leiden 1891; *Die Ma'allāqāt Labid's überliefert und erklärt* by Th. Noldeke in *Fünf Ma'allāqāt*, S. B. Ak. Wien, ph. hist. Kl., Bd. cxlii, No. 7, 1900; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 36; R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 119-121. (C. BROCKELMANN)

LACCADIVES (*Lakṣadīp*, "the hundred thousand isles"), a group of coral atolls lying off the Malabar Coast between 8° and 14° N. and 71° 40' and 74° E. There are thirteen islands in all, but only eight are inhabited, and these are divided into two groups — the northern, including the inhabited islands of Amīni, Kārdamāt, Kiltan and Ceṭṭat, and the southern, including the uninhabited islands of Agatti, Kavaratti, Androth and Kulpeni. The northern group, for administrative purposes, forms part of the south Kanara District and the southern, of the Malabar District. To the south of the Laccadives stands the isolated island of Minikoi, belonging physically neither to this group nor to the Maldives, but approaching rather to the latter. The Laccadives were originally colonized by Hindūs from Malabar but the inhabitants were converted to Islam in the thirteenth century, according to tradition. They number about 10,000, and in habits and customs resemble the Mappillas of North Malabar, but their women hold a higher position, and are neither veiled nor secluded. Inheritance follows the female line. The people formerly owed allegiance to the Kolattūṟ Rājās, but were virtually independent until, in the sixteenth century the Rājās bestowed them on his admiral, the 'Alī Rājās of Kanāur, whose descendants governed them until 1791, when Kanāur was conquered by the British, into whose hands they fell.

Bibliography: J. Stanley Gardiner, *The Fauna and Geography of the Maldives and Laccadive Archipelagoes*, Cambridge 1901-1905; *Malabar District Gazetteer*, Madras 1908; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908.

(T. W. HAID)

LĀDHĪK (Lādīk, Greek Λαδία), the name of several towns in Asia Minor.

1. The ancient Λαδία in κατακεκαυμένη (Lādīk Sūkhō). It probably derived this name from the smelting furnaces which it had around it as the centre of the quicksilver mining area. It was in Karāmān north of Kaniya on the great military road which ran through Asia Minor. Ḥādīdī Khalīfa already knows it by its modern name of Vörgö Lādīk or Lādīliya in Karāmān.

Bibliography: Ḥādīdī Khalīfa, *Dihān-Namā*, p. 611-299; Ibn Bībī, ed. Houtsma in *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'hist. des Séfévides*, iii. 23, 25 = iv. 8, 9; Cramer, *Asia Minor*, ii.

33; Hamilton, *Travels in Asia Minor*; Ramsay, *Class. Revue*, xix., p. 367 sq.; Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, p. 25; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 136, 149.

2. Lādhik (Hādīk) Khālifa: Lādhikīya, the ancient Laodicea ad Lycum was in the S.E. part of Džermiyan. Al-Battānī calls it, following Greek sources, Lādhikīya Frādīs (= Φαυρία while Ptolemy places it in Caria). According to Ibn Battūta it was a large town with 7 Friday mosques, beautiful gardens, flowing rivers and springs and fine markets. The Greek women there made remarkably beautiful and durable woollen goods, embroidered with gold. Ibn Battūta also praises the hospitality of the inhabitants but censures the freedom of their morals. Slave girls were sold and prostitution practised even in the public baths. On the history of the town (now *Liki Hiper*) see DEBILLI.

Bibliography: al-Battānī, *Opus astronomicon*, ed. Nallino, ii. 39; iii. 237 (Nº 116); Ibn Battūta, *Tuhfat al-Nawāṣir* (ed. Paris), ii. 270 sq., 457; Hamd Allah Mastawī, *Nushat al-Kutub*, ed. Bombay, p. 162; 'All of Yazd, ed. Calcutta, ii. 448 sq.; Hādīk Khālifa, *Dhikr-Numā*, p. 631 sq.; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 143, 153 sq.; Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, Berlin 1896, p. 12.

3. Lādhik, the ancient *Λαοδικεα Πρωτεύς* south of Amāsiya.

Bibliography: Ibn Bibi, ed. Houtsma, *passim*; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 146. (E. HONIGMANN)

AL-LĀDHĪKIYA, a sea-port in Northern Syria, the ancient *Λαοδικεα ἑστὴ* *σαῶν*. It was founded by Seleucus I, who called it after his mother Laodike, and towards the end of the Seleucid empire it was a member of the alliance of the four most important Syrian cities, the *ἐστὴς ἀστυὶς*, Antiocheia, Apameia, Seleucia and Laodiceia. In the reign of Justinian I it was made the capital of the newly founded province of Theodoriana.

When the Arabs under the governor of Hims, 'Ubbāda b. al-Sāmīt al-Anṣārī, advanced on the town, the inhabitants made a determined resistance. 'Ubbāda encamped near Lādhikīya and had deep trenches dug in which even horsemen could advance unobserved. After a pretended retreat he returned in the night and was then able to surprise the inhabitants who had unsuspectingly opened the great gate of the city, and to enter the town. The citadel was then stormed and 'Ubbāda proclaimed upon the walls *Allāh akbar*. A section of the Christian inhabitants fled to al-Basaid (Hosfay); al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 133, should thus be corrected for *al-Yusufid*: Ed. Schwarz in Wellhausen, *Z. D. M. G.*, ix. 246). Their request to be allowed to return to the town was granted them on payment of a fixed sum as *ḡharāḡ*. They retained possession of their church, while 'Ubbāda had a new mosque built which was later enlarged (al-Balādhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 132 sq.). About 97 (according to al-Balādhuri: 100 A.H.), the Greeks attacked the coast of al-Lādhikīya with a fleet, burned the town and carried off its inhabitants as prisoners (al-Balādhuri, *op. cit.*; Brooks, *J.H.S.*, 1878, xviii., p. 195). Umar had al-Lādhikīya rebuilt, fortified and ransomed the inhabitants from their captors. Yazid completed the restoration of the city after Umar's death and he also

put a garrison in it. According to another story however, Yazid's services in the town were only the renovation of the defences and the strengthening of the garrison (al-Balādhuri, *op. cit.*; Mas'udi, *Murūṣṣat al-Diḡab*, Paris, viii., p. 281).

Nicephorus Phocas in 968 won the town and the whole of Northern Syria from the Byzantines (Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Antākī, ed. Kradkovsky and Vasiliev in *Patrolog. Oriental*, 1924, xviii., p. 816). In 980, according to Yahyā b. Sa'īd, who, Rasen thinks, took his statement from a local chronicler of al-Lādhikīya, the emperor Basil II appointed a certain Karmarīk, who had distinguished himself in an expedition against Tarsūbulus which belonged to the Fātimids, to be governor of the town. When it was besieged by the Arabs Naṣrīl and Ibn Shākīr, he was captured during a sortie, and beheaded in Cairo (Rosen, *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk*, xlv., p. 16 sq., 153 sq.). Michael Burtzes (al-Burḡī) in 992 put down a rising of the Muslims in the town and had them deported to Bilād al-Rūm (Yahyā, ed. Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 30, 237). In 1086 al-Lādhikīya belonged to the Banū Munkidh of Ḥamīr (Derenbourg, *Oriens*, p. 27 sq.) who had, however, to cede it to the Salḡūk Malik Ḥāsh. In August 1098, the Count of Normandy took the town; it then passed in rapid succession to the Byzantines, to Bohemund of Tarento, to the Byzantines again and finally after 18 months' siege, to Tancred of Antākīya (Röhrich, *Gesch. des Kgr. Jerusalem*, p. 45, note 8). In 1104 we again find the Greeks besieging it by land and sea, and Bohemund promised the Emperor Alexius Comnenus in the treaty of Devel (1108) the cession of this *επαρχία* among other places (Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, Roma, ii., p. 241, c). Tancred however soon afterwards with the help of a Pisan fleet took the town which in the meanwhile had again passed to the Muslims. The governor of Halab took and sacked it in 1136; in 1137 and 1170 it was visited by two severe earthquakes, in which only the principal Greek church remained intact. On July 23, 1188, Salḡū al-Dīn took the town ('Imād al-Dīn, *Faḡh*, p. 141; Abū Ḥāshim, *Kutub al-Rawḡḡān*, ed. Cairo 1287/1288, ii., p. 128 = *Hist. Orient. des Crois.*, iv., p. 361). In autumn 1197 Bohemund III succeeded once more in conquering al-Lādhikīya or a part of the town at least. In 1223 the Hāshis destroyed the town or its citadel out of fear of the Christians approaching on the Fifth Crusade. But even after this (since 1197), half the city remained in possession of the Franks. Balbars in 1275 demanded that they should hand over this part of it. In 1281 al-Lādhikīya belonged to the emir Sonkor of Dīnashir, to whom the Sultān had been forced to surrender it in a treaty (June 24); but after the fall of Sonkor, another emir won it back from Balbars (April 20, 1287); soon afterwards a new earthquake almost completely destroyed several of its strong towers, the pigeon-tower, the light-house and the towers in the sea; great siege engines completed the destruction of the fortifications.

The district of al-Lādhikīya, which had hitherto gone with Halab under the Ayyūbids (Yakut, *Muḡjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv., p. 338; Ibn al-Shihna, ed. Beirut, p. 231), about the end of the XIIIth century was placed in the new province of Tarsūbulus (Umari, *Tarīḡ*, p. 182, in R. Hartmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1916, p. 35; Khālī al-Zahīr, *Zakān*, ed. Ravaisse, p. 48; *Dīwān al-Imār*,

Paris MSS. Arab. 4439, fol. 94^v, 152^v, 243^v, in van Berchem, *Voyage en Syrie*, p. 290, note 3; al-Kāshgharī, *Subh al-Ashā*, iv, 145, transl. Gaudelroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, p. 113 sq. The Arab geographers and historians mention many ancient buildings that had survived in the town; they also tell of two castles connected with one another on a hill which commanded al-Lādhīqīya (Bahā' al-Dīn, in *Hist. Or. des Croiz.*, iii, 110), a great city-gate, which it took a number of men to open (al-Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, p. 152), and the splendid monastery of Daīr al-Fārīs (Ma'ā'idī, *Murūsh al-Dhukab*, viii, p. 281; Demashki, ed. Mehren, p. 209; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Geogr.*, transl. Reinaud-Guyard, i/ii, 35; in Ibn Battūta, i, 485; al-Fārīsī) called after Tall Fārīs still the name of the eminence to the north of the town (M. Hartmann, *Z.D.P.F.*, xiv, p. 166 and map). A short description of al-Lādhīqīya is given by Raulin of Caen (*Gesta Tancredi*, ch. 144; Röhricht, *Z.D.P.F.*, x, 316 has put together a list of the buildings of the town known from Frankish sources). In spite of the earthquakes and frequent pillaging suffered by the town in course of centuries, it never seems to have been quite desolate and uninhabited. The fine, high houses and the straight streets, paved with marble blocks, noted by Ibn al-Athīr and Abū Shāma (*Hist. Or. des Croiz.*, i, 720; iv, 361) and which they say had suffered much when the town was sacked (cf. also Ya'qūbī, ed. de Goeje, *B.G.A.*, vii, 258), recall the description of Laodicea in Pseudo-Strabo as a *εὐκλεια ἰσοκλίμη ἐδὴς* (Strabo, xvi, p. 753), and of the modern town van Berchem says (*J.A.*, 1902, p. 425; cf. *Voyage*, i, p. 289 sq.): *la ville de Lattakieh a gardé ses rues droites. Il est curieux que si plain, d'aspect tout moderne, soit d'un moyen âge; il semble peut-être à l'antiquité, comme certaines rues droites de Damas et Jérusalem.* The origin of the straight streets and the square plan of the town (cf. Th. Schumacher in the *Festschrift für H. Kiepert*, 1898, p. 335–348) has been ascribed to architects of the Roman empire (A. v. Gutsch, *Griech. Studien*, 1924, passim), but more recently Caltrera has shown that they already existed in the early Hellenistic period and had been borrowed as early as by Hippodamus of Miletus (fifth century) from the architecture of the ancient east (*Architectura Hippodami*, in *Memoria dell' Accad. dei Lincei*, ser. v, vol. xvii, p. 403, 453 sq., 473; Camont, *Faibles de Douze-Europes*, Paris 1916, xii, note 4, 25 sq., 483).

Bibliography: al-Khwarizmi, *Kitaḥ Sūrat al-Ard*, ed. v. MEH in *Bibl. arab. Hist.*, v, *Geogr.*, iii, p. 19, N° 267; al-Farghānī, *Element. Astron.*, ed. Gollins, p. 38; al-Balādhurī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, *Pubb. di R. Osservat. di Brera in Milano* XL, ii, p. 19; iii, p. 237, N° 122; al-Yāqūbī, *B.G.A.*, vii, 324 sq.; al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 132 sq.; Yāqūt, *Ma'ā'idī*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 358; Saḥī al-Dīn, *Murūsh al-Fārīsī*, ed. Juyubolī, iii, 1; al-Demashki, ed. Mehren, p. 209; Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p. 257; Yāqūt b. Sa'īd al-Anṭakī, ed. Reinaud, p. 16 sq., 30, 153 sq., 237 in *Zepherus Imp. Arab. Novae*, 1883, xlv; Ma'ā'idī, *Murūsh*, viii, 281; Ibn Battūta, *Tahḍīb al-Nuḥūd*, ed. Paris, i, 179–183; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annuaire Médien*, ed. Reiske, i, 226; iii, 264, 464; iv, 88, 108, 316; v, 352; Makrīzī, *Hist. al-Sult. Mamlūk*, transl. Quatremère, iv, 30, 205, 221; Kamāl

al-Iḥn, in Freytag, *Z.D.M.G.*, xl, 228 passim; al-Idrīsī, ed. Gildemeister, in *Z.D.P.F.*, viii, 23; Khallī al-Zāhirī, *Zuhd*, ed. Ravaisse, p. 48; 'Umūr, *Tārīf*, p. 182, in R. Hartmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, lxx, 35; al-Iḥn 'Abū 'l-Bakā' in R. L. Devonshire, *B.I.F.A.O.*, 1921, xi, p. 101; K. Ritter, *Erkenntnis*, xviii, p. 927–932; Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, p. 111 sq., 852; M. Hartmann, *Das Leben al-Ladhīqīya* in *Z.D.P.F.*, 1891, 151–255, with map, table vi; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 490–492; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, iii, p. 794, 799, 802; van Berchem, *J.A.*, 1902, p. 425; van Berchem and Fallo, *Voyage en Syrie*, i, in *M.I.F.A.O.*, 1913, xxxvii, p. 289 sq.; Gaudelroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. 113 sq.; Probat, *Die geogr. Verhältnisse Syriens u. Paläst. nach Wilh. v. Tyrus*, Leipzig 1927, i, p. 25 sq., *Das Land der Bibel*, iv, vol. 5/6; on the ancient town, cf. my article *Laodicea No. 2*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.*, xii, col. 713–718. (E. HONIGMANN)

LAGHUAT, AL-AḤWAT, a town and oasis in Southern Algeria, 250 miles south of Algiers in 2° 55' East Lat., 33° 48' N. Lat., at 2,400 feet above sea-level. In 1911 it had 5,598 inhabitants of whom 595 were Europeans. Laghuat which forms part of the "Territoire" of Ghardaia is the capital of a mixed commune and a native commune of 6,650 square miles with 19,810 inhabitants.

The town and the oasis lie on the right bank of the Wād Maī, which comes from the Djebel Amār and finally under the name of Wād Djedi enters the Shott Melghir in the south of the province of Constantine. The houses lie in terraces on the slopes of two rocky hills, spurs of the Djebel Tisgarine, the European quarter on the north-west slope and the native quarter on the north-east slope. It is defended by a wall and two forts on the summit. The oasis extends in a semi-circle north-west and south-east of the town. The north-west part is the more extensive and contains palmgroves and fields of cereals. A canal led by a dam from the Wād Maī called the Wād Lekhīr provides for the irrigation of the gardens. The palm-trees to the number of 30,000 produce dates of mediocre quality, but they supply the food of the inhabitants. The situation of Laghuat between the southern Oran and southern Constantine at the point where roads diverge to the west, to the Oud Sidi Saikh, to the south of the Maī and to Wargla, to the east to the Zāhen and Blakra, makes this place a considerable centre of commerce.

History. In the tenth century A.D. there was already on the banks of the Wād Maī a little town, the inhabitants of which, after having recognised the authority of the Fātimids, took part in the rebellion of Abū Yaṣīd. The country round was inhabited by wandering Berbers of the family Maghrawa. The Hilālī invasion brought other tribes of the same stock into this region, notably the Kael, driven out of the Zab, who founded a village called Ben Hata. Other Kūr (Bū Mendula, Nadjal, Sidi Mimūn, Badla, Kaṣbat ben Fotūh) were built by other refugees, some of Arab origin (Dawawida, Uḥād b. Zayyan), others came from the Maī. These groups together took the name of al-Aghuāt.

We know very little of the history of this town down to the xviiith century. At the end of the

xviiith century it paid tribute to the Sultan of Morocco; in 1666 the Ksar of Badia and of Kshat Totah were abandoned. In 1698 a Marabout originally from Tlemcen, Si al-Hadjidj 'Aissa, settled at Ben Hsta, imposed his authority on the people of the three other Ksar and on the neighbouring tribe of the Larba. Under his leadership the people of Laghuat defeated the people of Ksar al-Azafia but were forced to pay tribute to the Sultan of Morocco, Mully Isma'il, who camped under the walls of the town in 1708. After the death of Si al-Hadjidj 'Aissa (1738 A. D.) the history of Laghuat is reduced to that of the struggle between the two sif who disputed control of it, the Ulad Serghine, of the south-west quarter and the Hallaf who inhabited the north-east quarter. In the middle of these feuds which bathed the oasis in blood, the Turks made their supremacy recognised. In 1727 the Bey of Titteri had imposed an annual tribute on the Ksūmna. The Mzabls driven from the oasis where they had acquired a part of the gardens, formed with the nomads of the south a confederation, over which the people of Laghuat triumphed with the help of the Larba. Towards the end of the xviiith century the Turks reappeared and enforced once more their suzerainty which the Laghuati had been gradually casting off. The Bey of Mouda fell in the first expedition (1784), but the Bey of Oran, Muhammad al Kalir, seized the town and destroyed the quarters of the Ulad Serghine (1786). His successor 'Olmia then took the field against the Hallaf whom he scattered (1787).

The two enemy factions were not long however in reorganising themselves and civil strife began again until the chief of the Hallaf, Ahmad b. Salim, succeeded in making himself master of Laghuat and the neighbouring Ksars (1828). But peace did not last long. The Ulad Serghine supported by 'Abd al-Kadir regained the upper hand in 1837. Their chief al-Hadjidj al-'Arbi was appointed khalifa by the Amir. He could not hold out and was forced to take refuge in Mzab. His successor 'Abd al-Baki was no more fortunate, although he had 700 regular troops and a cannon. In obedience to the Amir's orders he tried to imprison the notables but this provoked risings and he had to leave Laghuat (1839). Al-Hadjidj al-'Arbi, again appointed khalifa, was defeated by Ahmad b. Salim in alliance with the Marabout of 'Ain Mahda, Tidjant, and then taken prisoner. Thus becoming again lord of Laghuat, Ahmad b. Salim placed himself under French protection who appointed him their khalifa in 1844. A French column under the command of Colonel Marry-Monge on this occasion camped at the very gates of Laghuat. The French came back again in 1847 but did not definitely install themselves till 1852, when the Sharif Muhammad b. 'Abdallah, already lord of Wargla, had gained entrance to the town with the help of a section of the Hallaf. To retake it from him a column was sent under General Pélissier. Laghuat was taken by storm after a desperate fight in which General Bonscœur and Commandant Morand were killed (December 1852). A permanent garrison was then stationed in Laghuat and it became the base of French operations in the south.

Bibliography: E. Basset, *Les dictons satiriques attribués à Sidi Ahmed ben Yousf*, in *J. A.*, 1890; E. Daumas, *Le Sahara al-*

gérien, Paris 1845; Fromentin, *Un été dans le Sahara*, Paris 1872; Marey Monge, *Expédition de Laghuat*, Algiers 1844; Moulay Ahmad, *Voyages dans le sud de l'Algérie*, transl. Berbrugger, Paris 1846. (G. VYEN)

LAHIDJ, a sultanate in South Arabia with its capital of the same name north-west of 'Aden, bounded by the Hawshabi territory on the north, the Fadli territory on the east, the 'Akrabi land in the south and the Subahli territory in the west. The capital, called Lahidj or el-Hsta lies at a height of 350 feet above sea-level between the two arms of the Wadi Tahan, the Wadi Saghr and the Wadi Kabir, in a fertile oasis which, occupying a wide valley, owes its existence to its irrigation by canals led from the mountain streams and walls of excellent water as much as 15 feet deep. The town is surrounded by palmgroves and fields on which cereals are grown, notably *sherre* (*Solens cereale*) and different vegetables; in addition to date-palms there are all kinds of fruit trees, including citrons and cocoa-palms, this being one of the most northerly points in Arabia where the latter are found. The town which was visited in 1503 by Ludovico di Barthez and in 1810 by V. G. von Seetzen and which Niebuhr still calls small, while on Wellsted's visit it had about 400 houses and 800 straw or reed huts with almost 5,000 inhabitants, owes its prosperity to the Russo-Turkish war in the course of which in 1878 England temporarily proclaimed a state of siege in 'Aden and evicted the Arabs and Somalis from 'Aden. The latter went to Lahidj where they built themselves thousands of huts close to the town, which now form extensive suburbs and considerably increased the number of inhabitants. The sea of houses is dominated by the palace of the Sultan, built by Indian architects and four to five stories high with extensive subsidiary buildings; it is entirely built of clay and painted white. The palace is surrounded by a clay wall, to the east of which lies the town with its numerous rectangular flat-roofed houses, all built of sun-dried bricks made of a mixture of dung, clay, straw and dried grass and one or two stories high. The monotony of the picture is broken only by the very simple, insignificant mosques which are outlined in white round the roof. To the east of the palace in the shade of beautiful leafy trees and palms is a pleasant looking one-storied bungalow built by the Sultan for foreign guests. Round the town are scattered little groups of low straw huts, made of *sherre* stems and surrounded by a hedge which are inhabited by Somalis and their families. In addition to these there are also Sawahils settled in Lahidj. The great mass of the inhabitants however are Yemen Arabs, who live in the numerous houses and mud-huts, which form the town with its narrow, winding, dusty streets. A part of the town is reserved for the Jews, who look wretched and are merchants and artisans. There are also a few Muslim Jews who are traders. All types of the population are met with in the bazaar street which is barely six feet wide. Not far from this is the *ammanet*'s market where smiths, Arabs and Jews have erected their simple workshops in open booths. The principal weapons made here are the fine *ghimbays* while the long cavalry lances, which are used by the Yemen Kabils are made in Dabhin, Angah or Hawir and brought for sale to the Lahidj market. In

Wellsted's time there were also 30 silk-weavers here, who got their yarn from India. The oasis is very well watered and the numerous little canals are fed by the perennial stream which passes not far from the town. Lahidj which plays an important part in the caravan traffic is connected by a road with 'Aden and in 1907 was to have been linked up by a railway with 'Aden and Dill', part of which was actually surveyed but the plan was abandoned. England took up the scheme again in 1915 during the war and laid a strategic railway of 1 metre gauge for 25 miles to Lahidj; in 1921 it was extended a few miles beyond the oasis of Lahidj and now reaches Hābil al-Hamra, 8 miles N.W. of al-Hōḡā. The continuation of the railway to San'a would open up Southern Yemen and increase the importance of Lahidj.

History. The name Lahidj (Lahidj) which means a damp low lying area intersected by water channels, a place-name that admirably suits Lahidj, is connected by the genealogists with the Himyar Lahidj b. Wa'il b. al-Ghawth b. Katan b. 'Arth b. Zuhair b. Abyan b. al-Humaisa' and is applied by the geographers to a district in Yemen which forms part of the territory of Abyan north-east of 'Aden. Al-Hamḍānī mentions it among the towns of the Yemen Thāma and says that in his time the descendants of Aṣṭab b. 'Amr b. al-Hārith dhs Aṣṭab b. Malik b. Zaid b. al-Ghawth b. Sa'd b. 'Awf b. 'Adi b. Malik b. Zaid b. Sadāb b. Zur'a Himyar al-Aḡḡar were alive. Yāqūt says the same for the district of Lahidj which included the towns and villages. A number of poets, particularly South Arabians, are familiar with the town, e.g. Kaṣī b. Maḥṣūṣ 'Amr b. Ma'dikarib, Khulāḥḥ b. 'Amr, Sa'īd al-Himyarī, 'Amr b. al-Sulaimān and especially the famous 'Umar b. Abī Raḥī'a, who had property there.

After Yemen had been won for Islam, Lahidj shared the fortunes of this extensive province of the Arab empire. Lahidj thus passed with Yemen to the Umayyads and then to the 'Abbāsids until under al-Ma'mūn the bold 'Alīd Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Qa'far b. Muḥammad, drove his governor Isḥāq b. 'Isā al-'Abbāsī out of Yemen and made himself independent there. In 203 (818/819) the Caliph made a partition of Yemen by which the coast lands from Mecca to 'Aden were put under the governor Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ziyād al-Umawī who founded the town of Zabīd and became the founder of the Ziyādī dynasty which with one interruption (the capture of Zabīd in 293 [905/6] by the Ḥammarīn 'Alī b. al-Faḥl al-Himyarī al-Khanṣarī, d. 303 [915/16]) ruled over Zabīd until 402 (1011/1012). Lahidj with 'Aden, Abyan, Haḍramūt and al-Shihr passed into the hands of the Banū Ma'n in the time of the Abyssinian slaves, who ruled the Ziyādī kingdom when the dynasty died out. In 439 (1047/1048) 'Aden came under the rule of 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Sulayhī (d. 459 = 1066/1067). Zur'a b. al-'Abbās (d. 485 = 1092/1093) was installed as governor here and ruled in a practically independent fashion. Ibn 'Umar, the ruler of Lahidj, al-Shihr and Haḍramūt, who later seized 'Aden and ruled jointly with his brother Ma'sūd, made an alliance with him. Their successors succeeded in conquering a great part of the Yemen, but internal discords soon weakened them and in 1152 A.D., the caliph al-Ma'mūn took 'Aden with the help of treachery

and was able to hold it until the Ayyūbīd al-Malik al-Mu'izzam Tūrūn-shāh in 1173 A.D. conquered a great part of Yemen including 'Aden, with whose fate that of Lahidj was henceforth linked. Tūrūn-shāh placed a governor in 'Aden, the brother of the Imām of San'a, Malik al-Ma'sūd, whose successor Sulṭān Nūr al-Dīn (1233-1249 A.D.) was the founder of the Raṣṣīd dynasty of Yemen. He soon conquered the whole of the Yemen and ruled it under the nominal suzerainty of the 'Abbāsīd caliph, with whom he quarrelled in 1249 so that Sulṭān al-Malik al-Mu'izzam Shams al-Dīn was sent against him and took 'Aden and Lahidj from him. In 1251 al-Mu'izzam granted Lahidj and Abyan to his brothers Mufaḍḍal and Fa'is as a fief. Lahidj again changed its owner when in 1294 Ibrāhīm b. Muḥaffar took 'Aden and Lahidj but had soon to part with them again to Da'ūd, Muḥaffar's successor. In 1302 Lahidj passed as a fief to the Sharīf 'Imād al-Dīn Idrīs. In 1307 the town was pillaged by the Dhahānī, in 1323 'Umar b. Dīwān rebelled in Abyan and Lahidj and besieged 'Aden as his son again did in 1325. In 1454 'Aden with its hinterland passed to the Tāhirīds who held it till 1507. The expeditionary force led by Ḥasan al-Muḥarrīf which the Mamlūk Sulṭān Qānṣūh al-Qūṣrī sent at the request of the Tāhirīd Sulṭān 'Amir b. 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb to prevent the encroachment of the Portuguese in the Red Sea and which conquered a great part of the Yemen, only paved the way for the Turks. In 1538 the Turkish governor of Kulsūm, Sulaimān Paṣhā, set out with a fleet and took 'Aden which belonged to the Turkish empire until in 1635 the Turks had to leave the Yemen, which again became independent under the Imāms of San'a. Quarrels among the claimants to the imāmate however soon shattered the kingdom and in 1728 the 'Abd'alī leader Faḥl b. 'Alī b. Faḥl b. Sillīh b. Sallīm, the founder of the dynasty of Lahidj, made himself independent of the Imāms and made Lahidj the capital of his territory. In 1735 he took 'Aden. His grandson Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Karīm in 1802 concluded through Sir Home Popham a commercial treaty with England but his nephew and successor Muḥsin came into conflict with England (1837) through the plundering of the Indian ship Doria Dowlat by his people and thus lost 'Aden, the fort of which passed to England by a preliminary treaty concluded on January 23, 1838, while the Arabs in the town were to remain under the jurisdiction of the Sulṭān of Lahidj who received in compensation a subsidy of 541 dollars a month. On January 19, 1839 the English occupied 'Aden and by a second treaty of June 18, 1839, Captain S. B. Haines made an arrangement between Sulṭān Muḥsin of Lahidj and England, by which the former agreed to guarantee the security and regularity of the caravan traffic with 'Aden and to maintain a loyal friendship with England, while Haines in return undertook to pay subsidies to the tribes of Faḥl, Vāḥ, Ha-wāḥib and 'Amir and to pay Sulṭān Muḥsin and his descendants 6,500 dollars annually from Dhū l-Ra'da 1254. At the same time the contracting parties agreed to support one another in case of war between the 'Abd'alī and Lahidj, to put subjects of the Sulṭān coming to 'Aden under English jurisdiction during the time of their stay and those who came to Lahidj from 'Aden under that of the Sulṭān; further all goods belonging to

the Sultan, or his sons were to enter or leave 'Aden free of duty. In spite of this treaty the Sultan, who was still sore over the loss of 'Aden, continued to intrigue against the English and supported the attack of the Arabs on 'Aden in 1840 and even had the English representative in 'Aden, Hassan Khatib, murdered and regularly adopted a hostile attitude towards the English. His constant failures however forced him to change his policy and on February 11, 1843 he concluded a new agreement with England which was renewed in a more stringent form on February 20, 1844, before his monthly allowance was again paid to him. Muhsin b. Fadl, who had again allowed himself to be involved in a war with England in 1846 in which he was defeated, died on November 30, 1847. His son and successor Ahmad maintained friendly relations with England as it was in his best interest to do so. He died in 1849 and was succeeded by his brother 'Ali who resumed a policy of hostility to England and roused the hostility of the tribes against 'Aden. On March 7, 1849 a treaty was however concluded with the East India Company which was ratified on October 30, by Lord Dalhousie, but an attitude of constant friendship to England was not thereby secured. The Sultan even cut off supplies and it finally came to open fighting in which the Sultan was defeated on March 18, 1858 at Sheikh 'Othman so that he had again to reconcile himself to a peaceful policy. When in 1873 the Turks in their reconquest of the Yemen advanced on the hinterland of 'Aden, the English occupied Lahidj and the Turks had to retire as a result of English diplomatic negotiations with the Sublime Porte. Whether these negotiations were instigated or approved by the Sultan who had lost his independence — only nominal it is true — by the Turkish occupation of his territory, is not known. In any case in 1887, as E. Glaser records, Sultan Fadl b. 'Ali was receiving a monthly allowance of 1,250 dollars from 'Aden.

GENEALOGICAL SURVEY OF THE SULTANS OF LAHIDJ.

Fadl b. 'Ali b. Salih b. Salim
(1728—1742)

'Abd al-Karim
(1742—1753)

'Abd al-Hadi
(1753—1777)

Fadl
(1777—1792)

Ahmad
(1792—1827)

Muhsin
(1827—Nov. 30. 1847)

Ahmad
(1847—1849)

'Ali
(1849—1866)

Fadl
(1866—?)

'Ali
† July 1915

Fadl

'Abd al-Karim
(since July 1915)

hammad Naze reached Lahidj in their advance on 'Aden where there was a battle with the English and their allies. In the course of the fighting the English troops evacuated Lahidj and Sultan 'Ali b. Ahmad was shot. A counter-attack on July 21, 1915 restored Lahidj to the English but by August 21 they were again driven out of Lahidj which was occupied by the Turks who held it till the beginning of 1918. It was not till the collapse of Turkey on the Palestine front and the cutting of communications with the Yemen that the position became untenable for the Turkish troops and forced them to retire. Since July 1915, 'Abd al-Karim b. Fadl b. 'Ali has been ruler of the Sultanate of Lahidj.

Bibliography: al-Mukaddas, *B. G. A.*, iii, 70, 85; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 548; iii, 244, 638; iv, 352, 434, 751; *Marā'id al-Ijtihād*, ed. T. G. J. Jaynboll, iii, 9; al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 202; ii, 439; al-Hamdānī, *Sifa Dīnistrat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leyden 1884—1891, p. 52 sq.; Amin al-Raḥīmī, *Mulūk al-'Arab*; 'Asmūdīn Ahmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Nakūn's im Sami al-Ullān*, G. M. S., xiv, p. 94; A. Sprenger, *Die Fort- und Reiseverhältnisse des Orients*, Abh. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes, iii/3, p. 109, 141, 145, 152; Badr al-Islām Muḥammad b. Ismā'il b. Muḥammad al-Khiṣṣī, *al-Laṣṣif al-sūniyya fī Ashḥār al-Manāzih al-yamaniyya*, Cod. Glaser 126 in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, p. 4, 6—8, 12, 14, 19; S. W. Redhouse, *The pearl-string, a history of the Rasūlī dynasty of Yemen*, G. M. S., Leyden 1906, iii/l, 2, transl. l., p. 130, 137 sq., 238, 270, 283; Leyden 1907, ii, p. 12, 19 sq., 29, 35, 77, 242; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 255; J. R. Wellsted's *Travels in Arabia*, London 1838, p. 405—411; H. F. Jacob, *Kings of Arabia*, London 1923, *passim*; C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, Berlin 1846, viii/l, p. 703, 705—707; Noel Desvergères, *Arabie, l'Univers, histoire et description de tous les peuples, Asie*, Paris 1847, vol. v., p. 21 (picture of the palace of the Sultan of 'Aden); R. L. Playfair, *History of Arabia Felix or Yemen*, Bombay 1859, p. 178; G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chuliften*, Stuttgart 1862, v., p. 398; H. v. Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, Brunswick 1873, p. 324—349; R. Manzoni, *El Yemen, tre anni nell' Arabia felice*, Escursioni fatte dal Settembre 1877 al Marzo 1880, Rome 1884, p. 14—16, 22, 270 sq. (opp. p. 22 picture of the castle of Lahidj); E. Glaser, *Tagebuch*, 1887, ii, fol. 3^r, 4^r, 5^r; O. Baumann, *Beise von Lahidj in Südarabien*, Globus 1895, lxxvii, p. 1—6 (with 3 pictures); M. Hartmann, *Die Mekkahbahn*, Berlin 1908, p. 23 sq.; F. Stahlmann, *Der Kampf um Arabien zwischen der Türkei und England*, Hamburgische Forschungen, Brunswick 1916, l., p. 64, 72, 111 sq., 122, 132—140, 17*—19*; *Handbooks prepared under the Direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office*, No. 61, *Arabia*, London 1920, p. 71, 75, 88 sq.; *The Statesman's Yearbook*, complete year 1921, London 1921, p. 96; complete year 1927, London 1927, p. 95; D. G. Hogarth, *Arabia*, Oxford 1922, p. 127.

Maps of the territory of Lahidj in G. S. Stevens, *Report on the country around Aden*, in *J. R. G. S.*, 1873, xliii, opp. p. 295; G. U. Yule, *A Rock-cut Himyaritic Inscription on*

In the World War Turkey assumed the offensive from the Yemen in June 1915 against the English sphere of interest and Turkish troops in conjunction with those of the Imām Yahyā b. Ḥamid al-Dīn, their ally, under the command of Mu-

Jabal Jekaf, in the Aden Hinterland, in *Proc. Soc. of Biblical Archaeology*, 1905, xxvii, on p. 153—155; *Map showing the new boundary of the Aden Protectorate*, in *Geogr. Journal*, 1906, xxviii, p. 632. (ADOLF GROHMANN)

LAHIDJAN. 1. A town in GILAN to the east of the Safid-Rūd and north of the mountain Dulfak (cf. the ancient name of a people *Δελφάκας*) on the river Čom-khala (Pardesar) which 8 miles higher up flows through Langarūd, the present capital of the district of Rān-i Kūh.

Lahidjan although unknown to the early Arab geographers is certainly one of the oldest towns in Gilan. Its foundation is attributed to the legendary Lāhidj b. Šam b. Nūh. The river Safid-Rūd divides Gilan into two parts. In ancient times the river formed the frontier between the Amardoi on the east and the Kadusioi or Gēlān on the west; cf. Andreas, *Amardoi*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*. In the Muslim period the part of Gilan to the east of the river was called Biya-pāh and that to the west Biya-pas (the word *biya* "water" [cf. Ahmad Rāzi in Dorn, *Auszüge*, p. 100], corresponds to the Avestan *vādi*, "water-course"). According to Kāshāni the people of Biya-pāh were 'Alids (Zaidis) and those of Biya-pas Hānbalis or sectarians of mād Abū Dja'far (= Tahart).

The old dynasty of Biya-pāh was that of the Kawtūm or Hawthūm (in the modern Rān-i Kūh). Its founder was Nāsir al-Hakīk Ḥasan 'Uṣṣāh, a descendant of the Caliph 'Alī, who preached Zaidi doctrines in Gilan and died in 304 (917) (Ibn al-Aṭhār, viii, 61; Tahart, iii, 2292). His descendants are known as Nāsirwānd. Later the family divided into two branches; in the reign of Uldjān the lord of Kawtūm was Sūlūk b. Sulār b. Kaikāwūs b. Šāhīnshāh (the descent of this branch is not quite certain); the lord of Lahidjan, the most powerful of the princes of Gilan (or of Biya-pāh), was Naw-Pādīghāh (or Šāh-i naw). When in 706 (1307) Uldjān arrived before Lahidjan (via Tārom-Lowāhān-Dailamān-Rustā) Naw-Pādīghāh submitted to him and thus kept his position.

Lahidjan became more generally known as the capital of the dynasty of Biya-pāh called Kār-Kiyā. These sultāns came originally from the village of Malāt (in the district of Rān-i Kūh). About 769 during the civil war between the two lines of Nāsirwānd, the descendants of Šarāf al-Dīn of Lahidjan and those of Amīr Muḥammad of Rān-i Kūh, Saiyid 'Alī b. Saiyid Kiyā seized Biya-pāh, Dailamān and some districts of Māzandarān. The power of the Nāsirwānd was re-established in 791—792; in 908 (1502) the troops of Amīr Ḥisām al-Dīn of Fūmān (Biya-pas) sacked the town and similar invasions were repeated in 910 (1504) and in 914 (1501) but, except for such interruptions, the dynasty of the Kār-Kiyā lasted till 1000 (1592). The Šafāwīs had close connections with Lahidjan. In the village of Šāhkhānbar on the road from Lahidjan to Langarūd is the tomb of Šāhkh Ibrahim Zāhid (d. in 714 = 1314) who was the spiritual father (*pir*) of Šāhkh Šāfi al-Dīn, the famous ancestor of the Šafāwīd dynasty. Šāhkh Ismā'il I, a fugitive from the Ak-Koyunlu, found refuge with the Kār-Kiyā Mirzā 'Alī and studied under Mawlānā Šams al-Dīn Lahidjī (E. Denison Ross, *The early years of Shah Ismail*, *F.R.S.*, 1895, p. 286). These friendly relations were broken in the reign of the Kār Kiyā Khān

Ahmad Khān (943—975 and 985—1000) who was at first imprisoned by Šāh Tahmāsp and later driven from the throne by Šāh 'Abbās, who was indignant at his intrigues with the Ottomans. Ahmad Khān ended his days in Constantinople (Hammer, *G.O.R.*, ii, 562, 576). In 1000 (1592) Šāh 'Abbās came to Lahidjan and destroyed the garden in front of the castle. During their occupation of Gilan (1724—1734) the Russians built two forts in Lahidjan. Lahidjan has now lost all political importance, but has retained its local importance as the centre of one of the largest and richest districts in Gilan. The town has 2,260 houses with 10,000 inhabitants. There are many tombs there of members of the old ruling family. The district is divided into seven cantons:

	towns	houses
Kūhpāya	50	2,108
Paghmačāh	35	1,059
Kanār-Parīds	63	2,984
Rāh Šāh-i lāl	28	1,965
Gowka	21	656
Čārdeh	5	300
Lashā Nīshī	29	775

Bibliography: Yāqūt, iv, s. v. Lahidj; *Nuḥāt al-Kūh*, ed. Le Strange, p. 163; on the conquest of Lahidjan by Uldjān cf. the continuator of Rāhid al-Dīn in Dorn, *Auszüge aus muḥamm. Schriftstellern*, St. Petersburg 1858, p. 138—152, and Abū 'l-Kāsim Kāshānī, *Tārīkh-i Uldjān*, MS. of the Bibl. Nationale in Paris, Suppl. Persien 1419 (fol. 38—41 contain an important description of Gilan from Asl al-Dīn Muḥammad Zawzani); cf. also d'Osson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iv, 488—497; Zahir al-Dīn Ma'āghī, *Tārīkh-i Gilān wa-Dailamīn* (until 894/1432), ed. Rabino, Rašt 1330 (from the unique Rodleian MS.); 'Alī b. Šams al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Khānī*, ed. Dorn, St. Petersburg 1857 (history of the Kār-kiyā 880—920/1475—1514); Dorn, *Auszüge aus muḥamm. Schriftstellern*, St. Petersburg 1858, index; Ritter, *Erdbunde*, viii, 544 sqq.; Melgunof, *Das südliche Ufer d. Kaspi. Meeres*, Leipzig 1868, p. 230—234 (the transcription of the rather defective transcription by the translator of the proper names in the Russian original is not always free from errors); Barthold, *Asiatic geography*, *Arak*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 156; Rabino, *Le Gilan*, *R.M.M.*, 1915—1916, xxvii, p. 291—334, 397 sqq. (a valuable work containing a complete toponymy and a synopsis of the history of Gilan).

2. Several districts in Persia have however derived from the stems *Lāh* and *Lār* [q. v.]: Lāhidj, an important little town in Transcaucasia west of Shamakha [cf. *SAWJAN*]; Lāhidjī, a village in the canton of Kurbāl in the province of Fārs; Lāhidjan, a canton of Mukrī Kurdistān [cf. *SAWJAN*]; Lāh, which the *Šāraf-nāma*, i. 280 calls Lāridjan. There is a village of Lahidjan near Ikhīcī, south of Tabriz and a village of Lāridjan south of the Araxes about 12 miles above the mouth of the river of Ardabil (Kara-Šu). The forms *Lāh* and *Lār* may both come from **Lādā* (cf. the old Persian *Māda*, which gave *Māh* in Persian and *Mar-kā* in Armenian). According to the dictionaries (Vulliers) the old name of the town of Lār [q. v.] was Lād/Lādh; the silk called *lādā* is also known as *lāh* (*lāh* however may equally well be explained by *lāz*). The change of *d* (*dh*) to *r* is

attested in the Caspian dialects (it is regular in Tāt; in Māzandarānī we have the parallel forms *lād/lādā*; Melganoḡ, p. 221). The fact that we have districts of Lāhīdījān and Lāridījān in the adjoining provinces of Gīlān and Māzandarān is remarkable, but still more significant is the fact that Lāhīdīj of Shīrwān represents an islet of Irānīan Tāt surrounded by Turks (the Tāt are now found scattered throughout Daġhīstān, the country round Teherān, Adharbāidjān, etc.). Their present name has a rather general and vague character, cf. *lāt*. The colony of Lāhīdīj may have retained the original dialect formerly spoken in the metropolis. The name of the silk *lādī/lādā* suggests the former existence of a place called Lād, which produced silk (cf. *Yāqūt*, s. v. Lāhīdīj). [Yāqūt says that Lāhīdīj produces the silk called "Lāhīdī" which is not of high quality]. With the suffix *-ī*, the word *Lād-ī* would mean the people of Lād. It remains to be seen if the region of Lāhīdījān is not the ancestral home of numerous Lāhīdīj colonies. At the present day there is spoken in Lāhīdījān — although with certain local peculiarities — the Gilakī dialect but this parent dialect has here exercised a levelling influence, of which the foreign Turkish was incapable in the case of the people of Lāhīdīj of Shīrwān. As to Lāhīdījān of Kurdistān we may recall the hypothesis of Andreas that the name "Dīmā" by which the Zāzī call themselves (north of Diyār-bakr) is a metathesis of Dīlām (Dailām). The emigrations from Gīlān, still very obscure, certainly penetrated far to the west. — [To the names mentioned one might add perhaps that of Kalā-i Lāhūdīj in Khūstān(?); cf. *Tārīkh-i Qazvīn*, G. M. S., xiv/l, p. 240]. (V. MINORSKY)

LAHŌR, capital of the province of the Panjāb, British India, situated on the river Rāwī, at 31° 35' north latitude, 74° 20' east longitude. Population in 1911, 228,687, of whom 129,301 were Muhammadans. The foundation of LahŌr is traditionally attributed to a mythical Lava or Loh, son of Rāma, after whom it was named Lohāwar. It is not mentioned in the chronicles of the invasion of Alexander the Great, nor is the town described either by Strabo or Pliny; but it may be the Lahokla of Ptolemy, which Sir Alexander Cunningham (in his *Ancient Geography of India*) explains as Lavāka, "the abode of Lava". In the *Mahābhārata*, the Panjāb is called Tākadasa, or the country of the Tākas. According to Huiien Tsiang, Tāki was the capital of the Panjāb in 633 A.D. He makes no mention of LahŌr by any name capable of identification as such, though he traversed the entire province and stayed in it for quite two years. Possibly the Lohkot of the *Purāṇas* is LahŌr. The *Dharm Bhāgā* (a compilation from the *Purāṇas*) gives an account of a battle between Rāmal, Rājā of Lavpūr, and one Bhīm Sen Kanēson, the mythical ancestor of the solar Rājput princes of Central India, is said to have migrated south from Lohkot, an event assigned by Colonel Tod to c. 145 A.D. One of the city gateways is known as the Bhātī Gate; the Solankhis and Bhātis of Rājputāna point to LahŌr as the seat of an earlier settlement. The first distinct mention of LahŌr occurs in the history of the campaigns of Subuktāgin, and of Mahmūd of Ghazni, when the Brahman kings of the Kābul valley, being driven from Pashāwar and Ohind, established their new capital first at

Bhēra on the Dībelam, and then at LahŌr. Both Dīai Pāl, and his son Anang Pāl, the successive antagonists of the Ghazni invaders, are called Rājās of LahŌr by Farīht, according to whom the Hindū dynasty was subverted in A.D. 1031, when LahŌr became the residence of a Muslim governor under the king of Ghazni. A final insurrection of the Hindūs was quelled by Mawdūd in 1042, and the city was left in charge of Malik Ayaz, whom Muhammadan tradition regards as the founder. During the reign of Mas'ūd III (1099—1114), LahŌr became the capital of the Ghazni dynasty, but was captured in A.D. 1186 by Shihāb al-Dīn, known as Muhammad Ghori, the Muhammadan conqueror of India. The town was sacked by the Mongols of Čingiz Khān, and of Timūr, and in the reign of Mubārak Shāh it was "a desolate waste in which no living thing except the owl of ill-omen had its abode" (Elliot-Dowson, iv, 56, 57). LahŌr remained insignificant throughout the period of the Pathān dynasties. In 1436, Bahlol Lodī seized LahŌr as a first step to power. It was plundered by Bābūr's troops in 1524.

Even at this time the Panjāb was an almost uninhabited waste, except for a few walled cities in which the Hindūs could exist in some security from the frontier raiders. "The Mongols of Balkh and Kābul every year used to make raids on the Panjāb, and for this reason the province remained depopulated for a long time, and very little agriculture was carried on. Rāj Rām Deo Bahṭī, of Patāla, rented the whole Panjāb from the governor of LahŌr for 900,000 *takas* (£ 2,000)" (*Bābūr's Memoirs*).

Under the Great Moghals, Āgra, Dīhli, and LahŌr were the three chief cities and mint-towns of the Moghal Empire. Akbar held his court here from 1584 to 1598, and repaired and enlarged the fort. In the time of Dīshāngīr, who made it a secondary capital, LahŌr reached its zenith of wealth and splendour; the tombs of this emperor and of his famous consort Nur Dīshān, are on the opposite bank of the Rāwī. The place fully shared in the misfortunes which attended the decline of the Moghal Empire. Situated on the high-road from Afghānistān, it has been exposed to the visitation of every Western invader, and suffered from the successive conquests of Nādir Shāh, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, and other less famous depredators. LahŌr was a bone of contention between the Sikhs and the Mughals, and the great city of the Moghal princes and their viceroys was reduced to little more than a heap of ruins. But the rising of Sikh power under Rājājī Singh (1798 A.D.) made LahŌr once more the centre of a flourishing realm. It relapsed into anarchy after Rājājī Singh's death. Then followed the First and Second Sikh Wars, and annexation to British India in 1849. Since that time the capital of the Panjāb has grown steadily, and a new town covers a large tract which was recently a wilderness.

The native city is a walled town with thirteen gates. It has been a municipality since 1867. The old crafts are moribund, but have been replaced by trades of a modern character. There are power mills — cotton, flour, iron — and a large agricultural market. The European quarter, or Civil Station, lies to the south and east of the city, and is a large administrative, educational, and business centre. The older part is known as Anārkalī, and here are the buildings of the Government Secretariat,

University of the Panjab, Government College, Medical and Law Colleges, and Museum. Anārkhali is connected with the newer Civil Station by a fine thoroughfare called the Upper Mall, on which are the High Court, Cathedrals (Anglican and Roman Catholic), Lawrence Gardens, and Government House. Further out is the important military station of Lāhōr Cantonment, formerly known as Miān Mir. Lāhōr is a great railway centre, and the headquarters of a big system, the North Western Railway, with extensive workshops and a large railway colony.

Bibliography: Syad Muhammad Latif, *Lahore, its history, architectural remains and antiquities*, Lahore 1892; T. H. Thornton, *Lahore*, Lahore 1876; *Gazetteer of the Punjab (Provincial and District)*; G. W. Forrest, *Cities of India*, London 1905; J. D. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, London 1849 (reprinted, Lahore 1899; Calcutta 1904).

(R. B. WHITEHEAD)

LAILA (Λ), night, *Lailat al-barā'a*, *Lailat al-Kāfir*, see KAMAYAN.

LAILA 'LAKHYALIYA, an Arab poetess, daughter of 'Abdallāh b. al-Rahhāl(a) b. Ka'b b. Mu'āwiya of the tribe of 'Ukail b. Ka'b. She got her name from the fact that her father—according to other traditions one of her ancestors Ka'b or Mu'āwiya—was known as al-Akhyal (= "the falcon"); perhaps it was a common name in her family and the phrase *naḥnu 'l-akhyāl* in her verses glorifying her family may refer to this (*Aghāni*, x, 80; *Hamāsa*, p. 711). Laila is usually mentioned in connection with her fellow-tribesman Tawba b. Humayr al-Khazdaji; fragments of her laments for him are preserved in the *Kitāb al-Aghāni*. She also wrote an elegy on the death of the Caliph 'Uthman. It is also recorded of her that she exchanged lampoons with Nabigha al-Djādi. Her conversations with Mu'āwiya, 'Abd al-Malik and Haddād b. Yūsuf are several times recorded. She begged the latter, in her old age to take her to her uncle Kaysi b. Maslin in Khorāṣān and she is said to have died on the way. She must therefore have flourished in the second half of the first century A.D.

Bibliography: *Aghāni*, x, 67—84; Ibn Kaysi, *K. al-Shi'r*, ed. de Goeje, p. 269—274; *Hamāsa*, ed. Freytag, p. 170; Mas'udi, *Murūj*, ed. Paris, iii, 312 ff.; v, 324, 389; cf. Rückert, *Hamāsa*, p. 98 ff.

(H. H. BRÄN)

LAILA KHANIM, with Fitnet Khanim, the greatest Turkish poetess of the older school, at the end of the romantic and beginning of the modern period. Born in Constantinople, the daughter of the Kāzī 'Askar Morel-side Hāmid Efendi, she received an excellent education. 'Azet Mollā [q.v.] contributed most to her poetical development; she was related to him and always retained a grateful memory of him as is shown by her elegy full of deep feeling on his death. In her case the lack of information about her is characteristic of the old Turkish conception of women about whom very little is spoken in public. She was early married but divorced very soon afterwards. She had the reputation of a Lesbian. She cared very little about the opinion of the world. She lived for her pleasures and her writing. A few anecdotes relate to her infringements of the social code of Turkish ladies. She joined the

Mawlawi and was buried in the Mawlawi convent in Galata. She died in 1264 (1848).

Lailā Khanim left a regular *Divān* entirely lyrical which was several times printed (Bulak 1260, Constantinople 1267, 1299 etc.). Although she is still completely in the purely Oriental conventional period of Turkish poetry, her place at the end of the old school is not to be denied. Her verses are simple and clear and free from the affected bombast of the time and with their classically correct language much easier to understand than the majority of contemporary poets, wherefore admirers of the old school like M. Nāḍī can find very few "good" verses in her. Her hymns (*munāḍāt*) and elegies were particularly admired. She was celebrated for her ready wit.

Bibliography: Faṭṭā, *Tedhkira*, Constantinople 1271, p. 363—364; Mehmed Dhillāf, *Mesākir al-Nisā*, Constantinople 1295, ii, 195; Ahmad Rif'at, *Lughat-i ta'rikhiye we-djoghrafiye*, Constantinople 1300, vi, 154; M. Nāḍī, *Esāmī*, Constantinople 1308, p. 271; Ahmad Mukhtār, *Shi'r Khanimlarinā*, Constantinople 1311, p. 51—52; Thunay, *Sidjill-i 'othmāni*, iv, 93; Sāmi, *Kānūn al-'Alām*, vi, 4060; Brusall M. Tahir, *'Othmāni Müellifleri*, Constantinople 1335—1343, iii, p. 406; Ibrahim Nadjmī, *Tarikh-i Edhiyāt Dersleri*, Constantinople 1338, i, 262; Konstantinidi, *Müntakhabāt-i Aḥḥār-i 'othmāniye*, Constantinople, i, 228, p. 276—279; Sālinow, *Obratowaya praimedeniya Osmanli literatury*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 271; histories of Ottoman poetry by Hammer-Purgstall, Gibb (iv, 342—349), Hasnadjan etc. (TH. MENZEL)

LAILA U-MADJNUN. [See MAJNUN.]

LAITH. [See KINANA.]

LAK, i. the most southern group of Kurd tribes in Persia. According to Zain al-'Abidin their name (Lak, often Lakk) is explained by the Persian word *lāk* (100,000) which is said to have been the original number of families of Lak. The group is of importance as the Zand dynasty arose from it. The Lak now living in Northern Lūristān are sometimes confused with the Lār (Zain al-'Abidin), whom they resemble from the somatic and ethnical point of view. The facts of history however show that the Lak have immigrated to their present settlements from lands further north. The Lakk language, according to O. Mann, has the characteristics of Kurdish and not of the Lūri dialects (cf. 108). Čirikov, *Puteviĭ Jurnāl*, St. Petersburg 1875, p. 227, says: "the Lur and the Lak speak different dialects and hate one another".

The Lak appear in the *Shāraf-nāma*, i, 323 alongside of the Zand, among the secondary Kurd tribes, subjects of Persia. According to Kabāno, the Lak were settled in Lūristān by order of Shāh 'Abbās who wished in this way to create some support for the new *wālī* of Lūristān, Hussain Khān, whom he had chosen from among the relatives of the old Shāhwardī Atābeg (*Tarikh-i 'Alam-ara*, p. 369). Of these tribes, the Silila had formerly lived at Māhidāst (S.W. of Kirmānshāh); the Dillān take their name from Abū Dulaf (cf. the article AL-GĀSIM p. 158) whose fields in the third (ninth) century lying in the north of Lūristān (cf. *SULTAN-KHĀN*); the Bādjiān of Zohāb [q.v.] as well as of Lūristān say they come from Mawṣil and are evidently one tribe. The Lūristān branch seems to have exchanged its Kurmandji dialect for

Lakki during its sojourn among the Lak in the time of Shāh 'Abbās. Even after Shāh 'Abbās there were several Lak tribes outside of Luristān. Zain al-'Abidin (beg. of the sixteenth century) mentions among the Lak: the Zand, the Māfi, the Bādījān and the Zandi-yi kūs (?). To the last tribe (according to Hostum-Schindler: Begele) belonged Karīm Khān Zand (born in Pāriyā, the modern Pāri about 20 miles from Dawlābād on the Sulṭānshāh road). When at Shīrāz, Karīm Khān sent for the Lak tribe of Bāirānwand. In 1212 (1797) the Bāirānwand and the Bādījān actively supported Muḥammad Khān Zand in his attempt to take the power from the Qājār (H. J. Brydges, *A History of Persia*, London 1833, p. 46, 58; R. G. Watson, *A History of Persia*, London 1866, p. 116). Under the Qājārs several Lak tribes were broken up. The Zand have almost completely disappeared; in 1830 remnants of them were to be found among the Bādījān of Khānīkūn (Khurshīd-Efendi, *Siyāhat-nāme-i Husūd*, Russ. transl., p. 112, 221); there are still a few Zand families in the Dork-Fārsānān district to the S.E. of Kirmānshāh (N. M. M., xxxviii, p. 39); a section of the 'Amala of Pusht-i Kūh claims to be descended from the Karīm Khān tribe. At the present day there are Māfi at Warāmin, Tīhrān and Kārwīn.

According to a good list compiled by Rousseau at Kirmānshāh in 1807 (cf. *Fundgruben d. Orient*, Vienna 1813, iii, 85—98) there were considered as Lak the following tribes: Kālūh, Māfi, Nānaki, Dāliwānd, Pāyrawān, Kūlyā'i, Sūfiwānd, Bāirānwānd, Karkūki, Tawālī, Zūyirwānd, Kākūwānd, Nāmīwānd, Ahmādwānd, Bohū'i, Zūliya, Hārsīnī, Shākhwānd.

According to O. Mann and Rabino, the Lak tribes of Luristān are as follows: Salsila (9,000 families), Dīlfān (7,470), Tīrhān-Amrā'i (1,582 families), the Bāirānwānd (6,000 families) and Dālwānd (1,000 families) forming part of the Bālā-girwa group, a total of about 15,000 tents. The Bāirānwānd and Dālwānd live to the east of Khurramābād around the sources of the river which flows through this town; the Salsila and the Dīlfān occupy the beautiful plains of Alāghar and Khāwa respectively while the Tīrhān (perhaps = Tarkhān, i.e. "exempt from taxes") live between the left bank of the Saimara and the lower course of its left bank tributary from Khurramābād. The territory occupied by the Lak and including N. and N.W. Luristān is sometimes called Lakistān.

The cohesion of the Lak tribes is evident from the fact that even before 1914 the Salsila, Dīlfān and Tīrhān were united under the authority of Naṣar 'Alī Khān of the Amrā'i clan. In addition to the bonds of tribe and language, there is that of religion for all the Dīlfān and many of the 'Amala of Tīrhān belong to the extremist Shī'a sect of the Ahl-i Haqq (cf. SULṬĀN ISHĀK).

Bibliography: E. Beer, *Das Turānische Zendje*, Leyden 1888, p. xviii, xxvi; Zain al-'Abidin Shīrwānī, *Bustān al-Siyāhat*, Tīhrān 1315, p. 522; O. Mann, *Skizze d. Luristān*, S. B., Ak. Wien, 1904, p. 1173—1193; O. Mann, *Die Mundarten d. Lur-Stämme*, Berlin 1910, p. xxii—xxiv, to the number of tribes speaking "Lakki" the author adds the Kālūh of Kirmānshāh and the Māfi of the Pusht-i Kūh; Rabino, *Les tribus du Luristan*, R. M. M., 1916; Minorsky, *Notes sur la secte des Ahl-i Haqq*, R. M. M., xl, 56. 2. Name given themselves by the Ghazni-

Kumuk, a people living on the eastern Kōi-su in central Daghistan [q. v. and Erckert, *D. Kaukasus und z. Völker*, Leipzig 1887, p. 248—257 and Durr, *Die heutigen Namen d. kaukasischen Völker*, Petersb. Mitteil., 1908, p. 204—212].

On the other hand the term Lek in Armenian and Lek-i (plural Lek-ebl) in Georgian means the Lezgi/Lezgi of Daghistan (where the *e* may certainly name the value of *ā/a*: Lezgi). This last name seems to have been applied to the highlanders of Kūrd, living in and around the sources of the Samur, and later to have been extended to all the people of Daghistan, although no people of the Caucasus actually call themselves Lezgi/Lezgi. Marquart, *Beiträge z. Geschichte und Sage v. Iran*, Z. D. M. G., 1895, xlix., has attempted to explain the Arabic al-Lakr by the addition of the Persian suffix *-zi* to the name Lek (or Lak), cf. Sag-i, "inhabitant of Sūfīn". (V. MINORSKY)

LAKHM (PARU). With the exception of the Lakhmid clan in the 'Irāk, so frequently celebrated in the old Arab poetry, the pre-Islamic history of this family is not well known and is full of legend. Their traditional genealogical tree is given in the article DJUDHĀM. According to it Lakhm was of Yemen origin and was the brother of Djudhām and 'Amila. These genealogical tables may be taken for what they are worth for Djudhām. As to Lakhm, Vemēnī and Ma'addī claim descent from the powerful Lakhmid dynasty of the 'Irāk. As to the reputed relationship of Lakhm with Djudhām and 'Amila, it must correspond to facts sufficiently established in the century when Islām first appeared. It shows that the three groups were then connected by community of aims and interests. This forms a solid guarantee of a genealogical connection even if open to criticism in other respects.

Of the three sister-tribes, Lakhm was undoubtedly the most illustrious and the oldest also. Legend connects it with the descendants of Abraham. A Lakhmid is said to have taken Joseph out of the well into which his brothers had thrown him. But by the eve of the Hidjra, the vigour of the Lakhm had been sapped, while the 'Amila [q. v.] and notably the Djudhām who under the 'Omāyads played a leading part, had increased in importance. Two centuries before the Hidjra, the surplus Lakhmid population had spread over the lands in the north of the Peninsula in Syria and Palestine and in 'Irāk where they established the Lakhmid pbylarchate of Hīra [q. v. and the article DJUDHĀM], continually at war with the Ghassānids of Syria. In Syria we find the Lakhm settled in the same cantons as the Djudhām. Like the latter, they had adopted Christianity which had also become the official religion of the Lakhmids of Hīra.

When Islām appeared, the Djudhām had practically absorbed their relatives, the Lakhm of Syria, a peaceful absorption by mutual agreement. In the first century A. H. the two tribes were usually named together as forming one group, and even when reference is made to a "chief of Lakhm" we can hardly be wrong in thinking he also ruled the Djudhām. The *hishā* Lakhmi becomes rare in comparison with Djudhāmi. In the wars of Islām, during the conquest of Syria, at Yarmūk, at Siffin, and later in the course of the campaigns under Yazīd I, against the sacred cities of the Hidjāz, the two tribes fought under the same chiefs and under the same banner. "Lakhmi" became

practically reduced to little more than a title of honour. Its archaic flavour, the glorious memories which it recalled of the phylarchs of 'Irāk, was very impressive in the "Burke" or "Almanac de Gotha" of the Arabs. But as to the Lakhmids, they no longer have a separate existence from the Djudhām. When in the lands to the west of the Euphrates, we find them mentioned alone, the name must be taken to mean the Djudhām. It is the latter that the chroniclers usually have in mind.

Bibliography: Ibn Duraid, *K. al-Ishāh*, p. 225—227; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-Ishāh al-farid*, ii. 85; Hamdān, *Djastā*, ed. D. H. Müller, p. 129, 9, etc., 130, 131, 205, 206; Ya'qūbi, *Historia*, ed. Houtsma, i. 229, 264; do., *Kisāb al-Mulūk*, ed. de Goeje, p. 329, 343, 344; Baladhuri, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 59, 136; Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, ed. Paris, iv. 353; v. 192; al-Kindi, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Rhuvon Guest, p. 45, 151, 162; G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden in al-Hira*, p. 41 etc.; Cammin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, i. 326, 349; ii. 232; iii. 212, 352, 422; H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazid Ier*, 272—274, *M.F.O.B.*, v. 2, 591 etc.; O. Hiss, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxiii. 577.

(H. LAMMENS)

LAKHNAU, former capital of the province of Oudh (Awadh), now secondary capital of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in British India; situated on the river Gumti, at 26° 32' N. L., 80° 56' E. L. Population at the 1911 census, 19,782, of whom 4,461 were Muhammadans. Nothing is known of its history prior to the Muhammadan invasion; even the derivation of the name is uncertain, though the first syllable is a contraction of Laṣman or Lakhman. The oldest part is the Laṣman Tila, which was colonised by Shaikh al-Fāris at the close of the thirteenth century. A member of this fraternity, Shāh Muṣṭafā, who died in 1478, gained much saintly repute and his tomb is an object of pilgrimage. Lakhnau's prominence began in the time of the Sūrī kings of Dihli. It was occupied by Humāyūn in 1526, and taken by Bābur in 1528; under Akbar it was the chief town of a *subhār*. The decay of the Mughal Empire enabled Sa'adat Khān (1724) to found the dynasty of the Nawāb-wazirs of Oudh, who ruled as independent governors, and latterly as kings of Oudh, till 1856. Sa'adat Khān, a Saliyid from Persia, of the Shī'a sect, a warrior of the Empire, destroyed the power of the Shaikhhs of Lakhnau, but retained his capital at Faizābād. He adopted the fish as the dynastic badge. The grandeur of the city dates from the time of Āṣaf al-Dawla (1775—1797), the fourth of his line, whose reckless munificence has passed into a proverb, and whose reign was the golden age of Lakhnau, which he made the capital of Oudh. East of the beautiful Victoria Park (1887) is a fine group of buildings, the Rūmī Darwaza, the Great Imāmshāh, and a mosque, all built by Āṣaf al-Dawla. The second and third are in the Maḥḥi Bhawan, or old fort; here also is the Laṣman Tila, surmounted by the mosque of Awrangzīb. The Great Imāmshāh is the chief architectural glory of the city. To the same period belongs the Martinière, built by General Claud Martin, first as a residence for himself, afterwards converted into a school.

Sa'adat 'Alī Khān (1797—1814) constructed the

Dilkushā palace and the Sikandra Bāgh. He and his successors continued to adorn the suburbs with public monuments, parks, and country seats. The meretricious style of the period marks the decay of Indian Muhammadan architecture.

Ḥāshī al-Dīn Haider assumed the title of king of Oudh. He built the Chattr Manzil palaces, and the mausoleum called the Shāh Nadjaf.

Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh (1837—1842) reformed the administration, and by his economic measures stayed the downfall of his house for two more reigns. His name is associated with the buildings at Husainābād. During the reign of his son Amdjad 'Alī Shāh, all the old abuses returned, and the government of the country became utterly paralyzed.

Wājīd 'Alī Shāh (1847—1856) was the last king of Oudh. He built the Kāsar Bāgh palace, a florid structure of stuccoed and gilt brick.

Mal-administration by one of the most extravagant courts known to history led to the annexation of Oudh in 1856 during the viceroyalty of Lord Dalhousie. Some of the fiercest fighting in the Mutiny took place at Lakhnau, the name of which will be ever remembered in connection with the gallant defence of the Residency.

Modern developments have been stimulated and controlled by the wise generosity of the Local Government, and Lakhnau with its suburbs is regarded by many as the finest city in Northern India. As a centre of Urdū culture, it is the rival of Dihli itself and is a seat of learning with unusual facilities for female education. The Canning College (1864) in the Bāishāh Bāgh, King George's Medical College (1910), and the Isabella Thorburn College for women, are now included in the University. Secondary establishments include the Colvin School, and the Reid Christian College. The Provincial Museum is also in Lakhnau. The Cantonment is the largest military station in the United Provinces. The city is a great railway centre, and the head-quarters of the Oudh and Robilkhanda Railway are here. There used to be an extensive native manufacture of gold and silver brocade, muslins, embroidery, brass and copper ware, but here as elsewhere indigenous arts have fallen on evil days.

Bibliography: Lucknow District Gazetteer, 1904; E. H. Hilton, *Guide to Lucknow*, Lucknow 1902; S. C. Hill, *The Life of Claud Martin*, Calcutta 1901; Sleeman, *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*, London 1848; J. J. McLeod Jones, *Lucknow and Oude in the Mutiny*, London 1895, 1905.

(R. B. WHITEHEAD)

LAKHNAUTI. [See GAUR.]

LAKIT. [See LUKATU.]

LĀLEZĀNI. [See MEHMET LĀLEZĀNI.]

LĀM (BANĀ LĀM), an Arab tribe leading a nomadic life on the lower course of the Tigris ('Alī Gharbī, 'Alī Sharbī, 'Amāra). According to the statistics of Khurshīd Efendi (middle of the sixth century) there were over 4,400 families of Banī Lām west of the Tigris (between 'Amāra and Shatt al-Jafrī) and 5,070 east of the Tigris, along the Persian frontier from Mandali to the region of marāḥ (ḥār) into which the Karkha disappears. 17,450 families of the Banī Lām went over to Persian territory between 1788 and 1846 (the southern parts of the Puḡḡ-i-Kūh, the domains of the wālis of Huwāza); some columns were even established east of the Karkha and at Fallāhiya. The Banī Lām claim to come originally from

the neighbourhood of Mecca (Lycama a Nijeholt, *Voyage*, iii. 225) and their eponym was their chief Faraj Lām. The Bani Lām, for the most part Shi'is, were on friendly terms with the walls of Huwaira (the Musha'sha', Arab saiyids, q.v.) who played an active part in Persian politics in the time of the Safawids. In 1678, 1715, 1742, 1748 the Bani Lām in connivance with the chief of Huwaira rebelled against the pashas of Baghdad. Less happy were the relations of the Bani Lām with the Lār walls of Pusht-i Kūh who deprived them of the villages of Bayāt, Deh-i Lurān and Bakāye, but as a rule the Bani Lām got on well with their Lār neighbours.

'Alī Ridā Pāshā (in 1836) and Nadīb Pāshā (after 1843) inflicted heavy defeats on the Bani Lām. The central Persian government also (expeditions of Mu'tamid al-Dawla in 1841) drove the Bani Lām from the left bank of the Karḡha but, protected by the mountains of Pusht-i Kūh to the north and on the east and by the *khār* to the south, the Bani Lām kept till 1914 a position of autonomy between Turkey and Persia. The presence of the Bani Lām and the Sawwād Lārs between 'Amīra, Pāy-i Pul and Dīfūl had stopped commercial traffic by this direct route.

The unity of the tribe was lost in the sixteenth century; the section on the right bank and that on the left of the Tigris had each its own shāikh. In 1821 the energetic Madhkur (Mātkūr), son of Djanīl, succeeded the deposed Shāikh 'Arār but Layard noticed that he had already little authority over his rivals. Lady Blunt speaks of Shāikh Mīhān and her son Boneye. Shāikh Ghadīn, son of Boneye, at the beginning of the war of 1914 attacked the English force at Ahwāz but was soon disposed of.

Bibliography: cf. also AL-BATTHA; Layard, *A description of the province of Khuzistan*, J. R.G.S., 1846, p. 45—48; A. v. Kremer, *Nachrichten über d. am linken Ufer d. Tigris wohnenden Araberstamm d. Bani Lam*, S.B. Ak. Wien, 1850, p. 251—254 (excellent notice and specimens of popular songs: *dhawār*, *hāba* and *tafīk*); Khurshid Efendi, *Siyāhat-nāme-i 'Ifrūd*, Russ. transl., St. Petersburg 1877, p. 76—81; Lady A. Blunt, *A Pilgrimage to Nejd*, London 1881, ii. 113—223 (Baghdād-'Alī-gharbi-Dīfūl-Shuṣhtar-Bahbahān-Dihān); Huart, *Histoire de Bagdad*, Paris 1901, p. 144; Adamow, *Irak Arabiki*, St. Petersburg 1912, index; Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925.

(V. MINORSKY)

LĀM, 23rd letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value 30. For palaeographical details see the *ART. ARABIA*, plate I.

LAMAS-SŪ (Turk. 'river of Lamas'; Ar. LĀMĪS), a river in Cilicia, coming from the Taurus, a day's journey from Tarsūs between Ayāh and Mersina; in ancient times it marked the boundary between the two Cilicias (of the mountains and the plains). On the banks of this river exchanges of prisoners with the Greeks and the payment of ransoms were several times made. The first of these took place in the reigns of Hārūn al-Rashīd and the emperor Nicephorus I in 189 (805); the second under the same caliph and emperor in 192 (808); the third in the reigns of the caliph al-Wāthik and the emperor Michael III the 'Drunkard' in Muharram 231 (Sept. 845); the fourth in 241 (856) and the fifth in 246 (860)

under the same emperor and the caliph al-Mu'tawakkil; the sixth in 283 (896) under the caliph al-Mu'tadid and the emperor Leo VI; the seventh called 'redemption from treasury' under the same emperor and the caliph al-Mu'tasif in 292 (905); the eighth three years later in 295 (907); the ninth took place in 305 (917) under the caliph al-Mu'tadid and the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitos; the tenth took place in 313 (925) under the same rulers; the eleventh in 326 (938) under the same emperor and the caliph al-Rādī; the twelfth took place in 335 (946) in the caliphate of al-Mu'izz through the intermediary of Saif al-Dawla the Ḥamdānīd, lord of Aleppo. This river had at this place either a ford or a bridge which the ransomed prisoners crossed. There was also a town of the same name (*Lāma*, *Lamus*) on this river not far from the sea.

Bibliography: Tabart, ed. de Goeje, iii. 706, 707, 1339, 1353, 1426, 1449, 2153, 2254, 2280; Makrizi, *Khatā'ir*, ii. 191 199; Balādihuri, *Futūḥ*, p. 198; Ibn Miskawayh, *Taḡārīb al-Umam*, vi., p. 486, 332 (in *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum*, ed. de Goeje, Leyden 1871); Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vii. 16; Silvestre de Sacy, *N.E.* 1810, viii., repr. in *Max'ūdī, Murūj*, ix. 356—362, 375, N^o 64—65; *Max'ūdī, Tanbīh*, p. 189—196 = transl. Carra de Vaux, *Œuvre de l'Avertissement*, p. 241, 255 199; Cl. Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, Paris 1913, ii. 118 199; Fr. Beaufort, *Karamania*, London 1817, p. 244 = French transl. by Eyriès, *Karamanie*, Paris 1820, p. 183 and 235; V. Langlois, *Voyage dans la Cilicie*, Paris 1861, p. 105 (picture of the Roman aqueduct).

(CL. HUART)

LAMGHĀNĀT, a district in eastern Afghanistan. It is often referred to by Bābār, see W. Erskine's translation of his 'Memoirs', p. 141 and P. de Courteille, i. 287. The name is fancifully connected with Lamech, the father of Noah.

(H. BEVERIDGE)

LĀMĪŦ, nom de plume (*taḥalluṣ*) of SHAIKH MAHMUD b. 'OTHMĀN b. 'ALĪ al-NAKĤĀNĪ, a celebrated Ṣūfī writer and poet of the early part of the reign of Sulaimān I, the era; not only of the greatest political development of the Turkish empire, but also that in which literature was most cultivated. He was born in Brusa, the son of the *defterdār* of Sulṭān Bāyazīd's treasury. His grandfather had been taken by Timurlenk after his invasion to Transoxania (Samarḡand) where he learned the art of *naḡḡashī* (embroidery and painting) there highly cultivated and on his return to Asia Minor introduced the first embroidered saddle. On the completion of his theological studies with Mollā Aḡhawān and Mollā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥādīdī Ḥasan-zāde, LāmīŦ, who had an inclination to Ṣūfism, became *warid* with the Nakshbandī Shāikh 'Arīf bi-llāh Saiyid Aḥmad al-Baḡḡārī. He spent his whole life in the calm retirement of a Ṣūfī, free from external cares and favoured by the patronage of Sulṭān Selīm and Sulaimān who frequently showed signs of their favour to him and his numerous family; he lived in Brusa writing industriously till his death in 938 or 940 (1532 or 1533). He was buried in the mosque built by his grandfather on the citadel in Brusa.

The versatility and quality of his literary output in prose and poetry is really astonishing. But his work was not so much original as translations and

adaptations, as was characteristic of the period which regarded slavish attachment to Persian models as the highest ideal. He usually took as his model Djami, then the most celebrated poet of Persia with whom he had a further link in their both being Naqshbandis and therefore was called Djami-Rûm. His prolificacy is greater than that of any Turkish writer. We have a cycle of nine romantic poems from his pen. His importance to Turkish literature is considerable but is greatly exaggerated by von Hammer who devotes the longest monograph in his *Gesch. d. osm. Dichtkunst* (ii. 20—195) to him. Lami's style is still comparatively lucid and simple. There is not yet any trace in him of the overwhelming turgidity of the later artificial classicism, yet it must be confessed that most that is beautiful in him is due to his Persian originals. Ziya Paşa in his *Şarh-ı Nisrî* has for this reason paid no attention to him.

The list of his works as given in the *Şaraf al-İsmâ* numbers 24 but in reality there were more. His prose writings are: the translations of Djami's Sûfi works: *Nafâhat al-Uns* (biographies of Sûfis with the sub-title *Fatûh al-Muğîbidîn li-Tarîqih Kullih al-Muğîbidîn*) and *Şawâhid al-Nubuwwa* ("The witnesses of prophecy", printed at Constantinople in 1293); the *Şaraf al-İsmâ*, "The worth of man", considered by Lami to be his masterpiece which is a Turkish version of Part 22 of the 51 Arabic tracts (*Rasâ'il*) of the *Ishmâ' al-Safâ*, the struggle between man and animal (ed. and transl. by Dieterici, Berlin 1858, Leipzig 1879 and 1881; *Thier und Mensch vor dem Könige der Genien*). His works of a religious character are *Mu'ammâ Azmâ al-kunû*, translation and commentary on the 100 verses of Mir Husain Nishabûri on the 99 names of God and *Miftâh al-Najât li-Şarh al-Şawâhid wa-A'yât*. He also wrote a collection of letters, *Munhâzât*, a commentary on the *Dihâdj-i Gülîstân* of Sa'dî, and *İbrat-nâmâ* ("Book of examples", a collection of tales and allegories, lith. Constantinople, n.d.); a *Ma'âlim al-Lafîz*, or *Lafîz-nâmâ* (a collection of often very dating anecdotes, quite in the style of Boccaccio's *Decamerone*, which received its final form from his son, 'Abd Allâh Lem', also known as a poet). Finally as a kind of transition to pure poetry he wrote two *munâzara* (disputations in the mixture of prose and verse later so popular), namely: *Munâzara-i Bekâr ü Şerîf* ("Disputation between summer and winter", Constantinople 1290, with the title *Munâzara-i Sultân Bekâr ü Şerîf ü Şerîf Şîrî*) and *Munâzara-i Nafâ ü Rûk* ("Disputation between Soul and Spirit").

His very much more important poetical works include a large *Dîvân* of about 10,000 verses which contain much that is beautiful and original; besides *şâhîdî's*, *ghazal's* etc. it also contains the *Şekr* in 1288; transl. by Pfizmaier, *Verkerrückung der Engli-i Bursa* (separately printed at Constantinople Stadt Bursa, Vienna 1839).

His great *Mahmûm* poems were of permanent influence; some deal in a popular fashion with stories from Persian legends, namely: *Salâmân ü Abdâl* (dedicated to Sultân Selim), from Djami's original; *Wîs ü Rûmân* (dedicated to Sultân Salâmân), from the original of Fakr Dîvânî (d. 440 = 1048) and a version of Nijâmî al-'Arûzi al-Samarqandî; *Wâmîş ü Adhâr* from the Persian original of 'Unsurî (d. 441 = 1050) translated at the express desire of Sultân Salâmân (transl.

by von Hammer, Vienna 1833); *Parhâd-nâmâ* (transl. by von Hammer, Stuttgart 1812); *Hefî Paiker*, "The seven beauties" (based on Hâfî's *Hefî Manqar*, which again goes back to Nijâmî's *Hefî Paiker*). Besides the two allegorical dramas *Gûl ü Çâğân* ("Ball and Bat") and *Şam ü Parvânâ*, "Candle and Butterfly", the latter probably from the Persian of Ahlî Shîrîzî, he also wrote two *Mahmûm*'s of a religious nature, the *Makâlât-i Hazrat-i Imâm Husain* recalling the Shî'î *Tâziya* (illustrated MS. in the 'Ashîr Library, No. 249) and *Manâbat* (or *Manâkib*) *Uways al-Karnî*.

Finally there are his political allegories *Hum ü Dil* from the Persian original of Fâtah Nishabûrî and the Turkish version of Ahlî (ed., transl. and annotated and compared with Lami's Turkish version by R. Dvofák, *Hum ü dil, persische Allegorie von Fâtah aus Nîlapur*); the *Khrâd-nâmâ* ("Book of the Intelligence") and the *Diyâr-nâmâ*.

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted: cf. Sehi, *Hakîkî Bîkîhî*, Constantinople 1325, p. 50; Latîf, *Tadhkara*, Constantinople 1314, p. 290—294; Tashkîrî-zâde, *Şahîdî al-Nu'mânîya*, transl. by Matjîd, Constantinople 1269, p. 431—433, 503; transl. by O. Rescher, Constantinople 1927, p. 280—281; Ismâ'il Belîgh, *Gûldâr-ı Riyâz*, Brussa 1302, p. 176—180; M. Nâjî, *Asmâ*, Constantinople 1308, p. 270; M. Thuriyâ, *Sûfîllî's 'ethmîlî*, Constantinople 1315, iv. 86; Saml, *Kâmûs al-'Alâm*, v. 3973; Brusaîl M. Tahîr, *'Othmânî Mu'ellîfîrî*, Constantinople 1333/1334, ii. 492; Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, iii.; Wickerhauser, *Chrestomathie*, Vienna 1853, p. 305—

308; Smirnow, *Obrascovyja proizvedeniya Osmanskoy literatury*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. xiv. and 238—241; Basmadjian, *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature ottomane*, Constantinople 1910, p. 45—46; the Catalogues of MSS. in Berlin, Vienna, London, Munich, Gotha, Constantinople, etc.; Hâdjî Khalîfa, *Kashf al-Zunûn*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1835—1858.

(TH. MENZEL)

LAMTA, a large Berber tribe of the Barîni family. Its exact origin does not seem to have been known to the Arab and Berber genealogists, who simply make them brethren of the Sanhâja, Haskûra and Garûla; others give them a Himyarite origin like the Hawwâra and the Lawâtta.

The Lamta were one of the nomad tribes who wore a veil (*mulathkîmîn*). One section lived on the south of the Mârb, between the Massîfa on the west and the Târga (Tuareg) on the east; they even seem to have extended as far as the Niger. In the south of Morocco, in al-Sûs, where there were Lamta who led a nomadic life, in company with the Garûla, the Lamta occupied the territory nearest to the Atlas. On the coming of the nomad Arabs of the Ma'kil family, the two sections of the Lamta were absorbed by the Dhawî Hâssân; the remaining sections then joined the Shabânî, another Ma'kil tribe, to oppose the Garûla who joined the Dhawî Hâssân.

In the territory of the Lamta of al-Sûs at the mouth of the Wâdî Nûl (now Wâd Nûn) lay the commercial town of Nûl or Nûl of the Lamta, the first inhabited place one reaches on coming from the Sahara. Several Moroccan dynasties have struck coins there.

The jurist Waggāg b. Zallū of Sidjilmāsa, a pupil of Abū 'Imrān al-Fāsī, was a member of the tribe of Lamta; one of his pupils was 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Gazālī, founder of the Almoravid empire.

The country of the Lamta was noted for the lamtiya bucklers made at Nūl with the skin of the lamt antelope.

Bibliography: al-Idrīsī, al-Bakrī, Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitaḥ al-Iḥār*, indices, s.v. Lamta and Nūl; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Schefer, III. 372, 437. (G. S. COLIN)

LAMTUNA, a large Berber tribe belonging to the ethnic group of the Ṣanhādja who lived in tents, and led a nomadic life in the desert to the south of Morocco with other tribes whose members veiled their faces with the *lithām* [q. v.] (*muṭaththimūn*).

At first idolaters, the Lamtuna embraced Islam and converted also the Negro peoples who lived around them. After having had a series of independent kings, they fell into anarchy until Yahyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Gudālī took control of them; having gone on a pilgrimage to Mecca in 440 (1048–1049) he brought back from Nāḥī the jurist 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Gazālī, who after having instructed the Lamtuna in the principles of religion and Muslim law, made himself their chief, conquered their neighbours, the Gūdāla and Massūfa, and led them to the conquest of Morocco. He was the founder of the Almoravid empire, also known as the empire of the Muṭaththimūn or Lamtuna (cf. ALMORAVIDS). At the fall of the Almoravid empire the Lamtuna disappear from the history of Morocco. Their name is still borne by some tribes of Mauritania.

Bibliography: The first paragraphs of the chapter devoted by the Arab historians to the history of the Almoravid dynasty especially: Ibn Abī Zār, *Rawḍ al-Kīfī*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitaḥ al-Iḥār*, ed. de Slane, I. 235 and 237; al-Bakrī, *Kitaḥ al-Mughārik*, ed. de Slane, 1911, p. 164–168. (G. S. COLIN)

LANKORAN (LENKORAN), the capital of the district of the same name in the province of Bākū. Lankoran is the Russian pronunciation of the name which was at one time written Langar-kunān (anchorage), or perhaps Langar-kunān (place which pulls out the anchors) which is pronounced Lankārān in Persian and Lankōn in Tāliš. The ships of the Bākū-Enzeli [q. v.] line call at Lankoran, which has an open roadstead but at 8 miles N.E. of the town is the island of Sarī, which has an excellent roadstead which shelters the ships in bad weather.

In the district of Lankoran, de Morgan found monuments of very great antiquity (dolmens, tombs, cases of exposure of bodies in the Mazdaean (?) fashion), but it is not known at what period the town of Lankoran was founded. Certain statements (cf. *Tārīkh-i 'Alam-nāma* under the year 940 [1533] in Dorn, *Ausgabe*, IV. 283; and Shāhī 'Alī Ḥazīn [about 1725 A.D.], *Tārīkh-i 'Aḥmād*, ed. Balfour, p. 157) suggest that the capital of Tāliš was originally at Astārā; towards the end of the xviiith century Lankoran became the capital of this khānate. The whole district was annexed by the Russians under Peter the Great (treaties of 1723 with Tahmāsp II and 1729 with the Afghān Ashraf) but returned to Persia by the treaty of 1732. Retaken by Count Zubov in 1796, Lankoran was retaken in 1812 by the Persians who

fortified it. On the 9th Muharram (22nd Jūrā) 1228 (Jan. 1, 1813), Lankoran was taken by storm by General Kōtliarevskī after a brave resistance of the Persians. This event hastened the conclusion of the treaty of Gulistān (1813) by which Persia ceded to Russia part of Tāliš to the north of the river Astārā. From 1846 Lankoran was the capital of the district. The fortress was dismantled in 1865. Since 1921 Lankoran has formed part of the republic of Ādharbāijān, a member of the Soviet Union.

The population of the town, which was 3,970 in 1867, had reached 11,100 in 1897. The district of Lankoran has an area of 5,000 sq. miles and in 1840 had 30,200 inhabitants and in 1861 99,082. Later the district was reduced to 2,000 sq. miles; in spite of this, its population in 1897 was 125,895 of whom 46.5% were Azarī Turks, Iranian Tālish 46.2%, Russians 6.9% (in the north) and Armenians (6.2%). The district is composed of 3 zones: to the north, an eastern continuation of the steppes of Mughān; to the east, a marshy littoral intersected by lagoons and covered with a rich subtropical vegetation; to the west are wooded mountains running from 5,500 to 7,500 feet above sea-level which rise from the Russian frontier forming the boundary with the Persian province of Ardabil. The district is rich in forests and has good fishing.

Bibliography: Cf. the article TĀLĪSH; Zain al-Ahīdīn Shīrwānī, *Bustān al-Siyāḥ*, Thirān 1315, s.v. Lankarān; Bérézine, *Poutchestsvo po Daghestanu*, Kazan 1849, III. 113; Semenow, *Geogr. statist. slowna Ross. imperii*, St. Petersburg 1867; *La Grande Encyclopédie*, russ. (ed. Brockhaus-Efron); G. Radde, *Reisen an d. persisch-russ. Grenze*, Leipzig 1886; Radde, *Tālish*, *Pet. Mitt.*, xxxi, 1875; de Morgan, *Mission scient. Études géogr.*, I. 231–289; *Études archéol.*, I. 13–125, with an archaeological map; N. V. Marr, *Tālish*, publ. by the Acad. des Sciences Pétersbourg 1922 (with a detailed bibliography); B. Miller, *Prodrom. et de poyezhke v Tālish*, Bākū 1926 (mainly linguistic).

(V. MINORSKY)

LĀR. 1. Capital of the district of Lāristān, to the southeast of Fārs. Very little is known of Lāristān and its early history. The country appears to correspond to the land of the dragon Hāfāt-bōkht which was killed by Ardāshīr Pāpakān. According to Persian legend, Ardāshīr's adversary lived in the village of Alār in the rastaḥ of Kōdjārān which was one of the maritime rastaḥs (*rasāḥ al-tif*) of the province Ardāshīr-Kharrā (Taharī, I. 820); Nöldeke in his translation of the *Kārnāma* (p. 30) gives the variants Gulār(?) and Kōcārān; the *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, v. 308: Kudjārān. Lastly the Armenian geography of the seventh century mentions a Khodjehrustan in Persia (Khuzihrstan) (cf. Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 44). The prefixing of an a to the name Lār is also found in the name of the island of Lār (cf. below). Marquart identifies Kōcārān with the castle of Dēgdūn near Strāf; on the other hand the *Fārs-nāma-yi-Nāḥīst* mentions a village of Kudjār-Kūhār in the canton of Galla-dār (the ancient Fāl/Pāl/Bāl of Ibn Baṭṭūta: Khundjābal = Khundj + Bāl) immediately adjoining Lāristān. According to a verse attributed to Firdawsi (cf. Vullers, *Lexicon*, s.v. Lād) but not found in the known editions of the *Shāh-nāma*, the town was

originally called Lārd (and fell to Gurgin Milād, one of the heroes of the cycle of the Kayānid Kai Khuraw). This would be a very curious case of the changing of *d* to *r* found especially in Armenian and in the Caspian Tātī dialect (Darmstadter, *Et.-Iranismus*, I, 73). The *Fārs-nāma-yi-Nāṣiri* mentions another legend according to which the people of Lār in Fārs had come from Lār in Dāmāwand (cf. below) the cold of which they could not endure.

The Arab geographers do not mention Lār, for apparently the old routes linking up the chief towns of Fārs, with Sirāf and Kāis, or Hurmūz (by Fāsā and Forḡ) avoided the town of Lār (cf. *Nuḥat al-Kūfūh*, p. 185; 187). According to Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī, Lār is a wīlayet near the sea and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa alone talks of Lār as "a large town, with springs, considerable rivers and gardens".

Lār had a local dynasty. Its princes, relying on the verse already mentioned regarding the presentation by Kai Khuraw of the town of Lārd to Gurgin, son of Milād, traced their descent from this hero. They were even crowned with the crown of their ancestor and this treasure was among the booty taken by the Ṣafawids in 1010.

The first prince of Lār to be converted to Islām (about 100) was Djalāl al-Dīn Irādī. The dates become more reliable from the time of the Amīr Kūth al-Dīn Muṣayyid Pākūy (?) (594-648). Fourteen of his successors are known but their order is not so certain; when in 748 (1347), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa passed through Lār, the Sultan of Lār, of Turkoman origin, was called Djalāl al-Dīn, while according to the genealogy of the Milādians, Bakalindjār II was ruling there between 731 and 753. The dependence of Lār on the Muzaffarids is shown by a gold coin of Shāh-Shudjā (760-786) struck in Lār (S. Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Mongols in the British Museum*, 1881, p. 240). In 799 the troops of Muḥammad Sulṭān, grandson of Timūr, ravaged the eastern part of Fārs on the lines Kāris-Fāz, Djahrom-Lār, etc. (*Zafar-nāma*, I, 809). There are Timurid and Čaghatay coins struck at Lār (O. Codrington, *A Manual of Musulman Numismatics*, London 1904, p. 183). In the reign of the Milādian Dīhānshāh (859-883), the Russian merchant Almasī Nikitin, passed through Lār in 1469 on his way to Hurmūz and India and in 1472 on his way from Hurmūz to Shirāz. The Milādian Nūshtrwān "the just" (930-948) was a poet, musician and author; he died by the hand of a fulā. His successor Ibrāhīm Khān submitted to the Ṣafawids and received the title of *Amīr Dīwān*. His son Nūr [Nawrī] al-Dahr lived in the time of Sulṭān Muḥammad Ṣafawī. Under 'Abbās I Mirā 'Alī' al-Mulk, son of Nūr al-Dahr, was authorized to take the name of Ibrāhīm Khān II. The young Khān showed signs of independence and oppressed merchants and travellers. This could not be tolerated at a time when Lār lay on the great road between the capital and the sea. As a preparation for the occupation of Gombrūn (= Bandar-i 'Abbās) in 1614 (?) and of the island of Hurmūz in 1622, the Beglerbegi of Fārs, Allāhwardī Khān, in 1609 and 1610 (1601) marched against Ibrāhīm Khān and seized his possessions. Ibrāhīm II had to surrender to the mercy of Allāhwardī who treated him honourably and took him to Shāh 'Abbās at Balḥ, where he died during an epidemic. The government of Fārs was then entrusted to Kāṣī T-Kāim of Lār, a sincere Shī'

(*farḡ-i 'Abbāsī sawānī* [q. v.] *faimūda*); *Tārīkh-i Alam-ārā*, Tīhrān 1314, p. 423-426. Buildings of the Milādians are still to be seen at Lār — a mosque and a bazaar of hewn stone covered with stucco. The bazaar was restored in 1015, by Kanbar 'Alī Beg Dīh-i-omī, wazir of Lār.

The memoirs of Shāhkh 'Alī Ḥasīn contain interesting notes on the domestic life of Lār at the beginning of the 18th (xviii) century (rule of the Afghān Khudādād-Khān, passage through Lār of the routed army of Shāh Ashraf, etc.) According to 'Alī Ḥasīn (p. 210) the people of a part of the Lār lands (*garmūr*) of Lāristān were Shāfī'is. They had prospered under the Afghāns but Nādir, wishing to reduce them, sent against them the *sardār* of Fārs, Muḥammad Khān Balōč. The latter met with difficulties at Lār and having come to terms with its inhabitants returned to Fārs. In 1146, Muḥammad Khān rebelled against Nādir and tried to raise the Shāfī'is of Lār. The latter maintained a waiting attitude but by order of Nādir they were massacred and scattered. Lār was later annexed by a certain Nāṣir Khān, formerly a brigand in the *bulūki sa'ā* (a region between Lāristān and Kirmān) who received from the Shāh the title of Khān. His family (the begler-beg) remained more or less autonomous till 1202 (1845) when the governor-general of Fārs sent troops to Lār and appointed a simple *balāntar* there (*Fārs-nāma-yi-Nāṣiri*).

At the beginning of the 19th century the Balōč Mīrāb Khān invaded Lāristān (Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan*, London 1816, p. 163). In 1256 (1840) Lār was occupied by the chief of the Ismā'īlīs, Aḡā Khān who had rebelled against the Shāh (Schindler, *The Eastern Persian Iraq*, p. 94).

The town of Lār lying 37 *farṣakhs* to the S. E. of Shirāz was very frequently visited by European travellers in the 18th century when it lay on the direct route Shirāz-Djahrom-Dīwān-Lār-Bandar-i 'Abbās: Figueroa (1617), Sir T. Herbert (1627), J. A. Mandelslo (1638), J. B. Tavernier and Thevenot (1665), Struys (1672), Chardin (1673), Dr. J. Fryer (1676), Le Brun (1703). At this time there was a factory of the Dutch East India Co. at Lār (Thevenot, *Voyage*, Amsterdam 1727, iii. 400-476). After the fall of the Ṣafawids, Bandar-i 'Abbās became the port for the province of Kirmān only, while Būshīr became the principal port of the Persian Gulf. Lār conducted a local trade with the ports of Bandar-i 'Abbās, Līnga (q. v.) and Tāhīr (the older Sirāf; q. v.); cf. especially Stiffe, *Ancient Trading Centres of the Persian Gulf*, G. F., 1895, p. 166-173. In the 19th century, Lār has been described by Dupré and Stack.

Of the 76 bulūks of Fārs, that of Lār called Lāristān is the most extensive (57 × 47 *farṣakhs*, i. e. about 45,000 square miles). It is bounded on the N. W. by Ilarān, on the S. E. the bridge of Lāstūn separates it from the nāhiya of Bandar-i 'Abbās. This latter had a separate dynasty (the Kāhātī princes of Hurmūz). To the south Lāristān is washed by the Persian Gulf (the ports of Kūng, Līnga, Muḡhū, Čarak, Nakhīlā). In 1917 A. T. Wilson found Lār quite prosperous (*Notes on a Journey from Bandar-Abbās to Shirāz*, *Geogr. Journ.*, Series 1908, p. 152-170). On the west it is bordered by the cantons of Mālikī, 'Alā-marw-dāshī, and Khandj; on the north-west by the buluk of Dīwān; on the north by the buluk of Dārīb; on the northeast by the *Bulūki Sa'ā*.

The country is full of mountain ranges running parallel to the shore of the Persian Gulf and has a torrid climate. Water is scarce and brackish. The river of Lāristān, variously known as Rūdkhāna-yi Shūr-i Galladār, Shūr-i Hing, Rūdkhāna-yi Lamzān etc., runs from west to east and flows into the sea a farsakh east of Kung.

The subdivisions (*nāhiya*) of the *butūh* of Lāristān are as follows (their orientation from Lār is given and the distance from it is in farsakhs):

Nāhiya	Capital	Number of villages
1. Central	Lār	34
2. Shūr-i Kūb-i Lāristān	Bandar-i Ārak	29
3. Līngā	Līngā	10
4. Djuhāngtrīya	Bastak	7
5. Kawrastān	Kashūhī	4
6. Marā'īdīn	Isād-Khāst	6
7. Bikhā-yi Ahshām	Bairam	10
8. Bikhā-yi Fāl	Ashkanān	10
9. Fūmīstān	Gawbandī	16

Number	Orientation	Distance
2	south	25
3	south-east	45
4	south-east	7-21
5	east	30
6	north	15
7	west	20
8	south-west	22
9	south-west	35

The term *khāna* in the local dialect means a valley shut in by two ranges of mountains. Fūmīstān is derived from the word *fām*, corn.

The population of Lāristān is thinly scattered. The most important towns are Lār (Dupré: 15,000 inhabitants; Stack: 1,200 houses, 6,000 inhabitants) and Līngā (q. v.). The majority of the population is Persian. In canton No. 6 there are some Bahārī Turks and Nos. 2 and 3 are inhabited by Arabs.

Lāristān has Persian dialects of its own (O. Mann, *Die Tajik-Mundarten der Provinz Fars*, Berlin 1909, p. xxxiv. 126-131) and there is even a local literature in them. The *Fārs-nāma* mentions Akhund Mullā Muhammad Bakīr (*Nahbat*) who was well acquainted with Arabic, Persian and "Dari". Romaskevič has collected some of the poems in the local dialect of the poet Mahdīr as well as Persian quatrains by several popular poets, natives of Lāristān (Romaskevič, *Pers. narod. tvorčestvo*, in *Zapiski*, 1916, xlii. 313, 340).

Bibliography: Deffremery, *Voyage d'un Balaoutah dans la Perse*, Paris 1848, p. 37, 81; Kaḍī Ahmad Ghaffārī, *Zayihmūrā*, British Mus. Orient. 141, fol. 150 a-b (I am indebted for a copy of the text to the kindness of Muhammad Khān Kazwīnī); Iskandar-Munshi, *Alam-ārā*, Tihān 1314, p. 423-426; Mīnādījīm-baḥfī, *Ṣafā'ī*, ii. 666 (following Fajl-i Nishābūrī [?] and Ghaffārī); Hādījī Khālīfā, *Zayihmūrā*, p. 261; Shaikh 'Alī Hazīn, *Taḡhībīr*, ed. Belfour, London 1831, p. 89, 179-217, 246; Hasan Faṣṭ'ī, *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāḡīrī*, Tihān 1314, ii. 181-291 (excellent book full of valuable data). For references to travellers of the Ṣafawīd period,

cf. Ritter, *Erskunde*, viii. 736, 749-757 and Curtiss, *Persia*, ii. 114; A. Dupré, *Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1819, i. 423; Stack, *Six months in Persia*, London 1882, i. 133-145. The map of Southern Persia 1:2,000,000 (International Series), publ. in 1912 by the Survey of India.

2. An island in the Persian Gulf now called Abū Shū'āib. Nearchus had touched at it on his periplus but does not give the name, which according to Ptolemy was Σαῖδα (in Semitic = isle of seaweed). The Greeks praised the pearl fisheries of Lār. Ibn Khurdādhbih calls the island Alār. Other variants in the Arab geographers according to Le Strange are Allān and Lān. The *Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange, p. 241 makes it a dependency of the island of Ardāshīr-Khūrā. Yāqūt (iv. 341) places it between the island of Kāis and the port of Strāf. The Portuguese called it Ilha de Lāzio from the village of Lār (should this be Lādh? — at the east end of it). It is 13 × 24 miles in area. To the east of it lies the little isle of Shīrwār (Ālīwār). Some ten miles north of Lār on the coast of Fārs lies the little harbour of Nakhīll. We do not know if there is any connection between the names of the town and of the island Lār. An island "Lārak" ("little Lār") lies south of the island of Hurmūz.

Bibliography: Tomaschek, *Die Küstenfahrt Nearchs*, in *Sitzber. Wiener Akad.*, cxi., 1890, p. 55.

3. A high valley lying in Māzandarān, on the sources of the Harz-peī. The altitude of Lār is from 8,500 to 6,500 feet. It lies west of Damāwand. The valley is deserted in winter. In summer the nomads pitch their tents there. The people of Tihān also go there for summer quarters. Stahl however (*Peterm. Mitteil.*, Ergänzungsheft No. 118, 1869, p. 619) found traces of ancient dwellings on the right bank of the river Lār. The locality is sometimes called Lāridjān, which must be a plural of Lār-E, "inhabitant of Lār" (on the suffix -E, cf. Marquart, *Beiträge*, Z.D.M.G., 1895, p. 666). The same derivation explains the Arabic transcription al-Lāris (Balādhuri, p. 8), one of the cantons of Tabaristān (not however found in the list in *Ilm Rusia*, p. 146). Al-Lāris formed part of the possessions of al-Maḡmughān taken in 131 (748) by Abū Muslim (Marquart, *Erānistān*, p. 127, 137). The term Lāridjān seems to have been applied especially to the place below the high valley of Lār near the modern bridge of Palūr; cf. Dih-Falūl in Ibn Isfandiyyār, transl. Browne, *G.M.S.*, p. 67. Lāridjān is said to have been the longest inhabited part of Tabaristān. Its village Waraka was said to have been the birthplace of Farīdūn. In the villages lying on the slopes of Damāwand, Stahl saw a festival celebrated in memory of the death of Zohāk (Aug. 11; cf. Morier, *Second Journey*, p. 357). At Lāridjān there was a special *marzban* under the Isphabāhs of Talaristān (Ibn Isfandiyyār, *ibid.*, p. 15, 183, 280). On the district of Lāridjān (Lāridjān) cf. LĀRIDJĀN. — Spiegel (*Varena*, Z.D.M.G., 1876, xxii., p. 716-726) was inclined to suppose a connection between Warak (Ibn Isfandiyyār, p. 15; Waraka, native place of Farīdūn = Thrāsiaona) and the Avestic country. Varena. The site of Waraka is unknown but in Lāridjān there exists a village Wānā; on the disappearance of *r* in Persian dialects, cf. *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, lii. p. 559, 351.

(V. MINORSKY)

LĀRANDA (also called *Ḳaramān* from the name of the dynasty which reigned there in the xivth century), a town in Asia Minor, capital of the *ḳazā* of the same name and of the *sandjak* of Konia, to the S.E. and 35 miles from this town. It is 4,000 feet above sea-level, has 2,000 houses, 7,500 inhabitants, 105 mosques, 21 Friday mosques, 4 dervish monasteries, 515 shops, 30 warehouses, 9 cafes, 4 caravanserais, 14 baking ovens, 7 baths, 5 mills, 1 military depot, 110 fountains, 1 barracks, 1 Greek school, 10 Muslim schools, 21 madrasas. There are a ruined fortress, mosques and other monuments in ruins from the time of the *Ḳaramān-oghlu* (mosque of Amir Müslül with pillars from ancient buildings). The town was annexed to the Ottoman empire in 1464. To the north is the *Ḳara-Dagh* covered with mediaeval monasteries now in ruins (*biñ bir kilise* = 1001 churches).

Bibliography: 'Alī Dīwān, *Djogārfiya Luḡātī*, p. 606; Hādījī Khālīf, *Dīkān-numā*, p. 616; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Paris, ii. 284; Sāmī Bey, *Kāmūr al-A'lām*, v. 3644, s.v. *Ḳaramān*; Texier, *Asie Mineure*, p. 658. (CL. HUART)

LARI MEHMED. [See MEHMET LARI.]

LARIN (F. *laet*), a silver coin current in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean in the xvth and xviiith centuries. It takes its name from Lār [q.v.], the capital of Lāristān [q.v.], at which it was first struck; cf. Pedro Teixeira (*Travels*, Hakl. Soc., 1902, p. 341): "There is also the city of Lār . . . whence are called laris, a money of the finest silver, very well drawn and current throughout the East" and Sir Thomas Herbert speaking of Lār in 1627 (*Some Years' Travels*, London 1665, p. 130): "near this byear the laries are coyned, a famous sort of money". The larin weighed about 74 grains (4.9 grammes) and had a high reputation for the purity of its silver. It was worth ten pence in English money (Herbert) or one-fifth of a French crown (Tavernier) or 60 Portuguese reis.

The larin is in shape quite unlike any other coin. It is a thin silver rod about 4 inches long, doubled back and then stamped on either side with inscriptions from dies like any other coin. It is admirably described by William Barret in his account of the moneys of al-Basra in 1594 (Hakluyt, *Principal Voyages*, Glasgow 1904, vi. 12): "The sayd larin is a strange piece of money, not being round like all other current money of Christianitie, but is a small rod of silver of the graine of the pen of a goose feather where with we use to write and in length about one eighth part thereof, which is so wrested that the two ends meet at the juve halfe part and in the head thereof there is a stamp Turkesco and these be the best current money in all the Indies and six of the laries make a ducat".

The kingdom of Lār ceased to issue these coins after its conquest by Shāh 'Abbās the Great of Persia (Chardin, *Voyager*, Amsterdam 1735, iii. 125), but its popularity led to this type of coin being adopted by other states of the Indian Ocean. The kings of Hormuz of the latter half of the xvth century issued larins as did the Shāhs of Persia at Shirāz and the Ottoman Sultāns at Basra. In India they were struck in the xviiith century by the 'Adil Shāhī dynasty of Bidjāpūr and other rulers and the frequent finds of larins in Western India show how extensive was their circulation there. In the Maldivé Islands in the early xviiith century the king struck his own larins as we know from

the *Voyage* of F. Pyrard de Laval (Hakl. Soc., 1887, vol. I, p. 232 sq.). In Ceylon they were also struck, not only by the natives but also by the Portuguese merchants at Colombo; in this island they were twisted roughly into the shape of a fish-hook, whence the term "fish-hook" money. These pieces are either uninscribed or bear rude imitations of the Arabic script. In Ceylon the "fish-hook" money survived into the xviiith century. A degenerate descendant of the larin still exists (Philby, *Heart of Arabia*, ii. 319) on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, in Hassa where it is known as a *ḡawila*, i.e. the "long" (coin). It is only an inch long and of very base silver, if not copper, without any trace of inscription. It is described by Pulgrave (*Journey*, etc., London 1865, ii. 179) who adds that there is a proverb "like a Hassa *ḡawila*", applied to any one who like the local currency is of no use away from home.

Bibliography: Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v.; H. W. Codrington, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, London 1914, p. 162-164; do., *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, Colombo 1924, Index, s.v.; O. Codrington, *Journal of the Bombay Branch, R. A. S.*, xviii. 36, 37; J. Allan, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, London 1912, p. 319-324; H. H. Wilson, *ibid.*, 1852, p. 180; R. Knox, *Historical Relation of Ceylon*, Glasgow 1911, p. 156; Chardin, Tavernier and other travellers.

(J. ALLAN)

AL-LĀT, an old Arabian goddess. The name (from *al-lāḥat*; cf. ALLAT) means "the goddess" but was the proper name of a definite deity, according to the Arabs themselves (e.g. Ibn Ya'ish, ed. Jahn, p. 44, 2) the sun. She is found as early as the Nabataean and Palmyran inscriptions and was later worshipped by various Beduin tribes (e.g. the Hawāzin; Ibn Hishām, p. 849, 13). An oath by al-Lāt is frequently found in the poets, e.g. Abū Sa'd in Ibn Hishām, p. 567, 7. Mutalammis, ed. Vollers, p. 2, 1. 'Aws b. Ḥajjar, ed. Geyer, p. 11, 2, and even in al-Akhtal, *Kitaḥ al-Aḡḡānī*, vii. 173. She had her principal sanctuary in the valley of Wādīdj near Ṭā'if, where the Mu'attib ('Attāb) b. Mālik b. Ka'b were her priests and a white stone hung with all kinds of decorations was her symbol. She is frequently mentioned along with al-'Uzzā (Ibn Hishām, p. 145, 7. 206, 8. 871, 6, where Wudd also is mentioned; 'Aws b. Ḥajjar, p. 11, 2) and among the *Ḳuraish*, she, along with this goddess and Manāt, was held in such high esteem, that Muḥammad once went so far as to recognise these three goddesses as intercessors with Allāh but soon afterwards withdrew this (Sūra, liii. 15 sq.). According to Tabari, i. 1395, 2 Abū Sa'fyan carried al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā with him into the battle of Uhud. After the capture of Mecca, al-Lāt was destroyed with her sanctuary in Ṭā'if by al-Mughāira, who were related to her priests. But she was not forgotten, for, according to Doughty, there are still in Ṭā'if blocks of stone which the people call al-'Uzzā, Ḥubal and al-Lāt, at which they secretly seek help in cases of illness.

Bibliography: Vākūf, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 665 sq.; iv. 336 sq.; Arrakt, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 79; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 55, 914 sq.; Tabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 1192 sq.; Wākūf, transl. by Wellhausen, p. 384 sq.; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, i/l. 137 sq.; Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordemittischen Epigraphik*, p. 219;

Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, p. 97 sq., 128; Lagrange, *Études sur les Religions sémitiques*, p. 76, 135; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 29—34, 61; Lammens, *Mé. de l'univ. Beyrouth*, viii, 202 sq.; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia*, ii, 511, 515 sq. (Fr. BOHL).

AL-LATĪF (A.), "the Kind", one of the names of Allāh [q. v.].

LATĪFĪ, properly 'ABD AL-LATĪF ÇELEBÎ of Kaşani, secretary to the office for administering pious foundations (*imāret biżāfi*). He was secretary in Belgrade, came in 950 (1543) to Constantinople to the *makf* office of Eyub, then went to Rhodes and Egypt. He died in 990 (1582) on the voyage from Egypt to Yanbu' on the Red Sea.

Latīfī was a good poet and an even better stylist. He is famous for his collection of biographies of poets, *Tadhkirat-i Şu'arā*, which he finished in 953 (1546) and like Sehi, whose example he was the first to follow, dedicated it to Süleimān the Great. His love for his native city tempted him to attribute to it a whole series of poets not born there so that his work was jokingly called *Kaşani-nāma*. In spite of several inaccuracies, the book, which was printed in 1314 in Constantinople, is indispensable for our knowledge of the older poets of whom he deals with 302 from the time of Murād Khān to his own day. His able critical remarks show that he had excellent insight into the nature of the poet's art, but the standard that he imposes on the poets for adoption into his work is not too strict. He never published any continuation to his work although he lived for over 40 years after writing it; other works of his are: a *Manūpara*, which was edited in 1287 by Tewfik Bey; a regular *Divān*; a collection wrongly attributed to Kemāl Paşa-zāde of 100 *hadith*'s with paraphrases in Turkish verse; a *Risāle-i Ewāf-i İstambul*; also: *Nāṭir al-Leālī*, *Ratī' al-Azhār*, *Ants al-Fuṣṣāḥ*, *Fuṣṣat al-arkān*. A translation of his *Tadhkirat* was made by Thomas Chabert, Zürich 1800: *Latīf oder Biographische Nachrichten von vorzüglichen türkischen Dichtern nebst einer Blumenlese aus ihren Werken*.

Bibliography: Schl., *Heft Bihāṭ*, Constantinople 1325, p. 138; Thurslyā, *Sijill-i 'Oṭmānī*; Sāml, *Kāmis al-A'ām*; Brunn M. Tāhir, *'Oṭmānī Mū'ellifi*, iii, 134—135; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iii, 286 and do., *Geschichte des osmanischen Reichs*; Smirnow, *Očer istorii tureckoj literatury*, St. Petersburg 1891 (Kor. iv.), p. 456; Basmadjian, *Essai sur l'histoire*, Constantinople 1910, p. 50; the catalogues of the various collections of manuscripts.

(TH. MENZEL)

LAWATA, a Berber ethnical group, belonging to the family of Butr, whose eponymous ancestor was Lawā the younger, son of Lawā the older, son of Zabik. Ibn Khaldūn disputes the view of certain Berber genealogists recorded by Ibn Hām who consider the Lawāta as Saddarāta and the Mazāta as of Coptic origin. Others say the Lawāta with the Hawwāra and the Lamṭa were of Himyarite origin. In any case the oldest home of the Lawāta seems most likely to have been the eastern part of North Africa. They were found in Egypt to the north between Alexandria and Cairo; to the south in the oases and in al-Ṣa'id. Some

Lawāta led a nomadic life in the region of Barka. In the Maghrib they lived in the Djabal Lawāta (south of Gabes and Sfax) and it is probably this section that is mentioned by Corippus under the name *Aguatia* = Berber: *Lawāta*; others lived in the country round Bougie and in the region south of Tāret (Tabert) where they had adopted the Ibādī heresy. In Morocco there were Lawāta in the Tādla (the Zanāra section), in the south of Fās and in the land between Tangier and Arzila.

Bibliography: al-Idrīsī and al-Bakrī, indices; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitaḥ al-'Ibar*, ed. de Slane, i, 147—150; transl., i, 171, 231—236.

(G. S. COLIN)

LAWḤ (A.), board, tablet; the first meaning is found in the Qur'an, Sūra, liv, 13, where Noah's ark is called *ṭāb al-lawḥ*. The second meaning is that of lawḥ as writing material, e.g. the tablets of the lawḥ (Sūra, vii, 142, 149, 153, where the plural *lawāḥ* is used; see *Litān*, iii, 421). *Al-lawḥ wa 'l-lawḥ* (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr al-Kur'an*, Sūra, iv, bāb 18) corresponds to our "paper and ink". The expression *mā байна 'l-lawḥain* "what lies between the two boards" is found in Hadīth, to describe the whole Qur'an (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra lix, bāb 4; *Litān*, bāb 84); cf. *mā байна 'l-daffatāin* (Bukhārī, *Faṣṣal al-Kur'an*, bāb 16). — In modern linguistic usage *al-lawḥ* also means a school-child's slate.

Al-lawḥ thus means the tablet kept in heaven which in Sūra, lxxxv, 22 is called *lawḥ mahfūz* (cf. ii, 1066, 1076). According to this passage, it is usually described as the "safely preserved" tablet. But it is not certain whether the words in this passage are really syntactically connected. If we read *mahfūz*, the word does not go with *lawḥ* but with the preceding *Qur'an* and the translation is: "Verily it is a Qur'an, famous, preserved on a tablet" (see the commentaries); "preserved" i.e. against alteration.

In the commentaries on Sūra, xcvi, 1, the tablet is again mentioned: "We sent it down (the Qur'an) in the night of the decree"; this refers either to the first revelation made to Muḥammad or to the descent of the Qur'an from that tablet which is above the seventh heaven, to the lowest.

The tablet as the original copy of the Qur'an is thus identical with *um al-kitāb*.

The decisions of the divine will are also written on the lawḥ with the pen *qalam* [q. v.]. We have therefore to distinguish two quite different conceptions:

a. The tablet as the original copy of the Qur'an. This idea is found in the pseudo-epigraphical literature. In the *Book of Jubilees*, iii, 10, it is said that the laws relating to the purification of women after childbirth (Leviticus xii.) are written on tablets in heaven. Jub., xii, 28 sq., says the same of the law regarding the "feast of booths" (Lev., xxiii, 40—43) and Jub., xxiii, 15 of the law of tithes (Lev. xxvii.).

β. The tablet as the record of the decisions of the divine will is also found in the *Book of Jubilees*. In Jub., v, 13 it is said that the divine judgement on all that exists on earth is written on the tablets in heaven. Enoch prophesies the future from the contents of these tablets (Book of Enoch, xciii, 2; cf. lxxxi, ciii, 2; cvi, 19). The "scripture of truth" is mentioned as early as Daniel, x, 21, the contents of which

Daniel announces in prophetic form. These ideas are connected with the Babylonian conception of "tablets of fate".

From these passages it is evident that in the pseudo-epigraphic literature also the tablets in heaven are also regarded as the originals of revelation, sometimes as tablets of fate. This is sufficient to explain the double meaning of *lawh* in Muslim literature.

For other passages, cf. the Index to Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2. v. "Tablets"; it cannot always be said definitely to which of these two conceptions a statement belongs.

In mystical and philosophical literature *lawh* is given a place in the cosmic system and sometimes explained as *uḥl fa'āl* and sometimes as *nafs hulli* or *umm al-āhli*.

Bibliography: The Kur'an commentaries on the passages quoted; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1926, p. 65 ff.; *Dict. of the Technical Terms*, II, 1291—1293. (A. J. WENSINCK)

LAZ, a people of South Caucasian stock (Iberic, "Georgian") now dwelling in the southeast corner of the shores of the Black Sea.

The ancient history of the Laz is complicated by the uncertainty which reigns in the ethnical nomenclature of the Caucasus generally; the same names in the course of centuries are applied to different units (or groups). The fact that the name Phasis was applied to the Rion, to the *Corokh* (the ancient Akampsis) and even to the sources of the Araxes also creates difficulties.

The earliest Greek writers do not mention the Laz. The name *Λαζαί*, *Λαζαί* is only found after the Christian era (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, IV, 4; *Periplus*, of Arrian, XI, 2; Ptolemy, V, 9, 5). The oldest known settlement of the Lazoi is the town of Lazos or "old Lazik" which Arrian puts 680 stadia (about 80 miles) south of the Sacred Port (Noworossiisk) and 1,020 stadia (100 miles) north of Pityus, i.e. somewhere in the neighbourhood of Taapsee. Klessling sees in the Lazoi a section of the Kerketai, who in the first centuries of the Christian era had to migrate southwards under pressure from the Zygoi (i.e. the Čerkes [q. v.]) who call themselves Adighe (Adıghe); the same author regards the Kerketai as a "Georgian" tribe. The fact is that at the time of Arrian (second cent. A.C.), the Lazoi were already living to the south of Sukhum. The order of the peoples living along the coast to the east of Trebizond was as follows: Colchi (and Sanni); Machelonae; Heniochi; Zydritae; Lazoi (Λαζαί), subjects of king Malassus, who owned the suzerainty of Rome; Apollas; Abacsi (cf. *ABKHAZ*); Samigae near Sebastopolis (= Sukhum).

During the centuries following, the Laz gained so much in importance that the whole of the ancient Colchis had been renamed Lazica (Anonymous *Periplus*, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, V, 180). According to Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De Admin. Imperii*, Ch. 53, in the time of Diocletian (284—303), the king of the Bosphorus, Sauromatus, invaded the land of the Lazoi and reached Halye (N. Marr explains this last name by the Laz word meaning river). Among the peoples subject to the Laz, Procopius (*Bell. Got.*, IV, 2 and 3) mentions the Abasgi and the people of Susania and Skymnia (= Lechhum). It is pro-

bable that the name Lazica referred to the most powerful element and covered a confederation of several tribes. The Laz were converted to Christianity about the beginning of the VIth century. "In the desert of Jerusalem" Justinian (527—565) restored a Laz temple (Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, V, 9) which must have been in existence for some time before this. The Laz also sent bishops to their neighbours (Proc., *Bell. Got.*, IV, 2). In Colchis the Laz were under the suzerainty of the Roman emperors who gave investiture to their kings and the latter had to guard the western passes of the Caucasus against invasions by the nomads from the north. On the other hand the monopolistic tendencies of the commerce of Rome provoked discontent among the people of Colchis. In 458 King Gubares sought the help of the Sasanid Yazdegerd II against the Romans. Between 539 and 562 Lazica was the scene of the celebrated struggle between Byzantium (Justinian) and Persia (Khusraw II).

According to Procopius, who accompanied Belisarius on his expeditions, the Laz occupied both banks of the Phasis but their towns (Archaeopolis, Sebastopolis, Pitina, Skanda, Sarapanis, Rhodopolis, Mochoresis) all lay to the north of the river while on the left bank which was desert land the lands of the Laz only stretched for a day's march to the south. Nearer to Trebizond were the "Roman Pontica" which only means that the inhabitants were direct subjects of the Roman emperor and not of the Laz kings; from the ethnical point of view the "Roman Pontica" could not have been different from the Laz. This strip of shore continued longest to shelter the remnants of the Laz.

In 1204 with the aid of troops lent by queen Thamar of Georgia, Alexis Comnenus founded the empire of Trebizond, the history of which is very closely connected with that of the southern Caucasus. Nicephorus Gregora (V, 7) says that the founder of the dynasty had seized "the lands of Colchis and of the Lazae". In 1282 John Comnenus received the title of "Emperor of the East, of Iveria and of the lands beyond the sea". In 1341 the princess Anna Anakhutia ascended the throne with the help of the Laz. The lands directly under the authority of the emperors of Trebizond seem to have extended as far as Makriali while Gonia was under a local dynasty (cf. the *Chronicle of Panaretis*, under the year 1376).

In 865 (1461) Sultan Muhammad II conquered Trebizond and as a result the Laz came into contact with Islam, which became their religion (*Şāhāt*). The stages of their conversion are still unknown. The fact is that even in the central regions of Georgia (*Akhaltzikhe*) Islam seems to have gained ground gradually from the XIIIth century (N. Marr in the *Bull. of the Acad. of St. Petersburg*, 1917, p. 415—446, 478—506).

In 926 (1510) Trebizond with Batum was made a separate eyalet. According to Ewliya Çelebi who went through this region in 1050 (1640) the five sandjaks of the eyalet were: Djanikha (Djanik = Samsun?), Trebizond, Guniya (Gonia), Lower and Upper Batum. The modern Lazistan was governed from Gonia, for among the *kādās* of this fortress we find Atina, Samla, Witse/Bise (= Witse) and Arkhawi (Ewliya and the version of the *Djibān-nuṣṣā* in Fallmerayer, *Original-Fragmente*, *Abh. d. Bayer. Akad.*, 1846). Hādīdī Khallāf and Ewliya Çelebi deceived by the similarity in sound of Caucasian

names (as also was Vivien de St. Martin) proposed a theory of the identity of the name Lazgi and Laz. Ewliya calls Trebizond "former Lazgi wilayet". Hâdjîdî Khalîfa after enumerating the peoples of the district (Lazgi): Mingrelians (Megril), Georgians, Abkhaz (Abaza), Çerkes and Laz, adds that the latter are those who live nearest to Trebizond. To the S. E. of Trebizond in the Çepni mountains he mentions the Turks who "worship as their God (*ma'bud*) the Shah of Persia (i.e. are extreme Shi'is) and are associated (*mushtarik*) with the Laz". Hâdjîdî Khalîfa and Ewliya do not agree on the number of the fiefs of Trebizond; Ewliya only says that the value of the eyâlet has depreciated through the unruliness of many of its 41 *nâhiye* (*Livân-nümâ*, p. 429; Ewliya, II, 81, 83-85).

The first serious blow to the feudal independence of the *dere-bey* of Lazistan was only struck at the beginning of the sixteenth century by the Ottoman Pasha of Trebizond, but Koch who visited the country after his expedition still found most of the hereditary *dere-bey*s in power, although shorn of some of their liberties. He counted fifteen of them: Atina (two), Balep, Artashin, Witse, Kapiste, Arkhawe, Kisse, Khopa, Makria (Makriali), Gonis, Batum, Maradit (Maradidi?), Perlewan and Cat. The lands of the three latter lay however on the Çorokh behind the mountains separating this valley from the river of Lazistan in the strict sense. On the other hand among the *dere-bey*s of Lazistan was the lord of Hamshin, i.e. of the upper valleys of Kalopotamos and of Furtuna inhabited by Muslim Armenians. According to the Armenian historian Lewond, transl. Chahnazarian, Paris 1826, p. 162, the latter with their chief Hamam of the Amatani family had settled in the district in the time of Constantine VI (780-797) (the old Tambur was given the name Hamshin < Hamamshem, "built by H."). It is evidently this region that Clavijo (1403-1406), ed. Srezniewski, St. Petersburg 1881, p. 383, calls "tierra de Arraqueil". He adds that the people, dissatisfied with their king Arraqueil (Arakel?), submitted to the Muslim ruler of Isfir. The Hamshin are now Muslims and only those of Khopa have not forgotten Armenian. A Hamshin lexicon was published by Kipshidze.

With the institution of the wilayets the sandjak Lazistan became part of the wilayet of Trebizond. Its capital was at first Batum but, after the Russian occupation of Batum in 1878, the administration of the sandjak was transferred to Rize (Rizalon), detached for this purpose from the old central sandjak of Trebizond. Lazistan lying to the west of the Ottoman-Russian frontier occupied a strip of coast 100 miles long and 15 to 20 miles broad. The kâdîs of the sandjak were: Khopa, Atina and Rize, subdivided again into 6 *nâhiye* (Samy-Bey, *Kamûs al-A'âm*, v. 3966). Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, I, 118-121, mentions Of as a fourth kâdî and gives 8 (7) *nâhiyas* (Hamshin, Karadere, Mapawri, Wakf, Kur'a-yi-sah, Witse, Arkhawi). In 1880 there were in the sandjak 364 inhabited places with 138,467 inhabitants, of above 689 were orthodox Greeks and the rest Muslims (Laz, Turkified Laz, Turks and "Hamshin"). The number of true Laz cannot be more than half the total population.

The term Laz is used in the west of Turkey to designate generally the people of the south-east country round the south-east of the Black Sea, but in reality the people calling themselves by

this name and speaking the Laz language now live in the two kâdîs of Khopa (between Kopmugh and Gurup) and Atina (between Gurup and Kemer). Laz is spoken in 64 of the 69 villages of the kâdî of Atina. To these should be added the very few Laz who used to live in Russian territory to the south of Batum. These Laz were incorporated in Turkey by virtue of the Turco-Soviet treaty of March 16, 1921, which moved the Turkish frontier to Sarp (to the south of the mouth of the Çorokh). Rize and Batum are now outside the Laz country proper.

The Laz are good sailors and also practise agriculture (rice, maize, tobacco and fruit-trees). Before 1914 many of them earned a living in Russia as bakers and often came home with Russian wives, who became converts to Islam. The Laz are known for their conservatism in religious matters. Turkish proverbs and the marionette theatre (*karagöz*) are often very scathing about the Laz (*Lazlarin termeni musulman yemesi emi*, "the Muslim does not eat Laz jelly"; *termeni* from the Greek *typhos*).

The Laz language is closely connected with Mingrelian (which is a sister language of Georgian) but N. Y. Marr finds in it sufficient peculiarities to consider it a Mingrelian language rather than a dialect. In the Lazo-Mingrelian group he believes he can find resemblances to the more Indo-European elements in old Armenian (Grabar). There are two Laz languages, eastern and western with smaller subdivisions (the language of the Çkhala). Laz is very full of Turkish words. It has no written literature but there are local poets (Kashid Hilmi, Pehlivan-oghlu, etc.). The Laz are forgetting their own language, which is being replaced by the Turkish patois of Trebizond (cf. Pisarew in *Zap.*, 1901, xlii., p. 173-201) in which the harmony of the vowels is much neglected (cf. a specimen in N. Marr, *Tekmil i revlianiya*, St. Petersburg, vii., p. 55).

The Georgians call the Laz Çan but the Laz do not know this name. "Çan" is evidently the original of the Greek name Sannoi/Tzannoi and it survives in the official name of the sandjak of Samsun (Djank). From the historical point of view the separation of the Laz and Çan seems to have taken place in spite of the close relationship between the two of them. In the time of Arrian, the Sannoi were the immediate neighbours of Trebizond. In an obscure passage in this author (cf. the perplexed commentary of C. Müller in *Geogr. Graeci Minori*, ad *Arriani Peripl.*, 8) he places on the river Of the frontier between the Colchis (Laz?) and the *Θαυμας* (?). Koch mentions the interesting fact that the people of Of speak a "language of their own" and according to Marr, the people of Khoshnizhin (near Atina) speak an incomprehensible language. Procopius places the "Sannoi who are now called the Tzannoi" on the area adjoining the mountains separating Çorokh from the sea (the Parayadres range, the name of which survives in the modern Parkhar/Balkhar). The researches of N. Y. Marr have shown that the Çan (Tzannoi) had at first occupied a larger area including the basin of the Çorokh and its tributaries on the right bank from which they were temporarily displaced by the Armenians and finally by the Georgians (Kharthli). The chronicles of Trebizond continue to distinguish the Laz from the Trianids (Tçavides). The latter in alliance with

the Muslims attacked the possessions of Trebizond in 1348 and in 1377 were punished by the Emperor. At this period the Trianids must have been in the southwest of Trebizond (besides, the sandjak of Djanik is to the west of this port). Thus the Georgian application of the name Çan to the Laz may be explained by the confusion of the two tribes, one of whom (the true Çan living to the south and west of the Laz) was ultimately thrust to the west of Trebizond.

Bibliography: The principal Byzantine sources are found in: Dietrich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder- und Völkerkunde*, Leipzig 1912, I. 52—58; Dutoit de Montpéroux, *Voyage autour du Caucase*, Paris 1839, II. 73 and the Atlas, series I, pl. xiv: map of the theatre of wars of Lazikia; Vivien de St. Martin, *Études de géographie ancienne*, Paris 1852, II., p. 196—218; *Étude sur la Lazique de Procope*; Hermann, *Lazzi und Klessing, Hemiochi in Real-Encyclopädie* of Pauly-Wissowa², XLIII., p. 1042 and VIII. 258—280; Koch, *Wanderungen im Oriente*, Weimar 1846/1847, II.: *Reisen im pontischen Gebirge*; Bianchi, *Viaggi in Armenia, Kurdistan e Lazistan*, Milan 1863 (the author did not visit Lazistan proper); Kasbek, *Tri mesiatsa v turetskoi Gruzii*, Zap. Kavk. Old. Geogr. Obšč., Tiflis 1875, X/1, p. 1—140; Deyrolle, *Lazistan et Arménie, Tour du Monde*, 1875/1876; Vivien de St. Martin, *Lazistan in Neu. Dict. Géogr. Universelle*, Paris 1887; Proskuriakow, *Zametchi o Turcii*, Zap. Kavk. Old. Geogr. Obšč., Tiflis 1905, XXV.; N. Y. Marr, *Is poedaki v turetskii Lazistan*, Bull. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg, 1910, p. 547—570, 607—632; N. Y. Marr, *Gruzini, gruzinski gr. Evangelia iz Korvili*, ibid., 1911, p. 217; N. Y. Marr, *Kresteniye armian etc.*, Zap., 1905, XXVI., p. 165—171; G. Vechapeli, *La Géorgie Turque*, Bern 1919, p. 1—52 (Georgian nationalist point of view).

On the Laz language cf. G. Rozen, *Über die Sprache d. Lazin*, Abh. B. Ab. W., 1843, phil.-hist. class, p. 1—38; Pencock, *Original Vocabulary of 5 West-Cauc. Languages*, J. R. A. S., 1887, XIX., p. 145—156; Adjarian, *Étude sur la langue laz*, M. S. L., 1899, X., p. 145—160, 218—240, 364—401, 405—448; N. Marr, *Grammatika l'azikago (lazzago) yailba*, St. Petersburg 1910, XXVIII. 240 (Grammar, Chrestomathie, Glossary); Kipshidze, *Dzvel. svdeltaiya s l'azikam yailba*, St. Petersburg 1911.

(V. MINORSKY)

LAZARUS is the name in the Gospels of 1) the poor man who finds compensation in Abraham's bosom for the misery of this world (Luke, xvi. 19—31); 2) the dead man whom Jesus raises to life (John xi.). The Kur'an mentions neither the one nor the other, but among the miracles with which it credits Jesus is included the raising from the dead (Sura, III. 43). Muslim legend with its fondness for the miracle of resurrection is fond of telling of the dead whom Jesus revives, but rarely mentions Lazarus. Tabari (*Annals*) talks of these miracles in general. According to him, Hām b. Nūh is revived by Jesus (I. 187). Al-Kisf only mentions Sām son of Nūh of those restored to life by Jesus. Tha'labi relates, closely following St. John's Gospel: "al-'Azir died, his sister sent to inform Jesus, Jesus came 3 (in the Gospel 4) days after his death, went with his

sister to the tomb in the rock and caused al-'Azir to arise; children were born to him". In Ibn al-Athir the resurrected man is called "Azir", the *al* of El-'Azir was taken for the article, as in al-Yāsa' (Elixa) and Alexander (al-Iskandar) or in Azar in the Kur'an, whose name Fraenkel derives from Elizer. In Ibn al-Athir we find Muslim legend endeavouring to increase the miracle, Jesus raises not only 'Azir (Lazarus) but also his wife (children are born to him), and Sām (son of Nūh), the prophet 'Uzair and Yahyā b. Zakariya (John the Baptist).

Bibliography: Tabari, *Annals*, I. 187, 731, 739; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, I. 122, 123; Tha'labi, *Kisaf al-Anbiya'*, Cairo 1325, p. 307. On the name El'azar, Elizer, 'Azar, see S. Fraenkel, in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1902, lvi. 71—73; J. Horowitz, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 1925, II., p. 157, 161; do., *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 1926, p. 12, 85, 86. (BERNHARD HELLER)

LEBARAN. [See 'ID AL-FITK.]

LEO AFRICANUS. AL-HARAN R. MUHAMMAD AL-WAZZAN AL-ZAYXIRI, called Yuhannā al-Asad al-Gharnāfi, in Latin Johannes Leo Africanus, born at Granada in 901 (1465) was brought up in Fās. Entrusted with three diplomatic missions to the South of Morocco by the Banū Waggās, he went to Mecca in 921 (1516) and then to Stambul. Captured on his way home by Sicilian corsairs he was taken to Naples in 926 (1520), then to Rome where the Pope baptised him "Johannes Leo". At Rome he compiled the following works, only the first of which has come down to us in the original Arabic text: 1. *Arabic-Hebrew-Latin Vocabulary* composed in 930 (1524) for the physician Jacob ben Simon (MS. Escorial 598; cf. H. Derenbourg, *Cat. ust. arabes de l'Escorial*, Paris 1884, I. 410); 2. *Descrittione dell' Africa*, which he translated into Italian on March 10, 1526 (divulged since 1531; publ. by Ramusio, *Navigazioni, viaggi*, Venice 1550, I. 1—103); French transl. by Temporal, ed. Schaefer, 1896; Latin by Florianus; English by Pory, ed. Browne, 1896; Dutch by Leers; German by Lorbach); 3. *Libellus de viris illustribus apud Arabes*, finished in 1527, Latin transl., ed. by Hottinger, then by Fabricius. These works gave the west the earliest materials for a history of Islam; cf. in the economic and social monograph on the city of Fās, *Descriptions*, Bk. IV., Ch. 23—54, a remarkable resumé from the Maliki point of view of the historical development of theology. Before 957 (1550) Leo returned to Tunis where he died, a good Muslim.

Bibliography: Widmanstad, *Evangelia zyrina*, 1555, introduction; Casiri, *Bibliotheca arabico-hispana*, Madrid 1770, I. 172 sq.; Schaefer, *op. laud*; Goldziher, *op. Pallas Nagy Lexikona*, *Arabes imbeciles encephalidaj*, 1897, XI. 426; Massignon, *Le Maroc . . . d'après Léon l'Africain*, Algiers 1906, p. 4—11, 32—69. — According to H. de Castries (in his *Source*), Signora Angela Codazzi, of Milan, is preparing a critical work upon the Arabic materials of the "Descrittione".

(L. Massignon)

LEPANTO, is the Italian form of the name of the Greek town Naupactos which the Turks call İne Bakht. This is how the Turkish form is transcribed, e.g. by Leunclavius (*Annales Turcici*, p. 35) while von Hammer (*G. O. R.*, III. 318) transcribes it as Aina Bakht, which he translates

"Spiegelglück"; in view of the Greek form however it is very probable that the Turks originally pronounced it *Ine Bakht*. The town is situated in the ancient Locris, north of the strait which leads from the Ionian Sea towards the Gulf of Corinth, known since the middle ages as the Gulf of Lepanto.

After forming from the thirteenth century part of the despotry of Epirus, Lepanto fell into the hands of the Venetians who made it one of the strongest places in Greece. Muhammad II during his war with Venice therefore undertook an expedition to take the town by land. In 1477 Khādīm Salīmān Pasha was given the task but did not succeed (*Tawārīkh-i Āli 'Othmān*, ed. Giese, p. 115). It was Bāyazīd II who ultimately took the town in 1499 with the help of the Turkish fleet after the latter had defeated the Venetians near the island of Sapienza (Burūk Ro's Adası) in July. The town was already being besieged by Mustafa Pasha, beglerbeg of Rūm III; Bāyazīd joined the army later. The commander of the garrison had declared he would never surrender until Turkish vessels should enter the strait. This happened after the battle of Sapienza, for the Venetians made a feeble resistance. The Venetian commander capitulated on Aug. 26, 1499 (cf. *Tawārīkh-i Āli 'Othmān*, p. 127 and *Asbāk Pasha Zāde*, p. 257—258, which gives the date as 3 of Muharram 905 = Aug. 10, 1499). Immediately afterwards Bāyazīd built two forts to defend the entrance to the Gulf.

Lepanto is particularly celebrated for the famous naval battle fought on Oct. 7, 1571, between the Turkish fleet and the Christian fleet consisting of 108 Venetian galleys, 77 Spanish, 6 Maltese, 3 Savoy and 12 Papal in addition to 8 enormous Venetian galleasses (the figures given by the Turkish historians vary considerably) united under the command of Don John of Austria. This great combined expedition of the Christian fleets had been provoked by the capture of Cyprus by the Turks under Lala Mustafa Pasha in 1570 and 1571. The Turkish fleet came for the most part from Cyprus with the *serasker* Pertew Pasha and the Kapudan Pasha 'Alī and was joined by Uludj 'Alī Pasha (Ochiali) beglerbeg of Algiers with 20 ships. After raids on the coast of Crete and the Ionian Islands it had cast anchor off Lepanto; it was here the Turks learned of the approach of the Christian fleet. The Turkish fleet consisted of 300 ships (so von Hammer; Hādījī Khalifa speaks of 180); it was not at the top of its strength on account of the numerous desertions. Against the advice of Pertew Pasha and Uludj 'Alī, the Kapudan Pasha decided to leave the bay of Lepanto and to attack The Christian ships entered the Gulf on Oct. 7; the battle which followed only lasted a few hours and ended in the complete destruction of the Turkish fleet; the Kapudan Pasha perished in the battle; Pertew Pasha escaped with difficulty and Uludj 'Alī who commanded the left wing succeeded in saving 40 vessels. This, their first great defeat at sea, is called by the Turks *inğhān denanma isfiri*, the "expedition of the destroyed fleet". The immediate results of this event were not considerable, for the Allies could not take advantage of their success and the Turks very soon succeeded in making good their losses in material; Muhammad Sokollī (q.v.) was credited with saying that the empire was rich and powerful enough to make the anchors of the fleet of silver, and the

ropes of silk and the sails of atlas (Pečewi, i. 499). The moral results however were very great and justify the great importance attached in history to the battle of Lepanto.

In June 1687 the Venetian and Austrian forces seized Lepanto, but they had to surrender the town to the Turks by the treaty of Carlowitz (1699); as Venice then held the whole of the Morea, Lepanto remained the only Turkish stronghold in this region. The Turkish history of the town ended with the insurrection of the Greeks, as a result of which Naupactus was incorporated in the kingdom of Greece.

The defence of Lepanto consisted of 3 successive lines of fortifications on a cone-shaped hill; it was the residence of a *sandjak-beg* of the *şeylet* of the Kapudan Pasha (Hādījī Khalifa, *Tuhfat al-Kibar*, p. 67*). Its great strategic and maritime importance is explained by Hādījī Khalifa in *Rumīl and Bosna*, transl. by von Hammer, p. 125.

Bibliography: von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, ii. 150, 318 sq.; iii. 592 sqq. The battle of Lepanto is described by the historians of the xvth century: Pečewi, *Tārīkh*, Constantinople 1283, p. 495 sqq.; Selmīkī, *Tārīkh*, Constantinople 1281, p. 101 sqq.; Hādījī Khalifa, *Tuhfat al-Kibar*, Constantinople 1041, fol. 42 sqq. Among later descriptions: Djawdat Pasha, *Tārīkh*, i. 119, Constantinople 1302; and the publication of several documents by Safwat Bey in *T.O.E.M.*, No. 9 (Aug. 1911). A survey of the extensive European bibliography is given in *G.O.R.*, iii. 787; cf. also the article by Awram Galanti in *T.O.E.M.*, No. 78, Jan. 1924.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

LERIDA, the ancient *Ilerda*, the Arabic *Larida*, a town in northern Spain, halfway between Saragossa and Barcelona, now the capital of the province of the same name, with a population of about 29,000. It lies at a height of about 600 feet on the right bank of the Segre (the *Wādī Shīḡar* of the Arabs; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v., wrongly makes this another name of Lerida), and forms an important strategical point at the entrance to the plains of Aragon.

Lerida, which is undoubtedly of Iberian origin, was taken by Julius Caesar in 49 B.C. in the first Civil War between him and Pompey. In 546 a council met there and it was occupied by the Muslims in the first half of the eighth century. It seems to have henceforth shared the fate of Saragossa and to have been an important point for the defence of the Upper Frontera (*al-thughra al-'ālā*). It was later part of the independent kingdom of the Banū Hūd of Saragossa. At the division which took place on the death of Sulaimān b. Hūd al-Musta'in bi 'llāh (1046), it fell to his son Yūsuf but was again taken by the ruler of Saragossa Ahmad al-Muktadir.

Bibliography: al-Iḍrī, *Sifat al-Andalus*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, text, p. 190, transl., p. 231; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Taḥwīm al-Buldān*, p. 180—181; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vii., p. 313; Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghrib*, cf. Index; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-maghribī*, vol. iii., ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1927, cf. Index.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

LEWEND, the name of the members of an irregular militia, which formed part of the armed forces of the Ottoman empire during the early centuries of its existence; they were chiefly

employed as soldiers on the fleet in the period when the Turkish navy consisted mainly of the corsair vessels, which the Sultans employed for their naval expeditions. The word *lewendi* seems to have been borrowed like many other naval terms from the Italian. The Italian word would have been *levantino* (Sami, *Kāmūs-i Türkî*) or *levanti* (Djavidat Pasha) and was originally used by the Venetians for the soldiers whom they recruited from the inhabitants of their possessions in the Levant, to defend the coasts or serve on the fleet. It was the same category of men, i.e. Christian Greeks, Albanians or Dalmatians, living on the Mediterranean coasts that the Turks used at first. After a time Turkish elements from Asia Minor joined them.

The lewends were a soldiery almost without discipline whom it was impossible to make use of when the navy came to be regularly organised. Even in the time of Muhammad II the use of 'asab' had been begun for the naval service and under Bayazid II, the first regular body of marines was formed, consisting of 400 'asab'. About the same time the 'asab' were employed on the galleys as *kürchü* in place of the less loyal Christians (Hâdidi Khalfa, *Tuhfat al-Nihar*, p. 10^b). Thus the true lewends were gradually removed from the navy. We find however that the word *lewend* is still used at a later period to indicate the soldiers of the navy, especially the riflemen (*tâfenbü*, cf. Djavidat Pasha); in Constantinople there were two barracks of lewends, belonging to the organisation of the arsenal. In a figurative sense, the great naval captains of the xvth century are also called *lewend* (e.g. by Safwat Bey in his article *T.O.E.M.*, No. 24).

The lewends after having been removed from the fleet still continued to exist as marauders, especially in Asia Minor where they were a scourge to the country. The word *lewend* thus acquired the meanings of vagabond and rascal; this last meaning has even passed into Persian. On the other hand, the Pashas in the province for long continued to recruit their bodyguard among the lewends (cf. the picture of a lewend in the plate on p. 416 of the third volume of d'Osson).

From the end of the xvth century, the government found itself forced to take steps to abolish the bodies of lewends still in existence. Ordinances of 1695, 1718 and 1720 gave them permission to join the new corps of the *bell* and *gövalta* (Râshid, *Ta'rikh*, Constantinople 1282, v. 13, 123). Finally a series of military expeditions in 1737, 1747, 1752, 1759 and 1763 exterminated the last bands of this turbulent soldiery, who still existed in different parts of Asia Minor (Ist. *Ta'rikh*, p. 25, 30, 78, 269; Wajif, *Ta'rikh*, p. 117, 234).

Bibliography: Ahmad Djavidat Pasha, *Ta'rikh*, Constantinople 1302, i, p. 128; Ricaut, *Histoire de l'Etat présent de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1670, p. 379; d'Osson, *Traité Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1825, iii, p. 416, 432; von Hammer, *Der Osmanische Reiches Staatsverfassung*, Vienna 1815, ii. 234-295, 295; do., *G.O.R.*, iv. 417, 463, 509, 543; Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, iii. 307-299. (J. H. KRAMER)

L'ĀN (A.), an oath, which gives a husband the possibility of accusing his wife of adultery without legal proof without becoming liable to the punishment prescribed for this, and of denying

the paternity of a child borne by the wife. *In the language of the Shar'ia, evidence given by the husband, strengthened by oaths, by which the husband invokes the curse (*l'ān*: from this the whole process is a *qat'ori* named) and the wife the wrath of Allah upon themselves, if they should lie; it frees the husband from *ḥadd* (the legal punishment) for *zâd* (accusation without proof of infidelity by persons of irreproachable character) and the wife of *ḥadd* for incontinence" (A. Sprenger, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Muslims*, Bibl. Indica, Old Series, ii, 1309). On the technical use of the related verbal forms, cf. the Arabic lexicons and Dozy, *Suppl. aux Dict. Arabes*, s.v.; al-Kastallânî, commentary on al-Bukhârî, *Tuhfat*, 25, at the beginning; al-Zurkânî, commentary on the *Muwatta'*, *Bâb mû dhâ f 'l-L'ān*, at the beginning.

1. The following Qur'anic passage is the basis for the regulations regarding the *l'ān*: xxiv. 6-9. *As to those who accuse their wives (of adultery) without having other witnesses than themselves, the man concerned shall swear four times by Allah that he is speaking the truth and the fifth time that the curse of Allah may fall upon him if he is lying, but the woman may avert the punishment from herself if she swears four times by Allah that he is lying and the fifth time that the wrath of Allah may fall upon her if he is speaking the truth. If Allah were not gracious and merciful towards you and wise and turning lovingly towards you".

These verses belong to a part of the Qur'ân, apparently composed at one time, containing various regulations about adultery and consisting of xxiv. 1-10, 21-26; verses 11-20, which certainly belong to the year 5 were inserted later; our verses must therefore be older (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur'ân*, i. 210 sq.; H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, ii. 27, puts the Sûra between the battles of Badr [2 A.H.] and Uhud [3 A.H.]).

They form a regulation in favour of the husband, an exception to the punishment strictly laid down in Qur'ân, xxiv. 4 (cf. also verses 23-25) for *zâd* and are therefore, like this penalty, primarily Muslim and have no affinities in Arab paganism in which an institution like the *l'ān* had no place at all (contrary to D. Sanitiana, *Institutioni di diritto musulmano*, i. 221 below). The word *l'ān*, which comes from the Qur'ân, is unknown to the pre-Muhammadan poetry.

The hadiths concerning *l'ān* are almost entirely (the oldest probably exclusively) exegetical and profess to give the occasion of the revelation of the Qur'anic verses in question; they are to some extent contradictory (attempts to harmonise them are found in al-Zurkânî, commentary on the *Muwatta'*, *Bâb mû dhâ f 'l-L'ān*), systematised and unreliable (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, etc., where further references are given, to which may now be added those in A. J. Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, p. 56 sq. [to p. 56 ult. may be added, Tit. 44, Sûra 24]). Four types may be distinguished among them: 1. the husband (unnamed) laments his sad case to Prophet in covert language whereupon the verses are revealed (oldest form); 2. 'Uwaimir b. Ḥarith asks in the same way, first through the intermediary of a friend and then directly of the Prophet (a development of the first type); 3. Hilâl b. Umayya accuses his wife of adultery and is to be punished with *ḥadd*

for this, when Allāh saves him sometimes by the revelation of the verses (this type probably a development of the first, in which Sa'd b. 'Ubadā also is often involved, who had previously with scornful criticism called attention to the possibility of the dilemma which has now actually happened, has of the three the most schematic and not original appearance); 4) some one marries a young woman and finds her not a virgin while she disputes his assertion; the Prophet therefore orders *l'ān* (not exegetic). There are of course other transitional and mixed forms. In so far as the *ḥadīth*s yield nothing new about *l'ān*, this brief outline is sufficient; they are only of importance when they afford evidence for the oldest juristic adaptation of this Qur'anic institution.

2. The first subject of the earliest legal speculation was the question, not touched upon in the Qur'ān, whether *l'ān* makes separation between the husband and wife necessary. In many *ḥadīth*s this question is so expressly (sometimes polemically) affirmed that there must have been a school which approved the continuity of the marriage after the *l'ān*. The statement that al-May'ab b. al-Zubair is said to have held this view (Muslim; Nasā'i) is however based only on an inadmissible interpretation of another *ḥadīth*, in which he appears as a contemporary; on the other hand that 'Uthmān al-Battī held it may be considered sufficiently proved (al-Zurkāni on the *Muwatta'*). Among the oldest representatives of the other view which later became predominant, that a continuance of the marriage was impossible after *l'ān*, may be included with some probability 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar and with certainty al-Zuhri in whose time it was already *sunna*, and Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'i (*Kitaḥ al-Āḥḥ*); the tracing of this opinion back to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, which we find in the *ḥadīth*s, must however be regarded as unhistorical.

Next arises the question how this annulment of the marriage as a result of *l'ān* is to be carried through, whether by a triple *talāq*, which the husband has to pronounce against his wife or by the decision of the judge before whom the *l'ān* is taken or by the *l'ān* itself. The first view is undoubtedly based on a large number of traditions, while no trace of its use in law has survived; these traditions are rather interpreted in favour of the second view (cf. the *Ḥaṭṭ* of al-Zuhri in al-Tabari, *Tafsīr* and al-Bukhārī, *Talāq*, bāb 30 and *Ḥudūd*, lib 43; the tradition in Ahmad b. Hanbal, v. 330 sq. forms in its abbreviated form only an apparent exception; a polemic against the first view in al-Ṭayālīs, N° 2667). The second opinion survives in the later legal *ikhtilāf*; apart from the ample testimony to it in *ḥadīth*, its oldest representatives known with probability or certainty are 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, al-Zuhri, in whose time it appears as *sunna*, and Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'i (*Kitaḥ al-Āḥḥ*); its ascription to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās is again not historical. For the third there is no evidence in tradition; it is only found after the rise of the *maḥabbah*. We seem therefore to have a tendency to development in a particular direction.

Other prescriptions about *l'ān* in tradition, going beyond what is laid down in the Qur'ān, are of less importance. Thus, when the question is raised at all, it is unanimously laid down that the husband can never marry the wife again at a later date, that a *l'ān* may take place during

pregnancy (legal *ikhtilāf* is later attached to their interpretation of this *ḥadīth*), that the child has only relationship with its mother as regards kinship or inheritance i. e. is considered illegitimate. Other *ḥadīth*s say that the *l'ān* must be taken in a mosque and attribute the formula to be spoken there by the *ḥādī* to the Prophet. We are also brought into contact with questions of detail, which play a part in the later *ikhtilāf* by a tradition according to which the Prophet did not allow *l'ān* unless the husband and wife were on equal terms as regards *lāḥim* and freedom; a series of older authorities who held the contrary view is quoted in the *Mudawwana*.

Details of the further teaching of Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'i on *l'ān* are given in the *Kitaḥ al-Āḥḥ*. Two more general pronouncements in Mālik and al-Shāfi'i bring us to the period of the rise of the *maḥabbah*. Mālik states definitely that it was the *sunna* of al-Madīna, about which there is no doubt and no *ikhtilāf*, that the husband and wife after the *l'ān* has taken place could never marry one another again and al-Shāfi'i says that with *l'ān* divorce of the pair and denial of the paternity of the child was *sunna* of the Prophet.

3. The teachings of the separate *maḥabbah*, develop the views of their earliest representatives, not entirely on the same lines (e. g. from the *Muwatta'*); it is to be assumed with probability that Mālik followed the second view regarding the element in *l'ān* which annulled the marriage [cf. above], while his school later held the third opinion entirely. The most important regulations of the Fiqh regarding *l'ān* that go beyond what has been so far discussed are as follows: if the husband accuses the wife of adultery or denies the paternity of his child without being able to prove it in the legally prescribed fashion and she denies his charge, recourse is had to the process of *l'ān*. If the husband refuses to pronounce the formulae prescribed for him, he is punished with the *ḥadd* for *zina*, according to Abū Hanifa, however, imprisoned until he pronounces the formulae, whereby he is set free or is declared to have lied, whereupon he is liable to *ḥadd*. If the wife refuses to pronounce the corresponding formulae, she is punished with the *ḥadd* for adultery, according to Abū Hanifa and the better tradition of Ahmad b. Hanbal, however, imprisoned until she pronounces the formulae, whereupon she is set free or confesses her transgression and is then liable to *ḥadd*. On the question whether *l'ān* is possible if one partner is or both are not Muslims or not free or not *adī*, there is wealth of *ikhtilāf*, which cannot be detailed here; the same applies to the possibility of *l'ān* during the pregnancy of the woman, with the object of denying the paternity of the child. On this point the strength of the principle that the marriage decides the descent of the child, is remarkable, as is the distinction between two objects of *l'ān* (accusation of the wife of adultery and denial of paternity) which is only a result of later developments. In the whole of the earlier period these two objects coincide from the juristic point of view. The divorcing element in *l'ān* is, according to the Mālikis (on their presumed divergence from Mālik himself on this question; cf. above) and a tradition of Ahmad b. Hanbal, the *l'ān* of the wife, according to al-Shāfi'i that of the husband, according to Abū Hanifa and the

better tradition of Ahmad b. Hanbal however the verdict of the judges pronounced after the *li'an* of both. Opinions also differ regarding the legal consequences of a later withdrawal of the *li'an* by the husband; according to Abū Hanīfa and one tradition of Ahmad b. Hanbal, a new marriage of the two people is possible in this case, according to Mālik al-Shāfi'ī and the better tradition of Ahmad b. Hanbal it is not; among older authorities only Sa'īd b. Djubair is in favour of the first view, while 'Umar, 'Alī, 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, 'Aṣ' and al-Zuhri are quoted as in favour of the second (not all have historical confirmation) which was also held by al-Awzā'ī and Sufyān al-Thawri. Finally it is a disputed question whether the *li'an* can only be performed orally or (in the case of a dumb person) by gestures; al-Bukhārī devotes chapter 25 of his *Kitaḥ al-Ṭalāq* to the discussion of this question and the reasons for his attitude to it.

4. It is easy to understand that resort was only had to the *li'an* in extreme cases. Thus we find a scholar of Cordova in the fourth century A.H. pronouncing the *li'an* against his wife simply in order to revive this *manā* of the Prophet, which had fallen into oblivion (I. Goldziher, *Muslimgeschichte Studien*, ii. 21). But it has not yet fallen completely into desuetude, as Muslim law has no other means of disputing the paternity of a child (cf. Juynboll, *Handleiding*, p. 217, note 2; Santillana, *Institutioni*, p. 222).

Bibliography: In addition to the works already quoted the *fiqh*-books and works on tradition; E. Sachau, *Muslimgeschichtliches Recht*, p. 73 199; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handboek der islamitische Geschiedenis*, p. 192; do., *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet*, p. 216 19; D. Santillana, *Institutioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, p. 219 199; Th. P. Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*, s.v. *Li'an*.

(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

LIHYÂN, an Arab tribe, a branch of the Hudhail [q. v.]. Genealogy: Lihyān b. Hudhail b. Mudrika b. al-Yās b. Mudjar. Settled like the other branches of the Hudhail in the country N. E. of Mecca, the Lihyān do not seem to have had in the period just before and after Islām a history independent of their brethren; it is only rarely that they are mentioned apart from them, e.g. in *Ḥamasa*, p. 34, a propos of their battles with the warrior-poet Ts'abbata Sharrān; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 272; iv. 104 (cf. *Ḥamasa* of al-Buḥārī, p. 80—81; Ibn al-Djarrāb, ed. H. H. Bräun, Nr. 86 = *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 203, s. 1927, p. 31), ii. 614 of a battle with the Khuzā'a. The poets of this tribe are as a rule reckoned among those of the b. Hudhail — e.g. Mālik b. Khālid al-Khuzā'i, al-Mutanakkibūn al-Khuzā'i, etc. At the time of the preaching of Islām we find them like the rest of the Hudhail under the political influence of the Quraysh. This explains their hostile attitude to Maḥammad, which resulted in the murder of their chief Sufyān b. Khālid b. Nuṣayb by 'Abdallāh b. 'Umayr at the instigation of Maḥammad. This murder was cruelly avenged by the Lihyān who slew several Muslims in their turn (*yawm al-Raḡīf*, 4 A. H., cf. HUPHAN). As there is no further mention of hostile relations between the Muslims and the Lihyān, it is probable that the latter were included in the subjugation which the Hudhail made to Islām.

After the triumph of Maḥammad and in the periods following, there is an almost complete lack of information about the Lihyān and there are very few persons of note belonging to this tribe: the grammarian al-Liḥyānī, whose full name was 'Alī b. Ḥāzim (Khāzim) or b. al-Mubārak, d. in 222 or 223 (cf. al-Zuhairī, *Tahāqūt al-Nuḥāt*, ed. Krenkow, *R. S. O.*, viii. 145, Nr. 125, with bibliography; Flügel, *Die gramm. Schulen*, p. 51) perhaps belonged to it, but other sources (Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ed. Margolionth, v. 229; *Taḍj al-'Arūs*, x. 324, 10) trace his *nishā* al-Liḥyānī to the unusual length of his beard (*hiyya*).

There was some reason to suspect that the Lihyān at a remoter period of Arab history had played a more important part than that almost unnoticed, which they did later: this seems evident from a passage in Ibn al-Kalbi (*K. al-Aḡnām*, p. 57 = Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, iii. 181, 16) who assigns to the Lihyān certain priestly functions (*adūna*) in the cult of the Hudhail idol Sawā' (cf. Wellhausen, *Korte Arab. Heidentum*,² p. 18—19); the discovery of several hundreds of inscriptions and graffiti in the north of the Hijāz has not only confirmed this suspicion but revealed the existence of a Liḥyānī state several centuries before the coming of Islām. These inscriptions, first known from the imperfect copies of Doughty and Huber, were later collected in large numbers (over 900) by Euting and deciphered by D. H. Müller after preliminary work by J. Halévy. They are now available in still larger numbers and better known as a result of the discoveries and publications of Fathers Janssen and Savignac. They are almost all in the vicinity of the village of el-'Ola (especially in the area full of archaeological remains, called *el-Kharibe* and in the rocky cliffs to the east of this) not far to the south of the great Nabataean centre of al-Hijr [q. v.], Madā'in Salīh; some have even been found here although in much smaller numbers. Their epigraphy closely resembles that of the Minaean inscriptions (which are also found in very large numbers east of el-'Ola) of which the Liḥyān inscriptions represent a dependent or parallel form, but in any case of a decidedly later date (against D. H. Müller who wrongly thought them older). Their language on the other hand is quite like that of the Thamudaean and Safaitic inscriptions, in Northern Arabic and only differs from classical Arabic by several peculiarities (especially the use of *aw* in place of *al* for the article, and of a participle of the form *nif'al* in contrast to the form *mufa'il* of the classical Arabic).

From these inscriptions we learn that el-'Ola — the old name of which is given in the form *DDN* identical with the Dedān of the Bible — was the capital of a "kingdom of (or of the) Liḥyān", of which some of the kings were Talmā I and II (cf. the name of Talmā, king of Geshūr, father-in-law of Ashalom, II Sam. iii. 3 and xiii. 17), Takhmai, Lawdhan, Hanu'ash *M-SH-M*, Karīb'il. This kingdom seems to have been for a long period of remarkable size and importance; before it was formed or became quite independent el-'Ola-Dedān was a colony of the Minaeans and formed one of the stages on the great trade route which brought the merchandise of the Yemen and India to the ports of the Mediterranean. After the fall of the Minaean kingdom (according to M. Hartmann between 230 and 200 B.C.) the Nabataeans

replaced the Minaeans in the control of trade and settled in al-Hijr; but at the same time the Lihyāns, who had absorbed Minaean civilization formed an independent kingdom and arrested the southward advance of the Nabataeans; the frontier of the two states must have been between al-Hijr and el-'Ola. It is probable that these Lihyāns were simply a section of the Thamūd [q. v.] whom we find mentioned in the annals of Sargon of Assyria, while there is no ancient reference to the Lihyāns until Pliny who mentions them (*Hist. Nat.*, vi. 33, 3) under the name of Lechieni. Their power must have increased after the fall of the kingdom of Petra (106 A.D.) and it seems that from this time onwards, they also held al-Hijr, abandoned by the Nabataeans.

When and how the Lihyān fell in their turn to the position in which we find them in the sixth century forming part of the tribe of Hudhāl, and settled in a territory considerably to the south of their original home, we cannot tell, on account of the complete absence of documents. Muslim tradition has lost all memory of them and confounds them apparently under the general designation of Thamūd with the Thamūd proper and the Nabataeans of al-Hijr: a memory but a very vague one of the old kingdom of Lihyān may perhaps have survived in the isolated mention in a tradition that the Lihyān were "remnants of the Dūrhum", who later became part of the Hudhāl (Tabari, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, i. 749, 11-12; [cf. Dūrhum] following Ibn al-Kalbi; *Taḍī al-'Arāḍ*, x. 324, 1-2, following al-Hamdānī, probably in *al-Iktilāf* and the passage is not found in the text of the *Djāsiṭ al-'Arab*). The Thamūdian graffiti (which used to be called proto-Arab) are a development (later or parallel) of the Lihyān script, the last stage of which is seen in the Ṣafaitic graffiti; but we are completely ignorant of the historical relations of the peoples who used these similar scripts.

The ruins of Dūdān-el-'Ola, although they have so far only been superficially explored give us some idea of the advanced stage of civilization to which the Lihyāns had attained; besides tombs, some of which are decorated with sculptures in high relief, Fathers Jaussen and Savignac have discovered a sanctuary with a central basin circular in form (for ablutions?) and ornamented with large statues several important fragments of which have been discovered. An inscription in this sanctuary mentions an *asfal* of the god Wadd: this term, which certainly is the name of a sacrificial office is not unknown to Muslim Arab tradition (*Aghāni*, xxxix. 686; Ibn Duraid, *K. al-Ishṭihāq*, p. 197, 7). Among the deities worshipped by the Lihyāns we find alongside of typically Arab ones like Alīsh, al-Lāt, Wadd, Yaḡūth and a god Dhū Ghābat of whom we know nothing definite, gods of Aramaean origin, like Baṣamen, the god of the sky and, in a theophoric name, Salm; in these names as well as in the use of other Aramaic terms (among them *naṣā* in the sense of "tomb") there is apparent the influence of the Nabataeans, who undoubtedly contributed with the Minaeans to form the character of Lihyān civilization. The presence of Judaean elements, which Müller and Glaser thought they could recognise is on the other hand more than doubtful.

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, M. 8 (Register, p. 275); Ibn Kūtaiba,

K. al-Ma'arif, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 31; Ibn Duraid, *K. al-Ishṭihāq*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 109; Ibn al-Kalbi, *Djāmi'at al-anṣāb* (British Museum MS.) f. 38; Ibn Hishām, *Strat.*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 638-642, 981-983; Wākidi, transl. Wellhausen, p. 158-160, 224; Tabari, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, i. 1431-1437; Caesari, *Annali dell'Islām*, i. 577-578, 581-582 (4 §§ 3-4, 7); D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien* (*Denkschriften Ak. Wien*, xxxvii., 1889); E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, Berlin 1890, p. 98-127; Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, i., Paris 1909, p. 263-271; ii., Paris 1914, p. viii-xiv, 27-77, 361-534; M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemera für semit. Epigraphik*, ii. 23-48, 345-361; iii. 214-217. (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

LIMNI, Turkish form of the name of the island of Lemnos in the Aegean Sea between Mount Athos and the mainland of Asia Minor about 50 miles S.E. of the entrance to the Dardanelles. In ancient times a possession of Athens, in the middle ages it belonged to the Byzantine empire; in this period, in 901, the island was sacked by the Muslim inhabitants of Crete. Towards the end of the middle ages Lemnos had passed into the hands of the Italians who called the island Stalmene (formed with the addition of the Greek preposition *stē* and the article). When the Turks took Constantinople the island belonged to the Genoese lords of Lesbos (Midillū), the Gataluso. Under Bāyazīd I, who had fortified the Dardanelles, Lemnos passed with the other islands under Turkish rule. But when Constantinople became the Turkish capital it was inevitable that Lemnos, the largest of the three islands commanding the entrance to the Dardanelles (the others are Imbros and Tenedos, or Bozdja Ada) entered the direct domination of the Turks. In 1456 took place Muḥammad II's expedition against Ainos as a result of which the Conqueror became lord of the islands of Thasos, Samothrace and Imbros. Negotiations had been going on between the lord of Lesbos and the Sultān regarding the payment of tribute. But in the course of these negotiations the people of Lemnos, dissatisfied with the rule of Nicolas Gataluso, brother of the lord of Midillū, voluntarily submitted to the Sultān who appointed Hamza Beg governor of the island and entrusted Ismā'il, beg of Gallipoli, with the task of installing him there. Gataluso succeeded in leaving the island before the arrival of the Turks. The date of these happenings which are recorded only by the Byzantine historians Ducas (xlv. 190) and Chalcocondylas (viii. 248) is not certain; but Ducas who was representative of the princes of Lesbos at the Sultān's court, may be considered a reliable authority. In 1457 a Papal fleet drove out the Turks — the Pope had intended to establish an order of Knights on Lemnos — but some time afterwards the same Ismā'il Beg recovered Lemnos with the adjoining islands (Ziukeisen, ii. 235, 299.). In 1462 Muḥammad became master of Lesbos also. In the following year the Turkish possession of Lemnos was disputed by the Venetians whose Admiral Canale in 1467 (A.H. 872 in Neshri and Sa'd al-Din, according to von Hammer) took Ainos and the islands in this part of the Aegean Sea (cf. also Müneddjim-Baḡh, iii. 384); these conquests resulted in Muḥammad's great expedition against the island of Euboea or Negropont (in Turkish:

Eghribos) in 1468. Soon afterwards the Turks retook Lemnos and by the peace concluded with Venice in 1479 this island remained definitely a possession of the Turks. In this last year the island of Tenedos was fortified by the Sultan so that the system of defences of the Dardanelles was completed.

In July 1656 the Venetians won a victory over the Turkish fleet before the Dardanelles and as an immediate result took Tenedos, Samothrace and Lemnos. These conquests were such a threat to the capital that the grand vizier Mustafa Köprülü took energetic measures and sent an army of 4,500 men under the Kapudan Paşa Topal Muhanmad, the latter besieged the citadel of Castro for 63 days, after which the Italians capitulated on November 15, 1657. Tenedos was regained from the Turks by the same expedition (Na'ima, II, 578, 585, 633). Finally in 1770 in the Russo-Turkish war Count Orloff laid siege to Castro and after 60 days had obtained its surrender, when the Kapudan Paşa Husan attacked the Russian fleet in the harbour of Mudros (Turkish: Mündüros), forced the Russians to withdraw on October 24, 1770 (Wäsil, II, 118).

Turkey lost Lemnos after the Balkan War. By the peace of Athens (November 14, 1913) it had been stipulated that the Powers should delimit the frontiers, and the Powers in February 1914 allotted all the Aegean islands to Greece except Tenedos, Imbros and Castellorizo. Turkey, reinforced by a strong public opinion, would not accept this decision, but the outbreak of war in 1914 prevented the negotiations being brought to a satisfactory conclusion. In the course of the war the strategic importance of the island for Turkey became manifest; after the failure of the naval attempt to force the Dardanelles, the Entente powers in April 1915 established a naval base in the Gulf of Mudros which lies on the south side of the island to serve as a base of operations for the forces which were to be landed at Gallipoli, to force a road to Constantinople. This is how the British admiral's flag-ship in the Gulf of Mudros came to be the scene of negotiations which preceded the Armistice of Mudros between Turkey and the Entente powers on October 30, 1914.

In the old administrative division of the Turkish empire the island formed part of the sandjak of Gallipoli which was the sandjak of the Kapudan Paşa; after the reforms of the sixteenth century Limni became a sandjak in the Balı-ei Safid Wilâyet including the *şehâ's* of Limni, Bordja Ada (Tenedos) and Imros (Imbros). Castro, a little harbour on the west coast, was always the seat of the governor and had the garrison. Cuinet gives 27,070 as the total of the population which has always been predominantly Greek. Cuinet gives the Muslims as 2,450. One of the specialities for which Lemnos has always been celebrated since ancient times is "terra sigillata" (Turkish: *mu-i sigillatim*), a kind of earth found near the village of Kokkino on the south coast (where it has been sought to locate the site of the ancient Hephestia) which is credited with medicinal virtues. This bed of clay was unearthed once a year (August 16) to the accompaniment of certain ceremonies at which the Greek priest and the Turkish hodja both assisted (Na'ima, II, 586).

Bibliography: Zinkeisen, *G.O.R.*, I, 169; II, 231, 235 *qq.*, 315; II, 253 *qq.*, 943 *qq.*,

von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, I, 81, 186, 438 *qq.*, 494, 534; III, 457, 482; IV, 685; V, Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, I, 475 *qq.*, 480 *qq.*, (J. H. KRAMERS).

LINGA, a little seaport on the Persian Gulf which lies between Lârisân (q.v.) and the desert. The old port was at Kung, 8 miles east of Linga; the Portuguese had a factory there where they ruled long after the loss of Hormûz (to 1711). In the reign of the Zand dynasty, 1,000 Djawâsim Arabs (Bani Djâhîm, Djawâhîm, Kowâsim) with their chief Shaikh Sâlih came from Ras al-Khaima ('Omân) and took Linga from the *shahdâr* of the district Djahangîr. In 1837 the Persian government took possession of Linga and deported to Teherân the last hereditary shaikh (Kadîb). The present population is very mixed (Arabs, Persians, Hindus, Africans). On the shore at Linga are wharves for building boats for local traffic and the port is fairly busy, but the mountains which rise from 3,500–4,000 feet behind Linga make communication with the hinterland difficult (Lâr is 45 farsakhs from Linga).

Bibliography: Cf. article LÂR; Felly, *Report on the Persian Gulf*, Trans. Bombay Geogr. Soc., 1863, xvii., p. 32–112; Felly, *A visit to Linga*, J. R. G. S., 1864, xxxiv., p. 251–258; [Constable and Stille], *Persian Gulf Pilot*, 3rd ed., London 1890; Caron, *Persia*, II, 407–409. (V. MINORSKY).

LISAN AL-DÎN. [See *IBN AL-KHATÎB*.]

LISBON, Portuguese Lisboa, a city at the mouth of the Tagus, now the capital of Portugal, with 435,000 inhabitants; tradition ascribes its foundation to Ulysses and it originally bore the Phoenician name of *Oliippo*. Under the Romans it received the name of *Felicitas Julia* and formed a *municipium*. It was under the rule of the Alans from 407, of the Visigoths from 585 to 711 when it passed into the power of the Muslims.

For the Arabic transcription of the name of Lisbon we find the two forms *Lishbân* and *Ushbân* with or without the article (cf. especially, David Lopes, *Os Arabes nas terras de Alexandre Herculano*, Lisbon 1911, p. 58–59 and the references there given). The most usual ethnic is al-Ushbânî. Lisbon was not a large town in the Muslim period but it was nevertheless frequently described by the Arab geographers. Al-Idrisî speaks of its ramparts and its castle and of the springs of warm water which rose in the centre of the town. It is built, he says, opposite the fort called al-Ma'das (Almada), so called from the gold dust washed up on the bank by the Tagus. It is also from Lisbon that this geographer followed by several authors makes the legendary expedition of the "Adventurers" set out (no doubt to the Canary Islands; cf. above II, p. 820, s.v. *AL-KHÂLIDÎ*).

Lisbon very early (by 711) fell into the hands of the Muslims and under the Omayyad caliph of Cordova formed a part of the district of Balâta, along with Santarém and Cintra. The Arab chroniclers record several risings there which were quickly suppressed. It was however from the Normans (*Afâghû*) that Lisbon suffered most in this period. During their first invasion of al-Andalus in 229 (844) it was there that they disembarked for the first time. According to Ibn 'Idrîs, their fleet consisted of 54 galleys and 34 vessels of less

importance; the alarm was given to the caliphs of Cordova by the governor of Lisbon, Wabū Allāh b. Hāzim. Again during the invasions of 966–971, in the reign of al-Hakam II, the Normans began by ravaging the plains of Lisbon after landing at Alcaicer do Sal (*Kaṣr al-Sal Dānīl*). For further details, cf. the article *MAURIS* and the literature there quoted.

After the fall of the Omīyad caliphate of Spain, Lisbon formed part of the independent kingdom founded by the Afṣāids [q. v.] with Badajoz (Batalyaws) as capital. Under the Almoravids, it seems to have been taken for a brief period by the Christians and retaken at the end of 504 (1110) by the Emīr Sir b. Abī Bakr, at the same time as Santarém, Badajoz, Porto and Évora. It was only some 40 years afterwards, in 542 (1147) that it was finally conquered by Afonso I Henriques of Portugal with the help of a body of Crusaders who were on their way to Palestine under Arnould van Aerichot.

Bibliography: al-Idrīsī, *Sifat al-Andalus*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, text, p. 183, transl., p. 222; Yāqūt, *Maʿdjam al-Buldān*, s.v. *Lithām* and *Lithāma*; Abu l-Fidā, *Taqwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reimund and de Slane, p. 172–173; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghrib*, Algiers 1924, index; Ibn l-Idrīsī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, vol. iii, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1927, index. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL.)

LITHAM (A.) (sometimes also pronounced *lifām*), the mouth-veil, is a piece of material with which the Beduins concealed the lower part of the face, the mouth and sometimes also part of the nose (see the commentary on Hariri, ed. de Sacy, Paris 1821, p. 374 a). It served the practical purpose of protecting the organs of respiration from heat and cold as well as against the penetration of dust (cf. *Dhu l-Rumma*, No. 5, 43, also No. 39, 24, and 73, 16; and the commentaries on Mutanabbī, p. 464, 27 and Hariri, p. 374, 2). It also made the face more or less unrecognisable and thus formed a protection against the avenger of blood (Goldziher, *Z. D. M. G.*, xli, 101). The *lithām* was therefore also sometimes worn as a deliberate disguise by people who did not usually wear it; thus in the *1001 Nights* (ed. Macnaghten, l. 878) it is worn by a princess, who disguises herself as a man, and (*ibid.*, ii, 59) by a woman for similar reasons. A denominative verb has been formed from *lithām*, the fifth form of which in particular means "to put on the *lithām*" (e.g. *Aghāni*, viii, 102, 00; xxi, 35; 19; *Agāni*, ed. Kosegarten, p. 121, 23; Wright, *Opuscula arabica*, p. 111, 2; Hariri, *Maḥmūdī*, ii, 433, 2), while the eighth form in the meaning "to put on something as *lithām*" is generally used only metaphorically (see below). *Talithama* usually means a woman's veil (Cherbonneau in *J. A.*, 1849, i, 64), but *talithamat al-hayāt* is also found as the distinctive dress of a particular office under the Fātimids: their chief *kaṭib* wore it along with the *surbas* and *salimān* (de Sacy, *Chrest.*, ii, 92). In general however, the *lithām* does not seem to have been worn by town-dwellers.

The *lithām* has no considerable importance for Islam from the purely religious point of view; it is forbidden along with certain other garments for the *nuḥḥim* (Bukhārī, i, 390; below).

The custom of wearing a *lithām* was generally disseminated among the Ṣanhājī tribes [q. v.] in

N. W. Africa, who are therefore described as *lithām*-wearers, *mulaththimūn* or *mulāṭ al-mulaththimān*; as the Almoravids originated in one of their clans, the Lamīna, the *lithām* thus came to have a certain political significance. The custom of wearing a *lithām* (below the *niḥāb*, see Bakrī, p. 170) was found in other parts of Africa also, e.g. in Kānem (Makrī, i, 193, 29.) and still prevails among the Tuareg. These Africans retained their veils even on journeys into the eastern lands of Islam, where it was not the fashion, while their women went unveiled. A tradition of late invention explains these remarkable customs by a story that on one occasion during an attack on a village where there were many women but only a few men, the men put on veils and the women took up arms to deceive the enemy as to their real numbers (Goldziher in *Z. D. M. G.*, xli, 101); another story has it that after the fall of the Omīyads, 200 Omīyads escaped to Africa disguised as women and that the wearers of the *lithām* are descended from them (Wāstenfeld, *Der Tod des Hunjūn*, p. viii). According to Bakrī (text, p. 170 = transl., p. 321), they never took off the *lithām* and if one of them fell in a battle and lost the *lithām*, not even his friends could recognise him till the *lithām* was put on him again; they also called other men who did not wear the *lithām* "fly-mouthed". The Almohads, particularly Ibn Tūmart, opposed the veiling practised by the Almoravids. They continuously insisted that it was forbidden for men to imitate the dress of women, but they did not succeed in abolishing the custom of wearing the *lithām* (Goldziher in *Z. D. M. G.*, xli, 102). Among further passages, where the term *mulaththimūn* occurs in this sense may be mentioned 'Abdallāh, ed. de Sacy, p. 483, note 48 (with other references); Fleischer, *Kleine Schriften*, ii, 243 (discusses several passages); Marquart, *Die Beninammlung*, Index, s.v. *Lithāmträger*.

The word *lithām* and its derivatives was very much used in figurative language, especially by poets. From expressions like "to kiss the lips of the beloved one, which are under their *lithām*" (Dozy, *Vitement*, p. 400; cf. *mā taḥṭu l-lithām* = the face in Mutanabbī, p. 464, 27) develops the meaning of *lithām* "to kiss" ("Omar b. Abī Rabi'a, ed. Schwarz, p. 6, 20; Ibn al-Fārid, *Diwān*, Marseille 1853, p. 125, l. 5 from below) and especially *talithama* = "to kiss one another"; *multham*, the place which is kissed (Farasdaq in Dozy, *Supplément*). A girl is given a *lithām* woven out of her own hair (*1001 Nights*, Breslau edition, ii, 32, 2); the camel has a *lithām* of foam around its mouth (*Dhu l-Rumma*, p. 76, 17); the wolf is *aghannu l-lithām* = black in the region of the muzzle (Tirmidhī, p. 4, 35; of the wolf, we find it said in *Hamza*, i, 702, 27: *lan yataḥṭithām*); the wine-jar has a *lithām*, i.e. a piece of cloth over its mouth (*multham*; *Mufaḥḥalīyat*, ed. Lyall, No. 125, 2; cf. also Akhtal, ed. Nāḥal, p. 85, 2 and 'Alkama, ed. Socin, ii, 43, on [ars]; the sun is darkened by clouds of dust and is thus given, as it were, a mouth-veil (*lithama*, Mutanabbī, p. 601, 13): "as the day (*nahār*) doffed his *lithām*" [description of dawn in the 'Arabshāh, ed. Galim, p. 64, 2 from below; cf. the commentary on Hariri, *Maḥmūdī*, p. 240, 20: *kaḥṭafa l-lithām* al-*lithām*; many titles of books also begin with *Kaḥṭaf al-Lithām*, cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii, 659];

the *lithām* is to be taken from the walls of buildings, i. e. they are to be exposed ('Inād al-Dīn, ed. Landberg, p. 65, 12); to doff the *lithām* of one's origin = to confess it freely (Hārūt, *Mafāhīm* 2, ii. 426, 3); the archangel Israfil has one of his four wings veiled like a vast mouth-veil (*lithām*) from heaven down to the seventh earth (Kāwīmī, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 56, below); a voice may be hidden, *malhām* (Tarfā, ed. Alīwardī, N^o 5, 26 = Hārūt ed., 1886, p. 10); a further metaphor is found in Ibn al-Fārid in de Sacy, *Christ.*, iii. 55, verse 25.

Bibliography: I owe most of the individual quotations above to Prof. A. Fischer and F. Krenkow. In general, cf. Dory, *Vêtements*, p. 399 sq. and *Supplément*, ii. 516; on the veils of Muslim women, in general, cf. Soonek Hargrove, *Three popular dowlings described*, *Vestpr. Grähe*, i. 295-299.

(W. BJÖRKMAN)

LIWĀ' (A. *flag', from *lawā'* to "enrol") means in Turkish official terminology an administrative area, several of which form a *wilāyet* "province" and one is in turn divided into *hazā'* "districts". It corresponds pretty much to the *département* in France. It is synonymous with *sanjak* (T. *flag') and is used alongside of it. The *liwā'* is governed by a *mutasarrıf*, whence a third synonym *mutasarrıf-lik*. The institution of the *liwā'* goes back to the early days of the Ottoman empire but it was under Mahmūd II in 1834 that the present administrative organisation came into being.

Bibliography: Uchiuiri, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, Paris 1853, i. 44, 50.

(CL. HUAT)

LIWĀN (A., for *al-liwān*; Dory, *Supplément*, ii. 563) in eastern houses is a hall, enclosed by walls on three sides and open through an arch on the fourth; it is raised two or three steps and forms the focus of the house, all the rooms of which open on to this *atrium*, which is ornamented with plants and trees. This is a type borrowed from the Sassanian palaces, of which a specimen has survived to the S.E. of Baghdad, in the ruin called *Tāq-i-liwān*, "vault of Chorooses", or *Liwan-liwān*, "hall of audience". It corresponds to the *salāt* of the modern Persians. It is open on the north side to get the cool air.

Bibliography: A. von Kremer, *Topographie von Damaskus*, *Concheiter*, 2k. Wien, 1854, vol. v., p. 19; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, London 1837, i. 78, 20; ii. 45.

(CL. HUAT)

LODI, the name of a clan of the Ghilzai tribe of Afghanistan. A family of this tribe was established in Multān before India was invaded by Mahmūd of Ghazni, for that district was ruled, in 1005, by Abu 'l-Fath Dawād, grandson of Shāhkh Humād Lodi who had established himself there, but the importance of the tribe dates from the reign of Fīrūz Tughlūk when some of its members entered India for purposes of trade, but soon occupied themselves with politics. Dawlat Khān Lodi competed with Khidr Khān [q. v.] for the throne on the extinction of the Tughlūk dynasty. Malik Bahādur Lodi took service under Malik Mardān Dawlat, governor of Multān, and his eldest son, Sulāim Khān, served Khidr Khān at Multān. After the battle on Nov. 12, 1405, in which Khidr Khān defeated and slew Malik (Ishāq Khān), Sulāim

Shāh received the title of Islām Khān and the chief of Sirhind, where he settled with his four brothers and assembled a body of 12,000 horse, mostly of his own tribe. His next brother, Kālā, had a son named Bahlūl (usually called "Bahul") in India, whom Islām Khān adopted, to the exclusion of his own son, Kutb Khān, and married to his daughter. Kutb Khān fled to Dihli and entered the service of Muḥammad Shāh the Saiyid, to whom he described his relations as a danger to the state. Muḥammad sent a force against them and they were defeated and fled to the hills, but almost immediately returned, recovered their possessions, and defeated the minister, Hīām Khān, near Sādhawra. In 1442 Dihli was threatened by Mahmūd Khaldjī II, of Mālwa, and Muḥammad Shāh appealed to Bahlūl, who demanded, as the price of his assistance, the execution of his enemy, Hīām Khān and the appointment of Hamīd Khān as minister. The feeble king complied, and Bahlūl marched to Dihli with his contingent and took command of the army. The battle with the army of Mālwa was indecisive, but Mahmūd was recalled by the news of a riot in his capital and Bahlūl was hailed as the saviour of the kingdom, and received the title of Khān Khānān and the government of the Panjāb. He shortly afterwards picked a quarrel with Muḥammad and besieged him in Dihli, but retired to Sirhind without capturing the city. In 1443-1444, Muḥammad died, and was succeeded by his son 'Alam Shāh, a feeble monarch who, after a brief and troubled reign in Dihli, retired to Badliān, which he made his place of residence. Bahlūl then marched to Dihli and 'Alam Shāh abdicated in his favour. Bahlūl ascended the throne on April 19, 1451, and reigned for thirty-eight years. He was succeeded, on July 17, 1489, by his son Sīkandar, who reigned until November 21, 1517, when he died and was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm, who was defeated and slain by Bābar on the field of Pāntpat on April 22, 1526.

Bibliography: Niḡām al-Dīn Ahmad, *Tahqīq-i Akbari*; Khwāfī Khān, *Muntahā al-Tawārīkh*, ed. and translation by G. S. A. Ranking, all in *Bib. Ind.*, series of the A. S. B.; Muḥammad Kāsim Firāhtā, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay 1832.

(T. W. HAIG)

LOJA (A., *Lauja*), a little town in Andalusia, 35 miles S.W. of Granada, on the left bank of the Genil at the foot of an imposing limestone mountain, Periquetes. It has now rather less than 20,000 inhabitants but seems to have been more important in the Arab period. It was the birthplace of the famous Ibn al-Khattīb Lisān al-Dīn [q. v.] who wrote an enthusiastic description of it. One can still see there the ruins of the *hijra* which commanded the town in the Arab period. It was repopulated in 280 (893) in the reign of the caliph Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad. This "key of Granada" was besieged in 1488 by the Catholic Kings who took it after a month's siege with the help of a body of English archers.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-Buldān*, vii., p. 343; F. Simonet, *Description del reino de Granada*, Granada 1872, p. 95-96.

(E. LÉVY-PROVENCAL)

LOMBOK (usually called by the natives Tanah Sazak), the second in order of the Little Sunda Islands lying east of Java; the Strait of Lombok separates it from Bali, the Strait of Alas

from Sumbawa. A not very broad, rather flat, strip runs from east to west approximately through the centre of the island, which is in part extremely fertile and is shut in by hills on the north and south. In the north is the volcano of Rindjani, revered as holy by a large section of the population. The island is one of the richest parts of the Archipelago; the main industries are agriculture and cattle-rearing, the first being on a particularly high level. A quantity of the rice which is in part grown on fields excellently irrigated is exported.

Even if we exclude the foreign traders settled on the coast towns (especially Buginese, Arabs and Chinese) the population is not homogeneous but consists of two groups which are sharply distinguished territorially also; the smaller western part is inhabited by Balinese, the centre and the east by the much more numerous Sasak. The inhabitants of the western part are descendants of the Balinese, who came as conquerors to Lombok in the xiith and xvith centuries and gradually extended their power over the whole island; they intermarried very little with the native population, so that they do not differ very much from the people of their original home; their language is Balinese, and they profess the peculiar form of Hinduism and Buddhism which is found in their mother island, with a few exceptions (they have for example adopted a *dewa-slaw* into their pantheon and the sacrifices to this Muslim god must not include pork).

The Sasak are the true aborigines of the island; they are quiet and industrious; in their physical features they most closely resemble the Sumbawaneses and their language (not yet fully studied) shows a similarity in certain points with the Sumbawaneses. They have all adopted Islam except for the little group of the Bodha, who have remained pagans; they live quite apart from the rest of the island, especially in the northern districts of Tanjung and Bajan and on the south coast and engage in agriculture of a primitive type. They claim to be the descendants of Balinese who immigrated hither in ancient times before the great invasion; there is however no ground for this assertion; physically and linguistically they are in no respect different from the Sasak around them and the name Bodha is also found in other parts of the East Indian Archipelago as an expression used by Muhammadans to indicate groups of people who have remained pagan.

Of the earlier history of the island we only know that in the sixth century, it was a possession of the Javanese empire of Matjahahit; we have no really reliable information as to how and when it became converted to Islam. Islam probably came to Lombok from Eastern Java at the time of the decline of the Empire of Matjahahit. Evidence of a considerable Javanese influence can still be traced, and according to a chronicle in the Javanese language found in Lombok, it was Pangeran Prapen, the son of Raden Paku (Sunna Giri) who converted Lombok by force to Islam.

The Sasak are of course no more orthodox Muslims than any other people in the East Indian Archipelago, but Islam has so far influenced them that we may see in it the reason why, in spite of the long Balinese dominion, there has been no assimilation between Balinese and Sasak. They are divided into two groups or sects: *Waktu lima* and *Waktu tiga* (1810). The former, who

live mainly in the plain of Central Lombok are the Orthodox among the Lombok Muslims; their name shows that (in theory at least) they observe the obligations prescribed by Islam of performing 5 (= *lima*) *salat*'s a day. In keeping with this, the name of the *Waktu tiga* (who live mainly in the mountains) would mean that they are of the opinion that three (*tiga*, *llu* = 3) prayers a day are sufficient. This is however an improbable explanation. Many are of the opinion that the name is to be explained by the fact that the *Waktu tiga* only know of three times of prayer, namely the *salat* on Friday (or at birth), at death, and at the end of the month of fasting; others say that the full name is *waktu-llu-datu*, which is said to be an expression indicating the old paganism (the religion of the time of the three kings, namely the kings of Selaparang, Sakra and Pedjanggi). There is no certainty on the point however. In any case the *Waktu tiga* are regarded, and not without reason, by their countrymen the *Waktu lima* as half heathens. There are few mosques in their country; they leave the performances of practically all religious observances to their religious leaders (*kjahi*) and they do not observe the ordinances regarding the eating of pork, fasting or pilgrimage to Mecca. They only observe Muslim principal festivals and their marriage ceremony also shows that they wish to be regarded as Muslims. At the same time pagan sacrifices and pilgrimages (which however can also be found among the *Waktu lima*) play a prominent part in their life. In their villages, there is always in addition to the Muhammadan *kjahi* a *finangka*, i.e. one who acts as an intermediary at the worship of all kinds of spiritual powers from the world of animism. It is particularly among the *Waktu tiga* that we find the custom that the village headman keeps two coarse pieces of cloth woven out of different coloured threads (the one "male" and the other "female") to which offerings are made in cases of illness etc.; every household makes a copy on the pattern of these pieces of cloth, which are also treated with reverence.

Practically nothing is known of the early period after the conversion of Lombok to Islam; the island was divided into little principalities often at war with one another; the eastern part was under the influence of Matassar and Sumbawa, the western under the influence of Bali. In 1674 the Dutch East India Company concluded its first treaty with the princes of Lombok. Soon afterwards in 1692 took place the first serious Balinese invasion and about 1740 the king of Karangasem succeeded in bringing the whole island under his sway. Four small Balinese kingdoms then arose on Lombok which were frequently at war with one another until in 1838 the king of Mataram overthrew his opponents and ruled over the whole of Lombok. Down to 1849 he regarded himself as a vassal of the King of Karangasem on Bali; he then placed himself under the suzerainty of the government of the Dutch East Indies. The Sasak repeatedly rebelled against their Balinese rulers until finally in 1894 the Dutch intervened with the result that they conquered Mataram; since 1895 Lombok has been directly under Dutch rule and administered jointly with Bali.

Bibliography: A complete bibliography for Lombok to the end of 1919 is given in C. Lekkerkerker, *Bali en Lombok*, Rijswijk 1920.

Since then have been published: J. C. van Eerde, *De volken van Boëha in Nederland-Indië*, in *Tijdschrift van het Kon. Ned. Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, 1922, series 2, vol. xxxix, p. 109; A. W. L. Vogelzang, *Enige aantekeningen betreffende de Sasaki op Lombok*, in *Koloniale Tijdschrift*, May 1922; do., *Sasake spraken in de gewesten*, *ibid.*, 1922, p. 586; do., *Gegewen betreffende het tondewijlen bij de Sasaki*, *ibid.*, 1923, p. 54; C. Lekkerkerker, *De tegenwoordige economische toestand van het gewest Bali en Lombok*, *ibid.*, 1923, p. 153; A. W. L. Vogelzang, *Waktoe teloe-wahalen*, *ibid.*, 1923, p. 417; C. Lekkerkerker, *Het voorbeeld der vestiging van de Nederl. macht op Bali en Lombok*, in *B. T. V. L.*, 1923, vol. 79, p. 198; H. T. Damstra, *Heilige woestijn op Lombok*, in *T. B. G. K. W.*, 1923, vol. 63, p. 176; P. de Roo de la Paille, *Javanisch grondrecht in het licht van Lomboksche toestanden*, in *B. T. V. L.*, 1925, vol. 81, p. 552; J. C. C. Haer, *De heilige woestijn van de "Waktoe Teloe" op Oost-Lombok*, in *T. B. G. K. W.*, 1925, vol. 65, p. 38; C. Lekkerkerker, *Bali 1800-1814*, in *B. T. V. L.*, 1926, vol. 82, p. 315; H. M. Goslings, *Een "maro-vango" van Lombok*, in *Gedenkboekje uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van het 75-jarig bestaan van het Kon. Instituut voor de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Ned. Indië*, The Hague 1926, p. 200. (W. H. RASERS)

LORCA (A., *Lorqa*), a town in Eastern Spain between Granada and Murcia, with 26,700 inhabitants. It is the ancient *Lava* or *Helioreva* of the Romans. In the Muslim period it formed part of the *Amra* of Tudmir [q.v.] and was famous for the richness of its soil and subsoil and for its strategic position. Its *hiza* was one of the most substantial in Andalusia. It is 1,200 feet above sea-level on the southern slope of the Sierra del Cano, and dominates the course of the river Guadalestín. Under Arab rule it usually shared the fortunes of Murcia and became Christian again in 1266.

Bibliography: al-Idrisi, *Sifur al-Andalus*, text, p. 196, transl., p. 239; Yāqūt, *Ma'adim al-Buldan*, vii, p. 342; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1927, Index: E. Tormo, *Léonetti*, Guis-Calpe, Madrid, p. 387-399. (E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

LUBNAN (LEBANON). The Arabs have a somewhat confused, almost mysterious idea of Lebanon. Here they place the vojura of the *Ahdal* [q.v.]. They do not distinguish it from the Anti-Lebanon for which they have no special name. "*Qiblah* Saḥr" means to the Arabs the section of Anti-Lebanon to the north of the valley of the Barada [q.v.]. The massif of Hermon has been known since the time of Hassan b. Thabit as *Djabal al-Zubayr*; it is the *Djabal al-Sayid* of modern writers. Nor are the Arab geographers agreed about the northern boundary of Lebanon. Some include al-Lukkām (Amman) in it. This confusion has been facilitated by the vague popular appellation *Djabal*, which has been applied from the Middle Ages to the present day to the range parallel to the Mediterranean running through Syria from the mouth of the Orontes to Galilee; from this comes the name *Ahl al-Djabal*, *Djabaliyyān*, "mountaineers", applied by the Muslim chroniclers to the Nuparis, Mutawālīs, Druses etc. A hadith tells us that stone from Lebanon was used in building the

Ka'ba. This tradition perhaps explains why the Arab geographers see in Lebanon the continuation of the long arête which separates the Hijāz from Najd and Syria and Anatolia to the Black Sea. The southern frontier of Lebanon is usually made to coincide with the lower valley of the Litānī, the modern Kāsimiyya. Current usage, conforming to local tradition, makes the Lebanon lie between this river and the Nahr al-Kabrī (the ancient Eleuthera) on the north. This is the region which our historical survey will cover. The backward and the scattered population of the Anti-Lebanon has always gravitated in the orbit of the towns of Eastern Syria, while Lebanon with its towns opening to the sea and its flanks watered by the abundant rains yielded by the moisture from the sea, which it gives to the rest of Syria by its rivers, is in economic and political dependence on the centres of the ancient Phoenician country.

Lebanon is rarely mentioned by the pre-Muhammadan poets; for example by Nabigha Qhabyān, whose patrons were phylarchs of Ghassān. The name becomes more familiar to their Muslim successors, e.g. Abū Dabbāl al-Djumaḥī, Nabigha al-Shaibānī and 'Ahd al-Rahmān b. Hansān, from their attendance at the Omayyad court. Its territory, covered with forests, of mediocre fertility, difficult of access, cut up by deep valleys and torrentuous rivers, from the Arab conquest has offered a place of refuge to several small nationalities, increased from time to time by the influx of all the oppressed and persecuted.

The semi-independence which it has never ceased to enjoy has favoured its evolution on individualist lines and the local development of its communities, formed at the expense of orthodox Islam i.e. the Mutawālīs, the Druses and the Nuparis [q.v.], not to speak of the Christian sects, Malkites, Jacobites and Maronites; these last are nowhere mentioned by name by the Arab writers, who dealing with Lebanon. The degree of autonomy won by these groups, religious in their origin but finally strictly national, enables us to follow the fluctuations of Arab penetration and Muslim power in Syria.

Each sect, often each district, lived under the rule of petty native dynasties, supposed to be founded by ancestors in Damascus, Baghdad or Cairo. They received grants of investiture and were in return liable to certain obligations and military service, when the actual authority was able to force them to it. With a remarkable agility, the feudal chiefs of the Lebanon practised the art of manoeuvring through all the turnmills that saw successively installed in the east the rule of the caliphates, Saljūq Sultānate, Aiyūbids, Franks, Mamlūks and Turkish pashas.

Not realising its strategic importance, the Omayyads and 'Abbasids did not think of occupying Lebanon, still thinly populated except in the districts on the coast; they were less far-seeing than the Crusaders, who built massive fortresses on the frontier of the "Mountain": Huan al-Akrād [q.v.] and Shikaf Arnūa. This negligence enabled the Djaradims [q.v.] to enter Lebanon. The establishment of the Maronites in the upper regions of northern Lebanon must have coincided with the coming of these Anatolian invaders and have facilitated the organisation of this Christian group, which was destined to play a preponderating part in the Mountain. At the end of the ninth century,

Arabs of Tanakh, coming from the region of Aleppo carved out for themselves in southern Lebanon a principality, that of the "amirs of al-Gharb" in the middle of peoples, partly Arabized and influenced by Shi'a teaching. The development of this emirate was arrested in the eleventh century by the creation of the Frankish fiefdoms of Sayâté (Saïdâ) and Barut (Bairût). The lordships of Gibelet (Djubbil), Batroun (Bâtrûn) and the county of Tripoli depended for support on the Christians of northern Lebanon.

After the expulsion of the Franks, the Mamlûks of Egypt entrusted the defence of Bairût to the Tâshkîds. In the xiiith and xivth centuries, the rising against the Mamlûks followed by the extermination of the Mutawallî and Druse rebels of Central Lebanon made it easier for the Maronites to occupy the lands south of the Nahr Ibrahim (Adonis). In the beginning of the xvth century the Tâshkîds joined the Ottomans who were conquering Syria. Weakened by internal dissensions they had soon to yield place to the Haus Ma'î of whom Fakhr al-Dîn [q. v.] was the most noteworthy representative. In 1606 on the death of the last of the Ma'îds, their political inheritance passed to their relatives, the Banû Shihâb who came originally from the Wâdî 'l-Taim, on the western slopes of Hermon.

The fall of Fakhr al-Dîn had opened Lebanon to Turkish intrigues. They were not long in undermining the authority of the Shihâbîds, constantly struggling with the insubordination and encroachments of the Druse feudal chiefs. In the interests of agriculture the Ma'îds had encouraged the immigration of Christians from the north into southern Lebanon. This policy was intensified by the Shihâbîds who were on good terms with the Maronites. The most famous of these amirs was Bashîr [q. v.] a Christian by birth (b. 1707). Resuming the scheme of the Ma'îd Fakhr al-Dîn, he worked for half a century in forming a great state of Lebanon. Deposed in 1840 he died in exile. Direct Turkish rule in Lebanon (1840—1860) perpetuated anarchy and insecurity there and fighting between the Maronites and Druses. This ended in the massacre of Christians by the Druses and the landing of French forces to restore order. An international commission was appointed to elaborate a "Règlement Organique", the charter of a new autonomy for Lebanon, under the control of Europe. At the head of it was a Catholic governor-general, appointed for five years with the approval of the Powers in whom was centralized all the executive power. As a counterpoise to this authority, an administrative council was elected in such a way as to secure representation to the various communities. From this "Règlement Organique" arose modern Lebanon which owes to it fifty years of prosperity and peace such as it had never before known.

The Great War upset everything. Turkish forces occupied the Mountain and a Turkish governor was appointed; famine and disease soon decimated the population. On April 25, 1920, the conference at San Remo entrusted to France the mandate for Syria and Lebanon. On Sept. 1 of the same year, at Bairût, General Gouraud, High Commissioner of the French Republic, solemnly proclaimed the creation of the "Etat du Grand Liban" with Bairût as its capital. In addition to the "Autonomous Lebanon" created in 1860, this new state in-

cluded the districts of Tripoli, Saïdâ and Tyre. It stretches from the Nahr al-Kahr in the north to the borders of Palestine and is bounded on the east by the chain of the Anti-Lebanon. Grand Liban is governed separately from the "Confédération Syrienne", with which it reserves the right to conclude agreements. It is administered by a French official until a native governor is appointed. A representative council of 30 members elected by vote discuss matters of general interest and the budget.

According to the last census (1921—1922) the population is 629,000. The Christians number 330,000 of different sects of whom 200,000 are Maronites; 275,000 Muslims (125,000 Sunnis, 105,000 Mutawallîs or Shi'as, 45,000 Druses etc.); 3,500 Jews; 20,000 foreigners.

Bibliography: Very detailed in H. Lammens, *Le Syrie, priété historique*, Bairût 1921, vol. 2; Sâlih b. Yahyâ, *Târîkh Bairût*, ed. L. Cheikho (fundamental, monograph on the amir of al-Gharb); Yahyâ, *Ma'âdîm*, i. 371, 516, 675; ii. 110, 154, 276, 473, 540, 588, 829, 885; iii. 179, 353, 399, 637; iv. 31, 261, 347, 364, 540; Hamdî, *Qasrat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, p. 126; Tannûs al-Shihyâ, *Kishâ' Akhbar al-'Ayn fi Dîwân Lubnân*; H. Lammens, *Frères Grégoire et le Liban au 15^{ème} siècle*, *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 1899; do., *Les Neivaîs dans le Liban*, *ibid.*, 1902; do., *La description du Liban d'après Léris*, M.F.O.B., i. 242—250; do., *Topographie française du Liban*; notes et notes d'identification, M.F.O.B., i. 250—271; do., *Tarîkh al-Ahîr fi-nâ yuhannî Lubnân min al-Ahîr*, vol. 2; Ristalhueber, *Les traditions françaises au Liban*; Mahbûb, *Kalâmat al-Ahîr fi 'Ayn al-Karn al-hâdî 'ashar*, vol. 4; Amir Haidar Shihâb, *Târîkh*; Wüstenfeld, *Fachreddîn der Drusenfürst*; d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, vol. 6; Rabbath-Tournebise, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire du christianisme en Orient*, vol. 2; von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, i. 153 sqq.; Jonplain (pseudonyme of Nofjaim), *La question du Liban*. — For the Bibliography, principally from the xvth century: P. Masson, *Éléments d'une bibliographie française de la Syrie*, in *Congrès français de la Syrie*, 1919; V. Calmet, *Syrie, Liban et Palestine*, full of inaccuracies. (H. LAMMENS)

LUDD, a town in Palestine, S.E. of Yâfa, is mentioned in the Old Testament (only in the later books: Chr. ii. 33; Neh. vii. 37, xl. 35; I Chr. viii. 12) under the name of Lod, in the Greek period as Lydda; the Greek name of Diaspolis given in the Roman period did not drive out the old name, the preservation of which was helped by Acts, ix. 32 for example. It was an important place in the early centuries of the Christian era; the capital of a toparchy; it had a rabbinical school and was the see of a bishop at quite an early date. It was particularly famous for the alleged tomb of St. George above which a church was built. It was conquered with several other towns in Palestine by 'Amr b. al-'Âsî and at a later date was the temporary capital of Sulaimân whom his brother, the Caliph Walîd (705—715), had appointed governor of Filastîn, until he rebuilt Ramla, after which Lydda began to decline. In the tenth century, Mağaddasî mentions the splendid church of St. George and the Muslim legend connected with that of the dragon-

slayer, according to which Christ will one day slay Antichrist at the door of this church. After the church had been destroyed by the Fajimid Caliph Hâkim (996-1020) and rebuilt once more, it was destroyed in 1099 by the Muslims on the approach of the Crusaders, so that the victors only found the splendid tomb when they arrived. Under Christian rule Lydda again became the see of a bishop and a new church was built immediately adjoining the ruins of the old one but was destroyed by Saladin. The town never recovered from its complete destruction by the Mongols in 1271. A mosque was erected on the site of the earlier church while the ruins of the church of the Crusaders were handed over to the Greeks who restored them in modern times.

Bibliography: P. Thomson, *Lebanon*, p. 56; Balâdhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 138, 143; Tabari, *Annals*, I. 2406 sq.; Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Nîl*, ed. Tornberg, II. 388, 390; XII. 47, 587; B. G. A., ed. de Goeje, II. 159, 176; VI. 79; VII. 328; Yâqûti, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, II. 818; IV. 354; Robinson, *Palästina*, II. 263 sq.; *Palentine Exploration Fund, Memoirs*, II. 252, 267; Gutrin, *Judee*, I. 322 sq.; C. Mauss, *Revue archéologique*, series 3, vol. 19, p. 223 sq. (F. E. Buhl.)

LUDDHIANA, is the name of a district and town in the Jalandhar Division of the Punjab province of British India. The tract is an alluvial plain bounded on the north by the river Sutlej and traversed by the old bed of that stream; the area is 1,455 square miles. There is some irrigation from the Sirhind Canal. The early history is obscure; Sunet is a site where ancient coins are found peculiar to the place. The tract is prominent in the annals of the Sikhs. In the year 1809 Luddhiana town became the British frontier cantonment, and the district assumed almost its present limits at the conclusion of the first Sikh War in 1849. The population of the district in 1921 was 367,622, of whom 30 per cent were Dîst Sikhs, fine men and excellent farmers. Gujjars, Arains and Muhammadan Rajpûts come next in numbers.

The town of Luddhiana stands on the Grand Trunk Road close to the Barhanullah; it is an important junction on the North Western Railway. The founders were Lodi Pathans from whom it took its name. After the first Afghan War the exiled family of Shâh Shujâh domiciled here. The population in 1921 was 51,880. Luddhiana is a busy market town famous for the manufacture of shawls and turbans, of furniture and woodwork, and for wool and silk dyeing. Military contractors supply uniforms and accessories to the Indian Army. The principal women's hospital of the Province is here, founded by the American Presbyterian Mission, which has its chief station in Luddhiana.

Bibliography: *Punjab District Gazetteer*, Lahore 1907, vol. xv, A.

(S. R. WHITEHEAD)

LUHAIYA, a harbour at the southern end of the Gulf of Djibuti on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea. The little, now unimportant, town lies on what was once an island but has become joined to the mainland in comparatively recent geological times and is separated from it at high tide, while the harbour is dry at low tide. The town in Niebuhr's time had no wall around it, but there were ten or twelve towers

on the land side at intervals of 250 paces with entrances at a height above the ground reached by a ladder. The towers were armed with a few cannons. When Ehrenberg visited Luhaiya in 1825 the town was enclosed by walls. At the present day there rises behind the town a fort built by the Turks with one or two modern guns. The houses of the town are for the most part wretched little straw huts, such as are usual in Tihâna; only a few are built of stone. The harbour of Luhaiya is hardly worth the name, as the anchorage is bad and the entrance is made difficult by sunken reefs. Even quite small ships have therefore to anchor far from the town and at low water even small boats cannot reach the shore if loaded. The drinking-water is brackish and dear. The coast around Luhaiya is dry and sterile. The main industry of the population, who are mainly Arabs, but include a few Ionians was and still is fishing and trading. Luhaiya owes its importance mainly to the trade in coffee, which is brought down from the highlands, stored, shelled and sold. Near the town there are also a few coffee plantations, the produce of which is highly esteemed and used to be reserved for the Sultan of Turkey. There was and still is a busy trade with Djibda, Hodeida and 'Aden, mainly conducted by Arab sailing-ships. The principal article of export is coffee and corn is imported. Luhaiya is connected with Djibda and Hodeida by a caravan road 621 miles long. There is also a telegraph line to Hodeida. The Eastern Asia Service of the Lloyd Triestino has a three monthly service to Luhaiya.

Nothing definite is known about the origin of Luhaiya. A. Sprenger identified the town with the *Maqatta* *waye* of Ptolemy but this equation seems at best only possible. The identification of Luhaiya with the old town of Sambrechate or the harbour of Laupas or *Narvye* *zapus* which E. Glaser supports, is very improbable. Niebuhr supposes that the harbour only arose in modern times when the demands of the export trade in coffee from the interior required it. Here also, as at Mokha, the hermitage of a Muslim saint is said to have been the nucleus around which the admirals of the saint gradually collected and built the town. A chapel was built over his tomb, the vicinity of which was considered auspicious for living and dead. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Portuguese who call the town Loya for the first time became acquainted with Luhaiya. In 1513 Alfonso d'Albuquerque entered the harbour on an expedition into the Red Sea. Luhaiya then formed part of the territory of the Imâm of San'â to whom it paid tribute. In the second half of the sixteenth century Luhaiya suffered from the raids of the Hâjjid and Bakîl tribes, who on one occasion burned it down. In spite of this the trade of the town must even then have been not inconsiderable, for about 1760 in Mawsim (April to July) it paid 3,000 dollars from the harbour revenues to the Imâm of San'â. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the governor of the Imâm of San'â made himself independent in Luhaiya; but when the Wahhabis invaded the Yemen and defeated the *ghâs* of Luhaiya, the latter went over to the victors and took from the Imâm of San'â the whole of Tihâna from Luhaiya to Bab al-Mandab along with Bîr al-Fakhî and a considerable part of the coffee-growing country. Luhaiya now seemed to

have a brilliant future before it; for it was to be the main harbour of export not only for the whole of this vast area but of the Wahhal country also and negotiations were opened with the East India Company, who were invited to establish a factory in Luhaiya. Luhaiya's prosperity was again interrupted by the invasion of Muhammad 'Alī who occupied Luhaiya in 1833. In 1869 we find it in possession of the Turks under whom the port and its hinterland formed a *şahā* in the *sanjak* of Hodeida. Luhaiya was also used by them as a base of operations against the never completely pacified highlands of 'Asir, which obtained independence with the collapse of Turkey in the world war. Seyyid 'Alī b. Muhammad al-Iḍrī, lord of 'Asir who is considerably under Italian influence, has held Luhaiya and Hodeida since 1918.

Bibliography: *Diada secunda do Asia de João de Barros*, Lisbon 1628, Book viii., chap. 2; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 210, 228; C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, viii., Berlin 1846, p. 882—887; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1873, p. 44 sq., 252; R. Manzon, *El Yemen, tre anni nell' Arabia felice. Excursioni fatte dal Settembre 1877 al Marzo 1880*, Rome 1884, p. 179; E. Gieser, *Skizzen der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, II, Berlin 1889, p. 33, 38, 43, 55, 138, 152, 238; H. Burchardt, *Reisen in den Arabien (Zeitschr. d. Ges. f. Erdkunde in Berlin, 1902)*, p. 593 sq.; W. Schmidt, *Das südwestliche Arabien (Angewandte Geographie, ed. by H. Grothe, iv. Serie, 8 Hef., Frankfurt a/M. 1913)*, p. 20; G. W. Bury, *Arabia Infelix or the Turks in Yaman*, London 1915, p. 26, 119; F. Stuhlmann, *Der Kampf um Arabien zwischen der Türkei und England (Hamburgische Forschungen, I, Brunschw. 1916)*, p. 69; *Handbooks prepared under the Direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office, No. 51, Arabia*, London 1920, p. 44 sq., 53, 61, 63; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet (Osten und Orient, I. Reihe, Forschungen, vol. iv., Vienna 1922)*, p. 248; *The Statesman's Yearbook*, London 1926, p. 644, 647. (ADOLF GROHMANN)

LUKATA (A.), an article found (more precisely: "picked up"). The leading principle in the Muslim law regarding articles lost and found may be said to be the protection of the owner from the finder, sometimes mingled with social considerations. The picking up of articles found is generally permitted, although it is sometimes also said to be more meritorious to leave them. The finder is bound to advertise the article which he has found (or taken) for a whole year unless it is of quite insignificant value or perishable. The particulars of this advertising are minutely regulated by special rules. After the termination of the period, the finder, according to Mālik and al-Shāfi, has the right to take possession of the article and do what he pleases with it, but according to Abū Hanifa, only if he is "poor"; but the use of the articles as religious alms (*ṣadaqa*) even before the expiry of a year is permitted in a preferential clause in Abū Hanifa and Mālik. If the owner appears before the expiry of the period he receives the object back, as he does after the expiry of the period if it is still with the finder; but if the finder has disposed of it in keeping

with the law, he is liable to the owner for its value; Ḍawūd al-Zāhiri alone recognised no further claim by the loser in this case. The establishment of ownership is facilitated, compared with the ordinary process in Mālik and Ahmad b. Hanbal (in al-Bukhārī also; cf. his superscription to *Luḡaṭ*, hāḥ 1). As regards the finding of domestic animals in the desert, there are special regulations which are less onerous for the finder in the case of injured animals and more onerous when they are not injured. Al-Shāfi and Ahmad b. Hanbal have similarly some special regulations for articles found in the *ḥaram*, the sacred territory in Mecca, which at bottom go back to the old idea of a special right of ownership by Allah in the *ḥaram* and articles found in it.

These prescriptions of the *Fiqh* are based on certain *ḥadīth* which have been handed down with several variants (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Luḡaṭ*; Muslim, Constantinople 1329/1099, v. 133) which need not be quoted in detail here as they agree with the principles in all essentials. But it may be mentioned that in a very old stratum, later worked over, there is mention of a two or three year period. In the conception of the primitive jurists the article found is sometimes described as deposited (*ṭawāṭa*); further, out of special religious scruples, one is careful not to pick up found dates and eat them, as they might belong to the *ṣakā*; finally there is a *ḥadīth* which forbids the Mecca pilgrims (*ḥāḍirīn*) to pick up articles found at all. From the superscription by Bukhārī to *Luḡaṭ*, hāḥ 11, it is evident that found articles might be handed over or used to be handed over to a government office, their retention in the finder's case is justified by quoting a special tradition.

None of these traditions can be considered historical; at most the prohibition by the Prophet in his address after the occupation of Mecca from keeping articles found in the *ḥaram* without advertising the index (cf. above) may be genuine on account of its antiquated terminology; *Luḡaṭ* is not mentioned in the *Kurʾān*.

Bibliography: In addition to the pertinent sections in the *Fiqh* and *Ḥadīth* collections cf. Th. W. Juynebol, *Handriding tot de kennis van de mohammedaanse wet*, p. 386; E. Sachau, *Mohammedanisches Recht*, p. 639/1097; D. Santilana, *Istituzioni di Diritto Muhammedano Malchitta*, I, p. 328—329/109. (J. SCHACHT)

LUKMAN, a legendary figure of the period of Arab paganism, who was adopted into the *Kurʾān* and later legend and poetry. The story of Lukman shows three main stages of development: I. The pre-Kurʾānic: Lukman al-Muʾnmar, the long-lived hero of the *Djāhiliyya*; II. The Kurʾānic: Lukman, the wise maker of proverbs; III. The post-Kurʾānic: Lukman, the writer of fables.

I. Lukman in the old Arab tradition.

Even the earlier legends already show Lukman in several aspects: 1. as Muʾnmar; 2. as a hero; 3. as a sage. — He is offered a long life. He chooses the duration of the lives of seven vultures; he brings up a vulture; when it dies, he keeps a second one and so on, for six vultures, which he survives, but he dies at the same time as the seventh, Lūḥād. The vulture was by far the most popular emblem of longevity among the Arabs (Ps. ciii. 4; Goldziher, *Abh. zur arabisch. Phil.*, ii., p. 11, 107); R. Basset (*Lukman Bekir*, p.

xxvii.—xxix.) finds a remarkable parallel in the interpretation given by Sidoses Apollinaris, for example, of Romulus's watching for birds: Romulus sees twelve vultures, which means the twelve periods through which Rome will endure. The *Asnâ al-Mu'minin* of Abû Hâsim al-Sijistânî gives Lukmân second place for longevity: Khidr was the longest lived man, and Lukmân the second, who lived seven times the length of a vulture's years, i. e. $7 \times 80 = 560$ years; but the figure is increased in different stories to 1,000, 3,000 or even 5,500 years. The last of the vultures reared by Lukmân was called Labad = endurance; when Labad finally lets his wings droop, Lukmân stirs him up to fly again, but in vain; Labad dies and with him Lukmân. Lukmân, as Damiri noted, was already celebrated by Nabigha. — Various adventures are ascribed to Lukmân such as the heroes of the Dîhiliya always had to go through; he was the first to punish the adulteress by stoning and the thief by cutting off his hand. — Lukmân belonged to the tribe of 'Ad. Here we have the old Arab saga coalescing with the Qur'anic legend. 'Ad, sinful like Sodom, is devastated by drought. An embassy is sent to Mecca to pray for rain and Lukmân goes with it. In the enjoyment of the hospitality given them the 'Ads forget the purpose of their journey. Reminded of their duty, one of them obtains by prayer a black cloud. This cloud brings to the tribe of 'Ad the destruction which was to be their punishment for rejecting the Prophet Hûd.

Lukmân was already known in the pagan period as a sage. His wisdom is celebrated by pre-Muslim poets (Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, p. 133). It is natural to suggest that the old stories refer to more than one person. Lukmân's wisdom forms the transition from the Dîhiliya to the Qur'an.

II. Lukmân, the maker of proverbs.

In Sûra xxxi. of the Kur'an, Muhammad introduces Lukmân as a sage and makes him utter pious admonitions. These latter do not bear the stamp of Lukmân nor of Muhammad but belong to the common stock of proverbial sayings. A characteristic example is the following: "If all the trees in the earth were pens, and if God were to swell the sea into seven seas of ink, the words of God would not be exhausted" (Sûra xxxi. 26). This great hyperbole is found in hundreds of variants (S. Reinhold Köhler, *Und wenn der Himmel wäre Papier*, in *Orient und Occident*, ii. 346—359; *Ethnologische Mittheilungen aus Ungarn*, i. 311—323; 441—453). It is recorded that this saying arose out of a dispute with the *akhar* of the Jews. The *akhar* insisted that all knowledge was contained in the law, and the saying is directed against them. Does this really mean that Muhammad borrowed this hyperbole from the Jews, to whom it really belonged originally? In the admonition of Lukmân: "Moderate thy pace, lower thy voice, for of all voices, that of the ass is most hateful" (Sûra xxxi. 18) Rendel Harris has found the model in Akhikar: "Lower thy head, speak quietly, and look down! For if a house could be built by a loud voice, the ass would build two houses in a day".

Once Muhammad had consecrated Lukmân as the wise utterer of proverbs, everything that was thought pious or sensible could be attributed to him. Wâhî b. Munabbih is credited with saying

that he had read 10,000 chapters of Lukmân's wisdom. The Arabic collections of proverbs (notably Maïdanî) attribute much to Lukmân (see K. Basset, *op. cit.*, xlv.—liv.). Tha'labî devotes a chapter of his *Maqâlât* to the wisdom of Lukmân. Many sayings seem to link up with the Sûra of Lukmân. Sûra xxxi. 14 advises reverence for parents but warns against being led astray by parents to worship false gods. Tha'labî's authority makes Lukmân say: "Be amenable to your friends but never so far as to act against God's laws". There is much that recalls Akhikar: Lukmân teaches that the rod benefits the child like water the seed. In Akhikar we have: "Spare not thy son for strokes of the rod are to a boy like dung to the garden". Lukmân says: "When thou seest people who remember God, join them; hast thou knowledge it will be useful to you with them and they will increase it; if thou hast none, they will teach thee; when thou seest people who do not remember God, do not join them; for if thou hast knowledge, it will not avail thee, and if thou art ignorant, they will increase thy ignorance". Akhikar says: "Join the wise man, then thou wilt become as wise as he, but join not the brawler and babbler, lest thou become associated with him". Lukmân gives excellent advice for one going on a journey and also adds that he should be armed, similarly Akhikar. In Maïdanî's Arabic proverbs Lukmân is credited with the following admonition: "My son, consult the physician before thou faltest ill!" This corresponds to the first saying in Ben Sira's alphabet: "Honour the physician before thou requirest him". On the other hand Lukmân's warning against hypocrisy is found in similar form in the *Disciplina clericali*.

Muslim legend is fond of making the sages and wise men of the past into prophets. But since Muhammad quotes Lukmân as a sage, the story was told that God offered Lukmân the choice between becoming a prophet or a sage. Lukmân chose wisdom and became vizier to King David, who called him fortunate: "Hail to thee, thine the wisdom, ours the pain!" Lukmân lived down to the time of the prophet Yûnus (Jonah). He is also called judge of the Jews. Muslim legend sometimes also, although very rarely, makes Lukmân a prophet and even gives him the "Modjalla" (*magilla*), the roll of wisdom (Tahari, *Annales*, i. 1208).

III. Lukmân, the writer of fables.

Lukmân was honoured by Muhammad and after him as a maker of proverbs. A few centuries later he became a writer of fables also, perhaps because *amthal* meant both proverbs and fables. Lukmân thus became the Aesop of the Arabs. Much was transferred to Lukmân that was told in Europe of Aesop. The tendencies to this can be traced quite early. While the very earliest legend saw in Lukmân the hero and Muslim legend makes him a sage, judge, vizier, or even a prophet, the later Oriental legend delights in describing him as a carpenter, a shepherd, a deformed slave, an Egyptian, Nubian or Ethiopian slave, a feature which is obviously modelled on the story of Aesop. Lukmân's master orders him to set the best before his guests. Lukmân gives them the tongue and heart of a sheep. On another occasion his master tells him to set his worst before them. Once again Lukmân sets a heart and tongue before them, for there is nothing better than a good tongue and a good

heart and nothing worse than an evil tongue and an evil heart (in Plutarch and in the *Vita Aesopi* of Maximus Planudes the tongue only is mentioned and not the heart). — Lukmān's fellow-slaves on one occasion eat their master's figs and accuse Lukmān. At Lukmān's suggestion the master makes them all drink warm water. Lukmān vomits water only, the other slaves figs and water. — Lukmān's master in his cups had wagered he would drink up the sea. Sobered he asks Lukmān's advice. The latter demands of those who had taken up the wager that they should first dam back all the rivers flowing into the sea, as his master had promised to drink up the sea only but not its tributaries. The latter is a widely disseminated motive in fairy tales of the type of the Emperor and the Bishop (Walter Anderson, *Katze und Axt*, *F. F. Communications*, N° 42, p. 134—140, especially p. 139 where reference is made to Lukmān; Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, viii, 60—62). These anecdotes are also found in the *Vita Aesopi* of Planudes (xivth century), but they are known as early as Plutarch, *Convivium septimum*.

The older Arabic literature does not know fables of Lukmān. They first appear in the late middle ages. The Paris manuscript published by Jos. Derenbourg belongs to the year 1299 and contains 41 fables. These fables have often been published and thoroughly discussed in scholarly fashion especially by Derenbourg, R. Basset and Chauvin. Out of the 41 fables, N° 23 alone has no parallels: the thornbush begs the gardener to tend it so that kings may delight in its flowers and fruits; the gardener waters it twice a day and the thornbush overruns the whole garden. R. Basset recalls the fable of Jotham of the thornbush which destroys everything (*Judges*, ix.). All the others with the exception of the thirteenth (the midge and the bull) are found in the Syrian fables of Sophos (= Aesopus) published by Landsberg. All are found in Aesop except N° 9 (the gazelle in the well), N° 22 (thornbush), N° 24 (wasp and bee), N° 40 (the man and the snakes). It has been further observed that in these fables the very animals indigeneous among the Arabs, the ostrich, the hyena, the jackal and the camel play no part. As these fables first appear in the late middle ages there can now be no doubt that we have to deal with a selection of Aesop's fables translated into Arabic.

IV. Related legendary figures.

Lukmān is a many-sided figure: he is *Mu'ammār*, hero, sage, maker of proverbs, and writer of fables. It is no wonder then that he has often been compared and identified with other legendary heroes, Prometheus, Alkmaion, Lucian and Solomon. Abu 'l-Faraj makes Lukmān the teacher of Empedocles. Three of these equations deserve closer examination: 1) with Balaam, 2) with Akhikar and 3) with Aesop. The identification with Balaam is old. Arabic legend gives the following genealogy: Lukmān b. Ba'ūr b. Nāḥūr b. Tārīkh. It is evident that the Kur'an exegetes sought for something corresponding to Lukmān in the Bible. They found this in Balaam as the vowels *ba'āl* and *lahmān* both mean the same: "to devour". This then became a Muslim tradition, which entered the Hebrew *Mishle Simkai* where Lukmān is one of the seven wise teachers of the king's son (ed. Cassel, p. 220 sq.) and also the *Disciplina clericalis* of Petrus Alphonsus, where the correct text is "Balaam

qui lingua arabica vocatus Lucaman" (ed. Hilka-Söderhjelm, p. 3). The Kur'an exegetes had no doubt about this identity. The question arises however: did Muḥammad himself see Balaam in Lukmān? — and next: is Lukmān really Balaam? Derenbourg, Basset and Eduard Meyer (*Die Israheliten und ihre Nachbarskinder*, p. 378) answer in the affirmative. But it is quite incredible. The pre-Kur'anic tradition about Lukmān, the Kur'an Sūra, which shows deep reverence for Lukmān, have no single feature of the hated Balaam of the Bible and the Haggada. This identification was only made later by Kur'anic exegetes, who wished to connect Lukmān with the Bible at any cost, and made him the son of Be'or, i.e. Balaam, just as they sometimes made him the nephew or cousin of Job.

Lukmān's similarity to Akhikar was also noticed long ago, but it is only quite recently that the identification has found a vigorous champion in Rendel Harris, who devotes the chap. vii. of his *Story of Akhikar* to it. He bases his identification on the agreement of Sūra xxxi. 18 with Akhikar's warning about the voice of the sea, and an Arab hypotheses which compare Lukmān with other figures in legend and history, notably to the relationship of Lukmān, Akhikar and Aesop. The story of Aesop shows originally a close relationship to that of Akhikar. The later legend of Lukmān has borrowed much of the story of Aesop and thus becomes like the Akhikar story but in reality Lukmān is not directly connected with Akhikar but with Aesop.

The development of the Lukmān legend seems varied but clear. Lukmān properly belongs to the legends or possibly the history of Arab paganism. For even this period already knows the sage Lukmān. With Muḥammad he becomes the teacher of pious doctrine. Incited by the Kur'an the interpreters of the Kur'an found Lukmān's sayings in many places and found Lukmān himself in the Balaam of the Bible. He was credited with fables in addition to the proverbs and was thus made the Aesop of the Arabs.

Bibliography: The Kur'an commentaries on Sūra xxxi., esp. Tabari's *Tafsir*, Cairo 1321, xxi. 39—50; Jalali, ed. de Goetje, i. 235—242; L. 1208; *Tha'abī, Kitāb al-Anbīā'*, Cairo 1325, p. 220—222; Abu Hāsim al-Sijistānī, ed. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, II, Leyden 1899, p. 2; Damiri, *Hayāt al-Hayawān*, s.v. *nār* and s.v. *luḥūd*. Many other sources in René Basset's *Lukmān Berhīr*, Paris 1890, where also the *Qibla Lukmān* is. Ad is published, p. LXXI—LXXX. — Important alike for old traditions as for modern legends of comparative folklore: C. H. Toy, *The Lukmān-legend in Proceedings of the J. Am. O. S.*, xiii, 1889, p. CLXXII—CLXXVII; Jos. Horowitz, *Kur'anische Untersuchungen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1926, devotes a very full section to Lukmān, p. 132—156. — On the fables of Lukmān and their many relationships see Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, iii, 1—82. — On Lukmān-Balaam see Jos. Derenbourg, *Fables de Lukmān le Sage*, Berlin-London 1850, p. 5—50. — On Akhikar-Aesop see Noldke, *Untersuchungen zum Akhikar-Roman*, Berlin 1913, p. 61—63. — On Lukmān-Akhikar see Conybeare, Rendel Harris, Agnes Smith Lewis, *The Story of Akhikar*, Cambridge 1913, p. LXXIX—LXXXIII. (BRENNAN HELLER)

LULI, one of the names for gypsies in Persia; parallel forms are: in Persian, *Luri*, *Lori* (*Farhang-i Qajāri*); in Baluchi, *Lori* (Denys Bray, *Centre of Baluchistan*, 1911, iv, 143, gives the popular etymology from *lor* = "lot, share").

The name *luri* is first found in a legend relating to the reign of Bahram Gur (420-438 A.D.). At the request of this Sassanian King, who wished to amuse his subjects, the Indian king Shāngal (?) sent to Persia 4,000 (12,000) Indian musicians. Hamza (350=961), Berlin-Kaviani, p. 38, calls them *al-Zuff* [q.v.], Firdawsi (Mohl, vi, p. 76-77), Lūriyān: *Tha'libi* (c. 429 [1037]), ed. Zotenberg, p. 567, says that from then on descended the black *Lūri* (*al-Lūriyān al-sūdān*), skilful players of the flute; the *Muḥḥit al-Tawārīkh* (c. 520 [1226]), transl. Mohl, *J. A.*, 1841, vii, p. 515, 534, confirms this origin of the *Lūri*. The *Lūri* (plur. *Lūriyān*) are often mentioned by Persian poets. Mīrāḥīrī (Dāghān-Ghazvīn-Ghazvī, 9th/15th century), Dīnāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāk (d. in 388 [1192], *Isfahān*), Kamāl Ismā'īl (d. in 635 [1237], *Isfahān*), Hāfīz (d. in 791 [1389], *Shīrāz*) say that the *Lūri*'s are "black" (like night), petulant (*ḥāḥā*) and elegant (*shāghīl*) that they play the flute, that their way of living (*ḥanagāh* "baggage") is irregular. The Persian dictionaries explain *Lūri*/*Lūriyān* as "shameless, gay, sweet, musician, woman of light morals", etc.; cf. Vallée (the quotation from Amīr Khusrāw (d. in 725 [1325] in India), *ibid.*, s. v. *Lur* refers rather to the inhabitants of Luristan).

The origin of the name *luri* has not yet been investigated. The term seems to be applied to the inhabitants of the town of Sind which the Arab authors call *Arur* or *al-Rūr* (cf. *Arur* > *al-Rūr*; *Alūr* > *al-Lūr*). This town had been conquered by Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim before 95 (714) (*al-Balādhurī*, ed. de Goeje, p. 439, 440, 445). According to al-Bīrūnī, ed. Sachau, p. 100, 130, the town of *Arur* (*Arur*) lay 30 farsakhs S.W. of Multān and 20 farsakhs above al-Manṣūra. In Elliot, *History of India*, London 1867, i, 61, 363, the town is called *Ahor*. This town, the old capital of the Hindu rājās of Sind, is now in ruins (on the Indus, in the *taluka* of Rohri in the district of Sukkur; cf. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, vi, 4 and xxi, 308: *Aror* and *Rohri*). The change of "Arur/Rūr into Lūr/Lūri is readily explained by the phonetic law of dissimilation of the two *r*'s especially after the change from *Aror* (Indian) to *al-Rūr* (Arabic). The descendants of the Indian musicians of Bahram Gur (i. e. the gypsies) seem to have been called after the most important town that the Arab invaders had known, and perhaps before them, the Sassanians. This explanation would locate quite precisely the original home of the *Lūri/Lūriyān*, without in any way prejudicing the ethnical relationship of this tribe.

The term *Lūri/Lūriyān* (unknown in Khurāsān, Iran, now 1914) is particularly found in the S. E. of Persia, in Kirān and in Baluchistan. *Lūri* or *Lūriyān* is also found in Turkestan; Biber, ed. Irmensky, p. 358, 457, uses "Lūri" in the sense of "player"; Abu 'l-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, p. 241, 258, 276, 282, mentions in the 15th century, a Shaikhān prince of Marw and Abūwār, son of a Lūri woman. Mayew, *Indische Reis. Geogr. Obss.*, iii, part iv, p. 349, and *Geogr. Magazine*, 1876, p. 326-330: Lūri in Eastern Bakhārā; Grémard in Dutreuil

de Rhins, *Misc. scient. dans la Haute Asie*, Paris 1898, ii, p. 308: Lūri and Aghā in Chinese Turkestan; Valikhunov, *Sol'meniya, Zapiski Ross. Geogr. Obsh.*, 20 ethnografi, St. Petersburg 1904, xxix, p. 43: Lūli (sic) and Multān in Kashghār. Lastly it has been suggested that the name of the gypsy tribe in Syria, Nūrī, plur. Nawārā is derived from Lūli.

The Lūri/Lūli gypsies (cf. the reference above to their dark skin) must be clearly distinguished from the Lur [q.v.] highlanders who live in the southwest of Persia, have a fair skin and speak an Iranian dialect with no trace of Indian elements. The situation is however slightly complicated by certain minor points. In the first place the use of the terms Lūli, Lūri, Lur, etc. is not always quite clear. In the confederation of Arab tribes of Fars there is a Lur clan; Sykes, *Ten thousand Miles*, p. 330; Rūlīch, *Peyghāb v. Baluchistan*, *Iran. Geogr. Obss.*, 1902, xxxiii/1, p. 69 speaks of a Lūri section (Persian pronunciation of Lūri?) among the Lūli of Kirān. Edmonds notes the existence of a Lūri (?) clan in Luristān in the Daghānā division of the Baluchwand group. In Kurdistan there is a clan Lur-i Kulāghār (cf. SENNA).

Still more confusing is the fact that some Lurs follow the profession of acrobats, bear-leaders, rope-dancers (cf. Čirikow, p. 277). As early as the 15th century, Shāhīd al-Dīn al-'Umārī mentions the talent of the Lurs in these directions and in our own day we find wandering troops of Lurs as far north as Tabriz where there is a permanent colony of Karāfi gypsies, professional actors and singers. It is possible that the special qualifications of the Lur and gypsy players differ somewhat; the Sarmān of Kurdistan (cf. SARPUL and SENNA) who excel in singing and dancing are not acrobats. But we must first of all wait till a special investigation settles to what precise section the wandering Lur artists belong.

There is nothing impossible in a gypsy infiltration into Luristān. Whatever was the ethnical entity covered by the name Zuff (on the confusion of the Zuff with the Lūri see above: Hamza, *Tha'libi*) the existence of Zuff colonies in Khurāsān is known as early as the time of al-Balādhurī (q.v.) (cf. Hawmāt al-Zuff between Arādīn and Rām-Hormūt; the modern town of Hindiyyān ["the Indians"] may have a similar origin). According to Balādhurī, p. 382, when in the second quarter of the first century A.D. the Zuff had apostasized from Islām, they were joined by the local Kerds, which provoked the punitive expedition of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amīr to Ishādī (= Māmanīr, the future capital of Lur-i Bururg). The alliance of the Zuff and Kerds (= Lurs; q.v.) at so early a date is curious. Under al-Rūr, Yāqūt, ii, 833 mentions two places in Sind and a small district (*nāhiya*) under Alwāz in Khurāsān. Schwarz, *Persien im Mittelalter*, v, 665, identifies this Rūr with the district of al-Lūr (cf. LURISTAN). In the light of what has been said above one might suppose the existence in al-Lūr of a very ancient Indian colony. But as our sources contain no positive confirmation of this hypothesis (according to Ibn Hawkal, p. 176, the "Kerds" were predominant in al-Lūr) the questions of the origin of the name al-Rūr in Khurāsān, of the identity of this al-Rūr with al-Lūri and of the remoter origin of the name Lur must for the present be left open. In any case even if the name Lur came from the town of

al-Lūr, the origin of the name would not necessarily settle the question of the ethnical origin of this people.

As to the general question of the gipsies in Persia, their names in the provinces other than Kirmān and Balūčistān are as follows:

in Khōrāsān: *Kīrah-nāli* (in which a fantastic popular etymology sees *khair-i dāmār*, interpreted as "innumerable"; in Transcaucasian Turkish dialects *ghirāmal* means "vaunted"; cf. the comedians of Fath 'Alī Akhundow, q.v.);

in Astarābād and Māzandarān: *Djāgi* and *Gāodžari*;

in Adharbāidjān: *Karāci* (and *čaghatai* Turk means "faithful servant, person near the khān", Abn 'I-Ghazāl, p. 145 and Bagadow, II 45);

in Fārs (and elsewhere): *Kāzoli* (= *Kābuli*).

The names mentioned may correspond to slight local distinctions not yet fully known. Gobineau collected the following names of particular tribes leading a nomadic life in the north of Persia: *Sanādi* (?), *Kāsa-tarāhi*, "cup-makers", *Badžighi*, *Adenestri* (*Adhar-narse* ?), *Zargat-i Kirmāni*, goldsmiths of Kirmān, *Shahriyūri* (winter at Hamadān, summer near Dāmawād), *Karzi*, *Tadr-jabibi* (*dawar* + *jābi* "shop-doctor" ?), *Gāohāi*, *hāsh-hāpān* (in Turkish *hāsh* "head" + *hāpān* "he who seizes" ?), *Gāodari* (bold hunters in Māzandarān; cf. de Morgan), *Kāsi*, *Badjumbūn*. According to Newbold the Persian gipsies fall into two classes: *Kāzoli* (or *Ghurbati*) and *Gāohāi*.

As names applied to Persian gipsies in general Gobineau gives *Beshawān/Peshawān* (cf. the name of the Armenian and Transcaucasian gipsies, the *Boshjo*) and *Ođjūli* (?). The following gipsies have a general and neutral character: *Ghurbati*, "living in a foreign land"; according to Ivanow, the Persians who confuse *gh* and *g*, see in *ghurbati* an offensive allusion to the promiscuity (*ghurbat*, "relationship, consanguinity") of which isolated communities in all ages have been accused; the name is sometimes transcribed *ghurbati* and *kurbati*, *Fiyūdi* (from the Arabic *fiyūdi*, "counters"), *Ustākari*, *Aghā*, *Ghurbāl-band* ("slave-makers").

The number of gipsies in Persia may be estimated at 20,000 families, or 100,000 souls, of whom 5,000 families are in Adharbāidjān and 300-500 families in Kirmān (Sykes). The gipsies have an organisation of their own at the head of which is the chief of the Shāh's runners (*khāfir-dāgh*) under whom are the provincial deputies (*khāfir-tār*). In western Persia the gipsies are very little different from the Persian peasantry (Sykes, Ivanow). In Khōrāsān they play a considerable part in the life of the rural community as artisans, making and repairing shoes, chains, umbels etc. In Astarābād the Gāodžari are coppersmiths, carders of wool and cotton (de Morgan). Throughout Persia one sees the black tents of the nameless *lūr* who must be gipsies. It remains to be seen also if the Kurd tribes bearing names like *Kharāzi* ("turners"), *Larr-i Kulāghar* ("batters") are not of gipsy origin (cf. the article *SENNA*). In the towns, such as Sabzawār, Nihāpur and Tabriz, the gipsies have quarters of their own. There are troops of gipsy dancers and musicians in Persia but they do not seem to be very popular. Ouseley gives a description of the dances and of the marionette theatres of the Karāzi (Tabriz). The dancers and singers of the Sūmāni tribe in Kurdistan have

often been described by travellers; cf. notably: Lycklama and Nijeholt, *Voyage*, IV, p. 30-70; Cirikow, *Persian Journal*, p. 282, 290, 330; Khurshid-Esfendi, *Siyāhat-nāme-i Hindūstān*, Russian transl., p. 119; cf. T. Thomson, *The Seamen: are they Gypsies*, *Journ. Gipsy Lore Soc.*, II, 1909, p. 275-276.

The language of the gipsies of Persia (Sykes, de Morgan, Ivanow) has taken its morphology from modern Persian; its vocabulary also is full of Persian words (cf. the lists in de Morgan); Indian elements seem to be rarer than in the Roman of Europe; the language of Kirmān and Khōrāsān (Sykes, Ivanow) contains a large number of unrecognisable elements. Longworth Dames out of 96 words in Sykes's vocabulary found 12 Indian, 4 Arabic, 25 Persian and 52 of unknown origin. He would regard this dialect rather as an artificial secret jargon. Denys Bray (quoted by Ivanow) in any case confirms the fact that the Lūr of Balūčistān is learned by the children as a separate language ("is at any rate acquired naturally by Lūr children, as a language for the home circle").

The Sūmāni use Kurdish mainly. According to Cirikow they are called *Dummi*, which must correspond to *Dūmān* (= *Dūm*, the name of a low caste in India from which comes the well-known name for gipsies: *Rom*). The vocabulary of the *Dūmān* (Baghdād, Aleppo?) as collected by Newbold, *J. R. A. S.*, 1856, p. 303 from an informant from Allum-kopri, is full of Kurdish words: *kāmar*, "stone", *ghat*, "salt", *dāwak*, "boy". A Kurd tribe in the east of Bōhān bears the suggestive name of *Sindi/Sandilyān* (the "Sindians"). According to the *Sharaf-nāma* the chief of the Karāzi clan (of the Zākī) had married a gipsy woman. In discussing the relationships of gipsies and Kurds, it should be remembered that in 220 (835) a section of the Zākī settled in Khānīn, i.e. at the gate of Kurdish territory; cf. de Goeje, *Mémoires*, p. 30; Taheri, III 1168.

According to Sampson, two categories of gipsy speech may be distinguished according to the fate of the primitive Indian aspirated *medial*: the one changes them into aspirated *tonnes*, i.e. Prakrit, *khāni* > *ghar* (Armenia, Europe), the other deprives them of aspiration, *khāni* > *har* (Persia, Syria, Egypt). The interest of the Persian dialects lies in the fact that Persia was the first country in which the gipsies sojourned after leaving India (probably in the Sassanian period). In the gipsy dialects of Persia, so yet very insufficiently studied, we may expect to find traces of a rather archaic phonetic system. Ouseley for example found among the Karāzi of Tabriz the word *kān* "sister" which must be older than *ghen* or *ken* (cf. also *ghavā* in Gobineau).

Bibliography: See the articles *LUR*, *SARPUL*, *SENNA*, *XVII*. — Don Juan of Persia, *Relaciones*, Valladolid, 1604, p. 17 (on the looseness of gipsy morals); English translation by G. Le Strange, London 1926, p. 57; Ouseley, *Travels in various Countries of the East*, London 1819-1823, I 309; III 400, 405 (the Karāzi of Tabriz); Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia etc.*, London 1822, II 528-532; the Karāzi near Marāgha; *Die Zigeuner in Persien und Indien*, Das Ausland, München 1833, p. 163-164; Batallard, *Notes sur les recherches sur l'apparition et la disparition des Bohémiens ... avec un appendice sur l'émigration en Perse entre les années 420 et 440*

de dix à douze mille Louri, *Zait et Djatt de l'Inde*, Paris 1849, p. 1—48 [first publ. in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 3^{re} série, t. 14—55]; Newbold, *The Gipsies of Egypt*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1856, xvi, 285—312 (p. 309—311: *Gipsies of Persia*); Gobineau, *Die Wanderstämme Persiens*, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1857, xi, p. 689—699 [cf. the correspondence of Mérimée in the *Revue des deux mondes* of Oct. 15, 1902, p. 733]; Grierson, *Arabic and Persian references to Gipsies*, *Indian Antiquary*, Bombay 1887, xvi, p. 257—258 [reprinted in the *Journ. Gipsy Lore Society*, Edinburgh 1889, i, 71—76 with the title: *Qomr, Jatt and the origin of the Gipsies*]; R. Burton, *The Jew, the Gipsy and El-Islam*, London 1898, p. 215—217: *the Jats of Belochistan*; p. 217—219: *the Gipsies of Persia*; p. 339—349 (p. 345—349: "Gurbati" vocabulary: 350—352: notes by Longworth Dames); P. M. Sykes, *Ten thousand Miles in Persia*, London 1902, p. 436—439 with a photograph; de Goeje, *Mémoires sur les migrations des Tziganes à travers l'Asie*, Leyden 1903, esp. p. 40, 48, 63; de Morgan, *Miss. scient. en Pers.*, *Études Linguistiques*, Paris 1903, p. 304—307: 233 words of the Lūngt (= Shoshniashin) tribe; 91 words of the Gāodari tribe, collected in the province of Astarābād; P. M. Sykes, *The Gipsies of Persia, A second vocabulary*, *J. Anth. Soc. Gr. Brit.*, 1906, xxxvi, p. 302—311: 96 words from Lūhrust and Sudjān; P. M. Sykes, *Notes on musical instruments in Khorasan with special reference to the Gipsies*, *Man*, London 1909, ix, p. 161—164; W. Ivanow, *On the language of the Gipsies of Qazvin* (*Khorāsān*), *J.S.A.B.*, 1913, z, NN 10—11, p. 439—455; W. Ivanow, *Further notes on Gipsies in Persia*, *J.A.S.B.*, 1920, xvi, No 7, p. 281—291 (corrections to the preceding article, 95 words collected in Nāshāpur, Sabawān etc.); do., *Notes on the ethnology of Khorasan*, *The Geogr. Journal*, Feb. 1926, p. 156—157; J. Sampson, *On the origin and early migrations of the Gipsies*, *Journal Gipsy Lore Soc.*, 1923, p. 156—170. Cf. also in the *Journal Gipsy Lore Soc.*, Edinburgh, Liverpool, the following articles: de Goeje and Sampson, *The Gipsies of Persia*, 1907, p. 181—183 (a propos of Sykes 1906); Groomer, *Persian and Syrian Gipsies*, 1909, p. 21—27 (Kassābi vocabulary from Qasaleh); W. T. Thomson, *The Swamones are they Gipsies?*, 1909, p. 275—276; Sykes, *Persian Jatt*, 1910, p. 320; Sinclair and Ranking, 1911, p. 69—70, 235 (a propos of Sykes 1909); Sykes, *The Shah's runners*; Sinclair, *Gipsy lawing in Persia*, etc. (V. MINORSKY).

LULU', BAKR AL-DIN ABU 'L-FARĀ'IL AL-MALIK AL-RAHIM, AIBEG of al-Mawṣil. Lu'lu', who had once been his slave, had great influence with the Zangid Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh I and when Nūr al-Dīn on his deathbed (607 = 1210—1211) confirmed the nomination of his son al-Malik al-Kābir 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd as his successor, he appointed Lu'lu' as regent of the kingdom, while the younger son Imād al-Dīn Zangī was given the two fortresses of al-Akr and Shāh near al-Mawṣil. At the end of Rabi' 1, 615 (end of June 1218) al-Malik al-Kābir died after appointing his minor son Nūr

al-Dīn Arslān Shāh his successor and Lu'lu' his regent. When Imād al-Dīn seized the fortress of al-Imādiya in Ramādān of the same year (Dec. 1218), Lu'lu' sent an army against him. Lu'lu's troops besieged al-Imādiya but had to return with nothing effected, whereupon the other fortresses in al-Hakkāriya and al-Zawarān surrendered to Imād al-Dīn when the latter made an alliance with the lord of Irbil, Muṣaffar al-Dīn Kōkbārī. Lu'lu' sought the assistance of the Aiyūbid al-Malik al-Ashraf, who ruled the greater part of Mesopotamia, and recognised his suzerainty, whereupon al-Ashraf sent an army to Nāshīn to help Lu'lu' if necessary. In Muharram 616 (April 1219) Imād al-Dīn was defeated by Lu'lu's forces near al-Akr and had to flee to Irbil. Peace was however soon afterwards concluded through the intervention of al-Ashraf and the Caliph al-Nāṣir, but when the sickly Nūr al-Dīn died in the same or the following year and his brother Nāṣir al-Dīn Mahmūd, who was some three years old, succeeded him, Imād al-Dīn and Muṣaffar al-Dīn began to raid and plunder the district of al-Mawṣil whereupon Lu'lu', who had first sent his eldest son with an army to al-Ashraf to help him against the Franks, appealed for help to Aibeg, al-Ashraf's general in Nāshīn. Aibeg set out at once and joined Lu'lu'. On Rabi' 20, 616 (Oct. 1, 1219) Lu'lu' was defeated near al-Mawṣil; but while he was again collecting his followers around him Muṣaffar al-Dīn retired. After the conclusion of peace, Imād al-Dīn occupied the fortress of Kawṣhā, and Lu'lu' had again to appeal to Ashraf. Muṣaffar al-Dīn however induced a number of emirs, among them Ibn al-Mashṭūb, to secede from al-Ashraf and take up a position at Dunāṣir to prevent the latter's passing. The emirs however soon changed their views with the sole exception of Ibn al-Mashṭūb who went to Irbil. He was twice defeated, first by the garrison of Nāshīn and then by the troops of Farrūkh Shāh, lord of Sindjār, who took him prisoner. When he had been released, he collected a plundering horde around him and ravaged the country far and wide. He was defeated by an army of Lu'lu's and took refuge in the fortress of Tell A'far. The latter was besieged and Lu'lu' himself came up from al-Mawṣil. On Rabi' 17, 617 (June 21, 1220) he had to capitulate and Ibn al-Mashṭūb was taken prisoner and brought to al-Mawṣil. After al-Ashraf had made peace with Muṣaffar al-Dīn he handed over to Lu'lu' the fortresses of Dihūdaia, Nāshīn and the governorship of Mesopotamia, to which other fortresses were later added. After the death of Nāṣir al-Dīn (619 = 1222—1223 or according to others not till 631 = 1233—1234) Lu'lu' was recognised as Aibeg of al-Mawṣil and assumed the name of al-Malik al-Rahim. In 635 (1237—1238) he became involved in war with the Aiyūbid al-Salāh Nadjm al-Dīn. The latter took the Kh'azimians into his service and granted them Harrān and Edessa whereupon they seized also the town of Nāshīn. About three years later they were defeated by the ruler of Halab and Hims and Lu'lu' regained Nāshīn with Dīr. Lu'lu' had also to fight the lord of Halab, the Aiyūbid al-Nāṣir Yūsuf. In 648 (1250—1251) he was defeated and Nāshīn, Dīr and Karkīyā fell into the hands of the Aleppo forces. Lu'lu' died in 657 (1259) aged over 80, after recognizing the suzerainty of Hūlagū [q. v.].

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg,

xii. 193, 29, 218—227, 247, 268, 275, 289—291; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Iḥār*, v. 268—276; Weil, *Geich. d. Chaldäer*, iii. 443, 449, 459, 480; *Recueil des histor. des croisés*, *Histor. orient.* I. 86, 90—93, 98, 115, 120, 128, 138; II. 362, 373 sq.; van Berchem, in *Oriental Studies*, Th. Nöldeke *gewidmet*, p. 197 sq.; *Brit. Mus. Cat., Or. Coins*, vol. iii, p. 200—238.

(K. V. ZATTESTEIN)

LULU¹, i. A Mamlūk of Saif al-Dawla the ruler of Aleppo, visier of his son Sa'īd al-Dawla and his grandson Sa'īd al-Dawla. On the latter's assassination, he became guardian of his sons and from 394—400 (1003—1009) independent governor of Aleppo under Fātimid suzerainty; cf. the article HAMDANIDS where the bibliography also is given.

2. A eunuch and the trusted adviser of the Saljuq Sultan Ridwān of Aleppo; on the latter's death in 507 (1113) he became Atabeg of his son Alp Arslān al-Akhras (lit. "the dumb"), so called on account of an impediment in his speech. Alp Arslān who left the government in the hands of Lu'lu' rendered himself hated by his court on account of his crimes and tyrannical conduct and fell a victim to a conspiracy in which Lu'lu' seems to have had a share. To retain a firm hold on the reins of government, he appointed Alp Arslān's six year old brother Sultan Shihāb his successor who reigned in name till 517 (1123). Anarchical conditions prevailed in Syria throughout the whole period (cf. the art. HALAB). To retain his power Lu'lu' had to steer a course between the Crusaders, Syrian Atabegs and the Great Saljuq Sultan Muḥammad. He promised to hand over Aleppo to the latter but at the same time secretly sought the help of the Atabeg Toghtiklu [q. v.] of Damascus against him and of Ighāzī of Maridīn and on the other hand to prevent them becoming too strong betrayed their movements to the Crusaders who were able to inflict damage on them. He succeeded in retaining Aleppo with the help of Toghtiklu's cavalry. To raise the necessary funds to pay these and his own troops he extorted the last farthing out of his visiers and the wealthier inhabitants of Aleppo. He himself never left the citadel for fear of conspiracies. When he was at last forced in 510 (1117) to make a journey, either to take his treasures to a friend's care or to get money stored with him, his Turkish bodyguard fell upon and killed him. The latter seized his treasure and tried to take Aleppo by surprise but were defeated by the garrison and had to give up the booty. Lu'lu' is a typical example of the anarchy in Syria, at the beginning of the Crusades which was only put an end to by the energy and ability of Nūr al-Dīn.

Bibliography; cf. the art. HALAB; Kamāl al-Dīn's *Geschichte von Aleppo*, transl. by Silv. de Sacy, in Röhrich's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, I, Berlin 1874, p. 243, 245—251.

(M. SONCKENHOFF)

LULU^A (A. "pearl"), a fortress near Tarsūs in Cilicia, which was besieged by the Caliph al-Ma'mūn in 217 (832). It was the strongest of the Greek citadels and the one that wrought most havoc among the Muslims; it had a large garrison and was well supplied with arms. The caliph, not having succeeded in taking it, blockaded it for a hundred days with two forts, the troops of which routed the Emperor Theo-

philus; as a result of this defeat, the people of Lu'lu'a appealed to 'Uḡayf b. 'Anbasa who was their prisoner to negotiate for them and capitulated on obtaining safeguards (*amān*) granted by al-Ma'mūn.

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Uyūn*, 3rd part, in *Fragmenta Historicorum arabicorum*, ed. de Goeje, Leyden 1871, p. 375; Ibn al-Aḍīm, *Aḍīm*, vi. 297; Yāqūt, *Ma'āḍim*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 371; Sāmī Bey, *Kāmil al-A'lām*, vi. 4022.

(CL. HUART)

LUR (in Persian *Lur* with a short), an Irānian people living in the mountains in S. W. Persia. As in the case of the Kurds, the principal link among the four branches of the Lurs (Mamāni, Kūhgīlī, Bakhtiyārī and Lurs proper) is that of language. The special character of the Lur dialects suggests that the country was irānised from Persia and not from Media. On the ancient peoples, who have disappeared, become haniated or absorbed in different parts of Luristan, cf. the latter article.

The name. Local tradition (*Tārīkh-i Gushda*) connects the name of the Lurs with the place Lur in the defile of Mān-rūd. This tradition is perhaps based on a memory of the town al-Lūr mentioned by the early Arab geographers (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 195 etc.), the name of which survives in Šahr-yi Lūr (to the north of Dizfūl). There are several other place-names resembling Lur, namely Lir, a district of Qundal-Sabūr (Schwartz, *Persien*, p. 666; cf. the Kūhgīlī tribe: Lirāwī), which may be to Lūr what *gil* in Luri is to *ghil* "money" in Persian; Lurdjān (Yāqūt: Lurdagjan, now Lurdagjan) according to Iṣṭakhrī, capital of the canton of Sardin (between Kūh-Gīlī and the Bakhtiyārīs) and lastly there is a place called Lurt (Lort) near Saimara.

Mas'ūdī alone, in his list of "Kurd" tribes, speaks of the Lursiya tribe (which may mean the Lurs connected with the district of al-Lur). In the 13th century Yāqūt uses the names Lūr, Lurt to mean the "Kurd" tribe living in the mountains between Kūhistan and Isfahān; he calls the country inhabited by it *Hilāl al-Lur*, or Luristān.

These facts show the stages of evolution of the geographical term (perhaps pre-Irānian) into an ethnical name. If however we seek an Irānian etymology for the name Lūr, its connection with the first element in Lur-as (already proposed by von Bode) at once suggests itself. According to Justi, *Iranische Namenbuch*, Lur is explained by "rudhā" "red". The place-name Rūr in Yāqūt may supply an intermediary form. The *Tārīkh-i Gushda* gives a popular etymology *Lur* < *lir* "wooded hill" in Lur.

Ethnology. If the linguistic data connect the Lurs with Fārs, local tradition only regards as true Lurs the tribes who came from the defile of Mān-rūd. According to the *Tārīkh-i Gushda*, p. 539, 547, there is in the *mlāyet* of Mān-rūd a village called Kurd near which there is a defile. The place called Lur is situated in this *mlāyet* (the word means in Luri a "little ravine", cf. O. Mann). The name Mān-rūd most resembles that of Mādiyān-rūd (the word *mādiyān* is found as mān/mūn in Luri; Żukowski, iii. 158) but certain historical considerations make us look for it near Māngarra-Māngarra (cf. *Tārīkh-i Gushda*, p. 548 on the place lying between Mān-rūd, Samhā and Māngarra). The clans (*gushdā*) of the natives of Kūh-i Mān-rūd

were later called after the places where they had settled, like the *Djangu'i* (Cangrû, *Djangudi*) and the *Uari* (Avari). The governing family of the Atabegs of Little Lur belonged to the *Djangu'i* (the name of their clan, the *Salbûr*, *Salghûr* should be corrected from *Salwâr*, *Alam-âr*, p. 369; *Salwâr*, *Ali Ham*, *Tughlûk*, p. 135 and *Salawâr* in Houtum-Schindler). The *Turkish-Guide* concludes by enumerating the 8 clans (*sh'ad*) of the two principal *gûrah* and the 18 other tribes (*sh'ad*) of the Lurs.

A few names (*Mangarra*, *Anârak*, *Djandak*) correspond to modern names. Finally 4 clans are mentioned: *Sâh* (*Sân*), *Arân* (*Ashân*, *Asân*), *Ayri* and *Bibi*, who, although speaking Luri, are not Lurs; the people of the other villages of *Mânûd* were peasants (*sh'ad*).

About 500 (1106), a hundred (or 400) *Fadhwi* Kurd families arrived from Syria. They came by the north (*Shuturûn-Kûh*) and settled at first on the lands of the *Kharûshî-wazîr* (cf. the article *LUR*: *KURD*; cf. *Nûshat al-Kutûb*, p. 70 under the word *girdân*). At the beginning of the 15th (15th) century new tribes flocked to the standards of *Hasanp* of the Great Lur. Among them were two Arab tribes: *'Ukaili* (*'Akili*; cf. the place of this name below *Shahîr*) and *Hâshim* and 28 different tribes (*mutafarîk*) among whom we find the *Bakhtiyârî* (*Makhtârî*), the *Djawnîkî* (*Marîkî*), the *Gîtwand* (cf. the village near *Shahîr*), the *Djîkî*, the *Lîrîwî*, the *Mamâsî* (*Mamâsî*) etc. According to the *Sarraf-nâmâ* (t. 26) all these tribes also came from Syria. These waves of immigration must have had a considerable effect on the ethnical composition of the Great Lur. It is probable that the immigrants were Kurds and that traces of them still survived among the Kurds whom *Im Buzurg* (ii, 21-30) found at the beginning of the 15th century near *Bahbâkân* and *Râm Hormûz* when on his way to the capital of the Grand Lur. There has long been a village of Kurds on the *Djârîshî* and it had even given its name to this river. *Shihâb al-Dîn al-'Umârî* (*N. R.*, xiii, p. 330-332) mentions the existence of Lurs in Syria and Egypt and tells how *Salâdin* (563-589), alarmed by their dangerous ability to climb the steepest ramparts, had them massacred en masse. This anecdote throws a light on the causes which produced the arrival in (return to) Luristan about 600 A.D. of numerous Iranian tribes.

The southern part of Little Lur was exposed to infiltration by Kurds, especially through the valley of *Karkha* (cf. *LAK*; just to the north of *Sûs* is a tree *âzîrî Bûsû*, bearing the name of a clan of the Kurd tribe of *Djangu'i*, celebrated in the history of the *Hasanwâhid*; cf. *Im al-Athîr*, ix, 146, 219) and exposed to Turkish and Mongol invasions (cf. the desperate fighting of the Atabegs of the Lur: *Kûdik* against the *Bayân* and *Alaw* (= *Bahâlu*) Turks).

In the Safawid period, Turkish tribes were introduced into Luristan from the direction of the *Kûh-Gîllî* (where traces of them still exist) and Georgian and Armenian colonies to the north of the *Bakhtiyârî* country. On the movements of the population under *Nâdir*, the *Zemls* and *Kadjars* see below. The ethnical situation gradually stabilised at the beginning of the 19th century.

The names of the Lur tribes and groups are now quite well known and as we have lists going from 1836 to 1922 a comparison enables us to

note the changes that have taken place meanwhile. Regroupings seem to be taking place more rapidly among the Lurs than among the Kurds but the general framework of the tribal grouping remains essentially the same.

In 1881 (*Curzon*, ii, 274) there were 421,000 Lurs of whom 170,000 were *Bakhtiyârî*, 41,000 *Kûh-Gîllî*, and 210,000 *Fadhî*. According to *Rabino* this last section numbered in 1904: 31,650 tents (or 150,000 individuals) in *Pish-Kûh*, and 10,000 tents (or 50,000 individuals) in *Pusht-i Kûh* (this last figure seems too low).

The *Mamâsî* (*Mamassanî*) group includes 4 main tribes: the *Baksh*, *Djawnî* (*Djawnî*), *Dush-mansiyârî* and *Rustamî* (cf. the article *LUR*). The *Kûh-Gîllî* group (*Kûh-Gâllî*) includes 3 large tribes (*Akshârî*, *Bawî* and *Djîkî*). The first of these tribes (cf. the name of the old Turkish tribe of *Aghadjârî*) is of a composite character, for of its 9 clans four (*Aghâr*, *Begdâlî*, *Çaghata* and *Kara-Baghllî*) are Turkish (evidently the remains of the *Shah-Sewan* to whom the government of *Kûh-Gîllî* had been given under the *Safawîs*) and a fifth clan (*Tilakûhî*) bears the name of a district in Kurdistan of *Senna* [q.v.]. On the second tribe, *Bawî*, *O. Mann* notes that it bears the name of an Arab tribe of the neighbourhood of *Ahwâz*; but there is also a mountain called *Bawî* to the south of *Khurramshâh*. The third tribe, *Djîkî*, is purely Lur and is composed of two main sections: *Çarbanîs* and *Lîrîwî* with very many subdivisions. This threefold composition of the *Kûh-Gîllî* group is typical of many of the Lur tribes.

As to the *Bakhtiyârî*, *Sewyer* as long ago as 1894 said that their territory was "thoroughly surveyed on a scale of 8 miles to the inch, nearly every tribe visited in their own encampment, everything appertaining to the *Bakhtiyârîs* may now be said to be known". But *Curzon's* tables (1890) are still the last word available to the student. Of the two *Bakhtiyârî* groups, *Çahâr-lang* and *Haft-lang*, the latter is the more important at the present day. The *Çahâr-lang*, who used to be in the south are now mainly on the outskirts in the district north of the northern barrier (between *Burâdjîrî* and *Golpâyagân*).

The main groups of Lur are: *Tarlân*, *Dîfân*, *Sîlîs* (cf. *LAK*) and *Hîstî-gîrwa*. The tribes of the last group are the Lurs par excellence and have important subdivisions: *Dîrgwand*, *Sagwand* etc. It is possible that the *Dîrgwand* are the real nucleus of the Lur race. Their chiefs are called *not*.

In contrast to what we find among the Kurds, where the individual members of the tribe are usually much attached to their hereditary chiefs, the Lurs proper (*Dîfân-gîrwa*) are distinguished by a more democratic feeling. The power of the hereditary families of *khâns* is based on their 'guard' (*hâstî*) but this power is considerably reduced by the authority of the chiefs of the clans (*not*). The *khâns* are forced to court the favours of these wild, petty chiefs (*Edmonds*: "uncouth headmen"); the latter are amenable to the solicitations of their neighbours and in this way the tribes are broken up and new groupings take place.

Little is known of the etymology of the Lurs. The notes of *Dubouset* (who commanded a Lur regiment in 1859), *Études sur la popul. de la Pers.*, p. 23, of *Khanikoff*, *Mém. sur l'éthnogra-*

phie de la Perse, Paris 1866, p. 15, 110 and 138, and of Danilow only touch the surface of the subject. Dahousset particularly notes the peculiar (compressed) form of the skull of the Lurs. Edmonds emphasises the difference between the Lurs and the Laks; the latter are taller, have purer features and aquiline noses. Their women are more beautiful than those of the Lurs. The hair of the Lurs is often chestnut-coloured; very heavily bearded men are found among the Lurs. (The Persians call Luristan: *ma'dan-i lûh*, "mine of beards"). The women do not seem to have such liberty among the Lurs as among the Kurds. According to Edmonds there are no cases among the Kurds of women acting as chiefs of tribes. Rot v. Hammer (II. 239) mentions under the year 1725 the warlike exploits of the two daughters of the Wali 'Ali Marikan Khan.

The domestic life and manners of the Bakhti-yāris have found enthusiastic panegyrist in Layard, Mrs. Bishop and Cooper, *Grace*, New York 1925. On the other hand the Lurs have been very severely judged by most travellers, cf. Edmonds, *Geogr. Journ.*, 1922 (*Ibid.* the speech of General Douglas who was wounded by the Lurs in 1904).

Bibliography: for the Mamsāni (cf. the article III.1) and the Kūh-Gilū, cf. especially Hassan Fakhri, *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣiri* on which are based Demorgny, *Les tribus du Fars*, *R. M. M.*, 1913, xxii and B. Miller, *Kednys plemena Farsa*, *Wust. zbornik*, St. Petersburg 1936, II, p. 213-218. Cf. also the lists in Bode, Layard, Shail, Baring etc. (summed up in Curzon, *Persia*, II. 317) and those of O. Mann, *Die Mundarten d. Lur-Sprache*, p. xv-xxi. For the Bakhti-yāri Rawlinson, *A March from Zohab*, p. 102-106 (cf. Ritter, *Erkundung*, IX. 210-215); Layard, *Discr. of Khuzistan* and especially *Early Adventures*; Curzon, *Persia*, II. 286-288. For the Lurs: the lists of Rawlinson (Ritter, *Erkundung*, IV. 215-219), Bode, Layard, Čirikow, Houtum-Schindler, O. Mann, *l. c.*, p. xxiii, and especially the articles by Rahmo, *R. M. M.*, 1916, and Edmonds, *Geogr. Journ.*, 1922.

Religion. The Christian and Jewish colonies (cf. the evidence of Benjamin of Tudela) settled in the village of Karbā since the Sāsānian period (cf. MĀNĀBARĪDĀN) may have left some traces in the country. A very curious tradition is the story of the conversion of the Bakhti-yāris to Christianity in the time of Constantine the Great (?) (Hamway, II. 168). A mention in the *Tārīkh-i Dīkhān-gushā*, G. S. M., XVI/2, p. 216 shows that in 650 the *malik* (lambān) had gained a footing around Gird-Kūh. The Hurufi heresy had probably also a following in Luristan, for the *marid* of its founder Faḡl Allāh who attempted the life of Sulṭān Shāhrukh in 1437 was called Ahmad Lur (Brown, *Pers. Lit. under Tartar Dominion*, p. 366). In the Safawid period the walls of the Little Lur claimed descent from 'Abdā, son of the Caliph 'Alī, whose tomb is shown near Surwān (Māsānūdhān); cf. Rawlinson in Ritter, IX. p. 402. The esoteric doctrines of the extremist Shī'a are wide spread in Luristan. The great majority of the Lak are Ahl-i Haḡḡ ('Ahl-i-lāh); q. v. The Sagwand, Pāpi and Badāzī tribes are also followers of this secret religion. In the belief of the Ahl-i Haḡḡ, Luristan is the scene of the activities of the third avatar of the divine

manifestation who is called Hādā Khoshā and numbers among his "angels" Bāhā Tahīr [q. v.]. An important sanctuary of the sect, the tomb of Shāh-zāde Ahmad (the alleged son of the imām Mūsā Kāzīm), is in the district of Kūh near Bāw (territory of Kalawand) and is kept by Salyidi of the Pāpi tribe; these Salyidi wear red turbans which recalls the predilection for red of the old Muḥammira = Khurramīya [q. v.] whose flags were of this colour.

The religion of the Lurs was so little orthodox even from the Shī'a point of view that at the beginning of the sixteenth century prince Muḥammad 'Alī Mirā had to send for a *muftī* to convert the tribes to Islām (Rahmo, p. 24). All the Lur and Lak tribes are officially Shī'a (contrast the attachment of the true Kurds to Sunni orthodoxy).

Language. Down to the beginning of the 19th century our knowledge of the Lur dialects was confined to 38 words collected by Rich, to 4 Bakhti-yāri verses in Layard and to some thirty words collected by Houtum-Schindler. As late as the *Grammaire d. Iran*, *Phil.*, 1/2, 1898-1901, p. 249, we find the thesis stated that Luri is closely related to Kurdish and may even be described as one of its dialects. The materials of Zakuwālī (collected in 1883-1886) were finally published the day after the death of the author (d. 4/3/1918). The merit therefore of having first established the important fact that Kurdish and Luri are quite separate ("eine tiefgehende Scheidung des Kurdischen vom Luri") is due to O. Mann. This scholar has shown that although there are Kurd tribes in Luristan (cf. the article I.2), the true Lurs speak dialects which belong undoubtedly to the S.W. Iranian group (like Persian and the dialects of Fārs) and not to the N.W. group (like Kurdish and the "central" dialects).

The Luri dialects which have none of the asperities of Kurdish (cf. X.2) fall into two categories. To the first belong the dialects of the Great Lur: Mamsāni, Kāhghū and Bakhti-yāri (the latter has a few insignificant peculiarities of its own); to the second belong the dialects of the Little Lur, i.e. of the Fāli Lurs.

Even the first group possesses very few special features compared with modern Persian. From the point of view of phonetics: *-am* at the end of a word becomes *-em*, *-um* (*asthānān/isthānūm; idām/ādhām*); *h* changes into *l*: *pūl/pil*; intervocalic *d* gives *dh* (*y*): *midāhān/ldhān*; the combination *-kht* *st* give *-ādh* and *-kt* (*f*): *dhādhādhādhā, rāst/rāst*; initial *dh* becomes *h*: *dhānā/honā*, etc. Peculiar to Bakhti-yāri are the change of intervocalic *w* to *z*: *ghāwān/ghāwān* and the occasional change of *dh* to *z*: *lāz = lādhān*. It is remarkable that some of these phonetical peculiarities were long ago noted by Hamedallāh Mustawfī (*Tārīkh-i Gushā*, p. 537-538). He says that Luri (although full of Arabic words) does not have the peculiarly Arabic sounds, like *kh*, *gh*, *ch*, *f* and *z*. Inflection: Plural in *-ghā, -ghāl, -āl, -ā, -āghā, -āghāl*; accusative in *-ā, -ā* instead of *rā*: *ghānā, ghāl*; genitive in *-ā, -ā* instead of *rā*: *ghānā, ghāl*; formation of the present: *l* instead of Persian *sh*: first Persian plural ending in *-ān* (*n*): *lāghānān* = *lāghān*. Luri usually forms the pretérito of active verbs as in Persian with the help of personal endings (active construction) and not like Kurdish and the majority of Persian dialects (including those of Fārs) which

give the preterite a passive construction. Vocabulary. In the present and preterite stems Lur usually follows Persian but we find stems and words unknown in Persian: *zadnam*, *zadnam*, "to throw"; *tar*, *tarum*, "to be able"; *ta*, "eye", etc. From the Mongol period, Lur has kept several expressions like: *zishmal*, "chief of a clan", in Mongol, *zhishmal*, "official"; *zairul*, "guard of the khan", in Eastern Turkic "camp, laager", cf. Budagow, II, 102; *kāran*, "encampment", in Mongol, *sharin*, "camp, tent".

As to the Feili group, their dialect differs very little from ordinary Persian (Mann: "weiter nichts als ein stark abgeschwächtes Persisch").

There are in Luristan a few islands of Kurds of some importance. Such are in the north the Lak tribes (q.v.). Among the Feili, the Mahli group (on the frontier of Kirmanshāh, at Huzailān, and further south) speaks a southern Kurdish dialect like that of the Kalhur. The Kurdiqūshān group (to the south of Pusht-i Kūh) speaks a "kurmandji" Kurdish. Linguistic conditions in the Pusht-i Kūh still require further study.

Bibliography: Lersch, *Isfahanogiya*, III, p. 31—xiv. (German transl., *Forschungen*, II); O. Mann, *Kurze Skizze d. Luridialekte, Sindhurg. Berz. Akad.*, 1904, p. 1173—1193; O. Mann, *Die Mundarten d. Lur-Sprache im süd-west. Persien, Kurd. pers. Forschungen*, Berlin 1910, part II. (bibliography, list of tribes, Mamāsanī, Kūh-gāhī, Bakhtiyārī and Feili texts); D. L. R. Lorimer, *The Phonology of the Bakhtiyārī*, publ. by the R. Asiat. Society, London 1922; Zukowski (J. 4. L. 1915), *Material d'un dialecte pers. nord-est*, III: dialects of the Bakhtiyārī Carlang and Haftlang, Petrograd 1922 (texts collected in 1883—1886, vocabularies Bakhtiyārī-Russian and Russian-Bakhtiyārī); Hadad in the preface to O. Mann, *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, Berlin 1926, III: On the Mamāsanī and Kūh-gāhī materials of Romakewicz, cf. *Bull. Acad. de Russie*, 1919, p. 452.

Literature. The Lar tribes and especially the Bakhtiyārī have a rich popular literature, fairy tales, epic fragments celebrating the exploits of their heroes (like Muhammad Taqī Khān Carlang and Hajjī Shāhī Haft-Lang), lyrics, songs sung at marriages (*shāhād*) and cradle-songs (*lāla*). These pieces are often pretty and full of sentiment; cf. the collections by O. Mann and Zukowski (the latter published an article on Persian and Bakhtiyārī lullabies in the *Journal. Mus. Navarin*, *Paris*, Jan. 1889); D. L. R. Lorimer and E. O. Lorimer, *Persian Tales*, London 1919, p. 197—351; *Bakhtiyārī Tales* (translations only).

There are also Lur poets writing in the established literary forms: Humān Kālī Khān Haft-Lang (killed in 1882), Nadjmā Mamāsanī, Daftari, Fāyī (still alive in 1902), Isādī (d. 1905), 'Alī Asghar Khān Nishāwandī (cf. O. Mann). A *Madrigal-nāma-yi Bakhtiyārī* by Shāhī 'Alī Akbar Mu'ammam was liturg. at Teherān in 1314. A *ghazal* by Mullā Zulf 'Alī Kurānī was published by V. Marr in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. de l'U. R. S. S.*, 1932, p. 55—58; according to V. Marr a *naghma* of Bakhtiyārī poets compiled by 'Omām-i Samānī is in the library of Sālū-i Fāthī. Another similar *naghma* comes from the pen of Ahmadiyī Bakhtiyārī.

History. On the participation of the tribes of Khūstān and Fārs in the fighting between Arabs

and Persians in the early centuries of the Hijra cf. the article *KUAYN*. The Caliphs interfered directly in the affairs of the country, especially in Lurī Kūhī (q.v.). The fortunes of the Lurs were more closely associated with the Iranian dynasties ruling in Khūstān, at Shīrās, Isfahān, Hamadān and on the Zagros: the Saffarids, Buyids, Kākawhids, Hasawahids and their successors of the family of Abu 'l-Shawh (cf. the article *KUAYN*).

We have coins of the Buyids struck at Idhād (Gordrington). In 323 the Buyid army marched through Luristan (Sūs — Shāpūr-kh'ast — Karadī). The Hasawahid Kaḍa whose capital was at Sarmādj (south of Bisitūn) extended their dominions into the valley of the Karḥa. Shāpūr-kh'ast (= Khurramābād) formed part of their possessions about 400 (1009) (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 89; *Zuḡarī* *et al-Ummī*, ed. Amedroz, II, 291, iii, 451). The Kākawhid Garshāp sustained a siege by the Saljūqs in Shāpūr-kh'ast (434 = 1042). The ends of this last dynasty later settled in northern Luristan: the family of Zangī b. Barak in Shāpūr-kh'ast before 499 (1105), Hūsam al-Dīn Alpaghshāh at Dīl-i Māhīl on the Karḥa before 549 (1154) (*Kāshān al-Sūfī*, G. M. S., p. 285). A Turk Hūsam al-Dīn Shūbā or Aghar is mentioned as lord of Luristan and of a part of Khūstān between 547 and 570. A long inscription (Kāfī?) on a stone near Khurramābād is still undeciphered (cf. a copy in von Bode, II, 298; Rawlinson thought he recognised in it the name of the Atābeg Shūbā al-Dīn but according to Curzon it has an earlier date [517 = 1123]).

In any case all attempts from outside to subdue Luristan or to take parts of its territory affected the tribal system very little, the development of which came to a head at the coming of the Atābegs.

The principal source for the domestic history of the country is the *Ta'rikh-i Gushda* (750 = 1330) based in turn on the *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh* of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Kāshānī (of which the Preussische Staatsbibliothek only has the first volume, N° 368 of Petrich's Catalogue). The *Madghūl al-Ansūd* (c. 745) is based on independent oral tradition but is less accurate. The *Dīkhān-nāma* although late (its author Kādī Ahmad died in 975) uses unpublished data. The *Sharaf-nāma* (1105 = 1596) is based on the *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh* or perhaps a good copy of the *Ta'rikh-i Gushda*. According to these sources which supplement the statements of the Arab geographers, the situation in Luristan about 300 (912) was as follows:

The Shāh (q.v.) — who are not mentioned by the Arabs before the Mongol epoch — occupied a part ("half") of Luristan. The wāliyy of Shūbān proper (*Ta'rikh-i Gushda*, p. 537 and 539, 23) had a governor named Nadjm al-Dīn Akbat (according to the *Madghūl al-Ansūd* the title Nadjm al-Dīn was hereditary among the Shāh) while the Lar territory under the Shāh (probably Kūh-Gūh) had a pishwā Saif al-Dīn Māhām whose family had been prominent in the country since the Sāsānian period; he was of the Rūshān tribe which the *Ta'rikh-i Gushda* mentions among the Lar tribes. The rest of Luristan was ruled by a family of Lar princes (independent of the Shāh) of whom Badr ruled in the Great Lar and his brother Manjūr in the Little Lar. Their dates are uncertain. Badr's successor was his grandson Naṣr al-Dīn Muḥammad

U. Khalil b. Badr (according to the *Madjid al-Dawla*, Nagr al-Din was a nephew of Aserang [Rang] b. Muhammad b. Hilal). Nagr al-Din was deposed by the Fadlavi Kurds who founded the dynasty of the Atabegs of the Great Lur and relied for support on tribes who came from outside Laristan (cf. above under Ethnology). The same Fadlavis drove the Shal out of their settlements.

We know nothing of Maufar, brother of the above mentioned Badr. The tribes of Little Lur were directly under the caliphs and in the north were subjected to the invaders. The founder (about 580) of the native dynasty of the Atabegs of Lar-i Kāchik [q. v.] had to dispose of a rival Surkhāb b. 'Aiyar (probably a scion of the dynasty of Abu 'l-Shawk which was called 'Aiyar/Annar; cf. the article KURDS).

The history of the two dynasties of the Atabegs is filled with feuds, murders and executions but in domestic affairs the state of the country was fairly prosperous. The Atabegs built bridges and madrasahs (Ibn Battuta) and secured a peaceful existence for the inhabitants (cf. *Ta'rikh-i Gusha*, p. 550). The revenues of each of the two Atabegs were estimated at a million dinars while each of them paid to the Mongol treasury a tribute of 91,000 dinars only (*Nusbat al-Kalab*, p. 70).

In the interval between the Mongols and the rise of Timur, the two Atabegs were vassals of the Masafarids. In 788 and 795 Timur ravaged Little Lur but treated the lord of Great Lur more kindly. In 795 Timur passed through Kūh-Gill and Shalistan. The Timurids (cf. the article *BARBARIS*) consolidated their power in Laristan and in 837 the last Atabeg of the Great Lur disappeared.

Safawid period. The lords of the Little Lur maintained their position and by intrigue even succeeded in extending their power over the plain to the west of the mountains of Push-i Kūh. After the execution of Shah-wardi Khān, Shah 'Abbas installed in his place a waft descended from a lateral line of the old family. The possessions of this Waft, Husain Khān, were, however, somewhat reduced.

After the disappearance of the dynasty of the Great Lur the power had passed to the chiefs of the tribes composing this federation. Under Shah Tahmasp we find the title of Sardar of the local *atlas* conferred on Tādj-mir, chief of the principal clan, the Astaraki. Tādj-mir, having neglected his duties, was executed and replaced by Mir Djahāngir Bakhtiyari (the Astaraki and Bakhtiyari had come to Laristan after 600; cf. *Ta'rikh-i Gusha*). Djahāngir under the guarantee of Shah Rustam of the Little Lur pledged himself to supply annually to the Safawid treasury 10,000 mules. In 974 the governor of Hamadan was sent to remind him of his obligation (*Sharaf-nama*, I, 48). Henceforth the Bakhtiyari tribe becomes of the first rank and, as usual, gives its name to the whole confederation.

As to the Kūh-Gill territory, it was governed by Khāns of the Turkoman tribe (Shāhsewen) of Afshar settled among the Lurs. In 988 (1580) a dervish impostor claiming to be Shah Isma'il II had a considerable success among the Džaki, Džawānīki and Bandūmī tribes who killed several Afshar governors. In 1005 as a result of the excesses committed by the Afshars as well as by the Lurs, the governor of Fars, Allah-wardi Khān, established the direct centre of his government in Kūh-Gill (*Ta'rikh-i Alam-ara*, p. 198, 358).

We do not know under what circumstances at the end of the Safawid dynasty (*Farrah-nama-yi Nādir*) the group of Mamūsanī tribes, who had migrated into the Great Lur (after 600) occupied the ancient Shalistan (cf. *IBUL*).

After the Safawids: During the troubles provoked by the appearance of the Afghans before Isfahān, the waft of Laristan, 'Alī Mardān Khān Feili (a descendant of the Husain Khān appointed by Shāh 'Abbas), played a considerable part. With 5,000 of his men he took part in 1135 (1722) in the defence of the capital. He was even appointed commander-in-chief of the Persian troops but the other Khāns refused to take orders from him. When the Turks invaded Persia in 1725 'Alī Mardān Khān abandoned Shuramābid (which was occupied by Ahmad Pašja) and retired to Khūstān from which he undertook a diversion against Baghlid. The Turks who had gone through the Bakhtiyari country and reached Firūzān had to retire. Cf. 'Alī Hazīn, *Ta'rikh-i Afshar*, ed. Balfour, London 1831, p. 175, 174, 137, 148, who was an eye-witness of the events; Hanway, *The Revolutions of Persia*, II, 135, 159, 168, 238; Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1829, II, 60-61; von Bode, *Travels*, II, 281-283; Hammer, *G.O.R.*, IV, 227.

About the same time several Bakhtiyari Khāns (Kāsem-Khān, Safi-Khān) are mentioned as resisting the Afghan and Ottoman invaders but they did not agree well with 'Alī Mardān Feili. In 1137 (1724) 'Alī Muhammad Husain Khān Bakhtiyari recognised as his suzerain a certain pretender who claimed to be prince Safi Mirza. The latter's headquarters were in Kūh-Gill; he was not taken till 1140 (1727) (Hanway, II, 168, 238; Mahdi-Khān, *Ta'rikh-i Džakān Gusha-yi Nādirī*, Tabriz 1284, transl. into French by Jones, London 1770, p. xxvii). The Afghans do not seem to have penetrated into the Bakhtiyari country and their expedition in 1724 against Kūh-Gill was a fiasco. (v. Hammer, II, 210; Malcolm, *op. cit.*, II, p. 449). By the treaty of 1140 (1727) the Afghans agreed to cede Laristan to Turkey with other western provinces. The Turks kept it (nominally) till 1149 (1736) when Nādir re-established the status quo (Hanway, II, 254, 347; von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, IV, 235, 312).

Under Nādir a certain Turkoman chief named Hābi Khān Čapushlu (Čawushlu) was appointed beglarbeg of Laristan-i Feili. On the other hand 'Alī Mardān Feili was entrusted by Nādir with diplomatic negotiations in Constantinople. Nādir in 1732 passed through Kūh-Gill with his troops where Muhammad Khān Balūči (the claimant to Shirāz) was defeated. The local Afshars had to support Nādir, who was one of their tribe. Several expeditions were sent against the Bakhtiyari among whom a new chief 'Alī Murād Mamūwand (Čahār-lang) had collected together the malcontents. In 1732 Hābi Khān Čapushlu was sent against him for the first time. In 1149 (1735) Nādir Shāh took the field against him in person going via Qizilāh and Barburūd. The Bakhtiyari country was several times ravaged but the main blow was directed against the little explored country south of Sūtmān-kūh. 'Alī Murād was captured and executed. The Bakhtiyari were decimated and deported to Džam and Langer (in Khūstān). A little later a Bakhtiyari detachment distinguished itself in the assault on Kandahār (Mahdi Khān,

op. cit., p. 116, 134, contains interesting geographical details; transl. Jones, I, 185, II, 18; Ali Hāzin, p. 231, 253; Malcolm, II, 21).

The deported Bakhtiyār returned from Khuzistān immediately after the death of Nādir (*Ta'rikh-i Afāq Nādirīya*, ed. Mann, p. 26) and when the dynasty of the latter was extinguished the Bakhtiyār chief 'Alī Mardān Khān (who is not to be confused with the two Wāhs of Luristān-i Feili) attempted to play a big part. In 1163 (1750) along with Karīm Khān Zand he set up at Isfahān a scion of the lateral line of the Safawids (Alī Dāwūd under the name of Ismā'īl III). The career of "guardian of the sovereign" noted by Nādir seemed to be certain for him also but Karīm Khān gained the upper hand; the troops of 'Alī Mardān who included Lak of the tribes of Kāhur and Zangana were defeated in 1752; he escaped to Baghdad but died there by the hand of an assassin; cf. Mirzā Sādiq, *Ta'rikh-i ghilz-guzāh*, quoted by Malcolm, II, 61 and note 7; Hammer, *G.H.R.*, IV, p. 475, 477; R. S. Poole, *The Coins of the Shahs of Persia*, London 1887, p. xxxv; Curzon, II, 289.

Karīm Khān [q. v.] who had disposed of his Bakhtiyār rival was himself a Lak of the tribe of Zand, settled in the immediate neighbourhood of Luristān-i Feili. On the movements of population in his time, cf. the articles *KURAN* and *LAK*. In 1200 (1785) when Qasr Khān Zand had to fall back on Shūsh a number of Lurs and of Turks assembled at Isfahān under former partisans of 'Alī Mardān Khān but the town was soon occupied by Akā Muhammad Qājār who had nothing better to do than attack the Bakhtiyār ('Alī al-Karīm Shirāzi, *Ta'rikh-i Zandīya*, ed. Beer, p. 29; Malcolm, *op. cit.*, II, 179 sq.) which injured his popularity among the tribes.

The Lur Bakhtiyār country was never completely assimilated during the century and a half which the Qājārs reigned. A résumé of the history of the Bakhtiyār in the 19th century has been given by Curzon in Ch. xlv. of his *Persia*. At first the Kunneri family, descended from the brother of 'Alī Mardān Khān (cf. above), came to the front but the expedition of the governor of Isfahān Manūčihr Khān Mu'tamid al-Dawla (whose real name was Vaniholopow, he was an Armenian from Tiflis) in 1841 put an end to the career of the Bikhāni Muhammad Taqi Khān and the family did not recover. About 1850 the Bakhtiyār-wand (or Baidarwand, a family which claimed to be descended from a shepherd named Tāpī) rose to prominence in the Hāshang group and in spite of the assassination in 1882 of its chief Husain Kāli Khān (Hāshangī lkhām) by order of prince Zill al-Sulaym retained its wealth and its importance. The Bakhtiyār played a considerable part in the Persian revolution which ended in the deposition of Muhammad 'Alī Shāh Qājār in 1909. The Bakhtiyār country all this time enjoyed perfect autonomy under the rule of its *khāns* and *shāhs*.

The centralising efforts of the Qājārs had more effect in Luristān-i Feili (formerly Lar-i Kūsh) in as much as, as a result of the governorship in Kirmānshāh of the energetic prince Muhammad 'Alī at the beginning of the 19th century, the old family of the *mīrāns* of Luristān found its rights reduced simply to the possession of Pish-Kūh (q. v. and *Chirkow*, p. 227). The Pish-Kūh formed the Persian province of Luristān. Muham-

mad 'Alī Mīrān with troops and artillery marched through this province. In 1836 Rawlinson followed him at the head of his Gurān regiment. After the famous expedition of Manūčihr Khān (1841), his nephew Sulaimān Khān Sahām al-Dawla, governor of Khuzistān, maintained order in Luristān but for the second part of the 19th century Luristān was plunged more or less into a state of anarchy. It was not till 1900 that prince 'Ain al-Dawla was able to restore order in Luristān and at this time several explorers travelled freely in the disturbed province. But in November 1904 two British officers (Col. Douglas and Capt. Lorimer) on their way to Khurramshād were attacked and wounded by Lurs. A considerable agitation was stirred up among the Lurs (and in western Persia generally) by the appearance among them of the rebel prince Salār al-Dawla (several times since 1905). In spite of the efforts of the Persian government Luristān remained closed till 1917, when with the help of foreign representatives several caravans went from Dizful to Burtūjdīd. About the same time the Persian government conferred the rank of *valī* of Pish-Kūh on Naqar 'Alī Khān Amrā' (cf. the article *LAK*); cf. Edmonds in the *Geogr. Journ.*, 1922.

It is only since the accession of Rida Khān (later Shāh Rida Pahlawī) that the situation in the region inhabited by tribes of Lur origin changed radically and the authority of the Central Government enforced respect for itself through the whole of the south-western provinces.

(V. MINORSKY)

LUR-I BUZURG, a dynasty of Aikbēgs which flourished in Eastern and Southern Luristān between 550 (1155) and 827 (1423) the capital of which was Ishādī (= Mālamīr; q. v.).

The eponymous founder of the dynasty, also known as Faqlawī, was a Kurd chief of Syria named Faqlōya. His descendants (the *Qasbiyān*—see mentions 9 predecessors of Abū Tāhir) migrated from Syria and passing through Masyāfīkīn and Ādharbāydjān (where they made an alliance with the Amra Dīwādī [?] of Gilān) they arrived about 500 (1006) in the plains north of Āshurān-Kūh (Luristān).

Their (1) chief Abū Tāhir (b. 'Ah) b. Muhammad distinguished himself in the service of the Salghurid Sunqur (543—556) in an expedition against the Shāhānkāra [q. v.]. As a reward Sunqur gave him Kūh-Gillīya and agreed to send him to conquer Luristān. He succeeded in this. Abū Tāhir assumed the title of Aikbēg and later quarrelled with Sunqur and made himself independent (c. 550). (The *Maqāna al-Anālī* seems to confuse several individuals under the name Ka'id 'Alī, to whom it attributes the following successes: the defeat of the Shāl [q. v.], the deposition of Nāqir al-Dīn, last descendant of Badr, ruler of Luristān, and the defeat of the Khuzistān troops commanded by the Turk Eshek).

Under the son of Abū Tāhir, (2) Malik (sic) Hāzrasp (600—626 or 650?), Luristān prospered and new Arab and Iranian tribes flocked into it. Hāzrasp drove out of Luristān the last remnants of the Shāl and invaded Luristān proper. The Shāl migrated to Fāz. Hāzrasp disputed with the Salghurids the possession of the fortress of Māndjāht (Mungāht, S. W. of Mālamīr). The possessions of Hāzrasp were extended up to a distance of 4 farsakhs from Isfahān. The Caliph

Nasir (575-622) confirmed to Hazrasp the title of Atābeg. On the other side Hazrasp maintained friendly relations with the Khwarizmshāh Muhammad and gave his daughter in marriage to his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn (*Djihad-nama*, G.M.S., XVI/2, p. 113, 204). [The *Djihad-nama* mentions two sons of Hazrasp: 'Imād al-Dīn (d. 646) and Nusrat al-Dīn Kalha (d. in 649); the former bought Zarda-Kūh, where several members of the family were afterwards interred].

(3) Tikla (c. 655-656), son of Hazrasp and his Salghurid wife, successfully withstood four attacks on him by the Salghurid Atābeg of Fārs, who was indignant among other things at the expulsion of the Shāl from Luristān. Tikla took from Hūmā al-Dīn Khalīl (d. in 640) certain districts of Lur-i Kūsh. He defeated the generals sent against him from Khūristān by the caliph. During the Baghdād campaign of Hūlāgū Khān (655), Tikla accompanied him in Kūbūkā-nōin's division (*sumas*). He did not however conceal his feelings about the treatment inflicted on the caliph and Muslims. Hūlāgū took umbrage at this and Tikla fled to Luristān and shot himself up in Māndjast. Hūlāgū pardoned him but later changed his mind and had him executed in Tabriz. Tikla was buried at Zarda-Kūh.

(4) Shams al-Dīn Alp Arghūn succeeded to his executed brother and ruled for 15 years. He led a nomadic life. His winter residence was at Ishādī and at Sas (probably Shān on the Kārn above Shāstār) and his summer one at Dīy-i sūd (on the upper waters of the Zarda-rūd) and at Bāruft (source of the Kārn).

His son (5) Yūsuf Shāh had spent his youth with Abaka-Khān (663-680) and even after appointed in his father's stead remained at the Mongol court with 200 horsemen. He took part in the war against Turak-khān (q. v.) and distinguished himself in a skirmish with the Dailamites. To the possessions of Yūsuf Shāh Abaka added Khūristān, the region of Kūh-Gillīya and the towns of Fīrūzān (7 farsakhs above Isfahān) and Dīr-bādshāhān (Gulpaygān). Yūsuf Shāh went to Kūh-Gillīya and attacked the Shāl settled in the modern Mammasant country east of Kūh-Gillīya. After the death of Abaka, Yūsuf Shāh was forced against his will to go with 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 foot to the help of Ahmad Takūdā. The latter was defeated (685) and the Lurs retreated from Tāms to Nānāz across the desert where the majority died of thirst. After the accession of Arghūn, Yūsuf Shāh went to pay him homage and interceded on behalf of the former vizier Khwādja Shams al-Dīn who had taken refuge in Luristān (cf. d'Osseson, iv, 5).

His son (6) Afrāsiyāb sent his brother Ahmad to the court of Arghūn while he himself remained in Luristān where he put to death the members of the former vizier family. Their relatives having taken refuge in Isfahān, Afrāsiyāb sent his kinsmen in pursuit of them. At this moment arrived the news of the death of Arghūn (690). The Lurs killed the Mongol governor of Isfahān. Afrāsiyāb appointed members of his family to govern in Hamadān, Fārs and in the territories reaching to the Persian Gulf and even began to march on the capital. The Mongol general Amir Turak was defeated at Kūhrūd (Kohrūd, near Kāshān). Kaikhatū Khān sent Mongol troops against Afrāsiyāb and troops from Lur-i Kūsh. Afrāsiyāb shot

himself in Māndjast but after some time went to Kaikhatū who pardoned him. Returning to Luristān, Afrāsiyāb massacred his own relatives and a number of the notables. Ghāzār Khān (694-703) at first showed himself favourable to Afrāsiyāb but in 696 on the complaint of the Amir Hūrūdāq of Fārs, Afrāsiyāb was tried and executed at Malāwand (?) of Fārs.

The rank of Atābeg was next conferred on his brother (7) Nusrat al-Dīn Ahmad (from 695 to 730 or 733) who had spent most of his life at the court of the Ilkhāns. According to the *Maqna'at al-Ansāb* he introduced Mongol institutions (*āyāt-i monghāl*) into Luristān. Hamdallāh Mustawfī praises his able and prudent administration which repaired the damage done by Afrāsiyāb. He was a friend of men of religion and several books were dedicated to him, like the *Tārīkh Ma'ān* fi *Ahwāl-i Malak-i Isfahān* of Fāzī Allāh Karwīnī. The *Maqna'at al-Ansāb* gives him the title of *pir*. According to Ibn Battūta he built 160 madrasas ("hermitages") of which 44 were at Ishādī and he had roads cut through the mountains.

His son and successor (8) Kukū al-Dīn Yūsuf Shāh II (733-740) was also a just ruler. His lands (*Maqna'at al-Ansāb*) extended from Būra and Khūristān to Lālamūstān (?) and Fīrūzān. He was buried in the madrasa of Ruknābād.

His successor was his son (according to Ibn Battūta his brother) (9) Muza'ffar al-Dīn Afrāsiyāb II (Ahmad). Ibn Battūta travelling via Maḡal-Rāms-Tustar, visited the capital Ishādī or Mālmir. He found the prince given to wine. The Arab traveller describes the peculiar customs of the Lurs which he witnessed at the burial of the son of the 'sultan'. The latter's possessions included Tustar (Shāstār) and extended to Garwā al-Rūh (the modern Kahravākh in Čarmāhāl west of Fīrūzān). During the ten days the Arab traveller took to cover this distance he found shelter every night in a madrasa. At the same time (740) Hamdallāh Mustawfī mentions among the possessions of the Great Lur Dīshālāq (apparently this district N.E. of Luristān and west of Gulpaygān).

Next follows an obscure period. According to the anonymous historian of Mirzā Iskandar, the successor of Afrāsiyāb was his son (10) Nawr al-Ward ("rose-bud"), who ruled from 736 (?) to 756 and dispipated the treasures of his ancestors. According to the *Djihad-nama*, Muhammad Muza'ffar of Fārs (715-760) learning of his dealings with Abū Ishāk Indjū had him blinded at Sas in 756. His cousin (the *Djihad-nama* has: nephew) (11) Shams al-Dīn Pashang b. Yūsuf Shāh II (?) succeeded him and ruled from 756 to 780. At this time Luristān became involved in the civil wars of the Muza'ffarids. When Shāh Mansūr, making Shāstār his headquarters began a series of raids on the lands of Pashang, Shāh Shudjā' (elder brother and rival of Mansūr, d. 786 = 1384) came to the help of Pashang. We have coins of 762 and 764 struck at Ishādī in the name of Shudjā' (S. Lane-Poole, *Cat. of Oriental Coins in the Brit. Mus.*, vol. vi, [London 1881], p. 335, 237). After the death of Pashang a struggle began between his two sons (12) Malik Pīr Ahmad and his younger brother (12bis) Malik Hushang in which the latter was killed. (According to the anonymous historian of Iskandar, if he has been rightly understood by Howorth, Ahmad and Hu-

shah were sons of Nawr al-Ward and the former was the immediate successor of his father). Shah Manjūr drove out Pir Ahmad and appointed in his stead a notable named Malik Uwais. When Timur passed through Luristan in 795 Pir Ahmad came to meet him at Kām-Hormuz. Timur later received him graciously at Shiraz, confirmed him by a decree (*al-ta'aruf*) in his hereditary possessions and allowed him to repatriate 2,000 families of Lurs deported by Shah Manjūr. In spite of this in 798, Timur took as hostages to Samarkand the brothers of Pir Ahmad Afrāsiyāh and Manjūrshāh. Timur afterwards divided Lur-i Buzurg (?) between Pir Ahmad and Afrāsiyāh. After the death of Timur, Mirzā Pir Muhammad imprisoned Pir Ahmad in Kulandis. He was restored in 811 but met his end in a popular rising. The son of Pir Ahmad (13) Abū Sa'īd, kept for two years a hostage at the court of Mirzā Iskandar at Shiraz, succeeded his father and died in 820. His son (14) Shah Husain died in 827 by the hand of his relative (15) Ghāsiyāh al-Dīn b. Kā'm b. Hūshang (1266). The latter seized the power but the Timūrid Sulṭān Ismā'īl b. Shāhrukh sent troops to expel him and thus ended the rule of the Farḡawī family. Later the power passed into the hands of local notables of the Baghliyāsi tribes (*Sharaf-nāma*, I, 48).

Bibliography: Rashid al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère; Waṣafī, *Tadhīyat al-Afḡār*, Madjallat II, history of Yumūshāh and Afrāsiyāh; *Tavārikh-i Gushā*, with the history of the Murāḡarids in appendix, *G.M.S.*, p. 537—547, 723, 725, 745; based on Rashid al-Dīn and the *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh* of Djamāl al-Dīn Kāshānī; Muḥammad b. 'Alī Shahrīkāri, *Majma' al-Awā'id* (in 743); appendix [owing to the liberality of the Royal Asiatic Society I have been able to consult the MS. Cat. Marley, N^o xv, which contains the appendix on the Lur-i Buzurg (fol. 142—145); the author's statements are somewhat confused]; *Zafar-nāma*, I, 435, 599; 619, 811; Mikhond, *Kawā'id al-Safā*, vol. iv.; Kāḡi Ahmad Ghaffari, *Djikhān-ārā* (in 974), MS. British Museum, Or. 141, fol. 137—140 [I owe the copy to Muḥammad-Khān Kāwānī], contains some useful information; *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 21—32, based at the beginning on a good text of the *Tavārikh-i Gushā*; Khwārazmī Abūkhāh, *Firdaws al-Tawārīkh*, passage on the Great Lur in the translation of the *Sharaf-nāma* of Charney, I/4, p. 328—337; Hādidi Khālifa, *Djikhān-namā*, p. 286 (cf. Charney, *ibid.*, I/4, p. 100—110); Mawāḡijim-baḡhl, II, 597—598; d'Olsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, III, 24, 28, 230, 259, 400, 455, 589; IV, 5, 12, 62, 94, 114, 169—170, 580; Howarth, *History of the Mongols*, III, 140, 407, 751—754, which uses the statements of the anonymous history of the grandson of Timur Mirzā Iskandar, written in 815, MS. of the British Museum, Or. 1566; MS. of the Asiatic Museum of Leningrad 566^h.

(V. MINORSKY)

LUR-I KUCIK, a dynasty of Atābegs which ruled in Northern and Western Luristan between 580 (1184) and 1006 (1397) with Khurramshāh as their capital. The Atābegs were descended from the Lur tribe of Djamāl (Djāngardī). The dynasty is also known by the name of Khurshidī from the name of the first Atābeg. (It remains to be seen if this name is connected with that of Muḥammad Khurshid, vizier of the former rulers

of Luristan before the rise of the Atābegs of Lur-i Buzurg). After 730 the power passed to another line which later claimed to be of 'Alid descent; at this time also the title *malik* succeeded that of *atābeg*.

The ancestors of the Khurshidī had entered the service of Hishām al-Dīn (of the Turk tribe of Shāhli or Shāhli) who ruled Luristan and Khuzistan about the end of the Seldjūq period (c. 550—580).

(1) Shādūjā' al-Dīn Khurshid b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Khurshid was at first *Shāhna* of a part of Luristan on behalf of Hishām al-Dīn but after the death of the latter (in 570 or 580) became independent lord of the whole of Lur-i Kucik. He waged war on the Djamrawī (the tribe in which he had originated, but which was then being ruled by his rival Surkhāb b. 'Aiyār) and besieged their stronghold Dīzi-Siyāh (in the district of Mānrad and in the 'wilāyat' of Samhāf). The inhabitants headed all Mānrad over to him but the caliph ordered Shādūjā' al-Dīn to deliver up to himself the stronghold of Mānrad (Müngerre north of Kīlāh). In compensation Shādūjā' al-Dīn drove back the Bayāt Turks who were ravaging Luristan. He led a nomadic life and spent the summer at Kīrt (in Balā-Girtwa) and the winter at Dulur (Dih-i Lurān in Pasht-i Kūh) and at Malāh (?). He died a centenarian in 621 and his tomb was venerated by the Lurs. His son Badr was killed by his nephew (2) Saif al-Dīn Rustam b. Nūr al-Dīn who became Atābeg and was a good ruler. Rustam was succeeded by his brothers first (3) Shāh al-Dīn Abū Bakr and next (4) 'Izz al-Dīn Garshāsp. The latter married the widow of Abū Bakr, Malika Khātūn, who was the sister of Sulaimān Shāh Atwa, later commander-in-chief of the caliph al-Musta'īm (*Atāh* should be altered to *Atwa*, name of a tribe or a district in the time of the last Seldjūqs; cf. *Rihālat al-Sudūr*, *G.M.S.*, p. 346; *Djikhān-gushā*, *G.M.S.*, XVI/2, p. 453; *Nuḥdat al-Kulūb*, *G.M.S.*, p. 107; Dehery, *Recherches sur quatre princes d'Hamedan*, *J.A.*, 1847, p. 177). When (5) Hishām al-Dīn Khālīl b. Badr b. Shādūjā' killed Garshāsp, a struggle ensued between him and Sulaimān-shāh (Shāh al-Dīn ?). The Lurs took Balūr (near Hamadan) but finally Khālīl was defeated and killed near Shāpur-khast in 640 (1242).

His brother (6) Badr al-Dīn Mas'ūd went to the court of Māngū and returned in the train of Hülegü. This ferocious man, an authority on Shāfi' law, ruled till 658. He showed great kindness to the family of Sulaimān-shāh, when the latter was executed at the taking of Baghād. The sons of Mas'ūd were executed by Abūka, who appointed Atābeg (7) Tādī al-Dīn b. Hishām al-Dīn Khālīl (also executed by Abūka in 677).

He had two immediate successors, the two sons of Mas'ūd of whom (8) Falak al-Dīn Ḥasan ruled a part of Luristan (*alīār, alīār*) and (9) 'Izz al-Dīn Ḥusain ruled the crown domains (*inḡā*). The number of their troops was 17,000. They channised the Bayāt and reunited under their control all the lands between Hamadan and Shāhtar and between Isfahān and the Arab lands. Both died in 692.

Kāshānī appointed as their successor (9) Djamāl al-Dīn Khāḡī b. Tādī al-Dīn, who was killed in 695 near Khurramshāh by (10) Hishām

al-Din 'Omar b. Shams al-Din 'Darmak' b. Shams al-Din b. Tahamtan b. Badr b. Shuja' who relied for support on the Mongol tribes settled in the lands adjoining Luristan. The other rulers did not recognise this usurper and he had to make way for (11) Samsham al-Din Mahmud b. Nur al-Din b. 'Izz al-Din Garshasp who slew a certain Shihab al-Din Ilyas and in turn was executed by Ghazna in 695.

(12) 'Izz al-Din Muhammad b. 'Izz al-Din (8th) was a minor and his cousin Badr al-Din Mas'ud (son of 8) obtained from Uldjaitu the title Atabeg and ruled over a part of Luristan (later) but later 'Izz al-Din fully established his authority. After his death (716 or 720) his widow (13) Dawlat Khātūn retained a semblance of authority while the real power was in the hands of the Mongols. Such was the state of affairs when Hamid-Allah was writing his *Tarikh-i Gushda* (c. 730). Later the *malik* (who according to the anonymous historian of Iskandar became the wife of Yūsuf Shāh of the Great Lur) found herself forced to surrender the throne to her brother (14) 'Izz al-Din Husain who received investiture from Abū Sa'īd and ruled for 14 years. His son and successor (15) Shuja' al-Din Mahmud was killed by his subjects in 750.

(16) The Malik 'Izz al-Din b. Shuja' al-Din was only 12 when his father died. The vicissitudes of his life are known from the record of them in the *Zafar-nāma*. In 785 (1383) the Muzaffarid Shāh Shuja' with his army visited Khorramābād and married the daughter of 'Izz al-Din. Another of his daughters was married to Ahmad b. Uways Dihlī. When Timur arrived in Persia in 788 he was told of the depredations of the Lurs of 'Izz al-Din. Setting out from Firuz-kūh, Timur by forced marches reached Luristan. Burujird was laid waste, and the fortress of Khorramābād tumbled to the ground. The ringleaders were thrown down from the tops of cliffs. The fate of 'Izz al-Din is unknown and we do not know if he was one of the Atabegs of Luristan to whom in 789 Timur granted an audience at Shirāz, but according to the anonymous historian of Mirza Iskandar, 'Izz al-Din was captured in 790 in the fortress of Rūmīyān (Armiyān, Wāmiyān, situated near Burujird) and deported with his son to Turkestan. At the end of three years both father and son were released. In 793, 'Izz al-Din played a part in the aggrandizement of the Muzaffarid Zain al-'Abidin, son of his old overlord Shāh-Shuja'. When in 795, Timur returned to Persia, he went from Burujird to Shahrīār. Luristan was overrun piece by piece and laid waste by the troops of Mirza 'Omar but 'Izz al-Din escaped his pursuers. In 798 prince Muhammad Sultan, governor of Fars, extended his authority over all Luristan and Khuzistan. In 805 we find a mention of the restoration of the fortress of Armiyān (?) near Burujird ordered by Timur and under 806 the *Zafar-nāma* mentions the arrival in Balakān from Nihāwand of a courier, bearing the head of 'Izz al-Din, whose skin had been stuffed with straw and publicly exposed. His son (17) Sidi Ahmad, whose irregularity in the payment of tribute seems to have provoked the punishment of his father, regained his possessions, after the death of Timur in 807, and ruled till 815 (or 825). (18) Shāh Husain ('Abbās', i.e. descendant of 'Abbās b. 'Alī b. Abū Talib), no-

other son of 'Izz al-Din, took advantage of the decline of the Timurids to extend his territory. He plundered Hamadān, Gulpāyagān, Isfahān and even undertook an expedition to Shahrīār where the Bahāri Turks slew him in 871 (or 873). His son (19) Shāh Rastam supported Ismā'īl I; at this period the lords of the Little Lur had already adopted the theory that they were of 'Alid descent. The son of Rastam (20) Oghur (or Oghuz) accompanied Shāh Tahmāsp on his campaign of 940 against Ubaid Allāh Khān and during his absence his brother (21) Dīkhāngīr seized the power. He was executed in 949. The governor (*jah*) of his son (22) Rustam Shāh handed over the latter to Tahmāsp Shāh who imprisoned him in Alamūt while Muhammadī, another son of Dīkhāngīr, was hidden by the Lurs at Čangala. An impostor in Luristan gave himself out to be Shāh Rustam Tahmāsp; then released the true Rustam who recovered his self but had to hand over a third of it (*do sang*) to his brother (23rd) Muhammadī. At the instigation of the wife of Shāh Rustam, the governor of Hamadān seized Muhammadī who was shut up in Alamūt. The sons of Muhammadī plunged Luristan and the adjoining provinces into great disorder. Ten years later Muhammadī escaped, and conquered Luristan while Shāh Rustam took refuge at the court of the Shāh. Muhammadī established good relations with Tahmāsp and Ismā'īl II but after their death submitted to Sulaym Murād III (982-1003), which earned him an extension of his territory by the cantons west of Pusht-i Kūh: Mandali, Djesān, Badrāy and Turak. But relations with the Ottomans soon became strained and Muhammadī became reconciled with the Safawis.

(24) Shāhwardī b. Muhammadī, who had escaped from Baghdad where he was living as a hostage, received investiture from Shāh Khudābāda after his father's death. At the time of the occupation of Nihāwand by the Turks Shāhwardī showed some signs of independence. In 1000 good relations with Shāh 'Abbās were re-established with whom Shāhwardī made the most of his alleged descent from 'Abbās b. 'Alī and his Shī'ism (*taḥayyuf* was 'Atabegīr). Shāh 'Abbās married his sister and gave him a Safawī princess in marriage. In 1002 Shāhwardī in a pitched battle killed the governor of Hamadān Oghurīn Sulaym Bayāz who was trying to levy taxes in Burujird. Shāh 'Abbās, filled with wrath, left the Khuzistan front and hastened to Khorramābād. Shāhwardī crossed the Saimara (Karkhā) and escaped to Baghdad. Luristan was given to Sulaym Husain b. Shāh Rustam. In 1003 Shāhwardī was pardoned and restored but he was not long in relapsing. In 1006 Shāh 'Abbās took the field against him a second time. Shāhwardī was besieged and slain in the fortress of Čangala (in Pusht-i Kūh). Husain Khān b. Manjir beg Salwat (?) was given Luristan, except Saimara, Hindomas (?) and Pusht-i Kūh which were given to Tahmāsp Kull Ismail. This may be regarded as the end of the dynasty of the Atabegs of the Little Lur, although the dynasty of "wālis" of Luristan (later of Pusht-i Kūh (q. v.) only) claims descent from Husain Khān who was a cousin of Shāhwardī.

Bibliography: *Tarikh-i Gushda*, G. M. S., XIV/L, p. 547-557, 100; *Zafar-nāma*, I, 305, 438, 587-588, 594, 788, 811; II, 515, 555; Anonymous history of Mirza Iskandar, grandson

of Timur (utilised by Howorth); *Djihad-nâmâ* of Kaḡi Ahmad Ghaffari; *Sharaf-nâmâ*, i. 32—55; *Aḡa-sayyid 'Abdûl*, Tih-rân 1314, p. 320, 342, 367—370; *Djihad-nâmâ*; Mâruḡ-ḡim-baḡi, ii. 598—600; d'Oshon, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii. 250—261; iv. 171; Hammer, *Gesch. d. Ilkhan*, i. 161—163; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii. 140, 106, 754. (V. MINORSKY)

LURISTÂN, "land of the Lurs", a region in the S.W. of Persia. In the Mongol period the terms "Great Lar" and "Little Lar" roughly covered all the lands inhabited by Lar tribes. Since the Safawid period, the lands of the Great Lar have been distinguished by the names of Kûh-Gilû and Bakhtiyârî. At the beginning of the xviiith century the Mamasani confederation occupied the old Shûllistân [q. v.] and then created a third Lar territory between Kûh-Gilû and Shûriz.

It is however only since the xviith century that Lur-i Küçük [q. v.] has been known as Luristân (for greater precision it was called Luristân-i Felli). In the xixth century Luristân was divided into two parts: 1. Fîsh-Kûh, "country on this side of the mountains" (i.e. east of Kabûr-Kûh) and 2. Pugh-i Kûh (country beyond the mountains) i.e. west of Kabûr-Kûh. At the present day the term Luristân usually means Fîsh-Kûh while Pugh-i Kûh means the Felli country.

The Mamasani territory and the Kûh-Gilû form part of the province of Fârs. The capital of the Mamasani is at Fahliyân (cf. *ibid.*). Kûh-Gilû (Kûh-Djîlâyâ, Kûh-Gilû) stretches from Bâht (west of Fahliyân) to Bîlbehâd; this last town is the main centre for the tribes of Kûh-Gilû. To the south the Kûh-Gilû tribes descend as far as the Persian Gulf. The mountains of Kûh-Gilû and the frontier between its tribes and the Bakhtiyârî are not yet well known. The chief rivers of Kûh-Gilû are the Ab-i Shûm which is formed by the junction of the Khairâbâd and the Zohra and in its lower course runs via Zaidân and Hindiyân, and the Ab-i Kardûstân or Djarrâhî, one branch of which later runs into the Kârn [q. v.] and the other towards Dawrak. On Kûh-Gilû see the valuable *Fârs-nâmâ-yi Nâḡir* of Hasan Fâsi (Tih-rân 1313), the *Annuaire* of Stoeckner, Haussknecht (*Revue de l'Orient*, Map. iv.), Wells and Herzfeld and the general account in de Bode, i. 251—259; ii. 327—398; Ritter, *Erdbunde*, ix. 132—144 is now very much out of date.

The Bakhtiyârî lands stretch from Çakîrmakîll (west of Isfahân) to Shûghtar; to the south the Bakhtiyârî march with the Kûh-Gilû and to the north they go beyond the northern barrier of Luristân (Shuturân-kûh etc.). They are found at Fâsaldân, Burburûd, Djâpalagh, and in the cantons around Burâdjîrd (even before 1840 many villages had been purchased here by Muhammad Taḡi Khân Cabâr-lang). Roughly speaking the Bakhtiyârî occupy the upper basin of the Zandârûd and of the Kârn [q. v.] above Shûghtar. The works of Layard, Sawyer, Mrs. Bishop, Curzon etc. give a very accurate picture of this mountainous country, in the centre of which rises the Kûh-i Rang (12,800 feet high) which forms the watershed between the Persian Gulf and the central Persian plateau. (It may be asked if the name Kûh-i Rang is not the Mongol *Arang*, "encampment, larger", found in Luristân).

The frontier between the Bakhtiyârî and the Lurs proper follows the western branch of the

Ab-i Diz, an important tributary of the Kârn. Luristân (Pigh-kûh) is bounded on the east and west by the convergent streams of the Ab-i Diz and the Karkhâ, while in the north the range of the Çahûn-âb-ḡilghân, Garû etc. separates Luristân from Nihâwand and Sîlghôr (district of Burâdjîrd). To the west of Karkhâ Pugh-i Kûh begins. In the northwest the frontier of Luristân runs to the southwest of the districts of Hâfîlân and Harân which belongs to the province of Kirmânsah.

The chief left bank tributary of the Karkhâ is the Kashgân (Rawlinson: Kashaghan) which is formed by two arms. The northern arm with its tributaries drains the beautiful plains of Hûr-rûd, Ahsitar and Khâwa. The southern arm, separated from the northern one by the Yâfta-kûh range, takes the name of the town of Khurramâbâd [q. v.] near which it passes. After the confluence of the two arms, the Kashgân, running S.W., receives on the left bank the combined waters of the Kawgûn and Tîym, which flow from Kûh-i Hâfîd Pahlû (south of Khurramâbâd) and the northern slopes of the Kûh-i Gird. These two ranges are at right angles to the mountains which follow the right bank of the Ab-i Diz, which they separate from the valley of the Karkhâ. On the right bank the Kashgân receives the Mâdîyân-rûd, "river of the mare". Above Kashgân the Karkhâ receives on its left bank several tributaries of less importance still little known (Rûhâr etc.). Below Kashgân and also on the left bank, the Karkhâ receives the Fâni, Leilan (Lehûm) and Ab-i Zâl. This last river with its tributaries Anârak etc. rises in the southern slopes of the Kûh-i Gird. The topography of the right bank of the Ab-i Diz is not well known. The sources of the Baladrûd and its right bank tributary the Kîr-âb lie a considerable distance to the north. The Baladrûd flows into the Ab-i Diz between Dîsfûl and Susa. The Kîr-âb receives on its right bank the waters of the Kûl-âb which come down from the high valley of Mûngarâz, which with the peaks that surround it form a kind of natural bastion and separate the basin of the Baladrûd from that of the Ab-i Zâl. The Sahrâ-yi Lur plain formerly well irrigated lies north of Dîsfûl and south of Kîr-âb ("pitch-water") whose naphtha spring has been known since ancient times. It was probably here that Darius settled a colony of Greeks (Ritter, ix. 201).

The interior of Luristân presents a series of mountain ranges, which stretch N.W. to S.E., the direction usual in Persia, and the one behind the other between the plains of Susiana and the northern barrier (height about 9,000 feet).

Ancient history. The lands now occupied by the Lur tribes have been inhabited since the period before the arrival of Iranians in them. This region, being at a considerable distance from Assyria, was mainly under the influence of Elam; Susa where there have been found traces of occupation going back to the third millennium B.C., lies just at the entrance to the mountains of the Little Lar. The purest traces of the local culture and of this alone are found more to the south-east. Just as the Aḡâḡs of the Great Lar had for their capital Idhûd (= Mâhmûr) so in very early times, the lords of this district, the kings of Anapî (Hapîrî?), whatever were their relations with the rulers of Susa had control at least of

the Kārūn valley. The site of Mālmair (cf. de Bode, *Layard, Jéquier in de Morgan, Dîrê, en Persie*, 1902, li. 133-143 and Hüsing, *Der Zagros in seiner Fülle*, Leipzig 1908, p. 40-50) with its purely indigenous (Elamite, non-Semitic) inscriptions and bas-reliefs is an important point. The recent discovery by Herzfeld (*Königschrift, Z.D.M.G.*, 1926, p. 250) in the Mamasani region of a bas-relief and bricks bearing Elamite characters (1500-1000 B.C.) is valuable as indicating the extent of Elamite penetration into the Lur mountains. Kūh-Gillū lying between Susiana and Persia may correspond to the still unknown region of Anshan (Anran) out of which came the ancestors of Cyrus the Great. On the survival of this name near Shāstār, cf. *Grundr. d. Iran. Phil.*, li. 418 (according to Rawlinson: Assia).

The antiquities of the valley of the Upper Kārūn (the two Sūzen, Luchagān, the mounds of Salm, Tūr and Irād) are insufficiently known (Layard, Sawyer). According to Sawyer, the higher Bakhtiari lands are "singularly devoid of any ancient landmarks".

For the west part of Luristān in the strict sense of the word see the articles MĀHARĀHĀN and PŪHT-I KŪH. No monuments of very great antiquity have yet been discovered in Pish-kāh except the maves (Medius?) of Sedarān between Mīngara and Khurramābād, Cirkow, p. 129. The early inhabitants of Luristān were the Kashūja = Kossaii who imposed their rule on Babylon between 1760 and 1650 B.C. The Achaemenids paid the Kossaii for the right of passage by the Babylon-Ecbatane route. These highlanders were temporarily subdued by Alexander the Great. Antigonus, pursued by Ramezes, traversed the heart of the Kossaii country, according to Rawlinson on the route Pul-i-tang-Keilan-pass-Khurramābād (Ritter, *Erkundung*, ix, p. 335). The Kossaii (who should perhaps be distinguished from the Kāra = Oghuz = Uvadjā = Khūz) spoke a language different from that of their neighbours, but in it we already find proper nouns borrowed from Indo-European. Cf. E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altert.*, 1/2, Berlin 1913, § 455; Hüsing, *Der Zagros*, p. 24 and Autran in *Les langues du monde*, Paris 1925, p. 283. [The name Kashūja has perhaps survived in that of the river Kashūja].

It is also probable that northern Luristān was more or less dependent on the land of Ellipi, often mentioned by the Assyrians. This region, which was considerably influenced by Media is now located in the province of Kirmīnshūh. Cf. Andreas, *Alcesis*, in Pauly-Wissowa⁷; Streck, *Z. A.*, xv., 379; *Cambridge Ancient History*, 1924, li., cf. map.

We know very little about the Marwesi people who (Herodotus, v. 49) were bounded on one side by the Armenians and on the other by the Susians (Reinach, *Un peuple oublié: Les Mantiens*, *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1894, vii, p. 313-318).

Here we can only call attention to these various ethnical elements buried in the later strata of Iranian invasions. In the name of Faraidan, a canton in the northeast of Bakhtiari, we have a reminiscence of the Median tribe of Faraiakenoi (Herodotus, li. 110) and of the province of Haparranovē (Strabo, li. p. 80) which lay between Media and Persia (in Assyrian: Partakka, Partakka; cf. Streck, *Z. A.*, xv., p. 363). The translocation must have been accelerated by the formation of

the great empires, Achaemenid, Macedonian, Parthian and lastly Sassanian. There are many Sassanian towns in the valley of the Kārūn. Many Sassanian buildings are attributed by the natives to the Atāhegs of Luristān, who were certainly nothing more than the restorers. The complicated system of bridges is very remarkable (cf. the photographs in de Morgan, *Études Géogr.*, li. and *Études Archéol.*, Paris 1896-1897, p. 360-374) and the roads which may still be traced on the upper courses of the rivers of Susiana. The remains of roads, paved or hewn out of the rock, may be seen at Tang-i Sālak (between Bihbihān and Mālmair) near the Sassanian bas-reliefs (de Bode, l. 353, 364), to the east and west of Mālmair (de Bode, l. 390, li. 820; *Goddard's atabakan*), between Dīfāl and Kārūn (Rawlinson, *A march from Zohab*, p. 93), to the mouth of Khāwa (*Goddard's Khurram*, Cirkow, p. 216-227). All these works are evidence of a systematic and continuous penetration. But since at the end of the fourth (fifth) century the inhabitants of the plain of Khūzistān had not yet forgotten the Hūz language (Mukaddasi, p. 418) colonies of the ancient stocks may have survived in isolated corners of the mountains. The Lur highlands only assumed their present ethnical character under the Atāhegs.

The knowledge of the Arab geographers about the Lur country is very summary although they describe the routes between Khūzistān and Fars (cf. Schwarz, *Persien*, p. 173-180; Arrāḍīn-Shirāz, p. 190; Arrāḍīn-Sumatra), between Khūzistān and Isfahān (the road started from Isfahān; Ibn Khurūdādhbih, p. 57; Mukaddasi, p. 401) and lastly between Khūzistān and Dīfāl. As to these last routes, Isfahān, p. 196, reckons from al-Lur to Shāpur-Khāst 30 farsakhs, from there to Lāstār (= Alāstār) 12 farsakhs; from there to Nihāwand 10 farsakhs (the road must be that which follows the upper waters of the Bafā-rūd). A few details of this route are gleaned up by Mukaddasi, p. 401, who gives the following eight stages: Karādī (cf. the article *surpāshān*), Wafāwānī-Dīrkūn-Khurūdādhbih (certainly = Hūzūd, Hūzūd, north of Khurramābād)-Sabur-Khūwas (= Shāpur-Khāst = Khurramābād)-Karkūsh (?)-al-Khān-Karmānīn-al-Lur. Mukaddasi, p. 418 also makes one suspect the existence of a road along the Ab-i Dīr: from al-Lur to al-Dīr, two stages, from there to Rāyagān one stage, from there to Gūlpāyagān 40 farsakhs through uninhabited country (*mafrūḥ*).

Among the inhabited places in modern Luristān may be noted the following: the town of al-Lur, 2 farsakhs north of Dīfāl (Kāmarat Andamish) the site of which should be sought in the plain of Shāpur-yi Lur near Sāllihābād; the town of Lāstār, now disappeared, was certainly in the plain of Alāstār and the town of Shāpur-Khāst. The exact location of the latter is important for the comprehension of certain events in the fifth (eleventh) century (Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 89, 146, 211; x. 166; *Tārīkh-i Gūzid*, p. 557). Rawlinson had identified Khurramābād with Shāpur-Khāst (cf. *Le Strange, The Lands*, etc., p. 202, p. 668). The combined evidence of Isfahān, p. 196 and 201, of the *Nakhal al-Gūzid*, p. 70, 176 and particularly of the itinerary of Mukaddasi, p. 401 fully justify Rawlinson's identification (against Le Strange). The change of name, or moving of the site (cf. Schwarz) must have taken

place in the sixth century. The *Nushat al-Kulûb* (740 = 1340) which does not include Shâpur-Khâst in its enumeration of the towns of the Little Lur is the first source to mention Khurramâbad (a town in ruins). It is on the other hand not at all probable that the *niyâset* of Mân-rûd, the alleged ancestral home of the Lurs, is near Khurramâbad. It should be sought to the north of the town of al-Lur near Mân-garra (= Mângarra). Samhâ, mentioned in the *Ta'rikh-i Gûda*, p. 548, was in Mân-rûd; its fortress Diz-i Sijâh must correspond to the fort of Diz which defends the entrance to Mângarra and was destroyed by the walls of Pušt-i Kûh in 1895 (Mann, *Die Mandarten der Lur-stämme*, p. 117). Finally the stronghold of Gûr (Ta'rikh-i Gûda, p. 549, 552) is mentioned by Čirikow, p. 133, among the encampments of the tribe of Pâpi (to the south of Khurramâbad).

Economic conditions. Apart from the Bahktiyârî districts near Isfahan where there are flourishing villages, the Lur territories (inhabited by nomads or semi-nomads) only export the products of their cattle-breeding. But the future of the mountainous country which lies like an amphitheatre around the plain of Khûstân is very promising. The Lur lands are rich in minerals and especially in petrol. The famous wells of Masdjid-i Sulaimân (Masjd-Nafân), belonging to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company are in the middle of Bahktiyârî territory (between Shâhât and Mâlamir). The same Company whose concession includes all the petrol-bearing lands in the whole of southern Persia is putting into operation its claims in the Kûh-Gûr region (to the north of the port of Gûmâwa) etc. (cf. Schweet, *Die türkisch-pers. Erdölverkommen*, Hamburg 1919).

On the other hand the territories now occupied by the Lurs played a considerable part in ancient times, as they lay on this route between the great centres of the Persian empire. Their southern part (Kûh-Gûr) may become of great importance for air and railway communication between Mesopotamia and India. The Bahktiyârî country is now traversed by the caravan route connecting Khûstân with Isfahan and controlled by Lynch Brothers. Finally Luristân proper seems destined to be crossed by the main line connecting the Persian Gulf (Mohammara or Khûstân) with Teherân, and perhaps with the Caspian Sea. Before the war of 1914 surveys had already been begun for making the Mohammara-Dizful-Khurramâbad railway by the Persia Railways Syndicate (cf. Litzen, *Persien*, Berlin 1920, p. 63, 88). Since the change of dynasty in Persia, the Persian government proposes to carry through this task itself; cf. Millspongh, *American Tail in Persia*, London 1926, p. 272.

Bibliography: Cf. the articles BAKHTIYÂRÎ, KÂBÛ, KERRA, KHURRÂMBÂD, KURD, MÂLAMIR, MÔBARADHÂN, PUŠT-I KÛH, etc. — Socquien, *Fifteen Months' Pilgrimage through Khûstân*, London 1831 (cf. Bode, I, 345); Aucher Eloy, *Relations de Voyages*, 1835, p. 270—285, 329—331; Rawlinson, *Notes on a March from Zohab*, *J. R. G. S.*, 1849, ix.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Berlin 1840, ix., p. 144—158, 199—219, 323—411 (principally from Rawlinson); Layard, *Assured cities among the Bahktiyârî Mountains*, *J. R. G. S.*, 1842, p. 102—109; Bode, *The Country of Mohammara and Kûgûn*, *J. R. G. S.*, 1843, xiii, p. 75—85; do., *From Bâbchân to Shustar*, *ibid.*, 86—107; do., *Travels in Luristân and Arabistân*,

London 1845, i.—ii.; Layard, *A Description of the Province of Khûstân*, *J. R. G. S.*, 1846, xvi, p. 1—105; Loftus, *On the Geology of the Turco-Persian frontier*, *Quarterly J. Geol. Soc.*, 1854 and 1855, x., p. 464—467; xi., p. 247—344 (esp. p. 261—265); Dizful-Khurramâbad, Map ix. in colours and figures 3—8; Lady Sholl, *Glimpses of Life*, London 1856, p. 393—422 (lists of the tribe by Col. Sholl); Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana*, London 1857; Comte Rochechouart, *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Perse*, Paris 1867, p. 91; Spiegel, *Historische Altertümer*, 1871, i., 103—113, 751—758; Čirikow, *Persian Journal* (1849—1852), St. Petersburg 1875, p. 85—88, 122—131, 134—141; Dizful-Mângarra-Khurramâbad-Burudjird; p. 211—241; Kirmânshâh-Hulailân-Ah-gûdâs-Ljâidar-Pul-i tung-Kal'a-i Ridâ-Shish; p. 269—281; Dizful-Djâidar-Râhûr-Shirwan-Azim-âbad (Azmânâ)-Hârân-âbad-Kirân; p. 379—424; Khânîk-Mandali-Hawira-Shûsh-Dizful-Ps-yi pul; Dakin-Dih-i Lurân-Cangula-Mandali-Khânîk; p. 88—121; Khûstân and Luristân (after Layard); p. 132—133; Pušt-Kûh (the English Russian exploration of 1849—1852 is the foundation of modern maps); Khurshid Efendi, *Siyâhet-nâmeh-i Hudûd*, Russian transl. from Ghamatow, St. Petersburg 1877, p. 84—109; Feil, *Djân, Badra, Mandali*; p. 375—380; Pušt-i Kûh; Hontum-Schindler, *Reisen im südwestlichen Persien*, *Zeitschr. d. Geogr. f. Erdkunde*, 1879, xiv., p. 38—67, 81—124 (Shâhât-Mâlamir-Duplîn-Isfahan-Farâidan, Burburud, Djâpalak-Burudjird-Khurramâbad two routes to Dizful-Râm Hormuz-Ahwâz); Rivalancaya, *Voyage en Perse*, Madrid 1880, ii. (Nishâwand-Burudjird-Khurramâbad-Dizful); Lady A. Munt, *A Pilgrimage to Nejd*, London 1881, ii., 113—223; Amara-Dizful-Bihbihân; Stack, *Six Months in Persia*, London 1882, ii., Isfahan-Cighakhôr-Dual-Sulâidjan-Khonsâr; H. L. Wells, *Surveying Tours in Southern Persia* (Bihbihân-Shirâz), *Proc. R. G. S.*, 1883, v.; Col. Bateman, *Champain, On the Various Means of Communication between Central Persia and the Sea*, *Proc. R. G. S.*, March 1883; *ibid.*, discounte by M. Mackenzie (cf. Mackenzie, *Communication to the Earl of Derby by Gray Davis and Co.*, London, October 13, 1875); Layard, *Early Adventures*, London 1887, vol. i.—ii.; Col. M. S. Bell, *A Visit to the Karun River and Kum*, *Blackwood's Magazine*, April 1889 (Burudjird-Dizful); A. Rodiez, *Bericht d. eine geol. Reise im west. Persien*, *S. B. A. W.*, xvii., 1889, i., p. 28 (cf. *Pet. Mitt.*, 1889, p. 27); Salimâbad-Djâpalak-Shurân-Kûh (3,500 metres)-Cighakhôr-Cao-Mahall-Farsidan; H. Blouse Lynch, *Access to Luristân to Teherân*, *Proc. R. G. S.*, Sept. 1890; W. F. Ainsworth, *The River Karun*, London 1890; Bishop, *Journeys in Persia*, 1891 (letters xiv.—xx.; Isfahan-Shalemir-Kûh-Kuag-Mâst-Bulûth-Khumbâd-Khurramâbad-Burudjird); Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892, ii., chap. xxiv.; the southwestern provinces, p. 268—320; de Morgan, *Mss. scient.*, *Études Géogr.*, Paris 1895; p. 141—156; Burudjird; p. 157—213; Northern Luristân; p. 314—48; Pušt-i Kûh; fine illustrations; the map of Elam was published separately in 1895; H. A. Sawyer, *The Bahktiyârî Mountains and Upper Elam*, *Geogr. Journ.*, 1894, p. 481—501 (cf. Sawyer, *Report on a Reconnaissance in the Bahktiyârî*

Country, Simla 1891, p. 1—108]; Tumański, *Of Kaspitskago mór'a i Hermaniškima polinam*, *Shornik materialov po Azii*, vol. 65, St. Petersburg 1896 (Bursdjird-Istfahan); Tomilow, *On the geography of Persia*, Tiflis 1902, p. 160; Dīsfūl-Khurrāmābād-Bursdjird; Lady Durand, *An Autumn Tour in Western Persia* (1899), London 1902 (Istfahan-Ahwaz-Dīsfūl-Khurrāmābād-Bursdjird); Feuvrier, *Trois ans à la cour de Perse*, Paris, n.d. (around Bursdjird); Barthold, *Asiatic Researches*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 121—129 (Luristan); Strauss, *Reise nach dem Nord-iran*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 265—271; Smirnow, *Luristan*, in *Isvestia Sibirsk. Kavkaz. Otkrytiya*, Tiflis 1905, No. 11—12, p. 1—53 (from French and Persian materials); Herzfeld, *Reise in Luristan*, *Pre. Mitt.*, 1907, lili, p. 49—53, 72—90 (Khanlyk-Saimara-Ahwaz-Kūh-Gilā-Shīrāz); D. L. E. Locumer, *Report on Pusht-i Kuh*, 1908; H. Grothe, *Wanderungen in Persien*, Berlin 1910 (Pusht-i Kuh); d'Almonagne, *La Khorassan au pays des Bakhtiari* (sic), Paris 1911, iv, 137—216 (Istfahan-Djunagūh); Minorsky, in *Materials for Wozirka*, St. Petersburg 1915, II, p. 276—325; Dīsfūl-Dawairidj-Bakāya-Mandali; Rahmo, *Les tribus du Luristan*, R.M.M., 1916, p. 1—46; Watelin, *La Perse immobile*, 1921 (some photographs of Luristan); Edmonds, *Luristan, Pusht-i Kuh and Balu-Gurteh*, *Geogr. Journ.*, May 1922, p. 335—356; June, p. 437—453 (Mangaza; Dīsfūl-Khurrāmābād-Kirmānshāh); much new and interesting information (Edmonds mentions the explorations of Barton (1897), Williams (1908) and A. T. Wilson (1911) the results of which do not seem to have been published); Manmell, *The Land of Elam*, *Geogr. Journ.*, May 1925, p. 432—437 (Pusht-i Kuh); Cl. Aret, *Feuilles Persanes*, Paris 1922, p. 244—255 (Cahar-Mahall); M. C. Cooper, *Grass*, New York 1925 (an admirably illustrated book studying the seasonal migrations of the Bakhtiari tribe Bāna Ahmadi: Sheshkur-Shimbar-Zardakūh-Cahar-Mahall). (V. MINORSKY)

LUT, the Biblical Lot has in Muslim legend, even as early as in the Kur'an, an importance which he does not have in the Bible or Haggada. As his story is associated with the downfall of the sinful Sodom (not however mentioned in the Kur'an) he appears to Muhammad as a prophet of punishment along with Hud, Salih, Nuh and Shu'ayb as predecessors of Muhammad. When Muhammad is accused of being a liar he can console himself with the reflection that before him the people of Nuh, 'Ad, Thamud, the people of Ibrahim and the people of Lut also called their prophets liars (Sura, cxii, 43). Lut's people (called *banu Lut*, I, 13; *ahwān Lut*) are usually located between Thamud and Madyan. Lut in the Kur'an becomes a *muḥsil*, messenger of Allah (xxvi, 160; xxvii, 133), a *raḥīm*, a reliable prophet (xxvi, 162), a participator in wisdom and knowledge (xxi, 74). When Ibrahim warns his people, Lut believes him (xxix, 25). Lut is sent to sinners who forbid hospitality (xv, 70), waylay strangers and practise sodomy and cruelty such as no other people had before them. They threaten him that they will banish those who lead such a moral life saying: "if thou preachest right, bring God's punishment upon us" (xxix, 28). God thereupon sends his angels of punishment; Ibrahim's intercession is in vain (xi, 77, 78). The

angels come to Lut. His people demand the visitors for sinful purposes. In vain Lut offers his daughters instead. He feels himself helpless. The angels calm him, saying: "We shall save thee, only no one must turn round; thy wife will do it". The city was turned completely upside down (xi, 84; xv, 74); *sijfil* stones, marked by God, rained upon it.

The Kur'an mentions no other name in the history of Lut. The destroyed city is called *al-muṭalib* (lii, 54) of which the plural is *al-muṭalibāt* (ix, 71; lxix, 9) corresponding to the Hebrew *mutalib*, which is used in the Bible of Sodom.

The Kur'an commentators also know the Biblical story quite accurately (Tabari, ed. de Goeje, I, 346, 347). They are able to fill all the gaps and give all names. The sins of Sodom are fully described. Sodom has a king of the line of Nimrod. The inhabitants worship idols. Lut admonishes them for 40 years (al-Kisā'). Then God sends three angels Gabriel, Michael and Israfil (in al-Kisā' also the soul-taker Azriel). Ibrahim intercedes: "Will ye destroy a people among whom there are 300 believers?" No. — 300, 200, 100 . . . — No. — 14 believers. No. — This number is assured, Ibrahim comforts himself, in the belief that Lut's wife is one of the believers. The angels must not destroy Sodom until Lut testifies four times to its sinfulness. They at once meet Lut, who testifies. After meeting others they encounter Lut's daughter. She invites them into her father's house. Lut orders his people to be silent, especially his wife who has disobeyed him for 40 years (al-Kisā'). But Lut's wife deliberately makes a light to show they have visitors as she ostentatiously procures salt (this is why she becomes a pillar of salt) or she actually says: "Young men have come to stay with us, with more beautiful cheeks and sweeter fragrance than I have ever seen".

The people demand the young men; Lut offers his daughters. "If we wanted thy daughters, we would know where to find them", they reply. Lut bars the doors. At the bidding of the angel he opens them. Gabriel blinds the intruders with a blow of his wing. They tramp on one another. "Save yourself!", they cry, "Lut's house is bewitched!" As the hour of destruction is at hand, Gabriel (according to others the Angel of Punishment Michael) turns the town upside down, and lifts it up so high that the angels in heaven hear the crowing of the cocks and the howling of the dogs of Sodom. Sijfil stones fall; on each is marked whom it is to strike. As Lut's wife looks sympathetically on her people, she is struck by a sijfil-stone. The number of killed varies between 4,000 (The'labi) and four millions (Tabari, ed. de Goeje, I, 342). All perished, except one who fled to Mecca, brought his sijfil-stones to the Haram where it hung for 40 days between heaven and earth, until it finally slew the man who brought it there (The'labi).

The Muslim legend gives names to everything and explains them all. Lut takes his name from *lūṭa*, "to attach oneself", because Ibrahim's heart was affectionately attached to Lut (The'labi). Lut's wife is called Habska' or Wā'ila, his older daughter Rūh (?), the younger Kariya (?) (Tabari), Zughat (Yāqūt), or Kawāya (?) (al-Kisā'). Not only is Sodom mentioned, but also other four towns, whose names may be recognised the Biblical

'Amora, Admah, Šeha'im and Šo'ar. Of Šo'ar, The'alah says it was saved (Gen. xix. 20-23) "because it believed in Lot".

The Muslim legend has a little in common with the old Haggada (Gen. Rabba, xlix. 1; *Sanhedrin*, 109^b), e. g. the fact that Abraham thinks he is sure of a certain number of devout people. When *Pirke R. Eliezer* (xv.) describes the daughters of Lot favourably, when *Midrash Hagadol* (ed. Schochter, p. 287) calls the angels sent to Sodom, Gabriel and Raphael, Muslim legend may have had some influence on the later Midrash.

Bibliography: The principal passages are: Kur'an, xl. 73-91; xv. 59-61; xli. 71-74; xxvi. 160-175; xxvii. 55-59; xlix. 25-34; liv. 33-39; lvi. 10; Tahari, ed. de Goeje, i. 266, 267, 321, 325-343, 341; Ibn al-Athir, *Tarikh al-Kamil*, i. 46-48; The'alah, *Šifra al-Ashraf*, Cairo 1325, p. 65-67; al-Kisā'i, *Kitāb al-Ashraf*, ed. Eisenberg, i. 145-149; Geiger, *Was hat Muhammad*, 1902, p. 109, 124, 129-131; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 134-141; Horowitz, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 1925, ii., p. 152, 187; do., *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 1926, p. 21, 26, 45, 49, 50 ff., 54, 136. (BERNHARD HELLER)

LUT' A. YAHYĀ. [See ALI MIRZĀ.]

LUT' ALI BEG Adlar, a Persian poet and biographer of the eighteenth century. He was born in Isfahan on the 20th Rabi' i. 1123 (June 7, 1711) and spent his youth at Kūm and later at Shīrāz, where his father lived while governor of Lāristān and the coast of Fārs under Nādir Shāh. After the death of his father, he made the pilgrimage to Mecca and travelled in Persia, finally settling in Isfahan in the service of Nādir's successors. He later adopted a life of seclusion and put himself under the spiritual direction of Mir Saiyid 'AH Meshtiq. He died in 1781.

Lut' Ali Beg is best known for the collection of biographies of Persian poets which he compiled between 1760 and 1770 under the title of *Ashāh-Kāsh*: in it he gives biographies of poets in Persian in alphabetical order arranged according to towns and districts. The last part deals with 60 contemporaries of the author and is followed by an autobiography. The *Ashāh-Kāsh* was lithographed at Calcutta in 1229 A. H. and at Bombay in 1277 A. H. There is a Turkish translation printed at Constantinople in 1259 A. H. Among his poems was a madhnavi, *Yusuf u-Zulaykha*, from which the author quotes many verses at the end of the *Ashāh-Kāsh*. Lut' Ali Beg was held in considerable esteem by his literary contemporaries; he was particularly intimate with the poet Hāfi of Isfahan.

Bibliography: Ethé, in *Grandes de Iran. Philologie*, ii. 215, 237, 313; E. G. Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924, p. 282-284. (J. H. KRAMERS)

LUT' ALI KHĀN was the last member of the Zand dynasty in Persia. He was born in 1709, the son of Dja'far, son of Karīm Khān Zand (q. v.). Dja'far, who had seized the throne in 1785, had concluded the struggle against the Kājār Agha Muhammad, who had forced him to retire to Shīrāz, where he died on Jan. 23, 1789 from poisoning. During the short period of the reign of his father, Lut' Ali Khān had been entrusted with the conquest of Lāristān and Kermān, which he had successfully carried through.

But after the death of Dja'far he was forced to flee from his own army to Kirmān to seek refuge with the Arab lord Bāghā. With the latter's help, he was able to make himself master of his capital Shīrāz where a certain Saiyid Murād had proclaimed himself king. It was chiefly through the efforts of his father's minister Hādījī Ibrāhīm who occupied the position of *kalantar* (mayor) of the town that Lut' Ali succeeded in getting himself again recognised as sovereign. After his accession the character of the young man, whose nobility and generosity had hitherto been as much praised as his personal bravery seems to have changed. His acts of tyranny and cruelty decided Hādījī Ibrāhīm to abandon the cause of the Zands and betray it to the enemy. This he did in 1791 when Lut' Ali Khān had set out against Agha Muhammad Khān. Hādījī Ibrāhīm seized Shīrāz and stirred up Lut' Ali's own troops to mutiny against him. The latter fled to the coast and succeeded in collecting a small armed force with which he tried in vain to retake Shīrāz. Then followed several years of guerrilla warfare waged with incredible vigour by Lut' Ali against the Kājārs. He went up and down the whole of southern Persia, being for some time supported by the lord of Fārs and even temporarily taking Yazd. In 1794 being assisted by the chiefs of the district of Garmsar, he even took Kirmān. Here Agha Muhammad besieged him with a large force. After four months the town capitulated; Lut' Ali Khān succeeded in once more escaping and reaching Ilam but here he was treacherously delivered over to his enemy who had him taken to Tihān where he was blinded and mutilated and finally put to death. Then came the terrible vengeance wreaked by the Kājārs on the people of the town of Kirmān (q. v.).

Lut' Ali Khān, the last chivalrous figure amongst the kings of Persia (Browne), probably had the sympathy of most of his contemporaries and it is recalled that even Agha Muhammad Khān openly recognised his bravery. But as his history was written under the new dynasty of the Kājārs in Persia, the Persian sources could not show much sympathy for him. European sources give a more faithful picture of the course of events. The more modern Persian historians like Mirzā Muhammad 'Ali Khān (*Dawra-ye Mulkshāhā-ye Tārīkh-i Iran*, lith. Tihān 1326, reproduced in Beck, *Neuersichte Konversations-Grammatik*, Heidelberg 1924, p. 229-236) do not hesitate to describe the action of Hādījī Ibrāhīm as treason. Hādījī Ibrāhīm who soon afterwards became minister tried to justify his conduct to Sir John Malcolm.

Bibliography: *Tārīkh-i Zandīya*, ed. Beck, Leyden 1888; J. Malcolm, *The History of Persia*, London 1829, ii. 106 ff.; H. J. Brydges, *The Dynasty of the Kājārs*, London 1833, p. xxx. ff. of the introduction; the text contains a translation of the history *Mutahid al-sulṭāna* of 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Naḍīf Kūhī; E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature in Modern Times*, London 1926, p. 245 ff. (J. H. KRAMERS)

LUTFI PASHA, properly (XAKKI) LUTFI PASHA b. 'ARIF MU'IN, an important Turkish statesman, scholar and historian, grand vizier in the time of Süleymān I al-Kānūnī. He was of Albanian descent. The date and place of his birth are unknown. He was brought up in the imperial court, which he had

apparently entered through the *darülmefine* for the *jadissaries*. Much may be learned of his career from his own biographical references in the "History" and in the *Asaf-nâme*. Even in the *sema* he devoted himself to theological studies, a fondness for which he retained throughout his whole life.

At the accession of Sültân Selim (1512-1520) he passed from the ranks of the pages as a *lekadâr* and filled in succession the following offices at the court: *izâzîngâr* (taster), *kapuçî kâğıt*, *mirâ-i âlîye* (bearer of the imperial standard). He then became *sandjak beg* of Kastamuni, beglarbeg of Karaman, of Anatolia and in 941 *pubbe veziri*. He spent a quarter of a century in the foreign service of the Sultan; according to his own account, he was through all the wars and battles in the reign of Sültân Selim who was very favourably disposed to him, usually in his train: in Rumelia and Anatolia, in Arabia, Syria and Egypt; similarly in the reign of Sültân Salim he took part in the campaigns against Belgrade, Rhodes, Hungary, Vienna, the Kizilbash, Baghdad, Corfu etc. In 945 (1538) he took part in the campaign to Kama Boghdân as second vizier. In 946 (1539) he succeeded as grand vizier. As Paşa, who had died of the plague, also an Albanian, at a period when the Ottoman empire was straining its strength to the utmost. (The year 944, which was suggested by Kläub Celabi's *Takvîm al-Tevârîk*, Constantinople 1146, p. 176 adopted by all later historians and so handed down, is incorrect as is proved not only by Lütfî Paşa's own statement but also by an analysis of events). He proved his ability in high army commands; in the fleet and in administrative offices.

He sought to carry through with a strong hand the reforms in internal administration which he had long recognised to be necessary, especially economies in the financial system, the abolition of oppressive institutions (*amaç*, privileges of courtiers), the development and independence of the navy, the importance of which for Turkey his foresight recognised. Easier than anyone else he saw the beginning of the collapse of the externally so brilliant political system. At the same time he conducted negotiations with Venice, Austria and France with great skill and firmness. It is noteworthy that he was the first to recognise the surpassing genius of Mi'mâr Sinân, whom he appointed state architect. He was a highly gifted statesman, an energetic inflexible personality, incorruptible and above all intrigue with high ideals and strong religious and scientific leanings. In spite of his violent temper he was regarded as a "good-natured Vizier".

He was a brother-in-law of Sültân Salim, whose sister Şahî Sühan he had married. Nevertheless he was summarily dismissed in 948 (1541) when in his rage he used threats to his wife when she reproached him with his inhuman treatment of a Muslim slave-girl. His eagerness for reform had naturally gained him few friends at court. It is said that only his rank as a *âzîm* saved him from execution. Whether the deeper reason for the matrimonial dissensions lay in his love for boys is not clear.

Lütfî Paşa was banished with a pension to Dimotika where he had a *şiflik*. Here he gave himself entirely up to his studies, for which he was well qualified by his constant intercourse with theologians and scholars during his whole

political career. After his return from Mecca to Dimotika — his successor Rustam Paşa was successful in preventing a complete reconciliation with the Sultan — he used his enforced leisure to compose numerous works in Arabic and Turkish. He died in all probability after 970 (1562) (so also Münâzîlm-başı), in any case after 961, in Dimotika. The date 930 (1543) usually given is impossible as he continued his history down to Ramadân 15, 961 (Aug. 14, 1554) and there is no reason to suppose that any other continued the history; on the contrary there are references in the text to events of the year 961. He only left one foundation, a *tekke* in Constantinople, after which the quarter and the Lütfî Paşa mosque take their names; its builder was a descendant Ahmed Celebi.

Lütfî Paşa is the author of 21 works, a list of which he himself gives in his "History", p. 1-4 (cf. also the list in Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der osman. Krönung*, iii. 703; Flügel, *Katalog der Wiener Handschrift.*, ii. p. 224; Tschudi, *Türkische Bibliothek*, vol. xii, p. xv-xvii). It includes 15 Arabic and 8 Turkish works, to which perhaps may be added the *Kerâm-nâme* ascribed to him which he perhaps does not mention as his own because it was the result of his official activities.

His theological works have not come down to us, so far as we know. According to sources — not however specially biased in his favour — he had only a moderate knowledge of the different branches of theological study and medicine, which he loved to display with a dilettante's exaggerated opinion of his powers. This is not quite convincing however as not only his perhaps quite mediocre theological works but also his really important historical writings, except for the *Asaf-nâme* have been almost unnoticed.

As a poet he is praised by Sehi, who completed his *Heft Bîkışık* in 945 in the time of his grand vizierate. But the numerous verses scattered through his history are not by him. Verses certainly by him are very mediocre. Besides, he does not show much sympathy with poets as the contemptuous attitude to 'Alî Celebi, author of the *Humâyûn-nâme*, shows, to whom he makes the reproach that he had spent 20 years on this work instead of dealing with questions of *âvâz*.

His importance as a historian cannot however be too highly estimated. His *Asaf-nâme*, a kind of mirror for ministers, a textbook of ethics for viziers in which he sought to make available for his successors his wide experience of administration, obtained a certain success, as the not inconsiderable number of existing manuscripts suggests (ed. and transl. by R. Tschudi, Berlin 1910; ed. by Ali Avarî, Constantinople 1326). But his history *Takvîm-i Âlî-i Dîvân* is still more important. It is now accessible in a, however, rather mediocre, edition (Constantinople 1341). Lütfî Paşa, *Takvîm-i Âlî-i Dîvân* *Yükümlükleri Medris Vakıfları Nazariyatından*, No. 28) from an incomplete copy found by M. Tahir in Brusa supplemented by the formerly unique copy in Vienna by 'Alî used by von Hammer (Flügel, ii. 224, No. 1001).

Lütfî Paşa not only models his title on those of the old Ottoman chronicles but he copies this primitive style of historiography in his matter and style, which forms a striking contrast to the elaborate Persianistic court style. Down to Sültân Bayazîd he is only a copyist. Then however fol-

lows, and this is what makes his history so remarkable, a description of the events of which he himself was an eye-witness in the reigns of three Sultans (Bāyazīd, Selīm and Sulaimān). His account of the reign of Sulaimān is naturally the most valuable, especially the period of his grand vizierate. In contrast to the *ḥakānuwajjī* and the official *waḥḥa nuwāṣṭar*, he gives an absolutely untouched picture of the situation although he is not absolutely free from bias in dealing with other statesmen. His two historical works are one of the most important sources for our knowledge of the origins of the weakness and corruption of the Turkish empire in the 17th century.

Bibliography: Besides works mentioned above: Saḥī, *Ḥaḥṭ Bihīḥ*, Constantinople 1325, p. 25; Mūnallidīm Bāshī, *Ṣaḥīf al-Aḥḥār*, Constantinople 1285, iii. 518; Kāṣ Celebi-ādī, *Rawḍat al-Abrār*, Constantinople 1248, p. 427; M. Shāmī, *Ṭawālī Aḥmār al-Fawāṣīḥ wa' Lḥāl*, Constantinople 1295, p. 92; 'Abd Allāh Khāḥṣī, *Daḥḥat al-Mulūk*, Constantinople 1267, p. 20; Ḥāḥṣī Husām, *Ḥadīḥat al-Djāwānī*,

Constantinople 1281, i. 190 and 256; Ṣāḥī, *Tadhkirat al-Bunyan*, Constantinople 1315, p. 24—25; Aḥmad Ṭāḥī, *Ḥadīḥat al-Wazār*, Constantinople 1271, p. 27; 'Alī, *Tārīḥ*, Constantinople 1293, ii. 19; Peḥlavi, *Tārīḥ*, Constantinople 1283, i. 21; Brayall Mehmed Ṭāḥī, *'Oḥmānī Mu'ellifāt*, Constantinople 1343, iii. 132—134; Sāmī, *Kāḥṣ al-Aḥḥār*; Ṭarāḥī, *Sigīṭī 'Oḥmānī*; Kiliālī Mu'allim Rif'at in the preface to the history of Luṭfi Pasha; especially however: Koprūlu-ādī Fu'ād, *Luṭfi Pasha lu Tārīḥ*, Constantinople 1925, i. 119—150; Ḥāḥḥī Khāḥṣī, *Kāḥṣ al-Djāwānī*, ed. Flügel; the various Catalogues of MSS.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osman. Reiches*; do., *Gesch. der osman. Dichtkunst*; do., *Staatsverfassung*, i. 358—360; Mouradgen d'Oshson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1797, iv. 351; Wickerhauser, *Chrestomathie*, Vienne 1855, p. 170 and 309; Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*. (TH. MENZEL LUXOR. [See AL-UGYUR.]

M

MĀ' AL-'AINAIN AL-SHINGHĪ, the name by which the famous agitator in Mauritania [q. v.] at the end of the 16th century and beginning of the 17th century is best known (several explanations of his sobriquet are given; the literal meaning is "the water of the eyes" but the most satisfactory seems to be that which sees in it simply a euphemism, like that in the expression *Kurraṭ al-'Alī*).

Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Mā' al-'Ainain was the twelfth son of a chief and marabout of great fame in his own country, Muḥammad Faḥlī b. Mā'nin, born at Walḥa at the end of the 15th century and chief of the Moorish tribe of Galigima in the district of al-Ḥawḥ in the south east of Shinghī group. After breaking off from the Baklāya whose religious head was the chief al-Mukhtār al-Kunī [q. v.], he founded a new brotherhood affiliated to that of the Kāḥiriya [q. v.], to which he gave the name of Faḥṭhiya derived from his own. On the death of Muḥammad Faḥlī in 1869, Mā' al-'Ainain left the district of al-Ḥawḥ to complete his Islāmic studies in Shinghī (on this flourishing Moorish centre, see the long and interesting monograph by a native of the place resident in Cairo, Aḥmad b. al-Amin al-Shinghī, *al-Waḥī fi Tawāḥīn Uḥūd* [Shinghī, Cairo 1329 [1911]). Mā' al-'Ainain then settled for several years in al-Adīr [q. v.] but afterwards went further north to the al-Sūḥiyat al-Ḥamrā country, which was his usual residence from 1884. All this region, which now forms the northern part of Spanish Rio de Oro, was being desolated by marauding and brigandage. He succeeded in establishing security there, restored the land to cultivation, planted numerous palm-groves and encouraged trade by caravan to Senegal and Shinghī in one direction and to Morocco on the other. He chose

Smāra as his permanent abode and later built a *ḥaḥṣa* for himself there in the Moroccan style on the Wādī Tarrāḥ. Like the majority of religious leaders of the Saharan countries of North Africa, he practised commerce, politics and the proselytising activities of a marabout and was not long in gathering round him a considerable number of followers who became widely known throughout Morocco by their nickname of "blue men" on account of their costume, consisting of a *ḡallāba* of *blanc* (a cotton stuff from Guinea), a turban and a burnous, all blue in colour. They were also called 'Ainīya, from the name of their master, and *al-Shinghī* (*Shawāḥīḥ*), "the men of Shinghī".

Mā' al-'Ainain very soon entered into regular relations with the Sultans of Morocco. He had already made a sojourn in the country on his journey to the holy places of Islām, in the reign of Mawḥay 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Iḥḥām [q. v.] (1238—1276 = 1822—1859). Later and especially in the reign of Mawḥay al-Ḥasan [q. v.] (1290—1311 = 1873—1894) he travelled regularly to Marrākush and to Fās and was welcomed by the Sultān, whom he supplied with slaves (in which he also dealt). When the young Mawḥay 'Abd al-'Azīz [q. v.] ascended the throne in 1311 (1894), he sent him his homage and went to visit him in 1896 in Marrākush. The Sultān gave him a gift in his southern capital of a site for a *ḥaḥṣa* of his order and he hired him a steamer to take him with his wife from the Moroccan port of Mogador to that of Tārīḥa, the natural harbour of the Rio de Oro for his capital Smāra. This little port henceforth became of some importance: German ships, Greek and Spanish sailing-vessels disembarked there merchandise from Morocco and considerable cargoes of arms and ammunition, all consigned to the agitator to enable him to supply

his followers and arm the Moorish tribes to enable them to fight French expansion beyond the frontiers of Senegal. For several years Mā' al-A'inain was able to maintain in all the vast area under his influence an atmosphere hostile to French penetration into Mauritania. He was largely the instigator of the anti-foreign outbreaks, which after the assassination on May 12, 1905, near Tiddikja of the explorer Xavier Coppolani decided France to occupy Tāgent in 1906.

After these happenings, Mā' al-A'inain, having assembled the chiefs of the great Moorish tribes who were in alliance with him, took them to Fās to demand the alliance and assistance of Morocco against France in Mauritania. He was favourably received by Mawlay 'Abd al-'Aziz and succeeded in getting a cousin of the Sultan, Mawlay Idri, sent to al-Adrar as representative of the *mahkum*. At the same time Mā' al-A'inain was authorized to install himself in the Moroccan *jaifa* of Tiznit, to summon to the holy war and to rally around him all the warriors of the Sahara from al-Sīs to the region of Sākiyat al-Hamra'. The hopes that Mawlay 'Abd al-'Aziz had based on the plans of Mā' al-A'inain were soon deceived. After the occupation of Ujda and the destruction of Shāwīya by the French he had to disown Mā' al-A'inain. The latter had no longer a chance even in his own country, where a fatal blow was struck at his power as a result of the al-Adrar expedition in the course of which French troops led by Colonel Geanaud completely scattered his forces. Mā' al-A'inain had however not lost all hope of regaining his former influence in his old territory. He aimed even higher, when in May 1910 he did not hesitate to proclaim himself Sultan and to attempt the conquest of Morocco, which he thought had been sold to the infidels by the 'Alawid sovereign. Having united around him all the tribes of the Anti-Atlas and of al-Sīs as well as his own followers, he reached Marrākush and from this town tried to take Fās by surprise, taking the road through the Central Atlas. But he was checked in his advance near Tadīs [q. v.] by a column under General Moinier which routed him completely on June 23, 1910. He just managed to escape and reach al-Sīs where he was abandoned by all his followers and had to sell his slaves and flocks in order to live. He retired to the *jaifa* of Tiznit, where he died on 17th Shawwāl 1328 (Oct. 28, 1910).

Two years later, the son of Mā' al-A'inain, Ahmad al-Hiba, in his turn attempted to proclaim himself Sultan. Proclaiming himself the Mahdi, he set out from Tiznit and entered Marrākush on Aug. 18, 1912, where he had himself proclaimed, while his troops put the city to fire and sword. But on Aug. 29, al-Hiba was defeated at Benguerir by Colonel Mangin, who after a second encounter at Sidi Bu 'Uthman entered Marrākush on Sept. 7 following.

Mā' al-A'inain, who had very many open or secret followers in Morocco has left in the country the reputation of a true ascetic and a great doctor in Islam. "The hair shaved, the face veiled, always clothed in white, he only appeared in public on Fridays to go to the mosque. Mā' al-A'inain led an austere life, lived exclusively on milk, dates and mutton. A well read man, he composed many pious works, books on theology, mystic Sūfism, astronomy, astrology, books full of contemplative reveries, on theological and dogmatic controversies,

on metaphysical theories, and of magical formulae to acquire riches and power by occult means. Like his father and his brother, he loved to spread among his disciples a reputation as a worker of wonders and a thanatologist. These magical practices much increased his prestige in Seguiet (al-Sākiyah al-Hamra') and in Morocco (E. Richet, *La Mauritanie*, Paris 1920, p. 126-127).

Almost all the works of Mā' al-A'inain, alluded to, were lithographed at his expense in Fās. He disseminated them widely for his warlike propaganda. They are as follows: 1. *Adh al-muḥabbah liḥa ma'a l-ḥaqiqah*, on the margin of *Muḥid al-awāḥid*, N° 20, 1321; 2. *al-Akḍar 'ala l-haṣṣa*, commentary on the *Warāḥat* of the Imām al-Haramain, 1320; 3. *Dalīl al-riḥl* 'ala *ḥamā al-ṭiṣṭaf*, 1321, 3 vol.; 4. *Dimān* of mystical poetry, 1316; 5. *Qiyāḥ al-muḥabbah fi al-ḥabīb al-ḥabīb*, 1302; 6. *Kiṣṣa Fāṭih al-ḥabīb 'ala ṣūṭ al-faṭḥ*, 1296, 2nd ed. in 1309; 7. *Ḥidāyat al-muḥabbin wa-naṣṣ al-muḥabbin*, *waḥḥa* on the *maḥm*, 1322; 8. *Ḥudūd al-muḥabbin fi l-ḥabīb al-ḥabīb 'ala l-mawḥid*, 1321; 9. *Ḥuṣṣ al-ḥabīb 'ala l-mawḥid*, 1321; 10. *Ḥuṣṣ al-ḥabīb 'ala l-mawḥid*, 1321; 11. *al-Ḥabīb fi ḥabīb al-ḥabīb*, 1320; 12. *al-Kiṣṣa al-ḥabīb*, also printed at Fās in 1324; 13. *Kurraṭ al-A'inain fi l-ḥabīb 'ala l-ḥabīb*, 1321, on the margin of N° 10; 14. *Mā yashā' al-ḥabīb*, on the margin of N° 36, 1320; 15. *Maḥmūd al-ḥabīb*, 1321; 16. *al-Maḥmūd al-ḥabīb*, 1306, on the margin of N° 29, 2nd ed. in 1320; 17. *Muḥid al-muḥabbah*, 1314, 2 vol.; 18. *Muḥid al-ḥabīb wa l-ḥabīb*, 1316; 19. *Muḥid al-ḥabīb 'ala ḥamā muḥabbah*, 1309; 20. *Muḥid al-ḥabīb wa l-muḥabbah*, 1321; 21. *Muḥid al-ḥabīb wa l-ḥabīb 'ala l-ḥabīb*, 1321; 22. *Muḥid al-ḥabīb wa l-ḥabīb*, 1321; 23. *Muḥid al-ḥabīb wa l-ḥabīb*, 1321; 24. *Muḥid al-ḥabīb*, 1321; 25. *Muḥid al-ḥabīb*, 1321; 26. *Muḥid al-ḥabīb*, 1321; 27. *Muḥid al-ḥabīb*, 1321; 28. *Muḥid al-ḥabīb*, 1321; 29. *Muḥid al-ḥabīb*, 1321; 30. *Muḥid al-ḥabīb*, 1321; 31. *Muḥid al-ḥabīb*, 1321; 32. *Muḥid al-ḥabīb*, 1321; 33. *Muḥid al-ḥabīb*, 1321; 34. *Muḥid al-ḥabīb*, 1321; 35. *Muḥid al-ḥabīb*, 1321; 36. *Muḥid al-ḥabīb*, 1321; 37. *Muḥid al-ḥabīb*, 1321; 38. *Muḥid al-ḥabīb*, 1321; 39. *Muḥid al-ḥabīb*, 1321; 40. *Muḥid al-ḥabīb*, 1321.

A short monograph was devoted to Mā' al-A'inain by his son Muhammad Taḥyī Allāh entitled: *Muḥid al-muḥabbah liḥa ma'a l-ḥabīb*, 1316. A notice of him is also given in the *Wasit* of Ahmad al-Shinqit, p. 360-362.

of Shaghr and Bakka, al-Rindj and Ma'arrat Mayrin, which he exchanged about five years later for 'Aintab, Rāwandūn and Zūl (Kunāl al-Lim, transl. Blochet, *R. O. L.*, v. 64, 72; Abu 'l-Fida', *Annales Mosulien*, ed. Reiske, iv, Copenhagen 1792, p. 312).

The town has not been much visited by modern travellers. Jullien describes Ma'arrat Mayrin as a large village, lying among sesame fields and olive trees in a rich plain. Garrett is enthusiastic about the fertility of the country: 'the soil there is unusually fertile, fig trees are numerous and roses are growing by roadside'. In modern times the name of the town is often written Ma'arrat al-Misrin (with the article) e.g. by J. B. L. J. Roussau (*Description du Pachalik de Halep*, in *Kundgruben des Orients*, Vienna 1814, iv, p. 21), Ritter (*Erdkunde*, xvii, p. 1576), Garrett (*Publishers of an American Archaeol. Expedition to Syria*, New York 1914, part I, p. 119) etc.

Not to be confused with our town is Ma'arrat al-Ikhwan (also called Ma'arrat al-Akhwan) east of it, sometimes called simply Ma'arra, e.g. by Seif (*Zalichr. f. Erdk.*, 1873, viii, p. 24; Ma'arrat), according to whom it is a large village, 'which lies bare and exposed with its white sugar-cone like roofs on a wide plain'. According to al-Djibrit of Halab (d. 843) and Ibn al-Shihna (edited by Abu 'l-Yunus al-Bathrān in the eleventh century), Ma'arrat Mayrin was earlier called *Dhāt al-Kuṣṣir* (*Z. D. M. G.*, xxiii, 182; Ibn al-Shihna, ed. Cheikho, Beirut 1909, p. 164 sq.; Lammens, *M. F. O. B.*, 1906, i, p. 240). But this statement is due to confusion with Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān (cf. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, p. 213, note 4).

Bibliography: al-Ikhṣārī, *B. G. A.*, ii, xiv, Suppl. to *B. G. A.*, i, 61; Ibn Hawqal, in *B. G. A.*, ii, 118; al-Maḥdī, in *B. G. A.*, iii, 54 (*al-Ma'arrat*), 156 (*Ma'arrat Kinassar*); Ibn Khurdādhbih, in *B. G. A.*, vi, 75; Yāqūt, *Ma'dūm*, ed. Wustenfeld, iv, 574; Saif al-Din, *Marāḥiḥ al-ṭayf*, ed. Junyaball, iii, 120; Abu 'l-Fida', ed. Reimund and de Slane, p. 231; Ibn al-Shihna, ed. Cheikho, 1909, p. 157, 165; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 497; Gaudelroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. 100, note 3; H. Derenbourg, *Vie d'Oulma*, p. 78; Alexander Drummond, *Travels through different cities of Germany, Italy, Greece and several parts of Asia*, London 1754, p. 290 (*Mosulischia*); J. Berggren, *Kort öfver Europa och Osterrömdene*, Stockholm 1826, part ii, p. 183 (*Ma'arrat Masrin*); Kasim Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien u. d. umliegenden Ländern*, Hamburg 1857, vol. iii, p. 100 (*Ma'arrat Masrin*); Thomson, *Bibliotheca sacra and theological review*, New York 1848, v, p. 665 (*Ma'arrat*); Nuri, in *Muscat*, 671 (*Ma'arrat Masrin*); Jullien, *Sinai et Syrie*, Lille 1893, p. 284 (*Ma'arrat Masrin*); Michélor de Vogüé, *La Syrie centrale*, Paris 1861-1867, parus (*Ma'arrat masrin*); Rob. Garrett, in *American Archaeol. Expedition to Syria*, New York 1914, part I, p. 119 (*Ma'arrat al-Misrin*). (E. HOSNIGMANN.)

MA'ARRAT AL-NU'MAN, a town in northern Syria, often called simply al-Ma'arra. It is celebrated as the birthplace of the poet Abu 'l-'Ala' Ahmad al-Ma'arri [q. v.]. According to al-Sam'ani (*Aḥṣā' al-Anṣāb*, reproduced by D. S. Margoliouth, *G. M. S.*, xx, 1912, fol. 536^v, l.

4) the *asīla* from the place-name was *Ma'arran* to distinguish it from that of Ma'arrat Nayrin, *Ma'arran*. The town probably lay on the site of the ancient Arra which is called *Kāṣa* 'Alfas' elsewhere in an inscription. Yāqūt says that Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān is an old town in ruins. Nāṣir-i Khusrāw in 438 (1047) found in the town wall a stone column with an inscription in some language not Arabic and Ibn al-Shihna also talks of old pillars being dug up in the town. Van Berchem notes the remains of a Greek inscription in the Madrasa (Verage, p. 203, note 4).

The town received its new epithet, to distinguish it from the numerous other Syrian towns of the same name, from the Companion of the Prophet, al-Nu'mān b. Baḥr, who was governor of this district under Mu'awiya and whose son died there. According to another tradition it is called after al-Nu'mān b. 'Adī al-Sā'ī of the tribe of Tanūkh. An earlier name of the town according to Ibn Baḥr and Khallid al-Zuhri (ed. Karabass, p. 49) was *Dhāt al-Kuṣṣir*, according to al-Dumayḥī *Dhāt al-Kayrān*; al-Djibrit and Ibn al-Shihna wrongly give this name to Ma'arrat Masrin [q. v.]. The site of a citadel still bears the name Ka'at al-Nu'mān (see below). We have much earlier evidence from another older name, *Ma'arrat Hims* (al-Balāḥḥari, ed. de Goeje, p. 131; Abu 'l-Fida', *Annales Mosulien*, ed. Reiske, i, Copenhagen 1789, p. 226 etc.). The district of this town originally formed an *illīa* (أقليّة) of the ḥudūd of Hims (Ibn Khurdādhbih, *B. G. A.*, vi, 75; cf. also — but this is an anachronism, — al-Kalāshandi, *Saḥḥ al-ḥadīth*, iv, 142, transl. Gaudelroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, p. 409); The Hims gate (see below) is probably also a memory of this. It was only from the time of Hārūn al-Rashid that the town belonged to the ḥudūd of Kinassar, the capital of which at a later date was Halab (Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 36, 39).

As early as 278 (891-892) wa ḥudūd Ya'kūb giving the Baḥn Tanūkh as the inhabitants of the town. The district around it was one of the parts of Syria most strongly settled by Maronites (al-Ma'arrī, *Aḥṣā' al-Tanūkh*, ed. de Goeje, p. 155). As there was no running water near the town, its inhabitants had to collect rain-water in cisterns. But the country round was rich in olive, fig, pistachio and almond trees; wine was also made here as in the ancient Arra. According to Ibn Dīnāl the orchards stretched for nearly two days' journey from the town and formed one of the richest and most fertile areas in the world. South of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, just beside the town wall was, according to local tradition, the tomb of Joshua son of Nūn; but Yāqūt says his grave was really at Nalūn (cf. Goldziher, *Muslime und christliche Traditionen über den Gehenret der Jom*, in *Z. D. P. V.*, ii, 15-17). The ḥijāb Nālī Allāh Yūḥā' is Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān still bears the name of Joshua and has an inscription dated 604 (1207-1201) (Van Berchem, *Verage de Syrie*, p. 202, note 4).

When Abu 'l-'Ala' came to Ma'arrat Hims in the year 16 (637), the people came out to welcome him and promised to pay *diya* and *haraj* (al-Balāḥḥari, ed. de Goeje, p. 131; Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, iii, p. 794 § 284). The Caliph 'Umayr II was buried in 101 in the monastery of Simeon (*Dār Sūfīya*) at al-Naktra (Nasir) not far from Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān (Hosnigmann, *Z. S.*, i, 1922, p. 17; Dussaud, *Topographie historique de*

in Syria, Paris 1927, p. 184). 'Abdallah b. Tahir appointed by the Caliph al-Ma'mun in 307 as successor of his father in the governorship of Syria, destroyed the fortifications of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân, while fighting against Nasr b. Shabib and many small towns like Hira al-Kafr and Hira Hanâk (Kamâl al-Din in Freytag, *Scheich al-Hisrâ al-Halabî*, Paris 1849, p. 20). In 290 the Karmatians under Sâhib al-Khâlî ravaged the country round Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân, Hims, Hamâ and Salamiya, slew many inhabitants of these towns and carried off the women and children into captivity. The Banû Kilâb in 325 (936-937) entered Syria from al-Nedjâ and advanced on Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân. The commander there, Mu'adh b. Sa'id, went out to al-Burâghûlî (sic unknown) to meet them but was captured there with the greater part of his army, and only later released by the Kilâbî Abu T-Abbâs Ahmad b. Sa'id, governor of Halab. The latter and the Kilâbî Yûsuf in 332 were driven from Halab by al-Humayl b. Sa'id b. Hamdân, Saif al-Dawla's uncle and pursued beyond Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân as far as Hims. Ikhshîd the governor of Egypt in 333, advanced against Saif al-Dawla as far as Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân, which he took. Mu'adh b. Sa'id whom Ikhshîd had again installed there as governor was slain in battle at Kinnasra by Saif al-Dawla. In 357 (968) the emperor Nicephorus Phocas took the town and destroyed its chief mosque and most of the walls. When Karghûya seized Aleppo, Zuhair the governor of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân joined the Hamdânîd Sa'id al-Dawla (358) and set out with him from Manbidj against Aleppo; it was only when the Greek Turbans brought help to Karghûya that the pair retired to al-Khunsîra and Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân. In the treaty between Nicephorus and Karghûya (Sufar 359) Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân was promised to the latter. Sa'id al-Dawla held out in it for three years. Bakdjûr had deposed and imprisoned Karghûya in Halab and made himself sole ruler (364 = 975). Sa'id al-Dawla set out from Hims against him and with the Banû Kilâb whom he had won over to his side by promising them lands at Hims besieged Zuhair, who was an ally of Bakdjûr, in Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân. He forced his way with his followers into the town through the Hunâk gate; when they were repulsed, they burned the Hims gate. Zuhair thereupon surrendered and was executed in the citadel of Fânîya; the citadel of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân was plundered by the conqueror. When Rammâh, a Mamlûk of Saif al-Dawla (*al-Saifi*) rebelled in 399 in Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân against Sa'id al-Dawla, the latter with Lu'lu' went to besiege the town but retired to Halab on the approach of Baddjâtakî (Freytag, *Lamunî Nabulî*, p. 45, l. 6); Lu'lu' who had seized the power in Halab in 392, next year had Kafr Kûma in the district of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân and the fortress in the Arwâdj (the two districts of al-Rûdj, cf. Rozen, *Zap. Imp. Akad. Nauk*, xlv, p. 257, note 200) destroyed to prevent them falling into the hands of his enemies. When the Hamdânîd Nasir al-Dawla in 434 took the field against the Mirdâsîd Mu'izz al-Dawla Thimâl, he occupied Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân. In 452 on his campaign against his nephew Mahmûd, Thimâl spent eight days in the town; the inhabitants suffered severely as the Arabs on account of the severe winter were billeted in the houses and did much damage there. Mahmûd after

occupying Halab in 457 allotted Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân to the Turk chief Hârûn; on Shawwâl 17, 458, the latter entered the town with Turks, Dailamîs, Kurds, and men of the tribe of al-Awdj, about 1000 fighting men besides camp-followers. They pitched their camp before the gate at which public prayers were said. Although excellent discipline prevailed among them and no one injured the olive-trees and vineyards or even took water for their animals without paying for it, the inhabitants breathed more freely when they left the town again to assist Mahmûd on his campaign against the Kilâbîs. In 462 Turks in large numbers came out of Byzantine territory against Halab, went via Urtîk to al-Djazz, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân, Kafarîb, Hamâ, Hims and Rafaniya, and laid Syria waste in dreadful fashion. The Turk Tutush in 472 undertook a campaign from Damascus against the north of Syria; he burned the region of Djabal al-Summâk and Djabal Banî 'Ulaïm, extorted enormous sums from the people of Sarmîn and Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân and plundered the country east of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân; he laid siege to Tall Mannas (Θαλασσιόεις) in vain and burned Ma'arratathîs (the ancient Μαγαλασσιόων πόλις) in the district of Kafarîb. His son Ridwân in 488 gave the town of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân with its lands to Saïmân b. Urrûk. Soon after the taking of Anjâkiya (491) the Franks advanced on our town, supported by the people of Tall Mannas, and all the Christians in Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân itself but they were defeated between these two towns. In the beginning of 492 they again besieged the town with a large army (then an *urbis munitissima*, Will. of Tyre, vii. 9) and took it, killing almost the whole population, 20,000 men, women and children (*Hist. or. des Croisades*, iii. 482 sq.). Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân was, like Jerusalem in the same year, completely sacked and the walls and mosque destroyed. During the siege the Franks had destroyed all the gardens round the town and the Kilâbîs, who had come to the help of Ridwân, consumed all the supplies of the district so that the country was completely starved. In 496 Ridwân reconquered the lost fortresses. At the end of 514, he concluded a treaty with the Franks by which the latter were allotted Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân, Kafarîb, al-Bîra and a part of Djabal al-Summâk etc. In 531 (1137) the Atîbeg Zangî regained Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân. When the inhabitants asked to have restored to them the estates of which the Franks had deprived them, he demanded the original charters of ownership from them but they had been destroyed. He therefore had search made in the books of the office of the financial department of Halab (*Dafatîr Dîwân Halab*) and found from the old payments of *harâdj* what families had owned property and restored them (Ibn al-Athîr, ed. Tornberg, xi. 34 = *Hist. or. des Crois.*, i. 423; Abu T-Fidâ, *Annâles Mamlûk*, ed. Reiske, iii. 470; v. 374). Zangî taxed the walls. While King Fulco of Jerusalem was putting down a rising in Anjâkiya, Turkoman tribes entered the district of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân and Kafarîb but were driven out again by the Franks who thereupon conquered Kubbât b. Malaib (Kamâl al-Din, *Hist. Or. d. Crois.*, iii. 667, where our town is meant by al-Ma'arra, not Ma'arrat Magrin as Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Könige Jerusalem*, p. 197 assumes).

The Byzantine emperor John II Comnenos in 532 (1138) invaded the district of Ma'arrat al-

Nu'mân and then turned suddenly against Shams [q. v.] which he besieged in vain. The earthquake of 552 (1157-1158) wrought great havoc in Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân (Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, in *R. O. L.* iv. 520).

Salāh al-Dīn in 584 (1188) went from Halab to Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân from which he made a pilgrimage to the shrine Abū Zakariyā' al-Maghribī who lived at the tomb of the Caliph 'Umar. Towards the end of the reign of Salāh al-Dīn (c. 1191) the town formed part of the Syrian possessions of Takī al-Dīn (*Hist. Or. & Occ.* v. 14). Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân is several times mentioned in the wars between Salāh al-Dīn's sons. About 589 it belonged to al-Malik al-Mu'izz al-Dīn Takī al-Dīn 'Umar. Later we find its possession alternating between Hamā and Halab. An old Shāfi'ī madrasa was built, according to the inscription on its gateway, in the reign of the Ayyūbid Sultan of Hamā, al-Malik al-Manṣūr Muḥammad I (plan in Creswell, *R. I. E. & O.*, xxi. 13); it is by the same architect as the lofty square minaret of the great mosque. Ibn al-Mukaddim in 596 (1159) owned the towns of Famiya, Kafarān and 25 estates in the district of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân. In 597 the town was sacked by Salāh al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāsi of Halab and seems to have belonged to him for a period. An inscription dated 604 (1207-1208) still bears his name. Al-Malik al-Adil in 598 went from Damascus via Hamā to Tall Safra where al-Malik al-Manṣūr of Hamā joined him. His opponent al-Malik al-Zāhir of Halab concluded a treaty with him by which he was to cede Kafar al-Nadīm to Adil and the part of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân which he held to al-Malik al-Manṣūr. About 619 and 692 the town belonged to the lord of Hamā, al-Malik al-Nāzir; it then passed temporarily to al-Malik al-Mu'izz al-Dīn of Damascus who placed a governor in it (Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, *R. O. L.*, v. 65; Maḥmūd and Ibn Waṣil, *R. O. L.*, ix. 497-499; Abū 'l-Fidā', *Annal. Mosl.*, ed. Reina, iv. 312). During this fighting the lands of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân and Hamā were ravaged by a horde of Arabs under Mānī' (*R. O. L.*, v. 68). On the advice of Salāh al-Dīn b. Abī 'Alī al-Hudhūdī, al-Malik al-Mu'izz al-Dīn of Hamā in 631 (1233-1234) had the citadel of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân rebuilt, but by 635 al-Malik al-Nāzir of Halab seized the town again and after a brief siege the citadel also. The news of its fall was brought to Halab by a carrier-pigeon (*R. O. L.*, v. 100, 105; Abū 'l-Fidā', *op. cit.*, v. 404, 434, 596). The Khawāssim, routed by Čingis Khān, entered Syria over the Furāt and advanced via al-Habbān, Tall A'ina and Sarmiz to Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân which then belonged to Halab. The geographer al-Dimāshqī also reckons the town to Halab.

After the victory of Baiḥar over the Tatars at 'Ain Dīlīs where the Mongol general Kethoghā' who had been left behind in Syria by Hülāgu fell, Khosrawshāh the Tatar lord of Hamā left Syria. Salāh Kutuz thereupon restored this town along with Bārn and Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân, which had belonged for 23 years to Halab in 658 (1259) again to its original owner al-Malik al-Manṣūr of Hamā.

Henceforth with slight interruptions Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân was in the possession of the lords of Hamā. In the years 710 (1310) the Sultan granted Bārn and our town to Abū 'l-Fidā' as a fief but he had to return them to Halab by 713 (1313) as the conditions of ownership had become ex-

tremely obscure on account of the frequent changes in the land-books and repeated grants by the Sultan (Abū 'l-Fidā', *Annal. Mosl.*, v. 274). A journey by the prince to Egypt in 716 resulted in the restoration of the town and citadel to him and a charter of presentation was prepared (*op. cit.*, v. 302, 304). Abū 'l-Fidā' quotes a portion of a poem which the Aleppo secretary (*Ḍarīb al-Ḍarīb*) Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd composed on the event (*op. cit.*, v. 306). But by the end of the same year he had again to cede the town to Muḥammad b. Isā (*op. cit.*, v. 310).

The district of Hamā was confiscated in 722 and placed under the Egyptian governor as a separate province (*ḥudūd*); henceforth Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân formed a wilāyat of this province (al-Kalkashandī in Guadrigny-Demomhynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, p. 233). In the Mamlūk period the town had seven gates (according to the *al-Rawḍ al-Miṣṣar fī Akhbār al-Aḥfār*, quoted in al-Kalkashandī, Cairo, iv. 142): the Halab gate, the great gate, that of Shihāb, called after the adjoining tomb of Seth, the garden gate, the Hims Gate and the like gate (*kaḍā* probably a double gate of Hims). Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân was a station of the Egyptian pigeon-post (al-'Umarī, *Ta'rif*, transl. R. Hartmann, *J. D. M. G.*, lxx. 591; al-Kalkashandī, iv. 393).

After the battle of Marj Dīshlī in 822 (1516) the town passed to the Ottomans. Della Valle a century later found here (1616) a native chief under Turkish suzerainty and the Agha who lived there in Ponscke's time while paying tribute to the Porte retained complete independence. Trölle found in the town "zwei schöne Wirtshäuser, das eine war ziemlich hauffig, das andere aber noch wohl eingerichtet, und um und um breiten langen bleiern Tafeln bedeckt". Seetzen describes Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân as the most northerly place in the Pashalik of Damascus (Suriya). Walpole was a guest of the mutasarrif of the town. The district of the town later became a *kaḍā* of the liwā of Halab. When Sachau passed through it in 1879, a *ka'immakām* was living there; the frontier with Hamā was at Khūn Shaikhūn. After the world war the town was included in the territory under French mandate. According to Sachau it has about 40 well built houses and with its well cared for gardens and fields looks a peaceful and prosperous country town, while van Berchem calls it "a large village of rather dismal appearance"; it lies in a monotonous but well tilled plain at the foot of the eastern edge of the plateau of the Djebel Rihā. In the north-west it is commanded by the high hill on which stand the ruins of the mediæval citadel (on the map by R. Garrett and F. A. Norria, in *Americ. Archæol. Exp. in Syria*, i. 50 and *Princeton Exp.*, Divis. II, Sect. B, part 3). Kafar al-Nu'mân is wrongly placed north-east of the town; cf. however also van Berchem, *Voyage*, p. 202 and Eli Smith in Ritter, *Erzk.*, xvii. 1067 and Sachau, *Reise*, p. 94). Among the architectural features of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân the most notable, next to the great mosque, is the already mentioned Shāfi'ī Madrasa (built in 595). A notable building of the Ottoman period is a large square caravanserai on the south side of which is a fine gateway with an inscription of 974 (1568-1567). Sykes was shown by the *ka'immakām* as one of the sights of the place the (alleged?) tomb of the poet Abū 'l-'Alī.

Bibliography: al-Kharrami, *Kifāh Sūrat al-Arḥ*, ed. v. Milk in *Bibl. arab. Hist., and Geogr.*, iii., Leipzig 1926, p. 20, N° 282; al-Battānī, *al-Zīd al-ḥayy*, ed. Nallino, li., p. 46, N° 138; iii., p. 238; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 131; al-Jahiz, *B. G. A.*, i., 61; Ibn Hawkal, *B. G. A.*, ii., 118; al-Mukaddasī, *B. G. A.*, iii., 30, 154; Ibn Khuradadhib, *B. G. A.*, vi., 73; al-Yaʿqūbī, *B. G. A.*, vii., 324; al-Masʿūdī, *Tamhīd*, *B. G. A.*, viii., 153; do., *Murūʾij al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, ii., 406; Yāqūt, *Misʿam*, ed. Wustenfeld, iv., 572; Saʿī al-Dīn, *Murūʾij al-Dhahab*, ed. Jaynoll, iii., 120; al-Dimashqī, ed. Mehren, p. 205; Ibn Battānī, ed. Paris, i., 143; al-Dīnī, ed. Gildemeister, in *Z. D. P. V.*, viii., 27; Ibn Dūbair, *Niḥā*, ed. Wright, p. 256; Nāṣir al-Khwarizmi, ed. Schefer, p. 3; al-Dhiflīn Abu l-Bakr, transl. M. Devonshire, *B. I. F. A. O.*, xi., 21; Kamāl al-Dīn Umar b. al-Adīm, *Zuhd al-Halab fī Taʾrīḥ al-Halab*, passim (cf. on the ed. and transl. the art. HALAB and KAMAL AL-DIN); Abu l-Fidaʾ, *Taʾrīḥ al-Balāḥ*, ed. Reinard and de Slane; do., *Annales Moslimiques*, ed. Reiske, Copenhagen 1789—1794, passim; Ibn al-Shihna, ed. Cheikh, passim; Caennī, *Annali dell' Islam*, iii., p. 794, § 284; p. 796, § 288; Le Strange, *Palatinate under the Moslems*, 1890, p. 495—497; M. Hartmann in *Z. D. P. V.*, xliii., 125 = *Zetterstein, Beiträge z. Gesch. der Mamlūkensultane*, Leyden 1919, p. 240; Gaudeloups-Demomhynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. 109 and passim; Franz Ferdinand v. Troilo, *Reise-Beschreibung*, Dresden 1676, p. 458; Rich. Pococke, *Description of the East*, London 1745, p. 145—146; W. M. Thomson, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, v., 1848, p. 680; Burton-Drake, *Unexplored Syria*, ii., 204; Chantre in *Le Tour du Monde*, 1889, li., 216; Ritter, *Erkenntnis*, xvii., 1060 sq., 1065 sq., 1565—1572; O. F. v. Richter, *Wandfahrten im Orient*, Berlin 1822, p. 236; U. J. Sauter, *Reisen durch Syrien*, i., 1854, p. 8; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopot.*, p. 94; Vital Cuatrecasas, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii., Paris 1891, p. 215—217; Julien, *Sinai et Syrie*, Lille 1893, p. 229; R. Oberhammer and H. Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien und Kleinasien*, Berlin 1899, p. 94; *Publications of an American Archæol. Exped. to Syria in 1890—1900*, i., 1914, 119; iii., 1908, 277; iv., 1905, 188, 212; Mark Sykes, *Das al-Islam*, London 1904, p. 521; van Berchem and Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, i., 1914, p. 201—203; Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, p. 187—194; Creswell in *B. I. F. A. O.*, xii., 1922, p. 6, 12 sq.

(E. HONKIMANN)

MA'AD, AḤD 'ABDĀ MA'AD v. WAHR, was one of the great singers and composers of the early Umayyad period. He belonged to Madina and was a client of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Kaṭān (cf. *Agḥām*, i., 19) of the house of Wāḥida of the Banū Maḥmūd. He was a half-caste, his father being a negro. In his youth he was an accountant, but having taken music lessons from Sa'īd Khallīf, Neshī al-Farīs and Djamāl (q. v.) he adopted music as a profession and soon made a name for himself. During the reign of 'Abd al-Malik (65—86—685—705) he carried off the prize at a tournament of song organised by Ibn Saʿūd at Makka. He sang at the courts of al-Walid I (86—95—705—715), Yazid II (101—

105—720—724), and al-Walid II (125—126—734—744), the second of these treating him with unheard of favour. On the death of Ibn Saʿūd (q. v.) about the year 107 (726) Ma'ad became the leading singer, and when al-Walid II was called to the throne, Ma'ad, although an old man, was invited to his court at Damascus. Here he was honourably treated and received a gift of 12,000 pieces of gold. Shortly afterwards he was again commanded to appear at court, but he was very ill when he arrived. Paralysis intervened, and although he was lodged in the palace itself, and had every possible attention, he died (125—743). At his funeral, the caliph and his brother al-Uḥayr, walked in front of the bier, whilst the renowned songsters Sallāma al-Kass, one of Ma'ad's pupils, chanted one of his elegies.

Ma'ad must undoubtedly be counted among the "four great singers" (*Agḥām*, i., 98, 151; ii., 127) whatever opinions may be held as to the others. A poet of Madina said: "Tawnis, and after him Ibn Saʿūd, excelled [in singing], but pre-eminence belongs to Ma'ad". Ishāq al-Mawaffī (cf. ii., 439) said: "Ma'ad was a consummate singer, and his compositions reveal a talent superior to all his rivals". Poets like al-Buḥārī (q. v.) and Abū Tammām (q. v.) have shown the worth of Ma'ad in Arabian musical history. Among the compositions of Ma'ad his most famous were the seven known as the "Citius" (*Mudun*) or "Fortresses" (*Ḥuṭun*), whilst five others were celebrated as the *Ma'adāt*. His fame was made by his adoption of a grandiose (*Kamil al-Nawā*) style of composition in the rhythms (*Ḥawāṣ*) called *Ḥafīf* or "heavy". Among his pupils were Ibn 'Aṣha, Malik al-Ta'ī (q. v.), Yūsuf al-Kaṭīb (q. v.), Siyā, Sallāma al-Kass and Ḥabbāba.

Bibliography: *Agḥām*, ed. Hübner, i., 19—29, 107, 116; v., 36, 102; vi., 66; vii., 124, 188; viii., 86, 91; *ʿAd al-Farīs*, Cairo 1887—1888, iii., 187; Ibn Khallīk, *Hog. Diet.*, ii., 374; al-Buḥārī, *Divan*, Constantinople 1300, ii., 160, 193, 218; Abū Tammām, *Divan*, ed. Hübner, 103; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūʾij*, v., 448.

(H. G. FARMER)

AL-MA'BARI, ZAIN AL-DIN wrote about the year 985 (1577) for Sultan 'Alī 'Adil Shāh of Bijapur (d. 987—1579) a brief history of the spread of Islam in Malabar, the coming of the Portuguese and their campaigns against the Muslims from 908 to 985 (1498—1578). The work is preserved in Brit. Mus. MS., N° 94, India Office N° 714 and 1044, 5 and in Morley, *Catalogue of Historical MSS.*, N° 13 and is entitled *Tuḥfat al-Mudabbihīn*; extracts were given by John Briggs in *Forbster, History of the rise of the Mahomedan power in India*, London 1829, iv., 531 sqq. and it was translated by M. I. Rowlandson, *Tuḥfat al-Mudabbihīn, an historical work in the Arabic language*, London, Gr. Transl. Pand 1833 and ed. by D. Lopez, *Historia dos Portuguezes no Malabar, por Zinadin, manuscripte arabe do século XVI publicado e traduzido*, Lisbon 1898.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

MACASSAR, an important seaport on the island of Celebes, on the Bay of Macassar; it is the capital of the administrative district of "Celebes en Onderhoorigheden" and also of the division of it of the same name administered by an assistant-resident. By the native population the town which has made very great

progress in the last few years, is still often called by its original name of Ujung-pandang (Ujung-patulang). The Dutch gave it the name Macassar from the kingdom of the same name. The heart of the Macassar country is the former principality of Gowa, which was put under the direct rule of the Dutch East India government in 1911 and is a remnant of the once very powerful kingdom of Macassar. The area inhabited by the Macassars in the wider sense stretches over the whole southern part of the southwestern peninsula of Celebes, as well as over the island of Saleier and several groups of island in the neighbourhood. The remainder of southern Celebes is inhabited by Buginese who are closely related to the Macassars and whose language, manners and customs are very similar.

The Macassars do not differ much in physical appearance from the Javanese; they are of above medium height and in general well built. Their mode of life, dress and dwellings are simple. The main industry is agriculture which is very successful on the generally fertile soil: in the plains rice is grown, often on wet fields, in the mountains maize particularly, but also vegetables and leguminous plants and coconuts. The cattle-rearing also is not unimportant. The native industries which are carried on in the houses of natives are not on a very high level; the work of the gold and silver-smiths is relatively good. An unfavourable verdict has often been passed on the character of the Macassars but this seems to be exaggerated; they find it difficult to submit to a regular life but for the rest they are not difficult to govern. Among their vices are their fondness for dice and cock-fighting. Originally three classes were distinguished in Macassar society, the princes and nobles, the people, and the slaves. Slavery has now been abolished even in the districts under independent rule.

The population generally professes Islam and its laws are on the whole conscientiously observed and the Muslim principal feasts faithfully celebrated. But one cannot of course say that Islam regulates the whole of their social and religious life. The customs which survive from an earlier period are very numerous and form a striking contrast to the ideas of Islam. In every village there is still to be found a little building which is used for the worship of the spirits of the animistic period (the chief of whom is *Karaeng Lowe*, i.e. the "great prince") and where heathen priests offer sacrifices. There can therefore be no question of fanaticism and the very simple mosques are in general in disrepair. The highest Muhammadan office is filled by the *da'i*, usually a man of princely descent, who used formerly to be appointed and dismissed by the king. He had control of all matters relating to worship and he also gave legal decisions in questions of inheritance and played an official part in marriages and divorces. There were lower officials under him who acted as preachers and preceptors, performed the offices of a sexton and gave elementary religious instruction. Their knowledge of Islam is usually very slight. The revenues of their clergy consists of the *sakka* (*sakka*), the *pitara* (*pitara*) and of presents on all sorts of occasions at which they take part, and of a certain percentage (*titik*) on the division of inheritances. The *sakka* is irregularly and unsatisfactorily paid, the *pitara* much better.

No particulars are known of the earlier history

of Macassar and of the regions inhabited by the Macassars in general. In the middle of the sixteenth century they were under the rule of the Hindu-Javanese Kingdom of Matjapahit. According to the native chronicles of the royal houses of Gowa and Tello, which, at least so far as the earliest period is concerned, are largely mythical, the Gowa originally consisted of an alliance of nine small districts each under a noble; after the government had passed into the hands of one man and the kingdom had expanded, to include for example the lands of what was later Tello, Gowa is said, after the death of the sixth king (at the same time the first whom the chronicles represent to us as an ordinary mortal), to have been divided between his two sons; the one became ruler of Gowa and the other of Tello. It is certain that, so far as our knowledge goes, there were always close relations between these two kingdoms and that there was a certain degree of unity about them; they were known together to Europeans as the "kingdom of the Macassars". About the year 1512 Malays from Sumatra were given permission to settle in Macassar and it was perhaps they who first brought Muslim ideas to South Celebes. When the Portuguese appeared there in the middle of the century, they found only a few foreigners there, who were Muslim; it was not till the beginning of the sixteenth century that the Macassars in general adopted this new religion. During the reign of Tumidjallo (1565-90), Ishullah, king of Ternate, came to Macassar, concluded a treaty and at the same time attempted to introduce the Muslim religion into South Celebes. In 1603 Sultan 'Al-Muhammad and one of his brothers became converts to Islam, which thereupon spread rapidly over Gowa and Tello, chiefly through the influence of Karaeng Motawajja, administrator of Gowa and prince of Tello. We find traditions about the first preaching of Islam in South Celebes, similar to those of other parts of the archipelago. There they are particularly associated with a certain Dato-ri-Randang, a Minangkabau peasant from Kotalingah, who is said to have landed about 1606 in Tello and to have preached the Muslim faith, at the same time performing all kinds of miracles. Next to him, the two main apostles of Islam are said to have been his contemporaries Dato-ri-Tiro and Dato-Patimang. Their tombs are still much visited.

In the first half of the sixteenth century the kingdom of Macassar extended very much, so that it brought under its suzerainty almost the whole of Celebes, Baton, Flores, Sumbawa, Lombok and the east coast of Borneo. The Dutch East India Company, which had a good deal of trouble with the Macassars, did not succeed till 1637 in concluding a treaty with them which permitted freedom of trade but allowed them no permanent settlement. But as Macassar caused the Company further difficulties in the Moluccas, a war resulted in which the town was burned. By the peace concluded in 1660, the king lost a portion of his territory; the Portuguese were forbidden to remain in the kingdom while the Company were allowed to settle and trade freely in Macassar. Peace was again broken in 1665; the Admiral of the Dutch East India Company, Speelman, sailed with a large fleet to Celebes, destroyed the Macassar fleet and forced the king to sign a treaty of peace ("Hong-maich Verdrag", 1667; confirmed in 1669), whereby

the suzerainty of Macassar over Celebes was finally destroyed. Even after this, the relations of the Company and later of the Dutch government with the kingdom were not good. Tello was incorporated in the government territory in 1836 and leased to the prince of Gowa. In 1905 an armed expedition was sent to Gowa; since 1911, it has been under direct rule.

Bibliography. A. Ligvoet, *Geschiedenis van de afdeeling Tello (gouvernement van Celebes)*, in *T.B.G. K.W.*, 1872, xviii, p. 43; B. F. Matthes, *De Makassarische en Boegineische liederen*, 1881, p. 1; do., *Bijdrage tot de ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes*, The Hague 1875; A. Ligvoet, *Transcriptie van het dagboek der vorsten van Gowa in Tello, met vertaling en aantekeningen*, in *B.T.L.V.*, 1880, series 4, vol. 17, p. 1; R. van Eck, *De Mangkavaren en Boeginezen in de Indische Gids*, 1881, III, 824, 1020; 1882, IV, 60; B. F. Matthes, *Enige proeven van Boegineische en Makassarische poëzie*, The Hague 1883; do., *Enige Eigentümlichkeiten in den Eiten und Geschiedenis der Makassaren und Boeginezen*, in *Travaux de la 6^e Section du Congrès International des Orientalistes à Leyde*, 1884, p. 273; do., *Ethnographische Atlas bevattende afbeeldingen van voorwerpen als het leven in de huishouding der Makassaren, getuigend door C. A. Schröder jr. en Nap. Eller*, The Hague 1889-1885; do., *Over de Aka's of gewoonten der Makassaren en Boeginezen*, in *Verh. Med. Ak. Amsterdam*, 1885, series 3, vol. 4, p. 137; do., *Boegineische en Makassarische legenden*, in *B.T.L.V.*, 1885, series 4, vol. 2, p. 431; G. K. Niemann, *De Boeginezen in Makassar*, in *B.T.L.V.*, 1889, xxxviii, p. 74, 206; A. J. A. F. Verduyn, *Het landschap Gowa*, in *Verhandelingen v. d. Batav. Genootschap v. Kunsten Wetenschap*, 1897, vol. xliii, p. 1; B. Erkelens, *Geschiedenis van het rijk Gowa*, ibid., p. 61; J. M. Ch. E. Le Rétio, *De schatting bij den Makassar*, in *verhand. met de landbouwgeleerden*, *T.B.G. K.W.*, 1899, xli, 300; N. Macleod, *De oververpaving van Makassar door Speelman*, in *De Indische Gids*, 1900, II, 1269; A. J. van Marle, *Beschrijving van het rijk Gowa*, in *Tydschr. v. d. Kon. Ned. Aardrijksk. Genootschap*, 1901, series 2, vol. xviii, p. 956; 1902, vol. xix, p. 106, 373; 533; N. Macleod, *Over Makassar en Samboen van 1602-1609*, in *Tydschrift van Ned. Indië*, 1903, p. 428; J. Tilmans, *De wachting bij de Makassaren*, in *Tydschrift v. d. Binnenlandsch Bestuur*, 1907, xxviii, p. 555; do., *De Bataks Gipsen op Zuid-Celebes*, in *B.T.L.V.*, 1908, lxi, p. 350; W. E. van Dam van Iselt, *Mr. Johan van Dam en zijn ontdekkings van Makassar in 1602*, in *B.T.L.V.*, 1908, lx, p. 1; G. Mann, *Two Makassarische verhalen in Torontasch dialect (Telo, vertaling en aantekeningen)*, in *T.B.G. K.W.*, 1913, lv, p. 213; J. H. W. van der Molen, *Het „Afahale-Mangirang“ (een eeuwen bij verandering van vrouwen) bij de Makassaren in de onderafdeling Macao*, in *Koloniale Tydschr.*, 1914, p. 30; F. H. v. d. Kamp, *E. T. Chasid's werkzaamheid als missionaris van de overname van Makassar en onderwerping der eilanden Sept-Oct. 1846*, in *B.T.L.V.*, 1917, lxxii, p. 417; *Encyclopedie van Ned. Indië*, v, Boeginezen en Makassarisch. (W. H. Ramses)

MADAGASCAR. With its area of 228,340 sq. m., Madagascar is the third largest island in the world after New Guinea (234,770 sq. m.) and Borneo (284,030 sq. m.). Its area is a little greater than that of France (207,000 sq. m.), Belgium (11,373) and Holland (12,740) combined. It is oriented from N.E. to S.S.W. and measures 1,000 miles in its greatest length and 350 in its greatest breadth with a coast line of 3,000 miles. The latest estimates put the native population at three millions.

The island was called *al-Komar* by the Arabs, *Bukini* (lit.: where there are (no) Buki) by the Bantus of the neighbouring East African coast and by certain Malagasy tribes. The Portuguese called it "Island of St. Lawrence" because they discovered it on that saint's day, August 10, 1506, and finally it became known as Madagascar from Marco Polo's name for it. The orthography *جزيرة القمر* unvocalized gave rise to the false etymology *Djazarat al-Komar* "island of the moon" with which the Portuguese historians became acquainted in the xvth and xvth centuries and which survived down to the end of the sixteenth century among the sailors of Southern Arabia.

The name *Komar* appears for the first time in the *Kutub Sairat al-Araf* of Muhammad b. Mūsā al-Khwarizmi (d. 220 = 835 or 230 = 845), in which mention is made of the famous "mountain of Komu", *جبل القمر* in which the Nile was reputed to rise. But the interpretation by *جبل القمر* "mountain of the moon" was already old in the ninth century for it is found as early as the *des solentis* of Ptolemy, which the minority of Arab geographers and notably al-Khwarizmi took as a model. The mountain called "of Komu" or "of the moon" is mentioned by all the Muslim geographers who deal with eastern Africa. We shall see below how and to what degree the name of this mountain is connected with that of Komu = Madagascar.

In my memoir entitled *Le K'ouen-louen et les anciennes navigations interocéaniques dans le Mer du Sud* (*J. A.*, 1919, vol. 13, and 14), I have rediscovered in traces the origin of the name Komu; the documents there utilized enable it to be connected with the name of the Komers and of the

崑崙 K'ou-lun of the Chinese. The Chinese sources take us also to East Africa in which the *Lu fan* is of Cao Ju-kun (1225) reproducing word for word two passages of the *Liu shan tai ta* of Cao K'uei-fu (1178) locates a land of *K'ou-lun* *ti-m'et-lun* "land of the Zang of K'ou-lun", which is close to a large island (= Madagascar) which is the regular home of the *feh* or *vela* of the Arabs, whose feathers are so large that they can be used for holding a load-must of water. The old name of Madagascar has survived in modern geography in the name of the Comoro Islands, the little archipelago lying to the N.W. of the island.

In his *Explorations portugaises de Madagascar en 1613* (*Bol. Soc. Geogr.* of Lisbon, 7th series, 1887, p. 313-356), Father Luis Martinho refers to the Malagasy as *Angue* (more correctly: *Baki*), which is also found in later travellers. It is the name given by the Eastern Bantu to the large African island: *Baki*, or with the addition of the locative suffix *-ni*: *Bakini*, *Baki* is to be connected with the Malagasy word *mbakila* "king-".

dom, subjects" (phonetically: *malakiki*), which is a plural Bantu form (*malakiki*) malagaised *malakiki* (Bantu plural form, *malakiki* + euphonic intervocalic Malagasy *ki* + *malakiki*). This radical is identical with the reduplicated form used by the Arab geographers, *Malakiki* or *Malakiki* [q. v.] and phonetically equivalent to the *Malakiki* of the early travellers and the Eastern Bantu *malakiki*, "the Malagaisies" and *Malakiki*, "Madagascar". This explanation seems preferable to that which I had proposed in 1904 in *J. A.*, vol. III, p. 490 sq. I think we must agree that the Malag. *malakiki* comes from *malakiki* and recognises a Bantu substratum in the Malag. word.

The present name of Madagascar is given by Marco Polo in the form *Madagascar* (cf. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ed. Sir Henry Yule and Cordier², II, p. 411 sq.). Yule long ago pointed out that Marco Polo had not visited Madagascar and only knew it by hearsay, and that the information he gave about it really related to the adjoining east coast of Africa. The origin of this name is as follows: As I have already pointed out in studying once more this chapter of Marco Polo, *Madagascar* is undoubtedly a slightly erroneous formation of the form *Zang-bar* and should be corrected to *Madagascar* = "land of the Malagaisies", just as *Zang-bar* means "land of Zangor of the Zang" (cf. *Mémoires Soc. de Ling. de Paris*, vol. XIII, 1905-1906: *Trois étymologies malgaches*, p. 415-422), where *زنج* should be corrected

to *زنجبار*. This correction is justified by the following facts: In the *Travels* already quoted, Father Luis Matiano mentions a kingdom of the S. E. of Madagascar which he calls *Matacaris*, *Matacaris*, *Matacaris* (or *Matacaris*). Three years later in 1616, Father d'Almeida, travelling in the same country also mentions a kingdom of *Matacaris*. Cauche in his *Relation*, published in 1653 by Morisot (*Relations véritables et curieuses de l'île de Madagascar et du Brésil*, p. 10, 49, 99, 124, 127, 134), mentions a province called *Malagache* by some and by others *Madagascar*, the inhabitants of which he calls *Malagaches* and *Malagaches*. He also uses the term *Madagascaris*, but with the wider sense of the whole island and its inhabitants: Flacourt (*Histoire de la grande île Madagascar*, 1661, p. 1) says: "The island of Saint Laurens is called Madagascar by the geographers, by the inhabitants *Madagascar*, by Ptolemy *Mennithian*, by Pliny *Cornu*... but its real name is *Madagascar*". Later writers are all more or less inspired by the work of Flacourt and need not be discussed here. All these different readings go back to two forms: *Madagascar* and *Malagachi* which correspond exactly to two main categories of dialects: those with dental *d* and those with liquid *l*. It is the latter form that came to prevail over the whole island, sometimes with the sibilant: *Malagachi* and sometimes with the palatal: *Malagachi*. Both are paroxytone. The modern vernacular frequently uses the abbreviated form *gali* and even *gali*. These facts seem to justify the explanation suggested above for the name *Madagascar* which we owe to Marco Polo.

The doublet, *Malagachi-Malagachi*, *Malagachi-Malagachi* is obscure. According to the morphology of the language it may represent a form **male* or **male* + *gali* which recalls nothing, whether we take the form with soft letters *malagachi* or that

with hard noted by the Portuguese: *malakiki*. Nor do we know whether we have to deal with a western Indonesian root or a Bantu stem. In any case it is probable that we have to deal here with a foreign tribal name, the eastern or western origin of which can no longer be explained from an ancient or modern language.

In the Arab geographers the first detailed account of the island of Komr-Madagascar is found in the *Kitab Nushat al-Mughallab fi Tajarik al-Afrik* (1154) of al-Idrisi who included the large African island in the country of the Zang. "The people of the island of Zibag = Sumatra", he says, "in the seventh section of the first clime come to the country of the Zang in large and small ships and use it as a centre for trading in their merchandise as they understand one another's language" (MS. 2221 of the *Bibl. Nat. Paris*, f. 296, l. 13). This passage is very important as it shows that in the 12th century, Madagascar, wrongly located in the country of the Zang, had been long before colonised by immigrants from Sumatra who had introduced their language into the island and Malagasy was derived from it. In the eighth section of the same clime the island of Komr-Madagascar is situated seven days' sail from the Maldives. Its king lives in the town of Maliki. This is an island four months' journey in length. It begins near the Maldives and ends in the north opposite the islands of China. The geographer of Roger of Sicily, as his map shows, has combined into one huge island Madagascar, Ceylon and a part of Sumatra. In the ninth section, we are told that the people of Komr and the merchants of the land of the Mahradia (= Sumatra) come to the inhabitants of the east coast of Africa and are welcomed by them and trade with them (cf. my *Relations de Voyages*, Index, s.v. *Komr* and *Komor*).

Yakut in his *Mu'jam* (completed in 1224) says simply (vol. IV, p. 174): "al-Komr is an island in the centre of the sea of the Zang, which contains no larger island than this. It contains a large number of towns and kingdoms. Each king makes war on the others, Amber and the leaf *al-komr* (alc) are found on its shores. This is a perfume; it is also called betel flower. Wax is also obtained from it". The *Kitab al-Mughallab* of the same author contains identical information taken from the *Mu'jam* (ed. Wattenfeld, p. 358) but the latter text has more correctly "the leaf *al-komr*".

Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali b. Sa'id al-Maghribi, best known as Ibn Sa'id, was born in 1208 or 1214 near Granada and died at Damascus in 1274 or in Tunis in 1286. The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris has a copy catalogued as Ms. n^o 2234, a treatise on general geography which runs from f. 1 to 117 and is entitled: "The book collected and epitomised by 'Ali b. Sa'id al-Maghribi the Spaniard of the Book of the Geography (of Ptolemy) in seven climes; and he has added to it longitudes and latitudes from the book of Ibn Fathima". This copy of the original manuscript is dated 714 (1314-1315) and belonged to the celebrated geographer Abu 'l-Fid'f. The text contains in a few lines information of the highest importance to the following effect: "The Komr who have given their name to the mountain of this name situated in eastern Africa are brothers of the Chinese. They originally lived with the Chinese in the eastern regions of the earth, i.e.

in the interior of the Asiatic continent. Discord having broken out between them, the latter drove the Komr to these islands. After a certain period of time, dissensions broke out among the Komr who had migrated into these islands, the king and his family migrated once more and went to the large island of Komr = Madagascar and the King settled in a town of this large island, called Komritya. These Komr immigrants to the large island increased in numbers and spread through the different centres of the island; but new dissensions broke out and provoked a new exodus and many of them went to settle in the south at the beginning of inhabited land along the mountain which bears their name" (cf. *Relations de Voyages*, II, 316 sq.). If we translate these successive migrations into terms of modern geography, we get the following: The Komr, related to the Chinese, originally inhabited Central Asia, migrated from the interior of the continent where they were neighbours of the Chinese to the adjoining maritime lands and islands (= Indo-China, Malay Peninsula and Indonesia; in Decade II, Book II, Chap. IV, of *De Asia*, p. 352 of the little edition of 1777, the Portuguese historian Juan de Barros says that the Japanese claim to have originally come from China). They later migrated from Indonesia, more accurately from Somatra (cf. my *Empire sumatranais de Chulafaya* in *J.A.*, 1922, vol. XX.) to the large island which bears their name, the island of Komr = Madagascar and from there to the land of the mountain of Komr, the famous mountain in which the Nile was thought to rise = East Africa.

The first migration, that from Central Asia to the coasts of trans-Gangetic India certainly took place long before our era. Several centuries must have passed between the departure of the emigrants from the plateau of Eastern Tibet, their expansion in the region of the coast, from Burma to Indo-China and their crossing to Indonesia. Ibn Sa'id lived in the 12th century. How then could he have known of events that took place several millennia before his time and are not recorded elsewhere? Neither the history nor legends of the Far East knows anything of such happenings. The Indians, Sinites, and Indo-Sinites whom I have consulted cannot think of any text or inscription directly or indirectly referring to them. I am surprised at such a question being raised by a comparatively late Arabic text and I know no satisfactory answer. I was prepared by my studies on Madagascar to accept Ibn Sa'id's statement that the large African island was colonised by Somatrans whose ancestors had come from the Asiatic Continent; this is exactly what Ibn Sa'id tells us. The agreement between the Arabic text and historical events is striking; but this undeniable agreement is unexpected for we do not know as well as we ought, how and where such information could have been obtained in the 12th century. I put forward the hypothesis (*Relations de Voyages*, II, 320) that the Sa'id might have got the information at the court of Hüllagü where he spent some time in the 12th century. But we know from his biographies that the Spanish traveller lived in Baghdad, studying assiduously at the 35 libraries of that city and making extracts from manuscripts. He may have found in these works the statements he has so fortunately preserved for us.

A contemporary of Ibn Sa'id, Djamil or Najim

al-Din Abu 'l-Fath Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb b. Muhammad, better known as Ibn al-Mudāwir al-Shalbānī of Damascus, prepared his *Tārīkh al-Mustabīr* (Cod.: *al-Mustabīr*) in 1230 (MS. 6021 of the Bibl. Nat. in Paris). In the 25 folios devoted to the history of 'Aden, 72 s. & deals with the voyages of the Komr from their original home to 'Aden and notably in 626 (1228) from Madagascar to the African coast and to 'Aden (cf. *J. A.*, vol. 13, 1919, p. 469-483).

The following geographers: Shams al-Din Abu 'Abdallāh Sūfi al-Dimashqī (d. 1325), Abu 'l-'Abbās Ahmad al-Nuwairī (d. 1332), Abu 'l-Fidā' (1273-1331), Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1375), Makrūn (1365-1442) tell us nothing particular about the island of Komr. The towns, which some of them locate in the great African island, are really in Ceylon or further east or cannot be identified (cf. *Relations de Voyages*, index, s. v. *Komar* and *Komar*).

In the 15th century Ibn Mājid (cf. SHIHAB AL-DIN AHMAD b. MUHAMMAD) in his *Kitāb al-Fawā'id* (cf. my *Instructions nautiques et routes arabes et portugaises*, vol. I, p. 680, 2) includes the island of Komr among the ten large islands of the world and mentions it after the Arabian peninsula: "The island which is the second in size", he says, "is the island of Komr. It is now an island (sic). The information I have collected orally does not agree about its length or breadth for it is quite apart from the world and the inhabited climes of the earth. This is why there is doubt on the subject. In the large books on geography it is said to be the largest of the inhabited islands. Between it and the land of Sofala and the islands dependent on it (= the Mozambique Channel) there are islands and reefs. In spite of this sailors are able to pass among the islands and reefs. The island of Komr takes its name from that of Kāmran, son of 'Amur son of Shem son of Noah. To the south it has the sea which the Greeks called Okeānos, this is the ocean surrounding the world (*al-Muhit* in Arabic). It is the beginning of the southern darkness, which is to the south of this island of Komr". Ibn Mājid frequently mentions the island of Komr in his other Nautical Instructions also and it undoubtedly is Madagascar.

With Sulatmān al-Mahrī (cf. below) our information becomes more definite. In his *al-Umdat al-mahrīya* in Chap. IV., dealing with the islands and sailing routes along their coasts (cf. *Instructions nautiques et routes arabes et portugaises*, vol. II, I, 222), he says: "Let us begin with the island of Komr because it is a large island which stretches along the coast of Zang and Sofala. Its northern extremity is called Rāi al-Milī (= Amber Cape); it lies in 11° 02' of Nāsh (N. 8° 37' of the Great Bear = 8° 37' South; the true latitude is 11° 37'). Its southern extremity which is called Hūfā (I = Cape Sainte Marie) is in 3° 48' of Nāsh (= 31° 37' south; the true latitude is nearly 25° 38') according to some, in 1° 48' of Nāsh (= 24° 51' south) according to others. This latter latitude is the more accurate. There is a difference of opinion about the direction of the sea-routes along its coasts, because this island is remote from the inhabited earth. There are two opinions regarding the direction of the route along its east coast: according to some one should sail S.W. & W. according to others S.W. There is a third opinion that one should go W.S.W. from one end to the other of the island. This last view is that of the older sailing

masters. In my opinion, adds Sulaiman al-Mahri, it is possible that the route should be W.S.W., then S.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W., then S.W. and in another direction still, for two reasons: the first that it is a large island, that its coast is long and the route is also long. The second reason is that the directions given have not been verified on account of the fewness of the voyages made to this island and the insufficient nautical knowledge of those who have been there. Sailing-masters (*mu'allim*) of Zang have told me that the route on the east coast from Rās al-Milḥ to the place where Na'ḥ is $8^{\circ} 14'$ ($= 13^{\circ} 30'$) south is to the south and from this place to the south end of the island is S. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.W. I have recorded that the route on its west coast from Rās al-Milḥ to the place where Na'ḥ is $8^{\circ} 14'$ ($= 13^{\circ} 30'$ S.) is to the south; and from this place to the south end of the island S. $\frac{1}{2}$ S.W. On the west coast from Rās al-Milḥ to the place where Na'ḥ is $6^{\circ} 14'$ ($= 16^{\circ} 44'$), the coast is perfectly safe; from $6^{\circ} 14'$ to its south end there is a *zāḥ* ("bank" or "shallow") about 2 *ṣam* ($= 6$ hours) sail or more in length to the neighbourhood of the coast. Between the island of Komr and the coast (east coast of Africa) there are four large inhabited islands, near one another, to which the people of Zang go. The first of these islands is Aḡazidiya ($=$ Great Comoro). It is in $11^{\circ} 14'$ $\frac{1}{2}$ of Na'ḥ ($= 9^{\circ}$ S. approx.; Mrovi, the capital of Aḡazidiya, is in exactly $11^{\circ} 40'$ South). Between it and the African coast it is 16 *ṣam* ($= 48$ hours) sailing. The second, Muḥāli (our Mohuli), is in $11^{\circ} 14'$ of Na'ḥ ($= 8^{\circ} 37'$ S., true Lat. about $12^{\circ} 20'$); the third Dumāni (capital of Anjouan) which is in $11^{\circ} 14'$ of Na'ḥ ($= 8^{\circ} 37'$ S., true Lat. $12^{\circ} 15'$) is to the east of Muḥāli; the fourth Mawūli (our Mayotte) is in $10^{\circ} 14'$ $\frac{1}{2}$ of Na'ḥ ($= 9^{\circ} 25'$ S., true Lat. $12^{\circ} 46' 55''$). To the east of these islands lies a great reef of rocks, about 4 *ṣam* ($= 12$ hours) sail, usually called *Ain al-Baḥr* ("eye" or "source of the sea"). The harbours of the west coast of Komr are Langāni ($15^{\circ} 17'$ S.), Sa'da (true Lat. approx. $13^{\circ} 34'$) and Manāḥilī ($=$ the bay of Mahadzamba, whose west point is in approx. $15^{\circ} 12'$ Lat.). Those of the west coast are Bender Banī Ima'īl (in the same latitude as Langāni on the west coast), and Bimārūh ($=$ Vohémar in $15^{\circ} 21' 15''$). All these ports are dangerous (for ships) except Langāni. Know that between Rās al-Milḥ and the coast of Zang, there are 50 *ṣam* ($= 150$ hours) sail; and 20 *ṣam* ($= 60$ hours) to the east of Rās al-Milḥ there is an inhabited island called Manawarā (one of the southern Maldives). To the southeast of the island of Komr lie numerous islands called Tiraḥā (the Mascarene Islands); they are 12 *ṣam* ($= 36$ hours) sail from the island of Komr.

In his *Kitāb al-Minhāj al-fāḥir* (f. 736 of the same MS.), Sulaiman al-Mahri gives another description of the island of Komr which does not differ from that given above. Four pages earlier on f. 711 he mentions several other harbours of the island of Komr with their latitudes calculated from the altitude of the Great Bear:

Island of Manawarā by $11^{\circ} 14'$; Bender Ima'īl or Banī Ima'īl on the east coast and Langāni or Langāni on the west by $10^{\circ} 14'$; Bimārūh on the east coast, Anāmil on the west by $9^{\circ} 14'$; the island of Amber (*Qasrat al-Anbar*) on the east coast and Bender al-Nūḥ on the

west by $8^{\circ} 14'$; Noshim (?) on the east coast and Malawin (?) on the west by $7^{\circ} 14'$; Manakāra on the east coast (true Lat. $22^{\circ} 08' 30''$) and Bender (al-)Shūbān, "port of the banks", by $6^{\circ} 14'$; Bender Hādūda on the east coast and Bender Kari on the west by $4^{\circ} 14'$; Wabaya (according to the Turkish text of Sidi 'Alī, the name is illegible in MS. 2559) on the east coast and Bender Hīt (or Hīt) on the west coast by $3^{\circ} 14'$; Bender Hādūda (sic) on the east coast; no name known on the west coast in this latitude by $2^{\circ} 14'$; Bender Kūa (or Kūa) on the east coast and the bay of Kari on the west coast by $1^{\circ} 14'$; the majority of the names of harbours, which are sometimes found on both coasts recall nothing known elsewhere.

Malagasy undoubtedly belongs to the western Indonesian group of the Malayo-Polynesian family. Down to the adoption of the Arabic alphabet, the language was only oral and, so far as we know, never written down in any alphabet. The lack of epigraphic material on the one hand and of ancient monuments on the other deprives us of any chance of regaining the past history of this vast island. Before the xvth century, a few Arabic and Chinese texts would constitute our only documents, if the linguistic substrata did not yield us some valuable information. These substrata are of two kinds, Bantu and Sanskrit.

These former are divided into three categories:

1. The borrowings of relatively recent date from Swahili, which in turn got them from Arabic, of the type: Malag. *baḥari*, "sea" < Swahili *baḥari* < Arabic *baḥr*; Malag. *kamba*, "coconut fibre rope" < Swahili *kamba* < Arabic *kinnār*, *kambar*; Malag. *zuhāt*, "rudder" < Swahili *urukani* < Arabic *ṣukhān*. These loanwords are practically only found in the maritime dialects of the N.W. and W. coasts.

2. The borrowings from Swahili of the type: Malag. *bān*, "brother" < Swahili *mshay*; Malag. *baḥana*, "master", "sir" < Swahili *baḥana*; Malag. *hāḥa*, "measure for rice" < Swahili *hāḥa*, "measure of about a quart", etc. Like the preceding, these loanwords are found almost solely in the maritime dialects of the west coast; it may therefore be assumed that they also are of recent introduction.

3. The following words are, on the other hand, used either in the old and modern coast dialects or in the dialects of the centre and east, that is outside of the zone frequented by the sailors of the east coast of Africa, Zanzibar and the Comoros. They are found in manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale and in old records of travel; they are not borrowings, but belong to an old substratum of the language:

Malag. *amāḥa* "dog" < Bantu *amwa*;
Malag. *akanga* "guinea-fowl" < Bantu *kanga*;
Malag. *ampanḍra* "sea" < Bantu *panda*;
Malag. *amāmbi*, *amāmbi*, *amāmbi* "oa" < Bantu *ngombi*;
Malag. *angānu* "tale, fable" < Bantu *nganu*;
Malag. *amāmbi*, *amāmbi* "sheep" < Bantu *amāmbi*;

Malag. *amāmbi*, *amāmbi* "green pigeon" < Bantu *amāmbi*;

Malag. *amāmbi* "kind of lemur" < Bantu *ngedre* "little black monkey";

Malag. *amāmbi* in the tribal name *Kasi-mamby* "madame" < Bantu *amāmbi* "woman, wife";

Malag. *lāngana* "hog" < Bantu *lunguni*;
 Malag. *lānka, lōnka* "mangrove" < Bantu *mboko*;
 Malag. *lōnra* "pairoquet" < Bantu *lōnra*;
 Malag. *lōnra, mōlōnra, mōlōnra* "mauioc" < Bantu *mōlōnra*;
 Malag. *mōlōnra, mōlōnra* "sorcery" < Bantu *mōlōnra* "sorcerer";
 Malag. *mōlōnra* "poison" < Bantu *mōlōnra* "vegetable poison in which arrows are steeped";
 Malag. *lōnra* "goat" < Bantu *mboko*;
 Malag. *lōnra* "mīlva aegyptiaca" < Bantu *lōnra, lōnra* "falcon";
 Malag. *lōnra* "ship" < Bantu *lōnra*;
 Malag. *lōnra* "strangers to the country or place where one is" < Bantu *mōlōnra* "foreigners";
 Old Malag. *mōlōnra*, modern Malag. *mōlōnra* "stranger (means particularly foreigners of white race)" < Bantu *mōlōnra* "white strangers, Europeans"; etc.

The place-names of Madagascar further show a certain number of names of villages on the coast and of rivers running into the sea which are also Bantu, some Swahili and others ordinary Bantu. They are referred to in my memoir on *L'Origine Africaine des Malgaches*, J. A., 1908, vol. II.

The Sanskrit substratum contains many words of various classes:

1. Names of gods, spirits and of castes:
 Old Malag. *Vahā-hāri*, modern Malag. *Zahā-hāri*, "the supreme deity", lit. "the sun-god"; cf. *Om Vahā-hāri* < Indonesian *wah*, "god"; Sanskrit *hari*, "sun", the sun deified.

Old Malag. *lōnra*, "god of evil", *lōnra* *lōnra* < Sanskrit *lōnra*, "deity" (for the inverse semantic process, cf. Sanskrit *deva*, "god" > Zend *daeva*, Pahl. *dēv*, Pers. *dēv*, "evil spirit").

Old Malag. *Rān* in the expressions *lōnra-rān* *rān*, lit. "eaten by Rān the moon" = eclipse of the moon; *lōnra-rān* *mōlōnra*, lit. "obscured by Rān the sun" = eclipse of the sun.

Malag. *andriana, andriana*, "noble", "of royal or noble caste" < Kawi *arjya* < Sanskrit *arjya*, etc.

2. Names of the months:
 The names of the months in the Indian calendar are found in the dialects of all the tribes of Madagascar. They have not however been preserved in the original order and a month that is placed at the beginning of the year by one tribe is put at the middle or end by another. On the other hand *pramāsa, lōnra* and *lōnra* are not found in the Malag. lists; they are replaced by two *lōnra*'s (large and small), two *lōnra* (large and small) and a month called *lōnra* (1);

Skr. *pramāsa* > Malag. *lōnra, lōnra, lōnra, lōnra*;
 Skr. *lōnra* > Malag. *lōnra*;
 Skr. *lōnra* > Malag. *lōnra, lōnra, lōnra*;
 Skr. *lōnra* > Malag. *lōnra, lōnra, lōnra*;
 Skr. *lōnra* > Malag. *lōnra, lōnra, lōnra*;
 Skr. *lōnra* > Malag. *lōnra, lōnra, lōnra*;
 Skr. *lōnra* > Malag. *lōnra, lōnra, lōnra*;
 Skr. *lōnra* > Malag. *lōnra, lōnra, lōnra*;
 Skr. *lōnra* > Malag. *lōnra, lōnra, lōnra*;

"the month or moon of lōnra";
 cf. also Skr. *lōnra* "season of the rains" > Malag. *lōnra, lōnra* in *lōnra-lōnra, lōnra-lōnra* "season of lōnra";

3. Common words:
 Skr. *lōnra* "10 millions" > Malag. *lōnra* "100 miles" > old Malag. *lōnra* > modern Malag. *lōnra* "100 miles";

Skr. *lōnra* "glass" > Malag. *lōnra* > old Malag. *lōnra*;
 Skr. *lōnra* "melon, pumpkin" > Malag. *lōnra*, Batak *lōnra* > Malag. *lōnra*.

Skr. *lōnra* "cloud" > Malag. *lōnra* > old Malag. *lōnra*;

Skr. *lōnra* "betel" > Javanese *lōnra* > old Malag. *lōnra*;

Skr. *lōnra* "kind of palm-tree" > Batak *lōnra*;
 Malag. *lōnra*, Javanese, Sundanese *lōnra* > Malag. *lōnra* "kind of palm-tree";

Skr. *lōnra* "fast" > Malag. *lōnra* > old Malag. *lōnra* "act of fasting";

Skr. *lōnra* "four" > Atchinese *lōnra* "a square game played by women" > Malag. *lōnra*;

Skr. *lōnra* "building erected on the occasion of a fête, a pavilion" > Mal. *lōnra*, pavilion, building in which guests are received > Malag. *lōnra*, in composition *lōnra*, "royal residence, court, palace, tribunal, a roof in the centre of the village under which business is discussed";

Skr. *lōnra* "manual, book, magic treatise" > Balinese *lōnra* "story, fable, in which animals are the principal characters" > Malag. *lōnra* "story, legend, tale";

Skr. *lōnra* "copper" > Malag. *lōnra* > Balinese *lōnra* "red copper" > Malag. *lōnra, lōnra*;

Skr. *lōnra* "ginger" > Malag. *lōnra* and the form with metathesis *lōnra*, etc.

Introduced by Muslims speaking Arabic, Islam has left numerous traces in Madagascar; the first and most important is the Arabic alphabet. The task of adapting the Arabic alphabet to the transcription of Malagasy was delicate and difficult. It was however satisfactorily accomplished. The Malagasy sounds *h, d, f, k, l, m, n, r, s, t* were transcribed by the corresponding Arabic letter. The other sounds were rendered as follows: Malag.

g by *g*; guttural *h* by *h* and sometimes by *g*; the group *gh* also by *g*; the sounds *dr* and *tr* which in Merina represent practically the *dr* and *tr* of the English *drace* and *travel* (they are pronounced a little farther back in the non-Merina dialects)

generally by *g*, sometimes by *g* with a *tanwin* (e.g. *antendri*, "date-palm" is rendered by *g*)

and the context alone indicates whether *g* is to be read *dr* or *tr*; Malag. *t* by *t* with a point below; *ts* by Arabic *ts*; Malag. *r* by *r* but the Arabic *ر* is also pronounced *r*: Arabic *رمضان*

ramadān > Malay *ramadā*; Malay *s* by *s* pronounced *s*: Arabic *سنة* "little child": the sound *sh* by

sh and in modern Arabic-Malay sometimes by *sh*. The Islamised non-Semitic peoples, who have adopted the Arabic alphabet and who have to transcribe the occlusive *p* have employed various notations. The Malays have rendered it by *p*; the Persian and following them the Muslims of the Comoro archipelago by *p*; the Swahili of East Africa by *p*; the Malagasy adopted an unexpected solution of the problem: down to the

seventeenth century they rendered *p* by *p*; i.e. *p*,

mounted by a vertical *tasbeeh*, then by ق. Contrary to Malay each letter is vocalised, which renders the reading of Malagasy-Arabic texts easy in spite of the variations in orthography, which are too numerous to be given here.

The Arabic-Malagasy alphabet was once used over a very considerable area; at the present day, it is only used on the S.E. coast where very many natives were still using it at the end of the sixteenth century. The Malag. Muslims of the N.W. and W. prefer to use the Arabico-Comoro or Arabico-Swahili alphabet. The latter renders by ت a *re* identical with the Malag. *re* but this form is only used in the island of Anjouan. The dialect of this island which has a *z* transcribes it by ج, the *z* of Persian and Turkish. The Arabic letters ت, ح, ه, ز, ن, ج, ح, ه, and ق are only found in Malagasy, when Arabic words are quoted and they are pronounced respectively *t*, *h*, *h*, *z*, *n*, *j*, *h*, *h*, and *q*.

Malagasy manuscripts in the Arabic character bear the generic name of *shura-be* "great writing", i.e. "sacred writing". They used to be difficult to obtain; the owners gave them an esoteric character which did not allow their contents to be communicated to a stranger. I was able to get some copied and to acquire a few others between 1890 and 1894. The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris has ten, of which eight are undoubtedly old. MSS. 2, 3, 4 and 5 came from the old Abbey of St. Germain des Prés; No. 6 is also old, although it was only acquired in 1820. Thanks to an interlinear transcription and Latin translation by a European, which can be dated on palaeographical grounds between 1595 and 1620, it may be presumed that No. 7 reached Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century and must therefore have been written before that date. According to an MS. note by Langlès, "MS. 8 seems to have been brought to France in 1742"; the MS. 5132 wrongly classed with the Arabic manuscripts is also an old Malagasy manuscript. MS. No. 1 given by the Duc de Coislin to the Abbey of St. Germain des Prés has coloured drawings, coarsely executed of men, animals, trees, and cabalistic figures but not a single line of text. MS. No. 13 is a copy of four short modern manuscripts. With the exception of 1 and 13, all the manuscripts are on native paper, written with the *shalam* with native ink. Flacourt gives a detailed description of them in his *Histoire de la grande île Madagascar* (p. 194-199, of the edition 1661). The subject matter of the manuscript is very varied. There does not seem to have been a *shura-be* prototype out of which all the others proceeded. In an apparent disorder, the result of the fancy of the author or the copyist, we find collected *suras* of the *Koran*, interminable lists of the names of Allah, and of names of angels, Arabic religious texts with interlinear Malagasy translations (cf. the facsimile publ. in *N.E.*, vol. xxxviii, 1904, p. 457); Arabic-Malagasy glossaries, magic texts, and invocations in large numbers, magic squares and formulae, texts showing the magic influence, good or bad of the planets, signs of the zodiac, lunar mansions, months, and days of the week, of the male and female character of the twelve Muhammadan months (Muhammad is male, Safar is

female, and so on, in MS. No. 2, 19, 26), of patterns for amulets (*hirisi* < Arabic حُرُز).

The *suras* of the *Koran* are not reproduced in the order which was settled at the revision ordered by the Caliph 'Othman. MS. 6 gives them in the following order: *fatîha*, cxiv., cxiii., cxii. and so on to xcvi. (f. 2^e etc.). Then come verses 1-4 of *Sûra* xciv., verse 256 of ii., verse 16 and beginning of verse 17 of iii. The same MS. also contains *Sûra* xxxi. (f. 136^b) and f. 136^b-138^b, verses 158-159, 137, 256-259, 284-286 of *Sûra* ii. and verses 25-26 of *Sûra* iii.

Here we may mention several texts of particular importance, one of which is certainly unexpected. MS. 3 contains a bilingual glossary of 36 common words, Malagasy and Dutch, the two languages being transcribed into Arabic characters. It was published in *B.T.Z.F.*, vol. lxi, 1908. I have suggested that it must have been compiled by the interpreter of Frederik de Houtman, "who had spent four years with the Dutch and spoke their language well". He had supplied Houtman with "his collection of Malagasy words".

MS. 5 contains from f. 85^a to 88^a an Arabic poem with Malagasy translation in honour of a certain Lalla (I have not yet been able to ascertain if this is the lover of Madjnin, or of some Lalla in Arabic literature). The piece begins "The poets said..." and ends "... the girl who possesses beauty and kindness." The Arabic verses are of an unusual inaccuracy and show that whoever reproduced them had a very superficial knowledge of the language and poetry.

MS. 8 (f. 52^b to 56^b) preserves a *khutba* in Arabic entitled *الْبَيْتُ وَالْخَيْطُ* (*ba*) pronounced

Aladua: va-lakaitu (*la* is the Malagasy article), "the Khutba's prayer". Not a line in it is correctly written and some words are absolutely unrecognisable. Under the transformations they have undergone however we still find the formulae used in this sermon. The following are successively mentioned in the *khutba*: the Prophet and his family, the first four caliphs, 'A'isha, Fatima, her sons Hasan and Husain, the two uncles of the Prophet, Hanzala and al-'Abbas; then the Caliph Abû Ahmad 'Abd Allah al-Musta'îm bil'lâh (the text has *bi-l-lâh Allah*) Amir al-Mu'minin. Further on there is a re-

ference to Sulhân *قَاتِنَا عَدَا*, son of Sulhân 'Othman. The mention of the last of the 'Abbâsid caliphs seems to indicate that the Malagasy converts to Islam, among whom this *khutba* was in use, had been converted by Arabs who had left Baghdad or a country under al-Musta'îm in this caliph's reign, i.e. between 640 and 656 (124-1258). We cannot explain otherwise how his name appears with the title "Commander of the Faithful" in a *khutba* used in Madagascar. As to the Sulhân *قَاتِنَا عَدَا* (perhaps we should read *قَاتِنَا عَدَا* and

translate "Sulhân *قَاتِنَا* who is late", the *khutba* then indicating the Sulhân in question), I have not been able to identify him. As it is written, the name is neither Arabic nor Malagasy. MSS. 7 and 8 contain two identical versions of a religious text which I published in *N.E.* (xxxviii, 449-450). In a passage devoted to the glorification of the month of Ramadan, the anonymous author succe-

sively invokes the prophets of the Old Testament, Jesus and Mary, the Prophet Muhammad, the first four caliphs, Hasan and Husain and finally Abū Hanīfa al-Nu'mān, the great Sunnī Imām, and Muhammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī, the founder of the Sunnī school which bears his name. The mention of these two learned men and the *imāms* already mentioned are evidence of the orthodox character of certain Muslims of Madagascar and perhaps one may say of the generality of Muslims on the southeast coast. But the same manuscript N^o 8 contains a Persian text which prevents us putting forward this conjecture. This latter text which is still unique is found on ff 256-278. The last lines invoke the '*ashars mukadidars*', then, the first eight *imāms* of the Shī'a sect of the 'Twelvers' (cf. *ṬHAKĀ AHARIVA*) to whom the author has added 'Ali Akbar (²'Ali the elder'), son of Husain and half-brother of 'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin. The mention of these *imāms* of whom the last named, 'Ali al-Ridā, reigned from 183 (500) to 202 (818) is valuable, for it implies that the writer of this text belonged neither to the schismatic sect of the Zaidīya founded in 695 A.D. nor to the schismatic Shī'a sect of the Ismā'īlīya which dates from 765 A.D., but to the orthodox Shī'a sect of the 'Twelvers'. This is important, for the Persians whose historical tradition makes come from Shī'īz and colonise Kilwa on the east coast of Africa and the island of Anjouan in the Comoro Archipelago were Zaidīyas (cf. G. Ferrand, *Les Sultans de Kilwa*, in *Mémoires Henri Bassel*, in the press) who cannot come into consideration in the present case. The Ismā'īlīya, whose presence in Madagascar is evident from MS. N^o 8 thus form a separate group different from that of the Persians who had immigrated to the adjoining coast of Africa.

The Arabic-Malay manuscripts which I possess, those of the University Library of the Faculty of Letters in Algiers and the others which I have been able to see are, as a rule, similar in contents to those of the Bibliothèque Nationale, with the exception of the *ḥafṣa* and the Persian text, which so far as I know are found nowhere else. Quite a considerable number of manuscripts like MS. 13 contain genealogies of kings of the South-east, from which all these documents come, and local histories. One of them gives details of La Caen's campaign in the island of 1659-1663 (cf. *N. E.*, 1907, xxxi.).

The majority of the religious texts which are found in the Arabic-Malagasy MSS. of the Ind. Nat. are translated into Malagasy. The Arabic part is very incorrect and the Malay translation shows that the readers of Madagascar understood very little of it. The illustrations and lamented Gohlshies, to whom nothing Islamic was foreign, was interested in the texts which I published. Comparing three translations of the Malagasy text with the Arabic text he concluded that 'the meaning of the fundamental ideas was most gravely misunderstood' (*L'École supérieure des Lettres et des Sciences d'Alger au XIV^e Congrès des Orientalistes*, in *E. M. N.*, 1905).

The borrowings of the Malagasy from the Arabs who converted them to Islam are many and are found through all the tribes of the island without exception. The most notable are the names of the days of the week: *alabimani*, *alabato*, *alabato*, *alabato*, *alabato*, *alabato*. We may note that the Arabic article has been retained

for Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday but dropped for Tuesday and Friday. The names of the days are here given in the Merina dialect; the forms of the other dialects show the regular phonetic variations.

















2. The names of the twelve months in Merina and in the dialect of some other tribes reproduce the Arabic names of the twelve signs of the Zodiac: *alabamadi*, *adawra*, *adizana*, *asurutani*, *alabamadi*, *asurubula*, *adimimana*, *alabamadi*, *alabamadi*, *adidadi*, *adabo* and *alabamadi* in which we can readily recognise: *al-hamal*, *al-thaur*, *al-jawad*, *al-sarufan*, *al-asad*, *al-simbula*, *al-wisān*, *al-sarab*, *al-thaur*, *al-jawad*, *al-dalā* and *al-hūt*. Quite a number of tribes do not know the Merina series, but still use the names of Sanskrit origin given above (p. 68, col. 2).

3. The names of the 28 days of the month (the S. E. Malagasy however once had a year of 366 days) which are recorded by Flacourt (*Histoire*, 1661, p. 174) recall those of the 28 lunar mansions of the Arabs. According to the empirical method adopted by al-Sūst and other writers, i. e. dividing the 28 mansions by 12 the latter are evenly distributed among the signs of the zodiac. 'Know', says al-Sūst, 'that each of the signs of the zodiac has two mansions and a third' (A. C. de Motylinski, *Les Mansions lunaires des Arabes, texte de Mohammed al-Moqri*, transl. and annot., Algiers 1899, p. 68). In Madagascar to get rid of the fractions, three mansions have been attributed to the first fourth, seventh and tenth signs, and two to each of the eight others:

Signs of the Zodiac	Lunar Mansions
I. Alabamadi	1. <i>al-jarastani</i> < <i>al-jarastani</i> 2. <i>al-abutani</i> < <i>al-butani</i> 3. <i>asurubula</i> < <i>al-jurubula</i>
II. Adawra	4. <i>adabara</i> < <i>al-dabarān</i> 5. <i>alabaka</i> < <i>al-hak'a</i>
III. Adizana	6. <i>alabana</i> < <i>al-lan'a</i> 7. <i>arira</i> < <i>al-thira</i>
IV. Asurutani	8. <i>asurara</i> < <i>al-nathra</i> 9. <i>ataraf</i> < <i>al-jarf</i> 10. <i>alabaka</i> < <i>al-djabba</i> , etc.

The Arabic names of the lunar mansions thus become the names of the 28 days of the Malagasy months. Mentioned along with the day of the week, they take the place of the ordinal which the Arab-Malagasy texts rarely indicate by a figure. This method seems to have now fallen into disuse for ordinary purposes and is hardly used except in sorcery.

4. The *ḥisāb* (dialectal variants: *ḥisāb*, *ḥisāb* < *ḥisāb*, 'figure') is the art of divination; its object is to find out what is not known and the means of discovering a remedy against it. Used throughout the island with slight variants from one tribe to another, *ḥisāb*, to take the form generally used, is a direct derivative from the *ḥisāb al-ḥisāb*, lit. the science of sand or Arab numerary (cf. the *Kitāb al-Faṣl fī Ḥisāb al-Raml* of Shaikh Muhammad al-Zanātī, lith. Cairo, n. d.). Shaikh al-Zanātī's table from which is derived all those in use in Madagascar comprises the following 16 figures:

I 	II 	III 	IV 
V 	VI 	VII 	VIII 
IX 	X 	XI 	XII 
XIII 	XIV 	XV 	XVI 

Each figure of the table bears a name of its own and is composed of a certain number of dots, maximum eight (IV) and minimum four (XIII). Four figures have five dots (V, XII, XV and XVI); six have six dots (II, III, VI, X, XI, XIV) and four have seven dots (I, VII, VIII, IV). Each figure governs (حكم) a certain number of things or beings; according to the question put to the diviner, the latter considers very carefully the figure relating to the question asked. The influence of each of the figures comes from the sign of the zodiac, planet, day, Arab month and from one of the four elements to which it corresponds. It is also lucky or unlucky, male or female, *ḥalīb* (applying to the person consulting the fates) or *maḥlīb* (applying to the question asked); it is more or less strong and powerful. *شرفه* in such and such conditions, and it also shows in what state the thing asked shall be realised. The 16 figures of the table are divided into different groups each bearing a particular name:

the *ḥawāḥilī*, "those who enter" which number three (XI, II, XV). If they are present in a large number in the *ḥalīb* effected by the diviner, it is a very auspicious sign and the questioner will certainly obtain what he seeks. If one of the *ḥawāḥilī* proves to be the first figure, the object sought enters, i.e. is obtained;

the *ḥawāḥilī*, "those who go out" are three in number (III, X, XII). If they are several times represented in the *ḥalīb* effected by the diviner, it is an unlucky omen and the object sought will be unobtainable. If one of the *ḥawāḥilī* proves to be the first figure, the object "goes out", i.e. is lost to the seeker;

the *munāḥilī*, "those who return" (IV, V, VI, IX, XIV, XVI) are sometimes lucky, sometimes unlucky, according to circumstances. If one of the *munāḥilī* is the first figure, the operation will remain without a definite result;

the *ḥawāḥilī*, "those who are fixed, who do not vary" are the figures I, II, X, XI, XIII, XV. They are lucky and assure that the seeker will gain his end;

the *munāḥilī*, "the diemal" are figures III, VII, VIII, XI. If the first figure is one of the *munāḥilī* the questioner will not obtain what he asks, or will not escape the misfortune he fears.

The figures I, IV, VII, X are called *amḥilī* "the

pious". If the four figures found in it are similar, success is assured.

Figures II, V, VIII, XI are called *amḥilī*, "what concerns the pious". If the four figures found in it are similar the desire expressed, will be realised.

Figures III, VI, IX, XII are called *amḥilī*, "the end of the pious". If the four figures found in it are similar, the object desired is coming and will arrive or the desire is completely realised at the moment of consulting the diviner.

The sixteen figures are also divided into two groups of eight; one is called *ḥalīb al-ḥalīb*, "figure of him who asks"; these are the eight who represent him who is consulting the fates; the other *ḥalīb al-maḥlīb*, "figure of the thing sought", i.e. those who have to answer the request. If the first figure of the *ḥalīb* is among the eight *ḥalīb*, and the seventh among the eight *maḥlīb*, it is a very good omen. If on the other hand, the first figure is *maḥlīb* and the seventh *ḥalīb*, it will be impossible to avert the evil fate. It must also be enquired if the fifteenth figure of the operation of the diviner is *ḥalīb* or *maḥlīb*, if *ḥalīb*, it is lucky and if *maḥlīb*, unlucky.

If the *ḥalīb* is consulted on behalf of a sick man the presence of figures VIII, VI, V, XIV, IX, IV, XIII indicates his approaching end.

The four first figures of the table are also called *ḥayāt al-ayām*, "hours of the days". Repeated several times they indicate that the thing sought will be realised in the course of a day. The four following (V—VIII) are called *ḥayāt al-ayām*, "houses of the weeks" and indicate an interval of a week; the four others (IX—XII) *ḥayāt al-ḥuḥūr*, "houses of the months" indicate an interval of a month and the last four (XIII—XVI) *ḥayāt al-ḥuḥūr*, "houses of the years" indicate an interval of one or several years. If one of the houses of the days occupies a position other than the first four, the interval increases in proportion as it is remote from the first four places. On the other hand if one of the houses of the weeks, months or years is found before its place, the interval diminishes in proportion to its nearness to the first figure.

The figures I, III, V, and X mark the direction of the east; VIII, XII, XIV and XV, the direction of the west; II, IV, VI and VII, the direction of the north, and IX, XI, XII and XVI, the direction of the south.

Figure I of the preceding table is called *al-ḥayāt* or *ḥayāt*. The first of these names has passed into Malagasy in the form *alahian*. It represents the person who comes to consult the diviner; its zodiacal sign is Pisces; its planet Jupiter; its day Thursday and its element, the sea. The corresponding figure is the fifteenth. If it is lucky, male and *ḥalīb*; i.e. it is one of the eight figures representing him who consults the fates. Its month is *ḥuḥūr* - Hildja. If in the preparation of the *ḥalīb* it occupies the first place, the thing demanded will be realised after an interval of three days. The amount of happiness and success which it brings will be greater if it occupies the first place.

Figure II (*ḥayāt al-dūḥi*, Malag. *alahian*) is that of wealth, riches, possessions and estates, and merchandise of all kinds. Its sign of the Zodiac is Sagittarius; its planet, the Sun; its day, Sunday; its element, fire. The corresponding figure

is the tenth. It is lucky, feminine and *mafiab*, i.e. it is one of the eight figures which represent the thing sought. Its month is Djumadī al-Awwal. If it occupies the fourth place, the desire of the seeker will be accomplished after an interval of 55 days; if it is in the fifth place, it is still propitious; if in the fourth it indicates greatness.

Figure III (*habbat al-ahrija*, Malag. *adalu*) is that of the family, especially brothers and sisters. Its sign of the Zodiac is Rās Džawahir (<Pers. *gawān-e-kabr*: "the head of the Dragon"); its planet Saturn; its day, Saturday. The corresponding figure is the tenth. It is unlucky, male and *fiab*. If it is in the fourteenth place, the interval necessary for the accomplishment of the desire formulated is 150 days. It reaches the maximum size in the ninth place and strength in the third. Its metal is gold.

Figure IV (*al-djuma* > Malag. *dzuma*, *tuma*) is that of the country, gardens and barriers of the dead. Its sign of the Zodiac is Virgo; its planet Mercury; its day, Wednesday. The corresponding figure is the fourteenth, its element black earth. It is good or bad according to circumstances and *mafiab*. Its month is Djumadī al-Akhir. If it is in the fourteenth place, the interval before the realization of the desire expressed is 20, 55 or 150 days. It is large in the sixth place and strong in the fifth and tenth. Its metal is silver.

Figure V (*al-kawaf* <Pers. *kawaf* or *al-farah*; Malag. *adikawaf*) is that of children and learners of news. Its sign of the Zodiac is Libra; its planet Venus; its day, Friday. The corresponding figure is the twelfth. The south wind is its element. It is neither good nor bad; it is *fiab* and feminine. Its month is Raddj. If it occupies the fourteenth place the desire expressed is satisfied the day following. It is large in the twelfth place and strong in the fourth, eighth and eleventh. Its metal is gold.

Figure VI (*al-thilaf*, Malag. *alukula*, *alukula*) is that of the sick, of crimes, of war, of slaves, of loss of property, of remedies and of ships (sailing ships of the Western Indian Ocean). Its sign of the Zodiac is Aquarius; its planet, Mercury; its day, Saturday. The corresponding figure is the seventh. Its element is the west wind. It is good or bad according to circumstances, *fiab* or *mafiab*. Its month is Dhu l-Ka'da; it is female. If it is in the fourteenth place, the interval before accomplishment of the desire expressed, will be fifteen days. It is large in the ninth place and strong in the eighth, eleventh and twelfth. Its metal is silver.

Figure VII (*unkir* > Malag. *alikir*) is that of husband and wife, of women and of sexual relations. Its sign of the Zodiac is Capricorn; its planet, Saturn; its day, Saturday and its element earth. The corresponding figure is the sixth. It is unlucky, *fiab* or *mafiab*, and male or female according to circumstances. Its month is Shawwāl. If it is in the fourteenth place, it indicates an interval of 36 days before an answer to the question asked the divines is obtained. It is large and strong in the second, ninth and twelfth. Its metal is silver.

Figure VIII (*amra* > Malag. *alamura*, *alamura*) is that of death and removal. Its sign of the Zodiac is the Ram; its planet Mars; its day, Tuesday. Its corresponding figure is the sixteenth, its element, fire. It is unlucky, *fiab* and male.

Its month is Muharram. If it is in the fourteenth place, it indicates an interval of 21 days. It is large in the first and strong in the fourth. Its metal is iron.

Figure IX (*bayd* > Malag. *albiama*, *albidandi*) is that of departure and of those who clothe the dead in white linen. Its sign of the Zodiac is Cancer; its planet, the moon; its day, Monday. Its corresponding figure is the thirteenth and its element is water. It is neither lucky nor unlucky but may be one or other according to circumstances. It is *fiab* and female; its month is Djumadī al-Akhir. In the fourteenth place it indicates an interval of ten days for the accomplishment of the desire expressed. It is large in the ninth and strong in the eleventh. Its metal is copper.

Figure X (*najrat al-ahrija*, Malag. *anaralañ*) is that of strength and of rulers. Its Zodiacal sign is Leo; its planet is the sun; its day, Sunday; its element fire. It is male, *fiab* and very lucky. Its month is Dhu l-Ka'da. In the fourteenth place the interval before the accomplishment of the desire is 32 days. It is large in the tenth and strong in the thirteenth. Its metal is gold.

Figure XI (*najrat al-ahli* > Malag. *anarawañ*) is that of life in towns, of return to the domestic hearth, of ambition, friendship and of children. Its sign of the Zodiac is Taurus; its planet Venus; its day Friday; its element, black earth. The corresponding figure is the fifth. It is male, lucky and *fiab*. Its month is Ramaḍān. If it is in the fourteenth place, ten months will have to pass before the realization of the desire. It is strong in the fourteenth place and large in the eleventh. Its metal is copper.

Figure XII (*ʿaṣbat al-ahrija* > Malag. *karidua*) is that of enemies, cunning and ambushes. Its sign of the Zodiac is Dhill al-Djawahir, "the Dragon's tail", its planet Saturn; its day Saturday. The corresponding figure is the third; its elements are water and terra firma. It is unlucky, *mafiab* and feminine. If it is in the fourteenth place, the interval before the accomplishment of the desire is 66 days. It is large in the twelfth and strong in the thirteenth. Its metal is iron.

Figure XIII (*farāḥ* > Malag. *faraki*) is that of the road which leads to the house of death, to the cemetery. Its sign of the Zodiac is Cancer; its planet, the Moon; its day, Monday. The corresponding figure is the ninth, its element is water. It is lucky, *mafiab* and female. Its month is Dhu l-Ka'da. If it is in the fourteenth place, the interval before the accomplishment of the desire will be 50 days. It is large in the fourteenth and strong in the fifteenth. Its metal is copper.

Figure XIV (*idjima* > Malag. *aditama*, *aditama*) is that of learned men, of remedies, of knowledge, arms and medicine. Its sign of the Zodiac is Gemini; its planet, Mercury; its day, Wednesday. The corresponding figure is the fourteenth. Its element is the wind. It is lucky or unlucky, male or female, *fiab*. Its month is Djumadī al-Akhir. In the fourteenth place which is its own, it indicates an interval of 6 months before the accomplishment of the desire. It is large in the fourteenth and strong in the fifteenth. Its metal is iron.

Figure XV (*ʿaṣbat al-ahli*, Malag. *adibatti*) is that of the judge. Its Zodiacal sign is Pisces; its planet is Jupiter; its day, Thursday and its element, water. The corresponding figure is the

first. It is lucky, male or female and *qilab*. Its month is Shawwāl. In the fourteenth place the interval before accomplishment of the desire will be 55 days. It is large in the fourth and strong in the eleventh. Its metal is iron.

Figure XVI (*nafi al-ghandi* > Malag. *kian*) is that of the end of all things and the last of the *sikidi*. Its sign of the Zodiac is Scorpio; its planet Mars, its day Tuesday and its element water. The corresponding figure is the eighth. It is lucky or unlucky, male or female and *mafinab*; its month is Djumādā al-Awwal. In the fourteenth place it indicates an interval of seven days before the realization of the desire. It is large on the fourteenth and strong in the sixteenth which is its own. Its metal is copper.

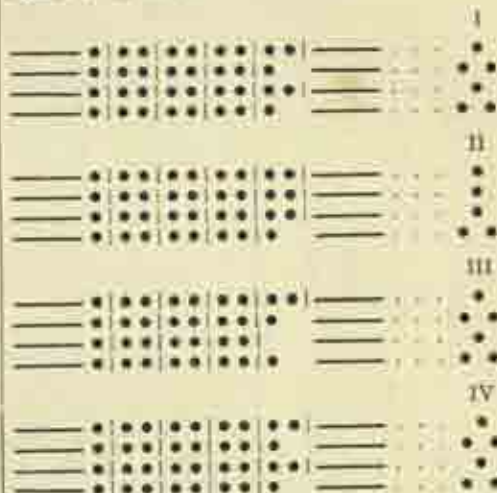
These are the sixteen figures of the *sikidi* and the signification given them in Madagascar.

As its Arabic name shows, this "science of the sand" was first practised by tracing lines or dots on the sand; in Arabic one says *farah al-rum* "to strike the sand", to describe the preparation of the *ilm al-rumal*. On the east coast of Africa in Swahili the same operation is called *kipiga dho*, lit. "to strike the planchette" (which implies that the dots forming the sixteen figures are inscribed on a planchette) or *ramil*, a Bantuised form of the Arabic *raml* "sand". At the first the lines or dots were traced on the sand, then on a planchette of wood and lastly as in Madagascar on paper. According to another Malagasy method, the diviner also uses grains of sand, or seeds, especially those of the *famu* tree (*Piptadenia chrysanthus*, Bth.).

When requested to consult the fates by the *sikidi*, the diviner first of all pronounces the invocation: "Awake, O God, to awaken the Sun! Awake, O Sun, to awaken the Cock! Awake, O Cock, to awaken Man (*atombelani*)! Awake, O Man, to awaken the *sikidi*; not that it may lie, not that it may lead us to error, not that it may make a laughing stock, not that it may say foolish things, not that it may deal with any matter of no importance, but that it may search out secrets, that it may see what is beyond the mountains and the other side of the forest that it may see what no human eye can see. Arise! for thy skill which comes from the Muslims with long hair (sic! *silamu be raiha*), from the high mountains, from Raburabunka, from Tapelaketaketaika, from Zafit-simaita (eponym of a tribe of the south-east converted to Islam), from Andrianavitalahi, from Rakeliharuaana, from Iankara (eponym of another south-eastern tribe, converts to Islam), from Andriomani-Sulanatra, from Vaimiha (a dwarf tribe, of African origin as the name shows; the old owners of the soil), from Anakandrianamahitra, from Rakeliharavahu (lit. the little man with long hair)! Arise! for we do not have thee for nothing, for thou art dear and cause expense! We have taken thee in exchange for a fat zebu cow with a large hump. And for money on which there was no dust (i.e. coins which are still circulating). Awake! for thou hast the confidence of the ruler and thou representest the judgment of the people. If thou art a *sikidi* that can speak, a *sikidi* that can see and that does not repeat (only) the gossip of people, the hen killed by its owner, the ox killed in the market, the dust which clings to the feet (i.e. a *sikidi* who does not repeat what everyone knows): awake, on the mat which is on this very spot!"

(cf. *Antananarive Annuaire* and *Madagascar Magazine*, 1886, p. 221). If the diviner operates with seeds, he takes up a few at random and counts them two by two until at the end he has one or two which are placed at the top of the figure. The operation is repeated four times which gives the four rows of dots of the first figure.

When the diviner works on paper, he traces with the *fulam* a line in the form of the arc of a circle, the centre of which is indicated by a dot. The sum of the dots and initial and final curves (each of which counts as a dot) must not exceed 14, although the *ngisikidi* is understood to make the dots without counting them. He then draws three other concentric curves in the same way. This done, the dots are counted two by two and line by line from left to right. A vertical line separates the groups of two dots from one another. After the last vertical line there remains either the final curved line which counts as a dot, either a point or a line, i.e. two dots. This or these are written opposite each line and given figures I, II, III, IV:



The four first figures are called in Arabic, *ummalah* "the mothers":

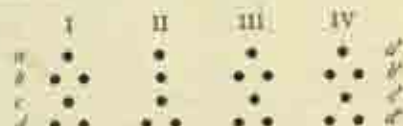


Figure V is obtained by transcribing vertically from right to left the line *a'*, *b'*, *c'* and *d'* give in the same way figures VI, VII and VIII. These four new figures derived from the four first are called *al-bawāt* "the daughters":

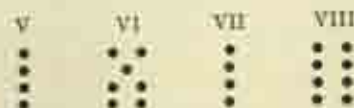


Figure IX is formed by adding horizontally the dots of I and II (in the addition $\bullet + \bullet = \bullet\bullet$, $\bullet + \bullet\bullet = \bullet\bullet\bullet$, $\bullet\bullet + \bullet = \bullet\bullet\bullet$). All the other figures are similarly formed: III and IV give X; V and VI give XI; VII and VIII give XII; IX and X give XIII; XI and XII give XIV;

XIII and XIV give XV; and XV and I give XVI. The eight last figures are called *tanāl al-banāt* "the daughters of the daughters":

IX • • • • • •	X • • • • • •	XI • • • • • •	XII • • • • • •
XIII • • • • • •	XIV • • • • • •	XV • • • • • •	XVI • • • • • •

These sixteen figures contain the fate of the inquirer and the diviner has to give him the meaning of each of them by interpreting them from the table of *Shaykh al-Zanūlī*, which was given above (p. 714). We may therefore imagine what a high place the *shikī* occupies in Malagasy life, and the very numerous circumstances in which recourse is had to it. The diviner was and undoubtedly still is the true manager of it. In practice it is consulted for every act of private and public life whether of the individual, family, clan or tribe. I have not been able to learn how one becomes a *shikī*. It is the speciality of certain individuals without distinction of sex or birth. A diviner or a sorcerer may be man or woman (I have never known a woman sorcerer but have heard that there are such). The sorcerers may be of royal birth, noble or freeman (I have never heard of a sorcerer or diviner who was a slave, although slaves have been executed on charges of sorcery). The diviner or the sorcerer is very often the son or daughter of a diviner or a divineress, which assures him an extensive clientèle, for he or she is supposed to inherit the paternal (or maternal) secrets. The sorcerer or diviner may be either native or foreigner. I was taken for a diviner during a stay of forty months at Mananjary (S.E. coast) by the Muslim *shikī*'s of the district, who treated me as colleague after I had shown them my knowledge of Islam. It was in this way that I was enabled to be initiated gradually into the practice of *shikī* and appeal was sometimes made to it.

The area of dissemination of the *tanāl al-banāt* in Africa is considerable. It is found in Dénou and the *Travels of Burton* in Dahomey reveal the existence of practices closely allied to *shikī* among a West African people who are however not Muslim (cf. G. Ferrand, *Musulmans à Madagascar*, III, p. 242 seq.).

§ The great annual festival of the *fandriana* or the bath is only a survival under another form of the old *tanāl al-banāt* (q.v.). On this identification cf. G. Ferrand, *Note sur un Calendrier malgache et le fandriana*.

According to the evidence of the Portuguese discoveries and especially of Flacourt, the Muslim Malagasy of the S.E. of the xvth century faded during Ramadan, recited the obligatory prayers, read the Qur'an, but drank fermented liquors and mixed and ate pork. There were *shikī*'s in the S.E. so that assemblies of the faithful took place; but there is no mention of the existence of mosques in the early travellers and Flacourt says definitely in his preface that "the nation of which he is going to speak... has no idols or temples". At *de Siam* (q.v.) the success of Islam was only

mediocre in Madagascar. Malagasy does not readily assimilate foreign beliefs and customs and the latter do not profoundly modify native beliefs and customs. His whole philosophy is contained in the proverb *manai ni aina*, "life is sweet"; he thinks it good to be alive; the strict observation of the Qur'anic prescriptions would have upset too much his usual life and customs. Allah proscribes fermented liquors, standing stones, games of chance and consulting the fates as abominations invented by Satan. But these abominations are particularly dear to the Malagasy; they are particularly devoted to alcoholic liquors and to gambling, believe firmly in soothsaying and standing stones (*tanjambata*) are held in honour throughout the whole island. No doubt they venerate Allah, the Qur'an, the Prophet and saints of Islam but it is a purely verbal reverence and they are not really Islamised to the degree, that for example are the negroes of the adjoining east coast of Africa.

The conversion of the Malagasy to Christianity was also a failure. At the time of the conquest of the island in 1895 they were quite disposed to be converted en masse to Roman Catholicism, thinking it would please us; they had to be warned that the French government only attached importance to respect for the laws and respected the religious convictions of every one whatever they were. This fact of which I was a witness is more eloquent than any other and throws an illuminating light on the past.

The evidence quoted above and especially that of comparative philology enable us to draw up the following scheme of the settlement of Madagascar so far as our knowledge at present goes:

I. Many legends give the old Vazimba, now disappeared, as *tanjana-foal* or ancient masters of the soil i.e. the autochthons. The name which is found in East Africa is clearly Bantu and represents an older *va-voimba* Malag. *voimba*. They are said to have been of small stature. They were perhaps negritos.

II. There was an important immigration of African Bantus prior to our era of which we have an evidence in a certain substratum of African words which has survived in the modern language.

III. There was next an important immigration of Hinduised Indonesians from Sumatra (cf. G. Ferrand, *L'Empire sumatranais de Crivijaya*) in the second-fourth centuries A.D. A word like the Malag. *hiti* < old Malag. *hiti* = 100,000 < Malay *hiti* 100,000 < Sanskrit *hiti* 10,000,000 is over many others testifying to this fact. These Indonesians modified the somatological, cultural and linguistic type of the negritic Bantus who peopled Madagascar.

IV. Arrival of Arabs in the sixth-ninth centuries and conversion of the Malagasy to Islam. These Arabs probably came from the Persian Gulf and belonged to the Suma.

V. Another immigration of Sumatrans at the end of the tenth century. I consider the Waikwa to be western Indonesians, as I shall explain in the article *Waikwa*. The *Book of the Wonders of India* (*Adab al-Hind*, ed. by van der Lih, and *transl.* by M. Devic) mentions a piratical campaign by these Waikwa in 334 (945) in the Western India Ocean. It is probable that we have here a reference to the migration led by Ramani the

"Sumatran" or Ramina "the Sumatran" (sem.). His elder son Ra-Hadzi was the ancestor of the tribe of Zafin-d-Raminl, "the descendants of Ramini", of the S.E. coast of Madagascar. The younger son, Ra-Kuka, went into the interior of the island, reached the plateau of Imerina where he married a Vazimba woman. Ra-Kuka was the ancestor of Hura who bears his name.

VI. Coming of Persians of the sect of the "Twelvers" later than the reign of 'Alī al-Riḍā (183—202 = 800—818).

VII. Coming of other Arabs in the reign of the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Musta'īm, in the middle of the thirteenth century of our era.

Bibliography: G. Grandidier, *Bibliographie de Madagascar*, Paris 1906 (it contains all the works published at this date). The more important collections are A. Grandidier, Charles Roux, Cl. Delhorbe, H. Froelœux and G. Grandidier, *Collection des ouvrages anciens concernant Madagascar*, printed and manuscripts from 1500 to 1800, Paris 1903—1920, 9 vols.; *Revue de Madagascar*, 1900—1911, 12 vol.; *Colonie de Madagascar. Notes, reconnaissances et explorations*, Tananarive 1897—1900, 6 vol.; *The Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, Tananarive 1885—1900, 24 annuals fascicules in 6 volumes; Gabriel Ferrand, *Les musulmans à Madagascar et aux Iles Comores*, Paris 1891, 1893, 1902, 3 vol.; do., *État de grammaire malgache*, Paris 1903; do., *Un texte arabo-malgache du XIV^{ème} siècle. Notices et Extraits*, 1904, vol. xxxviii.; do., *Essai de phonétique comparée du malais et des dialectes malgaches*, Paris 1904; do., *Un texte arabo-malgache en dialecte sub-oriental*, in *Revue de sciences publiées en l'honneur du XIV^{ème} congrès des Orientalistes par les professeurs de l'École supérieure des Lettres d'Alger*, Algiers 1905; do., *Prêtres et invocations magiques en malgache sub-oriental*... d'après le Ms. A de la Bibliothèque Nationale, *Actes du XIV^{ème} congrès des Orientalistes*, Paris 1906, vol. II.; do., *Relations de voyageurs et notes géographiques arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'Extrême Orient du VIII^{ème} au XVIII^{ème} siècles*, Paris 1913 and 1914, 2 vol.; do., *La légende de Ramina d'après un Ms. arabo-malgache de la Bibl. Nat.* [MS. 13], *J. A.*, 1902, vol. xix.; do., *L'élément arabe et musulman en malgache ancien et moderne*, *J. A.*, 1903, vol. II.; do., *Un chapitre d'astrologie arabo-malgache*, *J. A.*, 1905, vol. VI.; do., *Les Iles Rômy, Lahery, Wâhady, Komer des géographes arabes et Malgaches*, *J. A.*, 1907, vol. x.; do., *L'origine africaine des Malgaches*, *J. A.*, 1908, vol. xii.; do., *Les voyages de Tassafin à Madagascar*, *J. A.*, 1910, vol. xv.; do., *Le Kouin-kouin et les anciennes navigations interocéaniques dans les mers du Sud*, *J. A.*, 1919, vol. xlii. and xiv.; do., *Les Bantous en Afrique orientale d'après les textes égyptiens, grecs, arabes et chinois*, *J. A.*, 1921, vol. xvii.; do., *Notes sur la transcription arabo-malgache. Mémoires de la Soc. de linguistique de Paris*, vol. xlii.; do., *Textes étymologiques arabo-malgaches*, *ibid.*; do., *On traitement de quelques noms arabes parus en malgache. Notes de phonétique malgache. Un vocabulaire malgache-arabe*, *ibid.*, vol. xv.; do., *Notes de phonétique malgache (cont.)*, *ibid.*, vol. xvii.

do., *Les migrations musulmanes et juives à Madagascar*, *R. H. A.*, 1905; do., *Textes magiques malgaches*, *ibid.*, 1907; do., *Notes sur la région comprise entre les rivières Mananjary et Yamihola (sud-est de Madagascar)*, *Soc. de Géog. de Paris*, 1^{er} quarter 1896; do., *Notes sur le calendrier malgache et le Fandriana*, *Le dictionnaire des quatre éléments dans la magie malgache*, *Rev. des Études ethnographiques et sociologiques*, 1908, vol. I.; do., *Note sur l'alphabet arabo-malgache*, *Anth.*, 1909, vol. IV.; Hagans Bernier, *Manuel de langue malgache (dialecte merina)*, Tananarive 1922, 2 vol.; A. Grandidier, *Histoire physique, naturelle et politique de Madagascar*, vol. IV.: *Ethnographie de Madagascar* by A. and G. Grandidier, 1908—1914, 2 vol.; *Bulletin de l'Académie malgache*, appearing since 1902. (GABRIEL FERRAND)

AL-MADĀ'IN: a medieval Arab town or rather a group of towns in al-'Irāq (Babylonia) about 20 miles S.E. of Baghdad lying on either side of the Tigris in two almost equal portions. The name al-Madā'in (plur. of al-Madīna) "the towns" is explained from the fact that the two capitals situated opposite one another, Seleucia on the west, the Greek city founded by Seleucus I between 312 and 301 B.C., and Ctesiphon on the east (the first reference to which is in 221 B.C.), the winter residence of the Parthian and Sasanian kings, with several other places close at hand were regarded as forming a whole. The Semitic Aramaeans who formed the bulk of the population under the Arsakids and Sasanians comprised the whole group under the name *Māhād* or *Madīnāh* "the towns", which latter word the Arabs adopted in the plural form al-Madā'in peculiar to their language. Following the Sasanians, the Arabs reckoned seven towns in al-Madā'in, the official names of which they partly arabicised.

On the west bank lay Web-Ardesšir, corrupted by the Arabs to Behrūt (often wrongly read Bahurāt and Nahr Sūr or Sūr; cf. Streck, *Babylonia*, p. 262, note 3). The name does not mean "good" (as Ardesšir) as it is often explained but "house" (i.e. foundation) of Ardesšir (cf. thereon, Noldeke, *W. Z. K. M.*, vii., 1902, p. 7; Web = Aram. Bē). In Syriac and Talmudic literature Behrūt is usually called *Ardeh* (= Koche of the late classical writers) and *Māhād* (= "the town"). It occupied the lower southern half of the former Greek town. A parasang (c. 3 miles) north of it was the village of Darandūn (also Darandū), arabicised to Darīfīn. On the east bank stood Ctesiphon. The Arab historians and geographers usually reproduce this name, which is not Greek but very probably indigenous (Iranian?) by *Tasīfīn*; but we also find *Tasīfūn* and *Tasībūn* corresponding exactly to the presumed Pahlavi form (*Tasfōn*, *Tasbōn*). On these place-names cf. the very full discussion by Streck in *Paulys-Wissowa*, *L. Z.*, Suppl. vol. IV, 1902 19. Not uncommonly the town on the east bank, much more important for the Muslims, is called al-Madā'in (e.g. in al-Bīḥārī, *B. G. A.*, I, 87, 1). About an hour's journey away, south of Ctesiphon stood Web Antiochī Khosraw (= Antiochia, house of Khosraw). The Arabs usually called this city founded by Khosraw I Ansharwān, which was settled with the deported inhabitants of Antioch ad Orontem destroyed in 540 and is said to have been planned on the model of the Syrian capital,

Rūmīya = Rome or (New) Rome or Byzantium. The Syriac sources distinguish this new foundation from the older towns by the name *Ḥadīthā* = "New town".

We know nothing further about the three other towns of al-Madīn, which made up the number seven so popular in the east and was here no doubt deliberately chosen. The exact forms of their names are not even known.

As early as the Parthian period there was a stone bridge to convey the traffic between the two thickly populated banks of the Tigris, which the historian Hama al-Iṣṣāḥi (cf. his *Ta'rikh*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 31, 20) describes as a marvel; but already in his day (beginning of the fourth = tenth century) there was no longer any trace of it. Under the Sāsānians a second bridge (of boats?) was erected. In the Muslim period however there was still only a bridge of boats.

In Tausifūn-Ctesiphon two main quarters are distinguished, the northern "old town", Arab. *al-Madīna al-ʿatīqa* and the southern, *Asfānahr* (*Asbānahr*, *Asfāhūr*, and other variants of the name).

The "old town" probably represents the oldest settlement on the east bank, the foundation of the Parthian period. In it was a royal palace which the Arabs called *al-Bayt al-abyad* = "the white palace" (there were other palaces of the same name elsewhere; cf. the article *Ḥal'ā-lawīn*), probably the residence originally of the Sāsānian kings built by one of the last Arsakids or first Sāsānians. The southern quarter *Asfānahr* also included a royal residence, the *ṭawān* (= pillared hall, palace), usually described more definitely by the Arab authors of the middle ages as *Imān Kīwā* (= Pers. Khosrow, Chosroes, the general title of the Sāsānian kings among the Arabs; cf. Streck, *Selucis u. Ktesiphon*, p. 37, note 1). Its builder is known with certainty to have been Sapor (Sāpūr) I (241–272 A.D.). It may be noted that later Arab historians often confuse the "white palace" and the *ṭawān*.

It can hardly be supposed that the site of al-Madīn, so favoured by nature, at the point where the Euphrates and Tigris most nearly approach each other, was without any considerable settlement until the time of Seleucus I. There is on the contrary every indication that the town of *Alhād* (written ideographically *ʿL-h*) dating back to remote antiquity like its successor *Upl*, the *Dyis* of the classical, cannot well be located anywhere else than on the site of the sister towns of Seleucia and Ctesiphon or in the immediate neighbourhood. What the Arab writers say about the founder of al-Madīn is worthless. They ascribe the foundation to mythical kings of the old Iranian epic like *Isfandiyār* and *Tahmāsrath* or other celebrated rulers of the east (like *Nimrod* or *Alexander*; cf. *Nimrod* see Abu l-Faraj, *Barbarismus*, *Ta'rikh al-Madīna*, Beirut ed., p. 20.).

For the pre-Muhammadan history of al-Madīn which does not fall within the scope of this work cf. Streck, *Selucis und Ktesiphon*, and the pertinent articles in *Early Windows*. The Arabic sources contain much valuable information for the Sāsānian period, the most notable is Tabari's history (cf. Noldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber von Zeit der Sāsāniden*, Leyden 1879). We may here mention that under the later Sāsānians, Ctesiphon, to some extent, lost its popularity as

the winter capital, for they, especially Khosrow II Parwāz (599–628), preferred Dastagerd to it, three days journey to the north on the very old "royal road" (cf. DASTAGIRD).

We have fairly full information about the conquest of al-Madīn by the Arabs, especially the great chronicles of Tabari (i. 242f–2456) and Ibn al-Aṭṭar (ed. Tornberg, iii. 396–403; cf. also Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, iii. 732 sq.; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi. 68 sqq., and Streck, *Selucis u. Ktesiphon*, p. 38–41). After the glorious battle of al-Kādiyāz, which made the Arabs masters of 'Irāk west of the Tigris (cf. above, ii., p. 612b), the Caliph 'Umar ordered Sa'd b. Abi Waḥḥā, who was then in command of the Muslim troops operating in the 'Irāk, to march on the Persian capital. Sa'd advanced, fighting several battles on the Tigris and appeared before Behrasr in the first half of January 637 (= end of 16 A.H.). The strongly fortified town which was bravely defended was besieged and stormed in vain for two months. In the end the Persians whose supplies were exhausted fled by night unnoticed over the river so that when the Arabs stormed the town soon afterwards they found it quite deserted. A few days later the invaders were able by using a convenient ford to cross the Tigris, much swollen by the spring floods. This almost miraculous crossing effected without any loss is a much celebrated event in Muslim history; it is one of the famous "days" of the period of the conquest. The Persians had not expected that the Arabs would win their way across. The king had taken refuge with his family and court in Hulwān [q.v.]; the army had retired to Tīhr Nahrwān (about 24 miles north of Ctesiphon). Only a few regiments remained at the palace in the capital. At the end of March 637 Sa'd made his triumphal entrance through the deserted streets. The progress of the Arab operations had not given the Persians sufficient time to carry off the vast treasures accumulated in Ctesiphon. These all fell into the hands of the victors. The Arabic sources give many interesting details of the very valuable objects which were captured not only in Ctesiphon but in the pursuit of the Persian army. The total value of the booty taken in Ctesiphon was estimated at 900 million dirhems (of a nominal value of nine pence but it varied a great deal).

The occupation of the Sāsānian capital, the greatest royal city in nearer Asia, may be said to be the most important event of the period of Islam's splendour, the period of the great campaigns of conquest. In the "Old town" the victorious Sa'd built the chief mosque — the first Muslim place of worship to be built in the 'Irāk.

Al-Madīn was not destined to be the residence of the Arab governor of the 'Irāk; on the contrary it sank under Muslim rule to be a mere provincial town. It was soon overshadowed by the newly founded Arab military colonies of Kūfa, to which the garrisons of Ctesiphon were transported — a symbolic custom found elsewhere in the Arab east — Basra and Wāḥit. Basra and Kūfa now became the political and intellectual centres of Mesopotamia until the Caliph al-Manṣūr built Baghdad and the political and cultured centre of gravity of the land gravitated thither. The foundation of Baghdad dealt al-Madīn its death blow: it was now called upon to yield the building material necessary for the new capital of the caliphate,

just as Babylon had done for Seleucia centuries before.

In the history of the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid periods al-Madā'in was as a rule no longer of any prominence. It only played a part of some importance in the civil wars of the first two centuries of Islam, those provoked by the Khāridjīs as well as those provoked by the 'Alids. The Muslim inhabitants of al-Madā'in were, it seems, always strong supporters of the Shī'a. They were also hostile to the Khāridjī movement. As early as 658 there was fighting around al-Madā'in between 'Alī and the Khāridjīs. An attempt by the latter (in 664) to seize Ctesiphon from Behrām was thwarted by the commander there who had Shī'a sympathies, by destroying the bridge of boats. The Khāridjīs however later succeeded in twice gaining temporary possession of al-Madā'in, e.g. in 688 when the Khāridjī group of the Arrābiya [q. v.] wrought great slaughter among the Muslims who did not belong to their party. The second occupation of al-Madā'in in 696 was achieved by the Khāridjī leader Shāhib b. Yazid. On these events cf. J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-polit. Oppositionen im alten Islam* (= *Abh. G. W. G., N. F.*, vol. v, No. 2 [1901]), p. 21, 36, 43, 45; R. Brünnow, *Die Chariaditen unter den ersten Omayyaden*, Leyden 1884, p. 22, 92. With the death of Shāhib b. Yazid, the power of the Khāridjīs was broken, but as late as 751 'Abbāsid troops had to be sent to suppress a leader of these rebels; cf. A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendlande*, I, 440.

As regards the 'Alid wars in the 188s the most important campaign was that of Ḥasan to al-Madā'in in the year 661. Ḥasan lived there in the "white palace". Cf. on this expedition, the Arabic accounts of which differ not inconsiderably. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, I, 244; Flügel, *Gesch. der Araber*, Leipzig 1867, p. 158—159; A. Müller, *op. cit.*, I, 336 and especially J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, p. 67—68. In the later Shī'a troubles al-Madā'in appears in 684—686 and 744 as supporting the 'Alids; cf. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-polit. Oppositionen*, p. 72, 73, 80, 98. The importance of al-Madā'in as an objective in these civil wars is evident from the fact that in those days the military road from Basra to Kūfa did not go through the desert along the Arabian bank of the Tigris but went across the canals to the Tigris at al-Madā'in and from thence over further canals to the Euphrates; cf. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-polit. Opp.*, p. 85, note 3.

The Caliph al-Ma'mūn was repeatedly forced to lead an army against al-Madā'in: in 811, when in the troubles that arose over the succession on the death of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd the Baricide 'Imrān b. Muṣā defended the town against Ma'mūn (cf. I, p. 665) and in 815 when an 'Alid rebel Abū l-Sarāyā (al-Sarī b. Manṣūr, cf. I, p. 170) who had seized the town was besieged in it. For the rest we do not hear much more of al-Madā'in in the 'Abbāsid period; its two main components, Tāmasūn and Behrāsīr, continued for several centuries more to enjoy the modest existence of small country towns. As regards Rūmīya which was included in the system of towns forming al-Madā'in, the Caliph al-Manṣūr had temporarily held his court there in 754 and had caused Abū Maṣlūm [q. v.] to be treacherously murdered there (Yāqūt, II, 867, s.; Streck, *Babylonia*, II, 263). But about

the middle of the tenth century this place according to al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, II, 200) was already completely deserted: the wall round it built of thick bricks was the sole relic of it left. When Yāqūt wrote in the early decades of the 11th century (cf. his *Ma'dām*, I, 768; v, 447, 7) the whole of the east side of al-Madā'in, i.e. Tāmasūn in particular was already completely deserted; on the west bank still stood Behrāsīr, a small town, practically a village, inhabited by peasants who practised only agriculture. It was now known as al-Madā'in.

When Hülāgū with his Mongol hordes was advancing to conquer the Caliph's capital in 1257, he pitched his camp in the ruins of the Iwān and in the following year, after he had been joined by the troops of the Mongol princes, he marched on Baghdad; cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, ed. Quatremère, Paris 1836, p. 266.

The author of the *Murūj al-Dhahab* (ed. Juyḥall, III, 62) who wrote an epitome of Yāqūt and died in 1338 is also acquainted with Behrāsīr as a little town inhabited exclusively by Shī'a, as is also Bākhwī who about 1403 prepared a synopsis of the geography of al-Kaswīn [q. v.]; cf. the French translation of the latter *Takwīm al-Aḥḥād* by de Gulnes in *N. Z.*, II, 1789, p. 424. When Behrāsīr became deserted is unknown. Presumably the disastrous invasion of the Mongols under Timūr at the beginning of the 15th century which was so fatal to so many once flourishing towns of the lands of the Euphrates and Tigris also caused the collapse of this last settlement in the territory of al-Madā'in.

It was not till the sixteenth century that a modest village arose on the site of Ctesiphon, a little north of the ruins of the Iwān Kūfā, in sight of the highly venerated sanctuary of *Sulaymān Pāsh* and called after him. This consisted on my visit in 1927 of a single street of mud-houses and Khāns where the numerous Shī'a pilgrims who pass through here are put up. The building material is mainly supplied by the ruins of the Iwān especially of the north wing of its great hall which collapsed in 1888; cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, II, 63.

In the Great War the site of al-Madā'in was the scene of desperate fighting, momentous in its results. This is usually called the Battle of Ctesiphon. When the Anglo-Indian army under General Townshend in the late autumn of 1915 began an advance from the fortress of Kūt al-Amāra along the Tigris to the north to try to take Baghdad, it was defeated on the 22nd and 23rd November 1915 in the district of the ruins of al-Madā'in by the Turks. The fighting took place mainly on the east bank; the British line of battle ran on the east of the ruins of the Iwān and the little village near it. This reverse forced Townshend to retire to Kūt al-Amāra, which was soon afterwards surrounded by the Turks and capitulated after a five months' siege on April 29th 1916. For further particulars of this battle, the greatest on the Mesopotamian front in the world war, see the works on this subject; cf. especially General Townshend's *My Campaign in Mesopotamia* (London 1919), p. 193 ff., 171—184, with plan of the battle (map 7).

In connection with this brief sketch of the history of al-Madā'in it may be mentioned that one of the most distinguished scholars in the

field of Arabic history was born here, namely 'Alī b. M. al-Madīnī (cf. the next article), born 753, d. between 830 and 845. His work itself has not survived but may be partly reconstructed from the numerous extracts in Baladhuri, Tāhiz, Yaḥyā, the *Kish al-Aḥbāb* etc. so that we have an idea of its contents; cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 140—141 and J. Heer, *Die hist. und geogr. Quellen zu Faḡh's Geogr. Winterbuch* (Strassburg 1898), p. 5—6, 67—68. (On the chapter al-Madīn in Baladhuri) Durandus (Durandus), already mentioned above and included in the heptapolis of al-Madīn, was the birthplace of the famous traditionist and historian al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡdādī (d. 463 = 1071); on him cf. vol. II, p. 929 ff. and Bergsträsser, in *Z. S.*, II. 207—208. In the introduction to his biographical lexicon he gives a brief sketch of the history of al-Madīn, making a special point of noting the companions of the Prophet who came to this town and took part in its conquest; cf. G. Salmons, *al-Haḡḡ al-Baḡdādī, Introduction topographique à l'Hist. de Bagdad* (Paris 1904), p. 13, 25, 175—181, or p. 85—93 of the Arabic text.

As to the mint history of al-Madīn, neither the name al-Madīn nor as we might perhaps expect, Tāhāsin or Behrāsī is found on the coins of the Muslim period; on the other hand we have a considerable number of pieces with the inscription *al-Bāb* "the gate" which undoubtedly belong to our city. The Arabs adopted the custom of the Sāsānians who gave their coins struck in Ctesiphon the mint name *Bābā* = "the gate", which is to be interpreted like "Sublime Porte" as an official epithet of their royal capital (cf. the official designation of Constantinople as *Porte de Sébasté* "Gate of Sébasté"). We have not only a series of Arabic coins with the mint name al-Bāb down to the end of the Umayyad period but also a few pieces of Sāsānian type with the legend *Bābā*, on the latter (specimens of the year 67—68) cf. Nöldeke, *Katalog der orient. Münzen in den kgl. Museen zu Berlin*, I. (1898), p. 102. Coins are also found occasionally with the mint *al-Madīn al-ḡarbi*, the name of the northern quarter of Ctesiphon (with the Sāsānian Royal palace) cf. above. For the Arab coins of the mint al-Bāb cf. articles of various writers in *Z. D. M. G.*, xix. 394; xxxi. 148 ff.; xxxii. 691; xxxix. 25, 38; xlii. 702; cf. also Streck, *Sci. und Alter*, p. 37—38 and the references there given.

Here we can only refer briefly to the important part which al-Madīn played in the church history of the east independent of Rome, especially Nestorian Christianity. The see of Seleucia, said to have been first erected in the time of the apostles, was the premier diocese in the east. As supreme head of all the Nestorian bishops, in the Sāsānian period as well as in that of the Caliphs as patriarch of the east the occupant of the see of Seleucia bore the title Katholikos. A number of important synods were held at his official residence in the course of centuries. The episcopal cathedrae were in Behrāsī (New Seleucia) which the Syriac sources usually called Kōkḥ (cf. above); hence the official title of the patriarchate, "Church of Kōkḥ". Besides the official church of the bishop there were in al-Madīn in the quarters on either bank a whole series of other Christian churches, the names of which are occasionally found in Syriac and Arabic texts. From Seleucia

the Nestorian church developed considerable missionary activity, extending even to the Far East and reached its zenith in the period from the sixth to the ninth century. Under the 'Abbasids 25 metropolises — the first in rank after the Katholikos was the bishop of Kaskar [q.v.] — each of whom in turn had 6—12 suffragans under him, acknowledged the authority of the see of Seleucia. All the metropolises received their investiture in the cathedral of Kōkḥ. Soon after the foundation of Bagdad (762) the Katholikos also moved from Behrāsī (Kōkḥ), now declining politically and commercially, to the new capital of the empire in order, as religious and political head of the Christian community, the more effectually to champion their interests there at the court of the Caliph, where he usually enjoyed considerable prestige. But each new patriarch continued to be ceremonially installed in the mother church at Kōkḥ (probably down to the end of 'Abbasid rule). For further information on the significance of al-Madīn in oriental church history cf. Streck, *Babylonien*, II. 274—275, *ibid.*, *Sci. und Alter*, p. 42—7, 64 (sources in Syriac literature); J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, Paris 1904.

That al-Madīn was also for some time an important centre of the gnostic sect of the Manichaeans may be mentioned here, but it is doubtful whether their founder, Mani (Manes), as is often supposed came from Ctesiphon itself; cf. thereon most recently Schaefer, in *id.*, xiv. 23.

Finally it may be briefly recalled that al-Madīn possesses considerable interest for the history of Judaism, especially for the Talmudic period of it. As in the Hellenistic period, the Jews under Sāsānian and Arab rule had also their main settlement on the west bank in Behrāsī which in Jewish sources is usually called Māhōd, "the town". There, as in the Greek Seleucia (cf. Streck, *Sci. und Alter*, p. 10, 21), they formed an exceedingly high percentage of the inhabitants, indeed at times they seem to have been in the majority. That they are described as very rich is not surprising in view of the great importance of al-Madīn as a trading centre down to the time of the rise of Bagdad. At the same time their character is unfavourably described by the Māhōdians; it differed from that of the other Jews of Babylonia which is perhaps mainly to be explained by the fact that there were many proselytes among them. They also had a famous college, which was however only the intellectual centre of Babylonian Judaism under Kābī b. Yoseph (b. 229 A.D.), a native of Māhōd, and at other times was inferior to the other Jewish centres of learning in Babylonia, Nehardea, Sura and Pumbeditha. For further Jewish accounts of al-Madīn, cf. A. Reicher, *Beitr. zur Geogr. und Ethnogr. Babyloniens im Talmud und Midrasch*, Berlin 1883, p. 19, 25—24, 39—45; 61—62; see also Streck, *Sci. und Alter*, p. 27, 63 and 64 (Bibliography).

Apart from the wretched little modern village of Salmān Fāh the whole of the area of the town of al-Madīn measuring about 60 square miles is quite uninhabited. It is only from the middle of the xixth century that we have more or less full accounts of it by European travellers; cf. Streck, *Sci. und Alter*, p. 47—8. The first systematic topographical and archaeological examination of the extensive ruined site was made by E. Herzfeld, who visited it five times between 1903 and

1911. He dealt fully with the results of his examination in 1914 in the second volume (not published till 1920) of his and Sarre's *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*; cf. II, p. 46-76 and the pictures on Plates xxxix-xliv (Vol. III) and cxvii-cxxviii (Vol. IV). Herzfeld gives (II, 51) the first plan of the whole area prepared by him in 1911; cf. this reduced to 1/2 of the original also in Streck, *Sel. u. Babylon*, p. 50 and in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, 1106.

Of the towns on the west bank, notably Seleucia, there has survived from the Hellenistic period only remnants of the old city wall (*al-shr*), a double wall of gigantic dimensions, on the north and (less considerable) south side. The whole west side of the old city is now sunk in a permanent swamp (*hār*), formed since 1900 of the annual inundations. Within the south half of the ancient city walls, there now rise from the otherwise flat plain two mounds of rubble about 15 feet high (*ḡarā'a*, which in the 'Irāk is practically synonymous with *tell*), namely the *ḡarā'a al-Barāda* and the *ḡarā'a al-Nat al-Kaḡh*. The former which takes its name (powder-millhill) from a powder-mill which used to stand there to supply the Turkish troops, may, from the finds of pottery, conceal an important part of the Seleucid foundation of Bebeast. The second hill with the legendary name *ḡarā'a* (or *Kaḡr*) *ḡarā'a al-Kaḡh* = "hill or castle of the Kaḡh's daughter" may very well mark the site of the several times mentioned citadel of Seleucia-Kōkha. Beyond the above mentioned permanent swamp, further hills and walls may be seen: — Tell 'Umair (or *ḡarā'a* 'Umar), Khūṣāf or Abū Ḥalafīya, al-Sūṣīya, al-Khiyāmyāt and Tell al-Uḡhab. They perhaps all fall within the area of Seleucia, and probably come from suburbs of it.

The ruins on the east bank, those of Ctesiphon, begin about a mile above the village of Salmān Pāk. After isolated wall-like ruins of walls and vaults, the first considerable unit we reach is a large quarter of the town running for a mile along the Tigris opposite the Hellenistic Seleucia averaging 400 yards in breadth enclosed by a primitive much destroyed wall of clay: — hence the name *al-Tuwānīya*, "the little clay-wall". Within this area lie a few farmplaces with palmgroves, mulberry trees and fields. Al-Tuwānīya with its immediate vicinity must mark the site of Madīna al-Aṭīqa, the northern quarter of Ctesiphon. A second area filled with ruins is found around the village of Salmān Pāk and around the *Iwān*.

The village street of Salmān Pāk leads in a straight line to the much venerated tomb of Salmān al-Fārisī (Salmān the Persian) or, as it is usually called locally, of Salmān Pāk, "S. the Pure". He is said to have been the first Iranian to have adopted Islam, and as "Apostle to the Persians" is one of the most popular Shī'ī saints. According to Muslim tradition he died at an advanced age in 656 or 657 in al-Madā'in, where the Caliph 'Umar appointed him governor; it should be noted however that the Arab stories of Salmān's share in the conquest of the 'Irāk and in the government of al-Madā'in are little credible. Cf. on Salmān vol. IV, p. 116 and Streck, *Sel. und Klei.*, p. 53-54. The mausoleum with the alleged grave of Salmān which is crowned by a dome (it used to be shown in the vicinity of Isfahān) stands on the south side of a court enclosed by a high white turreted wall and in its

present form may date from the first half of the xviiith century, when it was renovated by Sulṭān Murād IV (1623-1640). In 1902-1905 the building was restored. A description of the interior by Kāḡim al-Dūḡalī is given in Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, II, p. 262, note 1.

South-west of Salmān Pāk about 1,000 yards from it close to the bank of the Tigris is a second Muslim tomb with a dome, that of Ḥudḡaifa b. al-Yamīn, one of the "councillors" of Maḥmūd. The latter, an ardent champion of the 'Alid cause, obtained, we are told, great merit by building the first mosque in al-Madā'in and died in 657 in Kūfa; on him see Ḥalāḡhūrī, p. 289; Tabarī, I, 2452; Streck, *Babylonien*, II, 262; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, II, 59.

The tradition that these two companions of the Prophet are buried here is old and goes back to the third (ninth) century — the earliest reference is in Yaḡḡūbī, *B. G. A.*, VII, 320. Of the thousands of Persian pilgrims who annually visit the great Shī'ī shrines of the 'Irāk (Kerbela, Najaf, Kāḡimān and Sāmarrā) many chose to visit Salmān Pāk as one of the stages on the way out or home.

K. Niebuhr (cf. his *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, Copenhagen 1778; II, 306) heard of a tomb of a third companion of the Prophet in al-Madā'in, namely that of 'Abd Allāh b. Salām, [p. 71] a Jew of al-Madīna. The latter — a strenuous opponent of 'Alī — never came to the 'Irāk so far as we know. The *Salmān-ḡarā'a* of 1317 (1906), p. 256 (according to Herzfeld, *op. cit.*) mentions in addition to Ḥudḡaifa a certain 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī, buried in al-Madā'in, but I think his statement like that of Niebuhr (or rather his informants) is not to be relied upon. There is possibly some confusion with 'Abd Allāh b. Sabā, who is said to have been of Jewish origin and accompanied the Caliph 'Alī to the 'Irāk, but was there banished by him, as his extravagant enthusiasm for him made him a nuisance, to al-Madā'in, where he may have died. Details of his end are not known. Herzfeld suggested 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥabāb, who, according to Mas'ūdī (IV, 410), was murdered by the Kharrījīs in 38 (658) while acting as 'Alī's representative in al-Madā'in. As the interior of Salmān's sanctuary is said to contain two graves, the second may be claimed as that of this uncertain 'Abd Allāh and not as that of the last Caliph Muṣṭa'īm executed by Ḥalāḡh, as Mignon, *Travels in Chaldaea*, London 1829, p. 78 says: he is followed by W. Ainsworth, *Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, London 1888, II, 276. For the existence of a tomb of a Caliph at al-Madā'in there is no literary authority.

As to the second area of ruins, which begins south of Salmān Pāk, its centre is formed of the great hall of Tak-ī Kīnā ("arch of Kīnā"), the glory of the celebrated Iwān, which will be dealt with briefly below. In the immediate vicinity of the 'Irāk, four groups of ruins may be distinguished of which the most notable is an oblong mound 20 feet high in the south, called locally *Ḥaymā'a* *al-Iwān* = "the harem of Kīnā" or *al-Qaḡḡā'a*, "the hyena-hill". It certainly conceals a single building. All these groups of ruins which fringe the 'Irāk on the four sides undoubtedly belong to the palace of the Iwān, which must have covered an area about 400 yards long and 300 broad. Some 500 yards S. E. of the ruins of al-'Irāk, behind an irrigation canal the surface shows fewer but continuous remains

of buildings, which stretch to a corner of the wall, called *Bustān-i Kīrā*, "the garden of Kīrā", which perhaps enclosed a park for animals. A thousand yards S.W. of Bustān-i Kīrā rises another mound, 20-25 feet high, almost square at the base, *Tell al-Dhikab* = "Gold-hill" or *Khuzat Kīrā* = "Treasury of Kīrā". It is apparently one large building, perhaps the treasure-house built by Khosrow II (cf. Tabari, I, 1042).

In conclusion it must be emphasized that, for the proper appreciation of the ancient mediæval and modern topography of al-Madā'in, the important fact must not be overlooked that the configuration of the whole country round was radically altered when the Tigris, since the end of the middle ages, completely changed its course here and now leaves its old bed immediately south of Ctesiphon for a stretch of 3 miles and describes a curve five times this length. We must further consider the possibility that not only has a considerable part of Seleucia disappeared in the Tigris, but smaller pieces of Ctesiphon have been gradually swallowed up by the floods of the river.

The most impressive memorial to its great past is now the *Tāq-i Kīrā*, which stands in the centre of the ruin of al-Madā'in. The surviving portion consists of a gigantic façade 102 yards long divided into two unequal portions by an arch 80 feet in width thrown boldly across. This, the front wall, originally over 100 feet high, divided into three stories is effectively relieved by open and imitated doors, arcades, pilasters and half columns. Through the gigantic archway one reaches a spacious hall 150 feet deep, on either side of which are five parallel side-chambers. A wide door in the back wall of the hall leads into a wide court apparently square in plan.

For the place of Iwān in the history of art and the date of its origin, the reader may be referred to Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 7429. According to him the building shows a mixture of Oriental and Hellenistic styles. Sapot (Sāhur) I (241-272) is the only possible builder; Khosrow I (531-579) seems to have undertaken a considerable restoration of the whole. The most characteristic part of Iwān, which clearly shows it was mainly intended for a palace of audience, is the great hall, in the Sāsānian period the scene of ceremonial public audiences and receptions by the sovereign. Nothing has survived of the architectural details of the Iwān, and the stucco or mortar coating in which these found expression has fallen off. The Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin possesses stucco rosettes, which Herzfeld (*Z. D. M. G.*, lxxx, 1927, p. 226) identified as ornaments from the Iwān. In the interior, the palace, as we know from the accounts of the Arabs, was adorned with pictures and images in gilt relief. When the Muslims, pending the building of a mosque of their own, used the great hall of the Iwān provisionally after the capture of Ctesiphon, the paintings remained there intact and were still to be seen two centuries later. For example in the ninth century we find the poet Abū Ḥabib al-Buhārī (cf. I, p. 773), who was very fond of describing palaces, describing the Iwān in a famous poem from his own observations; and this poem in the edition of his *Diwān* printed at Sтамбул in 1300 (1882) (Vol. I, 108 ff.). Almost the whole text is also given in Vāqūf, I, 427-429; pieces of it in al-Khatib al-Baghdādī (ed. Salman, p. 90-91) and in Xasrawī, ed. Wüstenfeld, II, 304.

The majestic remains of Ctesiphon, which from early times have always made a deep impression on the Oriental mind, very soon inspired the imagination of the poets. The Persian poet Afḡal al-Dīn b. 'Alī Khakāni (d. 595 = 1200 [q.v.]) wrote an elegy on al-Madā'in, one of his best works; cf. Ethé, in *Grandes L. Iran. Phil.*, II 264. This was printed in Sтамбул in 1330 (1912) and in Berlin 1343 (1924). This latter edition entitled *Awān-i Madā'in, un poème de Khakāni, adapté et augmenté par quelques poètes contemporains* (publ. No. 5 of the Franchshühler press) has a critical historical introduction by Dr. Kīdā Tawfīk and a commentary by the modern Persian writer Husain Dāniš; on it, cf. E. G. Browne, *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia* (Cambridge 1914), p. 307.

Muslims regard the abandoned and ruined remains of the Persian royal city as monuments of the victory of their religion (on the alleged omen of the collapse of 14 pinnacles of the Iwān in the night of Muhammad's birth, see Streck, *Sel. und Ktes.*, p. 6) and as impressive symbols of fallen greatness. Like the pyramids, we find them in Arabic poetry as the regular symbol of the transitoriness of worldly power: cf. for example the verses of al-Tifḡḡ in Maḡḡat, *al-Kāfiq*; the chapter on the pyramids, ed. by E. Gracief (Leipzig, 1911), p. 47 and 88 (and 94). The Buḡyid Sulṭān Ḥajāl al-Dawla (1025-1043) recorded his visit there by inscribing on the wall of the Iwān two verses proclaiming the transitoriness of worldly things (see Vāqūf, I, 429, 5); cf. also Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 61. The Arabs reckoned the Iwān, like the pyramids, among the wonders of the world (cf. e.g. Ibn al-Fakḡh, *B. G. A.*, v. 255); indeed it was held to be not the work of man but of the demons, the *Jinn* [q.v.]. Quite early many legends became associated with the Iwān, some of which centre round the figure of Khosrow I Anušīrwan, still proverbial in the east for his generosity; e.g. the story of the old woman's hut which the king tolerated within the precincts of the palace (see Streck, *Babylonien*, II, 256-258; Streck, *Sel. und Ktes.*, p. 56 and *J. A.*, 1831, Vol. 15, p. 489) which Herzfeld (*op. cit.*, II, 68) traces to the lack of symmetry in the façade; also the story of the "chain of justice" to which petitions were attached (imitated by Ikhḡān in Tabari; cf. J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte der Tcheu*, Darmstadt 1843, II, 339) which according to Bermet still seem to be known among the people around al-Madā'in; cf. the legend published by him in *Le Liban, La Revue de Damas*, May 1926, p. 10-11; *La Légende du Melon d'or* taken down from the lips of a Bedouin there.

Down to the accession of the 'Abbāsids the Iwān seems to have been practically intact; then they began to use it as a quarry but this was abandoned as too costly, the yield being far below the cost of obtaining it. As to the Caliph who ordered it to be taken down, authorities differ. Al-Manḡūr is usually given (754-775) but very often Ḥārūn al-Raḡḡid also (788-809). In any case the partial destruction of the Iwān under the early 'Abbāsids is an assured fact; cf. Streck, *Babylonien*, II, 255-256, 259; *do. Sel. und Ktes.*, p. 61-62; Herzfeld, II, 63. The Iwān with the exception of the great hall and two wings of the façade had been destroyed by this time; for the part that was spared, the name *Tāq-i Kīrā*—now popularly pronounced *Tāq-i Kīrā* as a rule—

came into use, first, I believe, in Raghib al-Iṣṣā (Eḥṣā' al-Mawṣū'āt de la Perse, ed. Quatremère, p. 266) Yāqūt (i. 425), as well as Bākuwī (c. 1400) after him, knew only the arched hall flanked by two wings as remains of the Iwān. The building remained in this state practically unaltered till 1888 when on April 31st on the occasion of a high flood the northern front wing collapsed, probably undermined by the ruthless robbery of bricks. An attempt was made a few years ago to save the threatened south wing by securing its foundations. Pictures of the Tagi Kīāsi before and after 1888 may be found in Fr. Langenegger, *Die Baukunst des Irāq* (Oxford 1911), p. 16.

The *Kasr al-Abyad*, the "White Palace", has completely disappeared. At the capture of Ctesiphon it was spared by the Arabs like the Iwān. The Muslim general Sa'd took up his quarters in it. It met its fate in the reign of the Caliph al-Mu'tasim (902-908) who had it destroyed to provide building material to complete the al-Tā'īl palace on the east side of Baghdad; cf. Streck, *Babylonien*, I. 192; II. 259; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, II. 63.

Systematic excavations have never been conducted on the site of al-Madā'in. The antiquities found here come from isolated chance finds; for a list of these see Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. iv, p. 1166-1167. The Deutsche Orientgesellschaft has just (the autumn of 1927) begun excavations here and it is to be hoped that this enterprise, which is on a considerable scale, will yield valuable results for the archaeology, history and topography of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, especially on disputed points which can only be decided by the spade.

Bibliography: *B. G. A.*, ed. de Goeje; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wasmuth; Tahrir, *Tha al-Aḥṣā* (ed. Tornberg); see the Indices to these works under al-Madā'in, Behrāmī, Iwān, Kasr al-Abyad, Rīmīya, Taisafin; *Kutub al-Ḥikmā*, Indices by Gūdal, s. v. — There is valuable material for the Christian history of al-Madā'in in the *Kutub al-Muḥḍat*, a history of patriarchs by Mārī b. Sulaymān of the xiiith century and in the abbreviation of the work continued to the xivth century by 'Amr b. Mattā and Ṣalḥ b. Yuhannā; see H. Giamouli, *Mari*, *Amr et Sībās de patriarche Nestorien commentaria* (text and lat. transl.), 3 parts, Rome 1888-1899. Of late mediaeval Oriental works may be mentioned Ḥamd Allāh al-Kātibī, *Nuḥḥ al-Kutub* (G. M. S.) p. 44-46 or 50-52 (transl.) and the already mentioned Bākuwī (cf. *N. E.*, II. 1789, p. 424). A naive description of al-Madā'in is given in a Turkish account of the end of the xviiith century entitled *Kitāb Mandāh al-Hudūd*; Bianchi translated this into French in *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires, publiés par la Société de Géographie*, II., p. 81 sq. (cf. p. 131). On the references, which contain minor errors, in Firdawsī's *Shah-nāma*, see Noldeke, *Das iranische National-epos*, p. 49 (in the *Grundriss der iran. Phil.*, Vol. II). — For further information from Oriental authors s. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905), p. 33-35; Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographien*, II. (Leiden 1901), p. 226-279 and *do.*, *Seleucia und Ktesiphon* (= *Der alte Orient*, vol. xvi, Hef. 3-4, Leipzig 1917). See also the articles *ancora* by Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl. der class. Altertumswiss.*, 33. 943-944; *Ktesiphon* by Streck and Ho-

lmgunn, *op. cit.*, Suppl. vol. IV. 1102-1119 and *Seleucia* by Streck, *op. cit.*, II. A. col. 1148-1154 and *cf.* thereon also V. Tschirikover, *Die hellenist. Städtegründungen* (= *Philologus*, Suppl. vol. xix, 1927, Hef. 1), p. 90-92. — A historical topographical sketch of al-Madā'in from the earliest times to the present day is given by the Baghdad Carmelite Father Anastase in Arabic, in *al-Mashriq*, I. (Bairūt 1902), p. 673-681, 740-746, 780-786, 834-840 (giving extracts mainly from Arab authors and European travellers); J. M. Patchatchy, *Le palais de Chosroes*, in the Arab. periodical *Lughat al-Arab* (Baghdād), 1912, No. 8. — In Ritter's *Handbuch von Asien*, xi. (1844), p. 852-865 the accounts of various early European travellers are utilized. For the modern topography of al-Madā'in and the questions of archaeology and history of art arising out of the buildings there, the main authority is now E. Herzfeld's *Seleukia und Ktesiphon* in the already mentioned *Archäol. Anz.*, II. 46-76, 262, note 1 (suppl.). For further bibliography cf. Streck, *Babylonien*, *loc. cit.*; *do.*, *Sel. u. Ktes.*, p. 64 and Herzfeld, p. 46, note 1 and p. 49, note 1. (M. STRECK)

MADĀ'IN ŠĀLIḤ. [See AL-ḤIJRA.]

AL-MADĀ'INĪ. 'ALI b. MUHAMMAD b. 'ABD ALLĀH b. 'ABD SĀTIR b. 'L-ḤASAN, an Arab historian and writer, a client of the Qurāshī family of the 'Abd Šams b. 'Abd. Manāf, was born in 135 (752) in Bagra, where he was a pupil of the theologian Mu'ammār b. al-Ash'ath, but he became interested in *Adab* and history; he lived for a time in al-Madā'in but moved from there to Baghdad, where he was closely associated with Isḥāq b. Ibrahim al-Mawṣilī in whose house he died in 225 (840), according to the *Fihrist* in 215 (830), according to others not till 231 (845). His literary activity was very extensive and included works on the history of the Prophet, of the Qurāshī, of the conquests and the caliphate as well as the history of poets and lighter literature (*adab*). The *Fihrist* gives 239 titles of works from his pen but this includes the *Kutub al-Dawā'id* twice and many of the works may have been quite short. On the other hand his list is not complete. Although later writers using his works only rarely give their titles, we can add the following to the list in the *Fihrist*. Among historical monographs omitted in the *Kutub al-Adab* *Zufar b. al-Harith* used by Yāqūt (*Al-Ḥijra*, IV. 369) following a MS. of Sakkarī (cf. Heur, *Die hist. und geographischen Quellen in Fihrist* progr. W3, Straßburg 1898, p. 3). Among *adab* works is omitted especially the *K. al-Furūq* *al-Nā'ib* (cf. Wiener, *ibid.*, IV. 276 sq.), often used by al-Tamkhī, also the *K. al-Samīr*, cited II. 174, s. by the same, the *K. al-Muḥabbat* used by 'Abd al-Kādir al-Baghdādī (cf. *Abū al-Aswad*, II. 109, s.). The titles of his works seem to have varied often. Thus the *K. al-Nisā'* al-Furūq cited by 'Abd al-Kādir, *Abū al-Adab*, I. 408, is doubtless identical, one may say, with the *K. al-Nisā'* al-Nuḥḥ cited *ibid.*, IV. 366, s. below and 479, s. and the *K. al-Namādh* wa *'l-Namādh* of the *Fihrist*, 102, s., is doubtless the *K. Zabān* *l-yā* in al-Ma'idānī, I. 220, s. with the *K. al-Ḥijra* *l-yā* b. Mu'ammār in *Fihrist*, 104, s. and the *K. al-Ḥijra* al-Kūl in Ma'idānī, II. 78, s. with the *K. al-Kūl* wa

'*Abū al-Fihrist*, 103, 34. There still exist only parts 1 and 2 of the *K. al-Fihrist* (*Fihrist*, 104) in the *Zahiriya* of Damascus (cf. *Ḥatib al-Zuhayr*, *Ḥatib al-Karūn fī Ḍunāq al-Dawāshir*, p. 28, N^o. 1, 3). Of his historical works his *K. al-Fihrist al-Khawāṣṣ al-Kābir* seems to have been the most comprehensive. It came down to the reign of al-Mu'tazim. Tabari's account of the end of the reign of the caliph Hishām in 125 and the beginning of the reign of al-Walid seems to be based on it, although for Umayyad history he generally prefers *Abū Miḥḥan*. The *K. al-Fihrist al-Khawāṣṣ*, according to *Yāqūt*, *Irshād*, v, 315, is composed of several books, some of which were still available to him in Sakkast's manuscript. He is wrong however in thinking that this work was unknown to Ibn al-Nadīm, for it is evidently the *K. al-Fihrist* of the *Fihrist*, 103, 32, but it was omitted in the copy used by him. Of his historical monographs, the one used most copiously by Tabari was his history of Khurāsān, the title of which *K. Fihrist al-Khawāṣṣ* already given in the *Fihrist*, 103, 32, made its subject plain; it is a most important source for the history of Central Asia in the period of the Muslim conquest. His history of *Ḥapra* (*Fihrist*, p. 103, 4) seems also to have been Tabari's main source for his account of this town. As his authority Tabari gives 'Umar b. Ḥabib, in one passage he definitely mentions the latter's *K. al-Fihrist al-Khawāṣṣ* (II, 168, 10); perhaps he knew Madīn's work through the intermediary of 'Umar b. Shabba. Lastly Madīn's work on the Khawāṣṣ was used not only by Tabari but also by Balādhuri in the *K. al-Fihrist* (*Abūwaḥid*, *Anonymous*), by Muḥammad in the *K. al-Fihrist* and *Abū 'Alī* Faraj al-Isfahānī in the *K. al-Fihrist*. His separate work on the battle of Nahrawān may have been used by Tabari for the year 32. From his history of Muslim (*Fihrist*, p. 103, 21) al-Balādhuri seems to have taken his statements in the *K. al-Fihrist*, p. 11, 21; 12, 21; 47, 22 and he seems to have been acquainted with Madīn's numerous other monographs on the history of the conquest. Among al-Madīn's pupils, al-Zuhayr b. Bakkar was the best known continuator of his work, which was however rendered obsolete in the next generation by the systematic works of Balādhuri and Tabari.

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, p. 100-104; *Yāqūt*, *Irshād al-Jah*, vi, Margoliouth, v, 309-318; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geographiker der Araber*, N^o. 27; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, I, 140. (C. BROCKELMANN.)

MADĀR. [See *ḤARĪ MĀ'IN*.]

MĀDDA (مَادَّة), a philosophical term = *aydūn*, Gr. *ēnē*, like the verbative *ēnē*, Gr. *ēnē*, a word of varied significance. In general it means that which can possibly exist (*possum*) but which really is not (*huc non fuit*) but may become something through the adoption of opposed determinations (*forma*). As the realization of the possible is conceived as advancing by stages, a lower stage of form may again be conceived as material for a higher form of development. The question is further complicated even in Aristotle by the distinction between a physical and a logical material (this consists in the conception of species, which is formed by the specific differentia) and by the division of the physical into a heavenly and an earthly material. In addition there were further different, especially neo-Platonic influences among the Arab philosophers.

The fourfold division of matter is very common, e.g. in the *Ḥikma al-Safā*, 1: prime matter, either directly or indirectly an emanation from the divine being, i.e. an intelligible matter conceived, according to Pseudo-Empedocles, as the first emanation but usually explained as is neo-Platonism as the last in the series (spirit, soul, nature), often defined as the effluence of light from the light of God; 2. the matter of the universe as a whole, especially and permanently, of the heavenly spheres, which first of all adopts the indefinite form of corporeality (extens) or at once the three definite dimensions; 3. the matter of the four earthly elements, fire, air, water and earth; 4. energy, which is already formed in some way, but can be used for definite purposes, e.g. wood, stone etc.

In agreement with Aristotle the philosophers regard God as pure immaterial form. Only an extreme mystic like 'Alī al-Karīm al-Jīlī, can call Him the *aydūn* of the world. As regards the lower spirits (spirits of the spheres, angels etc.) opinions differ, but most thinkers find it easy to assume an intelligible matter, and even to recognize in the first created, the highest world spirit, a material principle; next however they are fond of distinguishing this intelligible matter as receptive and the earthly sensual matter as passive. — Different opinions are expressed regarding the *principium individuationis*: in the comparatively speaking purer Aristotelians we find the tendency to seek it in matter and in those who are more inclined to Platonism in form. All insist, although with varying emphasis, upon the *divina* of matter for form more than the love of form for union with matter.

As to logical matter, it may be noted in conclusion that the three modalities of judgment (necessity, possibility and impossibility) are described as "matters" (*ilm* *ṣafā*). — Cf. also the article *ḤUKM*. (T. DE BOER.)

MADHANA. [See *MAḤANA*.]

MADHAB. [See *FĪQH*.]

MADHĪDĪ, an Arab tribe of Yemen origin, traced by the genealogists to Malik b. Uday, who is said to be descended in the fourth generation from Kaḥṣan and to have received his name MadhĪdĪ from a hill of this name on which he and his brother Tay were born. His sons are said to have been: Sa'ī al-Aḥṣar, Dhahī, Yuhayr called Murād, and Zaid called 'Anz. The MadhĪdĪ whose tribal lands are said to have lain near Tardī "on the road to Yemān" (*Yāqūt*, a. v.) and whose brother tribes were Khath'um and Murād, were, according to tradition, at war with the 'Asad b. Sa'ya about the time of the appearance of Muhammad; in the course of this war was fought the battle of Fāḥ al-Rū. In the Muslim period, families of the tribe of MadhĪdĪ were predominant in Kāfa along with those of Kinda and Hamḍān.

Bibliography: Tabari, *Ḥikma*; Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ḥikma*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 237; al-Bakr, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 721; cf. Wüstenfeld, *Tabari*, 1. and *Register*; Wellhausen, *Scara der Arab. Literatur*, p. 248. (H. H. BRÄU.)

MADĪD, the second metre in Arabic prosody, very little used on account of a certain heaviness in its rhythm. In theory it consists of four feet in each hemistich and the prosodists quote in support of this several anonymous verses. In practice there are only three.

to Samhūdī (Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, p. 37) was especially associated with a place west of the tomb of Hanzā where the Banū Hāritha settled. The town which arose in this way was not surrounded by a wall so that its defences were the thick groves of palms and the orchards which surrounded the houses. As they were less thick on the north and west sides, these were most exposed to hostile attacks. The little forts (*ufum*, plur. *ufūm* or *ufūma*, plur. *ufūmāt*) which were built in considerable numbers formed a substitute for a wall and the inhabitants could retire into them in times of trouble.

There were in later times no reliable traditions regarding the origin and earliest history of Medina and the historians endeavoured to fill the gap themselves and as elsewhere made the Djurhum (q. v. and also Krauss, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxx. 352) and the quite unhistorical 'Amalekites play a part in it (cf. also Hasān b. Thābit, ed. Hirschfeld, No. 9, verse 6). It is only with the coming of Jews to Medina that we are on surer ground, but the historians know so little of the exact period of these settlements that they connect them sometimes with Moses, sometimes with the deportation of the Jews under Nebuchadnezzar, and sometimes with the conquest of Palestine by the Greeks or by the Romans. According to various references in the Talmud there were Jews in Arabia in the early centuries of the Christian era and this certainly means North Arabia in the main (see Hirschfeld, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Koran*, p. 49 sq.) and that they were numerous is evident from the existence of Jewish communities in Taimā, Hidd (Janssen and Savignac, *Mission*, p. 150, 242), Khaibar, Wādī 'l-Kura, Fadak and Makna, to which may be added that in Medina. Everywhere in these oases they took over and developed the cultivation of the soil, and it was probably due to them, that these scattered settlements each developed into a kind of town; evidence of this is found in the Aramaic name Madīna for Yathrib. According to the definite statement of Hasān b. Thābit (No. 9, verse 8 in Hirschfeld) they built a number of small forts in this town. But that they were not the first to do this may probably be concluded from the fact that the earliest inhabitants were not pure Beduins (according to Lammens, *Jah*, p. 72, these forts were built after the model of those of the Yemen). The Jewish tribe of Kainukā played a prominent part in the immigration, as at a later period one of the principal markets in the western part of the town was called after it. But gradually the tribes of Kuraiza and Nadir came to be the leading ones in Madīna Jewry. The former dwelled with the Bahdān on the W. Mahallā, the Nadir on the W. Buḥān (*Kitaḥ al-Aḥqāf*, xix. 95, where the Jewish tribes and the Judaized Arab tribes are detailed). While in this passage, as usual, the Kuraiza and the Nadir are numbered among the pure Jews, according to a notable statement in the historian Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtman, ii. 49, 52) they were not pure Jews but Judaized clans of the Arabic tribe of Djurhum, which Nöldeke has repeatedly emphasized as a genuine tradition. Now it is historically certain that at that time there were many Jewish proselytes (cf. Ibn Kutaiba, *Kitaḥ al-Ma'arīf*, p. 299) but in spite of this there are decisive reasons for believing that the Jewish element in Madīna did not arise in this

way. It is of special significance that the Kuraiza and Nadir are frequently called the *Ashmūni*, the "two (tribes of) priests", which shows that the Jews knew their genealogy and laid stress upon their descent (cf. e.g. Ibn Hishām, p. 660, 10: "thou revilest the pure of the two tribes of priests"). The same thing is seen from the fact that Nadir Saḥīya married by Muḥammad is described as belonging to the family of Aaron (Ibn Sa'd, viii. 86, 1). But the decisive fact is the way in which the Prophet speaks in the Madīna sūras to the Jews there. He apostrophises them as sons of Israel and reminds them that God has raised them above all men (ii. 44, 116); he brackets them with the ancient Israelites as if they had taken part in the Exodus from Egypt (ii. 46 sq.); Allah gave Moses the scriptures so that they might be rightly guided (ii. 50); they break the laws which he bound them to observe at the treaty of alliance (ii. 77 sqq.) etc. Such expressions suggest as clearly as possible that he regarded them as true descendants of the ancient Israelites. There must therefore have been in addition to the Judaized Arabs a stock of true Jews, and indeed it is obvious that without such there could have been no proselytes. Wellhausen moreover has aptly pointed out that the Arabian Jews by their language, their knowledge of the scriptures, their manner of life, their fondness for malicious mockery, secret arts, poison, magic, and cursing, and their fear of death, make an unusual impression which cannot be explained simply by the Judaizing of pure Arabs. But on the other hand it must not be forgotten that the Jews in Arabia were very much influenced by their surroundings and had assumed a character of their own. For example we find among them the division into tribes and families, characteristic of the Arabs, with the obligations associated with this. The names of these tribes cannot be traced to old Jewish names but are thoroughly Arabic in appearance, which is also true of their personal names among which true Jewish names like Samaw'al and Sāra are rare. The arabicisation of the Jews is particularly notable in the poems which are ascribed to Jews, most of which might have been equally well written by Beduins (see Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Poesie der alten Araber*, p. 52 sqq.).

While the Jews were supreme in other places like Khaibar, al-Fadak etc., the position was changed in Madīna as a result of a new immigration which the Arabs associate with the bursting of the dam at Ma'rib (q. v.) and the migrations of South Arabian tribes produced by it. In this way the two so-called Kaila tribes, Aws and Khazraj (q. v.), came to Madīna. No particulars of their coming are recorded, but from an interesting verse in Ibn Kharrādhbīh (*B. G. A.*, vi. 128) and Ya'qūbī, iv. 460, it is evident that they were for a long time subject and tributary to the Jews and that this part of Northern Arabia was at this time under Persian rule, in keeping with the usual Jewish policy of maintaining friendly relations with Persia. Later the Kaila Arabs however succeeded in casting off the Jewish yoke and bringing the Jews under their rule. According to tradition the occasion of this was that a powerful Jewish king named Pīṭaun, who exercised the *jus primae noctis*, was murdered by a Khazrajī Malik b. al-'Adīlān to save his threatened sister — a widely disseminated motif (cf. K.

Schmidt, *Jus primae noctis*, 1882, and also *E. Z.* 7, 1883, p. 156 *qqq.*) on which too much stress should not be laid. As to later events there are two different traditions: some make Mālik after his deed seek the help of a Ghassanid ruler, Abū Djabūla (cf. the name Djabūla among the Ghassanids), others of a South Arabian Tabbā, Az'ad Abikarib (c. 430; M. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, p. 482, 497). In this second story, Wellhausen finds some support in some old verses and assumes that Tabbā is here an erroneous popular name for a later Abyssinian viceroy. There is however nothing in these verses about an attack of the South Arabians on the Jews of Madina alone but on the inhabitants of the town together, so that Wellhausen further supposes this attack may have so weakened the Jews hitherto predominant that the Arab inhabitants succeeded in breaking their supremacy; but this is of course no more than an attractive hypothesis. In any case the name Abrahā in Kais b. al-Khatim, N° 14, verse 15, cannot be used as a basis for further hypotheses for it is certainly not the celebrated Abrahā [q. v.] who is meant. Besides, these stories contain legendary allusions to Muhammad's future appearance in Madina, which betray at least a later recasting by Muslims.

The new lords of Yathrib took over the forts occupied by the Jews and built several more (Samhūdī, p. 37). They also learned "Nabataean" arts from them and began to cultivate palms and pursue agriculture. The Khazrajis, whose principal family was Nadjār (or Taim al-Lāt), as the most powerful tribe assumed the leadership and occupied the centre of the town where the modern Madina lies. West and south of them lived other Khazraj tribes while the territory of the Hāshim ran to the east. The Awsis, who also comprised several families, settled south and east of their brethren, the Nabī in the northeast separated by the Hāshim from their kinsmen. The two principal Jewish tribes Nadjār and Quraysh preserved a certain amount of independence and retained their lands under the Awsis while the Kaïnukā retained their lands in the southwest although their main industry was practising the goldsmith's art. Further details of the parts occupied by the tribes and families are given in Samhūdī (Wüstenfeld, p. 29 *sq.*, 37 *sq.*) but these can only now be partly identified. Besides there were in Madina, in addition to the Jews and the immigrant Kailla tribes several Arab tribes, some of which were already there when the former came. They were closely connected with the Jews and were partly Judaized. The settlement of affairs reached in this way gave the town a period of peace, which was however gradually broken as an increasing enmity arose between the two Kailla tribes, as was not infrequently the case with Arab brother-tribes. At first it was individual families that fought one another but this conflagration gradually spread until the existence of the whole town was threatened. The quarrel began with the feud of Sumair, so-called after an Awsi named Sumair. This was settled by an arbitrator but it was not long till renewed friction led to renewed hostilities, of which the so-called feud of Hāshim was the most serious. We are introduced to this second period by the poems of Kais b. al-Khatim of the Awsi family of al-Nabī. The fighting throughout ended unfavourably for the Awsis and the Nabī were finally driven from

their possessions. In their need the Awsis appealed for help to the two principal Jewish tribes. They at first refused it; but when the Khazrajis had foolishly slain some Jewish hostages, they concluded an alliance with the Awsis and declared themselves ready to assist them. It was no longer a fight between a few families but a struggle between the two great rival tribes in their full strength and other inhabitants of Yathrib, even the Beduins of the country round also took sides. At Bu'ath [q. v.] after long preparations a decisive battle was finally fought. It at first looked as if the Awsis were again to be defeated. The tables were turned and the Khazrajis suffered a severe reverse. It is interesting to note that 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy of the Khazrajis on this occasion displayed the same irresolution that he did later in his opposition to Muhammad; he took the field with the others but did not enter the battle. On the day of al-Sarfa he actually ran away. The battle of Bu'ath restored the equilibrium between the principal tribes, but the continual fighting had sapped the strength of the town and the bitter feeling which continually revealed itself made the lives of the inhabitants more and more unendurable. Then a momentous change took place when the people of Madina, who required a leader with a strong hand, and Muhammad, who had only to a slight extent succeeded in winning over the Meccans to his religious views, came into contact with one another.

The Kailla tribes at the time of their immigration to Yathrib had been heathens like the great majority of the Arabs. The principal deity they worshipped was Manāt [q. v.], after whom the Awsis were originally named but they also revered among others al-Lāt (cf. the name Taim al-Lāt already mentioned). Through living alongside of Jews they became influenced by their religious and moral ideas, but unfortunately we know very little of their spiritual outlook before the coming of the Prophet. The poet Kais deals in the Beduin style mainly with the quarrels between the tribes and families and rarely refers to religious matters. He nowhere mentions the local deities but refers to Allāh (No. 6, verse 22) whom he calls the creator (5, 6; cf. Goldner, *Z. D. M. G.*, lvii, 398), which is in itself sufficient to prove Jewish or Christian influence. Of him he says in N° 11, verse 8: "Allāh will only what he will"; verse 13, 12: "Praise be to Allāh, the lord, the lord of the building" refers to the Ka'ba in Mecca, the *masjid* covered with carpets (5, 14). The three days in Minā are mentioned in 4, 4 which shows that they then as later in the Muslim poets gave the young men an opportunity for love-affairs with women of other tribes. In rejecting a life after death, 6, 22, he is quite on a level with the pagan Meccans. Alongside of such representatives of a mixed religion there were others whose conceptions had developed farther through contact with Jews or Christians, so that they were reckoned *hanifs* [q. v.] as they definitely rejected the popular deities and had assumed a tendency to asceticism. Abū 'l-Hāshim and Az'ad b. Zurāra for example professed monotheism before they became acquainted with Muhammad (Ibn Sa'd, iii/a, 22, 139). A Khazraj, Abū Kais Sirma b. Abī Anas, wore sackcloth and laid stress on levitical purity; he actually thought of becoming a Christian but gave up the idea and adopted Islam when an old man (Ibn Hishām, p. 347 *sq.*). A man of the Awsi tribe,

Abū 'Amr 'Abd 'Amr b. Sa'īf was known as "the monk" from his ascetic mode of life; he later became an enemy of the Prophet, left Medina and fought against him on the side of the Meccans; he is also said to have supported those who built a rival mosque at the time of the Tabūk campaign (Ibn Hishām, p. 411; Ibn Sa'd, *muṣn.* 90, 7; Wāḥidī-Wellhausen, p. 310). In evidence of such influence of Christians in Medina one might quote a verse of Harbī b. Thābit (ed. Hirschfeld, p. 125, 12), but this probably refers to a later period and opportunities of mixing with them were to be found in many places in Arabia. One result of living alongside of Jews in Medina was that the art of writing was quite well known there (cf. Ibn Kuthayb, *Alaḥd al-Madīna*, p. 131 sq., 156; Ibn al-Jawzī, p. 473 sq.; Ibn Sa'd, *muṣn.*, *passim*).

The spiritual influence of the Jews on the Arab inhabitants of Medina became an important factor in the relations between them and Muḥammad, for it made them receptive to his religious ideas with which they became acquainted by visits to Mecca and in other ways. How finally a treaty was concluded between him and several representatives of the Medinese, by which the latter pledged themselves to take him into their community and to defend him as if he were one of themselves and how he and those of his followers who were still faithful to him thereupon migrated to Medina is related in the article MUHAMMAD. After a brief stay in the southern suburb of Kūba he entered the town and took up his abode with a Khazrajī, Abū Ayyūb Khālid b. Zayd, with whom he lived till a dwelling was arranged for him. He is said to have left the choice of the site to the movements of his camel — if the story is true, a very clever move not only from the religious but also from the political point of view. In any case it is certain that hardly anything ever showed so clearly his gift, based on his unshakable belief in his prophetic call, of leading men to follow his will, as the fact that he succeeded in a very short time in bringing some kind of order into Medina, happily split up by feuds, and making a kind of unity out of the heterogeneous elements in the town, the earlier Arab inhabitants of Yathrib, the later immigrants, now predominating Kāila tribes, the Muḥājirīn from Mecca and the Jews of Judaea and Arabia. We get a glimpse of the first step towards this goal from the ordinance of the community preserved in Ibn Hishām, p. 341 sqq. ("Book of the fines"; cf. Tabat, *Glossary* 1, v. 17) which Wellhausen, *Stories and Parables*, iv. 67 sqq. and following him Cartani, *Annali dell' Islam*, i. 305 sqq. and Wendt, *Muhammad as de Jure et de Facto*, p. 78 sqq. have discussed. It is most interesting for its limitations and it lacks in a marked degree clear and logical fundamental ideas, because Muḥammad was content temporarily with what could be attained and avoided everything that might cause strife. In it he calls himself the messenger of Allāh, but there is no reference to his divine inspiration. His object is to form a united *saḥma* out of the inhabitants of Medina and this is defined from the religious side as the community of believers from Mecca and Yathrib. But the non-believers are not excluded, for the same obligation rather with the town of Medina which included also Jews and heathens, of whom it is not demanded that they should adopt Islam. The tribes retain

their autonomy as regards blood-vengeance and ransoming of prisoners, but against the rest of the world generally the affording of protection was obligatory on every member of the community without exception and no one could conclude peace separately with the enemies of the community (particularly the Quraysh). All important matters, out of which misfortune might befall the community, were to be brought before Allāh and Muḥammad. The valley of Yathrib was to be *ḥaram* (or *ḥalāl*) for all who were bound by this ordinance. The whole document thus alternates continually between religious and purely political clauses in a very opportunistic fashion. It never became of great importance and it soon fell into oblivion as it was rendered obsolete by the rapid progress of events, certainly not against the wish of Muḥammad whose plans went far beyond what was laid down in it. The main cause of its loss of importance was the breach which soon occurred between Muḥammad and the Jews, which the latter provoked by their scornful criticism of Muḥammad's revelations, especially of the weak points revealed in his reproduction of stories from the Old Testament. This meant a serious threat to his authority and in addition the Jews endeavoured to destroy the agreement reached in Medina by endeavouring to revive the old hostility between the two Kāila tribes (Ibn Hishām, p. 385 sqq.; cf. Sura, iii. 114 sqq.). To meet these difficulties, which of course were very welcome to his enemies in the town, Muḥammad worked hard to unite his followers for a common object, the war with the Meccans, by which he could at the same time avenge the resistance offered him there. It was at first difficult for him to arouse enthusiasm for this war among the Muḥājirīn and even more the Ansar but finally, when a fortunate accident occurred to help him, he succeeded in bringing about a war with the Meccans which led to the momentous victory at Badr. On the further fighting of this campaign, the battle of Uhud and the war of the ditch, cf. the article MUHAMMAD. The latter campaign gets its name from the ditch (*al-khandaq* q. v.) which Muḥammad on the advice of a Persian (Salmān) had dug around the unprotected parts of the town and which, in spite of its modest dimensions (it is said to have been a fathom broad), formed a serious obstacle to the enemy. Ibn al-Jawzī in the 6th century still saw traces of it, an arrowshot west of the town. On its further course cf. Wendt, *Muhammad as de Jure et de Facto*, p. 36, 31. The Meccans in this fighting gave him very material assistance by their lack of warlike ability and energy, and the war contributed to consolidate his position in Medina, aided not a little by the lack of resolution among the Muḥājirīn who never managed to seize opportunities favourable to them. He was thus not only in a position to continue the war against his native city but also to repay the Jews in ruthless fashion for all the annoyance they had caused him. After the battle of Badr, the *Kainūḍā* were driven out of the town and after the battle of Uhud, which was against the Prophet, the same fate was meted out to a Kāila tribe, the *Nadīr*. But the worst lot was that of the Quraysh, whom in spite of the intercession of the Ansar he had massacred. These events however do not show the Jewish tribes in a favourable light as they made no attempt to help one another but left each other

in the lurch in most cowardly fashion. The Quraysh alone at this measure showed a courage which to some extent atones for their previous attitude. In this way Muhammad succeeded in disposing of the danger that threatened him from the Jews, for the Jews who were left in Madina were of no importance and caused him no serious difficulties.

With the treaty of Hudaibiya in the year 6 A.H. [cf. MUHAMMAD] the war with the Quraysh was practically finished, for in it his genius for diplomacy succeeded in bringing them to recognize Madina as a power equal in importance to Mecca. The official conclusion of the struggle was the bloodless occupation of his native city in 8 A.H. However great a triumph this was for the Prophet, it produced a new feud which was to prove fateful for Islam after the death of Muhammad. Even before the decisive turn in the struggle with Mecca, in the campaign against the Banu Muttalib, the ill feeling between the emigrants and a section of the people of Madina came to a head in threatening fashion and 'Abdullah b. Ubayy delivered several boastful speeches and threatened to expel the troublesome intruders (cf. Sura, ix, 111, 12), which he naturally denied when the Prophet later took him to task. But when Muhammad had entered Mecca, his faithful followers in Madina became anxious, as they feared he would now abandon their town and return to his native place. He calmed them however and declared that he would live and die with them (Im. Hisham, p. 824). But when he began to treat the Meccans with great clemency and after the battle at Hunayn was striving to win them over to his religion by rich gifts, the Ansar with justice felt themselves slighted and once again feared that he would abandon them. But he delivered them a speech in which he reminded them how he had united them when they were living in hostility to one another and declared his gratitude for all that they had done for him, and when he concluded by asking them to be satisfied if others went home with captured spoils but they with the messenger of Allah, they burst into tears and withdrew satisfied (Im. Hisham, p. 883 ff.). While in such stories there may be an echo of the later antagonism between the Ansar and the Quraysh, they undoubtedly give a not inaccurate hint of the feelings which found expression at this time. It is all the more remarkable that according to various indications there must have been an opposition to Muhammad at the time of the Tabuk campaign in Madina. His orations against the Munkafirs in the ninth Sura sound unusually excited and recall those of the Meccan period with their threats of punishment. There is also the notable, but unfortunately not quite clear story of the Masjid al-Dhar (cf. also Lammens) which some men had built south of the town in the land of the 'Amr b. 'Awf and which he mentioned until he saw that its object was to provoke discussion among the believers for the benefit of his former enemies (Sura, ix, 105 ff.), wherefore he had it destroyed. According to one story, the already mentioned Haifa Abi 'Amr was the moving spirit in it, (Im. Hisham, p. 906 ff.; Wajid-Wallhausen, p. 410 ff.; Tabari, i, 1704 ff.; Im. Sa'd, III, 36, 3, 46, 11). In any case Muhammad succeeded in again restoring peace, probably assisted by the fact that the leader of the Munkafirs died soon afterwards.

Faithful to his promise, the Prophet remained

in Madina till his death on June 8, 632. According to a reliable tradition (Tabari, i, 1817; Im. Sa'd, III, 37, 3, 58, 11, 59, 1, 71, 6), his corpse lay unburied for a whole day, so that its putrefaction was far advanced when it was finally buried under 'Ala's house, apparently a result of the great confusion into which his death had thrown the town. The unity created by his strong hand at once fell to pieces; the Ansar assembled and chose the Kharradj Sa'd b. 'Ubadah as their chief, while others proposed that the government should be shared between the Ansar and the Muhajirun. Umar's rapid and vigorous intervention however succeeded in thwarting these plans so threatening to Islam and carrying through the election of 'Abd al-Rakr as Caliph. He and his two successors resided in Madina, which thus became the capital of the rapidly growing empire. 'Abd al-Rakr and Umar, like the Prophet, were buried under the house of 'Ala, while 'Uthman's body was brought in the darkness on a door to the Jewish cemetery amidst oburgations and stone-throwing. In this period no one thought of strengthening the defences of the capital, not even during the riots after the Prophet's death and still less later when the holy wars were waged exclusively in foreign lands. 'Uthman had the forts taken down, but remains of them could be seen as late as the tenth century (Mac'udi, *K. al-Tanbih*, S. G. A., VIII, 206).

'Ali's reign brought a complete change for Madina. When the great civil war broke out between him and his rivals and the decisive battles were fought in the provinces, the Caliph recognised that the vast empire could not possibly be governed from the remote corner of the world in which Madina lay. While the earlier caliphs had remained in the capital and sent out armies of conquest from it, 'Ali placed himself at the head of his troops and set out from Madina in Oct. 656, never again to see it. He made Kufa his capital and after Mu'awiya's victory Damascus took its place. Madina now sunk, like its old rival Mecca, to the rank of a provincial town, unaffected by the current of the world's events. What pious old folks thought of this change is reflected in a characteristic tradition (Dinawari, p. 152 ff.) according to which several prominent Ansar tried to induce 'Ali to abandon his plan of leaving Madina: "What thou dost lose in the form of prayers in the mosque of the Prophet and the course between his tomb and his pulpit is of more value than what thou expectest to find in the Irak; reflect how Umar used to send his generals to war; there are still just as capable men amongst us as then!" But the Caliph replied: "The wealth of the state and the armies are in the Irak and attacks threaten from the Syrians, and I must be near them".

Madina with its venerable associations and the tomb of the Prophet could not of course become quite unimportant; on the contrary, its sanctity increased in the eyes of Muslims, the more the figure of Muhammad became important in their conceptions; but the life of the town became more and more remote from the real world in which actual history was being unfolded. Hither retired all who wished to keep aloof from the turmoil of political happenings, like 'Ali's son Hasan, after he had abandoned all his claims (Tabari, II, 9; Dinawari, p. 232). Husain also went there from Kufa, but left it again to make his desperate attempt to gain his rights, and it is significant that some of the Madina Ansar

went with him (Wellhausen, *Die Oppositionspartei*, p. 89). When he was slain, his wives and son were brought to Madina, where they lived in peace and took no further part in the fighting. Ali's son, Muhammad b. al-Hanafiya, resided in Madina (Dinawari, p. 308). It was not however only relatives and ardent followers of the Prophet, who preferred to live here in his city, but several of his former enemies, the Umayyads, also felt attracted thither by the quiet and easy life and would not go to Damascus (Lammens, *Études sur le Califat de Mouawiyah*, p. 35). In this way Madina gradually became the home of a new population, consisting of people who wished to enjoy undisturbed the great wealth which the wars of conquest had brought them. Life there became more and more luxurious until finally the holy city became so notorious (*At-ta'rib al-Aghani*, xii, 397, 400), that during a rising in the year 127 (745) the last Umayyad Caliph Marwan II could ask one of the participants in it how it was that the wives and singing-girls of Madina had not held him back from taking part in it (Tabari, ii, 1010). Such stories remind us of Doughty's description of the present inhabitants of Madina (*Travels in Arabia*, 3rd ed., p. 151: 'carding, playing, tipping in arak, brutish hump smoking, ribald firing'). This was the golden period of Madina about the glories of which the poets sang. Flourishing, well-watered gardens and meadows surrounded the town, and there were a number of splendid palaces built by wealthy Kurash, especially in the Wadi 'A'ali, of which traces can still be found (cf. Beistami, *Rihla*, p. 261 ff.; Lammens, *Mouawiyah*, p. 228).

Another section of the people of Madina was attracted thither by the quiet life, although for other reasons. Their object was not worldly enjoyments but they devoted themselves to the memories in the town of its sacred past, by collecting and studying the legal and ritual enactments dating from the Prophet, in so far as they were based on the words of Madina and the *al-hadith* there. The most distinguished representative of this group was Malik b. Anas (d. 179 = 795), the author of the *Muwatta*, who as founder of the Maliki school gathered many pupils around him (Goldfischer, *Islamwissenschaftliche Studien*, ii, 212 sq.). One of them, Ibn al-Zubayr, composed the first history of the town of Madina (100 = 814) but it has not survived.

Madina was now ruled by governors appointed by the Caliph, lists of whom are given by Tabari and Ibn al-Athir. The town was however no entirely unaffected by the wars of the first centuries after Muhammad. In the reign of Yazid, feeling in Madina, even among the Umayyads, was more or less hostile to the Caliph and many took the side of his rival 'Abd Allah b. Zuhayr in Mecca. The expedition of the governor 'Amr b. Sa'd, which Yazid ordered, was a failure. In 63 (681) the Madinese rebelled openly, appointing 'Abd Allah b. Hanzala as their leader and building a wall with a ditch to defend the town on the north. The Caliph sent an army under the leadership of Maslamah b. 'Ubayd which took up its quarters on the Hara N.E. of the town and fought the battle of the Hara, which ended in the defeat of the Madinese — according to the usual story, a result of the treachery of the Banu Haritha. That the inhabitants were abandoned to the ill-treatment of the Syrian troops is probably a malicious

libel (Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p. 98 sq.). Towards the end of Umayyad rule, in the year 130 (747/8), the Kharijite under Abd Hawam defeated the Madinese at Kulaid; but he was surprised by Marwan's troops and slain (Tabari, ii, 200 sq.; B.G.S., viii, 327). When the 'Abbasids became supreme, two 'Alid brothers, Muhammad and Ibrahim, sons of 'Abd Allah, made an attempt to fight for their rights. Muhammad who called himself al-Mahdi appeared in Madina in 145 (762/3) where he found not a few adherents, among them Malik b. Anas and Abu Hanifa. He endeavoured in various ways to imitate the example of the Prophet, used his sword, had the ditch dug by him round the town restored (see above) etc. The Caliph sent his relative 'Isa b. Musa with 4,000 men against him and when he bridged the ditch by throwing a couple of doors over it and entered the town, most of al-Mahdi's followers lost heart, as was usual with the supporters of the 'Alids, and when he renewed the hopeless struggle, he was mortally wounded. About 20 years later (169 = 786) another 'Alid arose, Husain b. 'Ali, against the 'Abbasids. After ravaging Madina he was driven out and slain at Fakhkh near Mecca. In spite of the harm he did to the town of the Prophet, he was celebrated by the 'Alid party as a martyr (Tabari, iii, 551 sq.; Ibn al-Athir, vi, 60 sq.). In the caliphate of Wathik, Madina suffered severely from the attacks of the Sulaim and the Banu Hilal. Bughit the elder [q.v.] came to their assistance in 230 (844/5) and imprisoned the Beduins. When he left the town again, the latter succeeded in breaking out of prison; the Madinese however discovered their escape and put them to death (Ibn al-Athir, vii, 12). Their love for Wathik was shown by their lamenting him every night after his death (*Ibid.*, vii, 21).

In the centuries that followed, Madina is only rarely mentioned by the historians, and what they tell us about it is of little interest as a rule. When the Fatimids became lords of Egypt and were threatening the holy cities in the Hijaz, a wall was at last built round Madina. This was erected in 364 (974/975) by the Buyid 'Adud al-Dawla but enclosed only the central part of the town. It was restored in 540 (1145/1146) by a vizier of the sons of Zang. But as a considerable proportion of the inhabitants lived outside the wall without protection from the attacks of the Beduins, the Atabeg of Syria, Nur al-Din Mahmud b. Zangī, in 557 (1162) built a second wall of greater extent with towers and gateways. The present wall, 35-40 feet high, was built by the Ottoman Sultan Sulaiman b. Salim the Magnificent (1520-1566) of basalt and granite (Sassanidi-Winscheid, p. 126). A trench was dug around it. The same Sultan brought a covered aqueduct from the south into the town. Finally the wall was raised to a height of 80 feet by Sultan 'Alid al-'Aziz, which height it has retained.

A feud between the governors of Mecca and Madina with a battle at Ihn T-Halifa is recorded for the year 601 (1203). The Meccan leader who had set out to besiege Madina was put to flight but obtained support from other Meccans, whereupon the Madinese abandoned further hostilities (Ibn al-Athir, xii, 134).

In 654 (1256) Madina was threatened by a volcanic eruption, known as the fire of Hujjat. It began on the last day of Dhu al-Hijja with a

slight earth-quake which increased in vigour each succeeding day. Then a glowing stream of lava burst forth which, as the chroniclers tell us, devoured rocks and stones but (fortunately) flowed to the east of the town and then continued its way northwards. The inhabitants sought protection in the Mosque of the Tomb, praying and confining their sins. The belief in the latter's inviolability, which was thus strengthened, was soon to be shattered by the conflagration described below.

Under the rule of the Turks Madina continued to lead a quiet life, little heeded by the outside world, and it is rarely mentioned, a circumstance much facilitated by the fact that the holy city could not be entered by non-Muslims. Radical changes only came about in the sixteenth century. In 1502, the Wahhābīs took the town, plundered its treasures and prevented pilgrimages to the Tomb of Muḥammad. An attempt to destroy the dome over the tomb failed, but the great treasures in pearls, jewels etc., presented by pious visitors to the mosque were carried off. It was not till 1813 that Muḥammad 'Alī's son Jusuf succeeded in retaking the town and at the treaty of peace in 1815 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ūd recognised Turkish suzerainty over the holy places in the Ḥijāz. Muḥammad 'Alī however paid no attention to this, but sent another son Ibrahim to continue the war against the Sa'ūd and in 1818 he took Dar'iyā and raised it to the ground, whereupon he returned to Madina. The sacred cities once more belonged to the Turks and the Grand Sharif of Mecca even forbade pilgrims from Ibn Sa'ūd's territory to enter Mecca. This restoration of Turkish rule brought at least one important innovation: the building of the Ḥijāz railway from Damascus to Madina in 1908. It was primarily intended for pilgrims but was also of military importance and therefore suffered severely in the world war. Through the intervention of the Grand Sharif Husayn b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Mu'iz, the fighting and the intrigues in North Arabia became more and more involved. He first posed as a faithful servant of the Turkish Sultan but later he rebelled and on Nov. 6, 1916 had himself proclaimed king of the Ḥijāz and joined the English. After the peace which ended the world war the Turkish troops evacuated Madina in 1918. In the meanwhile a stronger opponent to Husayn had arisen in 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Sa'ūd, who had once more raised the Wahhābīs to a position of supremacy. Husayn's bold move in assuming the title of caliph found no support among the Arab chiefs, and the people of the Ḥijāz forced him to abdicate. Ibn Sa'ūd seized this opportunity, entered Mecca in October 1924 and forced Husayn's son 'Alī to leave the town. The two holy cities are therefore now both in the hands of the Wahhābīs, who are however now more tolerant and permit visits to the Mosque of the Tomb and other holy places and only forbid actual worship there.

In spite of the inaccessibility of Madina to all non-Muslims the reports of various modern travellers enable us to form a fairly clear picture of it, which can only be briefly outlined here. In keeping with the configuration of the ground, the plain on which Madina lies is divided into an upper southern part and a lower northern part, *al-'Uyūn* and *al-Madīna*, names found even in the earliest writers. Al-'Uyūn is reckoned to run to the above mentioned village of Ka'bi, 3 miles away, al-Madīna to the hill of

Uḥud. The oldest wall encloses the town proper the already mentioned later wall which is now partly in ruins encloses the western rather large suburb of al-Anbariya and "camp of the camels", *ṭawā al-munāṣṣa*, 400 yards broad lying between it and the town. Here is pointed out the traditional site of the *maṣṣa*, the Prophet's place of prayer, a tradition probably worthy of credence, as otherwise it would have been natural to locate it in the great mosque mentioned below. Along the south side of the wall runs the road of the funeral processions, *ḍarṭ al-Ḥanān*, which leads to the old general burial-place, *Baṭī' al-Ḥarāḍ* (so called after the plant *nitraria retusa*) in the east of the town. Among the thousands who are buried here are the little son of the Prophet, Ibrahim, his wives (whether also his daughter Fātima is disputed: see below), many of his companions, al-'Abdā, Muḥammad al-Bakir, Dja'far al-Sādiq, the already mentioned jurist, Mālik b. Anas, and many others. At the north-west corner of the town stands the castle built on to the town wall. There are several gates in the walls, including the Bab al-Shām in the north, the Bab al-Djum'a in the east, and the Bab al-Anbariya in the west. From a spring of fresh water in the village of Ka'bi an aqueduct runs into the town, first laid by Marwān when governor of Madina. It frequently fell into disrepair and was restored for example by several Ottoman sultans, on the last occasion by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd after the Wahhābīs had destroyed it. The damage not infrequently done by floods has already been mentioned. In 734 the Madinese were prevented for six months by an inundation from visiting the grave of Hāmra. The streets of Madina are clean but narrow and only the main streets are paved. The houses are well built of stone and a number have two stories. Several of them are surrounded by gardens, but the houses with gardens are mainly found outside the north and south wall, especially towards the south where vegetable gardens and orchards alternate with palmgroves and cornfields. The dates of which there are 70 varieties are, as in ancient times, one of the principal products. The pilgrim traffic is however the most important source of revenue for the inhabitants, who let their dwellings to the strangers and guide them to the sacred places and instruct them about ritual duties. The *ṣawwāḥir* here play the same role as the *ṣawwāḥir* in Mecca. Burton (ii. 189) gives the number of inhabitants as 16,000-18,000, in addition to 400 men in the garrison. Wavell (p. 63) in 1908 put it at 30,000, excluding soldiers and pilgrims, while Houtsma gave 60,000 including many foreign visitors. The results of the world war have of course altered these conditions in many ways. The population used to increase gradually by visitors settling often permanently in the sacred city. Of descendants of the old Ansar there are very few left in Madina; according to Burckhardt there were only ten families in his time. There are a number of Sharifs in the suburbs.

Madina possesses no sanctuary venerated from remote times like the Ka'ba; on the other hand it possesses compensation for this inimitable value in Madina eyes is the mosque which encloses Muḥammad's grave and is the goal of countless pilgrims. Some teachers even put this sanctuary higher than the Meccan one, but this view is not general, and the visiting of this mosque is not obligatory like the pilgrimage to Mecca.

and also may be undertaken at any time. According to unanimous tradition the Prophet was buried under 'A'isha's house, where also the two first caliphs found their last resting-place. Further, all the earlier stories agree that Muhammad soon after his arrival in Madinat had a mosque built, which he enlarged after the taking of Khaibar, and they are also agreed that the dwellings of his wives were close by so that 'A'isha's house with the grave could easily have been taken into the mosque. That there is nothing improbable in itself in a mosque having been built in the time of the Prophet is shown by the mention of a rival mosque, *Sura ix. 108* *et seq.* cf. *xiv. 36*. *Boi Castani, Amdat*, i. 432 *et seq.* has disputed with important arguments the correctness of the tradition and from various statements drawn the conclusion that originally on the site of the later mosque there was more probably only the *dhur* of Muhammad with a courtyard and various dwellings. If this is right, it is not known who built the mosque; but probably it was erected not long after Muhammad's death, for the rapidly increasing reverence for the Prophet must very soon have aroused the desire to bring his resting-place into touch with his religion. To this mosque, early built, can then be referred what tradition tells us of Muhammad's mosque: — a simple building of brick with pillars of palm stems and a roof of branches. According to the same tradition, 'Umar had it extended and after him 'Uthman who replaced it by a building of stone and mortar with a roof of oak. When Marwan was governor of Madinat, he had a *wasfiyya* of colored stones erected; but so important advance was made till the reign of Walid, who commissioned the then governor, afterwards caliph, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, in 87 (706) to adorn the building in greater splendour. For this 'Umar used Greek and Coptic builders, and the Byzantine emperor is said to have contributed 1,000 *mithqal* of gold and a large quantity of mosaic stones towards it. On this occasion four minarets were placed at the corners of the sanctuary and the walls covered with plates of lead. The mosque remained unaltered till the reign of al-Mahdi. After this Caliph had visited Madinat, it was rebuilt and extended in 162 (778–779) and its length was now 300 and its breadth 200 *ells*. In the following century another restoration was necessary and was carried through by al-Mutawakkil in the year 247 (861–862).

Of the mosque which thus came into existence there are very full descriptions by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (d. 328 = 940), *Mukaddim* (375 = 985), Ibn Ishaq who travelled in the east in the years 378–381 (1182/83–1186/87), and also Vahbi. Of the many details given by these authors only a few can be quoted here. As is quite evident from several of these descriptions, the mosque had the form, always retained later, of an open courtyard covered with sand or gravel, *safa*, which was surrounded on all four sides by rows of pillars. In the eastern part of the southern pillared hall was the holy of holies, the tomb of the Prophet, with the tombs of 'Abd Bakr and of 'Umar. It is described by Vahbi (iv. 458) as a high building, separated at the top only by a space from the roof of the pillared hall. Regarding the relative positions of the three graves there were in his time different views. North of them, according to some traditions, was the tomb of Fajra while

according to others this was in the general burying ground. The part of the pillared hall lying west of the graves bore the name *al-Kawfa*, the garden, from an alleged utterance of the Prophet. The total number of pillars is said to have been 290; those in the southern part were stuccoed, with gilded capitals, the others were of marble. The walls were adorned with marble, gold, and mosaic. Along the southern border of the *Kawfa* ran a barrier, with which several highly venerated relics were associated: — the remains of the trunk of a tree, on which Muhammad used to lean, and especially his *minbar* or pulpit. According to tradition Mu'awiya wished to remove this; but immediately a vigorous earthquake began and he abandoned the idea and instead raised it by an upper structure five steps higher. Al-Mahdi later wished to remove this addition, but he was dissuaded from doing this as the nails had been driven into the old *minbar* (Ya'qubi, cf. Houtsma, ii. 283; Tabari, iii. 483; *Mukaddim*, ed. de Goeje, p. 82). According to the descriptions it had 8 steps and there was a slab of ebony over the seat which visitors might touch. The remains of the trunk were kissed and stroked with the hands, an interesting illustration of ancient Arabian religious customs. Among the various treasures of the mosque was the Madinat standard manuscript of the canonical text of the *Kur'an* prepared by 'Uthman. The mosque had 19 doors of which only four, two in the east and two in the west, were opened. There were three minarets, two at the corners of the north side and one at the southern corner.

While the Mosque of the Tomb escaped the volcanic eruption already mentioned (634–1156) it suffered in the same year from a fire due to the carelessness of a caretaker, which destroyed a part of it. An appeal to the caliph of Baghdad for assistance to rebuild it remained unanswered as the 'Abbasid dynasty was then tottering before its fall, which was to take place two years later. Only the roof was repaired in the year after the fire in makeshift fashion; the rubble was not even cleared away from the tomb but remained there for over two centuries. Several of the Mamluk Sultans showed some interest in the sanctuary, among them *Barquq* I, who, according to *Madjar al-Din* (Cairo 1283, p. 434), planned a railing round the tomb of the Prophet and had its roof gilt, while others sent workmen and materials, and notably al-Mansur *Khalil* in 678 (1279) to mark the site of the tomb built a dome over it covered with plates of lead. *Agha* Saif al-Din *Ka'it Bey* (873–890 = 1468–1495) was however the first to deal with the mosque in really energetic fashion and he had the minaret at the southern corner, al-Rab'iya, taken down and rebuilt. A great calamity then fell upon the mosque for, in a terrible thunderstorm in 826 (1431), it was struck by lightning and partly destroyed, and the library with its valuable manuscripts of the *Kur'an* perished. *Samhudi*, who lost his own library on this occasion, gives an account of the conflagration. The indefatigable Sultan, however sent a large number of workmen with tools and materials, and in 889 (1434) the building was restored and among other alterations the dome over the tomb was enlarged; he also presented the brass railing which surrounds the *maqbara*. On this occasion, the Sultan also presented to the town baths and a hypocaust for

them, an aqueduct and a water mill, as well as a large number of valuable books to replace those destroyed. Its misfortunes however were not at an end for in 898 (1492) it was again struck by lightning; the *Ri'āya* at the southeast corner was destroyed and had to be rebuilt. The mosque received its present form by an extension to the north, made by 'Abd al-Mu'izz in 1270 (1853-1854) which Burton saw before its completion. The many inscriptions which cover the walls, include various *Sūras* and formulae and the mystic prayers *al-Burda*.

In modern times we have descriptions by Burckhardt (unfortunately incomplete, as he was ill during his stay), by Burton (1853), a brief one by Wavell in 1908-1909 and a good one by al-Batānī (1910). In their main outlines they give much the same picture as the older ones. The mosque stands in the centre of the town proper, a little to the east. Al-Batānī gives the length from north to south as 385 feet, the breadth on the north side as 285 feet and on the south side as 220 feet. The court (*al-saḥn* or *al-harām*) is covered with sand or gravel and enclosed on all four sides by pillared halls, of which the largest on the south side encloses the actual *maḥḥal*. The pillars in this part are covered with marble with gilt ornamentations. All the pillars in the mosque, 327 in number, support arches on which rest little domes like divided oranges. Of the pillars 22 are in the eastern part of the southern hall (the *maḥḥal*), the sanctuary proper with the tomb of the Prophet. "The Garden", i.e. the area between the tomb and the *minbar*, is 70 feet long and 50 broad. The *maḥḥal* is enclosed on the south, where the mosque is extended by a row of pillars, by a brass grille with the valves already mentioned and the beautiful *miḥrab* of the Prophet with an indication of the direction of prayer. The present *miḥrab* is of marble with gilding, a gift of Murād III in 998 (1590). The *maḥḥal*, the holy of holies of the mosque, a quadrangle 50 feet long from north to south and 47 feet broad, is surrounded by a green polished brass railing through which a door, *Bāb al-Rahma* or *Bāb al-Wuḍūʿ*, leads to al-Rawḍa. It encloses an area which is called *al-ḥayḥa*; in allusion to 'Alī's house. It cannot be accurately described as it is covered with green silk and is not seen by visitors. The covering, which recalls the covering of the Ka'ba, is said to have been first presented by the mother of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Nūr al-Dīn Zangī is said to have cleared a new area around the older *ḥayḥa* to protect the tomb. In the *ḥayḥa* are the tombs of the Prophet and of the first two caliphs, according to the usual belief in the following order: the most southern is the tomb of Muḥammad with the head to the west, next him Abū Bakr with his head beside Muḥammad's feet and on the north 'Umar with his head beside Abū Bakr's shoulders. A fourth, empty grave is said to be intended for Jesus after his passion. On the north side of the large *maḥḥal*, another smaller one adjoins it, which, according to an assumption still disputed by many, contains the tomb of Fatima. Two doors on the east and west side connect it with the large *maḥḥal*. 100 hanging lamps are placed in this, the most sacred part of the mosque, and in addition in the Rawḍa there are considerable ones of crystal. In the court of the mosque, approximately oval, is a quadrangular area shut off by an iron grille, which is called Fatima's

garden. Of the 15 palms which grow there in the time of Ibn Iḥḥān, Burton saw only 12; al-Batānī mentions several small palms planted round a high one. Behind the boundary is the so-called 'Prophet's well'. The mosque has four *minarets* at the four corners and according to Burton a fifth in the centre of the west side, but this is not mentioned by al-Batānī. Five doors give admittance to the sanctuary: on the west the *Bāb al-Salām* and *Bāb al-Rahma*, on the north the *Bāb al-Majīdī*, on the east the *Bāb al-Jalālī* (or *al-Ḥayy*) and *Bāb al-Naḥḥ*. They are all closed at night. From the descriptions already quoted, the mosque was not impressive when seen from the outside, as the houses were built so thickly round it that an open view of it could not be obtained. Even the richly ornamented *Bāb al-Salām* only looked like the termination of a street running from the west. But this seems now to have been altered, as according to Masil, *Zur Zeitgeschichte von Arabien*, p. 34, all the houses in the immediate vicinity of the mosque were removed in 1916.

The immediate vicinity of the city of the Prophet is of course very rich in places which are associated with anecdotes and traditions of him. The most important of these is the hill of Uhud (q.v.) with the graves of those who fell for the faith there. It is rivalled by the village of Kubā' where Muḥammad on his arrival in his new home stayed from Monday till Thursday (Ibn Hishām, p. 335). The village, which was at that time occupied by the 'Amr b. 'Awf, is according to the Arab geographers 2 miles, according to Burckhardt, 3-4 hours from Medina; to be accurate it is about 3 miles. The surrounding gardens which are exceedingly rich in all kinds of fruit and vegetables extend for 4 or 5 miles (Burckhardt). Burton describes how the village appeared to him as he approached it: "a confused heap of huts and dwelling-houses, chapels and towers, with trees, between foul lanes, heaps of rubbish and yelping dogs". Tradition marks the spot where the Prophet's camel knelt (*al-maḥḥal*) and here also was the mosque mentioned in *Sūra*, ix. 109 built out of piety, as well as its counterpart, the *Maḥḥal al-Ḥayy*, destroyed by Muḥammad's orders (cf. Wāḥidī-Wellhausen, p. 411; Ibn Sa'd, *lib*, 32, 2; and above). The mosque of Kubā' with its simple minaret was in ruins in Burckhardt's time, but has since been replaced by a stone structure.

Bibliography: 1247: Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā'*, extr. transl. in Wüstenfeld's *Geschichte der Stadt Medina* (Arab. Ges. Wiss. Coll. III. ix. (1860)); do., *Ḥuṭat al-Wafā'*, Bulay 1285; Batānī, ed. de Goije, p. 3 199; B. G. A., ed. de Goije, i. 18; ii. 26; iii. 80-82; Vāḥidī, *Maḥḥal*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 458-68; Ibn al-Juhānī, ed. W. Wright, 1852, p. 191 192 (and ed. by de Goije, 1907); Ibn al-Juhānī, *Zuḥafat al-Nuḥḥ*, ed. Deffromy and Sanguinetti 1855-1858. — On the Mosque of the Tomb. Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Id*, Cairo 1331, iv. 272 199; Burckhardt, *Relics in Arabia*, p. 480-607; Burton, *A Pilgrimage to El Medina and Mecca*, ii. (1855), 1: 199; Wavell, *A modern Pilgrim to Mecca*, 1912, p. 72 199; al-Batānī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥajjīya*, Cairo, 2nd ed. 1329, p. 236 199. — On Kubā' cf. B. G. A., i. 28; iii. 85; Vāḥidī, *Maḥḥal*, iv. 23 199; Burckhardt, *Relics in*

Arabien, p. 54, 558—561; Barton, *A Pilgrimage*, II, 195—223. — Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, IV, 1899. (*Madina vor dem Islam*, *Die Gemeinderichtung Mohammeds*). — Wessink, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, 1908, p. 9 199. — Hirschfeld, *Essai sur l'histoire des Juifs de Médine*, R. E. J., VII, 167—193, s. 10—11. — D. S. Margulies, *The Relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to the Rise of Islam*, 1924, p. 57 99. — On the most recent history of the town, cf. Maml, *Zur Zeitgeschichte von Arabien*, 1918; E. Hartmann, *Die Wühlföhren*, Z. D. P. F., N. F., III, 176 99. (Fa. Buhl.)

MADINAT AL-SALAM. [See BAGHDAD.]

AL-MADINAT AL-ZAHIRA, the capital

founded near Cordova by the famous 'Amir al-Hadi al-Man'ur [q.v.] in 368 (978—979). Because he did not wish to deal with state affairs in the palace of the Umayyad Caliphs in Cordova nor at the royal palace at Madinat al-Zahra', al-Man'ur decided to build a town which would include his palace and those of the principal court dignitaries. This town was built a short distance from Cordova on the banks of the Guadalquivir [q.v.]. Since the exact site of al-Madinat al-Zahira has not been discovered, one must be content, when trying to locate the site, with the very vague indications given by the Arab historians; indeed not one of the Arab historians has left any description of the 'Amirid town. According to Ibn Haam, in a passage of his *Tawarikh al-Hudud* (ed. Petrus, Leyden 1914, p. 104), it lay to the east of Cordova, but on the other hand some Spanish archaeologists think they have identified it on the south-west of this town. Al-Madinat al-Zahira must not be confused with the palace, al-'Amiriya, the name of a *manzara* or villa outside the city walls which was given to al-Man'ur by one of his Umayyad masters, the site of which seems to have been identified.

According to Ibn 'Idhari, the greater part of al-Madinat al-Zahira was finished in two years. Al-Man'ur settled there in 370 (980—981). He transported thither the different administrative offices and the treasury, and gave him round his palace in his courtyard, so that Madinat al-Zahra', the town of the Umayyad Caliphs, was almost unpopulated and practically deserted. The merchants also came to trade there; a few years after its foundation, al-Madinat al-Zahira had become a large town.

After al-Man'ur, al-Madinat al-Zahira, was the capital of his son and successor 'Abd al-Malik, who had a new palace built there. After his death his brother 'Abd al-Rahman, known as Sa'id, installed himself as well there. But he was soon defeated by Muhammad b. Hisham b. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Mahdi [q.v.]. This usurper occupied the 'Amirid town and seized the treasures which were there. For three days he gave it over to the most thorough pillage. Having sacked the town he gave orders to fire it and to destroy it absolutely. (Ibn 'Idhari II, 390 [January 1000].)

Bibliography: Ibn 'Idhari, *al-Bayan al-Makhsar*, II, ed. Dany, p. 294 99, transl. Fagnan, p. 457 99; in, ed. E. Levy-Provençal, Index, cap. p. 61—66; al-Maqqari, *Nafat al-Fih* (Amman) I, 180; al-Nawari, *Nihayat al-Arab*, *Histoire d'Espagne*, ed. and transl. into Spanish by M. Gueper Benito, in *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada*, 1916, VI, 44—45; E. Dany, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, III,

179; R. Velásquez Bosco, *Medina Azahra y Alamiya*, Madrid 1912, p. 20—22; G. Margali, *Manuel d'Art musulman* (Architecture, Tunisie, Algérie, Maroc, Espagne, Sicile), Paris 1926, I, 248. (E. Levy-Provençal.)

MADINAT AL-ZAHRA', the ancient capital of the Umayyad Caliphs of Cordova, the ruins of which are still in existence about 3 miles to the west of this latter town, at the place called *Cordoba la Vieja*, on one of the last spurs of the Sierra Morena overlooking the valley of Guadalquivir [q.v.].

The western Arab historians give us a great deal of information on the foundation of this royal town, upon the period which marked its prosperity and upon the causes which led to its fall. It was the great Caliph 'Abd al-Rahman III al-Nasir [q.v.], who decided upon building it, and its construction was begun during the reign of this sovereign at the end of the year 325 (936). The chroniclers say that one of his consabines having left him a large sum of money, al-Nasir wished to utilize this sum for the payment of the ransoms of the Spanish Muhammadan prisoners of war in the kingdoms of Leon and of Navarre. As the envoys who had been sent for this purpose failed to find any prisoners whom they could ransom, the Caliph's favourite al-Zahra' is said to have advised him to employ the legacy to build a town to which she would give her name. This anecdote is without doubt legendary; at least in several points. The work of building the town was carried on for many years (from 13 to 40 years according to historians); it lay around the palace of the Caliph. Six thousand bown stones were used every day, not to mention other materials; the necessary marble was chiefly imported from Ifriqiya, and no less than 4,313 columns were required, if we may believe Ibn 'Idhari. According to the same author it was the crown prince al-Hakam himself who directed operations. The name of the chief architect, Ma'lum b. 'Abd Allah, has also been preserved.

The building of Madinat al-Zahra' engaged not less than 10,000 workmen. Account was taken in the planning of the town of the very steep slope of the site and al-'Idrisi gives a clear account of how this slope was utilized. The town was built on three terraces: the upper part was set aside for the palace and its appurtenances; the middle one was devoted to gardens; the lower one contained private dwelling-houses and the Great Mosque.

'Abd al-Rahman removed with all his court to Madinat al-Zahra', as he felt the Caliph's palace of Cordova which faced the cathedral mosque and overlooked Guadalquivir too small, and this became his favourite residence. His successors al-Hakam II and Hisham II lived there for the most part during their reigns, and further embellished the town of al-Nasir. It appears, however, to have very soon fallen into decay, especially from the time when it had as rival the residence of the 'Amirid Hisham al-Madinat al-Zahira [q.v.]. It was pillaged on several occasions by the Berber mercenaries who had rebelled against Cordova. The year 401 (1010) marked its final fall. A century and a half afterwards in the time of Idrisi, the walls alone remained and vestiges only of the palace. A few inhabitants still lingered in it.

A beginning was made in exploring and systematically excavating the ruins of Madinat al-Zahra'

about the year 1910, under the direction of the Spanish archaeologist, E. Velázquez Bosco. The first work done was the excavation of the double rampart dividing the upper terrace of the town from the middle terrace and from certain parts of the palace. A large number of carved stones have been brought to light.

Bibliography: al-Idrisi, *Sifat al-Anadalu*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, text, p. 212, transl., p. 263; Ibn al-Hakim, *al-Bayān al-Maghrib*, vol. II, ed. Dozy, p. 225—231; transl. Fagnan, p. 347, 356, vol. III, ed. E. Levi-Provençal, Paris 1928, Index; Ibn Hawqal, *B. G. A.*, II, 77; Ibn Khaldūn, *Diwān* (1913), IV, 144; Ibn Khaldūn, transl. de Slane, III, 188; Ibn al-Athir, *Kāmil* = *Annales du Maghrib et de l'Espagne*, transl. Fagnan, p. 381, 410; al-Nuwairi, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, ed. and transl. M. Gagar Remiro, Index; Abu 'l-Mahāsīn, *al-Nuḥūḥ al-ḥakīr*, part transl. Fagnan, *Rev. de Constantine*, 1906, p. 357; al-Maḥḥārī, *Nafḥ al-Fīḥ* (Analitica), I, 345, 91 E. Fagnan, *Revue indito relative au Maghrib*, Algiers 1924, Index; R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, III, 92—93; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona-Buenos Aires, 1925, p. 146—147; E. Velázquez Bosco, *Medina Anshūr y Almoravia*, Madrid 1912; *Excavaciones en Medina Anshūr*, Madrid 1924; R. Jiménez, R. Costojón, F. Hernández, E. Ruiz and J. M. de Navascent, *Excavaciones en Medina Anshūr* (Córdoba), Madrid 1924; G. Turpin, *Manuel d'Art musulman* (Architecture, Tunisie, Algérie, Maroc, Espagne, Sicile), Paris 1926, I, 243—247. (E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL.)

AL-MADJARRA, the Milky Way (the place, path, road of moving).

The Name. It is probably taken in the first place from the Greek γάλαξ: *al-dā'ira al-galaktika* or *al-dā'ir al-galakti*, the circle or path which looks like milk. Other names are *ḥalq al-halīḥ*, the road of milk, as it has the colour of milk; *ḥalq al-ḥalīḥ*, the road of the place where there is milk; and hence metaphorically *ummi al-namī*, mother of heaven, who feeds the heavens as with milk; *ḥalq al-ḥalīḥ*, path of straw and dirt or *ḥalq al-ḥalīḥ*, path of the place where there is straw. Similarly the Milky Way is called in Persian *kāshkārān*, straw-puller, or *kāshkārān* or *ḥalq al-kāshkārān*, path of the strawpuller; in Turkish *ḥalq al-ḥalīḥ* or *ḥalq al-ḥalīḥ*, straw or fodder-thief. Whether names connected with straw go back to Greek or Oriental ideas is uncertain. Gaudel (op. cit.) holds the latter view. In the East the Milky Way is the hay, straw and meal, which Peter or Saint Vinnic (Venus) lost and is used by God to feed to heaven. Another Turkish name is *ḥalq al-ḥalīḥ*, path of the pilgrims.

Other Arabic names are *abwāb al-jamā'*, gate of heaven, and *al-ḥalq al-ḥalīḥ*, gap, probably from the idea that the Milky Way corresponds to a gap or split through which one can see the shining heaven. Another name is *ummi al-nuḥūḥ*, mother of the stars, because no part of the heavens is so rich in stars. The stars are also to have leprosy (*ḥalq al-nuḥūḥ*). Among the Kazan Tatars the Milky Way is called 'Path of the Wild Goose' and among the Altai Tatars 'Path of Hiss-Fox' (faded way).

The name *abwāb al-madjarra*, River of the Madjarr, is noteworthy. The Milky Way is regarded as a river; this is evident from the passages in

'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sūfī in his work on the constellations, in al-Bīrūnī in his *Kitāb al-Tafhīm* towards the end and in the *Chronology* (text, p. 345; transl., p. 348). In al-Kāwīmī in the *Cartography* (text, I, p. 37; transl., p. 18) and in many others. In these passages the constellation of Sagittarius or the eight stars forming the 20th station of the moon which are called the Ostriches *al-madjarra* are described. Four of the stars which lie on the Milky Way are called *al-madjarra al-madjarra*, the ostrich going to drink, the four others lie at the side of the river of the Milky Way and are called *al-madjarra al-ḥalīḥ*, the ostrich returning from drinking (cf. e.g. L. Ideler, *op. cit.*, p. 184 and Hyde, *Ullugh Beg's Tabular*, Oxford, p. 23).

Description of the Milky Way. A description of the Milky Way, the stars and constellations in it, is given by Ptolemy in the *Almagest* (Bk. VIII, Ch. 2) and the Muslim translators have borrowed from this. The editors have treated it in different ways. Al-Tūstī for example in his edition of the *Almagest* gives the description as fully as in Ptolemy; but he does not use the translation by al-Hadḥādī, as I was able to show. Ibn Shīr on the other hand, who gives a brief synopsis of the contents of the *Almagest* in the *Sūfī* (Hirāg) gives no such description; he deals here in the same way as he does with the Tables which he omits.

The very full treatment of the Milky Way is followed in Ptolemy by a description of the method of making a globe of the heavens on which the Milky Way is represented. Ibn Shīr, for example, took over this section word for word in a form which we also find elsewhere. It is therefore exceedingly probable that the Milky Way was represented on one or other celestial globe, of which a whole series is recorded. It does not seem to be on the extant globes (cf. H. Schmitt, *Die Kugel mit dem Schmelz*).

An independent description of the whole Milky Way as full as that in Ptolemy, I have not been able to find in Arabic works. A brief description is given by Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (in al-Maḥḥārī, *Kitāb al-Aḥwāl wa'l-Asḥān*, Haidarābād 1332, II, 9—12). The description of al-Dīnawarī leaves much to be desired and the text is not quite correct. The former is in keeping with 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sūfī's verdict, according to which al-Dīnawarī was very well acquainted with the verses on the Milky Way but his astronomical knowledge was insufficient (it may be noted that 'Abd al-Rahmān mentions an Ibn Kunasa, while there is a Muhammad b. Kunasa in al-Maḥḥārī).

The anonymous writer mentioned in the *Bibliography* gives a brief description of it.

'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sūfī unfortunately only gives a description of one part of it. He mentions the part of the Milky Way between the great, the bright Milky Way (*al-madjarra al-ḥalīḥ*) and the falling Eagle (Lyra) (*ḥalq al-madjarra*, here at γ Cygni the Milky Way divides). 'Abd al-Rahmān follows this stretch up to ε Scorpī. In many cases the position of stars e.g. in the Ship is given from their position with respect to the Milky Way. Schjellerup has given details in the tables appended to the synoptic account, p. 544.

In the *Kitāb al-Tafhīm* of al-Bīrūnī we read 'al-Madjarra of the Arabs, *Kāshkārān* of the Persians and *Rāh Bihān* of the Hindus is an aggregation of a very large number of small stars.

They form an almost perfect large circle, which runs between Gemini and Sagittarius, sometimes narrow, sometimes wide, in some places it is dense, in others not. Aristotle thinks that the Milky Way consists of stars surrounded by vapour like the halo round the moon and the mist (in the sky) and the comets¹.

Theory of the Milky Way. On the nature of the Milky Way and the cause of its shining there are a number of views, which follow the same lines as those of the ancients (cf. O. Gilbert, *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums*, Leipzig 1907, index, s.v. yāsa). I now give al-Karāfi's account of it.

Al-Karāfi (d. 1255-1286) who wrote a work on Optics ("Noteworthy consideration of what the eyes grasp in 50 questions or problems"), says in the 40th question: "Why do we see a black line on the moon? Is this an illusion or reality?" and continues:

"Connected with this question is that of the Milky Way which looks like a road in the sky. We are told: 1. It is the gate of heaven. 2. It consists of small stars which are crowded so closely together that the eye cannot distinguish one from the other. 3. It is said to be a vapour, which has risen from the earth and solidified under the rays of the fixed stars. One part forms a black burned body. This is the case in the centre of the Milky Way. A part lies in places which are far away from those in which there is burning; these are the two sides of the Milky Way. These places appear white. 4. Finally we are told that the Milky Way consists of something whose shape is inserted in the heavens and which is in some part of the earth, to which the way cannot be found and which cannot be reached².

Of these four views the second is nearest the truth.

The anonymous author of the Berlin manuscript also tells us very fully about the different views and the nature etc. of the Milky Way; here is the passage in question: "Learned men have many and varied views on the nature and substance of this belt. Some say that it is a part of the upper sphere and thicker and coarser than the rest of it. It is therefore visible, while the rest is not, as the latter is exceedingly fine. This corresponds to the opinion of the philosopher Diodorus (Diogenes)."

"According to Aristotle this consists of vapours which have collected together and ascended into the sky through the intermediary of the stars. As vapours are continually rising, they retain their shape. There is a contradiction in this if we assume that the belt is formed by rising vapours; they cannot possibly be always seen at one and the same place in the sky; nor can they be seen from all places on earth and they cannot maintain one and the same distance from the stars and the atmosphere."

"If the belt is always seen in the same way and has permanently the same form, if it is seen in all climates, if its distance from the stars and the atmosphere is always the same, this is a sure indication that the belt does not originate in vapours as these completely lack these qualities."

"Some learned men are agreed that the Milky Way, al-Madjarra, has its origin in the fact that small stars have become combined in this figure (al-shakl) and offer themselves jointly to the view.

On account of their smallness they do not look like shining stars as they are joined together and give their light together (the light of the single stars forming one whole). This is the origin of the shining and the figure which we see. This view is one which is intelligible and men adopt it."

"We say that the Milky Way is a limb of the sphere of the fixed stars. As it is a thick limb, which is thicker than the other limbs, it completely absorbs the light of the sun, corresponding to what the other limbs take up, i.e. as the stars do. This corresponds to the view of him who says that the latter are thick limbs of their sphere. Each limb takes up light in proportion to its density. But this density is the cause of light being reflected to us³."

"Many learned men attack the Aristotelian view — as was done even in ancient times — and regard the latter view (5.) as the most probable."

The anonymous writer therefore lays it down quite generally that the Milky Way cannot be in the ether; it has always one and the same form quite independently of the position from which it is seen and does not alter its position.

Abu 'l-Faraj (Bar Hebraeus) in his work ("Elevation of the spirits; on the shape of heaven and of the earth"; transl. by F. Nau, Paris 1899, p. 92 ff.) has a section on the vapour-stars⁴ (kashshat al-najm) and the Milky Way. He says: "In the heavens there are some white patches, vapour-stars. Some think these are a part of the Milky Way as like it they resemble clouds. They also think that they consist of a very large number of very small stars lying very close to one another, like the mane below the lion which is in the shape of an ivy leaf. Those who believe this also say that the whole Milky Way consists of very small stars joined together. The Milky Way is obviously neither smoke nor vapour in the air, as the Peripatetics say, since the moon and the planets experience no change in their light as they pass through the Milky Way (it must therefore lie outside the sphere of Saturn) but on the contrary rather affect the Milky Way⁵."

The following note may be added on patches of nebulae:

Among the nebulae known to the Muslims are the Magellan clouds which were observed by merchants in Makdshih. They saw there a white patch of cloud which never came down and never changed its position (al-Karāfi, *Adhwa al-Majsthar*, vol. II, p. 40).

At quite an early date Ibn al-Haitham thoroughly and fully proved that the Milky Way is not in the air, but in the heavens and at a distance which is very great in proportion to the diameter of the earth, from the absence of a parallax, e.g. from the fact that it has the same position with respect to the fixed stars at different points on the earth. The anonymous writer also points this out (E. Wiedemann, *Über die Lage der Milchstrasse nach Ibn al-Haitham*, in *Sitzber.*, xxix.,

1) According to this, the anonymous writer would believe that the fixed stars, the Milky Way etc. receive light from the sun, a view that is contradicted by the al-Haitham and others (cf. below).

2) In the tables and astronomical works only the vapour-stars (nebulae) mentioned by Ptolemy are given.

3) There is an error here! The Milky Way would have to be below the sphere of Saturn but above the atmosphere like the planets. — The alterations in the brightness of the Milky Way are phenomena caused by dusting.

1906, p. 113—115); 'Ali b. Ridwan however, challenged Ibn al-Haitham's view (Zotter, No. 232). Ibn al-Haitham replied to him and presumably others (E. Wiedemann, *Ibn al-Haitham, Ein arabischer Gelehrter*, in *Festschrift f. J. Neuberger*, Leipzig 1906, p. 173, No. 49 and 62; Ibn Abi Ujaifa, II, 104, 1 from below).

The Milky Way is mentioned in a whole series of verses, particularly by modern poets. I have published 22 of these in the *S.B.P.M.S. Zeitschrift* with the help of A. Fischer (Leipzig). Kowalski (Cracow), Heil (Erlangen) and Krenkow (Hockenheim).

Bibliography: Shihab al-Din Ahmad b. Idris al-Karbi, *K. al-fihrist fi-ma tadrishu*, Encumbrance, No. 107; *Fihrist al-Kutub* ..., Cairo, vi, 88; Anonymous, *Über Himmelserscheinungen* (the Arabic title is lacking), cf. Alwardi, *Die Arabischen Himmels...*, Berlin, No. 6054; 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sufi, *al-Kamil li-wi-shi'ar*, ed. M. C. F. C. Schjellerup, St. Petersburg 1874; O. Gilbert, *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums*, Leipzig 1907, v. 7, 782; Abu 'l-Faraj Barhelemaeus, *Le Livre de l'Assurance de l'Esprit*, transl. F. Nau, *Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études*, vol. cxvi, Paris 1900, p. 92; W. Gundel, *Sirius und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit* (contains much information about the names, tales and myths associated with the Milky Way); W. Gundel, *Art. GALAXIA in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Realencyclopädie*, vii, 568; E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, lxxiv, *Über die Milchstrasse bei den Arabern*, in *S.B.P.M.S. Zt.*

(E. WIEDMANN)

MAJID AL-DAWLA, AND TALIB RUSTAM b. FAHR AL-DAWLA, a BRYID. After the death of his father Fahr al-Dawla (q. v.), Majid al-Dawla, who, according to the usual statement, was then four years of age, according to another eleven (while Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, ix, 48 says he was born in 379 [989/990] which does not agree with either of these statements) was proclaimed as successor under the regency of his mother Sayida. In 388 (998) Ka'bi b. Wadhwa' (q. v.) seized the two provinces of Djurdan and Tabarijan, to which was added by the treaty of peace Māmandirān also, and later he brought Gilin also under his rule. In 397 (1006—1007) Majid al-Dawla with the help of the vizier al-Khatib Abu 'Ali b. 'Ali b. al-Kasbi attempted to overthrow his mother but he was taken prisoner by his brother Shams al-Dawla (q. v.) and the Kandish Bahān Hamawān, whereupon Shams al-Dawla took control of the government. His rule did not last long, however; after a year Majid al-Dawla was released and again recognised as ruler, while his brother retired to his governorship of Hamadhān. In 405 (1015) the latter succeeded in seizing the town of al-Raiy; Sayida and Majid al-Dawla had to take to flight, but were soon able to return because Shams al-Dawla was prevented from following them by a mutiny in the army and had to leave the field. Sayida held the reins of government till her death (419 = 1028/1029), while Majid al-Dawla, who although extremely interested in learning, otherwise cared only for his sumptuous harem, paid no heed to affairs of state. After Sayida's death complete chaos reigned. In the beginning of the year 420 (1029) Sultan Mahmud b. Sabuktigin (q. v.) undertook a campaign into the 'Irāq. When Majid al-Dawla wrote to him and complained of

the rebellious spirit of his army, the Sultan sent a considerable body of troops against Raiy and ordered the commander to seize Majid al-Dawla. When the troops appeared the latter went to them and was at once seized along with his son Abu Dalaf. The Sultan himself then set out against Raiy, seized the town and had Majid al-Dawla sent in chains to Khirāthā.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, ed. Tornberg, ix, 1 Index; Abu 'l-Fida', *Annals*, ed. Keiske, ii, 598, 616; Hamd Allah Mustawfi-Karimi, *Tarikh-i Gushki*, ed. Brown, I, 390, 426—429; Wilken, *Geogr. d. Sultane aus d. Gesch. Bajik nach Alirchond*, ch. xii; Weil, *Geogr. d. Chalifen*, iii, 57 sqq., 65.

(K. V. ZETTERSTERN)

MAJID AL-DIN. [See HIRAT AL-LAH b. MUHAMMAD.]

MAJID AL-MULK, ABU 'L-FADL AL-AD B. MUHAMMAD AL-HASAWIYKI, FINANCE MINISTER of the Saljuq Sultan Barkiyūrk. As early as 485 (1092—1093) we find Majid al-Mulk mentioned among the high officials, and in time he became more and more powerful, while Barkiyūrk's weakness and incapacity became more and more obvious. But as a Shi'i Majid al-Mulk became suspected of being the real instigator of the murders committed by the Isma'is and after the army Ruzayk (q. v.) had fallen a victim to Isma'ili fanaticism, the troops mutinied (Shawwal 492 = Aug./Sept. 1099) and demanded that Majid al-Mulk should be handed over to them. He offered to sacrifice his life and proposed that the sultan should have him executed to satisfy the soldiery. But Barkiyūrk wished to save him. After the soldiers had sworn not to slay Majid al-Mulk, but only to imprison him, he was handed over. In spite of their oath, the soldiers fell upon him and at once hewed him to pieces. — His *atsha* is derived from Barshishān, a village near Kuma; cf. Yāqūt, v. v.

Bibliography: Houtsma, *Revue*, II, 60 sqq.; Ibn al-Athir (ed. Tornberg), ix, 406; v. 138, 172, 179, 106 sq., 290. Ibn Khaldun, *al-Ibar*, v. 22 sq.; Hamd Allah Mustawfi-Karimi, *Tarikh-i Gushki*, I, 451 sq.; Weil, *Geogr. d. Chalifen*, iii, 143 sq., 158.

(K. V. ZETTERSTERN)

MAJIDHUB (A., "attracted") denotes in the terminology of the Sūfis a person who is drawn by the Divine attraction (*al-qawḍiyya*), so that without trouble or effort on his part he attains to union with God. In other words, the *majidhub* experiences the ecstatic rapture of losing himself in God, and is thereby distinguished from the *salik* ("traveler"), who makes the journey to God, stage by stage, with conscious endeavour and purpose. The opinion favoured by *zāhid* and *derwish*, that the *majidhub* is superior to the *salik* finds expression in the saying: "One *qawḍiyya* (act of drawing) from God is equivalent to all the (devotional) work of mankind and *dhikr* (amal al-*salik*)"; but it is generally recognised that, whether *qawḍiyya* or *salik* (q. v.) predominate, both are needed in order to reach perfection. Those in whom *qawḍiyya* precedes *salik* and constitutes the predominant element in their spiritual life are called *majidhub* *salik*, while conversely those with whom *salik* comes first are known as *salik* *majidhub*. Although the terms *majidhub* and *salik* are employed by Hallaj (Massignou, *Parnet*, II, 905) and occur

frequently afterwards, their application in a narrower sense to those who copulate or acknowledge the moral and religious law is characteristic of the derwish fraternities, which, as is well-known, differ widely from each other in their theory and practice concerning this matter.

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Raziq, al-Kāshī, *Iṣṭiḥṣāṭ al-Sūfiyya*, ed. Springer, p. 17 (N° 50) and p. 50 (N° 178); *Kāshī's Iṣṭiḥṣāṭ al-Faṣṣāḥ*, l. 686 (art. *maḥab*); Djāmī, *Lam'at*, transl. by E. H. Whinfield, p. 27; D. B. Maundrell, *The religious attitude and life in Islam*, p. 257—259. (R. A. NICHOLSON)

MADJID (A).

[See AL-LĪL.]

MADJIDHUR. In Arabic, Persian and Turkish literature the epithet *al-madjidh*, i.e. "the man possessed by a *ghinn*", "the madman", is pre-eminently associated with Kāis b. al-Mulawwah. (According to others, the name of his father is Mu'adh), the *madjidh* of the Banū 'Amr b. Sa'ad, the story of whose passion for Lailā, daughter of Sa'ad, a woman of the same tribe, is celebrated throughout the Muhammadan world. Kāis is said to have died about 80 A.H. (*Faṣṣāḥ*, Hāṣṣ 1283, ll. 172), but it seems doubtful whether he can be regarded as a historical person, and this view is supported by the statements of early Muslim authorities (*Aghṣāṭ*, l. 167—169; ed. Ibn Khallikān, ed. Waukenfeld, N° 103, p. 150, a, and Ibn Khallikān, *Muḥadditha*, ed. Quatremere, ll. 196, a, fr. 1001 = *Aghṣāṭ*, l. 169, a, G. foot, where *madjidh* is described as one of three persons who never existed), while Ibn al-Kalbi declared that the story of Madjidh and the poems attributed to him were fabricated by a man of the Banū 'Umayyā (*Ḥikāṭ*, l. 167, a, G. foot). Stripped of the picturesque details with which later poets have embellished it, the story is a simple one: Kāis meets Lailā amongst a party of women, falls in love at first sight and slaughters his camel to make a feast for her. His love is returned, but her father refuses to give her to him in marriage; and soon afterwards she becomes the wife of Ward b. Muhammad al-Ukālī. Kāis, estranged with despair, passes the rest of his days in solitude, wandering half-mad in the hills and valleys of Najd, making verses on the subject of his unhappy love, and only seeing Lailā at rare intervals until his death. The development of this love-tale of the Arabian desert into one of the popular themes of Persian romantic and mystical poetry was begun by Niẓāmī of Gwandj, in whose *Alisnāma* the *Lailā & Madjidh* occupies the third place. Of other poems bearing the same title, the best-known in Persian literature are those by Anar-Khānuṣ of Dihlī, Djāmī and Hāfiz; and in Turkish, by Hamid (see the abstract in Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, ll. 175—190) and Fuṣṣilī (*Ḥikāṭ*, in. 85—88; 100—104). — Sufi writers find in Madjidh a type of the soul which through tribulation, self-devotion and self-abandonment, aspires to be united with God.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *G.A.I.*, l. 48; Ibn Kāṭib, *Al-ḥikāṭ al-Sūfiyya wa 'l-Sa'ādāt*, ed. de Goeje, p. 335—344; *Ḥikāṭ al-Adab*, ll. 170—172; Brown, *Literary History of Persia*, ll. 406 ff., ll. 533 ff., iv. 229; Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry* (see Index); J. Atkinson, *Lailā and Madjidh*, translated in verse from the Persian of Niẓāmī (London, 1836, 1894, 1903).

(R. A. NICHOLSON)

MADJIRĀ or **MODJIRĀ**, a term in prosody, meaning the vowel of the *raml* or the consonant which is repeated at the end of each line of a *bayt* (cf. *ḥafṣa*). (MONT. BEN CURENKA)

AL-MADJIRI, his full name was Abū 'l-Kāsim MAḤMAD b. AHMAD AL-FARĀBĪ AL-ḤĀIRI (the arithmetician). AL-MADJIRI AL-KURṬUBI (the Cordovan) AL-ANDALUSI (the Spaniard). We know little of his life. He was born in Madrid but in what year is not known. Various dates are given for his death, which must lie between 395 (1004) and 398 (1007). In Madrid he studied the science of mensuration under an authority on the subject, 'Abd al-Ḥāfir, who was also famous for his geometrical knowledge. Al-Madjiri later moved to Cordova where he lived in the reigns of Hishām II (350—360 = 961—976) and Hishām II (360—399 = 976—1009). He died before the outbreak of the fighting and confusion (*fitna*) which led to the fall of the 'Umayyads. From his place of birth and place of long residence he was given the two names al-Madjiri and al-Kurṭubi. Like so many others scholars, al-Madjiri is mentioned in laudatory terms by the biographers. He was the leader (*imām*) in mathematical knowledge, including mensuration. He surpassed his predecessors in knowledge of the doctrine of the spheres and the movements of the stars. He devoted particular attention to the observation of the heavenly bodies and made a special point of comprehending the *Almagest*. Whether al-Madjiri also dealt seriously with medicine we do not know but among his pupils were several who did. On the works on occult subjects ascribed to him, cf. below.

We are told of a journey to the east from which he brought back Greek and Arabic manuscripts which he adapted for the requirements of the west. Spanish astronomy was thus given a more independent position; for before the middle of the tenth century, as the survey given by Sanchez Perez shows, the Spanish representatives of astronomy and mathematics were of little importance either in numbers or ability. There were among them no scholars to compare with the Banū Mūsā, Thābit b. Qurra, Ibn al-Haytham, al-Baitān etc. But even after the time of al-Madjiri, Djābir b. Adal and al-Zarqālī are really the only two of distinction. Perhaps we should also mention the much used Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Marrakushi, but his works are for the most part compilations.

In Cordova, where al-Madjiri lived for a considerable time, he founded — probably as a result of his journey — a school which produced a number of distinguished scholars, such as Ibn al-Samh (Suter, N° 194, also a physician), Ibn al-Saffar (Suter, N° 196), al-Kirmīnī (Suter, N° 203). Ibn Khaldūn (Suter, N° 227, also a physician), al-Zahrawī (mathematician and physician, (Suter, N° 190). These men spread and developed the teachings of al-Madjiri and his methods; al-Zarqālī also based his work upon them. — It is however questionable whether al-Madjiri owes his fame more to the widely circulated occult writings which are probably pseudographic or to his astronomical teaching, for his literary activity in this latter field was not great.

Of his astronomical works, his version of the book of tables (*zīj*) of Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwarizmi, which is one of the earliest books of tables in Islam, is of special importance. He converted the tables which are based on the era of

Vālidjird into tables based on the Muhammadan era. He also to some extent replaced the meridian of Aru by that of Cordova, and he also gave the approximate positions of the planets for the beginning of the Hāġra. On the other hand, he did not notice a series of errors in the older book. Mention may be made of some other astronomical works of his: a work in which he gives a short method of equating the stars (*Ta'āl al-Kawākib*) in the tables of al-Battānī; a work on the astrolabe which survives in Latin; a translation of the planisphere of Ptolemy; the latter was translated into Latin in 1143 by Hermann Secundus of Tolosa. His interest in astronomy led al-Madjrī to deal with the principle of the transversal, in which he developed the views of Thābit b. Kurra. His *Fi Tamām 'Ilm al-'Adad* (On the Perfection of the Doctrine of Numbers) or *al-Mu'āmalāt* (On Business-calculations) is mathematical. Whether the *Kitāb al-Aḥḡār* (on stones) and the work on the procreation of animals are genuine, need not be discussed here.

It has also been suggested that al-Madjrī wrote the *Ishmā' al-Safā*; but his supposed occupation with a work of this kind may be traced to the fact that he either wrote a similar work or a supplement to it or that he edited it and then he or his pupil Kirmānī introduced it into Spain. Whether he inserted separate sections like those on minerals, plants and animals seems to be doubtful.

Two other works belong together in subject matter, *Rutbat al-Hakīm fi 'l-Kīmīyā* and *Ghāyat al-Hakīm fi 'l-Sifr*, "the Goal of the Learned in Magic", which are ascribed in the manuscripts to al-Madjrī, although he never mentions himself in them. E. J. Holmyard after a thorough study of the question does not believe they are by al-Madjrī, the main reason being that al-Madjrī died before the *ġina*, while these works were not written till after this period. The earlier biographers do not mention them among the works of al-Madjrī; and it may well be doubted whether works of this kind were in keeping with his mental attitude. Both the works deal with occult subjects. The *Ghāya* treats of talismans, amulets, etc. Hādī Khaltā, iv, 166, in dealing with the science of talismans (*Ilm al-ḡalamāt*), says that in it al-Madjrī expounded very fully but not always intelligently the principles of the science. The *Rutba* is of an alchemical nature; Hādī Khaltā, v, 230 sq. also quotes al-Madjrī among the alchemists. Holmyard, *op. cit.*, gives the gist of the book.

Bibliography: J. Sanchez Perez, *Biografías de matemáticos árabes* etc., Madrid 1921, p. 86, N° 84 (containing very full references). L. Perez quotes among other works: *Bull. de Bibliographies* etc., di B. Boncompagni, v, 1872, p. 427; this is a work which, like all by Steinschneider, contains a very full bibliography. It refers not however to Maslama but to Maḡlā Allāh. C. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i, 243, N° 4; H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker u. Astronomen etc., Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der mathem. Wissenschaften*, z, 1900, p. 76, N° 176 and xiv, 1902, p. 167; L. Loebner, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, i, 1876, p. 422; L. Gonalvo, *Über al-Madjrī* (Homenaje a Francisco Codera), z, 333—335; *Bibliotheca arabico-hispana*, ii, 564, N° 1257; H. Suter, *Die astronomischen Tafeln des Maḡlā b. Aḡlā al-Khwarizmi in der Bear-*

beitung von Maslama ben Ahmad al-Madjrī (*Kgl. danske Vidensk. Selsk. Skrifter*, J. Reakke, *histor. og philol. Afd.*, iii, 1904); E. J. Holmyard, *Maslama al-Madjrī and the Rutbat al-Hakīm*, in *his* (ed. Suter), vi, 1924, p. 293—305; H. Rüger and K. Kohl, A. Björn, *Thābit's Werk über den Transversalsatz* etc., *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften* etc., vii, 1924, p. 23, 79, 83.

Arabic Sources: Ibn Abi Uṣāliḡa, ii, 39; Ibn al-Kifī, p. 326; al-Makkarī, ed. Cairo, ii, 134 (only a brief notice of the book of tables). (E. WIEDMANN)

MADJURI. [See VANDURI WA-MADJURI.]

MADJUS (A.), the Zoroastrians. The Greek word μάγος (which itself renders an Iranian word; cf. old-Persian *magna*, new-Persian *magh*) passed into Arabic through an Aramaic medium. According to the Arabic lexicographers, *Maḡḡ* is a collective like *Yāḡḡ*; in the singular *Maḡḡ* is to be used; the religion of the Maḡḡ is called *al-Maḡḡiyya*. The lexicographers cite from the root *ḡ-m-g* a verb form (*maḡḡiḡa*) and a vii (*maḡḡiḡa*). In a poem, cited in the *Lisān* and the *Taḡ* al-'Arūs, the phrase *war maḡḡiḡa* is found; if we only could be sure, that this poem is really (as is asserted in the *Lisān*) a composition of Imru' l-Qais and al-Tawān al-Yazḡūrī conjointly, the word would already occur in the oldest Arabic literature extant.

In the lexica, the word *Maḡḡ* is derived from a proper name, *Maḡḡ Kūsh*, which name, according to them, is the Persian equivalent for Arabic *yaghār al-ghannān* ("with little ears"). This man, named Maḡḡ Kūsh, they say, is not the same as Zoroaster, but lived before him; and was the first who proclaimed the religion of the Magians. This is one instance of the many etymological and aetiological enormities of Arabic antiquarians (cf. *Lisān*, viii, 98 sq.; *Taḡ* al-'Arūs, iv, 245; Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v.). Incidentally, it may be noted that in Arabic literature the word *Maḡḡ* is also used to denote the peoples of Northern Europe, viz. the Scandinavians (cf. Dozy, *Recherches*, ii, 250 etc., Appendix N° xxvii, p. lxxvi.; *Revue neomanichéenne fontes arabice* ... colligit et ed. A. Seippel, i, Chirmania 1896).

In the *Qur'ān* the word *Maḡḡ* occurs once (xvii, 17); with this verse, ii, 59 and v, 73 are to be compared. In these three places the *Ahl al-Kitāb* [q. v.] are mentioned, but it is only in xvii, 17 that the name Maḡḡ is also found. In this same verse, however, the *Mushrik*'s also are mentioned, who, of course, can by no means be included in the term *Ahl al-Kitāb*. Now, in Muslim law, the Zoroastrians are, it will be seen, treated as if they belonged to the *Ahl al-Kitāb*, but this conception cannot be based on the *Qur'ān* verse xvii, 17. Also, the commentators (al-Buhārī, ed. Fleischer, p. 620; al-Zamakhsharī, *Kaṣṣab*, p. 901; al-Rasī, *Mufaṣṣṣ al-ḡibān*, iv, 554; al-Nasābūrī in marg. al-Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Cairo, xvii, 74 etc.) give nothing that can point to the fact of the Maḡḡ being, theoretically, *Ahl al-Kitāb*. The words of al-Rasī, who states that the Maḡḡ are those who do not follow a real prophet, but only a *muḡḡ*, might suggest, that he takes Maḡḡ to be a sect intermediate between the real *Ahl al-Kitāb* and the *mushrik*'s, the heathen. Al-Nasābūrī also says that the prophet of the

Madjūs — who, moreover, are dualists — is no real prophet but a *mutamadil*; the *musūrik*'s, on the other hand, have no prophet at all, nor a sacred scripture. In Arabic historical literature the Zoroastrian Persians are themselves occasionally called *musūrik*, e.g. al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 302, 303, 380, 387 (*musūrik*); p. 407 (*huffār*). Finally it must be added that the Kūra-verse xxii 17 seems to be a later addition to this Sūra (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. des Qorān*, i. 214: the verse must be Madjūic).

In the *Hadīth*, which represents the theory of Muslim law, there is not very much to be found on the Madjūs in particular (cf. A. J. Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, s. v. *Madjūs*). The substance of the *Hadīth* concerning the Magians is, that they are to be treated like the *Ahl al-Kita*, and, in consequence, are bound to pay the *ḡizya*. Practically, the rising Muslim state power could not follow any other way. The subjection of Irān would have become impossible, had the Arabs considered the Zoroastrians as mere heathens, who were to be given the choice either of Islam or the sword. And, even before that time, dealing with the Zoroastrians of Bahrain in this rigorous way, would have been a grave political fault. This tradition, though it also hands down an account of how the prophet gave the Zoroastrians of Bahrain the choice of either Islam or death, reports, that 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf stated that the prophet had accepted the *ḡizya* from these Madjūs. This tradition was regarded as authoritative afterwards, and the other, stating that the prophet refused to consider Madjūs otherwise than as *musūrik*'s, was abandoned (cf. Abū Dawūd, xix. 29 = vol. ii. 30). 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf is said to have delivered his statement on an occasion when the Khalifa 'Umar felt doubtful whether he should accept the *ḡizya* from the Iranians, or not (cf. al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 267: the prophet, according to 'Abd al-Rahmān, had said: *summa zinim summat ahl al-kita*). There is a tradition relating that 'Umar, a year before his death, wrote to Iḡzā' b. Ma'ūya, regarding the Madjūs, instructing him, to put to death every sorcerer (*sāḥir*), to separate each Madjūs from his wife and children, and to forbid the practice of *samsama* (the muttering of Zoroastrian prayers, new-Persian *magi* or *magi*). Iḡzā' began to execute these rigid orders, and 'Umar refused to accept the *ḡizya* from the Madjūs, until 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf asserted that the prophet had accepted it from the Madjūs of Bahrain (Abū Dawūd, loc. cit.; Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, i. 190, 194; al-Bukhārī, *Sahīḥ*, Cairo 1304, ii. 144 *ayy*). Al-Balādhurī, moreover (ii. 145) cites the following answer given to a Persian ambassador: 'Our prophet has commanded us to fight you, until you serve God, and Him alone, or until you pay the *ḡizya*'. So here likewise the Madjūs are put on the same level as the *Ahl al-Kita*. The determination of the position of the Zoroastrians in respect of the Muslim state, is the main point of the *Hadīth* concerning them. Moreover, there is a tradition in al-Ḥirīdī, *Fawa'id*, lib. 42, regulating the hereditary portion of Zoroastrians (not altogether clear, however). Other, not very important traditional matter respecting the Madjūs is cited: *Liḡn*, viii. 99; *Lam*, *Liḡn*, s. v. *ḡizya*; the article *ḡANAKIVA*.

The traditions of the Muslim about Zoroaster

are in accordance with their idea of the Zoroastrians being a kind of inferior *Ahl al-Kita*. Al-Ṭabarī relates, that Zardūšt b. Isfīmān (Isfīmān is an adaptation of the Avestic *Spitamā*, the name of the ancestor of the family to which Zoroaster belonged) laid claim to the title of a prophet, after three years of the reign of king Bishtāsh (the Avestic *Wishtāspa*) had elapsed (i. 675 *ayy*); the same historian reports, on the authority of Highām b. Maḥammad al-Kalbī, that Zardūšt, who by the Madjūs is said to be their prophet, was, according to the learned men of the *Ahl al-Kita* an inhabitant of Palestine, and a servant of one of the disciples of the prophet Jeremiah. He committed a fraud against his master, who cursed him, so that he became leprous. Zardūšt then went to Adharbāidjān and began to promulgate the religion called Madjūsiya; afterwards he proceeded to Balḥ, where Bishtāsh resided. This king became a convert to the religion of Zardūšt, and compelled his subjects to embrace that religion also (i. 648; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Histoire des rois des Perses*, ed. Zatauberg, p. 256).

Another tradition, likewise preserved in al-Ṭabarī's work, brings Zardūšt together with a Jewish prophet *ḡ* (vocalisation uncertain), who was sent to Bishtāsh, and, at his court, met with Zardūšt, and the sage Dīnānāsh (Avestic *Dīnānāsh*, the minister of Wishtāspa and son-in-law of Zoroaster). Zardūšt is said to have noted down in Persian the teachings which the Jew delivered in Hebrew. Bishtāsh, and his father Laḥrāsh (Avestic *Aurwān*) had been Sildans before *ḡ* and Zardūšt proclaimed their religion (Ṭabarī, i. 684, 683). These traditions aim at bringing the Zoroastrian faith into a certain connection with the Jewish religion: in the one, Zoroaster is an apostate Jew, in the other, he acts in agreement with a Hebrew prophet. In the *Hadīth* there is a saying of Ibn 'Abbās: 'when the prophet of the Persians had died, Iblis wrote for them the form of the Madjūs' (*Inna ahl Fāris lamna māta nahyuhum katāba lakum liliz al-Madjūsiya*; Abū Dawūd, *Kharāḡ*, lib. 29 = ii. 30). This isolated tradition might perhaps in some way be connected with the reports about *ḡ*.

Some Arabic authors, of course, had a better knowledge of Zoroaster and his religion, cf. for instance al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 331, where it is stated, that according to the Madjūs, Zardūšt came from Urmīya, and, especially, al-Shahrastānī, *Kitaḥ al-Milal* (ed. Couston, p. 182 etc.), whose scientific treatise, however, contributes nothing to the knowledge of the ideas about Zoroastrianism prevalent among the *Faḡh*'s. It is enough to say, that al-Shahrastānī whose information goes back to Iranian sources, gives a succinct, but, in general, correct account of Zoroaster and the Madjūs, whom he subdivides into three principal sects: the *Kapēmarāḡiyya*, the *Zarwānīyya* and the *Zardūštīyya*, the latter, according to him, properly the followers of Zoroaster. The Madjūs are, he rightly remarks, not *Ahl al-Kita*, but, like the dualists, only possessing something like an inspired scripture (*ḡanāḡat* *kitaḡ*, p. 179); before the rise of the Madjūsiya, the Persians professed the religion of Ibrāhīm (p. 180).

Respecting the treatment of the Zoroastrians during the Islamic conquest, the following data may be given:

1) al-Yaman. Muhammad had sent envoys to that country, who, among other things, had to collect the *ḡiyya* from those who preferred to remain Christians, Jews or *Madjūs* (al-Balādhuri, p. 69). The Zoroastrians of al-Yaman (the so-called *Abad*) were said to be descendants from the Persians of the army of Wahrit, who, by order of Khurraw I., carried back Saif b. Dhī Yasan to that country. Muhammad, when sending an army to al-Yaman against the pseudo-prophet al-Aṣwad, recommended its general, to try and win over to his side these Zoroastrians, who were treated tyrannically by al-Aṣwad. One of these *Madjūs*, Fairūs b. al-Dallamī, had already embraced Islam; the most distinguished man among the *Abad*, Dāghawāh (Dāghīya), also became Muslim, and, at his advice, the remaining *Abad* followed. They helped energetically to put down al-Aṣwad. So we see, that in al-Yaman the *Madjūs* were treated like *Ahl al-Kutub*, after which followed their spontaneous conversion to Islam.

2) 'Uman. There was a tradition that the prophet commanded Abū Zaid to take the *ḡiyya* from the Muslims of 'Uman, and the *ḡiyya* from the *Madjūs* of that country (al-Balādhuri, p. 77).

3) Bahra'in. In the year 5 (629/630) Muhammad sent out al-'Alī b. 'Abdallāh al-Hadramī to Bahra'in; most of the Arabs of that country embraced Islam; and so did Saḥabūt, the Persian *marzban* of Hadjar (the capital), and some other Zoroastrians. The greatest part of the *Madjūs* of the country, however, remained faithful to their religion, and had to pay the *ḡiyya*, like the Jews and the Christians, who, in Bahra'in, did not embrace Islam. Some Arabs criticized Muhammad, because he pretended to accept the *ḡiyya* only from the *Ahl al-Kutub*, and now accepted it from the *Madjūs* of Hadjar. On that occasion Sūra v. 104 was revealed (al-Balādhuri, p. 78 etc.). Here it can be seen, that in the oldest Islam it was by no means regarded as a matter of fact that the *Madjūs* were to be reckoned under the *Ahl al-Kutub*. During the Khilāfate of Abū Bakr an insurrection took place in Bahra'in, the *Madjūs* refusing to pay the *ḡiyya*. This rebellion was not put down before the khilāfate of 'Umar (ibid., p. 85).

4) Irān. Before entering upon the particulars of the state of the *Madjūs* in Irān, it may be remarked that in Armenia the *Madjūs* were treated like the Jews and the Christians. They were obliged to pay the *ḡiyya*, but enjoyed security for their persons and their possessions. In the capitulation of the town of Dabul (Dwin) to Ḥabīb b. Maslama, the Christians, Jews and *Madjūs* are comprised alike under these conditions. The *ḥanā'iz* and *ḡiyya* are also mentioned as remaining in the possession of their old masters; it may be assumed, that here under these words, which properly design Jewish and Christian sanctuaries, the fire-temples of the Zoroastrians are understood also (al-Balādhuri, p. 200).

In Irān, the regular treatment of the places which surrender themselves is the imposition of the *ḡiyya* and the *ḡharāḡ* (which, at this time, in most cases were identical terms for "tribute" in general, cf. *ḡiyya* and *ḡharāḡ*, but cf. al-Balādhuri, p. 314, where *ḡiyya* = capitulation and *ḡharāḡ* = ground-tax). Thus, the inhabitants are reduced to the state of *ḡhimmi*, as if they really were *Ahl al-Kutub*. This is the case e.g. on the

subjection of Mahrūd, Bāndandjūn (al-Balādhuri, p. 205), Hulwān, Ḳarmām (ibid., p. 301), Nihāwand (ibid., p. 306), Dnawar, Sirwān, Sarmān (ibid., p. 307), Hamadān (ibid., p. 309), Isfahān (ibid., p. 312 ff.), Ahwāz (ibid., p. 377: here the prisoners of war were released by order of 'Umar, to cultivate the land, under the obligation to pay *ḡharāḡ*), there being not enough Arabs for the purpose), Qandāl Sahr (ibid., p. 382), Qurrā, Arrādjan, Shūfār, Darābǧird (ibid., p. 388: at Darābǧird, the chief authority in the town was a Zoroastrian priest, a *ḡirbadān*), Tabas and Kuris (ibid., p. 403: they concluded a treaty with 'Umar, which later was confirmed by 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), Naisābūr, Nāsā (ibid., p. 404), Tās (ibid., p. 405), Hurāt, Bādǧhis and Bushandj (ibid., p. 405), Marw (ibid., p. 405 ff.). The term *ḡhimmi* *al-*... (*ḡhimmi*), often occurring in our source, must be understood as meaning a tribute; this appears from the last mentioned passage, p. 405 ff.

Not always, however, did the subjugation of the Iranian places come to pass without bloodshed. In Ray a massacre ensued, but there seem to have been no religious motives for it (al-Balādhuri, p. 317). If a town had offered a strong resistance, it might happen, that only a limited number of persons were included in the *amān*. This was the case at Sarakhs, where, according to the treaty, only 100 men were spared; the *marzban* had not included himself in the number, and was, accordingly, killed, while the women were made captives by the conquerors (ibid., p. 405). At Sās a similar event occurred; here the number of men, comprised in the *amān*, was 80, or, as others said, 100 (ibid., p. 378 ff.). At the conquest of Manadhir all the men were killed, and the rest of the population was taken captive (ibid., p. 378). But another stronghold, though resisting the Muslims vigorously, obtained a capitulation, by which its inhabitants became *ḡhimmi* (ibid., p. 317 ff.). A great slaughter was made at the conquest of Isfakhr, where 40,000 Iranians lost their lives; most of the nobles belonging to the *Ahl al-bayt* and the *ḡiyya* perished there, as it seems, not in the defence of the town, but after its capture (ibid., p. 389 ff.).

When the Zoroastrians were received as *ḡhimmi*, their religious practices must, of course, be respected. Thus al-Farrakhān paid the Muslims, on behalf of the inhabitants of Ray and Kumis, 500,000 *ḡhimmi*, while the Muslims promised, among other things, not to destroy any fire-temple (ibid., p. 318). When Ḳharabādjan was subdued and made tributary, the treaty, which its *marzban* concluded with the Arab commander, contained also the stipulation, that no fire-temple should be destroyed, and that the people of Shīr were not to be hindered in their dancing-festivals and other practices (ibid., p. 326). It goes without saying, that in the countries, inhabited by Zoroastrians, soon after the appearance of the Arabs, mosques also were built, destined in the first place for the religious worship of the conquerors; the *maḡḡid ḡhimmi*, which Sa'd b. Abi Waḡḡas constructed at al-Mada'in, was the earliest building of that kind in al-Sawād (ibid., p. 289). Under the Khilāfate of 'Uthmān, a *maḡḡid* was built at Ray, in which town later on, under the khilāfate of al-Manṣūr, a *maḡḡid ḡhimmi* was erected by order of the future khālifā al-Mahdī, in 158 (775) (ibid., p. 309). At Tawwāḡ, its conqueror 'Uthmān b. Abi

"Asi caused mosques to be erected for the Arab population, which he transported to that country (*ibid.*, p. 386); in Arradjin a *masjid* was built by the governor al-Hakam al-Hudjandini (*ibid.*, p. 392).

Already at the period of the conquest, there occur numerous conversions from Zoroastrianism to Islam. As T. W. Arnold (*The Preaching of Islam*, p. 177 etc.) observes, there were several reasons, why it was not very difficult for the Persians to exchange their religion for Muhammadanism. The *dhimya*, moreover, which the Zoroastrians were bound to pay, could no longer be required from those who had become Muslim. Soon after the battle of Qadisiyah some *dhimya*'s embraced Islam, and, consequently, became freed from paying the *dhimya* (al-Baladhuri, p. 265). The inhabitants of Ispahan, on the other side, being invited by al-Ash'ari, to accept Islam, preferred to give the *dhimya*, but some noblemen from the same town became Muslims, and had, therefore, only to pay the *kharaaj* (for their lands: *wa-unfa min al-dhima fa-atlamu*; *ibid.*, p. 312 sq.). The inhabitants of Karwin likewise became Muslim out of aversion to the *dhimya* (*ibid.*, p. 321), and so did those of al-Kahizian (*ibid.*, p. 323).

A Zoroastrian, who had become Muslim and then apostatized, forfeited, of course, his life; this happened e.g. with the *dhimya* of Naistab, who was killed by al-Mughira b. Shu'ba (*ibid.*, p. 345). Other instances of the progress of Islam, we find in the case of Adharbaidjan. When al-Ash'ari for the first time governed this country, he ordered the Arab settlers whom he himself had brought into this land, to invite the population to Islam. These efforts were successful; as al-Ash'ari, under the Khilafate of 'Ali, a second time became governor of Adharbaidjan, he found, that most of the population had become Muslim (*ibid.*, p. 328 sq.).

The conversion to Islam of some individuals seems to have been brought about chiefly by the admiration of the rapid successes of the Muslims (instances to be found in al-Baladhuri, p. 374, 381); a case of forced conversion is that of al-Harmastan [q. v.]. Converts to Islam, whose original name had a too pronounced Zoroastrian meaning, had to exchange that name for an Arab one: the Khulifa al-Ma'mun, e.g. appointed a certain Mayasda (comp. Fakhri, *op. cit.*, the Zoroastrian offering of food; the long *z* of the Arabic transliteration causes, however, a difficulty for this explanation) governor of Tabaristan, Ray and Damghan: this Mayasda had to change his name into Muhammad (*ibid.*, p. 339). Also the father of Hasan al-Basri [q. v.], who was one of the prisoners, taken after the conquest of Mada'in, altered his name, Fathr, to Yasar (*ibid.*, p. 344), although this Persian name could scarcely offend a Muslim ear: but, after he became a *mawla*, a change of name became necessary.

After the conquest, Zoroastrianism, for the time being, continued to exist in many parts of Iran, not only in countries which came relatively late under Muslim sway (e.g. Tabaristan, cf. ARVANDT II), but also in those regions which early had become provinces of the Muslim empire. In almost all the Iranian provinces, according to al-Mas'udi, fire-temples were to be found: "the *Madjūs*", he says (ed. Barbier de Meynard, iv. 86) "venerate many

fire-temples in Irak, Fars, Kirman, Sijistan, Khuzistan, Tabaristan, al-Djibāl, Adharbaidjan, Arran" (he adds also: "in Hind, Sind and Sin"). This general statement of al-Mas'udi is fully supported by the mediæval geographers, who make mention of fire-temples in most of the Iranian towns. The toleration, then, from the part of the Muslims, must have been greater in mediæval times than in modern ones. That, however, not all Zoroastrians felt happy under a non-Zoroastrian government, appears from the fact, that a number of *Madjūs*, the ancestors of the Parsis of to-day, emigrated to India. Their landing on the coast of Gujarat is said to have taken place in the year 716 of the Christian era.

Conversion to Islam may have been, in many cases, "peaceful and to some extent, at least, gradual" (Arnold, *loc. cit.*, p. 181). On the other hand, it is evident, that for a Zoroastrian, desirous to attain to some prominent position, conversion to Islam was indispensable. Among the well-known converts from Zoroastrianism may be cited Ibn al-Makaffa [q. v.], Saman Khudat, the founder of the dynasty of the Samanids [q. v.], the poet Dabaki [q. v.], etc.

Occasionally, the Muslim magistrates, it seems, assisted the Zoroastrian clergy against heretics: al-Shahrastani (*K. al-Milal wa'l-Nihal*, ed. Caumont, p. 187) relates, how Abu Muslim of Naishapur, on an accusation from the part of the *mawla*'s of the Zoroastrians, caused a sectarian to be killed. It seems, however, that this man, who had been a Zoroastrian, and now promulgated a new creed, held tenets calculated to cause disturbance.

A history of the relations between the Muslim state and the Persian Zoroastrians (for neither the Indian Zoroastrians, the Parsis, nor the internal history of the Zoroastrian community concern us here) can only be written, when the mass of Persian historical literature of the Middle Ages and modern times will be completely accessible. The position of the Zoroastrians has become worse in course of time. Their number seems to have greatly diminished by the disturbances which ensued after the death of Nader Shah (1160 = 1747), when the Afghans destroyed the Zoroastrian quarter at Kirman, and by the war between Agha Muhammad Khan Qajar and Lutf 'Ali Khan (see also KIRMAN). In modern times the number of Zoroastrians in Persia is estimated by v. Houtum-Schindler (1879) at 8,499 at all; by Browne (1887/1888) at 7,000—8,000 for Kirman, and Yazd and environs alone (but elsewhere (*A year among the Persians*, p. 370) he gives for Yazd and its environs alone 7,000—10,000) and for Eshkumabad 20—25. The *Encycl. Britannica* (1911) has the number 9,000 for the whole of Persia.

In 1854, there were in Yazd and its environs 6,658 Zoroastrians, of whom ± 25 were merchants, and the rest small husbandmen and labourers (Karaka, *History of the Persians*, i. 55). The same author gives for Kirman (in 1884, the date of the book?) no more than 450; for [Ilmān] ± 50 merchants, and a small number of humble position, who were employed as gardeners in the palace of the Shah. At Shiraz, some Zoroastrian families were found, who exercised the trade of shop-keepers. Further more, there are Zoroastrians at Kashan and Bushahr (v. Houtum-Schindler). The Gebers of Baku are Indian Parsis (cf. *ibid.*).

According to Browne, there are in Persia 5

dahmas (tower-shaped buildings, where the Zoroastrians deposit the bodies of the deceased, to be devoured by birds of prey); one South of Tihra, two at Kirmān, and two at Yazd. The number of fire-temple is given by v. Houtum-Schindler as 4 for Yazd, 18 for its environs, and 1 for Kirmān. Karaka (I. 60) knew (1884) in Yazd and its environs as many as 34 greater or lesser fire-temple. Van Houtum-Schindler says, that the social position of the Zoroastrians in those places, where there are only few of them (Tihra, Kāchān, Shiraz, Būshahr), was a tolerably good one, because they were respected as being honest traders. But at Kirmān their condition was less favourable, and at Yazd still worse. In the first half of the 19th century, the levying of the *ḡziya* was still a source of misery for all Persian Gebers, because they were helplessly exposed to the extortions of the government functionaries. However, even at the time van Houtum-Schindler wrote (1879), the Indian Pārsi, in virtue of a covenant with the Persian government, paid the *ḡziya* (valued at ± 920 *ḡziyān*) for their co-religionists, so that the extortions of the tax in collecting that tax came to an end. In 1882 the *ḡziya* of the Zoroastrians was abolished (Karaka, I. 74). For this, and other improvements, as also the foundation of schools, the Persian Zoroastrians are indebted to the "Persian Zoroastrian Amelioration Fund", a Parsi institution.

But, especially at Yazd, the situation of the Gebers, during the second half of the 19th century, was far from good. Browne relates, that at Yazd they were treated with more contempt than the Jews or the Christians; they were not permitted to ride on horse-back; fire-temple which had decayed, were not to be restored, etc. The then governor, 'Imād al-Dawla, had, it is true, put an end to some of the more serious iniquities, e.g. the putting into practice of the quaint maxim, that a Zoroastrian, who had become Muslim, acquired by that conversion a right to the property of his non-converted kinsmen. Although at Kirmān the treatment of the Gebers was better than at Yazd, Browne had heard of wrongs done to them, e.g. forced conversions to Islam of children and young girls.

The bibliography regarding the Persian Zoroastrians (and also the so-called Gabri, cf. especially K. Hadrav's *Introduction*, to O. Mann, *Die Mundarten von Kāmanar*, p. livii. 197) has been given in the article *KIRMAN*. (V. F. BECHNER)

AL-MADJUS. The historians of the Maghrib and of Muslim Spain give the generic name of *Madjus* "pagans, fire-worshippers" to the Scandinavian pirates known in England as Northmen (Norsemen) and also to the Normans of France who on several occasions in the middle ages attempted landings on the coasts and expeditions against the frontiers of the Muslim west.

The first invasion of Spain by Northmen was in 230 (844). In the month of Dhū'l-Hiddja 229 (Aug./Sept. 844), a fleet of 54 large vessels and as many small barks anchored before Lisbon [q. v.] and the forces they carried landed at the mouth of the Tagus. The Caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān II. warned by the governor of Lisbon, Wāḥib Allāh b. Ḥazm, gave instructions to the governors of his coast-provinces to prevent any surprise attacks. The Norman forces seized Cadix from Lisbon, then the province of Sidona (Shadhūna) and finally Seville [q. v.] which they took by storm

on Oct. 4, 844. It was not till November that they were forced to seek the shelter of their vessels by the Muslim armies sent against them. Other bands at the same time ravaged with fire and sword the whole coast from Lisbon to Tráfalgar and one of them reached a point in Africa where the little town Asila (Arrila [q. v.]) was founded soon afterwards, but took to flight on the approach of the Berbers of the region.

After this invasion, the leader of the Norse hordes seems to have sent an ambassador to the Caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān II. to propose a peace. The Umayyad sovereign agreed to his request and sent to discuss the terms of the treaty a diplomat of his entourage, Yaḥyā b. al-Hakam al-Bakri al-Ḥayyānī, known as al-Ghazālī. The latter reached Seville, where he entered a ship which after various adventures took him to the Norse leader. Al-Ghazālī returned to his master after an absence of 20 months. The account of his embassy has been preserved for us by Ibn Dihya, who got it from the vizier Tamīm b. 'Alkama, a friend of al-Ghazālī.

Fifteen years later, in 244 (858), Spain and the Maghrib again suffered a Norse invasion. We have accounts of it by Ibn al-Kūṭaybi, al-Bakri and Ibn 'Idhārī. It lasted several years, at least till 247 (861). The Northmen began by seizing the town of Nukhr in Morocco. They then appeared at the mouth of the Guadalquivir but without success; they then seized Algeciras where they burned the great mosque. They appear to have then had an encounter at sea with the fleet of the Caliph Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān.

We have fuller details of the invasions which followed. In 355 (966), the Danes, who had come to the assistance of the first Duke of Normandy, made an expedition against Muslim Spain, on the interested advice of Richard I. This lasted three years. The invaders, always called *Madjus* by the Arab historians, appeared first at Kaṣr Abi Dānis (Alcazar de Sal) and landed in the country round Lisbon which they laid waste. The Caliph al-Hakam sent against them a fleet from Seville which met them in the estuary of the Tagus. At the same time a battle was fought on land near Lisbon in which the Muslims were defeated. The Danes then extended their efforts to Galicia and in 970 seized St. Iago da Compostella. In the next year, they again attacked Muslim Spain but they were much weakened by the losses they had suffered in the north of the Peninsula and they do not seem to have dared to land anywhere.

It is also to the *Madjus* (the name being accompanied by the more precise one of *الأردمانيون* = *Ardamani*) that the Arabs attribute the celebrated taking in the following century of the town of Barbastro (Barbūṭṭar) to the N. W. of Saragossa, on the borders of Aragón. The historian Ibn al-Hayyān wrote a detailed account of it, which is preserved by Ibn 'Idhārī. A Norman expedition, in which French knights shared, which was evidently led by Guillaume de Montreuil, succeeded in capturing Barbastro in 436 (1064). This success and the barbaric treatment inflicted on the population made a deep impression on Muslim Spain. In the next year the king of Saragossa, Almad b. Sulaimān Ibn Hūd al-Muḥtadīr, with an army reinforced by a contingent of cavalry sent by the Seville ruler, al-Muḥtadīr Ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān, recaptured Barbastro, where a weak garrison left

by the Normans on their return to France could offer only a brief resistance and was almost entirely wiped out.

Bibliography: The various invasions of Spain by the *Maġjūs* have been subject of a learned monograph by the Dutch Orientalist E. Dozy, *Les Normands en Espagne*, in his *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen-âge*, 3rd edition Paris-Leyden 1881, vol. II, p. 250—371. At the beginning references are given to the earlier works by Werlauff, Muoyer, Kruse and Kunik. To the Arabic sources mentioned by Dozy may be added vol. III of the *Kitāb al-Diyār al-maġribī* of Ibn 'Idhārī, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1927, p. 176 sqq. Cf. also his *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, Leyden 1861, vol. IV, p. 125—126 and Kristoffer, *La première invasion des Normands dans l'Espagne musulmane en 844*, Lisbon 1893. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MADMUN is 1. in the legal institution of the *jamān* [q. v.] "surety", a term which occurs in the following connections: *madmun* 'anhu "debtor" *madmun* lahu or 'alāhi "creditor", *madmun* (hā) "pawn". For the parties to the agreement and the article in question in a bond, the rules hold which apply to all other contracts.

Bibliography: For details cf. the pertinent chapters in the Fiqh books and Sachau, *Muhammed. Recht*, p. 385 sqq.; Khallī, *Muhtasab*, transl. Santillana, II. 249 sqq.; Toruauw, *Moilem. Recht*, p. 139 sqq.; van den Berg, *Principes du droit musulman*, transl. France de Terzani, Algiers 1896, p. 101 sq.

2. In the chapters of the Fiqh books which deal with the law of obligations, *madmūn* is used for the thing for which one is liable or responsible, i. e. is bound to replace. In this way *jamān* comes to mean in the wider sense, "liability, obligation to restore" in contracts. This liability consists either in the producing of something identical (*mithl*) i. e. of a thing of the same quality and quantity (*ṣifāt wa-kawārim*), e. g. in edible things (*mithl*) which are measured by quality, weight, or number (*ṣifāt wa-maṭl wa-waṭ' dūd*) or in the value of the thing (*hima*) e. g. in non-edible things (*ṣifāt wa-kawārim*) which have a special individuality, and are therefore 'ain = species.

Bibliography: The chapters on the conditions of legal agreements in the Fiqh books. (O. SIES)

MADRAS Presidency, the southernmost province in British India, occupies the whole of the southern portion of the Peninsula with an area of 142,260 sq. m.; total population (1921): 42,318,935, of whom 2,810,488 (nearly 7%) are Muhammadans. The majority of these are Sunnis, 2,684,943 (95.60 per cent); Sh'īs: 54,114. The only Native State with a Muhammadan ruler is Banganapalle (255 sq. m.); population 36,692, of whom only 19% are Muhammadans. The language spoken by the majority of the Muhammadans of the province is Malayālam (1,108,365 i. e. 38% per 1,000; including almost all the Mappillas [q. v.]); Hindustānī, 335 per 1,000; Tamil, 209 per 1,000.

History. Southern India began to suffer early in the sixth century from plundering raids carried out by the Muhammadans established in the north, until the rise of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar in 1336 erected an effectual barrier against

the southward expansion of Muhammadan power for more than two centuries. When in 1564 the four Sultans of the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan, — Bidjāpur, Bidar, Ahmadnagar and Golkonda, — joined forces against this powerful Hindu state, in a single decisive battle (Tālikota, January 1565) they effected the ruin of Vijayanagar and utterly destroyed the capital, and its territories were for the most part incorporated in the kingdoms of Bidjāpur and Golkonda. In 1686 and 1687 Awrangzeb [q. v.] conquered these two kingdoms and made them part of the Mughal empire. After Āṣaf Dīsh, the first Nigām of Haidarābād, had made himself independent, in 1724, the Nawāb of the Carnatic [q. v.], also styled the Nawāb of Arcot (Arkāṭ) from the name of his capital, became his chief subordinate in the South of India. When in the middle of the eighteenth century the English and the French were in conflict with one another in Southern India, each espoused the cause of a different claimant for the office of Nawāb of the Carnatic. The support of British troops under the command of Robert Clive assured the success of Muhammad 'Alī (ob. 1795), but papers seized at Srīrangapatam after his capture in 1799 having proved that both he and his son and successor, though nominally allies of the British, had been in secret correspondence with Tipu Sultān [q. v.], Lord Wellesley, then Governor-general of India, declared them to be public enemies of the British Government, and in 1801 concluded a treaty with a grandson of Muhammad 'Alī, named A'ṣam al-Dawla, according to which he resigned the government of the Carnatic into the hands of the East India Company, but retained the titular dignity and received a considerable pension. The present representative of the family bears the title of Prince of Arcot and has the position of the premier native nobleman of Madras. The greater part of the existing Presidency of Madras consists of the territories annexed by Lord Wellesley.

MADRAS CITY, on the shore of the Bay of Bengal, in 3° 4' N. and 80° 15' E., is the capital of the presidency of the same name; population (1921): 526,911, of whom 113 in every 1,000 are Muhammadans.

Bibliography: *Imperial Gazetteer of India (Provincial Series) Madras* (Calcutta 1908); W. H. Hutton, *The Marquess Wellesley* (Oxford 1893); Prosper Caltra, *Dupleix* (Paris 1901).

MADRASA. [See MADJIS.]

MADRID. The present capital of Spain has kept the name it had in the Muslim period: *Maġrīṣ* (ethnic *al-Maġrīṣī*). Arab geographers describe it as a little town grouped round a strong fortress, with a khutba mosque, at the foot of the Djabal al-Sharīf, the Sierra de Guadarrama, and a dependency of the province of Toledo. It was especially known for its potteries. It had only an unimportant history, but gave birth to several famous Muslim scholars, among whom the most important was Abū 'l-Kāsim Maslama b. Ahmad al-Maġrīṣī, who lived in the second half of the fourth century and on whom cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, I. 243. Madrid was taken in 476 (1083) by King Alfonso VI. According to a Christian tradition, Ramiro II had previously held possession of it for a short time during his campaign against the Muslims in 327 (939). It was on the site of the old cathedral (*ġumra*) of Madrid that the king

of Castille had the church dedicated to the Virgin of the Almudena built.

Bibliography: al-Iḍrī, *Sifat al-Andalus*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, text, p. 189, transl., p. 229; Vākūt, *Mu'jam al-Bulān*, ed. Wustenfeld, s. v.; Ibn 'Abd al-Mu'īn al-Himyari, *al-Kawā'id al-maf'ūr* (MS. in private collection), s. v.; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Paris 1924, p. 95. (E. LKY: PROVENÇAL.)

MADURA, an island north of Eastern Java, with the sea of Java on the north and the strait of Madura on the south; a narrow strait separates it from the residency of Surabaya. For administrative purposes it forms a separate residency along with several small adjoining islands. From the geological point of view Madura is a continuation of the limestone hills of the residencies of Rēmbang and Surabaya in Java; it is doubtful whether the statement in the *Nagarakṛtāgama* (Ballad XV, verse 2; also the earliest mention of the island) that Madura only became separated from Java at the beginning of the third century A. D. is of any historical value. The ground is hilly, large parts of the country are not at all fertile. Although agriculture is becoming more and more important with the completion of irrigation works, the quantity of rice grown is quite insufficient for the wants of the dense and still rapidly increasing population; they have frequently to live partly or completely on maize. Every year many Madurese leave their land for a certain period to seek work in various ways in Eastern Java; the comparatively infertile nature of the soil has always forced the inhabitants to emigrate permanently to the Eastern residencies of Java and these are therefore with the exception of a few districts inhabited by a population which speaks Madurese. Of more importance for the Madurese than agriculture is the rearing of domestic animals (cattle, horses, goats and sheep). The Madurese cattle are probably the best in the whole archipelago; many draught animals and fat stock are annually exported. A very popular sport is bull racing; the beasts used for this are bred and looked after with the greatest care. The Madurese have a certain preference for the trade of a wandering pedlar; on the coast and on the islands the main source of livelihood is fishing and fish-breeding.

The population is closely related to that of Java; the customs at birth, marriage and death agree in general with those that prevail there. There are however striking differences. The Madurese is more heavily built, more energetic and enterprising than the Javanese; he is also less sophisticated. He is said to be faithful, reliable, economical and even avaricious. Dress, houses and farms of the Madurese look less cared for than those of the Javanese; the houses are not as in Java close together in settlements but are scattered. The Madurese are specially fitted for hard heavy work and less for occupations which require skill and application. Alcoholic beverages are much drunk, but little opium is taken. The language is also related to Javanese and much influenced by it; the literature consists mainly of translations and versions of Javanese works.

Islam is the generally prevailing religion. The Madurese have no tendency to fanaticism but as a rule they faithfully perform the principal duties of their religion; the great Muslim feasts are

duly observed. All receive the usual elementary religious instruction and many are not content with this only. We have no exact or reliable information as to the period of their conversion and the manner in which it came about; the stories given in the native sources do not agree. But as Madura has politically always been closely connected with Java (in the Hindu period it was subject to the kingdoms of Tūmapel and Madjapahit; at a later date it was under the adipati of Surabaya and then under the Sultan of Mataram) and as it is quite close to the district through which the new religion entered Java, it may well be assumed that between the first dissemination of Muslim ideas on Java and on Madura not a great deal of time passed. The complete conversion of the island to Islam seems to have taken place quickly and without difficulty. Hindu rule had never made a deep impression. According to native tradition Madura belonged to the Muhamadan coalition which overthrew the Hindu Javanese kingdom of Madjapahit. Until 1623 Madura (which was divided into five small states) formed part of the territory of the adipati of Surabaya. In this year it was acquired by Mataram and a Madurese prince appointed governor. When in 1678 a grandson of his, Truna Djaya, rebelled against Mataram, endeavoured to make Madura independent and even aimed at rule over Java, the ruler of Mataram sought the intervention of the Dutch East India Company. In 1679 Truna Djaya was taken prisoner; in 1705 Mataram recognised the ascendancy of the Dutch East India Company (which had existed in reality since 1683) over the eastern part of Madura and in 1743 over the whole island. The Company and after them the Dutch government for a considerable time always avoided intervention in the internal affairs of the island; as the rulers of Madura had repeatedly performed important services, they were treated — often to the injury of their subjects — less as servants of the Company than as independent allies. From the middle of the sixteenth century the power of the rulers was gradually limited; since 1885 the whole island has been directly under Dutch rule.

Bibliography: P. Bleeker, *Bijdragen tot de kennis van het eiland Madura*, in *Indisch Archief*, i., 1849, p. 265; J. Hageman, *Bijdragen tot de kennis van de residentie Madura*, in *Tijdschrift voor Ned. Indië*, xxii., 1858, p. 321; xxiii., 1; W. Palmer v. d. Broek, *Geschiedenis van het vorstendom van Madura, uit het Javanisch vertaald*, in *T. B. G. K. W.*, xx., 1873, p. 241, 471; xxiii., 1875, p. 1, 280; xxiv., 1877, p. 1; A. C. Vreede, *Tjarita Brabji, Madureische Dwinging met Mad. Jav. woordenlijst en samteekeningen*, Leyden 1878; do., *Handleiding tot de beschrijving der Madureische taal*, Leyden 1882-1890; N., *Tweestundig op Madura (regeling der spouwen bij de ophaffing der inlandische varkensbestanden)*, in *Tijdschrift voor Ned. Indië*, 1887, i. 468; H. Masink, *Bijdragen tot de kennis van het vroeger in tegenwoordig bestuur op het eiland Madura*, Arnheim 1888; S. C. Keller van Hoorn, *De Labang Meida te Tandjoeng Anjar op het eiland Madura (Banghalan)*, in *T. B. G. K. W.*, xxii., 1889, p. 431; E. B. Kiehlstra, *Het eiland Madura*, in *De Gids*, 1890, iv. 517; J. P. Esser, *Onder de Madureezen*, Amsterdam; A. C. Vreede, *Catalogus van de Javanische en Madureische handschriften der Leidse Univers.*

sittens-bibliothek, Leyden 1892, p. 411; A. G. Vorderman, *Over enige weinig bekende oordelen van de residentie Madura*, in *T. B. G. K. W.*, xxvii, 1893, p. 233; A. A. Fokker, *Een Madureesch Minnedicht*, in *De Indische Gids*, 1894, i. 638; H. v. d. Spiegel, *Enige Madureische versjes, raadsels en spreekwoorden*, in *T. B. G. K. W.*, xxxvii, 1894, p. 285; J. L. van Gennep, *De Madureezen*, in *De Indische Gids*, 1895, i. 260; A. W. Stellwagen, *Hoe Oost-Java met Madura bezitting werd der Compagnie*, ibid., xvii, 1895, p. 1316; H. N. Killaan, *Madureesche sprookken*, Batavia 1897; do., *Nederlandsch-Madureesch Woordenboek*, Batavia 1898; W. van Gelder, *De residentie Madura*, in *Tijdschr. van het Kon. Ned. Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, 2, vol. xvi, 1899, p. 367, 683; G. P. Rouffaer, *De voornaamste industrieën der inlandische bevolking van Java en Madura*, Hague 1904; H. N. Killaan, *Madureesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, Leyden 1904-1905; H. H. Juynebol, *Supplement op den Catalogus van de Javaansche en Madureesche handschriften der Leidse Universiteits-bibliotheek*, Leyden 1907, i. 1-104; G. P. Rouffaer, *De onderwereld-Javaansche Kedi, nog algemeen op Madura in zwang*, in *T. B. G. K. W.*, ii, 1909, p. 471; P. v. Stein Callenfels, *De afschieling van Madura (volgens de Nagarakrtagama)*, in *T. B. G. K. W.*, lviii, 1916, p. 533; W. v. Braam, *Een re wader over den zoutaanmaak der bevolking op Madura*, in *Koloniale Studien*, i, 1916-1917, p. 83; D. Schürcke, *De "Sutring" of "Djiloh" op Banghajan*, in *Nutulen v. h. Babo-vindisch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, lviii, 1920, p. 61; D. v. Hinloopen Labberton, *Oost-Javaansche gegevens omtrent de zoutkuis van Java*, in *Djawa*, i, 1921, p. 185; R. Soedardjoesoesoemo, *De Madureesche taal en letterkunde*, in *Handelingen v. h. 24th Congress voor de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Java*, Weltevreden 1921, p. 259; Pa' Kama, *Geschiedenis van Madura*, in *Djawa*, vi, 1926, p. 231; Wirjo Asmoro, *Uit over de "adat" der Madureezen*, ibid., p. 231; K. Ahmad Wongsoewopo, *Gelazien bij hore en tematerlatang van een prauze in het Sampungsch*, ibid., p. 262; xxx, *De viering van Madura*, ibid., p. 266; H. O., *Korapan*, ibid., p. 271; F. J. Munnik, *Een Java madureesche ontrent de Madureesche stierensamen*, ibid., p. 276.

(W. H. KASHERA)

MADYAN SHU'AIB, a town on the east side of the Gulf of Akaba. The name is connected with that of the tribe of Midianites known from the Old Testament (Ex. i. Madian; Madian; in Josephus *Madiani*, & *Madiani* *χώρα*) but it can hardly be used without further consideration to identify the original home of this tribe, as the town might be a later Midianite settlement and besides it is difficult to fix the real home of such wandering tribes. In the Old Testament a town of Midian is not mentioned (not even in I Kings, xi. 18 where "Ma'on" should probably be read). On the other hand Josephus (*Archæology*, ii. 12, 3) knows *Madian* as a town on the Erythraean Sea as does Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, ed. Lagarde, p. 276); in Ptolemy (vi. 7, 4) it is mentioned as a town on the coast and called *Mediana* or *Medoema* while in another passage he gives it as an inland town under the name

Madiana, a difference which is explained by the actual position of the town. In Muhammad's time there is only one reference (in *Isha Ishak*) to the town of Madyan, when the Prophet sent an expedition under Zaid b. Haritha thither. There are occasional references in the poet Kutubiyir (in *Yâkûti*, d. 723), who speaks of the monks there and in the record of Muhammad b. al-Hanafiya's journey to Aila. In the geographers we find Madyan only as a town near the coast, six days' journey from Tabuk; it was the second station on the pilgrims' road from Aila to Medina and was a dependency of Medina. In the sixth century *Yâkûti* speaks of its position in a district rich in springs and watercourses, gardens and date groves and of its mixed population. *Ishakiri* says it is larger than Tabuk and describes from his own observations the spring there, from which Moses watered the flocks of Shu'aib (see below); it was now covered by a house which had been built over it. The town then began to decline gradually. In the 11th century Idrisi says it is an unimportant little trading centre with scanty resources; in the 15th century Abu 'l-Fida' says it was in ruins. Only in recent times has it been visited e.g. by Rüppell, Burton and Muir. The extensive ruins, which the Arabs call Magh'ir Shu'aib after the cave-tombs, lie about 16 miles east of the port of Ma'ana in 28° 28' N. Lat. in the southern part of the valley of al-Bad' which is rich in streams and palms and other trees. According to Burton the whole district between 29° 28' and 27° 40' is called *Arq Madyan*.

In the Qur'an following the Old Testament there are repeated references to Madyan as a people: for example in the stories of Moses' stay with them (xx. 42; xxviii. 21 sqq., 45), where his father-in-law (Jethro in the O. T.) is still anonymous, or in one of the stereotyped legends of prophets in which the Madyan are punished because they would not believe their prophet Shu'aib (vii. 83-91; xi. 85-98; xxi. 35 sq.). This Shu'aib was later identified with the father-in-law of Moses, for which there is no authority in the Old Testament. But perhaps the real truth is that Shu'aib had originally nothing to do with Madyan. In the older Sûras (xv. 78; xvi. 176 sq.; xxxviii. 12; l. 13) it is not the Midianites but the *Ashâb al-Ahla* (the people of the thicket) who are his enemies and it is therefore very possible that Muhammad only later combined an indigenous story of the people of the thicket and their Shu'aib with the Midianites of the Old Testament.

Bibliography: Levy, *R. E. J.*, iv. 45 sqq. (on Josephus); Ibn Hishâm, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 994; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, ed. Tornberg, iv. 208; al-Bakri, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 516 sq.; *B. G. A.*, i. 12, 20; iii. 155-178 sq.; vi. 129, 190, 248; vii. 341; *Yâkûti*, *Ma'dani*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 557; iv. 451 sq.; Abu 'l-Fida', *Taqwim*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 86; Idrisi, *Itin. Jambert*, i. 142, 328, 333; Rüppell, *Reise in Nubien*, 1829, p. 219 sq.; 387; do., *Reise nach Agypten*, i, 1838, p. 149; Burton, *The Gold Mines of Midian*, 1878; do., *The Land of Midian revisited*, 1879 (esp. ii. 184 sqq.); *J. B. G. S.*, 1879, p. 199 (esp. 21 sq.); Muir, *Im wüchlichen Hejaz*, 1911, p. 11; Nöldeke, in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 3079 sqq. (Fr. Burm.)

MAGNATIS, MAGNĀTIS, MAGNĪTIS, Lodestone and Compass.

I. The Lodestone and Magnetism

The lodestone is a widely disseminated mineral, and is therefore frequently mentioned by geographers and cosmographers, for example in the pseudographical *Petrology* of Aristotle, by al-Dimishqī, al-Kāzīmī, al-Fāhshī, Ibn al-Fakīh, al-Kalkashandī, etc. Of Amid and Hahadit, it is said that the lodestone is found there as a hard rock. According to Ibn Sīnā, the Indian is the best and al-Kāzīmī makes it come from India. Like the Greeks and Romans, the Arabs also discussed the properties of the lodestone and its effects on iron. They found that the lodestone can hold an iron needle (a ring), this a second, a third and so on, so that a chain is formed.

The power of attraction of the lodestone was defined. Most writers say that a lodestone can lift double its weight in iron, and one from Hahadit three times. Dīshūrī b. Hāyīm al-Safī possessed a particularly strong one. Dīshūrī b. Hāyīm ascertained that it could work through bronze. Other information is given by Shams al-Dīn al-Dimishqī, p. 73, or 85 of the work mentioned below (cf. also E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, II. 3: *Über Magnethismus*, S. B. P. M. S. Erlangen, xxxvi, 1904, p. 322).

Knives and swords rubbed on lodestone, according to Ibn al-Fakīh and al-Kalkashandī became themselves magoetic. They consist also, like needles, of iron which contains carbon, i.e. steel. They are stronger than the lodestone and do not lose their power of attraction as the former does.

It was noticed that in needles which floated on water the end rubbed pointed sometimes to the north and sometimes to the south, apparently according as it was rubbed with one or the other pole of the magnet; there appears to be no suspicion that the end not rubbed had also changed. Uṣā'id al-Ḥasān's statement that there are three kinds of lodestone is probably connected with the effects on the magnetised needle: one he says attracts, the second repels, and in the third one side attracts and the other repels.

The Arabs devoted much attention to the theory of these phenomena — with how little satisfactory results is evident from the remark of Ibn Ḥaytham: — "It is very annoying for us to feel that we do not know this with certainty (the cause of the attraction of iron), although we perceive it with the senses". Dīshūrī b. Hāyīm explains the power as a spiritual one, classing it with scents. Al-Tughā'ī includes the lodestone among the stones which contain spirits (see E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, xlv: *Zur Alchemie bei den Arabern*, S. B. P. M. S. Erlg., aliii, 1911, p. 82). Al-Kāzīmī seems to have dealt with its attraction through vacant space in a work which has not survived, entitled *Kitāb 'Ilā Dīshūrī Ḥadjar al-Maghṇāṣī* *h' l-Hadīd wa-fīhi Kāṣim ḥadīr h' l-Khalīf* (= "Book on the reason why the *Maghnāṣī* attracts iron: in it there is much discussion of empty space" (see Ibn Abī Uṣaybī'a, i. 320). Ibn Sīnā develops views which are very obscure in his *Kitāb al-Shifā'* (*Maḥṣnā* 2); Ibn Ḥazm is more lucid in his *Kitāb Taḥṣīl al-Ḥamāma f' l-Uṣṣā wa l-Uṣṣāf*. Al-Kāzīmī traces the attraction to a similarity of natures, through which love and at-

traction between them arose at the beginning of their existence. The Arabs are very fond in poetry and prose of comparing the effect of the magnet on iron to that of the lover on the beloved.

That there are many fables associated with this power of attraction is to be expected. Idols etc. of iron are said to be kept suspended in the air by lodestones (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beitr.* xii: *Über Lampen und Uhren*, S. B. P. M. S. Erlg., i, 1907, Nr. viii., p. 207). Nails were drawn out of ships and they were thus caused to sink, as was the case with Sindbad's. According to al-Kāzīmī (*'Adjā'ib al-Maghṇāṣī*, i. 172) there are sulmanne mountains at Kūlūm which have this effect. Therefore, he says, the beams of ships in the Red Sea were bound together with ropes. The lodestone is said to be especially effective if it is kept for a time in goat's blood, which is of course false. The lodestone is occasionally used in medicine (cf. Ibn Sīnā and Ibn al-Baṭṭār, v.). In alchemy its name means "lion" and "he with the brilliant eye".

Besides the lodestone, which attracts iron, quite a number of other stones are given, which have the same quality with respect to other bodies, for example, gold is the magnet of quicksilver, etc. Numerous statements about such attracting bodies, which include a number of picots, are given in the *'Adjā'ib* of Shams al-Dīn Dimishqī (cf. the *Bibliography*) in the Arabic text p. 73—77, in the translation p. 85—89. Al-Kāzīmī also gives a number of such magnets under the word *Lāḥiq* ("picking, collecting") among the minerals.

II. The Compass

The Arabs of the East became acquainted with the compass through Chinese sailors, without however at first giving it a special name; there was considerable traffic between the Persian etc. ports and Southern China. Thence it came to Syria and then to the Mediterranean ports of Europe. The compass had very probably however already reached the north of Europe by the trade-routes of the Russian rivers as early as the eighth or ninth centuries. This explains why the compass was known earlier in the north than in the south of Europe and perhaps explains also why the Norsemen were able to undertake long voyages by sea (cf. R. Heunig, *Verhandl. der Gesellsch. deutscher Naturforscher etc.*, 84th Versammlung 1912, III., p. 95).

In deciding the direction by means of a magnetic needle, the Muslims used the end which pointed to the south; as Mecca lay to the south of most places in Syria etc. the *Qibla* [q.v.] corresponded almost exactly to the south.

The oldest passage in which the word *ḥarānīṣ* perhaps corresponding to "magnet" (*calamita*) occurs is given by Dory for the year 139 (854) in *Supplément*, II. 337 who found it in *al-Bayān al-Maghṇī* (*Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*) edited by him. Serious objections have however been raised to interpreting the word as compass in this passage (*M. S. O. S.*, Berlin, v. 1—2, 1900, p. 268). From the fact that in narratives of travels of the ninth century A. D. and that in al-Mas'ūdī (923) the directions are given in the same way as on compasses, G. Ferrand concludes that the compass was already in use then. The next oldest absolutely certain reference is in the *Dīshūrī al-Hikmī* of 'Awfī; it is in his *Lubāb al-Aṭṭar* (ed. Browné and Mīrāṣ Muḥammad Kāzīmī). A

captain during a storm in the Red Sea or Persian Gulf finds his true course by means of a fish, of which we are expressly told that it had been rubbed with a maghnatis. A similar statement regarding the use of a magnetic fish at sea is made by al-Maqrīzī in his *Kitaḥ al-Khiṭaṭ* (Bulaq 1270, f. 240; Cairo 1324, i. 357; Z. f. Phys., xiv., 1924, p. 166).

A very full description of the compass and its use in the Mediterranean was given in 640 (142/43) by a certain Bāṭak al-Kahdījī in the *Kitaḥ Kama al-Taḥḥīṭ fī Ma'rifat al-Aḥḍār*. A needle which was rubbed with a "female" lodestone is placed diagonally through a rush or piece of straw etc. Sometimes a cross made of two straws is used. The arrangement is floated on water set to rotate by a lodestone held in the hand and moved in a circular direction; the latter is then quickly withdrawn. The needle places itself pointing to the south, which is the same as the kibla. The turning is probably regarded as magical, but it has a physical significance. By the turning the often very tenacious skin of the water is broken and the apparatus bearing the magnet is enabled to move freely. The turning is however not always done, but the needle with its support is simply placed on the water.

Al-Zarhūrī describes several forms of compass in a work on mechanical toys, for example a small beautifully painted fish, in which a magnetic needle is placed. In place of the fish, which might hurt the feelings of pious worshippers, a wooden disk with a *ṣuḥḥ* drawn upon it is also used. Finally an apparatus just like our compass is described. Two magnetic needles are placed symmetrically in the centre under a circular piece of paper. Under the centre of the paper a funnel is placed which turns on a point; the whole is enclosed in a cylindrical receptacle with a glass top and is called *ḥaṭṭ al-ḥilla* "vessel, box for the ḥilla", or *ḥaṭṭ al-ḥira*, "house of the needle"; according to Niebuhr the same name is still given to the compass. At the present day similar compasses are used along with a simple sundial. Another very full description is given by a certain Muḥammad b. Abī l-Ḥusn al-Ḥasani in his *al-Naḡm al-ḥarīḥī* (cf. E. Wiedemann in the Z. f. Phys., xiii., 1923, p. 113; there is a manuscript in Beirut in addition to those mentioned here. Whether the Cambridge one was written in 1103 or 1358 cannot be ascertained with certainty). The needle is fastened to a copper plate hollowed out or raised in the centre and placed on a copper stand. One end of the needle, no doubt the south end, has something put on it to mark it.

An important passage in an anonymous work "preparation of the bowl (*ḥimā*) to ascertain the kibla and points of the compass" is in a Berlin manuscript (Ahlwardt, N^o 5811). Here the point of the needle points south, the eye to the north. (The rubbing [*ḥaṭṭ*] of the needle explains the peculiar modern name *ḥimā* for the compass).

It would take us too far to deal here with the box compass proper which is called in Turkish e.g. *pasola* from the Italian. We will only note that on the rhomb-card the south is called *al-kibla* and also *al-ḥawā* (cf. thereon for example K. Foy, *Die Windrose bei den Osmanen und Griechen mit Benutzung der Bahriya des Admirals Pir-i-Reis vom Jahr 1520*, M. S. O. S., Berlin xi/2 1908, 234 sq.).

Bibliography: Ahmad b. Yūsuf al-Tiflīḥī, *Aḥḍār al-Aḥḍār fī Ḍawābir al-Aḥḍār*, ed. A. R. Biscia, first ed., Florence 1818 (contains the Arabic text and an Italian transl.), p. 37 or p. 49 resp.; Ahmed Tiflachi *Fior di pensieri sulle pietre preziose*, ed. A. R. Biscia, 2nd ed. (transl. only), Bologna 1906, p. 83, cf. also C. Boeckmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 495 (the transl. by Ravinus only contains the first four chapters); Shams al-Dīn al-Dimishqī, *Kitaḥ Nukhbat al-Dahr fī 'Adjāib al-Barr wa l-Bahr*, ed. A. F. Mehren, 1866; transl. by him under the title *Manuel de Cosmographie du Moyen-âge*, Copenhagen 1874; al-Kāzimi, *'Adjāib al-Makhḥūḥāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 239; J. Raska, *Das Steinbuch aus der Kosmographie von al-Kāzimi*, p. 38 (Beilage zum Jahresbericht 1895—1896 der Oberrealschule Heidelberg); do., *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, Heidelberg 1912, p. 154; Clément Mallet, *Essai sur la minéralogie arabe*, in *J.A.* (6th ser.), xi., 1868, p. 170—178; E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge II. Zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften. 3. Über Magnetismus*, S. B. P. M. S., Erlg., vol. xxxvii., 1904, p. 322—331 and Suppl.; do., *Beiträge xlii. Zwei naturwissenschaftliche Stellen aus dem Werk von Ibn Haṣm über die Liebe und den Magneten*, ibid., vol. xlvii., 1915, p. 95—97; do., *Magnetische Wirkungen nach der Anschauung der Araber*, Z. f. Phys., vol. xlii., 1920, p. 141—142; do., *Über Schiffe, deren Bretter nicht zusammengefügt sind, Geschichtsbilder für Technik etc.*, 1916, p. 280—281.

On the Compass: J. Klaproth, *Lettre à M. Al. de Humboldt sur l'invention de la boussole*, Paris 1834; E. Wiedemann, *Über Geschichte des Kompasses bei den Arabern*, Verhandl. der physikalischen Gesellschaft, vol. ix., 1908, p. 764—773; xi., 1909, p. 262—266; xxi., 1919, p. 665—667; Z. f. Phys., xlii., 1923, p. 113—116; xiv., 1923, p. 240; xxiv., 1924, p. 166—168; G. Ferrand, *Notes sur l'histoire orientale (Contribution à l'histoire de la boussole)*, Publications de l'Institut des hautes études marocaines, Mélanges René Basset, I., 1923, p. 1—16.

In the *Beiträge II.* the earlier literature is collected. This is also done in other works e.g. by Clément Mallet on the Compass. Of special importance are the works of A. Schück (*Der Kompass etc.*, Hambourg 1911, 1913 sq.), which also deal with the Bussola in China.

(E. WIEDEMANN)

MAGHRĀWA, a large confederation of Berber tribes, belonging to the Zanāta group and related to the confederations of the Banī Ifran (q. v.) and Banī Imīyan. These tribes, who led a nomadic life, in the middle ages roved over the country between the valley of the Chéllif as far as Tlemcen and the mountains inhabited by the Maḥyāna. They were easily converted to Islām and their chief Ḥāḍī b. Wazmār is to have gone to Madīna to the Caliph 'Uthmān and been confirmed by him in his rule over the Maghrāwa. This is why this confederation came to consider themselves clients of the Umayyads of Spain and supported, sometimes by force of arms, the cause of this dynasty in the Maghrib. This chief Ḥāḍī was succeeded by his son Ḥafṣ and he by his son Khazār, with whom the Arab amīn of al-Kairuān had to deal at the time of the rebellion of Maḥmūd in 122 (739). On his death his son Ma-

hammad after the early successes of Idris I in the Maghrib, brought him the submission of the Maghrawa and returned Tlemcen to him, which he had just taken from the Banū Ifran; the Maghrawa thus became one of the principal supports of the Idrisid dynasty at its beginning.

The grandson of this Muhammad b. Khazar, a contemporary of Idris I, also called Muhammad, resisted the Fatimids (q. v.). When the general of the Mahdi 'Ubad Allāh, Maṣala b. Habbā, had seized the Idrisid possessions in the Central Maghrib and placed over them the chief of the Mīkāsā Muṣā b. Abi 'l-'Afiya, the chief of the Maghrawa rebelled and brought under his flag a large number of Berber tribes. In 309 (921—922) he routed the army sent against him under Maṣala, whom he slew with his own hand. But the next year, the Maghrawa, faced with a new Fatimid offensive, had to take refuge in the region of Sijilmāsa. But some time afterwards, the Umayyad Caliph of Cordova 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāṣir, wishing to annex the Maghrib to his dominions, summoned the Maghrawa to his assistance and with the help of Muhammad b. Khazar was able to bring under his sway all the central Maghrib except the region of Tāhert. The son of the Maghrawid amir al-Khair b. Muhammad was installed as governor in Oran. The Banū Ifran and Muṣā b. 'Abi 'l-'Afiya also joined the Umayyads (first half of the tenth century). But all these submissions to the wishes of the Umayyads were only dictated by self-interest and when Muhammad b. Khazar died at al-Kairawan in 350 (961) he had become the vassal of the Fatimid sovereign al-Mu'izz.

The successor of 'Abd al-Rahmān III in the caliphate of Cordova, al-Hakam al-Mustansir, like his father summoned the Maghrawa to their old allegiance; their chief Muhammad b. al-Khair b. Khazar thereupon threw off Fatimid suzerainty. Knowing the enmities that this defection was going to cause him, al-Mu'izz invited Ziri b. Manād, chief of the Sanhādja to attack the chief of the Maghrawa. A battle was fought in 360 (970—971) between the Maghrawa and the Sanhādja commanded by Bologgin b. Ziri: the Maghrawa were completely routed, but a little later they were able to take their revenge, owing to the assistance of Dja'far b. 'Alī b. Hamdūn, lord of al-Matla and al-Zab. Next year Bologgin b. Ziri in the name of the Fatimids led a great expedition against the Zanata and subjected them completely in the Central Maghrib. The Maghrawa had once again to take refuge in Sijilmāsa and, after the return of Bologgin to Ifrīkiya, they definitely abandoned central Maghrib and settled in Morocco. It is from this time that two of their families were able to found two short-lived kingdoms, that of the Banū Ziri b. 'Atiya at Fās and that of the Banū Khazrūn at Sijilmāsa and at Tripoli.

The Maghrawa of Fās. After the defeat suffered by the Maghrawa in the central Maghrib, the descendant of Khazar, Muhammad b. al-Khair, crossed the sea to seek the help of the famous 'Amirid Ḥājjib al-Manṣūr b. Abi 'Amir (q. v.). The latter sympathised with him in his troubles and sent an expedition to the Maghrib under Dja'far b. 'Alī b. Hamdūn. The Spanish army with contingents from the Banū Ifran and the Maghrawa took up a position near Ceuta and in view of its strength Bologgin b. Ziri refrained from attacking it and set out to subdue all Morocco.

In 373 (983—984) the Maghrawa, after the departure of the Spanish governor Ibn 'Asqalādja, were chosen by al-Manṣūr to rule Morocco in his stead. In 377 (987—988) the ḥājjib appointed as his vassal to rule the western Maghrib, the amir of the Maghrawa, Ziri b. 'Atiya b. 'Abd Allāh b. Khazar. The latter made Fās his residence and settled his tribe around the town. By orders of al-Manṣūr he waged war on the Sanhādja and notably increased his dominions towards the east. In 382 (992) he made a journey to Cordova on the invitation of the ḥājjib. In spite of the assertions — frequently contradictory — of the historians, it seems that the reign of Ziri b. 'Atiya was rather troubled and that changes of fortune placed on the throne of Fās sometimes the Maghrawid prince and sometimes his Ifranid rival Yaddū b. Ya'la. On his return to Fās, Ziri found his place occupied by Ibn Ya'la and it was only after a murderous struggle that he succeeded in regaining his throne. But, finding Fās not sufficiently central in position, he decided, like his Spanish overlord, to build a capital for himself and the principal chiefs of his confederation. In 384 (994) he laid the foundations of the town of Wadīda (Oujda) and came with his court to live there. At the same time he tried to throw off the suzerainty of Cordova and relations were finally broken off between him and al-Manṣūr. Ibn Abi 'Amir sent against him an expedition under the freedman Wādih; a battle was fought on the banks of the Wādī Rdāt and the Spanish army defeated. The ḥājjib then sent another force under the command of his own son 'Abd al-Malik al-Muraffar. On this campaign Ziri was twice routed in 387 (997). He sought to take refuge in Fās, but the inhabitants prevented him entering it and 'Abd al-Malik soon afterwards entered the capital. Ziri had to go to the Sahara; later he tried to create a principality for himself in the land of the Sanhādja. He laid siege to their capital Ashir (q. v.) but before he could take the town, he died of the consequences of an old wound in 391 (1000—1001).

On the death of Ziri b. 'Atiya, the Maghrawa proclaimed his son al-Mu'izz; he began his reign by endeavouring to regain the favour of al-Manṣūr b. Abi 'Amir. The latter recognised him, and his successor 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Muraffar appointed him governor of Fās and western Maghrib in 393 (1002—1003). He received from Cordova letters of investiture for all Morocco, except the land of Sijilmāsa, which was kept for the Banū Khazrūn. Morocco seems to have had peace and a certain degree of prosperity in the reign of al-Mu'izz, who died in 417 (1026) or 422 (1031).

His successor was his cousin on the father's side Ḥamāma b. al-Mu'izz b. 'Atiya. He took advantage of the anarchy then prevailing in Spain to strengthen his position. He surrounded himself with literary men and legal authorities. But in 424 (1032—1033) the pretender of a rival dynasty Abu 'l-Kamil Tamīm b. Ziri al-Ifrani marched from Seville on Fās. Ḥamāma took the field against him with the Maghrawa but they were defeated. Tamīm entered Fās the same year and persecuted the Jewish population. As to Ḥamāma, he reached Wadīda (Oujda) and Tenez and gathered there considerable forces, with which he marched on Fās in 429 (1037—1038). Tamīm had to withdraw from Fās and returned to his own capital, Seville (q. v.).

Hamāma then continued to reign till his death, which probably took place in 431 (1039—1040).

After him the power passed to his son DĪNĀ. Quickly suppressing a rebellion by one of his cousins, he devoted his reign to the embellishment of Fās which was then beginning to become a great city, with a large population and a busy trade. This prince died in 452 (1060).

The successor of DĪNĀ b. Hamāma in Fās was his son al-Fuṭūḥ, but on his accession his right to the throne was disputed by his brother 'Adīsa. He made himself master of part of the capital, the "bank" (*ṣidra*) of al-Ḥarawiyin, while al-Fuṭūḥ established himself on the opposite bank, that of al-Andalus. The two brothers fought in the town itself and the inhabitants were divided into two camps. Morocco was engulfed in anarchy, and it was only after three years of fighting that al-Fuṭūḥ was able to reign undisputed in al-Fās, after 'Adīsa had been killed. A gate of this city pierced in the south-west wall still bears his name; another in the north wall bears the name of his brother in a slightly corrupted form (*Bab 'Adīsa*).

Al-Fuṭūḥ was driven from his capital in 454 (1062) by the Hammāḥid sovereign Bologgīn b. Muḥammad. This was the time when the Almoravids were beginning to invade Morocco. After the departure of al-Fuṭūḥ, the Maghrāwa appointed one of his relatives to succeed him, Mu'annas (or Mu'annasir) b. Hammāḥ b. al-Mu'izz b. 'Atya, who was proclaimed in 455 (1063) and took up the struggle against the Saharan invaders. He succeeded in defeating one of the lieutenants of Yūsuf b. Taḥfīṭ and retaking Fās, which he had lost. The Almoravids having laid siege to the city, the amir of the Maghrāwa attempted a sortie in the course of which he met his death (460—1067—1068). The people of Fās then proclaimed his son Yamin. But the capital was taken by Yūsuf b. Taḥfīṭ two years later and the young ruler put to death along with a large number of Maghrāwa and Banū Ifrā. This was the end of the dynasty of the Maghrāwa of Fās. This city, which had enjoyed a certain amount of prosperity under the early members of the dynasty and had been extended by them, later suffered a great deal, according to western historians, from their tyranny and exactions.

According to Ibn Khaldūn, in the period of the decline of Maghrāwa power in Fās, there was at Aghmat, at one of the entrances to the Great

Atlas on the plain of Marrākush, a little dynasty of amirs belonging to the same confederation. The last of these chiefs who flourished about 450—460 (1058—1067) was called Laggūl b. Yūsuf b. 'Alī. He was defeated and slain by the Almoravids when they made their successful thrust to the north of Morocco.

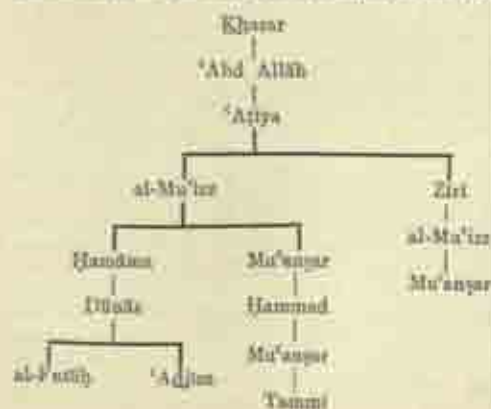
The Maghrāwa of Sijilmāsa (Banū Khazzrūn).—At the instigation of the ḥājjib of Cordova, al-Manṣūr Ibn 'Amir, a Maghrāwa chief in 366 (976/7), had taken Sijilmāsa [q. v.] which for over two centuries had been governed by amirs of the Miknās branch of the Banū Midrār. This chief who was called Khazzrūn b. Faḥḥ b. Khazar, proclaimed the suzerainty of the Umayyads of Spain in Sijilmāsa and sent to Cordova the head of the last Midrār ruler al-Mu'azz b. 'Ith. Khazzrūn received from al-Manṣūr the governorship of the town and kept it till his death. He was succeeded by his son Wāḥidūn. The latter had to defend himself against the invasion of the Sanhādja in western Maghrīb and in the end was confirmed in his governorship by the Umayyads in 390 (999) after a period of disgrace. On the fall of the Spanish caliphate he proclaimed himself independent, seized the region of Dza (Dzā'a) and in 407 (1016—1017) took Sufra (Sefron [q. v.]) and the valley of the Wādī Malwya (Molouia). His son and successor Ma'ūd was defeated, deprived of his lands and slain by the Almoravids in 445 (1053—1054). Ten years later, the last of the Banū Khazzrūn, who still held out in Sufra, were in their turn scattered.

On the Maghrāwid dynasty of Tripoli in Barbary cf. rayvot.

Bibliography. The principal source is Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitaḥ al-Iḥḥā*, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, II, 35 sqq.; transl. do., III, 227 sqq. Cf. also Ibn Abī Zar', *Rawḍ al-Kirḥān*, ed. Tornberg, p. 63 sqq.; Ibn 'Ishāq, *al-Bayān al-maghrībī*, ed. Dozy, I, 262 sqq.; transl. Fagnan, I, 371 sqq.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kamil* = *Annales de Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, transl. Fagnan, Algiers 1898, index; al-Nawānī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, *Histoire d'Afrique*, ed. and transl. M. Gaspar Remiro, vol. II, Granada 1917, index; al-Nāṣirī, *Kitaḥ al-Jihād* (part transl. in *A.M.*, vol. xxii., Paris 1925, p. 81 sqq.); Fournel, *Les Berbères, passim*; G. Marcais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie*, Paris 1914, index, s. v. Maghrāwa. — The Maghrāwa are not given in Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*. (E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL.)

MAGHRIB, the name given by Arab writers to that part of Africa which modern writers on geography call Barbary or Africa Minor and which includes Tripolitania, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. The word "Maghrīb" means the West, the setting sun, in opposition to "Mashrīq", the East, the rising sun (Levant), but as Ibn Khaldūn remarks, the general denomination was applied to a particular region. The extent of this area, moreover, varies according to different authors. Some Oriental writers include in the Maghrīb not only Northern Africa but also Spain; the majority, however, reserve the name Maghrīb for the first of these countries. But they are not in agreement upon the boundaries to be assigned to it on the East. On the other hand they are in agreement about the Northern, Western and Southern boundaries. To the North, Maghrīb is bordered by the "Roman Sea" (Mediterranean). To the West it extends as

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE MAGHRĀWA OF FĀS



far as the "Surrounding Sea", also called the "Green Sea", the "Sea of Darkness", and by foreigners called, according to Ibn Khaldūn, Okeanos or Atlant (Atlantic Ocean), which stretches from Tangier to the desert of Lemtūna (Abu 'l-Fida') or only, according to Ibn Khaldūn, as far as Asafi (Saffi) and Deren (Great Atlas). To the South it stretches as far as the barrier of moving sands, separating the country of the Berbers from the land of the Negroes, that is to say the Erg [cf. 'akari] and as far as the rocky region called "hammada" (Ibn Khaldūn). Some districts situated outside this limit, such as Būia, Tamentit, Gūmara, Ghadames, Fezzān, Waddān, are sometimes considered as belonging to Maghrib although they are in reality countries of the Sahara. As regards the Eastern boundary, certain authors made it extend as far as the sea of Kūlrum (the Red Sea) and thus include in the Maghrib, Egypt and the country of Barka [see the article BARKA]. Others, whose opinion is adopted by Abu 'l-Fida', make it coincide with the actual frontier of Egypt, from the oases as far as the "Akabul" which is on the sea between Barka and Alexandria (Akabat el-Kebira). Ibn Khaldūn does not accept this delimitation, because, he says, the inhabitants of the Maghrib do not consider Egypt and Barka as forming part of their country. The latter commences only at the province of Tripoli and encloses the districts of which the country of the Berbers was composed in former times. Ibn Sa'id and the later Maghribi writers such as al-Zaylati and Abu Ra's limit themselves to reproducing with a few variations in detail, the boundaries of Ibn Khaldūn. As to Yāqūt he confines the Maghrib to the country stretching from Miliana to Sūs (ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 513).

Confined within the sixth "clime" the Maghrib is divided into several regions. Ibn Hawqal (*Description*... transl. de Slane, *J. A.*, 1841) distinguishes two of them: the Eastern Maghrib from the frontier of Egypt as far as Zawila in Tripolitania and the Western Maghrib from this point to Sūs al-Akṣā; but the division commonly accepted is that into three regions, Ifriqiya, Central Maghrib and Farther Maghrib (Abu 'l-Fida', Ibn Khaldūn etc.). Ibn Sa'id adopts a slightly different division. Ifriqiya, outer Maghrib, and further Sūs. Ifriqiya stretches from Kays Ahmed near Misrata (Ibn Sa'id) to Bougie, Central Maghrib from Bougie to Mulāya (Ibn Khaldūn), Farther Maghrib from Mulāya to Asafi and to Deren, to which must be added al-Sūs which forms as might be said, according to Ibn Khaldūn, an island or country detached from all others and surrounded by sea and mountains.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, i. 186 sqq.; Abu 'l-Fida', *Taḥṣīn al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 111, transl. Reinaud, ii. 168 sqq.; Ibn Sa'id, Abu Ḥamad al-Andalusī, Ahmad b. 'Alī Maḥallī (Ibn Zaynab) in Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, passim; al-Zaylati, *Rihla*... transl. Confourier, *Archives Marocaines*, ii. 436 sqq.; Muhammad Abū Ra's b. Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Kādir al-Naṣrī, *Voyages extraordinaires et nouvelles agréables*, transl. Arnaud, Algiers 1889, p. 11 and 156 sqq. (G. VYER).

AL-MAGRIBI, the name of several

visiers.

1. 'Alī z. AL-ḤUSAYN, ABU 'L-HASAN. Like his father, 'Alī was one of the intimate friends of the Ḥamdānī Saif al-Dawla of Ḥalab. He had also great influence with his son Sa'd al-Dawla, but when a cloud came over their friendship, 'Alī left Ḥalab and went to al-Rakka to Bakdīr, who had been one of Saif al-Dawla's Mamliks and persuaded him to enter into negotiations with the Fātimid caliph al-'Aziz bi-'l-lāh [q. v.] with whom 'Alī had had relations for a long time. When Bakdīr had been given the governorship of Damascus by al-'Aziz, at the suggestion of 'Alī whom he had made his vizier, he set out against Ḥalab but was defeated in Safar 381 (April 991) whereupon 'Alī fled to al-Rakka. When Sa'd al-Dawla took this town, 'Alī fled to Kufa, from whence he wrote to al-'Aziz and asked permission to come to Egypt. In Dhu'l-Ḥijja I of the same year (July-Aug. 991) he reached Egypt and by his advice the caliph sent an army in 383 (993-994) under Mangūṭegīn, then governor of Damascus, against Ḥalab where Abu 'l-Faḍl II, son of Sa'd al-Dawla, had now succeeded his father. 'Alī, who took part in the campaign as Mangūṭegīn's secretary, was bribed by 'Alī, the leader of the Ḥamdānids and persuaded Mangūṭegīn to retire, pretending that he lacked supplies. When the Caliph heard of this, he ordered Mangūṭegīn to resume the siege without delay and dismissed 'Alī at once, who therefore returned to Egypt. 'Alī made himself very popular with the caliph al-Ḥākim, who succeeded his father al-'Aziz in 386 (996) as did his son al-Ḥusayn also. After a few years, however, he was sacrificed to the suspicions of al-Ḥākim and on the 3rd Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 400 (June 18, 1010) 'Alī was executed along with his brother Maḥammad and two sons.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ix. 61-63, 233; al-Maqrī, *al-Khitāṭ*, Beirut 1270, ii. 157; Ibn Yaḥyābirī, *al-Nuḥūm al-Ḥishā*, ed. Popper, ii. 5-7, 149.

2. AL-ḤUSAYN z. 'Alī, ABU 'L-KASIM, called "al-nasir al-Maghribi", son of the preceding, was born in Egypt on the 13th Dhu 'l-Hijja 379 (June 19th, 981). In 400 (1010) when his father was executed, al-Ḥusayn fled from Egypt to al-Rakka to Ḥassan b. al-Maḥarrī, amir of the Banū Tāyī, and induced him to forswear his allegiance to the Caliph al-Ḥākim and pay homage to the 'Alid amir of Mecca, Abu 'l-Faṭṭḥ al-Ḥasan b. Dī'far. The latter came to al-Rakka and was proclaimed caliph. But when Ḥassan was bribed by al-Ḥākim Abu 'l-Faṭṭḥ had to return to Mecca while al-Ḥusayn sought refuge with Fakhr al-Mulk, vizier of the Bayid Bahā' al-Dawla. Although as an Egyptian he was subject to the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Kādir, he was permitted to accompany Fakhr al-Dawla to Wasil and remained there till his death. He then went to al-Mawṣil where the 'Uḡailid Karwāsh took him into his service as secretary. In 414 (1023) the Bayid governor of Iraq Muḥarrir al-Dawla appointed him vizier. But the very next year he quarrelled with the Turkish mercenaries and fled to Karwāsh. But as he quarrelled with the 'Abbāsid Caliph on some trifling matter, he had to leave al-Mawṣil in the same year. He then went to the court of the ruler of Diyar Bakr, Naṣr al-Dawla [cf. MARWANID] who gave him a sanctuary. Al-Ḥusayn died at Maṣyāṣīrīn on 13th Ramaḍān 418 (Oct. 17, 1027) and was buried in Kufa.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*,

ed. Wüstenfeld, N^o. 192 (transl. by de Slane, i. 450—456); Ibn al-Athir, ed. Tornberg, ii. 226, 233, 235 sq., 255; s. 11; al-Makrizi, *al-Khitat*, ii. 157 sq.; Ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Nuḡm al-ahira*, ed. Popper, ii. 148 sq., 229.

3. MUḤAMMAD b. DĪFĀK b. MUḤAMMAD b. 'ALL, Abu 'L-FARAJ, grandson of a brother of the preceding. When Abu 'L-Faraj grew up, he left Egypt and went to the 'Irāq where he lived for a time. After various vicissitudes he returned to Egypt and was appointed head of the *Diwān al-Qinnā* by the vizier al-Bārīzī. He held his office till the dismissal of al-Bārīzī; the latter's successor had him arrested. While Abu 'L-Faraj was still in prison, he was himself appointed vizier on 25th Rabi' II, 450 (June 21, 1058) and given the title "*al-Wazir al-ajall al-kamil al-azhad* *ṣafī* *amir al-mu'minin wa-khalīfatuhu*". After a few years (9th Ramaḍān 452 = Oct. 7, 1060) he was dismissed and given the control of the chancery (*Diwān al-Inshā'*). He died in 478 (1085—1086).

Bibliography: al-Makrizi, *al-Khitat*, ii. 138; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden-dynastien*. (K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

MAGES. [See MARIJA.]

MAGNESIA (MAGNĒSIA, MANISSA), the ancient *Magnesia ad Sipylum*, the capital of the Sandjak (now wilāyet) of Sarrukhān in the wilāyet of Smyrna, on the northern slope of the Magnesia Dagh Sipylus mountains, and two miles to the south of the river Gediz and 20 miles N. East of Smyrna. The town, celebrated in Greek and Roman antiquity, was occupied by the Turcoman Aqur Sarrukhān in the year 713 (began 28th April 1313) and was the capital of his principality and of that of his son Sulaimān, who was buried there with his father in the *ṭarḥ* of the family.

Yildirim Sultan Bayazid seized it in the year 792 (began 20th Dec. 1389). Tamerlane collected his treasures there in the year 1402; after the restoration of the Ottoman power, the town saw the rebellion of Burkladje Mustafa, a partisan of the Shakh al-Din al-Din at the end of 1416; Murād II made it one of the first towns in his kingdom and built a palace there in 1444 which is now in ruins. Murād III also contributed to beautifying Magnesia with the Murādiyya mosque built in 1591. In 1633 the town was sacked during the rebellion of Elyas Paṣha. In 1890 Cochet put the population at 35,000.

Bibliography: Sāmi, *Kamūs*, p. 4348; Cochet, iii. 536—542; Hammer, *G. O. R.*, p. 113; F. Halim, *Schöke Beir al-Din*, in *id.*, ii. (1921), p. 31 sqq.; Schlumberger, *Nomins. de l'Or. Asiat.*, Paris 1878, p. 478 sq.; Heyd, *Storia del Commercio* etc., p. 554. (ERRON ROSEN)

MAHALLA, an Arabic word which, like *maqall* from the same root, originally means a place where one makes a halt. Mahalla thus came to have the special meaning of a quarter of a town, a meaning which has also passed into Turkish (e.g. the *Yeni Mahalle* quarter in Constantinople), into Persian and Hindīstān (where the popular pronunciation is *maḥalla*); the term formerly applied to a quarter of a town used to be *dar* (as in old Baghdad). The *maḥalla*s are often under the administration of a special official called *muḥallī*. In Egypt the word *maḥalla* is frequently found as the first element in the names of towns and villages. Here the primitive meaning of place,

locality has been preserved, while quarters of a town are rather called *khiṭṭa* especially in al-Fustāt and Alexandria. According to the *Maḥallat al-Buldān*, there are about 100 places in Egypt called al-Mahalla; 'Alī Paṣha Muḥarrak gives over 30 in *al-Khiṭṭat al-afḍala* (xv. 21 sq.) in addition to the large town of al-Mahalla al-Kubrā [q. v.]. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MAHALLA AL-KUBRĀ or MAHALLA KABIR is the modern name of an important town in the Delta of the Nile at some distance to the west of the Damietta arm, north-east of Tanta. It lies on the Tar'at al-Miṣrī canal, a branch of the Bahr Shubra.

In view of the large number of Egyptian geographical names compounded with *Mahalla*, the identification of the town with the names mentioned by earlier Arabic writers is a matter of some difficulty. Maasero and Wiet identify it with the Coptic Tishairi (Amelinus, *La géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte*, Paris 1893, p. 262), but this identification is rendered doubtful by the fact that al-Mahalla is a purely Arabic name (and it also remains to be proved that it is a rendering of the Coptic name just mentioned), and because the work of Abū Sallū on the Christian buildings of Egypt makes no mention of this town. The earliest author who knew a town called al-Mahalla or al-Mahalla al-Kabira is al-Maḥdī (p. 55, 194, 196, 200); he tells us that it was a town of al-Rif built in two parts, one called Sandafā (or Sandafā), but the statement that the town was situated on the river by Alexandria (p. 200) seems to be an error. Al-Bakrī seems to know the same town under the name Mahallat Maḥrūm (*Kiṭāb al-Maḥallat wa 'l-Mamālīk*, Beir. Mus. MS.). Idri'ī, *Description de l'Afrique*, p. 158, calls the town simply al-Mahalla and knows a canal called after it. Yāqūt's statements are confused, for he speaks of a town called Mahallat Daḥalā and of another Mahallat Sharḥiyyūn (iv. 428), both of which seem to refer to the same place. Mahallat Sharḥiyyūn in Yāqūt — which he also calls Mahallat al-Kubrā — forms one town with Sandafā and on the other hand he says that Mahalla Daḥalā between al-Kāhira and Dimyāt is the largest of the Mahalla that he knows (cf. also Abū 'l-Fidā', ii. 160), while the geographer al-Dimashqī (p. 231) knows Mahalla Daḥalā as the capital of the Kūm of Daḥalā; Ibn Daḥmāz (v. 82) says that the governorship of this town was regarded as "the little vicariate" (*al-wilāyat al-sughra*).

The name Mahallat Sharḥiyyūn is again found in al-Makrizi (ed. Wiet, iii. 207). It is clear from these writers that the town was an important commercial centre from the tenth century onwards. It does not seem however to have played any considerable part in history, although 'Alī Paṣha Muḥarrak quotes some events that took place there, from al-Makrizi and al-Djāhizī. In Egypt in the 12th century the town had to give way to Tanta, which became the capital of the *muḥallat* of al-Gharbiya, while al-Mahalla became the capital of a smaller administrative area; 'Alī Muḥarrak estimates its inhabitants at 30,000, while the 1928 Baedeker only gives it 35,500. It is at present a centre of the cotton trade; raw cotton is there cleaned in the factories. Of the many individuals who bear the *nishā* al-Mahallī, the most celebrated is Djalāl al-Din al-Mahallī [q. v.] who was born here.

Bibliography: Maasero et Wiet, *Ma-*

teriaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte, Cairo 1919, p. 164 and the bibliography there given; 'Alī Pasha Muḥarrak, *al-Khitāt al-Jadida*, xv. (Būlūk 1305), p. 18.

(J. H. KRAMER)

MAHARI or **MAKARI**, a negro tribe also called *Kotoko*, living on both banks of the Lower Logone below Musgu and on both banks of the Lower Chari from Lake Chad to Fort Lamy and Küsséri.

They are usually divided into three groups: the Lagwere on the Logone, where they are mixed with Musgu, the Semair at Küsséri and the Songwal Kwe at Gulfei. These natives do not seem to be autochthonous; the first occupants of the country according to tradition were the Kerebina, who are perhaps related to the ancient people of the Sao or Sô. As a rule, tall and slim, lank and bony, they have a narrow head and dark skin; they make three parallel cicatrices on the forehead, the middle one of which runs from the top of the nose to the roots of the hair. They speak languages akin to the Sao, Kuri and Buduma. They are nearly connected with the Musgu, with whom they form the Massu group. The Kanuri have passed on to them the Muslim religion and a certain degree of civilization.

The Makari or Kotoko are agriculturists and fishermen; they grow different kinds of millet, soaze earthenware and grind their corn with a quern. Fishing provides them with an abundant supply of food; they follow it in large pirogues, about 40 feet long and two to four feet wide. These crafts which are propelled by poles or paddles, have a flat bottom and a raised bow and stern; they are built of strong planks bound together with fibre passed through holes which after being tied, are caulked with various barks. This is how they come to be described as sewn. They carry 25 to 30 persons. The Kotoko fish with a large net mounted on two forks placed in different directions at the front and manoeuvred by a lever. This net is lowered to touch the bottom, then a little pirogue rowed by children drives the fish towards the fishing boat by striking the water with poles. The apparatus is lifted as soon as the fish have entered it.

The homes of the Makari are built of clay, are fairly large and comparatively comfortable. The walls are about 6 feet high; they have an elliptical door about 5 feet high; the roof is of straw and hemispherical in shape. Inside is a bed of clay, shelves of clay to hold household utensils and the fireplace. Sometimes there is also a bed made of thongs of hide laced round a framework.

There are few isolated homes in the Makari country; they are generally grouped in villages of which the most important are Logone, Gana (Little Logone), Karnak, Logone or Logone Berni (Great Logone) and Küsséri. They used all to be surrounded by circular ditches and clay walls pierced by several narrow gates. These defences were intended to protect the inhabitants from the frequent attacks of their neighbours.

The population includes smiths, potters, weavers and a few traders. There are a few Arabs among them. Politically the Makari belonged to the ancient empire of Bornu (q. v.). They were divided into several small vassal states; that of Karnak Logone showed more independence.

Bibliography: F. Fourtan, *De l'Algérie*

au Congo par le Tchad, Paris 1902; Postin, *Enquêtes ethnologiques des principales populations de l'Afrique Equatoriale Française*, in *Publications de la Société Antropologique de France*, Paris 1914; G. Bruel, *L'Afrique Equatoriale Française*, Paris 1918. (HENRI LABOURET)

MAHBÛB, the name given in North Africa and Egypt (cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v.) to the Turkish gold sequin, contraction for *HERMAHÛB* (q. v.).

MAHDĀWIS, the followers of Saiyid Muhammad Mahdī, of Hawuzar, near Banares, 847—910 (1445—1504), who declared that he was the promised Mahdī (q. v.) and by his preaching gained a number of adherents in Ahmadiyābād (q. v.) and other parts of Gujjarāt. His followers credited him with the power of working miracles, raising the dead, healing the blind and the dumb, etc. For a time they were allowed to profess their faith unmolested and add to their number by proselytizing, but in the reign of Muḥammad I, Sultan of Gujjarāt (1515—1526) they were persecuted and many of them put to death. Awrangzeb (q. v.) also persecuted them when in 1645 he was governor of Ahmadiyābād. In consequence of these persecutions, the Mahdāwis to the present day practise *hilya* (q. v.) and wish to pass as orthodox Muslims; their exact number is therefore uncertain, but they are found in small groups in most parts of Gujjarāt, in Bombay, Sind, the Dakkan (q. v.) and Upper Hindustān. They believe that Saiyid Muhammad was the last *Imām*, the promised Mahdī, and in consequence of his having come, they are said by their religious opponents neither to repent for their sins nor to pray for the souls of their dead. They observe certain ceremonies peculiar to themselves at marriages and funerals. By their enemies they are styled *Ghāir-Mahdīs*, i. e. those who do not believe in a Mahdī who is still to come; but the Mahdāwis themselves apply this designation to other Muhammadans as having failed to recognise the Mahdī who has already appeared.

Bibliography: Sikandar b. Muhammad, *Mirāt-i Sikandari*, p. 136—138, Bombay 1891 (English transl. by Faruqullah Latifullah Faridi, p. 90—91); H. Blochmann, *Translation of the Aḥmī Akhshī*, Introduction, p. iv—vi, Calcutta 1873; Dīnār Sharīf, *Qanun-e-Liḥān*, 2nd ed., p. 171—172, Madras 1863; ed. W. Crooke, p. 208—209, Oxford 1921; *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. ix., part II, p. 62—64, Bombay 1899; *Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vi. 189 (Goldziher on Ghair Mahdī); Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg 1925, p. 364. (T. W. ARNOLD)

AL-MAHDĪ (A.), means literally "the guided one", and, as all guidance (*hudā*) is from Allāh, it has come to mean the divinely guided one, guided, that is, in a peculiar and individual way. For Allāh, in the intense and immediate way of Islam, is guiding every one and everything in the world, whether by the human reason or by the instincts of the lower animals, to a knowledge of Himself and to what is needed for their existence and continuance (*Lisān*, xx. 228, foot). One of His names is *al-Mahdī*, "the Guide" (*Kur'ān*, xxii. 53; xxv. 33), and the idea of His guidance is reiterated in the *Kur'ān*. For a statement of its different kinds see Rāḍī on *Kur'ān*, i. 5 (Fleischer's ed., i. 8, li. 21 sqq.); *Mufradāt*

of al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī, p. 560 of ed. Cairo 1324; *al-Mahdī al-ʿāmin* of al-Ḡharālī, p. 80 of ed. Cairo 1324. But it is singular that the word *mahdī* (the passive participle of the I Stem) never occurs in the Qurʾān and that the passive of that stem occurs only four times. In the usage of the Qurʾān, the VIII stem, *istadda*, strictly "he accepted guidance for himself", is used as a quasi or reflexive passive. Thus the man whom Allāh guides is not simply "guided" but reacts himself to the divine guidance.

There seems to be no original authority for the vocalisation *al-Mahdī* which Edward Pococke gave as N^o. xvi. of the Signs in his *Porta Moisi*, ii. 263 of ed. 1635, with the meaning "director"; cf. Lane's note in the *Supplement* to his lexicon, p. 3042 c. Margoliouth (article cited below, p. 337a) suggests that it may mean "the giver" and refers to traditions (see below) of the Mahdī bestowing uncounted wealth; but there does not seem to be any oriental authority for this epithet. Also, the verb used in these traditions is *ʿafa*.

But one who is *mahdī*, or *al-mahdī*, is in a different position; he is absolutely guided. It is used of certain individuals in the past and of an eschatological individual in the future. Thus the *Lisān* (xx. 229, l. 9 from below) quotes from a tradition "the usage of the khalīfas who followed the right way and were guided" (*sunnaṭu l-khalīfa al-raḥimīn al-mahdīyīn*), meaning the first four khalīfas, and goes on to state that it is applied especially, as a name, to the Mahdī of whom the Prophet gave good tidings that he would come in the End of Time. There are many other instances of the non-eschatological application of the term *mahdī* to historical personages. Goldziher (*Vorlesungen*, p. 267, v., note 12, 2) has gathered a number of such cases: Thus Ḍarrī (*Nasāb al-ʿArab*, N^o. 104, v. 29) applies it to Abraham and Ḥasan b. Thābit (*Dirāʾat*, ed. Tunis, 24, 4) to Muḥammad; see, too, Ibn Saʿd (xi. 94, 3). It is often applied by Sunnites to ʿAlī, in distinction even to the other three khalīfas; thus in *Uṣṣalāḥ* (iv. 31, 2) he is *ḥakīm al-mahdīyīn*, and Sulaimān b. Surād calls Ḥusain, after his death, "Mahdī son of the Mahdī" (Tabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Leyden, Ser. II. 546, 11). Farazdaq and Ḍarrī applied it as an honorific even to the Umayyad khalīfas. As applied by the pious to ʿUmar II, the Umayyad (Ibn Saʿd, v. 245, 3), it seems to have been more than an honorific; he was regarded as a real *mawjūd* [q. v.] and under peculiar divine guidance. In the view of later Islām he was the first of these "renewers" of the Faith and the eighth and last of these would be either the Mahdī, a descendant of the Prophet, or ʿIsā (*al-mawjūd al-muʿtadī*), according to the two positions; cf. article 183. See on the whole question of the *Mawjūd* and his relation to the Mahdī: Goldziher, *Zur Charakteristik . . . al-Sayyid*, in *S. B. Ak. Wien*, lxxx., p. 10 199. It is characteristic of Islām to take a very pessimistic view of human nature; men always fall away from the faith and have to be brought back. This will be so especially towards the end of the world. Men will become thoroughly secular and Allāh will leave them to themselves. The Kaʿba will vanish, and the copies of the Qurʾān will become blank paper, and its words will vanish, also, from the memories of men. They will think only of poems and songs. Then the end will come.

In a similar heightened sense the term Mahdī was applied by Ibn al-Taʾwīḍī (*Dirāʾat*, ed. Margoliouth, p. 103, 5, 6) to the ʿAbbāsīd khalīfa al-Nāṣir (A. H. 575—622); he is the Mahdī and no other eschatological Mahdī need be looked for. In a narrower but more true etymological sense it came to be applied to converts to Islām; Allāh had guided these to the right Way. For such, Turks use the more Qurʾānic term *mahdī*; see above for the distinction. Goldziher (p. 268) gives cases. In a heightened sense, also, the term was applied very early (A. H. 66) to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya, a son of ʿAlī by another wife than Fāṭima. After the death of Ḥusain at Karbala, Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbad put forward this Muḥammad as a claimant of the khalīfat and called him "the Mahdī, son of the legate (*al-mawjūd*)", a term applied to ʿAlī by those who asserted that the Prophet had bequeathed the headship of the people to him (Tabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii. 534). This was after the deaths of Ḥasan and Ḥusain, the two sons of ʿAlī by Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet, and shows a different drift as to the inheritance of the Imāmate from that of the Shīʿite legitimists. This Muḥammad was heir as the son of ʿAlī and not as possessing the blood of the Prophet. He seems himself to have declined the dignity thus thrust upon him but, *malgré lui*, he became the founder of the Kaisāniya sect which looked for his return from his grave in Mount Raḍwā, where he remains undying. This was maintained by the poet Kuthayrī (d. 105 = 723) and by the Saiyid al-Himyari (d. 173 = 789; *Aghāni*, viii. 32; cf. Masʿūdī, Paris ed., v. 180 192). Muḥammad thus became an "expected Mahdī", *mahdī muntazar*, like the Hidden Imām of the Twelver Shīʿites. For the position of the Kaisāniya see Shahrestānī's *Milal wa-Nihāl*, ed. on margin of Ibn Ḥatm, i. 196; Mukhtār, designated with Muḥammad, eventually founded the Mukhtāriya sect which was strict Shīʿite and upheld Ḥusain b. ʿAlī (Shahrestānī, p. 197). The whole episode is interesting as showing the extreme fluidity of the religious-political parties at the time. It also shows very clearly how the term *mahdī* gradually hardened from being a general honorific into a special designation, and even a proper name, for a restorer of the Faith in the last days.

The Hidden Imām of the Twelver Shīʿites, whose return (*raʿīʿa*) is awaited, is also called, by the Shīʿa, al-Mahdī. But his status is entirely different from that of the future restorer looked for by the Sunnites. The very essence of Sunnite Islām is that the Muslim people shall rule itself and can attain truth and certainty by its own exertions. When, at any time, its qualified scholars (*mawjūd*) have applied the three *uṣūl* — Qurʾān, *Sunna*, *ʿIyān* — to any point of Islām and have come to an agreement (*ijmāʿ*) on it, that point is assured and the acceptance of it as of faith is binding on all Muslims. The idea of an absolute Mahdī, therefore, as an infallible guide, suggests too much that *taḥdīd* [q. v.], which the later Sunnite theologians rejected. Sunnite Islām, as Goldziher has taught us, is a recoil against the idea of blind submission to any human teacher. Even ʿIsā, as restorer, is called *mahdī*, which is much less emphatic in its suggestion of infallibility. Yet the masses demanded an absolute restorer and it was among the masses that the belief in a Mahdī was, and is, strong. To return — the

Mahdī, or 'Isā when he comes as a restorer and ruler, will restore and apply that Consensus of Islām which has been reached by the successive generations of *mudjtahid*'s. Thus the Muslim people not only rules itself but is also the ultimate and infallible interpreter of the revelation through the Prophet. The Shi'ites, on the other hand, admit no such authority either in the Muslim people or in their own *mudjtahid*'s; by *Kar'ān*, *Sunnah*, *Ḥadīth* and *Ijmā'* no certainty can be reached. Certainty can only be gained from the instruction (*al-ḥim*; cf. Goldziher's *Streitschrift des Gasālī gegen die Bāṭinīya-Sekte*, passim) of the hidden *Imām* who is divinely protected (*ma'jūm*) against all error and sin and whose function it is to interpret Islām to men. The *mudjtahid*'s of the Shi'a are his intermediaries with men; but they in their intermediation may err. When the Hidden *Imām* returns he will rule personally by divine right. He is called a Mahdī, but it is in a different sense from any Sunnite use of that term. The idea of protection against error and sin (*ḥimā*; see article above, II, p. 543) seems to have been introduced into Sunnite Islām from the Ma'tasilite system by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606 = 1209; see, further, Goldziher in *Isl.*, III, 238-245), but there it has been limited strictly to prophets. No "successor" (*khālifa*) can enjoy it and the Mahdī, for those Sunnites who expect him, is strictly an ultimate *khālifa* of the Prophet. For those Sunnites who look to 'Isā to play the part of the Mahdī he will not return as a prophet in his own right. It will not be a return (*radf'a*) in his case but simply a "descent" (*nuzūl*) and he will rule according to the law (*shari'a*) of Muḥammad; see article 'Isā above, II, p. 525. As all Shi'ite sects agree on this status of their *Imām* it is unnecessary to go into further details on them; see in general, article *SHI'ISM*.

Another important point of difference between Shi'ites and Sunnites as to the Mahdī is that he is an essential part of the Shi'ite creed but not of the Sunnite. That there will be a final restorer of the faith all Sunnite Islām believes as a part of its eschatology, but not that he will be called Mahdī. There is no mention of the Mahdī in either of the two *Ḥadīth*'s, of Muslim or of Bukhārī. Similarly Sunnite systematic theologians do not deal with him. The *Mawāḥiḥ* of al-Idrīsī has nothing on him; nor, indeed, on any of the Signs of the Hour (*āḥrāt al-ā'a*; cf. article *ḤIYAMA*). Nasafī in his *Al-Ḥadīd* has, of these, only al-Dajjāl (see article above, vol. I, p. 886) and the Descent of 'Isā; Taftazānī, in his commentary, gives ten Signs but not the Mahdī. Even al-Gharālī, a popularizing theologian, has nothing on the Signs in the last Book of his *Ḥikma*, that on eschatology, and has only a slight allusion in the Book dealing with the *Ḥadīd* (ed. 1334, L. 218; *Ḥikma*, the commentary of the Sayyid Murtazā, IV, 279) to the coming of al-Dajjāl, the descent of 'Isā and his slaying of al-Dajjāl; there is no mention of the Mahdī either in the text or in the commentary. Al-Gharālī's whole point in this passage is to stress the final falling away from the faith of all men to which reference has been made above.

It was, then, in the hearts of the Muslim multitude that the faith in the Mahdī found its resting-place and support. In the midst of growing darkness and uncertainty — political, social, moral, theological — they clung to the idea of a future deliverer and restorer and of a short millenium before the

end. This belief is, therefore, expressed in a multitude of later traditions, often expansions and expositions of better authenticated and older traditions, and often linking themselves to old stories of inter-tribal and inter-dynastic conflicts in the civil wars after the murder of 'Uthmān. We, therefore, find among them references to historical movements and sects which had failed in their time but had left remains, if only a name, to add to the confusion of this eschatological picture. These are gathered up in later edifying collections, such as the *Tadhkirah* of Abū 'Abd Allah al-Kurṭubī (d. 671 = 1272; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, I, 415) which we have in a *Muḥḥṭaṭ* by al-Shāṭirī (d. 973 = 1565; Brockelmann, II, 335; ed. Cairo 1324) and the *Majma' al-Anwār* of a modern writer, Ḥasan al-Idrīsī al-Hamawī (d. 1303 = 1886; Brockelmann, II, 486; many editions).

But the clearest presentation of the alleged basis for this belief is given by Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808 = 1406) in his *Muḥḥṭaṭ* (ed. Quatremère, II, 142 sqq.; Bulaq, folio ed., 1274, p. 151 sqq.; transl. by De Slane, II, 158 sqq.): "A section on the descendant of Fāṭima and what the people hold as to him and on clearing up the obscurity as to that. It has been commonly accepted (*majhūl*) among the masses (*al-kāfā*) of the people of Islām, as the ages have passed, that there must needs appear in the End of Time a man of the family of Muḥammad (*min ahl al-bayt*) who will aid the Faith (*dīn*) and make justice triumph; that the Muslims will follow him and that he will reign over the Muslim kingdoms and be called al-Mahdī. The appearance of al-Dajjāl and of the other Signs of the Last Day (*āḥrāt al-ā'a*), which are established in sound tradition (*al-ḥadīth*) will come after him. 'Isā will descend after his appearance and will kill al-Dajjāl or will descend along with him and aid him in that killing; and in Worship 'Isā will follow the Mahdī as his *Imām*. In support of this position traditions are used which some authorities on tradition have alleged and which others have disputed and often opposed with other narrations. The later *Shāfi*s have followed another course and method of proof in the case of this descendant of Fāṭima and often seek support, as to that, in the mystical "unveiling" (*kashf*) which is the basis of their method."

This is a very careful statement of the strictly popular drift in Ibn Khaldūn's time, a drift with which he evidently had no sympathy. He goes on to give formally 24 traditions bearing upon this restorer and adds six variants, criticizing the authenticity of them all. In only 14 of these is this restorer named Mahdī. For references to traditions on the Mahdī in Ahmad b. Hanbal's *Musnad*, Abū Dā'ūd's *Sunan*, Tirmidhī's *Ḥadīth* and Ibn Mādjā's *Sunan*, see Weninck's *Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition under MAHDĪ*; in the *Majma' al-Sunna* of al-Baghawī, see II, 134 of ed. Cairo 1318 and in the *Mishkāt al-Majma' al-Sunna*, see p. 399-401 of ed. Dīhlī 1327. All these, however, have only a certain number of the mass of traditions quoted by Ibn Khaldūn. In the *Tadhkirah* of al-Kurṭubī, on the other hand, there is (p. 117-121 of ed. Cairo 1324) a further mass of luxuriant detail which Ibn Khaldūn had evidently disdained to incorporate; cf. his later reference to the town Māssa, p. 173, l. 7. In the *Tadhkirah* the Prophet, for example, foretells the future conquest and re-conquest of Spain by name. Al-

Qurṭubī died in 617 (1272) in the first years of the Nasrīds of Granada when Granada was the only part of Spain left to the Muslims. He and those around him felt grievously the need of such a restorer and Mahdī, and detailed traditions sprang up as to his coming. The situation called for a mightier and more specific champion of Islām than 'Isā whose business strictly was to kill al-Daḍḍajāl. Devotion, also, to the blood of the Prophet, of whom the Mahdī was to come, and which was so strong even in the Sunnite Maghrib, may have helped this. Al-Qurṭubī's Mahdī was to come from the Maghrib as opposed to the earlier ones who were to come from Syria or Khurāsān. He will come from a place in the Ḍjabal of the Maghrib, on the shore of the sea, called Māma; they will swear allegiance to him there and again, a second time, at Mecca. Here the tradition joins and attempts to explain an earlier one, given by Abū Ḥamad and quoted by Ibn Khaldūn (p. 148; see, also, below), telling of an expedition against Kalb and of the booty of Kalb, thus linking up with the earliest inter-tribal conflicts. This western Mahdī will also kill al-Sufyānī who is supported by Kalb. This is not the place to enter upon the story how the Marwānīd branch of the Umayyads supplanted their cousins, the Sufyānīds. But from the mystery connected with the voluntary abdication and speedy death of Mu'āwīya II, the succession of Marwān b. al-Hakam and the sudden death or assassination of Walid b. 'Uthā b. Abī Sufyān (*fu'na wa-ḥafā mayyis**, Ma'ādī, Paris, ed., v. 170) at the burial of Mu'āwīya II, there seems to have sprung an Imāmite party among the Umayyads (*ḥawā al-Umayyā min al-Imāniyya*, al-Ghazālī in Goldziher's *Streitschrift*, p. 12 of the Arabic text); yet this Walid appears later alive in Tabarī's narrative. In the account of Khālid b. Yazid in the *Aghāni* (xvi. 88) there is a story that he was the first to start this (*waḍa'a ḥabaru al-Sufyānī wa-kabharahu wa-ardā an yakhḍu l-l-ḥakīm fī l-ḥaḥ**, although that is also denied and a more general and earlier origin is asserted. In the civil war at the rise of the 'Abbāsīds one of the "white", i.e. Umayyad, revolts was in support of the claims of "the Sufyānīd of whom there used to be mention" (*wa-kān al-ḥakīm l-Sufyānī ḥaḍḥi kāna yuḥḥarnu*, Tabarī, *Ta'rikh*, Cairo ed., ix. 138, anno 132; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, v. 207 of ed. Cairo 1301). Apparently the Sufyānīds continued to assert their claims in the under-ground Imāmite fashion against the Marwānīds and, later, the 'Abbāsīds, supporting themselves with traditions, as all the parties did. The details are exceedingly obscure for this was one of the lost causes of Islām and has left only a name and that name under the general opprobrium which fell upon the Umayyads in all later Islām, Sunnite and Shī'ite. An earlier stage in this appears in a tradition quoted by Tabarī (d. 224 = 838) in his commentary on Qur'ān, xxxiv. 50 (Part xxii., p. 63 foot). The Prophet mentioned a *disension* (*fitna*) which would arise between the East and the West. Then there would come forth al-Sufyānī from the Dry Wādī (*al-wādī l-yābī*); otherwise unknown; in Yāqūt, iv. 1000, "the Wādī of Yābī: from a man; it is said that al-Sufyānī will come from it in the End of Time" "in that outburst of his", or "when his time comes" (*fī fawrihī ḍālik*). Much is said of the armies he will send out and the destruction he

will spread, slaying 300 chiefs of the Banu 'l-'Abbās until Ḍjibrīl is sent against him and destroys him. His appearance, thus, for Tabarī, is not eschatological and there is nothing about the Mahdī and the End of Time. But in an apocalypse incorporated by Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī in his *Muḥaddarat al-Abrār* and studied in detail, historically and astrologically, by Richard Hartmann in his *Islamische Apokalypse aus der Kreuzzugszeit* and dated by him about 376 (1180), this tradition is used, expanded and brought into the eschatological picture, and al-Sufyānī is finally killed by the Mahdī. A hundred years later al-Qurṭubī expands it still further and calls al-Sufyānī Muhammad b. 'Urwa. For other references on al-Sufyānī see Goldziher, *Streitschrift*, p. 52, note 1; Snouck Hurgronje, *Der Mahdī, in Verspreide Geschieden*, i. 155; De Goeje, *Frag. hist. ar.*, ii. 526; Van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domin. ar.*, p. 61; Lammen, *Le califat de Yazid*, i. 17; *Mo'awīya II ou le dernier des Sufyānīds*, p. 43.

It is obviously impossible to give in detail the traditions bearing on this restorer, but their types can be indicated and some recurrent characteristics. The great majority are put directly in the mouth of the Prophet, a very few go back to 'Alī. If there remain of the world a single day Allāh will lengthen it until he sends this restorer; the world shall not pass away; the Hour shall not come until then. He will be of the People of my House (*min ahl bāit*); of my kindred (*min 'itri*); of my Nation (*min ummati*); of the offspring of Fātima (*min walad Fātima*); his name will be my name and his father's name my father's name. He will resemble the Prophet in disposition (*ḥuḥ*) but not in appearance (*ḥaḥ*); this is put in the mouth of 'Alī. He will be bald of the forehead, hook-nosed, high-nosed. He will find the world full of evil and oppression and ungodliness; if a man say: "Allāh! Allāh!" he will be killed. He will fill the world with equity and justice; he will beat men until they return to Allāh (*al-ḥaḥ*). The Muslims will enjoy under him a prosperity the like of which has never been heard of; the earth will bring forth its fruits and the heavens will pour down its rain; money in that day will be like that which is trodden under foot and will be uncounted; a man will stand up and say: "O Mahdī, give to me", and he will say: "Take!" and he will pour into his robe as much as he can carry. It is suggested that this is a *tafsir*, legitimate or illegitimate, of a tradition in the *Sahīh* of Muslim: "There will come in the end of my nation a khalīfa who will scatter wealth, not counting it". See many references for this munificent khalīfa and the abundance of money in the last days in Weisbach, *Handbook of Tradition*, p. 1006, foot. But in this tradition, as in all Muslim and Bukhārī, there is no mention of the Mahdī. Again: the Mahdī is of us, the People of the House. Allāh will bring him suddenly and unexpectedly (*ḥaḥ yuḥḥiḥu-l-lāh fī ḥaḥ*). He will rule five, seven, nine years. There are frequent allusions to his coming in a time of disensions (*fitan*). These will be such that it will take a voice from heaven to still them, saying: "Your Amīr is so-and-so" (Ibn Khaldūn, p. 162). This is very like an ironical comment, but it is cited as a simple foretelling. In these earlier traditions he will come from the East (al-Mashrik; Khurāsān), from beyond the River (Oxus); in later times (e.g. Qurṭubī

and Ibn Khaldūn, p. 171—176) he was to come from the wide, unknown, lands of the Maghrib. The original Black Banners (*raʾyāt sūd*) tradition about the 'Abbāsids, apparently forged to lead them to support the 'Alids, does not mention the Mahdī (Ibn Khaldūn, p. 153), but in an evidently later form there is added, "for he is the khalīfa of Allāh, the Mahdī" (Ibn Khaldūn, p. 159). One long tradition (Ibn Khaldūn, p. 148) may be given entire as an illustration of a type and because of the later expansion and use of it by Ḳurṭubī: "There will arise a difference at the death of a khalīfa and a man of the people of al-Madīna will go forth, fleeing to Mecca. Then some of the people of Mecca will come to him and make him go out (apparently rise in insurrection) against his will and they will swear allegiance to him between the *Rukn* and the *Maḥṣan*. And an army will be sent against (or, "to", *ilā*) him from Syria but will be swallowed up in the earth in the desert (*al-baḥdā*) between Mecca and al-Madīna. Whenever the people see that, the *Abdāl* ("Substitutes" or "Nobles") of Syria and the *Aḥbāb* ("Companions" or "Secretaries"; see Lane, p. 2059) of al-ʿIrāq will come to him and they will swear allegiance to him. Thereafter there will arise a man of Quraysh with maternal grandfathers of Kalb. So he will send against them an army and it will overcome them and that will be the expedition (*duʿā*) of Kalb. And oh! the disappointment of those who will not have part in the booty of Kalb! He will divide the wealth and rule over the people according to the *sunna* of their Prophet and he will subject himself to the support of Islām. He will remain seven or nine years and then die and the Muslims will pray over him". This is evidently an echo of the early 'Alid conflicts and is not eschatological nor does it mention the Mahdī. But its motifs of the *Abdāl* and of the earth swallowing up in the desert (*al-baḥdā*) re-appear in other traditions which are concerned with the End of Time (p. 156, 161) and it is worked into al-Ḳurṭubī's tradition of the Mahdī from the Maghrib. Again, in a tradition evidently eirenic between the 'Abbāsids and the 'Alids, the Muslims are exhorted to "turn to the youth of the tribe of Tamīm (*alāikūn bi-l-fata-l-tamīmī*) for he will come from the East and will be the standard-bearer of the Mahdī" (Ibn Khaldūn, p. 162). But it is plain, too, that the doctrine of the Mahdī arose late and was not generally received. Thus the doctrine of al-Dajjāl is fixed in all Muslim eschatology, official and popular, but a tradition tries to assert that belief in the Mahdī is more of Faith than belief in him: "Whoever denies the Mahdī is an unbeliever but whoever denies al-Dajjāl is only a denier" (Ibn Khaldūn, p. 144). On the other hand a tradition asserts that there is no Mahdī but 'Isā. The upholders of the Mahdī tried to turn this by saying that it means that no one ever spoke in the cradle (*maḥd*; Ḳurʿān, iii. 41) except 'Isā (Ibn Khaldūn, p. 163; Ḳurṭubī, p. 118). For al-Ḳaṣṭānī, another restorer who is not mentioned in any of the collections of traditions used above, see article *Ḳaṣṭān*, above, vol. II, p. 630a and Snouck Hurgronje's article *Der Mahdī*, p. 12 (*Verspr. Geschr.*, i. 156).

The later, therefore, we go and the more popular are our sources the more fixed do we find the belief in the eschatological Mahdī. The more, too,

the Muslim masses have felt themselves oppressed and humiliated, either by their own rulers or by non-Muslims, the more fervent has been their longing for this ultimate restorer of the true Islām and conqueror of the whole world for Islām. And as the need for a Mahdī has been felt, the Mahdīs have always appeared and Islām has risen, sword in hand, under their banner. It is impossible here to give the history of these risings. See for details upon them the article *Mahdī* by Margoliouth in Hasting's *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, viii. 336—340 and Goldziher, *Verlesungen*, p. 231, 268, 291. For the Sudanese Mahdī, see especially Snouck Hurgronje's article *Der Mahdī*, reprinted in *Verspr. Geschr.*, i. p. 147—181. This contains, also, a fundamental discussion of the origin and history of the idea of a restorer in Islām; see also beneath, s.v. MUHAMMAD AḤMAD.

Bibliography: has been given in the course of the article. The three important treatments of the subject are undoubtedly those by Snouck Hurgronje, Goldziher and Margoliouth.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

AL-MAHDĪ, ABU 'ABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD, an 'Abbāsīd Caliph. His father was the Caliph al-Manṣūr, his mother was called Umm Mūsā bint al-Manṣūr b. 'Abd Allāh and belonged to the family of the old Himyarite kings. When the governor of Khurāsān 'Abd al-Djabbār b. 'Abd al-Rahmān [q.v.] rebelled, the Caliph sent his son Muhammad al-Mahdī with an army against him; the real commander was Khazim b. Khuzaima. After taking 'Abd al-Djabbār prisoner, al-Mahdī by his father's orders undertook an expedition against Tabaristān which had to submit to him [cf. DABČVA]. In 144 (761—762) he returned to the 'Irāq where he married Raita, the daughter of the Caliph Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Saffāh. For the next few years he lived in al-Ray. 'Isā b. Mūsā had long been designated as successor to the throne but he was persuaded by al-Manṣūr to waive his rights in favour of al-Mahdī, and after the death of al-Manṣūr in Dhū 'l-Hijja 158 (Oct. 775) al-Mahdī was recognised as Caliph. He made himself very popular by his liberality and gentleness, although several cruel deeds are credited to him. For example he had the son of the vizier Abū 'Abd Allāh Mu'awiya b. 'Uḥaid Allāh [q.v.] executed on a mere suspicion and another vizier Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd who had fallen into disfavour with him was thrown into a prison so dark that he lost the use of his eyes. In 160 (776—777) a rebellion broke out in the always unruly Khurāsān; the leader of the rebels, Yūzaf b. Ibrāhīm, was however defeated and taken prisoner whereupon the Caliph had him executed in the cruellest fashion. The war against Byzantium was continued under al-Mahdī. In continual raids to plunder and devastate the marches, the two opponents sought to do each other as much harm as possible; there was however never any thought of permanently occupying any territory temporarily conquered. On the whole the advantage lay with the Muslims and in the early stages they advanced as far as Angora. Michael Lachanodrakon however with a Byzantine army advanced against them, destroyed the fortress of al-Hadath [q.v.] which however was soon rebuilt, and laid the land waste as far as the Syrian frontier (162—778/779). In the following year al-Mahdī equipped a great expedition in which his son Hārūn took part against

the Byzantines and in 165 (782) Hārūn took the field again, accompanied by the Caliph's favourite al-Rabī' b. Yūnus, later vizier. This time the Muslims penetrated to the Bosphorus and the Empress Irene was forced to make a three years' truce and to promise to pay an annual tribute. In Ramaḍān 168 (March/April 785), however, the truce was broken by the Byzantines and hostilities lasted till the death of al-Mahdī, without however any decision being reached. In his reign appeared the sectarian fanatic al-Muḥanna', who gave the Caliph's troops much trouble and sustained a long siege in a fortress in the region of Kaṣṣab, till finally he poisoned himself in 163 (779/780) in order not to fall alive into the hand of his enemies. In other parts of the empire also, heretics, especially real or alleged Manichaeans (*Zindīq*), were treated with the utmost severity. Al-Mahdī acquired great merit by his work for the peaceful development of his empire; new roads were laid down and the postal system improved; trade and industry reached a prosperity hitherto unknown and scholars were richly rewarded. At the same time there appeared an undesirable tendency to extravagance, which in the end was to prove really fatal, and with al-Mahdī began that expenditure of the revenues on useless luxury, which contributed not a little under his successors to the ruin of the 'Abbāsid empire. In time the Caliph fell under the control of his courtiers and in particular allowed himself to be guided by his chamberlain al-Rabī' b. Yūnus and especially by his wife al-Khaṣarūn, formerly a slave who was the mother of two sons, Muṣā and Hārūn. As early as 160 (776) homage had been paid to the former as successor designate under the name of al-Hādī in place of 'Isā b. Mūsā [q.v.] and six years later al-Mahdī had his younger son Hārūn proclaimed as successor to al-Hādī. But as Khaṣarūn preferred Hārūn and he was also supported by the Barmecides, the Caliph decided to alter the succession in favour of him; al-Hādī, who was then in Djuḡdān refused to agree. Al-Mahdī thereupon set out to discuss the matter with him in person, but died suddenly on the 22nd Muḥarram 169 (Aug. 4, 785) in Māsbadhūn at the age of 43. As a ruler he was undoubtedly one of the best among the 'Abbāsids.

Bibliography: Ibn Kutaiba, *al-Ma'ārif* (ed. Wustenfeld), p. 192 sq.; Ya'qūbi (ed. Houtsma), ii. 409 sqq., 470—487; Balādhuri (ed. de Goeje), see Index; al-Mubarrad, *al-A'māl* (ed. Wright), p. 268, 389, 417, 512, 547, 711, 738; Tabari, iii. 133 sqq., 451—544; Mas'ūdi, *Murūj* (ed. Paris), vi. 224—260; ix. 44, 51, 65 sq.; *al-Aghāmī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), v. 385 sqq.; vi. 8 sqq.; Ibn al-Tikṭāk, *al-Faḥḥ* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 242—258; Muhammad b. Shākir, *Fawa'id al-Wafayāt*, ii. 225; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, iii. 204 sqq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 36, 64, 94 sqq.; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 477 sq.; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall*, p. 446 sqq., 469—474; Brooks, *Byzantines and Arabs in the time of the early Abbāsids*, in *The English Historical Review*, xv. 728 sqq.; Le Strange, *Bagdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, see Index; do., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, passim.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

AL-MAHDĪ. [See IEN TUMART.]

AL-MAHDĪ. [See MUHAMMAD AHMAD.]

AL-MAHDĪ, MUHAMMAD b. HISHĀM b. 'ABD AL-DJABBĀR b. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-NĀSIR, ABU 'L-WALID, eleventh Umayyad Caliph of Spain. He held power on two occasions, first as successor to Hishām II, al-Mu'ayyad [q.v.], and again after Sulaimān b. Ḥakam al-Musta'in [q.v.], in the period of general rebellion which at the beginning of the ninth century immediately preceded the establishment through Muslim Spain of petty independent rulers, the *Mulūk al-Tumā'il*.

The third of the 'Amirid ḥājjib, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Manṣūr, surnamed Sanchol, from the moment he succeeded his brother 'Abd al-Malik al-Muḥaffar abandoned himself to all sorts of excesses and was able to take advantage of the weakness of the titular caliph, Hishām II al-Mu'ayyad, to get himself designated heir-presumptive. This decision at once aroused the indignation of various members of the caliph's family, thus excluded from the throne; they arranged that one of their number, Muhammad b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Djabbār, a great grandson of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāsir, who had many followers among the people of Cordova should head a rebellion. Advantage was taken of an expedition, which 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sanchol, following the example of his father and brother, was to lead in person against the Christians of Galicia, to raise the standard of rebellion. On the 16th Jumādā II, 399 (Feb. 15, 1009) Muhammad b. Hishām attacked the palace of Cordova where the caliph Hishām was with a small number of followers who had remained faithful to him. He captured the palace and at once took steps to make Hishām sign his abdication and had himself proclaimed caliph. The whole population of Cordova was in arms and plundered the 'Amirid town Madinat al-Zahira [q.v.]. All the treasure accumulated there including a vast sum in money was seized and brought to the new caliph who to destroy 'Amirid power for ever, demolished completely and set fire to the town which the great ḥājjib al-Manṣūr had built only a few years before. At the same time, Muhammad b. Hishām who had adopted the honorific *laqab* of al-Mahdī took steps to meet the counter-attack certain to be made by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sanchol. Warned of what had happened in Cordova and of the destruction of al-Madinat al-Zahira, the ḥājjib, full of anxiety, pitched his camp at Kal'at Rabāḥ (Calatrava [q.v.]) and endeavoured to secure the fidelity of his troops who were mainly Berbers. He was soon forced to witness their defection and went to Cordova in the hope of finding new partisans there. But on the way back he was captured by emissaries of al-Mahdī in a monastery of the Sierra Morena and executed at the end of Jumādā II, 399 (March 1, 1009). His body was crucified in Cordova.

Muhammad al-Mahdī, once the power was in his hands, soon alienated the principal Berber chiefs of his army as well as his relatives of the Umayyad house. A rebellion against him was planned by his adversaries. The Berbers put at their head an Umayyad pretender, Hishām b. Sulaimān b. al-Nāsir, whom they proclaimed caliph with the title al-Rashid, and laid siege to Cordova. Al-Mahdī made a sortie, routed them and the pretender was killed. The Berbers then chose a new Umayyad prince, Sulaimān b. Ḥakam, and at the same time appealed for assistance to Sancho Garcer

and his Christians. In spite of all the efforts of al-Mahdī, the blockade of Cordova became more and more strict. He then tried to put on the throne the caliph Hishām II b. al-Mu'ayyad whom he had himself deposed and then given out that he was dead, but this was in vain. On 16th Rabi' I, 400 (Nov. 7, 1009) the palace of the caliph was in the hands of the besiegers. Al-Mahdī's only hope was to hide himself. The pretender of the Berbers, Sulaimān, received the oath of allegiance at al-Cordova and assumed the honorific title of al-Musta'in bi'llāh.

In the following month al-Mahdī was able to leave Cordova secretly and seek refuge in Toledo where he was well received by the inhabitants. He then sought and obtained an alliance with the Catalans (*Ifranjī*) who marched with him on Cordova in Shawwāl 400 (May-June 1010). The town was taken and the second reign of al-Mahdī began with a bloody persecution of all the Berbers in Cordova. To avenge the wrongs of their fellow-countrymen in the capital, the Berbers in the army of Sulaimān al-Musta'in returned to besiege the city. Al-Mahdī, betrayed by his servants, was slain during the siege in the palace in Cordova by some 'Amirid slaves on the 8th Dhū'l-Hijja 400 (July 23, 1010). His first reign lasted nine months, the second less than two.

Bibliography: Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, iii., ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1928 (very detail account); al-Nuwairī, *Kitaḥ Nihāyat al-arab*, ed. and transl. M. Gaspar Remito, Granada 1916, index; Abd al-Wāhid al-Marrākushī, *Kitaḥ al-Ma'djīb*, ed. Dozy, p. 28—29, transl. Fagnan, p. 34—36; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitaḥ al-'Ibar*, Būlak, iv. 149—150; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* = *Annals du Maghrib et de l'Espagne*, transl. Fagnan, index; al-Maḥḥārī, *Nafḥ al-'Iḍ* (*Annals*), p. 278—279; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Hullat al-siyarā'*, in Dozy, *Notices...*, p. 159—160; R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, iii. 271—300. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL.)

MAHDĪ KHĀN, MĪKẖ MUḤAMMAD MAHDĪ

ASTARĖKHĀDĪ B. MUḤAMMAD, historian of Nādir Shāh of Persia, whose deeds he recorded in the *Tārīkh-i Djahān Guḡāy-i Nādir*; this work written in Persian is an excellent complement to those by James Fraser and Jonas Hanway on the conqueror. In it Mahdī Khān details the life of Nādir from his birth to his death while other Persian writers only deal with periods of it (e.g. Muḥsin b. Hanīf records only the expedition to India in his *Djahān-i Samān*; 'Abd al-Kārim Kashmūrī in his *Bayān-i Wāḡ* confines himself to the period from this expedition to 1784). W. Jones in his introduction to the *Tārīkh* of Mahdī Khān says that "the narrative of these perpetual rebellions... is somewhat dry and fatiguing"; as to the boundless praise which he bestows on the author's style, especially the descriptions of spring at the beginning of each year, it is exaggerated; in these descriptions all the images used had been employed to satiety for years before. It is true that some works of the period are still more hackneyed. Mahdī Khān himself gives free rein to this vexatious tendency in another version of history of Nādir which comes down to the year 1748, only: *Durr-i Nādir*, in a style uniformly artificial and elaborate. Malcolm (*History of Persia*) reproaches Mahdī Khān with having been too flattering to Nādir; he recognises however that

the historian has spoken frankly of the cruelties which were a blot upon the latter part of the reign. Mahdī Khān was Nādir's secretary. This is revealed not only in the accuracy of his details but in certain statements also. Mahdī, for example, says that he was with the prince when the latter received news of the birth of a grandson (transl. Jones i. 191); at the end of his reign Nādir sent him on a diplomatic mission to the Sulṭān of Turkey (ii. 179). H. Brydges (*Abd-er-Razzak, History of the Kajars*, London 1833, p. clxxxi, note) also credits him with secretarial duties. Besides his historical works, Mahdī Khān compiled his celebrated Eastern Turkish-Persian dictionary entitled *Sanglāk* (1173 = 1760) a valuable thesaurus enriched with examples taken from the Turkish classics (Mir 'Alī-Shīr, *Bāhur-Nāma* etc.); the publication of this work of which there are two abbreviations is highly desirable.

Bibliography: Historical works: Pers. text published at Tabriz, Teheran, Bombay (cf. Rieu, *Cat. Pers. Mus. British Mus.*, i. 192—199, and do., *Suppl.*, p. 120). — Translation: *Histoire de Nader Chah...* traduite d'un manuscrit persan... par Mr. Jones (London 1770, 2 vol.; Engl. transl. of the same, London 1773). — Manuscripts of the dictionary *Sanglāk*; Rieu, *Cat. of Turk. Mus. British Mus.*, p. 264; Ethé, *Cat. Mus. Bodl.*, N^o 1760. — Manuscripts of the abbreviations: Blochet, *Cat. Mus. pers. B.N.*, ii. 220—224; B. N., coll. Schefer, *Suppl. Turc.* 1000). (H. MASSÉ)

AL-MAHDĪ LĪ-DĪN ALLĀH AḤMAD, a title and name of several Zaidi Imāms of the Yaman.

About 250 years after al-Hādī Yahyā, the founder of the Zaidiyya [q.v.] dynasty of the Yaman, his direct descendant, the Imām al-Mutawakkil 'alā 'lillāh Aḥmad b. Sulaimān had, between 532 and 566 (1134—1170), restored the kingdom to its extent in al-Hādī's period, with Ṣa'da, Najrān and for a time also Zabīd and San'a'. A generation later (593—614 = 1197—1217) the hill country from Ṣa'da to Ḥamār was again ruled by one man, al-Manṣūr bi'llāh 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥama, not a descendant of al-Hādī but of a Rassid, i.e. one of the family of al-Hādī's grandfather, al-Kāsim b. Tabāḥabī, the spiritual founder of the Zaidiyya of the Yaman. Al-Manṣūr was twice able to enter San'a'; he was also recognised as Imām by the Kaspīd Zaidīs, the Nektawī; but even before his death his power had become restricted by the last Ayyūbid Sulṭān of the Yaman, al-Malik al-Mas'ūd, once more to the land of Kawkāhān. After his death his sons, first Muḥammad 'Izz al-Dīn, then the Imām Aḥmad al-Mutawakkil tried their fortune in the south, while one of al-Hādī's descendants and his namesake al-Hādī Yahyā b. al-Muḥsin created a petty imāmate around Ṣa'da. An attempt to unite the divided forces of the dynasty was made by

a. **AL-MAHDĪ LĪ-DĪN ALLĀH**; his full official title, one previously met with among the Zaidīs, was al-Mahdī Lī-Dīn Allāh, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain b. Aḥmad b. al-Kāsim b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Kāsim b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'il Abu 'l-Barakāt. The uncertainty about his genealogy, that occurs may be explained from the fact that, as is also found in the superscription and signature to his *Khatīfat al-Kur'ān* (see *Bibl.*) there is a jump from Ismā'il Abu 'l-Barakāt to Ismā'il al-Dhādī (cf. de Zambaur, *Table B.*); he himself expressly says that his genealogy meets that of al-Manṣūr in al-Kāsim b.

Ibrāhīm, i.e. that he was a Rasūl. His reign of ten years during which the Yaman was harassed by plague and famine does not reveal a great ruler nor even any real and consistent authority, but gives a remarkable picture of conditions in South Arabia, when for want of a definite line of succession, success alone decided how far an 'Alid pretender was able to hold his own among his kinsmen and with any forces he could gather to make a stand against foreign foes. In 646 (1248) Aḥmad had himself proclaimed Imām in the fortress of Thula in the highlands of Ḥaḡūr, north-west of Sa'na', by arrangement with the Banū Ḥamza, i.e. the family of the late Imām al-Manṣūr, and with the benevolent tolerance of Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, the brother's son of the first Rasūlīd Sulṭān, al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nūr al-Dīn 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Rasūl. But he was defeated by Nūr al-Dīn and besieged in Thula, and in 647 (1250) we find him having to fight with the Banū Ḥamza who had again deserted him. He was saved by the death of Nūr al-Dīn who was killed by his own Mamlūks in Zabīd, an event which is probably connected with contemporary Mamlūk attempts on the Egyptian Ayyūbids; Asad al-Dīn who wished to make his governorship in Sa'na' independent, is also accused of instigating it. The latter continued active under Nūr al-Dīn's son and successor al-Muḥaffar Yūsuf, rebelling and suing for peace alternately, sometimes on the side of the Imām and sometimes intriguing against him. Al-Mahdī, who in the meanwhile had bound Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad, son of the late Imām and chief of the Banū Ḥamza, to joint action with him, took Sa'na' in the beginning of Dhu'l-Ḥijja 1048 (July 1250); although harassed by Asad al-Dīn who held the fortress of Bīrāḡ, he was able to extend his rule to the south as far as Dhamār. But before a year had expired al-Mahdī had to abandon Sa'na'. Asad al-Dīn indeed sold him the fortress of Bīrāḡ but it was just on account of this that the final breach occurred between them. Asad al-Dīn again went over to al-Muḥaffar who had the governorship of the Yaman granted him by the Caliph al-Musta'īn, who is even said to have sent assassins (*Sira*, see *BIN*, fol. 237r) against the Imām. In a thoroughly Zaidī fashion, however, his fate was decided not by foreign foes but by the Zaidīs themselves. He quarrelled with his ablest and most ardent supporter, Shaikh Aḥmad al-Rasāz. With the help of the Rasūlīds, Shams al-Dīn made himself Imām of the Zaidīs in 652 (1254) in the old capital of Sa'na'. Al-Mahdī was again confined to his original territory. The very next year a Zaidī assembly pronounced his deposition, as unworthy. Of the 10,000 infantry and several hundred horsemen of the earlier fighting, he had still 2,000 infantry and 300 cavalry, but these also left him in the decisive battle of Wādī Shuwayḥ, which runs from Sa'na' parallel to the northwest to the Wādī Kharrāb. He was slain at the age of 42, his head sent round as a trophy and treated shamefully but finally buried with his body in the little Wādī of Qhū Bis (Dhūbaḥ). His inglorious end did not prevent his tomb from becoming a wonder-working shrine of grace; his biographer tells him the "martyr on the path of Allāh and the commander of the faithful" and many miracles are recorded of him even from his lifetime. His assassination at the beginning of 656 (1258) falls

in the same year as the execution of his old enemy, the last 'Abbāsid Caliph, al-Musta'īn. Legend says that the messenger who was to carry the news to Baghdād learned on the way that the caliph had met his fate on the same day.

While in his *Dawā* (see *BIN*) al-Mahdī collected the usual Zaidī arguments with the regular sayings from the Qur'ān and ḥadīth practically in the traditional form as a general appeal to support the Zaidī cause and himself, his *Aḥlīya* is a passionate personal protest against his deposition and an attempt to bring back his enemies especially Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad, to the loyalty they had sworn to him. This, he reproaches them, was an unrighteous as the recognition of Muḥammad's authority as a Prophet by the Umayyads.

The Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad above mentioned, who adopted the official title of al-Mutawakkil and recognised the Rasūlīds as his overlords, was at once challenged by a rival Imām in the person of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Wahhāz. The position remained the same for the next 50 years. The *Tatimmat* gives nine men, the last being al-Nāṣir Saḥb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī, who succeeded in obtaining some recognition as Imāms in the period between al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥamza and

A. AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH AḤMAD b. YAḤYĀ a. AL-MURTAḌĀ b. Aḥmad b. al-Murtaḍā b. al-Mufaḍḍal b. Maṣūir b. al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Ḥudjūdī b. 'Alī b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasim b. Yūsuf al-Da'ī b. Yaḥyā al-Manṣūr b. Aḥmad al-Nāṣir. The last named ancestor was the son and second successor of Yaḥyā al-Ḥudjūdī. After the death of al-Nāṣir Saḥb al-Dīn, a ḡaḡī 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Dawwārī worked with a few partisans on behalf of his sons who were still minors. But the 'Ulamā', anxious to consolidate the power which was gradually breaking up, placed in the mosque of Dhamār al-Dīn in Sa'na' three claimants: 'Alī b. Abī 'I-Faḍl, al-Nāṣir b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad and Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtaḍā and these three were to decide on one of their number. The choice fell on Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, the youngest of them. In spite of his objections, he had to give in to their argument that "one who has gone deeply into learned problems with their subtle points, cannot be incapable of conducting worldly affairs". They at the same time promised him their advice and support (*Tatimmat*, fol. 72a). But on the very night on which he was proclaimed, the ḡaḡī al-Dawwārī succeeded in getting homage paid to his candidate (end of 795 = 1391). Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā and his adherents at once left the town in a hasty and withdrew to the hills to the Banū Shihāb, a clan of the Ḥamzānids. His abode was betrayed by one of the Shihāb. Fighting went on for 13 days in which the enemy lost about 50 men and the Imām 10. The latter then went farther into the mountains and his claims were recognised in Anīs also. Among his special supporters were al-Ḥādī b. al-Mu'ayyad, son of a former Imām, and Ibn Abī 'I-Faḍl. He was also asked by people in Sa'na' to receive their homage. But he was surprised by his enemies and as he would not interrupt his ritual ablutions and prayers to fight, he surrendered under a promise that no harm would befall him. In spite of this, as the *Tatimmat* tells us, which is however much biased in his favour, 80 of his men were massacred, he himself was taken to Sa'na', where he was kept a prisoner for 7 years

and 3 weeks (794–801). Liberated with the help of his wardens, he lived a further 40 years, "tossed up and down the country", devoting himself entirely to learning until he died in Zafar (end of 480 = 1437) of the plague in the Yamau, which had already carried off with many nobles including the rival Imām 'Alī b. Ṣāliḥ al-Dīn. According to the *Ta'limma* (fol. 75a) Ibn al-Murtada was born in 775 (1373) in Dhamār, according to other sources (see Rieu, in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Suppl.*, No. 365) in 764 (1363) at Aḥsā.

The choice of Ibn al-Murtada as Imām was a mistake, inasmuch as he lacked the necessary military and administrative ability. On the other hand he had another qualification in perfection. As a result of a careful education and a thirst for learning from his youth upwards, he wrote a great deal, dogmatic, legal and polemical; he was also a poet and worked at grammar and logic. The kindness of his wardens, who supplied him with ink and paper, enabled him to compose the law book *al-Asḥār fī Fiqh al-A'imma al-aṭṭar* (Berlin MS. 4919) on which he wrote a commentary. His most valuable work is still his theological and legal encyclopaedia, *al-Baḥr al-ṣāḥḥāh* (Berlin MS. 4894–4907) on which he likewise wrote a commentary. Although not the work of an original scholar, it is a rich and well arranged compilation, which deserves attention, if only for the part of the introduction which compares the various religions, as the distinctions between them are seen from quite a different point of view to that of Aḥwāl or Shahrastānī.

About 80 years after al-Mahdī Ahmad b. Yahyā, from 922 (1516), the Turks had begun to occupy Yaman and to hold it with varying fortunes (see Kūth al-Dīn al-Makki, *al-Baḥr al-Yamānī fī l-Faṭḥ al-'Oṭmānī*, in S. de Saey, in N.E., iv. 412–504, and A. Roigiers, *Histoire Yemenite sous Hassan Pascha*, Leyden 1838). In his struggle with them al-Manṣūr bi'l-lāh al-Kāsim b. Muḥammad, a descendant of al-Hādī in the 17th generation, was able about 1000 A.H. to restore the present Imāmate in Sa'nā (see A. S. Tritton, *The Rise of the Imams of Sa'nā*, Oxford 1925). Of his sons, Muḥammad al-Mu'ayyad succeeded him. Even in his reign but still more after his death in 1054 (1644), when his successor Ismā'īl, another son of al-Kāsim, was making his way with difficulty against his many brothers and nephews, one of al-Kāsim's grandsons began to come to the front, afterwards the Imām.

c. AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH AHMAD b. AL-HAẖM b. AL-KĀSIM. His father was not Imām but distinguished himself in the wars against the Turks and was also a scholar. In 1049 Ahmad appeared in the hills of Waḥāb; in 1051 he besieged Dhamār without success; in 1053 he was in Mecca with many members of his family on the pilgrimage. Just at the accession of Ismā'īl, he set out with another cousin against Sa'nā. At first he came to terms with the Imām, but then fought in different places for his own hand, e.g. at Thula and again in the Djebel Waḥāb. In 1070 he won Hadramawt for Ismā'īl, to which the Zaidīs had been summoned by the disputes for the throne. When in 1087 (1676) on the death of Ismā'īl he himself assumed the Imāmate, a nephew, al-Kāsim b. Muḥammad al-Mu'ayyad, proclaimed himself Imām and was recognised particularly in the remoter territory in the south towards al-Tihāma in Zabīd. A Zaidī assembly of leading Sharifs and 'Ulamā met, at

which Ahmad was with some difficulty recognised as the legitimate Imām. Although this did not mean that he enjoyed the authority of a sovereign, since his rivals and the other amirs remained as independent as before, yet peace and security reigned in the country. But Ahmad b. al-Ḥasan died soon afterwards in 1092 (1681) in al-Ghira near Shihām which had been built by the first Turkish conqueror Hasan Pascha. After the short and weak reign of his son al-Mutawakkil Muḥammad (to 1097 = 1686), family feuds broke out again. Among the later Imāms of this Qasimid dynasty another Ahmad b. al-Ḥusain b. al-Kāsim (from 1221 = 1806) again bore the official title of al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh.

Bibliography: On a: His own works: *Dawā*, MS. Berlin, No. 10282; *Khalīfat al-Kawān fī Nukāt min Aḥkām Ahl al-Zamān*, MS. Berlin, No. 2175, a; *Sharaf al-Dīn Yahyā b. Abi 'l-Kāsim al-Hamālī, Sirat al-Imām al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh*, MS. Berlin, No. 9741 (contemporary); al-Khazradjī, *al-Uḥūd al-ḥalūṭiyya*, ed. Muḥammad 'Asad, transl. Redhouse (*G.M.S.*, iii.), v. 94 199, 118 199; H. C. Kay, *Yaman, its early medieval history*, London 1892, p. 319 199. — On b: list of 30 works in Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis d. arab. Handschriften*, No. 4950: xv.; from the introduction to *al-Baḥr al-ṣāḥḥāh*; T. W. Arnold, *Al-Muṭawallāh*, Leipzig 1902; M. Horton, *Die philosophischen Probleme der spekulativen Theologie im Islam*, Bonn 1910. — On c: al-Muḥibbi, *Tārīkh al-Khawāṣṣ al-Aḥwāl fī Aḥwāl al-Ḥādī al-ḥādī 'alīyah*, Cairo 1284, l. 180 19; P. Wüstenfeld, *Yemen im 11. (XVII.) Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 1884, p. 71 199. — On a and b: 'Imād al-Dīn Yahyā b. 'Alī al-Ḥasanī al-Kāsimī, *Taḥṣīl al-Ḥadīth fī Tārīkh al-A'imma al-Sāda*, MS. Berl., No. 9665; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 318, s. 404, 19; H. 187, s. — On a-c: Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, 1894, p. 102 19; E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, Hanover 1927, p. 123. (R. STROTHMANN)

AL-MAHDĪ 'UBAID ALLĀH, first Fātimid Caliph (297–322 = 909–934). His origins are obscure. He is also known as Sa'īd, and is believed to have been the grandson of the celebrated Persian sectarian 'Abd Allāh b. Maṭīn al-Kaddāh (the oculist), the Ismā'īli leader; but he claimed to be a true descendant of the Prophet through his daughter Fātima. By some he was supposed to be the brother of the twelfth Imām; according to others, the son of one of the strange "hidden" Imāms of the Ismā'īlīs. His spectacular rise to power was coincident with a sudden outburst of Shi'ite fervour centred in the vexed question of the legitimacy of the Caliphate, involving the mystical doctrine of the Imāmate and the appearance of a long-expected Mahdī (q.v.). It was the culmination of Ismā'īli propaganda and was in alliance with the Karmāṭian heresy of Arabia. Throughout the history of these times one can discern how in reality such zealous schismatics traded their esoteric doctrines and allegorical interpretations to the advancement of their own private political ends.

North Africa witnessed the crucial stages of the Fātimid rising; the prime instigator being apparently a Zāī, Abi 'Abd Allāh al-Shā'ī (q.v.), who proclaimed himself the precursor of the Mahdī. An ambitious factionist of undeniable ability and or-

gaining genius, in the end his own astuteness and love of power brought about his undoing. Nevertheless it was to him that 'Ubaid Allāh owed his throne and title. While the former was sowing the seeds of sedition amongst the Berber tribes of North Africa, 'Ubaid Allāh was making his way with his family from Salamiya in N. Syria to Kairawān (902 A. D.). In passing through Egypt disguised as a merchant he narrowly escaped imprisonment at the hands of a suspicious governor. Perhaps judicious bribery helped him on his way until he found himself with his son thrown by the Beni Midīr, supporters of the 'Abbāsids, into a dungeon in Sidjilmāsa. Meanwhile his generalissimo was operating elsewhere in his favour with the help of the wild Beni Kitāma whose services he had enlisted. A victorious entry into Sidjilmāsa marked the release of 'Ubaid Allāh — though there are suspicions that the real prisoner was slain before the surrender — and his proclamation as the true spiritual head of Islām, al-Mahdī, Commander of the Faithful. The Aghlabid monarch Ziyādāt Allāh III was overthrown and driven into exile in Egypt; while on Jan. 15, 910 A. D. (39th Rabi' II, 297) the new Mahdī and his son made their triumphal entry into Raqqāda.

Following his elevation to supreme control 'Ubaid Allāh entered on a policy of extending the bounds of his dominions. Not only had he enemies on all sides; even within his own camp lurked traitorous allies and fickle adherents. Those who had raised him from the dungeon found very soon that he was now their master. The estrangement between him and his chief supporters is said to have originated in the disappointment felt by the latter that he was incapable of working the miracles expected of such a divine personage. Abū 'Abd Allāh was forced to play a subordinate part, and becoming embittered thereby, began spreading sedition amongst the unsettled Berber tribesmen. But the Mahdī was quite capable of dealing with the situation. A Shaikh of the Kitāma Berbers, heading a deputation asking for clear proofs of his spiritual claims, was summarily beheaded. Shortly after this he waylaid Abū 'Abd Allāh and his brother 'Abd al-'Abbās and had them assassinated (298 = 911). The other brother Abū Zaki was sent to Kairawān with a letter ordering his execution. As the Mahdī himself said in justifying such acts against quondam supporters: "Satan caused them to slip and I have purified them by the sword". Riots ensued, but the bold handling of the populace by the Mahdī and his personal courage averted disaster and firmly established the secular power, if it did not demonstrate the spiritual virtues, of the Fatimid dynasty.

'Ubaidallāh's foreign policy led him to despatch Hāsān b. Kulāb of the Beni Kitāma as governor to Sicily in order to further the Fatimid cause. The Huwara and Luwata tribes of Tripolitans were vanquished, while the Mahdī's forces were also victorious against Muhammad b. Khazar at Tiharet. But following Abū 'Abd Allāh's death, the Beni Kitāma, who were murmuring against the Mahdī, were attacked in April 912, chiefly by their old enemies, the people of Kairawān who never liked their savage manners. The Beni Kitāma rose in a general revolt and appointed a new Mahdī, named Karīb; but after considerable fighting they were defeated. The Tripolitans were also involved in a struggle with the Berbers (300 A.H.).

But the most important events of this reign were the attacks on Egypt. The Mahdī's son, Abū 'I-Kāsim, was sent in command of the forces; while a fleet operated under Khubasa. Tripoli, Barka, and then Alexandria (302 = 914) were taken, until the victorious army was checked outside Fustāt by the eunuch Mānis, the Egyptian commander. A second expeditionary force (916 = 917) repeated the feats of the previous one and devastated the Delta and ravaged the Faiyūm, only to be checked once more at Old Cairo, while the fleet of 80 vessels was destroyed at Rosetta (307 = 920) by the Khalifa's smaller but more efficient fleet under Greek mariners. Once more the Fatimid ranks had to withdraw. Nevertheless the dominion of the Mahdī extended from the borders of Egypt to the confines of the Idrisid stronghold in Morocco. His fleets spread terror throughout the Mediterranean, Malta, Sicily, Sardinia, and the Balearic Islands felt his influence; while his secret-service agents were to be found throughout Andalusia. A revolt in Sicily in favour of an Aghlabid prince Ahmad b. Ziyādāt Allāh affected his sway in that island, but his administration generally was strong and secure, albeit rigorous and unmerciful. The year 926 found him taking up his residence in the new city he had founded on the Tunisian coast, named after himself al-Mahdiyya [q. v.] (the "Africa" of Froissart). This became his capital instead of Kairawān (16 mls. distant). The new town was founded in 303 (916) and was situated on a projecting peninsula called Djastrat al-Fār. It was strongly fortified with high and massive walls, and colossally heavy gates, enclosing the palace and the royal barracks. A natural harbour was improved to shelter 100 vessels of war. On the mainland lay the faubourg of Zawila intended as a place of residence for traders and the general public. After a reign of 25 years 'Ubaid Allāh died on the 4th March 934 (14th Rabi' I, 322) at the age of 63, and was succeeded by his son Abū 'I-Kāsim under the title of al-Kā'im bi-Amrallāh.

Bibliography: Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, ii. 579 sqq.; O'Leary, *Hist. of the Fatimid Khalifate*, index; Nicholson, *Establishment of the Fatimid Dynasty*; C. Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, i. 333 sqq.; Lane-Poole, *Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 95-97; do., *Mohammedan Dynasties*, p. 70; C. Schefer, *Sefer Nameh de Naviri Khosrau*, p. 105, 120; I. Hamel, *Histoire du Maghreb*, p. 25-34; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, p. 77; H. C. Kay, *Omarah's History of Yaman*, p. 192 sqq.; Muir, *Caliphate*, p. 362 sqq.; Dozy and Stokes, *Spanish Islam*, p. 407 sqq.; Vékitt, *Geogr.*, i. 400, 456; ii. 798, 961; iv. 694; Abū 'I-Mahāsīn b. Taghrl Birdi, *Annals*, ed. W. Popper, p. 4, 112; de Goeje, *B.G.A.*, viii. 334; 'Abd al-Latif, *Relation de l'Egypte*, transl. de Sacy, p. 523; al-Mas'ūdi, *Les Prairies d'or*, vi. 194; viii. 246; Ibn Khallikān, *Biogr. Dict.*, transl. de Slane, i. 231 n.; ii. 388; iv. 51; Makrizi, *Hist. de l'Egypte*, transl. Blochet, p. 72; H. Bann, *Fatimiden-geschichte von al-Mahdi*, p. 31 sqq.; Ibn al-Athir, *Kāmil*, ii. 284; Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i. 441 sqq.; Suyūti, *Hist. of the Caliphs*, transl. Jarrett, p. 2, 23, 398 sqq.; *Archives marocaines*, xvi. 453 sqq.; xxx. 153, 246, 263; xxi. 51, 58; al-Balkhī, *Livre de la Création*, ed. and transl. C. Huart, ii. 163; al-Birūnī, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, transl.

Sachau, p. 48; Dj. Zaidān, *Ta'rikh al-Tamaddun*, Cairo 1922, iv. 211 sqq.; D. S. Margoliouth, *Hist. of Islamic Civilization*, iv. 274, 280; do., *On Mahdīs and Mahdīism*, p. 13; do., *Eclipses of the Abbasid Caliphate*, i. 181, 167; ii. 254; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 596 sqq.; Becker, *Beiträge zur Gesch. Ag.*, i. 2 sqq.; Lambart, *Géniologie et Chronologie de l'Islam*, i. 94; E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, i. 359, 409; ii. 197; Quatremère, *Mémoires hist. sur la dynastie des Fatimides*, in *J. A.*, 1836, ii. 117; P. Casanova, *La Doctrine secrète des Fatimides*, in *B.L.F.A.O.*, xviii. 129, 148, 150; de Goeje, *Les Carmathes du Bahrein*, p. 6 sqq.; Ibn Isḥāq, *Ta'rikh Miṣr*, p. 44–48, 59, 67–70. (J. WALKER)

AL-MAHDĪ, a dynasty of Zabīd in the Yaman. When the founder of the dynasty, 'Alī b. Mahdī [q.v.], died in the middle of 554 (1159) soon after the taking of Zabīd, the power of the dynasty which had been concentrated in his personality, was seriously threatened, especially as his sons Mahdī, 'Abd al-Nabī and 'Abd Allāh quarrelled. It is not quite clear whether Mahdī at first obtained the throne (so 'Omāra in Kay [see *Bibl.*], p. 129) or whether he ruled jointly with 'Abd al-Nabī, the latter taking charge of civil and the former of military affairs (so Khazradj in Kay, p. 294). In any case, in the wars abroad we find Mahdī appearing as conqueror of Lahīj in 556 and of Djanul in 558. He died, at the end of 558 or beginning of 559 (end of 1163) in Zabīd. 'Abd al-Nabī now became sole ruler but although driven from power for a brief period by 'Abd Allāh he was able to consolidate his position and in continual fighting was able to retain the kingdom in Yaman and the great treasure which his father had accumulated. His power extended from al-Tihāma over the mountains of Dhu 'l-Kalā and the towns south of Djanul and Ta'izz. He celebrated his victories in poems, for example that in 560 (1164) over Wahhā, son and successor of Ghānim b. Yahyā of the Ḥasanid branch of the Sulaimānids, who after being driven out of Mecca had founded a dynasty in the mountains around Zafār and Ta'izz. When 'Abd al-Nabī besieged 'Aden in 568 (1172) the Zurā'idis there [cf. BANU 'L-KARĀM] obtained the support of a great coalition led by the Hamdānids 'Alī b. Ḥatīm in Sa'nā' which included the Yām tribes related to the Hamdānids and Zurā'idis. 'Abd al-Nabī suffered an annihilating defeat in 569 at Ibb and again farther south near Ta'izz. Although 'Alī b. Ḥatīm could not carry the war into al-Tihāma as the Beduins would not follow him, 'Abd al-Nabī had to give up the siege of 'Aden. On his return to Zabīd, he met a stronger enemy and thus met his end. In the same year the Ayyūbid Tūrānshāh, sent by his brother Salāḍin, invaded Yemen. Guided by the Sulaimānid al-Kāsim, the brother of Wahhā who had fallen in battle, Tūrānshāh took Zabīd after two days' fighting on 9th Shawwāl 569 (May 14, 1174). 'Abd al-Nabī and his two brothers Ahmad and Yahyā were thrown into prison. Nine months later when Tūrānshāh on his campaign of conquest in the mountains of the Yaman was at Dhu 'l-Jibla west of Ibb, he heard of troubles in al-Tihāma and had all three brothers executed in Zabīd.

Bibliography: C. Th. Johannsen, *Historia Yemenae*, Bonn 1828, p. 144 sqq.; H. C. Kay,

Yaman, its early mediæval history, London 1892, p. 192 sqq., 204; Abulfeda, *Annales*, éd. Adler, iii. 566 sq.; iv. 8; Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, Westminster 1894, p. 96; E. de Lambart, *Manuel de géologie et chronologie*, Hanover 1927, p. 118. — (Principal original source: al-Khazradj, *al-Kifāya wa 'l-f'āim*, Ms. Leyden 805, not seen, but used by Kay). (R. STROTHMANN)

AL-MAHDĪYA, a town on the east coast of Tunisia, is the "town of Africa" of the European historians of the Middle Ages. It is built between Sousse and Sfax on a small peninsula more than a mile in length and less than 500 yards in breadth, which terminates the cape of Africa and is connected to the mainland by a narrow isthmus "much as the hand is joined to the wrist". The site was without doubt occupied by a Phoenician factory and by a Roman settlement, which it has not been possible to identify. Its name comes from the Shī'ī Mahdī 'Ubaid Allāh, who in 300 (912) founded and fortified it, after having consulted the oracles and foretelling the dangers which would threaten the Fātimid dynasty. A rampart of rubble of which a few towers are in existence ran along the coast towards the south; the wall protected the port, an ancient Phoenician harbour excavated out of the rock, which the ships entered under a large gate flanked by two strong defensive works. A little farther on, towards the point was the naval arsenal. From the side of the isthmus, the rampart, which is very strong and strengthened by round and square towers, had a wall in front of it and was pierced by a gate which still exists. Flanked by two salients with inclined sides entrance is gained under an arch 45 yards in length (*al-ḥiṭṭa, al-haḥḥā*). The highest point of the peninsula is occupied by an old Turkish *ḥaḥḥa*, built on the probable site of the palace of Mahdī. In front towards the west, probably lay the palace of his son al-Kāim. The town owes to the Fātimids also a great mosque built near the sea, of which considerable remains still exist, notably an ornamental porch. A customs-house was at hand (*dār al-muḥāsahhā*); beyond the peninsula the suburb of Zawla (ancient Zella?) of which the site is still known and where remains have been found, amongst other things glass-ware.

The Mahdī 'Ubaid Allāh after leaving Raḡkāda near al-Kairawān, came to live at al-Mahdiyya in the year 308 (921). Having become the capital of the empire, the town prospered. It was, according to 'Idhārī, the richest city in Bīrḥārī. The son of 'Ubaid Allāh, al-Kāim, was besieged there for over five months (January–September 945) by Abū Yazīd, "the man with the axe", a Khurijī agitator, who starting from Tawwaz made himself master of the whole of Ifrīkiya. The failure of the blockade of al-Mahdiyya was the first stage in the downfall of the heretic. More than a century after, al-Mahdiyya, which had been the refuge of the Fātimids when in danger, served also as an asylum to their unconquered vassals, the Zirid Amirs, the victims of the Hilālī invasion. In the year 449 (1057) the Zirid al-Mu'izz abandoned al-Kairawān for al-Mahdiyya. From that place he and his successors set themselves to recover the lands they had formerly ruled. From there they also turned their activities to the sea. Al-Mahdiyya, where the corsairs were now equipped, became and was to remain

down to modern times the most active centre of Tunisian piracy. The expeditions of the Muslim corsairs provoked attacks from the Normans of Sicily, Pisan and Genoan raids on the town along the coast. In 1087, al-Mahdiya fell into the hands of the combined Christian forces. The Normans again took it in 1148. Then they were blockaded in it by land and by sea during the conquest of Ifrikiya by the Almohad 'Abd al-Mu'min. Having become once more a Muslim town, it was retaken and pillaged in 1180. Then it concluded with William II, the King of Sicily, a treaty of peace. The Normans were able to trade with it. During the ruinous campaigns of the B. Ghaniya [q.v.], Almoravid Amirs, al-Mahdiya was for a short time in the hands of an adventurer 'Abd al-Karim al-Ragragi who took the title of Caliph. These troubles led to the installation in Ifrikiya of a governor of the Almohad family of the B. Hafsi. Al-Mahdiya was henceforth one of the principal towns of the kingdom of the Hafsiya. Its government was generally confided to one of the sons of the sovereign of Tunis.

The persistent activity however of the Corsairs provoked in the year 1390 a new Genoan expedition supported by Charles VI, King of France, who sent his galleys and his knights against "cette malheureuse forte ville d'Afrique" (Froissart). Al-Mahdiya resisted but was forced to pay a tribute to the Christians. In 1539, after the conquest of Tunis by Charles V, the town received a Spanish garrison. In the following year the corsair Dragut took it by surprise. Taken prisoner by the fleet of Andrea Doria, then released, Dragut came back and installed himself in al-Mahdiya. On the 8th September 1550, Doria seized the town from Dragut "prince of Africa", after a memorable siege. Charles V offered the charge of it to the Knights of Malta but they refused it, so he ordered it to be dismantled. Al-Mahdiya, after falling once more into the hands of the Muslims, arose from its ruins and remained under Turkish rule until the sixteenth century, the nest of corsairs, the terror of Christian merchants that it had been for nearly 900 years. It is now a quiet little town of about 10,000 inhabitants, who live by fishing and by the product of their oil-works.

Bibliography: al-Bakri, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. and transl. de Slane, Algiers 1911, 1913, text p. 29-30; transl. p. 65-68; Ibn Hawkal, ed. de Goeje (*B. G. A.*, II), p. 48, transl. de Slane, in *J. A.*, 1842, i. 172; Littd, ed. and transl. Dory and de Goeje, text p. 109, transl. p. 127-128; al-Tijani, *Rihla*, transl. Rousseau, in *J. A.*, 1855, i. p. 357 sqq.; Ibn 'Idhari, *Bayan*, ed. Dory, i. 170, transl. Fagnan, i. 237; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, ed. Tornberg, viii. 70; transl. Fagnan (*Annales de Maghreb*), p. 70; Makrisi, *Mabassat*, extract transl. Fagnan, in *Centenaire de M. Anwar*, spec. ed., p. 43; al-Marrakushi, *Hist. des Almohades*, ed. Dory, p. 163, transl. Fagnan, p. 196; Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. Buchon, iii. 79 sqq.; Marmol Carvajal, *Description general de Africa*, Granada 1573, book 3, fol. 369 sqq., transl. Perrot d'Ablancourt, ii. 502 sqq.; Leo Africanus, ed. Ramusio, Venice 1517, p. 125 sqq.; Mas Latrie, *Traité de géog.*, Paris 1868, passim; de Smet, *Maghrib*, Tunis 1913; G. Marechal, *Manuel d'art musulman*, p. 106 sqq., 117, 118, 130 sqq.

(G. MARECHAL)

AL-MAHDIYA, formerly called AL-MA'MURA, a town of Morocco, on the Atlantic coast at the mouth of the Wadi Sabu (Sebou), built on a rocky promontory which dominates the valley of the river. Situated on the southern extremity of the plain of Gharb and 20 miles to the North East of Salé (Sala) it enjoys a geographical position of the first importance. A port is shortly to be created here for ships of heavy tonnage, which cannot sail up the Wadi Sabu as far as the river port of Kenitra (Ar. al-Kunaitira, "the little bridge") situated 6 miles as the crow flies from the mouth of the river.

It is generally agreed that the site of al-Mahdiya corresponds to that of one of the earliest Phoenician settlements founded by Hanno in the fifth century B.C. on the Atlantic coast of Morocco: — the factory of Thymisteria. Nothing is known of the later history of this foundation and we have to wait till the fourth century A.D. (tenth A.D.) to get the first mention in Arab writers of the town at the mouth of the Wadi Sabu under the names al-Ma'mura ("the populated, the flourishing"), Halik ("the mouth") al-Ma'mura or Halik Sabu. According to the chronicler Abu l-Kasim al-Zayyani [q.v.] the modern town was founded by the short-lived dynasty of the Banu Ifren [q.v.] which settled on the Atlantic side of Morocco at the end of the tenth century of our era. In the second half of the XIIth, the Almohad Sultan 'Abd al-Mu'min built there one of his dockyards for his navy (*dār al-jihāz*). Later, down to the XVIth century, al-Ma'mura's history is obscure — it was a small trading centre to which European ships came for the products of the country.

Al-Ma'mura, when the Christians of the Iberian peninsula made their offensive against Morocco, was one of their first objectives; on June 24, 1515 a large Portuguese fleet anchored at the mouth of the Wadi Sabu and a landing force of 8,000 men occupied the town without a blow being struck. The Portuguese made themselves a strong base in al-Ma'mura, built fortifications there, remains of which still exist, but they were only able to hold it for a short time. The Muslims drove the Christians out of al-Ma'mura at the end of the same year, inflicting very heavy losses upon them.

Al-Ma'mura re-enters history when at the end of the XVIth century it became a formidable nest of European pirates, who under the leadership of an English captain, Mainwaring, practised piracy along the whole Atlantic coast and became a terror to the seafaring centres of Europe. This state of things was put an end to when Spain, which in 1610 had occupied the port of Larache (al-'Arāsh, q.v.), a little farther north, made a landing at al-Ma'mura in August 1614, after negotiations with the Moroccan ruler, the Sa'dian Mawlay Zaidan. The town was taken and the Spanish fleet withdrew leaving a strong garrison of 1,500 men. The captured town was given the name of San Miguel de Ultramar.

The Spanish occupation of al-Ma'mura was to last 67 years, during which it was several times fiercely attacked by the Muslims, particularly the "volunteers of the faith" (*Muhammadīn*), who mobilised to drive the Christians from the various points on the coast where they had established themselves under the active leadership of the chief al-Ayāsh of Salé. The principal attacks on San Miguel de Ultramar were delivered in 1628, 1630

and 1647. In 1681 (1092 A.H.) the 'Alawid Sultan Mawlay Ismā'il [q.v.] laid siege to the town and finally took it by storm. He then gave it the name of al-Mahdiyya; the name of al-Ma'mūn only survived as that of the great forest of cork-oaks which lies between Salé and the lower valley of the Wādī Sabāh. — It may be noted that for a few years at an earlier date the name al-Mahdiyya had been borne in Morocco by the little military station founded by the Almohad Caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min on the site of the future Ribat al-Fath (Rabat), on the south bank at the mouth of the Wādī Salā (the modern Wādī Bu-regreg) (cf. the article RABAT). Al-Mahdiyya was occupied by French troops in 1911.

Considerable remains survive at al-Mahdiyya, dating from the brief Portuguese occupation, the Spanish occupation or from the date when it was definitely retaken by the Muslims. Around the citadel (*qasba*) runs a continuous rampart with a ditch. These defences are entered by two gates; — one very massive, with two Arabic inscriptions, dates from the XVIIth century. The other, a simple postern, dating from the Spanish occupation, opens on the steep slope which runs down to the river. Inside beside a few hovels and a little mosque are the ruins of the Muslim governor's palace of the XVIIth century. Between the foot of the citadel and the bank of the Wādī Sabāh for a length of 200 yards and a breadth of about 40 may still be seen buildings consisting of a series of square chambers completely isolated from one another and each protected by a double wall. These were probably granaries, which need not be earlier than the end of the XVIIth century, and are not, as has been suggested, of the Phoenician period.

Bibliography: the Arabic historians of the modern period (al-Zaynī, al-Qādirī, al-Nāṣirī al-Salīfī, etc.), *passim*; H. de Castries, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, indices, sub El-Mamora; *Villes et Tribus du Maroc*, Publication de la Mission scientifique du Maroc, Rabat et sa région, I, *Les Villes avant la conquête*, Paris 1918, p. 268—79; R. Montagne, *Note sur la kasbah de Mahdiyya*, in *Hesperis*, 1921, i. 93—7.

(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL.)

MĀHIYA (A.), technical term in metaphysics, quiddity; frequently used as equivalent of *ḡawhar*, substance. Abū Hanīfa, Dīrār (and al-Nadīdār) used it to designate the pure divine essence; cf. 'Abd al-Kāfir al-Baghādī, *al-Farq bain al-Firāq*, p. 201—202; al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Mīl wa'l-Niḡāl* Cairo, I. 114; *Kitāb al-Bad' wa'l-Ta'wīl*, ed. and transl. Huart, i. 85. On the question whether the quiddity is identical or not to existence (*wuḡūd*) cf. Dīrjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāḥiḥ*, Cairo, p. 92.

(L. Massignon)

MAHKAMA. [See MEKEME.]

MAHMAL (or more correctly: MAHMIL, A.), the name of the splendidly decorated empty litters, which since the XIIIth century have been sent by Maḥammadan princes on the Hajj to Mecca, to display their independence and claims to a place of honour at the ceremony. The camel which bears the mahmal is not ridden but led by the bridle. It goes at the head of the caravan and is regarded as its sanctifying element. What extravagance the rivalry of princes led to is shown by the mention of a mahmal adorned with much gold, pearls and jewels, which was

sent in 721 (1321) from the 'Irāk to Mecca (*Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekke*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, II, 1859, p. 278). The mahmal which is most esteemed, that which accompanied the pilgrim caravan from Cairo, is described by Lane as a square wooden framework, with a pyramid at top and covered with black brocade richly worked with inscriptions and ornamental embroidery in gold, in some parts upon a ground of green or red silk; it is bordered with a fringe of silk and silver balls are fixed to the corners and to the top of the pyramid. On the front of the pyramidal roof is a view of the Ka'ba embroidered in gold. In the brief description given by Burckhardt of the Egyptian mahmal it is added that it is decorated with ostrich feathers. According to him there was only a prayer-book in the empty interior, which on its return was exhibited in Cairo and kissed by the people; according to Lane on the other hand there are two silver receptacles in the mahmal which contain two Qur'āns, one in a scroll, the other in book form. The mahmal is carried by a fine tall camel, which after the pilgrimage is spared any further work. On their arrival in Mecca the mahmals are hailed with joy and led through the crowded streets in a solemn procession after which they go with the pilgrims to 'Arafāt where they occupy a position reserved for them. It used to be generally supposed that the covering of the Egyptian mahmal was used to cover the tomb of Muhammad or the Ka'ba but this is wrong; the *kinā* is of course taken to Mecca with the great pilgrim caravan but it has nothing to do with the mahmal.

According to Maḥrīn the custom of sending a mahmal to Mecca was first introduced in 670 A. H. by the Mamlūk Sultan Balbars but others attribute it to the Sharīf Abū Numayr; it is also said that it was a princess going on the pilgrimage in a splendid litter that gave Balbars the idea of sending one with the pilgrim caravan. This is however only a story; and it is a much more important question whether the custom did not arise at an earlier date and whether it did not originally have a direct religious significance. It is natural to recall the portable sanctuaries of the Arabs and the mahmal particularly reminds one of the description which Muṣil (*Die Kultur*, 1910, p. 8 *sq.*) gives of the "Abū Zhur al-Markab" of the Riwāla tribe: a framework of thin pieces of wood adorned with ostrich feathers which is fastened on to the saddle of a pack-camel and is the visible centre of the tribe. This would at any rate lead us to the practical significance of the later mahmal, a visible sign of independence and claim to suzerainty of the various Muslim states. It is just this significance which gives the mahmals a certain historical interest as political changes and rivalries are reflected in them in course of time. There have occasionally been rulers who by sending mahmals gave expression to their endeavour to obtain recognition as sovereigns and protectors of the sharīfs, only to be soon driven from power again by others. That the Egyptian mahmal came to obtain a place of honour, that from Syria being the only other at all comparable to it, was a result of the political influence of the Mamlūk Sultans. It is noteworthy that Ottoman rule made no alteration in this respect and an attempt to send a mahmal from Constantinople met with no success. In 1807 an interruption was

caused by the conquest of Mecca by the Wahhābīs who forbade this empty pomp so hateful to them; but this ceased when they were driven out and Muḥammad 'Alī's rule again gave the Egyptian maḥmal pride of place.

After the World War the sending of a maḥmal from Syria stopped. Difficulties arose between the Egyptian government and King Husain (1915—1924) regarding the powers of the heads of a field-hospital which was to accompany the maḥmal as well as regarding the ceremony of its reception, which twice resulted in the maḥmal not being sent.

When Ibn Sa'ūd had become king of the Hijāz, long negotiations took place over the maḥmal. The Wahhābī ruler insisted on the music which usually accompanied the maḥmal being omitted and all sort of superstitious customs being dropped; he also protested against the armed escort as a denial of his sovereignty. The attempt made in 1926 to harmonize the demands of the two sides came to nothing; a fight broke out between the Iḥwān of Ibn Sa'ūd and the Egyptian soldiers which was only stopped by the personal intervention of Ibn Sa'ūd. Since then the Egyptian government has not sent a maḥmal, but neither does it any longer send a new *ḥijma* for the Ka'ba to the Ḥaddj.

Bibliography: Burckhardt, *Reisen in Arabien*, p. 394, 396, 407 sq.; Burton, *A Pilgrimage to al-Medīnah and Mecca*, 1856, iii, p. 12, 267; Wavell, *A modern Pilgrim in Mecca*, 1912, p. 152, 155 sq.; Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 1836, ii, p. 180—186, 245 sqq. (with a picture of the Egyptian maḥmal); Snouck Hurgronje, *Mecca*, i, 29, 83 sq., 152, 157 (with a photograph in the *Atlas*, Pl. v.); Juynboll, *Handbuch der islamischen Geographie*, p. 151 sq. (Fa. Buhl.)

MAHMÜD I, twenty-fourth Ottoman Sultān, reigned 1143—1168 (1730—1754). He was born on the 3rd Muharram 1108 (Aug. 2, 1696), the son of Mustafa II — the *Sifill-i 'Osmānī* gives the date 7th Ramaḍān 1107 (April 10, 1696) — and had spent his life in seclusion up to his accession. He came to the throne through the mutiny of the Janissaries under Patrona Khalil, a mutiny which cost the grand vizier Ibrahim Paṣha, the Kapudan Paṣha and the Kiaya Beg their lives, and forced Sultān Ahmad III to abdicate in favour of Mahmūd; these events took place on the 17th Rabi' I, 1143 (Oct. 1, 1730). The mutiny, which really had the sympathy of most of the 'ulama' and seems to have been in the nature of a social revolution (Jorga), was only suppressed after some time through the efforts of the Kilar Agha Beṣhir; before its suppression a certain number of appointments to important offices dictated by the rebels had to be conceded and the many palaces built in the luxurious reign of Ahmad III were allowed to be pillaged. After the Janissaries had been pacified by considerable largesse on the accession of the Sultān, Beṣhir Agha succeeded in plotting the death of Patrona Khalil, who was assassinated on Nov. 15, 1730. The Kilar-aghā continued to exercise a preponderating influence on affairs of state; the Sultān, who was by nature more interested in literature and in the erection of more or less useful buildings, did nothing to throw off this influence, which on the whole was for the good of the state. One of the consequences

of this system was the very frequent changes of grand viziers — there were no fewer than 16 in Mahmūd's reign — but the state possessed a number of able men who worked for the good of the empire in the offices of grand vizier, *re'is efendi* and *k'aya beg*. The state finances were kept in good order, as much by the confiscation of any great fortunes amassed by high officials as by a financial system which made no distinction between the public treasury and the personal revenues of the Sultān. The situation abroad was also favourable, especially after the peace of Belgrade in 1739, which secured to Turkey a fairly long period of peace in Europe.

At the beginning of the reign, Turkey was at war with Persia. The campaign of 1731 was favourable to the Turks, who reconquered Kirmānshāh and took Hamadān (battle of Koridjān, Sept. 15), Urmīya and Tabriz; however, by a peace signed on Jan. 10, 1732 by the *ser-asker* and grand vizier Topal 'Oḥmān Paṣha, Turkey gave up Tabriz and Hamadān. This peace neither pleased the powers in Constantinople, who replaced the grand vizier by Hekim Zāde 'Alī Paṣha [q.v.] nor Tahmāsp Quli Khān, who on his return from Herāt had dethroned Shāh Tahmāsp and was making new preparations for war. On Oct. 6, 1732, the Porte issued a formal declaration of war and in December a Persian army invaded Mesopotamia, took Kirkūk and laid siege to Baghḍād; the great battles of this campaign were those of Duldjailik on the Tigris, where the Persians were defeated (July 19, 1733), and that of Kirkūk, where a week later the Turks suffered a defeat which involved the death of the *ser-asker* Topal 'Oḥmān Paṣha. In the same year, the Persian war produced a conflict with Russia, provoked by the Khān of the Crimea's march through the Caucasus to reinforce the Turkish troops fighting against Persia. Russia declared she could not allow the passage of the Tatars through the country of the Kumuk and the Kaitak, which she regarded as under her authority; the Khān's force was therefore held up and several battles were fought in Daghestān between Turks and Russians. The negotiations opened at Constantinople showed more and more that a war with Russia would be inevitable and they were finally broken off by the siege and capture of Azof by the Russians in March 1736. Meanwhile the war with Persia, which had ceased in 1734 on an armistice being concluded by the Paṣha of Baghḍād, had been resumed in 1735 when Ahmad Kōprillā was appointed *ser-asker*. The campaign was unfortunate for the Turks. They lost a number of towns in the Caucasus; however the development of affairs in Persia where Tahmāsp Quli, afterwards Nadir Shāh, proclaimed himself king on Dec. 1, 1735 in his camp on the Caucasian front, was favourable to the peace negotiations which were begun at this time. These negotiations ended in a peace signed at Constantinople on Oct. 17, 1736; the frontiers of the two countries remained as they had been fixed in the time of Murād IV. In the same year a Russian army invaded and laid waste the Crimea, although negotiations still went on, first at Constantinople and then in the country. Austria, posing as mediator, took an active part in these negotiations, which were finally broken off at the Congress of Niemirow in Aug. 1737, when it became evident that Austria was really Russia's ally, so that Turkey had to

deal with two adversaries. The war began badly for the Turks who lost Nish to the Austrians and Oczakow to the Russians. Nish however was won back in Oct. 1737. During the next two years fortune was rather on the side of the Turkish armies under the grand vizier Yegen Muhammad Paşa. The conclusion of the war was marked by the appearance of the forces of the grand vizier Hâdîdî Muhammad before Belgrade in July 1739. It was before this town that the famous peace of Belgrade (Sept. 18) was negotiated with the assistance and mediation of the French Ambassador, the Marquis de Villeneuve, by which Turkey again obtained possession of the town. Russia was included in the same treaty and had to promise to demolish the fortifications of Azof.

This ending of the war in a way very advantageous to the Porte was followed by a long period of peace with the states of Europe, which, as a result of the Seven Years' War, had no time to devote to plans for the partition of Turkey. From 1743 to 1746 there was a new Persian war. It began through the demands of Nâdir Shâh to have the Persian Shî'a recognised as a fifth *Mazhab*, that of the *Djafariya*; the Porte at first gave an evasive answer but after they had become convinced that Nâdir Shâh intended to make himself lord of Mesopotamia, the Shaikh al-Islâm gave a *fatwâ* against the recognition of the *Djafariya*. In 1743 Nâdir Shâh took Kirkük and laid siege to al-Mawsil, only to be forced to raise it after a while. In the following year the scene of hostilities shifted to the Caucasus. The Porte then attempted to support a Persian pretender of the Safawid family, whom it sent off with great pomp to Kars; in 1746 the Turkish ser-asker, the former grand vizier Yegen Muhammad, fell in the battle of Murâd Tepe in Kurdistan. During all this time, peace negotiations were going on in Constantinople and conducted through the Turkish commander-in-chief. During these negotiations Nâdir Shâh had dropped his demand for the recognition of the *Djafariya* and finally agreement was reached on the basis of the frontiers of Murâd IV (Sept. 4, 1746). In July of the same year the all powerful Beshir Agha died at the age of 96; in spite of the efforts of the grand vizier al-Saliyid Hasan Paşa, his successor Beshir Agha the younger succeeded in procuring the same influence in affairs. This new regime only lasted till 1752 when there was reason to fear a new outbreak of discontent among the Janissaries and the 'ulama' also; the Sultân seems therefore to have decided to sacrifice the Kizlar Agha by having him treacherously assassinated along with some other favourites (July 10, 1752). Two years later, on Friday, Dec. 13, 1754, Mahmûd himself died suddenly on his way from the mosque; he was buried in the Yeni Djami'.

The Sultân left a pleasing memory behind him; it is even said of him that he took a personal part in the affairs of state (*Sijill-i 'Othmânî*, l. c.) although the sources give little evidence of this. He did not continue the splendours of the court of his predecessor, respecting public feeling which had led to the latter's fall. Mahmûd is especially celebrated for the large number of buildings he had erected; in Constantinople he built no less than four *cehennem* and he began the building of the Nûr-i 'Othmânî mosque. This activity was equally displayed in the provinces. This Sultân also acquired considerable merit by founding four

libraries in the capital, those of Aya Sofia, the Walide Djâmi'i mosque, the Fatih mosque and the Çalata Serâyi. The reign of Mahmûd is further marked by the display of a very skilful diplomatic activity by the Porte, conducted by several very able *re'is efendis*, like Râghib Paşa [q. v.]. They had profited by the lessons of European diplomats and also by the advice of the famous French renegade Bonneval, who lived in Constantinople from 1729 till his death in 1747 and introduced several useful reforms into the army. But in spite of appearances, the Ottoman empire was far from being a strong power as the historian Djewdet Paşa (*Ta'rih-i Djewdet*, 1302 ed., i. 63) has very justly remarked; therefore, in the period of anarchy that followed in Persia the death of Nâdir Shâh, the Porte consistently declined to interfere in Persian affairs. From time to time minor revolts contributed to weaken the strength of the empire; besides the always dangerous Janissaries, there were several risings in Anatolia (e.g. Sarf Beg Oghlu in Aidin in 1739). It was also in the reign of Mahmûd I that the Wahhâbîs first began to give trouble to the government. In Egypt the Mamlûk begs succeeded in ruling the country in practical independence, in spite of the energetic steps taken by Râghib Paşa, when the latter was governor of this province. As to foreign relations, it is interesting to note that it was in this reign that France, which became very influential after the peace of Belgrade, succeeded in 1740 in obtaining the celebrated capitulation which became in time the most important document on the extra-territorial rights of foreigners in Turkey.

Bibliography: The principal Turkish sources are the imperial historiographers *Ta'rih-i Sâmi ve-Shâhîr ve-Sâhîr*, Constantinople 1198 (years 1143—1156), *Ta'rih-i 'Isal*, Constantinople 1199 (year 1157—1165) and the beginning of the *Ta'rih-i Wâqif*, Constantinople 1219 (beginning in 1166); then there are the reports of certain embassies like the *Ta'rih-i we-Tawfiq* of Râghib Paşa on the peace negotiations with Nâdir Shâh in 1736, a manuscript which was used by von Hammer. There are also several works still in manuscript on the history of the reign of Mahmûd I, noted by Babinger, *G.O.W.*, Leipzig 1927, p. 332. The same author (*op. cit.*, p. 289) also quotes a series of monographs in Turkish which deal with the wars of Nâdir Shâh. For these wars, a complementary source is the biography of Nâdir Shâh by Mahdi Khân and Hanway, *A Journal of Travels from London through Russia into Persia*, 1753. — General sketches of the reign of Mahmûd I are given in von Hammer, *G.O.W.*, Pesth 1836, iv. 266—482; Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, v., Götting 1857, p. 629—847; Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Götting 1911, iv. 409—462. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MAHMÜD II, the twenty-ninth sultan of the Ottoman Empire, reigned from 1808 until 1839. He was the son of 'Abd al-Hamid I and was born on the 20th July 1784 (13th Ramadan 1199, cf. *Sijill-i 'Othmânî*, i. 73). He succeeded to Muḥammad IV on July 28, 1808, directly after the tragic events, which had led to the assassination of Salim III [q. v.]. Mahmûd himself had a narrow escape from the fate of Salim. Until his coming to the throne he had lived in seclusion and during the preceding year his intercourse with the

dethroned sultan had undoubtedly exercised a great influence on Mahmud's ideas, making him appear afterwards as Selim's avenger.

The grand-vizierate of Mustafa Bairakdar Pasha, the consequence of the latter's victory, lasted only until November 1808; a revolt put an end to his reformatory tyranny and to his life. The next years were taken up by the war against the Russians, who had occupied the Danubian principalities in December 1806. Endeavouring to continue their conquests on the southern side of the Danube, the Russians met with more resistance from the Turks than had been expected; it was, however, due principally to the increasing danger of a Franco-Russian war, that the Turks obtained the peace of Bucarest, signed on May 28, 1812, and negotiated, on the part of the Turks, by Ghâlib Efendi. By this peace, Turkey had only to cede Bessarabia to Russia. In the meantime the new sultan had inaugurated a policy of internal consolidation of the empire, a policy which lasted until the Greek revolt in 1820 began to absorb all the strength of the state. He put an end to the almost independent position of the *ayans* in Rumelia and to that of the numerous *derebey*s in Anatolia, especially to the families of the Kara Oghlân Oghlu in Sarukhân and Aidin and of the Çapan Oghlu in the region of Kaizariye [cf. DERRBY]. The sultan's authority was equally reestablished in southern Mesopotamia after the death of Sulaiman Pasha of Baghdad in 1810. The aid of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha of Egypt had to be invoked to repress the Wahhâbi power in Arabia; Mekka and Medina were reconquered in 1813 by Tâsun Pasha [cf. *REVUE*]. In Serbia it was only after years of trouble that an arrangement could be attained, which left Miloš as supreme *knez* of this principality. The submission of Bosnia only took place after 1821. On the contrary 'Ali Pasha of Yanina succeeded in keeping his strong position during this period; not till 1820 were the Turkish troops able to lay siege to Yanina. In Constantinople the sultan took severe measures to maintain order, especially against the dangerous element of the Janissaries.

During this time the diplomatic difficulties with Russia, relating to the interpretation and the execution of the peace treaty, continued, especially with regard to the regime in Moldavia and Wallachia. These difficulties were to become a real danger after the Greek insurrection had broken out.

This insurrection, being in a way a consequence of the autocratic regime of 'Ali of Yanina, and secretly favoured by Russia, began in 1820 with the appearance of Alexander Ipsilanti in Rumania and a feeble revolt in Morea, instigated by Demetrios Ipsilanti. The first reactions on the Turkish side were numerous executions at Constantinople, including that of the Greek patriarch. Then Turkish troops entered Rumania, where Ipsilanti was easily beaten. As this military action provoked sharp protests from Russia, whose ambassador Stroganow left Constantinople, the Turkish troops were soon withdrawn for the greater part. But in 1822 the insurrection in Morea spread quickly; Tripolizza and Corinth fell into the hands of the insurgents. In the same year 'Ali of Yanina was murdered. In May 1823 the Acropolis of Athens was surrendered by the Turks; the latter, however, remained on the whole stronger than the Greeks. In order to avoid all difficulties with Russia, the

Porte had evacuated in 1823 the whole of Rumania, while declaring that, henceforward, she would suffer no more foreign intervention in her internal affairs. But Russia continually came forward with new claims (e.g. the division of Greece into three principalities, after the model of the principalities on the Danube); at the same time the other European powers no longer remained indifferent towards the Greek affairs, partly because public opinion began to be influenced by the philhellenic movement, and partly because they feared that Russia might gain too much profit from the weakness of the Ottoman Empire. In these years Turkey had even to sustain a war with Persia occasioned by Persian incursions into Kurdistan; this war was ended by 1823. During the years 1824 and 1825, while Turks and Greeks were waging a guerilla war by land and sea, and while amongst the Greeks there reigned complete anarchy, nothing decisive happened. The situation was only changed by the death of Alexander I of Russia (December 1, 1825) — which brought to the throne Nicolas I, much more inclined to make short work of the Turks — and by the combined action in Morea of Egyptian and Turkish troops under the command of Ibrahim Pasha, son of Muhammad 'Ali. This action was crowned by complete success, for Morea was entirely subdued, and on April 23, 1826 the fortress of Missolonghi capitulated after a siege of more than six months.

The Turkish successes encouraged the sultan to realise his long considered project to form a new army, trained and equipped after the European fashion. These new troops were recruited from the Janissaries. Their inauguration took place on June 4, 1826 and occasioned, ten days afterwards, the revolt of the Janissaries which ended in the complete and bloody extermination of these once famous troops (June 16). The extermination of the Janissaries is an act that will always be connected with the name of Mahmud II; it made a formidable impression in the whole country and the reform party — who spoke of it as the *wak'a-i bahariye* — considered it as the beginning of a new era of prosperity. The first consequences, however, were disastrous; the strength of the empire was weakened to a degree, which made itself felt more and more in the development of the relations with Russia. Hoping to get rid of the everlasting demands of Russia, the Porte had given still more concessions by the convention of Akkerman (September 25, 1826), but soon afterwards followed an agreement between Russia, Great Britain, France and Prussia with regard to the Greek question (July 7, 1827), which prevented the Turks from the suppression of the insurrection. Though directed, since the beginning of 1827, by the fanatical Pertev Efendi as Re'is Efendi, Turkish diplomacy was powerless against this new intervention. One of the consequences of the agreement of the powers was the destruction of the Turco-Egyptian fleet in the Gulf of Navarino, on October 10, 1827, without previous declaration of war, by the English, French and Russian naval forces. Subsequently the diplomatic relations with these countries were broken off, but, when war actually broke out, it was only with Russia.

The Russian war, inaugurated by a declaration of war by Russia (May 7, 1828), was particularly disastrous for Turkey. The Russians immediately

occupied Rumania and crossed the Danube, while on the Oriental front they took Kars and Akhalcik in the Caucasus. In 1829 the debacle was completed by the occupation of Adrianople by General Diebitch, on August 19. Thus, by the peace treaty of Adrianople of September 14, 1829, the Porte was obliged to make all the concessions required of her. Russia gave back nearly all her conquests, but obtained the payment of a heavy war indemnity. As to Greece, Turkey had to accept the decision of the great powers, which meant absolute independence. In the following years the new frontier and the future relations between Turkey and the new state were regulated by special conventions.

The principal political facts of the nine last years of Mahmud's reign were the conflict with Muhammad 'Ali of Egypt and the Russian intervention, which was its consequence and put Turkey in a state of dependence on Russia. The activity of Muhammad 'Ali [q. v.] began in 1831 with the invasion by Ibrahim Pasha of the territory of the pasha of Akko; this town was besieged and fell in May 1832. Within a short time Damascus and Aleppo also submitted to Ibrahim. The military measures of the sultan were unable to stop the advance of the Egyptian troops, who marched from Syria into Asia Minor; the Turkish General Rashid Pasha was beaten by them in the battle of Konya (December 21, 1832) and was himself made a prisoner. The Porte then was obliged to accept the aid offered by Russia and the mediation of France, the result of which was an agreement, concluded on April 8, 1833 at Kutahya, with Ibrahim Pasha; Muhammad 'Ali had to be recognised as pasha of Syria while the province of Adana was given to Ibrahim. In the meantime Russian troops had been landed in the Bosphorus. These were only withdrawn after the conclusion of the notorious treaty of Hünkâr İskelesi, signed on July 4, 1833 between Turkey and Russia. The treaty was a defensive alliance and contained a secret clause by which Turkey undertook to prevent any eventual enemies of Russia from entering into the Black Sea. Thus Turkey became still more politically linked to Russia, without the other powers being able to hinder this.

On the other hand Mahmud continued with tenacity the consolidation of his authority in the interior. The principal agent of this policy was the former grand-vizier Rashid Pasha, appointed governor of Siwas after his return from Egyptian captivity. He succeeded in establishing order in eastern Anatolia and in Armenia, especially by subduing the Kurdish tribes. After his death, in 1836, he was replaced as ser-asker by Hafiz Pasha. The latter, unlike Rashid, was in favour of the introduction of modern tactics into the Turkish army; in his successful expeditions in the north of Mesopotamia he was accompanied by the Prussian lieutenant von Molke, one of the army instructors who had been sent by the King of Prussia. These military measures of Mahmud had also in view the strengthening of the frontier on the Syrian side, in order to be prepared for a new conflict with Muhammad 'Ali. This event happened only after 1838, when Khuraw Pasha [q. v.], the zealous reformer and ancient enemy of the Egypt, came again into power as president of the new Turkish cabinet. The next

year Hafiz Pasha, appointed again as ser-asker in Kurdistan, crossed the Euphrates and occupied Aintab, but he was completely beaten by the Egyptians under Ibrahim Pasha, in the battle of Nizib, on June 24, 1839. This battle left Turkey again in a desperate condition, just a week before the death of Mahmud himself.

During the same period the sultan had to suppress dangerous and repeated revolts in Albania and Bosnia; the situation in Serbia had remained quiet after a *khatt-i sharif* of 1830. In 1837, the situation in the interior had become sufficiently stabilised for Mahmud to undertake a journey in his European provinces, which journey was an unheard of breach with the traditional customs of the Ottoman rulers. It was to be one of his last public acts. Mahmud died on July 2, 1839 at Constantinople in his palace of Candilja, above Scutari.

It is quite clear, from the many descriptions we possess of this sultan, that he was a strong personality, who made his own ideas prevail in the government of his empire. In his immediate entourage only few first rate men were to be found. But the task which Mahmud had set himself, of reforming the empire after the European model was nearly super-human in the extremely unfavourable political circumstances that prevailed during his reign. To which must be added the enormous difficulties presented by the traditional institutions and views existing in all ranks of the Turkish people of those days (cf. e.g. the severe judgement by von Molke, p. 434 *seq.*). Mahmud has often been compared, as a reformer, with Peter the Great, though the conditions were quite different. On the other hand he has been blamed for having commenced his reforms where he should have finished ("par la queue"), for demolishing things existing without being capable of constructive activity; especially in Turkey of to-day Mahmud is judged severely (cf. Halide Edib, *Memoirs*, London 1926, p. 237 *seq.*). It is very probable, however, that without the drastic measures of this sultan, the following period of the *Tanzimat* [q. v.] would have been an impossibility (cf. Rosen, l. 300 *seq.*). The most important reform was that of the army; it brought about the extermination of the Janissaries, but the formation of an army after the European fashion did not succeed till much later; the most zealous reformers, such as Khuraw Pasha, had only very vague ideas about what it really meant. The most useful work was done by the Prussian military instructors. By sending young officers to military schools in Western Europe, Mahmud prepared, however, a more efficient re-organization. In the government system there gradually developed a cabinet of ministers of state after the Western fashion; at a certain period in 1837, the ancient title of *padî-i şâhan* was even temporarily abolished, and the ministers received the new title of *wakil*. Moreover, by a *firman* of October 1826, Mahmud had opened the way to the development of a better and more dignified position of the state functionaries; this *firman* abolished the sultan's right of confiscating the possessions of the functionaries after their death. It was, however, a long time before a new corps of real and loyal functionaries came into existence. The men whose services Mahmud was obliged to use were too often highly corruptible, a circumstance of which the other powers,

especially Russia, took advantage in a large degree.

MAHMUD II lies buried in the *türbe* that bears his name; it was constructed in Stambul on the Diwan Yolu by his son and successor 'Abd al-Majid.

Bibliography: The Turkish historical works deserve more attention than has been paid so far to them. The more accessible ones are: Djawdat Pasha's *Ta'rikh*, Constantinople 1303, vol. ix—xii, comprising the period from 1223 to 1241, and its continuation, the *Ta'rikh* of Ahmad Lutfi, Constantinople 1290—1306, vol. i—vi, comprising the period from 1241 to 1255. Other printed sources are: Ahl Bakr, *Wak'at-i 'Izzade*, Constantinople 1332; *Ta'rikh-i 'Asfi*, Constantinople n.d.; Mahmud As'ad, *Uv-i Zafar*, Constantinople 1243, a monograph on the extermination of the Janissaries; Mahmud Thuriyā, *Nakhat al-Wak'at*, Constantinople (cf. also Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 387). European general treatments of this period: Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, vii., Gotha 1863, p. 561 sqq. (until 1812); Rosen, *Geschichte der Türkei*, Leipzig 1866, vol. 8 (after 1826); Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, v., Gotha 1913, p. 182—387. A valuable contemporary source is H. von Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei*, Berlin 1883. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MAHMUD I, NĀSIR AL-DIN, was Sulṭān of Bengal from 1446 to 1460. When the ferocious tyranny of Shams al-Din Ahmad Shāh, grandson of the usurper, Rājā Khān, or Ganesh, could no longer be borne, he was put to death, and Nāsir Khān, one of his amirs, seized the throne, but after a reign of one week was slain by his amirs, who would not submit to one of their own number. Their choice fell on Mahmūd, who was a descendant of Ilyās, the founder of the old royal house, and he was raised to the throne. He reigned with justice and clemency for twenty-six years, and restored and beautified the city of Gaur. On his death in 1460 he was succeeded by his son Bārhaq Shāh.

Bibliography: Ghulam Hussain Salim, *Riyāzat al-Sulṭān*; Niẓām al-Din Ahmad, *Tabaqāt-i Akbari*, both in the Bibliotheca Indica series of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; Muhammad Kāsim Firighī, *Gulshani Ibrāhimi*, Bombay lith. ed. of 1832. (T. W. HAIG)

MAHMUD II, NĀSIR AL-DIN was the third of the Habashī, or African Sulṭāns of Bengal. He succeeded his father in 1494, but was a mere puppet in the hands of one minister after another. His first minister, an African entitled Habashī Khān, was slain by a rival, another African known as Malik Badr the Madman, who afterwards slew Mahmūd, he having occupied the throne for no more than six months, and usurped the throne.

Bibliography: See MAHMUD I of Bengal. (T. W. HAIG)

MAHMUD III, GHUYATH AL-DIN, was one of the eighteen sons of 'Alā' al-Din Hussain Shāh of Bengal. He remained loyal to his eldest brother, Nāsir al-Din Nusrat Shāh, throughout his reign, but after his death slew his son, 'Alā' al-Din Firuz Shāh, in 1535, and ascended the throne. During a troubled reign of five years he never ruled the whole of Bengal. Shīr Khān Sur, who ultimately ascended the throne of Dīhlī, was already powerful in Bihār, and allied himself to Mahmūd's rebellious brother-in-law, Makhdūm-i

'Ālam, who was governor of Hājīpur. Shīr Khān defeated an army sent against him by Mahmūd, but Makhdūm was less fortunate, and was slain in another battle. Shīr Khān then forced the Teliyāgarhi defile, invaded Bengal, and besieged Mahmūd in Gaur in 1537. Mahmūd appealed to Humāyūn Shāh of Dīhlī for aid, and Shīr Khān was recalled to Bihār by a rebellion in that province, but left his son Djalāl Khān to continue the siege of Gaur. In April, 1538, Mahmūd was forced to evacuate Gaur, and fled, leaving his capital and his sons in the hands of Djalāl Khān. Shīr Khān, returning from Bihār, then pursued Mahmūd, overtook him, forced him to a battle, and defeated him. Mahmūd was wounded and fled, and nothing more is known of him.

Bibliography: See MAHMUD I of Bengal. (T. W. HAIG)

MAHMUD, SHIHAB AL-DIN, the fourteenth king of the Bahmanī dynasty of the Dakan, was raised to the throne at the age of twelve on the death of his father, Muhammad III, on March 22, 1482, and remained under tutelage throughout his reign of thirty-six years. The ascendancy of his first minister, Malik Hasan Bahri, Niẓām al-Mulk, who had been responsible for the death of Mahmūd Gāwān [q.v.] was distasteful to the Foreign amirs of the kingdom, at the head of whom was Yūsuf 'Adil Khān of Bidjapur, and the assassination of this minister, ordered by the young king, embittered the relations between him and the Dakani party, which attempted to dethrone him in 1487. The plot was discovered and frustrated, and was followed by a massacre of the Dakanis, ordered by the king. But the youth could not stand alone, and was completely dominated by his next minister, Kāsim Barid al-Mamālīk, a Turk. In 1490 Ahmad Niẓām al-Mulk, governor of Djunār and son of Malik Hasan Bahri, proposed to Yūsuf 'Adil Khān and Faṭh Allāh 'Imād al-Mulk of Berār that they should proclaim their independence of the king of the Dakan, and both accepted the proposal. In the numerous wars of the reign Mahmūd was no more than a figure-head, being carried into the field by his minister, who issued orders without any pretence of consulting his nominal master's wishes. Mahmūd made more than one attempt to free himself from the control of Kāsim Barid al-Mamālīk, and of his son Amir 'Alī, who succeeded him in 1504, but each attempt resulted only in the tightening of his bonds. In 1512 Sulṭān Kūlt Kūlb al-Mulk, who had been appointed governor of Telīngāna in 1494, followed the example of the other provincial governors and declared himself independent, and in 1518 Mahmūd died, worn out with debauchery. Four puppets followed him on the throne of Bidar, and his line was finally extinguished in 1527, when Amir 'Alī Barid al-Mamālīk assumed the royal title in Bidar.

Bibliography: Muhammad Kāsim Firighī, *Gulshani Ibrāhimi*, Bombay lith. ed. of 1832; 'Alī b. 'Arif Allāh Ṭabāṭabā'i, *Burkāni Ma'āthir*, MSS. and translation by J. S. King, *History of the Bahmanī dynasty*, London 1900; Niẓām al-Din Ahmad, *Tabaqāt-i Akbari*, Bibliotheca Indica series of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; Abd Allāh Muhammad b. 'Umar, *Zafar al-Walīk bi-Shahzāda wa-Aḥlā*, ed. E. Denison Ross under the title of: *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, London 1910. (T. W. HAIG)

MAHMUD, *Nasir al-Din*, Sultan of Delhi, was the son of Shams al-Din Iltutmish by the daughter of Kutub al-Din Albak [q. v.]. In 1246, when the nobles at Delhi were growing weary of the sloth, incompetence, and tyranny of Mas'ud, Mahmud, then about 18 years of age, was governor of Bahraich, and hastened secretly to the capital when he learned that the throne was likely to become vacant. On June 10, 1246, Mas'ud was deposed and thrown into prison, where he died shortly afterwards, and Mahmud, his uncle, was enthroned in the Green Palace. He was an amiable and pious prince, with a taste for calligraphy, which he displayed in making copies of the *Kur'an*, but as a ruler he was a mere cipher. He was well served by Ghiyath al-Din Balban, whose daughter he married, and who ultimately succeeded him on the throne. Balban restored the royal authority in the Pandjab, the Dugh, Mewat, Multan, Nagaur, and northern Malwa, but his enemies had been busy during his absence from court, and on his return attempted to assassinate him. He frustrated this design, but was banished from court. The nobles soon grew weary of the arrogance of the eunuch Raihan, who had supplanted him, and Balban and other nobles assembled their troops at Bhatinda, Raihan and the king marched against them, but as most of the nobles in the royal camp were in sympathy with Balban, who hesitated to attack the king, serious hostilities were avoided, and the royal army retreated. The nobles at court now prevailed upon the king to dismiss Raihan, who was banished, first to Budain, and afterwards to Bahraich, a reconciliation between the king and Balban was effected, and they returned together to Delhi in January, 1255. Raihan was soon discovered to be in communication with Kutub Khan of Bayana, who had secretly married the king's mother, and the eunuch was captured and put to death. In 1256 Mahmud and Balban marched against Kutub Khan, who fled, and when he was pursued, in 1257, into Simur, again fled and took refuge with Khablu Khan, the rebellious governor of Multan and Uch. Balban marched against the rebels, but they evaded him and marched on Delhi. Finding, however, that preparations had been made to receive them, and that Balban was menacing their retreat, they fled, and in 1259 joined an army of Mughuls which was invading the Pandjab. It was feared that the Mughuls would attack Delhi, but they retired without crossing the Sutlaj. Order was then again restored in the Dugh, and in the following year the Meos of Mewat expiated by a terrible punishment a long series of crimes. Their country was ravaged, and 250 of their principal men were brought to Delhi and put to death with torture. In a second expedition 12,000 of them, men, women, and children were put to the sword. Meanwhile negotiations had been in progress with Hulsag Khan at Tahriz, and in 1260 a Mughul envoy reached Delhi and promised, in his master's name, that raids into India should cease. At this point a hiatus of nearly six years occurs in the history of the Muslims in India, and the next fact which is recorded is that Mahmud died on Feb. 18, 1266, and was succeeded by Balban.

Bibliography: Minhadj al-Din Siradj, *Tahsil-i Nafiri*, text and translation by Major H. G. Raverty; Abd al-Kadir Bada'uni, *Muntakhab al-Tawarikh*, text and translation by

G. S. A. Ranking; Nizam al-Din Ahmad, *Tahsil-i Akhbari*, text; all in the Bibliotheca Indica series of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; Muhammad Kaim Firishah, *Gulshan-i Ibrahim*, Bombay lith. ed. of 1832. (T. W. HAIG)

MAHMUD II, *Nasir al-Din*, was the grandson of Firuz Shah, of the Tughluq dynasty, and was placed on the throne of Delhi on March 8, 1393, on the death of his elder brother Humayun (Sikandar Shah) and was never more than a puppet in the hands of intriguing ministers. The eunuch Sarwar, deputed by him to quell a Hindu rebellion in Awadh, received the title of Sultan al-Shark, and never returned to Delhi, but established his independence in Jhawnpur. Another *amir*, Sarang Khan, became virtually independent in the Pandjab, and the minister Sa'adat Khan, resenting his supersession by Mukarrab Khan, set up Mahmud's cousin Nugrat as a rival king within the narrow limits of the kingdom of Delhi. In 1398 Mallu, the brother of Sarang Khan, murdered Mukarrab Khan and assumed complete control of Mahmud, who conferred on him the title of Ikbil Khan. Nugrat Shah was then driven into the Dugh, but the kingdom of Delhi was in a state of utter confusion when, in October, 1398, news was received that the *Amir Timur* [q. v.] had crossed the Indus and taken Multan. He reached Panipat on Dec. 2, and meanwhile the capital had been filled with fugitives, fleeing before him. The resources of the kingdom were so restricted that no adequate preparations could be made to resist him, and Mahmud and Mallu were filled with terror; but such troops as could be collected were assembled within the walls, and on Dec. 15, the king and his minister marched forth to meet the invader, who had crossed the Djanna from his camp at Loni. They were utterly defeated, and fled by night, Mallu to Baran in the Dugh, and Mahmud to Gujjarat, and afterwards to Malwa. Timur left Delhi on Jan. 1, 1399 when his work of plunder, devastation, and bloodshed was finished, and Mahmud's rival, Nugrat Shah, occupied the ruins of the capital, but was expelled by Mallu, and driven into Mewat, where he shortly afterwards died. Mallu returned to Delhi in 1400, and in 1401 was rejoined by Mahmud. In 1402 Mallu, carrying Mahmud with him, marched to Kannauj to attack Ibrahim Shah of Jhawnpur, but Mahmud, weary of the domination of Mallu, fled and joined Ibrahim, who, however, received him so ill that he again fled, and established himself in Kannauj. Mallu then made a fruitless attempt to recover Gwalior, and returned to Kannauj in order to recapture Mahmud, but was baffled by the strength of its defences and returned to Delhi. He attempted to subdue Khidr Khan of Multan, but was defeated and slain by him in November, 1405. After his death Dawlat Khan Lodi became the virtual ruler of Delhi, and at his invitation Mahmud returned to his capital. The rest of his reign was spent in attempts to re-establish his authority in Samana, Sambhal, and Baran, and to punish Ibrahim of Jhawnpur for his reception of him when he had fled from Mallu; but he was obliged to conclude an inglorious peace with Ibrahim, and his success in other directions was neutralized by the advance of Khidr Khan, who pretended that Timur had appointed him his viceroy in India, and in 1406 stripped Mahmud of all his possessions beyond the walls of Delhi except the Dugh, Rohtak, and

Sambhal. In 1409 and 1410 Khidr Khan captured Rohilk, Narnaul, three towns to the south of Delhi, and Firūzbād, and besieged Mahmūd in his capital, which was only saved by a famine which compelled the invader to retire. In 1413 Mahmūd died, the last of his line, at Kaithal, after a nominal reign of twenty years.

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Kādir Badā'uni, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, text, and translation by Ranking; Niẓām al-Dīn Ahmad, *Tadhkirat-i Akbari*, text, all in the Bibliotheca Indica series of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; Muhammad Kāsim Firāhī, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay lith. ed. of 1832. (T. W. HAIG)

MAHMUD, SHAH SHARQI, succeeded his father, Ibrahim Shah, on the throne of Dĥawnpur in 1436. In 1443 he obtained permission from Mahmūd I of Mālwa to punish Nasir Khān, governor of Kālpī, which was a fief of Mālwa, for breaches of the law and customs of Islām committed by him, but Mahmūd of Mālwa repented of his complaisance, and war broke out between Mālwa and Dĥawnpur. Hostilities, which were indecisive were terminated by a compromise. In 1452 Mahmūd Sharqi, on the invitation of some disaffected nobles, attacked Dĥlī in the absence of Bahadur Lodi, but was defeated and compelled to retreat to Dĥawnpur. The foolish act of aggression served only to arouse in Bahadur a sense of the danger to Dĥlī of the existence of an independent kingdom in Awadh and in 1457 he marched to attack Mahmūd, who, however, died before he could meet him in the field.

Bibliography: 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. 'Umar, *Zafar al-Walīh bi-Muḥammad wa-Aḥl-i*, ed. E. Denison Ross under the title of: *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, London 1910; Muhammad Kāsim Firāhī, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay lith. ed. of 1832; Niẓām al-Dīn Ahmad, *Tadhkirat-i Akbari*; 'Abd al-Kādir Badā'uni, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, text and translation by Ranking, all in the Bibliotheca Indica series of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. (T. W. HAIG)

MAHMUD I, SAIF AL-DIN, BEGARHA, the greatest of the Sultāns of Guĥarāt, was a younger son of Muhammad I. Karīm, and was born in 1444. In 1453 the nobles dethroned his nephew, Dāwūd, a vicious and depraved youth, and placed Mahmūd on the throne. The boy immediately displayed great courage and resource in the suppression of a serious conspiracy and rebellion at the beginning of his reign, and in 1461/1462 he marched to the assistance of the youthful Niẓām Shāh of the Dakan, whose dominions had been invaded by Mahmūd I of Mālwa. He compelled the invaders to retire and frustrated a second attempt to invade the Dakan. In 1466/1467 he attacked and defeated the Rājā of Gīrnār in Kāthiawār, which had been independent since the capture of the fortress by Muhammad b. Taghluq of Dĥlī in 1348, and reduced him to the position of a vassal. In 1470 he again invaded Gīrnār, and on Dec. 2, captured the Rājā's stronghold and compelled him to accept Islām, thus putting an end to the Chāḥāsama dynasty, which had reigned in Gīrnār for about 1,000 years. The Rājā became an amir of Guĥarāt, and received the title of Khān-i-Jahān, and Mahmūd founded, near Gīrnār, a new fortress, which he named Musafīr-shād. He then invaded Kāthi and suppressed a rebellion in that province, carrying its leaders, who were com-

pelled to accept Islām, to Musafīr-shād as hostages. In 1472 he crossed the Rann and marched into Sind, to assist Dĥām Nandā (Niẓām al-Dīn) who was beset by rebels. He crushed the rebellion, and after his return marched to Dwarākā, to punish the Rājā, Bhīm, who had plundered a ship belonging to a Muslim merchant. Dwarākā and Bhāt Shankhodhar, the robber chief's stronghold, were taken, and a Muslim governor was appointed to manage the small state. Bhīm himself was captured and executed. Mahmūd's next expedition was against some Malibāri pirates who had harassed the coast near Khambāyat (Cambay), and whose depredations were checked by the capture and execution of some of their number. Rājā Pādā of Cāmpāner had long encouraged brigandage in the kingdom of Guĥarāt, and Mahmūd now retaliated by raiding some districts of his state. On his return to Ahmadābād he discovered a plot to depose him, formed by some of his nobles, who were weary of his ceaseless activity, but the malcontents, who were well aware of the dangers which threatened the kingdom, were brought to their senses by his threat to perform the pilgrimage to Makka, leaving his young son as regent. After restoring order in various districts of his kingdom he marched, in December, 1482, to settle accounts with Cāmpāner. The fortress fell, after a siege of two years, at the end of 1484 and the Rājā and his Minister, having refused, after five months' imprisonment, to accept Islām, were put to death. In 1491 Mahmūd was disturbed by acts of piracy and aggression committed against his subjects by Bahādur Gīlāni, a rebel in the Konkan, and his protests compelled the nobles of the distracted kingdom of the Dakan to unite for the purpose of crushing the rebel. In 1507 Mahmūd's fleet, under Malik Ayyaz of Dĥlī, participated with that of Malik Adraf Kānsūh, of Egypt, in the victory over the Portuguese fleet, in which the gallant young Lourenço de Almeida, son of the viceroy, was slain, and later in the same year he invaded Khāndeśh and placed on the throne of that kingdom his daughter's son, 'Alam Khān, whose father was descended from the ruling family of Khāndeśh, and who ascended the throne under the title of 'Adil Khān. In this campaign he was opposed by Niẓām Shāh of Ahmadānagar. In 1511 a mission from Shāh Ismā'īl Safawī of Persia arrived in Guĥarāt for the purpose of inviting Mahmūd to accept the Shī'a faith, but he refused to see the heretics. He had now been ailing for some time, and, on Nov. 23, 1511, he died, at the age of sixty-nine (lunar) years, after a reign of rather more than fifty-three years. He was a tall, burly man, of commanding appearance, and was, besides being an able administrator, both warlike and chivalrous. His nickname of Begarha has been variously explained, but it undoubtedly had reference to his capture of the two great fortresses (*garh*) of Gīrnār and Cāmpāner. His elder brother had died of poison, and strange stories are told of his precautions against a like fate. He is said to have gradually absorbed poisons into his system until he was so impregnated with them that a fly settling on his hand instantly died. Butler refers to this strange prophylactic treatment in the lines:

"The King of Cambay's daily food
Is asp, and basilisk, and toad".

He was also distinguished by his voracious ap-

petite. His daily allowance of food was between twenty and thirty pounds' weight, and before going to sleep he placed two pounds, or more, of boiled rice on either side of his couch, so that he might find something to eat on whichever side he awoke. When he rose in the morning he swallowed a cup of honey, a cup of butter, and from 100 to 150 bannans.

Bibliography: 'Abd-Allāh Muhammad b. 'Umar, *Zafar al-Walāh bi-Muzaffar wa-Allāh*, ed. E. Denison Ross under the title of: *An Arabic History of Gujjarāt*, London 1910, text; Iskandar b. Muhammad, *Mis'at-i Sikandar*, MSS.; Nizam al-Din Ahmad, *Tahqiq-i Akbari*, Bibliotheca Indica series of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; Muhammad Kāsim Pirishāh, *Gulshan-i Ibrahim*, Bombay lith. ed. of 1832.

(T. W. HAIG)

MAHMUD II of Gujjarāt, was the sixth son of Muzaffar II, on whose death his eldest son, Sikandar, was raised to the throne, but was assassinated on July 12, 1526. The minister then placed on the throne Mahmud, who was an infant, in order that he might rule in his name, but Bahadur, the second son of Muzaffar, who had been absent at Dihli and Dwarapūr, hastened back to secure his birthright, and on July 12, ascended the throne at Ahmadābād and marched on to Chimpāner, where his infant brother was. He entered the fortress without opposition, and Mahmud was dethroned and secretly murdered within the year.

Bibliography: See MAHMUD I of Gujjarāt.

(T. W. HAIG)

MAHMUD III, SA'AD-DIN, of Gujjarāt, was the son of Latif Khān, third son of Muzaffar II. On the death of Bahadur Shāh Muhammad Shāh Fāruki of Khāndesh was offered the crown of Gujjarāt, but died on his way thither. The choice of the nobles then fell on Mahmud, the heir male, but his cousin, Malārak II of Khāndesh, in whose custody he was, and who had himself expected no offer of the crown of Gujjarāt, refused to surrender him, until an army from Gujjarāt compelled him to do so. The prince was escorted back to his country, and on Aug. 8, 1537, was enthroned as Mahmud III, being then only eleven years of age. For the first three or four years of his reign he was a puppet in the hands of powerful ministers, and when he escaped from tutelage proved himself to be weak and inefficient. His attempt, in 1546, to recover Diū from the Portuguese, was a miserable failure, brutally avenged by him on the few Portuguese prisoners in his hands. In 1549 he retired to Mahmūdābād, where he lived in slothful luxury, ruining his constitution with drugs. On Feb. 15, 1554, he was stabbed, as he lay in a drunken stupor, at the instigation of an attendant named Bakhān al-Din, who attempted to usurp the throne, but was slain by the nobles. The discovery of an heir was no easy matter, for Mahmud, dreading an heir as a possible competitor, had taken the barbarous precaution of procuring an abortion whenever a woman of his harem became pregnant. The choice of the nobles ultimately fell on a young prince entitled Raḡī al-Mulk, the great-grandson of Shākar Khān, a younger son of Ahmad I, and he was raised to the throne under the title of Ahmad II.

Bibliography: See MAHMUD I of Gujjarāt.

(T. W. HAIG)

MAHMUD I, KHALAJI, of Mālwa, was the son of Malik Mughith, sister's son to Dillawar Khān, the first independent Sultan of Mālwa. On May 12, 1436, Mahmud caused his cousin, Muhammad Ghūri, a debauched and barbarous prince, to be poisoned, frustrated an attempt to enthrone his young son, Mas'ūd, and offered the crown to his own father, Mughith, who refused it, whereupon Mahmud himself ascended the throne. He was beset by difficulties, and after quelling a rebellion raised on behalf of Ahmad, a Ghūri prince, repelled an invasion by Ahmad I of Gujjarāt, who attempted to restore Mas'ūd to his father's throne. A pretender was set up in Candari, and died while Mahmud was besieging the fortress, but he was obliged to turn immediately against Dongar Singh of Gwāliyar, who had taken advantage of the disturbed state of Mālwa to invade the country. He expelled the Hindās and returned to Māndū, whence he was summoned, in 1440, by a faction among the nobles of Dihli, who offered him the throne. He marched to Tughlakābād, but his partisans failed him, and he was met by the army of Muhammad Shāh the Saiyid, under Bahāni Lodi. After some indecisive fighting he agreed to retire, assenting the more readily owing to news of a serious rebellion in Māndū. On his return he found that the rebellion had been suppressed by his father, and in 1442 he invaded Mewar to punish the Rānā for the assistance which he had given to the pretenders who had troubled the early years of his reign. He had considerable success in the campaign, but retired without attempting to besiege Citor. On his return to Māndū he quarrelled with Mahmud Shāh Sharḡi [q. v.] of Dwarapūr, regarding Nasir Khān, the turbulent ruler of Kālpī, but after an indecisive campaign the two kings made peace on the basis of a compromise. In October, 1446, he again invaded Mewar, extorted some tribute from the Rānā, established his own authority in Ranthambhor, compelled Aḡhā Khān of Riyāna to do homage and pay tribute, and collected tribute from the Rājā of Kota. He left a force to besiege Citor, but the siege was not formed. In 1450 he invaded Gujjarāt to establish his claim to the allegiance of Kanak Das, Rājā of Chimpāner, but gained nothing except an instalment of tribute from the Rājā, and in the following year he suffered a severe defeat during a second invasion of Gujjarāt. In 1451 he subdued the turbulent Hira Rājputs on his northern frontier, and later in the year invaded Berār and besieged Māhūr, but retired when the Bahmani king marched to his relief. In 1455 he again invaded Mewar, recaptured Ajmer, collected tribute from minor chieftains, and harassed and plundered large tracts in Rājputānā. In 1461 he was induced to invade the Dakan, where he defeated the army of the boy-king, Nizam Shāh, and besieged him in his capital, but was obliged to retire by the news that Mahmud I of Gujjarāt was marching to the assistance of Nizam Shāh, and suffered severely at the hands of the Korkū of the Malghat during his retreat. He invaded the Dakan in the following year, but before he could effect anything was again obliged to retire by Mahmud I of Gujjarāt. In the same year Khurā, a fortress of Berār held by him, was taken by the officers of the Bahmani king, but he succeeded in recovering it. In 1466 he again invaded Mewar, but though he defeated Rānā

Kumbha in the field he failed to take his capital by surprise, and returned to Māndū. In 1468 he marched to Cānderi, and his officers captured and destroyed the fortress of Karāhā. On his way back to Māndū he suffered severely from the heat, and on June 1, 1469, he died, at the age of sixty-eight. He was the greatest of the Muslim kings of Mālwa, and under him the kingdom reached its greatest extent. The "column of victory" at Citor is said to commemorate Rānā Kumbha's victories over Maḥmūd I of Guḍjarāt, and Maḥmūd I of Mālwa, but if this be so it is more mendacious than most lapidary inscriptions, for the successes of Mewār against Mālwa were gained by Sangrama against Maḥmūd II, not by Kumbha against Maḥmūd I. Maḥmūd's fame had reached distant Egypt, for he received an envoy from the phantom 'Abbāsid Khālifa, who formally recognized him as Sulṭān of Mālwa. He was a zealous Muslim, and restored the use in all public offices of the inconvenient lunar calendar of Islām, and, while he gloried in his successes against the "infidels", was careful to excuse himself for his attacks — often unjustifiable — on sovereigns of his own faith.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Kāsim Firāhta, *Gulshan-i Irākīn*, Bombay lith. ed. of 1832; Niṣām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Tuhfat-i Akbari*, Bibliotheca Indica series of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar, *Zafar al-Walīh bi-Muḥammad wa-Allāh*, ed. by E. Denison Ross under the title of *An Arabic History of Gujrat*, London 1910.

(T. W. HAIG)

MAHMUD II, 'ALĀ' AL-DIN, Khālifa, of Mālwa, was raised to the throne on May 2, 1511, on the death of his father, Nāṣir al-Dīn Khālifa. The early days of his reign were disturbed by rebellions on behalf of his brothers, and of other pretenders, and he was once driven from his capital, but was enabled to return and expel the rebels by the assistance of Medni Rāy, with a force of Rājapūts. The king soon had reason to repent of having accepted their aid, for Medni Rāy assumed the place of minister, and the dominance of the Hindūs alienated and disgusted all the Muslim nobles of the kingdom. Bihḍat Khān, governor of Cānderi, openly espoused the cause of a pretender, and Maḥmūd, while engaged in correspondence with him, was disturbed by news of a revolt in his capital and of the invasion of his kingdom by Muḥaffar II of Guḍjarāt, but the revolt was suppressed, and the invader was recalled to Guḍjarāt by domestic disturbances. After protracted negotiations the pretender fled, and Bihḍat Khān received Maḥmūd at Cānderi and endeavoured, but in vain, to free him from the influence of the Hindūs. Maḥmūd returned to Māndū early in 1514 and fell entirely under the control of the Rājapūts, at whose instance he put to death many of the Muslim nobles of the kingdom. The arrogance of the Hindūs at length became intolerable, and in 1517 Maḥmūd fled to Guḍjarāt and sought aid of Muḥaffar II, who led an army into Mālwa to restore his authority, captured Māndū, and massacred the Rājapūts who had held it. The rest of the Rājapūts in the state established themselves on its northern border and transferred their allegiance to Rānā Sangrama of Citor. Muḥaffar retired to Guḍjarāt leaving 10,000 horse to assist Maḥmūd, and Maḥmūd besieged Gāgrawn, held by Hemkaran

for Medni Rāy. The Rānā marched to its relief, and Maḥmūd, turning aside to meet him, suffered a severe defeat, and was wounded and captured. Sangrama received him courteously, but compelled him to surrender his crown jewels. He might now have annexed Mālwa, but, fearing to arouse the hostility of every Muslim ruler in India, made a virtue of necessity, and replaced Maḥmūd on his throne. A few years later Maḥmūd harboured and encouraged Čānd Khān, brother of Bahādur Shāh of Guḍjarāt, and a pretender to his throne. Bahādur invaded Mālwa and besieged Māndū. Maḥmūd's sloth and negligence infected his army, and on March 17, 1531, Bahādur captured the city, and Maḥmūd appeared before him. Mālwa was annexed to Guḍjarāt, and Maḥmūd and his family were sent towards Čāmpāner, to be imprisoned there. On April 12 the camp was attacked by a force of Bīlīs and Kolīs, and Maḥmūd's guards, fearing a rescue, put him to death. His seven sons were conveyed to Čāmpāner, and nothing more is known of their fate.

Bibliography: See MAHMUD I of Mālwa.
(T. W. HAIG)

MAHMUD B. ISMĀ'IL. [See IBN KẖADĖR ŠIMĀWNA.]

MAHMUD B. MUHAMMAD B. MALIKSHĀH, a Salḡūq ruler in the 'Irāk (511—525 = 1118—1131), ascended the throne as a boy of 13, being the eldest of his father's five sons. To his misfortune, his trusted advisers only troubled about their own interests and made the young Sulṭān take various steps which were fatal to the prosperity of his reign. Anuṣharwān in al-Bondarī mentions no fewer than ten such fatal mistakes; the result was that even in the early years of his reign several ambitious Turkish emirs were in open rebellion while his father's Great Hādīb 'Alī Bār, who, during the latter's illness, had had and still retained control of the vast treasures which the latter had hoarded up, dissipated them in a very short time and let the young Sulṭān lead a gay life. Especially dangerous to him were the atābegs of his brothers Mas'ūd and Toḡhril, who found the opportunity a favourable one to dispute the sālṭānate on behalf of their infant protégés. The result was that in 513 (1119) Sandjar, the Sulṭān's powerful uncle, was forced to interfere and marched on al-Rāy after an attempt to appease him had failed. Maḥmūd was then forced to allow matters to come to an open fight but his troops were defeated at Sēwa [q.v.] and nothing was left for him but to go to the victor and accede to the demands made by him. Fortunately Sandjar, whose mother was Maḥmūd's grandmother, was favourably disposed to his nephew and announced himself content to add to his territory a few districts, e.g. al-Rāy, but otherwise received Maḥmūd in a friendly fashion and even gave him one of his daughters in marriage. Thereupon he retired and left Maḥmūd without his help to make the best of the difficulties that faced him in the 'Irāk. These were bad enough, for the Atābeg of Mas'ūd, whom Ibn al-Athīr calls Aiyahā Djuyyāsh-beg (cf. *Recueil*, ii. 132, note), in conjunction with the unruly Malik al-'Arab Dubais [q.v.] was plotting to proclaim his protégé Sulṭān. The plan failed however: Aiyahā's troops were routed at Asādābād (514) and Mas'ūd's unlucky vizier, the celebrated Arabic poet al-Ṭaḡhrā' [q.v.], was captured and soon afterwards put to death on the pretext

that he was an infidel. The two brothers readily made friends again as Mas'ūd was still a mere child; Aiyaba escaped, was afterwards pardoned by Mahmūd, but lost to Aḥsonkor al-Bursukī [q.v.] the governorship of Mōsal which he had previously held. Dubais was preparing the Sultān still further trouble and soon found this opportunity, because Toghril, who with his Atibegs had meanwhile been given the province of Arrān as *iqṭā'* could not withstand the Georgians there, who had taken Tiflis in 515 (cf. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I. 365; Matthias of Edessa, ch. 230—232; Ibn al-Fārīḡ in Ibn al-Kāḡanīst, ed. Amédroz, p. 205), and came to the Irāk to seek help from Mahmūd. The latter himself took the field against the Georgians without doing much and Toghril, who had now returned to his province, soon received a visit there from Dubais, who persuaded him to set out to the Irāk against the caliph al-Mustashīd. As they had no success in this enterprise, they went to Sandjar to lodge complaints against the Caliph and Mahmūd. Sandjar thereupon went to al-Ray and sent an invitation to Mahmūd to come to answer the charges (522 = 1128). Mahmūd was received with honours and instructed to restore Dubais to his territory in Hilla while Toghril and Mas'ūd who was also with him, went off with Sandjar. Mahmūd however did not find the caliph inclined to tolerate Dubais in his neighbourhood, and the Sultān withdrew his claims for a sum of 100,000 dinārs and went to Hamadhān. There had been trouble between Mahmūd and the Caliph before and in 520 (1126) for example there had been open fighting in the streets of Baghdād between the Arabs and the Sultān's Turkish troops. In all these circumstances Mahmūd proved unequal to his task; while he left the business of government to his viziers, among whom al-Sumairamī and al-Dargazīnī (or al-Anasibūdī as Ibn al-Aṭhīr always has it) were the most prominent, he spent his time with his hawks and hounds, which, according to Mirkhwān, were 400 in number and wore jewelled collars and coverings embroidered with gold. It became worse when he devoted himself to sensual pleasures and as a result of his sexual excesses fell ill and died at Hamadhān at the early age of 27 (Shawwāl 25, 525 = Sept. 10, 1131). Nevertheless he was by no means an insignificant figure; he had a good acquaintance with Arabic and was celebrated in a long panegyric by Hama-Baiha [q.v.]. Ibn al-Aṭhīr lauds his gentleness and emphasises that he never, as Sultāns usually did, laid violent hands on the property of his subjects.

Bibliography: in the article SELJUKS; cf. also Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1299, II. 519 *sq.*

MAHMŪD of Ghazna, one of the most famous of Muslim conquerors, was the elder son of Subuktigīn and was born in 969 A.D. In 994 Nūḥ II of Bukhārā appointed Subuktigīn governor of Khurāsān, as a reward for assistance received from him, and Subuktigīn appointed as his deputy his son Mahmūd, who took Nishāpūr from the Ismā'īlī heretics and made it his capital. On his death in 997 Subuktigīn left his throne to his younger son, Ismā'īl, but Mahmūd marched to Ghazna, defeated his brother, and ascended the throne in 999. Begīstān, an *amīr* of Manṣūr II of Bukhārā, attempted to deprive Mahmūd of the government of Khurāsān, but failed, and the Sā-

mānid dynasty was shortly afterwards extinguished, its dominions being divided between Mahmūd and Ilak Khān of Kashghar. The *Ala'ud-Dīn* al-Kāḡir now recognized Mahmūd as king of Ghazna and Khurāsān, and conferred on him the title of Amīn al-Milla, and later that of Yamīn al-Dawla, from which his successors are sometimes known as the Yamīni dynasty. Mahmūd now made a vow to invade India and chastise the infidels every year of his life, and during the remaining thirty years of his life led no fewer than seventeen raids into India. After an expedition in the year 1000 he defeated and captured Djaipāl I. of the Panḍjāb in 1001, and took the town of Uṇḍ. Djaipāl was released on promising to pay tribute, but would not survive his disgrace, and burned himself to death, leaving his kingdom to his son, Anandpāl. Mahmūd received the title of Gh̄iār, and in 1003 subdued Sīstān. Khālaf b. Aḥmad, whom he defeated, saved his life by addressing his conqueror as "Sultān", a title which so pleased Mahmūd that he bore it ever afterwards, being, it is said, the first Muslim sovereign to do so. In 1004 he invaded the Multān state, and besieged its ruler, Dāwūd, who had adopted the Carmathian heresy, for seven months in his capital. Dāwūd saved his kingdom by abjuring his heresy and undertaking to pay tribute, and Mahmūd returned to his dominions in time to meet Ilak Khān, who had invaded them, near Balḡh. He defeated the invader and put him to flight, but while he was thus engaged Sukhpāl, a son of Anandpāl, who had accepted Islām and received the title of Nawāsī Shāh, revolted and rebelled. Mahmūd marched towards Bhera, Sukhpāl's capital, but before his arrival there his officers had captured Sukhpāl, who was compelled to disgorge 400,000 *dirhams*, and was imprisoned for life. Mahmūd then invaded the district of Gh̄iār, conquered it, and compelled the inhabitants to accept Islām. Meanwhile the princes of India had formed a confederacy to defend their country and their religion, and when Mahmūd crossed the Indus in 1008 he was met at Uṇḍ by a great army composed of the troops of Anandpāl and those of the Rājās of Uḍḡain, Gwāliyar, Kālingjar, Kannawḍj, Dillī, and Adjmar. Their combined forces nearly succeeded in defeating Mahmūd, but after a hotly contested battle he won the day, and the Hindus fled. The Rājās lost faith in each other, and the confederacy was dissolved. Mahmūd pressed on to the fortress of Bhawan and the temple of Negarkot or Kangra, the gates of which were opened to him after a siege of seven days. The enormous plunder which the temple yielded whetted Mahmūd's appetite for further exploits of the same nature. In 1009 he again invaded the Panḍjāb and plundered the country and slaughtered its inhabitants. Anandpāl, who dared not attack him, purchased peace by the payment of an indemnity, a promise of tribute, and an undertaking to allow him unrestricted passage through the Panḍjāb in future. Dāwūd of Multān had by now relapsed into heresy, and in 1010 Mahmūd invaded his kingdom, took his capital, and after slaughtering and mutilating great numbers of his heretical subjects sent him to end his days as a prisoner in Gh̄iār. In 1011 Mahmūd marched through the Panḍjāb to the plunder of the wealthy temple of Thānesar. The Rājās fled, and Mahmūd plundered the temple, the city and the kingdom, and carried off the idol Čakravartin,

with much booty and large numbers of captives, to Ghazna.

In 1012 Mahmūd's officers subdued Ghardjistān, and he compelled the Khalifa al-Kādir to cede to him those districts of Khurāsān which he had not yet occupied, but the Khalifa returned a stern refusal to Mahmūd's demand for Samarkand, and Mahmūd was obliged to apologize for his presumption.

Anandpal had now died and had been succeeded by his son, Trilokanpal, a weak monarch who committed the management of his affairs to his son, Nidar Bhm, or "Bhm the Fearless". Bhm reversed the submissive policy of his grandfather, and in 1013 Mahmūd was obliged to invade the Panjāb in order to keep the road to Hindustān open. In the spring of 1014 he defeated the Hindū prince in the Margala Pass, captured the fortress of Nandana, and pursued him into Kashmir, but was unable to come up with him, and was obliged to return. A second invasion of Kashmir was equally unsuccessful; he failed to take Lohkot, and in the spring of 1016 he retired, with heavy loss, from his only unsuccessful campaign in India, losing, on his way, many of his men in the flooded Dikhām. In the same year he marched to Khurāsān to avenge the death of his sister's husband, Abu 'l-'Abbās Ma'mūn, who had been slain by rebels. He crushed the rebellion and appointed one of his own officers, Al-Futūh, to the government of his new conquest. In the autumn of 1018 he set out on his long meditated expedition into Hindustān, whither Trilokanpal and Nidar Bhm had retired. He crossed the Dhamna on December 2 and received the submission of the Rājā of Baran, 10,000 of whose subjects accepted Islām. He next defeated Rājā Kulānd of Mahāban, who to avoid disgrace stabbed his daughter and son, and then himself. He sacked and destroyed the splendid cities of Mathurā and Bindrāban and, leaving the greater part of his army there, marched with a picked force, to Kannawā, defended by seven forts on the Ganges. Its ruler, Rājāyāla, fled, leaving his capital undefended, the seven forts were plundered in one day, and the city was sacked. Aunī, further down the Ganges, shared its fate, and Madjhāwan, "the Fort of the Brahmins", was plundered after its defenders had been slain to a man. Rājā Cand of Sharwa fled, but this city was sacked, and he was overtaken and defeated on January 6, 1019. Mahmūd then set out on his return march to Ghazna with a large number of elephants, 3,000,000 *dirham's*, much other plunder, and captives so numerous that slaves were to be had for two or three *dirham's* each. On his return he founded at Ghazna his great mosque, the "Bride of Heaven". Rājā Nanda of Kālingjar and the Rājā of Gwāliyar had marched to Kannawā after Mahmūd's retreat, and had punished Rājāyāla for his cowardly desertion of his capital by putting him to death. They were attempting to form a new confederacy of Hindū princes when Mahmūd, in 1019, invaded Hindustān to frustrate their design. He defeated Trilokanpal on the Rīnganga and then turned to confront Rājā Nanda, who was marching to meet him with a great army, at the sight of which even Mahmūd quailed. Nanda, however, was smitten with a sudden panic and fled in the night, leaving his camp to be plundered by Mahmūd, who obtained, with much other booty, 580 elephants, in addition to 270 already taken

from Trilokanpal. Then, fearing lest his retreat through the Panjāb should be cut off, he returned to Ghazna. In 1021 he resolved to provide himself with a base for future raids, and having invaded Swāt and Bajawr and compelled the inhabitants to accept Islām he attacked, but again failed to capture, the fortress of Lohkot, and, raising the siege, marched into the Panjāb. Trilokanpal was dead, and Nidar Bhm fled and took refuge with the Rājā of Adjmar, where he died in 1026. Mahmūd was thus able to annex the Panjāb, and brought it under his own sway. In 1022 he again invaded Hindustān and attacked the fortresses of Gwāliyar and Kālingjar, but left their rulers in possession of them on their promising to pay tribute. On his return to Ghazna he mustered his army, and in 1023 invaded Transoxiana to establish his authority there. The smaller chiefs hastened to pay him homage, the ruler of Samarkand was brought before him in chains and was sent as a prisoner to Kālingjar, as were also the chiefs of the Saldjūk tribe, 4,000 families of which Mahmūd, though he was apprehensive of their power, transported into Khurāsān. In 1025 Mahmūd set out on the most famous of his raids into India, the expedition to Somnāth. The insolent boasts of the Brāhmins had annoyed him, but it was the reputed wealth of the temple that prompted the enterprise. He crossed the Indian desert after elaborate preparations, plundered both Adjmar and Anhilwāra, and reached Somnāth in the middle of January, 1026. Within two days his troops had stormed the ramparts and entered the city, but the temple was more strongly defended, and while he was attacking it he learned that the Hindū princes of Gujjarāt, who had fled before his arrival, had rallied to the defence of the idol, and were before the city. Leaving a force to continue the siege of the temple, he marched against them, and, after a battle in which he narrowly escaped defeat, put them to flight. Their defeat sealed the fate of the temple, which was almost immediately captured. Mahmūd plundered it of its vast treasures and broke up its idol, a huge *lingam*. From Somnāth he marched to punish Param Deo, Rājā of Anhilwāra, for the attempt to relieve the temple, but the Rājā fled, leaving his stronghold and its treasures to the conqueror. It is said that Mahmūd was so captivated by the beauty and climate of Gujjarāt that he was with difficulty dissuaded by his officers from making Anhilwāra his capital, and leaving Ghazna to his son, Mas'ūd. On his return march through the Sind desert his army suffered severely, and after crossing the desert was harassed by the Džats, but succeeded in reaching Ghazna with its spoils. In 1027 Mahmūd undertook his last expedition into India, in order to punish these Džats. He collected a flotilla of boats at Multān, and, owing partly to their superior construction, defeated the Džats in a naval battle on the Indus, and carried off their families, which they had removed for safety to islands in the river.

The remainder of Mahmūd's life was devoted to the western provinces of his empire. He wrested Trāk, Ray and Isfahān from the Buwayhids, invested his son Mas'ūd with the government of the newly conquered territory, and employed himself in establishing order and security on the caravan routes throughout his wide dominions, and in extirpating the heretics whom the Shi'a Buwayhids had tolerated. In 1029 he returned from Ray to

Balkh, and marched in the spring to Ghazna, where, on April 30, 1030, he died, at the age of sixty-three, worn out with the labours of forty years.

Mahmūd was far from being the zealous champion of the faith depicted by Muslim historians. Occasionally he encouraged, and even compelled Hindus and others to accept Islam, but the propagation of the faith was never the primary object of any of his campaigns. Temples were attacked rather because they contained treasure than because they contained idols, and he did not hesitate to employ bodies of unconverted Hindus, even against his brethren in the faith. He has been described as miserly but he loved money chiefly as the source of power. He adorned Ghazna with noble buildings and his court was in that age the chief resort of poets and men of learning, and was adorned by al-Uṭbī, al-Būnī, 'Unṣurī, Asadī, 'Asjdjād, Minūshihri, Firdawsī, and many other poets and men of letters. His scurvy treatment of Firdawsī is to be attributed rather to the malice of a personal enemy than to the meanness of the king, and the poet's mode of resenting it placed him beyond the pale of forgiveness. Mahmūd was one of the great figures in Islamic history, and though his warlike career left him no leisure for the acquisition of learning he knew how to appreciate and reward literary merit in others.

Bibliography: al-Uṭbī, *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, MSS. and translation by J. Reynolds, London 1858; Hamd-Allah Mustawfī al-Kāshānī, *Tārīkh-i Guzda*, G. M. S., Leyden and London 1910; Mir Khwānd, *Rawdat al-Safā*, MSS.; Muhammad Kāsim Firāghī, *Gulshan-i Ibrākīnī*, Bombay lith. ed. 1832; Niṣām al-Dīn Ahmad, *Taḥqīq-i Akhbar*; 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, text and translation by G. S. A. Ranking, all in the Bibliotheca Indica Series of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(T. W. HAIG)

MAHMUD GAWAN, 'IMAD AL-DIN, Khwādja, was born in A.D. 1405, of a family which had long held high office in the small principality of Gūlān, and is said to have taken the name of Gawān, by which he was afterwards known in India, from Kāwān, his birthplace. He received a good education and as a young man made the pilgrimage to Mekka. While he was there his family fell into disgrace, so that he could not safely return home. Refusing offers of employment in other parts of Persia he became a merchant, and in 1455 sailed from the Persian Gulf for India, and landed at the port of Dāhhol. Thence he proceeded to Bidar, the capital of the Bahmanī kings, and was well received by 'Alī al-Dīn Ahmad II, who was then reigning. He received the command of 1,000 horse and was sent to quell the rebellion of Djalāl Khān in Telingāna. His conspicuous success secured his position as one of the leading nobles of the kingdom, and after the death of Ahmad II in 1457 he received from his son and successor, Humāyūn, the title of *Malik al-Tajār* ('Chief of the Merchants'), then highly esteemed. During Humāyūn's short reign he was employed in suppressing rebellion and restoring order in Telingāna, and on the king's death, in 1461, was associated by his widow with herself and Khwādja Djalāl the Turk in a council of regency. The foreign enemies of the kingdom took advantage of the childhood of the new king, Niṣām Shāh, and Mahmūd Gawān bore an honour-

able part in repelling the invasion of the Rājās of Ura, who was forced to pay a large indemnity. Mahmūd Khaldjī I of Mālwa next invaded the Dakan, defeated the army of Niṣām Shāh, and menaced the existence of the state. Mahmūd Gawān succeeded in enlisting the aid of Mahmūd I, Begarlu, of Gujjarat, and with his help defeated and expelled the invader. Niṣām Shāh died in 1463, and the kingdom was governed for his younger brother, who succeeded as Muhammad III, by the same council of regency, but the arrogance and ambition of Khwādja Djalāl the Turk so aroused the suspicions of the queen-mother that she ordered her young son to put him to death. She shortly afterwards retired from public life, leaving Mahmūd Gawān, now entitled Khwādja Djalāl, sole regent. In 1469 he was sent to subdue the Konkan, and to suppress the pirates of that region, and, in a series of campaigns extending over three years, conquered the country and captured Goa, then one of the principal ports of Vijayanagar. On his return to Bidar he was received with great honour and his position as first noble of the kingdom was assured. In 1472 he brought the siege of Belgaum to a successful conclusion, but the chief service which he rendered to the Bahmanī kingdom was the reform of its administration. It had originally been divided into four great provinces, Gulbarga, Dawlatābād, Berār, and Telingāna, to which the name of *paraf* was given, and the power of the *parafdar*, or provincial governor, was almost absolute. He collected the revenue; raised, paid and commanded the army; and appointed all officials, his responsibility to the king being limited to maintaining order, keeping the people contented, remitting to the capital the quota of revenue due, and joining the king, when summoned, with the contingent of troops which he was bound to supply. Even in the early days of the kingdom rebellions raised by provincial governors had not been unknown, but the system had worked well on the whole so long as the limits of the kingdom were comparatively narrow, and the kings were energetic; but the kingdom now stretched from sea to sea, the provinces were unwieldy and the defects and dangers of the old system were apparent to all. Mahmūd Gawān divided each of the original *parafs* into two, so that their number became eight. Berār was divided into the two *parafs* of Gāwli and Māhār; Dawlatābād into Dawlatābād and Dūnnār; Gulbarga into Gulbarga and Bidjāpūr; and Telingāna into Warangal and Rājāmahendri. The powers of the *parafdars* were at the same time curtailed. These reforms were resented by all the old *parafdars*, and by none more than by Malik Hasan Bahri, Niṣām al-Mulk, *parafdar* of the great province of Telingāna, who was posted to the new *paraf* of Rājāmahendri, and found his power, his influence, and his emoluments reduced by more than half. He was the leader of the Dakani party and Mahmūd, though he had done all in his power to end the strife between the Dakanis and the Foreigners, was a foreigner, and was regarded by all as the leader of the Foreign party. In 1481, the royal camp being then in Telingāna, Hasan Bahri took advantage of the absence of Mahmūd's chief supporter, Yūsuf 'Adil Khān the Turk, who had been sent on an expedition into the eastern provinces of the kingdom of Vijayanagar, to compass the downfall and death of Mahmūd. The minister's

confidential secretary was induced, by misrepresentation, to affix his master's seal to a folded paper. The paper was blank, and the conspirators wrote, above the seal, a treasonable letter to the Rājā of Uṛṣa, inviting him to invade the kingdom. The letter was shown to the king when he was drunk, and he at once summoned Mahmūd, who, though warned by his friends that mischief was afoot, insisted on obeying the order. He was asked by the king what was the punishment of treason and unhesitatingly replied, "Death by the sword". He was then confronted with the letter, and though he declared it to be a forgery the king paid no heed to him, but bade the executioner do his office, and withdrew. Mahmūd knelt down and repeated the symbol of his faith, and the executioner, *Djawhar* by name, struck off his head. An order for the plundering of his camp was then issued, and his followers were dispersed. The king was much disappointed by the examination of his late minister's affairs. He had, throughout his official life continued his mercantile transactions, and lived frugally on his profits. His great official emoluments were expended on the troops and establishments which he maintained and on public works, and the balance was disbursed in alms, in the king's name as well as in his own. Muhammad III understood, too late, the value of the servant whom he had so summarily put to death, and his remorse was bitter. Mahmūd was a great statesman and public benefactor. Learned himself, he was a munificent patron of learning, and built at Bidar a magnificent college, the ruins of which are still to be seen. The only private property which he left at his death was a splendid library. He is one of the foremost figures in the political history of India, and his death was the cause of the fall of the dynasty which he had served so well, for it destroyed the confidence of the nobles in the town, and hastened the advent of the day when the provincial governors proclaimed their independence.

Bibliography: Muhammad Kāsim Firāīhī, *Gulshan-i Ibrākīm*, Bombay lith. ed. of 1832; 'Alī b. 'Azīz Allāh Tabāṭabā'ī, *Burkāt-i Ma'sūmīn*, MSS., and translation by J. S. King, *History of the Bahmani Dynasty*, London 1900; E. Denison Ross, *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, London 1910; *Street al-Mahmūd*, Haidarābād, Dakan 1314.

(T. W. HAIG)

MAHMUD PASHA, grand vizier in the reign of the Ottoman Sultān Muhammad II, often called Well Mahmūd Pasha. He was born in Aladja Hījar (Krupewata) in Serbia, of Christian parents; according to Chalcocondyles, his father was Greek and his mother Serbian. Taken in his youth to Adrianople, he was brought up at the court of Murād II, and began his public career on the occasion of the accession of Muhammad II in 1451. Soon afterwards he became Beglerbeg of Rūm-īl; according to the historian Ramadān Zāde Mehmed (Kāḍuk Nishāndjī) he had been also *Kāḍ'asker* [q. v.]. As Beglerbeg, he took part in the capture of Constantinople. After this event he was appointed grand vizier in 1453; the office had been empty since the execution of Çendereli Khalīl Pasha. As grand vizier, Mahmūd Pasha frequently accompanied the Sultān on his campaigns but in 1456–1458 he was appointed to conduct the operations against the Serbs, while the Sultān

conquered the Morea; in 1459 Muhammad himself advanced against Serbia which was completely subdued; during this war Mahmūd Pasha's brother was the leader of the Turcophil party in Serbia. In 1460 and 1461 the grand vizier took part in the expedition against Sinope and Trebizond as commander of the fleet while Muhammad led the army by land. The capture of Trebizond was mainly due to Mahmūd Pasha; he was related to a high dignitary of the court there so that some Greek authors talk of treachery (Fallmerayer, *Geschichte der Kaiserthums Trapezunt*, p. 279). In 1462, Mahmūd accompanied the Sultān against the Voivod of Wallachia, Vlad Dracul and in the following year as commander of the fleet he was sent to conquer Lesbos and forced the Duke of Lesbos to capitulate. In the same year he drove the Venetians out of the isthmus of Corinth. In the Bosnian campaign of 1464, Mahmūd prepared the way for the Sultān's advance by taking the principal towns of the country. In the war that followed with Matthias, king of Hungary, Mahmūd forced the latter to raise the siege of Zvornik. In 1466 he aided the Sultān in the campaign which was to put an end to the power of the Karamānoghlu and defeated the Karamanid Ishāk Beg near Liranda. The latter himself escaped and this fact combined with the too humane treatment which the governor wished to apply to the people of Konya and Liranda and the intrigues of the second vizier Rūm Muhammad Pasha, brought the Sultān to dismiss him on the return march to Constantinople. Mahmūd Pasha then governed the sandjak of Gallipoli for some time. In 1472 he again became grand vizier. The Sultān wished in that year to send him against Uzun Hasan but was persuaded by Mahmūd to send Ishāk Pasha in his place; in the following year he accompanied the Sultān against the Ak-Koyunlu, who were finally routed after the Ottomans themselves had suffered the defeat of Beg Bazar. In the same year Mahmūd was again dismissed; the reason alleged was a lack of zeal in the pursuit of the fugitives. He then retired to the village of Khāss Koy near Adrianople. Next year he came to the capital on the occasion of the funeral of Prince Muṣṭafā; this opportunity was taken to calumniate him to the Sultān on account of the intimacy which had existed between Muṣṭafā and Mahmūd Pasha. This was sufficient to get him imprisoned in the castle of Yedi Kule and executed a few days later in Rabi' I, 879 (July–Aug. 1474).

MAHMUD PASHA was one of the most popular grand viziers. His name still survives in the mosque which he built at Stambul in 863 (1463–64) on a site originally occupied by a church; in the mosque is the *türke* of the founder. He also erected a *medrese*, a *meḥeme*, a *meḥtē*, a well and a *hammām*. There is a legendary story entitled *Menāḥil-nūm-i Mahmūd Pasha*, in which his unjust execution is specially emphasised (printed in Fe. Dieterici, *Chrestomathie Ottomane*, Berlin 1854); the historian Sadī al-Dīn in his *Taḥf al-Tawārīkh* (I. 557) also devotes a chapter to the *Wāḥṭ-i Mahmūd Pasha*. Mahmūd Pasha was the patron of a number of men of letters and scholars, who dedicated their works to him. He was himself a poet but it is uncertain whether he wrote under the *ṭibḥallu* of 'Adnī or 'Adlī. There is a *Diwān* of 'Adlī (printed Constantinople 1308) which is generally attributed to Sultān Bīyazād II but Gibb

(*Hist. Lit. Poetry*, II. 25 ff.) thinks it should be attributed to Mahmūd Pasha.

Bibliography: The accounts in the early Ottoman chronicles: 'Aḥik Pasha Zade, p. 131—178, 191; *Tawārīkh al-ʿOṯmān*, ed. Giese, p. 112—115; Orudi Bey, ed. Babinger, p. 72—4, 126, are supplemented by the Byzantine historians Chalcocondylas and Ducas. Cf. also: 'Oṯmān Zade, *Hadīkat al-Wusar*, Constantinople 1271, p. 9—11; Thureiyā Efendi, *Sidḡill al-Oṯmān*, iv. 309; Ḥafīz Ḥusein al-Aḥmāsani, *Hadīkat al-Dawāmī*, I. 191; van Hammer, *G O R*, I. 434—515; Babinger, *G O W*, p. 25.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MAHPAIKER. [See KÖSEM.]

MAHR (A.), Hebrew *Mohar*, Syriac *Mahrā*, "bridal gift", originally "purchase-money", synonymous with *ṣadq* which properly means "friendship", then "present", a gift given voluntarily and not as a result of a contract, is in Muslim law the gift which the bridegroom has to give the bride when the contract of marriage is made and which becomes the property of the wife.

1. Among the pagan Arabs the mahr was an essential condition for a legal marriage and only when a mahr had been given did a proper legal relationship arise. A marriage without a mahr was regarded as shameful and looked upon as concubinage. In the romance of 'Antar the Arab women, who are being forced to marry without a mahr, indignantly reject such a marriage as a disgrace. Victors alone married the daughters of the conquered without giving them a mahr.

In the pre-Islamic period, the mahr was handed over to the *wālī*, i.e. the father, or brother or relative in whose guardianship (*walā*) the girl was. Here the original character of the marriage by purchase is more apparent. In earlier times the bride received none of the mahr. What was usually given the woman at the betrothal is the *ṣadq*; the mahr, being the purchase price of the bride, is given to the *wālī*.

But in the period shortly before Muḥammad, the mahr, or at least a part of it, seems already to be given to the woman. According to the Qur'ān, this is already the prevailing custom. By this amalgamation of mahr and *ṣadq* the original significance of the mahr as the purchase price was weakened and became quite lost in the natural course of events. There can be no doubt that the mahr was originally the purchase price. But the transaction of purchasing in course of long development had become a mere form. The remains, however, as they survived in the law of marriage in Islam, still bear clear traces of a former marriage by purchase.

2. Muḥammad took over the old Arab patriarchal ceremony of marriage as it stood and developed it in several points. The Qur'ān no longer contains the conception of the purchase of the wife and the mahr as the price, but the mahr is in a way a reward, a legitimate compensation which the woman has to claim in all cases. The Qur'ān thus demands a bridal gift for a legal marriage: "And give them whom ye have enjoyed their reward as a wedding-gift" (lit. *farīḡa* "allotment of property", Sūra, iv. 28) and again: "And give the women their dowries voluntarily" (Sūra, iv. 3) cf. also Sūra, iv. 29, 38; v. 7; ix. 10.

The bridal gift is the property of the wife; it therefore remains her own if the marriage is

dissolved: "And if ye wish to exchange one wife for another and have given one a talent, take nothing of it back". Even if the man divorces the wife before he has cohabited with her he must leave half the mahr with her (Sūra, ii. 237—238).

Down into the Muslim period the wife was considered after the death of the husband as part of his estate; the heir simply continued the marriage of the deceased. Such levirate marriages are found in the Old Testament also. Muḥammad abolished this custom, which still remained in his time, by Sūra, iv. 23: "O ye, who are believers, it is not permitted to you to inherit women against their will".

3. There was an ample store of traditions about the mahr and these pave the way for the theories laid down by the jurists in the fiqh-books. From all the traditions, it is clear that the mahr was an essential part of the contract of marriage. According to a tradition in Bukhārī the mahr is an essential condition for the legality of the marriage: "every marriage without mahr is null and void". Even if this tradition, so brief and to the point, is not genuine, a number of traditions point to the fact that the mahr was necessary for the marriage, even if it only consisted of some trifling thing. Thus in Ibn Maḡḡa and Bukhārī traditions are given, according to which the Prophet permitted a marriage with only a pair of shoes as mahr and approved of a poor man, who did not even possess an iron ring, giving his wife instruction in the Qur'ān as mahr.

A few ḥadīths endeavour to show that the mahr must be neither too high nor too low. From the traditions we also learn what mahr was given in particular cases in the Prophet's time: for example, the bridal gift of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf was an ounce of gold, that of Abū Huraira of 10 ṭūḡiya and a dish, that of Shāhā b. Sa'd an iron ring.

In the ḥadīths we again frequently find the Qur'ānic regulation that in a divorce after cohabitation the woman has the right to the whole mahr.

4. According to Muslim fiqh-books, marriage is a contract (*uḡd*) made between the bridegroom and the *wālī* of the bride. An essential element in it is the mahr or *ṣadq*, which the bridegroom binds himself to give to the bride. The marriage is null without a mahr. The jurists themselves are not quite agreed as to the nature of the mahr. Some regard it practically as purchase-money (e.g. Khallī: "the mahr is like the purchase-money") or as an equivalent (*ʿimāq*) for the possession of the woman and the right over her, so that it is like the price paid in a contract of sale, while other jurists see in the mahr a symbol, a mark of honour or a proper legal security of property for the woman.

All the things can be given as mahr that are things (*maṭ*) in the legal sense and therefore possible to deal in, that is can be the object of an agreement. The mahr may also — but opinions differ on the point — consist in a pledge to do something or in doing something, e.g. instructing the woman in the Qur'ān or allowing her to make the pilgrimage. The whole of the mahr can either be given at or shortly after the marriage or it may be paid in instalments. When the latter is the case it is recommended to give the woman a half or two-thirds before cohabitation and the rest afterwards. The woman may refuse to allow consummation of the marriage before a part is given.

Two kinds of mahr are distinguished:

a. *Mahr musammā*, "definite mahr", the amount of which is exactly laid down in the wedding contract.

b. *Mahr al-mithl* in which the amount is not exactly laid down, but the bridegroom gives a bridal gift befitting the wealth, family and qualities of the bride. This *mahr al-mithl* is also applied in all cases in which nothing definite about the mahr was agreed upon in the contract.

The mahr becomes the property of the wife and she has full right to dispose of it as she likes. In the case of any dispute afterwards as to whether certain things belong to the mahr or not, the man is put upon oath.

The Shar'fā lays down no maximum or minimum for the amount of the mahr; but limitations were introduced by the various law-schools; the Hanafis and Shāfi'is insist upon 10 dirhems as a minimum and the Mālikis three dirhems. The difference in the amount fixed depends on the economic conditions in the different countries where the madhhab in question prevails.

If the man pronounces a divorce, the mahr must be paid in every case if cohabitation has taken place; but the bridegroom may withdraw from the marriage before it is consummated; in this case he is bound to give the woman half the mahr.

Bibliography: W. Robertson Smith, *Kingship and Marriage in early Arabia*, Cambridge 1885 (cf. thereon Th. Noldeke, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xl. [1886], 148 sq.); Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern*, *N. G. W. Zeit.*, 1893, p. 431 sq.; G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Eherecht*, Berlin 1897. — For the hadiths cf. Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muham. Tradition*, Leyden 1927, p. 145 sq. — The chapters *Nikāḥ* and *Sadūq* resp. *Mahr* in the Fikḥ-books. Further: Juynboll, *Handbuch des islam. Gesetzes*, p. 181 sq.; Sachau, *Muham. Recht*, p. 34 sq.; Santillana, *Institutioni di diritto Musulmana Malichita*, Rome 1926, p. 168 sq.; van den Berg, *Principes du droit musulman* (transl. France de Torsant), Algiers 1896, p. 75; Khalil, *Muḥḥaḥḥat*, transl. Santillana, Milan 1919, ii. 39 sq.; Tornau, *Moslem. Recht*, Leipzig 1855, p. 74 sq. (O. SPER).

MAHRA, a land on the southeast coast of Arabia on the Indian Ocean between Ḥaḍramūt, the coast of which is inhabited by the Ka'abī (Ge'ez), and Zafār; the Arabs however and modern geographers include Zafār itself, formerly the town only and now the country, the old frankincense region [see ZAFAR], in Mahra, so that Mahra may be said to be the country between Ḥaḍramūt and 'Omān (cf. al-Iṣṭakhri, *B. G. A.*, i. 12, 27; Ibn Hawkal, *ibid.*, ii. 17; al-Mukaddas, *ibid.*, iii. 53; Yāqūt, *Muḥḥaḥḥat*, iv. 700; al-Idrisi, ed. Jaubert, Paris 1836, i. 48; Ibn Khaldūn [in Kay, *Yaman*, London 1892, p. 132]). This connotation of Mahra seems to have been already known to the Greeks of the fourth century B.C.; Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.*, ix. 4, 2, numbers among the lands of Arabia which yield spices, along with Saba', Ḥaḍramūt and Katabān, a fourth, *Maḥarā* (var. *Māra*). A satisfactory identification of this land, which would also explain the name has not been made. Of the various attempts to explain it, given in the article SABA', in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl. der klass. Altertumswiss.*, coll. 1331 sqq. [cf. the article SABA', iv., p. 62] that which suggests *Maḥarā* is a corruption of *Maḥarā* (*Maḥarā*) which Strabo, vi. 768 gives with the three

South Arabian kingdoms above mentioned, following Eratosthenes — these two authors represent one original source; Eratosthenes and Strabo are two different sources — is certainly wrong. The identification of *Māra* with Mahra proposed by A. Sprenger, *Die alt. Geographie Arabiens*, Berne 1875, p. 92, 263, 266, without however any attempt at proving it and also adopted by Fr. Hommel, *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients*, Munich 1926 (I. v. Müller, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, Sect. iii., Pt. i., vol. 1) p. 137, is worthy of attention. It was naturally to be expected that the botanist Theophrastus, whose duty it was to give as full a list as possible of lands in Arabia producing aromatic plants, should mention the real land of frankincense, Zafār or in a wider sense Mahra, including Zafār. On the other hand, it is not to be denied that the mention in Theophrastus of a Mamali or Mali, which is quite unknown, after three well-known names, is remarkable, as it must of course be an important country, fit to be compared with Saba', Ḥaḍramūt and Katabān. Simply for this reason E. Glaser's various attempts to identify it (*Sitzber. der Gesellschaft und Geogr. Arabiens*, ii., Berlin 1890, p. 3, 35 sq., 40, 132, 153 sq., 217), not one of which is tenable (cf. *Realencycl.*, s.v. Saba', col. 1333 and here SABA', iv., p. 52), may be discarded. The passage in Theophrastus has been wrongly interpreted as mentioning Mamali only as the home of the cinnamon plant (see SABA', iv., p. 52 and the literature there given to which may be now added: Hommel, *Ethnologie* [= *Grundriss*], p. 517, note 2). Although Mahra is not suggested without certain inherent probability, the question still arises how has it come to be called Mamali or Mali, which must remain more or less a puzzle. As the first two letters in Mahra and Mali are the same, it may be supposed that there is a corruption in the third letter of Mali. The name seems to conceal the Greek transcription of Mahra, which in the form MAPI (from MAPA), was corrupted to MAAL, because it was of course unintelligible to the Greek copyists, or it might have been altered by a learned editor with gemination of the first syllable to MAMALI, especially as this form might seem to him to be superficially supported by the *Maḥarā* *Maḥarā* in Ptolemy, iv. 7, 5. A further corroborating factor is that Theophrastus' description of the hilly country, where the *Libanotis* grows, with the *ῥοζοὶ ὑψηλοὶ καὶ δασυὶ καὶ νεφελῶν*, from which rivers pour down to the plain and which was visible to sailors from the coast, agrees very well with the description of the *χώρα Λιβανωτῶνδος ἐπὶ τοῖς καὶ ὄρεσιν* of the land of Zafār (q.v.) in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* § 29 (cf. the *ῥοζοὶ ὑψηλοὶ καὶ περὶ τοὺς καὶ ὄρεσιν* § 32, very probably the Kaḥ mountains), and also recalls Carter's statement that nowhere else in South Arabia is there so much running water as in the frankincense country. This undeniable agreement is not affected by the fact that, according to Theophrastus, the frankincense country mentioned by him was in possession of the Sabaeans. The fact that he mentions this land as a fourth with Saba', Ḥaḍramūt and Katabān and at the same time says that the Sabaeans were lords (*ἀρχοὶ*) of this frankincense country, suggests that the country which was quite a considerable distance from their original home, had passed to Saba' by direct conquest or automatically with the occupation of the

whole territory of some formerly independent power. This may have been either its ancient rival Katabān, which, although still an independent kingdom, no longer exercised sovereign rights over the frankincense country and about two centuries later lost its independence to Saba, or the ancient kingdom of Hadramūt, which with the frankincense country was in the time of Juha a part of the Sabaeen kingdom, already ruled by the Himyars (according to Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xii. 52 sq.; see SABA) and to which, certainly in the time of the Periplus, i.e. in the Himyar period of the early centuries A.D., long after the beginning of the dissolution of Sabaeen rule, the frankincense country belonged, but it may however have also done so before Saba became a great power. Hommel assumes (*op. cit.*, p. 140 and notably p. 655) quite a close ethnic connection between the Hadramitis and the Minaeans and he definitely says that the Hadramūtī Minaeans were those who took possession of the frankincense land, which geographically also appears most natural. No convincing argument can be brought against the evidence of Theophrastus that in his time or in that of his authority, perhaps Androsthenes (cf. *Realencycl.*, s.v. Saba, col. 1306), the frankincense country was not independent, but belonged to Saba, so that the latter was already a great power, which possessed the hegemony of South Arabia and numbered its weaker neighbours among its feudatories. The frankincense land only became independent early in the Christian era. That the campaigns of the Sabaeans extended considerably to the east may be deduced from the Širwāh inscription (Glaser, N^o 1000) (cf. Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 658 sq.). On the unjustified alteration in the text (Saba) in Theophrastus, see SABA, iv. 6* (to the literature there quoted may now be added: Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 516 sq. and 653 sq. [in addition to 138]). To support the assumption that the Katabānians occupied the frankincense land, it is not necessary to presume Gebban as a later name of Katabān (in allusion to the Gebbanitae in Pliny, vi. 153; cf. MA'IN; on Glaser's chronological error in the period of Katabānian occupation of the frankincense country, see ZAFAR, N^o 4). The expression *Yamanat* in the longer titles of the south Arabian kings of the last epoch means, according to Hommel in *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, ed. by D. Nielsen, Copenhagen-Paris-Leipzig 1927, p. 96, note 5, "perhaps the frankincense coast as the 'southland' of Hadramūt"; it might well be interpreted as a general name of the southern coastlands, at a later date still included in Yaman, in contrast to the lands of Saba, Dhū Raidān and Hadramūt preceding it in the title.

Sprenger's remark, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḡammad*, Berlin 1865, iii. 437: "The Mahrites were called Sachalites by the Greeks", is misleading; the land around the Sachalite Gulf is in the conception of the author of the Periplus and of Ptolemy not only Mahra, but also the land lying east of it and especially the part of al-Shūhr in the wider sense lying west of it, the land of the Ka'ūti (cf. the article KAHARITAI in *Realencycl.*). [The *regio trifera* in Pliny, xii. 52 (vi. 161) is probably to be understood as Zafār in the narrower sense but may include Mahra to which alone Glaser refers it (*Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, Munich 1895, p. 125; see at the beginning). The Ḳ' Aaḡāḡ used in Herodotus, ii. 73, in

the story of the phoenix is practically a reference to Mahra (Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 138) although it is not mentioned by name. On the 'Aḡāḡāḡ in Stephanus, see below].

The inscriptions which, according to Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 150, are inscribed on stone pillars on an island off the South Arabian coast (cf. the article RHINNEA in the *Realencycl.*) cannot, as Ritter for example (*Exerkunde*, Vol. viii, Sect. 1, Pl. xii, Berlin 1846, p. 290) thought, be attributed "to the Mahri who were settled in the neighbourhood of Kane" but were probably Minaean (or Nabataean). The position of the emporium of Kāw, which according to the *Periplus*, § 27 and Pliny, vi. 104 belonged to the frankincense country and is also mentioned by Ptolemy, vi. 7, 10 cannot be definitely ascertained. Recently several scholars, following Glaser, *op. cit.*, p. 175, C. Landberg, *Arabica*, iv., Leyden 1897, p. 75 sq. and *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie Méridionale*, i. (Hadramūt), Leyden 1901, p. 196 and earlier writers (see the list in *Realencycl.*, s.v. Saba, col. 1330), have again expressed the view that this port is probably to be located at Hīḡ al-Ghurāb (Nielsen in *Handbuch*, *op. cit.*, p. 8) while Sprenger, *Geographie*, p. 82 sq. had placed it at Bāl-Hāf. Since Sprenger, nothing new has been produced in favour of the old view and against his localisation. In favour of the latter is the description in the *Periplus*, § 27 according to which two uninhabited islands, the 'Oplao ḡaww ('Bird Island') and Ṭawāḡ were 120 stadia distant from Kane. These, according to Sprenger, are the islands of 'Halany and Gibus, also called al-Sikka" (to be written: Hūllāniya and Kanbūa also called Sakḡa; see Landberg, *Arabica*, iv. 66). Their mention makes certain the reference to Bāl-Hāf as the opposite point on the coast from which they are 110 and 130 stadia distant respectively, but not to Hīḡ al-Ghurāb which, according to Carter, is only a mile from Hūllāniya. Landberg himself tells us that the island of Kanbūa seems never to have been inhabited. The distances from Kane adduced by Glaser from Ptolemy, which besides varying in the manuscripts, naturally yield nothing really convincing in favour of Hīḡ al-Ghurāb (particularly of 'Ra' al-'Aḡida, the equivalent of Cape Kane, west of Kane", according to Glaser, *op. cit.*, p. 216; but this promontory of al-'Aḡida is at Bāl-Hāf); these measurements can equally well be made to fit Bāl-Hāf. H. v. Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, Brunswick 1875, p. 225 sq. who could not yet have known of Sprenger's view, had already called attention to the *ḡaww* (he transcribes it Kane) occurring in the (third) smaller inscription of Hīḡ al-Ghurāb (a reproduction in Landberg, *Arabica*, iv., Pl. ix.), and connected it with "Cane Emporium"; J. H. Mordtmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxix. (1885), 233 likewise explained it as Kāw, the harbour of the citadel of al-Ghurāb. Even if we readily grant that the uncertain word in the text of the inscription, most recently and probably definitively published and translated by B. Misker in *W. Z. K. M.*, xxiv. (1927), p. 72, really reproduces the name Kāw, this does not prove, as Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 83 has pointed out, that the ancient seaport lay on the present rocky point of Hīḡ al-Ghurāb. It must also be remembered that the names of many Arabian harbours have in course of time been transferred to other places in the vicinity, e.g. Zafār [q. v., N^o 4] and Mīrbāt. Landberg's

objection (*Arabica*, iv, 76) that the *Periplus*, if Kanā had been Bil-Haf, would not have said (§ 29) that after Kane came another gulf running far inland, the *Σαχαίρε*, but would have mentioned the harbour of Bir 'Alī to the east of it, is not a cogent one. The *Periplus* gives a list of the most important gulfs of South Arabia and the comparatively small bay of Bir 'Alī might easily be overlooked behind the broad Sachālitō gulf which runs far inland, especially as the use of the term *Σαχαίρε* is a fairly elastic one (cf. the article *TOBARIAT* in *Realencycl.*) and the list of the places on the coast in this *Periplus* is not a rule scientifically complete and exact but sometimes even gives wrong names (e.g. *Mérya*), to say nothing of the fact that in many places on the South Arabian coast, the harbourage conditions have changed since ancient times. Landberg himself (*op. cit.*, p. 65) observes that the promontory of Hijn al-Ghurāh must have had a different appearance in earlier times. M. Hartmann, also, who had previously, *Die arabische Frage (Der islamische Orient*, ii.), Berlin 1909, p. 175, 571 declared for the older view, said later in the very same work, p. 418, 614 that he had now adopted Sprenger's opinion. The *Periplus* inscription is still not sufficient ground for the conclusion that the identification of Kanā with Bil-Haf should be rejected in opposition to Sprenger, who himself appreciated the force of this evidence. The form of the name used by Sprenger, Bil-Haf (Bil-Haf), is incorrect however (as also is Glaser's Bil al-Haf; cf. Landberg, *Haframūt*, p. 105); Bil is equivalent to Ibn, but Sprenger rightly recognised that in this name there is preserved a memory of a son of al-Haf, the son of Kudā's and successor of the Mahra (al-Bakri, i, 19; *Ta'j al-Arab*, iii, 351; see below).

The Arab geographers had no accurate knowledge of Mahra, not of Haframūt; modern explorers have found out much more about these regions. Al-Hamdānī, *Sifa Dīwān al-Arab* (ed. D. H. Müller, Leyden 1884), p. 45 mentions al-Aḥḥ — which Landberg (*Haframūt*, p. 158, wishes to restore to al-Aḥḥ from manuscript preferences — as the capital of Mahra, which, according to Glaser, *Abschiss*, p. 87 stretches to the district lying roughly between Damhāt and Rās Darbat 'Alī, almost in the centre of the modern coast region of Mahra. On p. 53 he says, as do Ibn al-Muḥallab and others after him, that the Mahra people also inhabit Soqatra (on the conversion to Christianity of the mixed population of Soqatra, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, iii, 102; al-Muḥallab, *Murūj*, iii, 36 *sp.* etc.; further particulars in the article *soqatra*). On p. 51 *sp.* he talks of the Mahra tribes and their fighting and on p. 86 *sp.* of the road from Haframūt to Mahra and tells us about the tomb of the Prophet Hūd. This sanctuary on the frontier between Haframūt and Mahra is still held in particular veneration and is much visited by the inhabitants of these two lands (a text from Haframūt showing this is given in Landberg, *Haframūt*, i, 432 *sp.*). — The Arab geographers include Mahra in the Yemen, e.g. Yāqūt, *Muḥallab*, p. 394; see the reference to the Mikhlāf Mahra in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, iv, 700; who in this, his main reference, also repeats the view that Mahra is the name of a tribe and that the correct form is Mahara (a Balād Maharā in Mahra is mentioned on iv, 697). It is sometimes more accurately defined as "the extreme (furthest) Yemen", e.g. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*,

i, 280; ii, 510 (= *Muḥallab*, p. 166); iii, 366; iv, 345, 495; *Muḥallab*, p. 415. The Arabs speak of a Naḥḥ to the land of the Mahra (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, i, 280; iii, 681; iv, 345, 495, 697; *Muḥallab*, p. 394, 415; cf. al-Muḥallab, *op. cit.*, p. 98; al-Tahiri, ed. de Goeje, i, 1980). This is the Naḥḥ (or Naḥḥi) which Carter also mentions as a district in which the frankincense especially flourishes, the highland country about two days' journey north of the coast within the latitude which Carter has also defined, although too narrowly (cf. *saḥā*). The Mahra are also said to be inhabitants of the coastland of al-Shīhr [q.v.], for example by al-Mas'ūdī, i, 333 and Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, iv, 387 and we find the land of Mahra is called al-Shīhr (al-Iḥḥi, *op. cit.*, p. 25 = Ibn Hawkal, *op. cit.*, p. 32 *sp.*; al-Iḥḥi, i, 48; Ibn Khaldūn, ed. Kay, *op. cit.*, p. 132; cf. al-Hamdānī, *Sifa*, p. 51 and al-Bakri on *al-Aḥḥ*; the statement in Rømmel, *Aufschlüsselung Arabische Descriptions*, Göttingen 1802, p. 32 *sp.*, is obscure). Al-Shīhr however in the later and modern use of the name is applied to the coast not only of Muḥallab proper but of the land of Zafar also, that is of the frankincense country generally, i.e. the "frankincense coast" which is identified by many modern writers with the Mahra country but at the same time includes the part of the Haframūt which adjoins on the west (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, p. 132), i.e. in general the name of the shores of the Gulf of the Moon, finally in a still wider sense, the name of the whole coast between 'Aden and 'Omān.

Al-Iḥḥi, *op. cit.*, p. 25, and almost in the same words, Ibn Hawkal, *op. cit.*, p. 32, also al-Mas'ūdī, i, 333 *sp.*; al-Iḥḥi, i, 48, 150; Abu 'l-Fida' (see Rømmel, *op. cit.*, p. 33); Ibn Khaldūn (*loc. cit.*) describe Mahra as a desert in which there are no palms and no agriculture and the inhabitants therefore are not acquainted with bread. Carter, like these Arab writers, also emphasises the contrast between the frankincense region and the dreary desert west and east of it and more recent travellers like Beni agree with him. The only possessions of the inhabitants, according to these authorities, are goats and very fine camels, particularly renowned for their swiftness, mentioned also by al-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 100, 201; Ibn Hishām, *Sifa*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 963 and the poets as well as the *Lisān al-Arab*, vii, 36; *Kāmil*, i, 455 and *Ta'j al-Arab* (*Mahriya*); the *Lisān* quotes three plural forms: *Mahāriya*, *Mahāriya*, *Mahāriya*; on the first cf. Howell, *Grammar*, i, 997, 1000. The camel which Muhammad chose for himself out of the booty after the battle of Badr had been purchased in Mahra; his governor in the Yemen procured Mahra camels for the Caliph Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik (714—717) (al-Kāsimī, *Aḥḥi*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 41). Ibn Hawkal (*ibid.*); Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*; cf. al-Iḥḥi, i, 48) adds that the Mahra live on meat, milk and its products, and fish (cf. al-Muḥallab, *op. cit.*, p. 100) and that they also feed their camels and goats on fish. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, iv, 700, records a note that the Mahri camels do not take their name from the land but from the ancestor of the Mahra's, Mahra b. Haidān (cf. al-Iḥḥi, also *Lisān*, *Kāmil* and *Ta'j*, *loc. cit.*, and Rømmel, *op. cit.*, p. 33). According to Landberg, *Haframūt*, p. 87, and others the Mahri riding camels have for long had a bad reputation, as they are really not swift; the best of this kind are said to be those of the Banū

Ṣubayh (N.E. of 'Aden) and of the Ṭihyān. It is doubtful whether we may assume with Landberg that their fame takes us back to a period when the Mahra occupied a great part of South Arabia. In any case, L. Hirsch, *Reisen in Süd-Arabien, Mahra-Land und Hadramaut*, Leyden 1897, p. 77 refers to the "celebrated Mehri riding-camels" which in his time were called *maṣīra* in al-Shihr.

The above mentioned authors and al-Mukaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 98 also record that there was frankincense in the country which was exported. Al-Idrīsī lays stress on the commerce which was one mode of livelihood of the Mahra. Parts of their land are also reckoned to 'Omān. In 226 (840) Mahra was for a short time tributary to 'Omān. Ibn al-Muḍawwir, who visited Mahra and Soqatra in 618 A. H., says that the Mahra also inhabit the mountainous country of Zafār and the islands of Soqatra [q.v.] and Maṣra. In the division of the Yemen into two parts, Ṭihāma and Naǧd, according to al-Mukaddasī, *op. cit.*, p. 53, 70, Mahra with the town of al-Shihr is a dependency of Naǧd (see Sprenger, *Die Pers- und Reiserouten des Orients, Abhandl. für die Kunde des Morgenl.*, iii. 3, Leipzig 1864, p. 109).

Yāqūt (e.g. *Muḍjam*, i. 154, 280; ii. 175, 330 [= *Muḥṭarib*, p. 166], 881; iii. 366, 681, 691; iv. 345, 495 [= *Muḥṭarib*, p. 394], 697), mentions places in or near Mahra and distances on roads from and to Mahra are given by Yāqūt *Muḍjam*, iv. 626, 700; al-Isṭakhṛī, *op. cit.*, p. 27 sq. (= Ibn Hawqāl, *op. cit.*, p. 17, 33 sq.). — According to Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, p. 132, Hadramūt and al-Shihr (Mahra) were under one king; in older times however, al-Shihr had been the land of the 'Ad, the predecessors of the Mahra who had come from Hadramūt. In the legends of the 'Ad and the prophet Hūd, a part is played by the land of Mahra, pone in water, which adjoined the country of this mythical people (al-Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 233 sq.); the Mahra call the interior of their country al-Aḥḡāf (cf. Landberg, *Hadramaut*, p. 157), where according to tradition (see al-Mas'ūdī, iii. 106, 271 etc.) the home of the 'Ad was located (cf. WABER). Malik b. Hinnar al-Shihri is said to have been the first of the Kaḥḥānīs to settle there and he was succeeded by his son Kuḍā'a, whose possessions were limited to Mahra and he in turn by his son al-Hāf, whose great grandson was Mahra b. Haldān b. 'Amr (Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, iv. 700; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, p. 132 etc.; cf. above). In the early days of Islam (year 12 A.H.), Mahra was one of the rebellious districts against which Abū Bakr and his generals had to wage war; al-Tabarī, i. 1884, 1929 (on the subjection of the Masallima), p. 1963, 1976 sq. (al-'Arifīya's campaign against Mahra), p. 1980 sq. (victorious campaign of al-'Ikrima against Mahra); the conquest of Mahra was much facilitated by schisms among the enemies of Islam in the country. The Mahris participated in the great campaign of conquest which began under the Caliph 'Umar I. and some settled with other South Arabians in al-Fusāt where a street (*Khalīfat mahra*) bore their name (cf. F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geographie u. Verwaltung von Ägypten nach dem Arabischen des Abū 'Alī Ḥāfiḍ Ahmed ben 'Alī al-Galacandhī f. Aḥḡ. Aḡl. Gr. d. Wia. in Göttingen*, xxv., 1879, p. 51 sq.; al-Kalīghandī, *Saḥāb al-Shihr*, iii, Cairo 1914, p. 331).

Of modern explorers F. Fresnel was the first to bring back accurate information about Mahra.

In 1837 he obtained some information about conditions along this coast through his intercourse in Djidda with merchants from Hadramūt or Mahra (in *Journ. dt.*, 3rd Ser., 1838, vol. v. 507 sqq., vol. vi. 529 sqq.); he gave an account of Gishin, the capital of Mahra and the Sulṭān whose authority did not extend beyond the walls of the city. His description of the boundaries of the country was incorrect. Much more detailed and accurate were the topographical data collected by Captain S. B. Haines, who was appointed in 1834 to make an astronomical and nautical survey of the South Arabian coast from Bāḥ al-Mandab eastwards (as far as Rās al-Hadd). In his *Memoir of the South and East Coast of Arabia* (in *J. R. Geogr. Soc.*, London 1845, xv/1. 104 sqq.), he describes the western boundary of Mahra, the Wādī Maṣīle, which is rich in water and well tilled by the Mahra and contains many villages lying among palm-groves. He then gives his short notes on the town of Sehūr east of the Wādī and corroborates Fresnel's account of Gishin about which he is the first to give fuller details. C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 287, had already mentioned "Keschin" and the independent shaykh there, who was also lord of Soqatra; he also gives a plan of the harbour from a drawing by an Englishman, whom he had met in Bombay (Pl. xvii.). Haines observes, like later writers, that Gishin is only a wretched little village of at most 300—400 inhabitants, which consists mainly of reedhuts and has only a few stone houses and that the trade there is very slight. He also gives some details of the Mahra people and its tribal divisions, its customs and dress, and in confirmation of Fresnel's observations their attitude to Islām, which only the chiefs profess, while the people are indifferent to the Korān and are not even able to perform the daily ṣalāta. He ends by giving the promontories and villages on the coast east of Sehūr as far as the eastern frontier of Mahra towards Zafār. The English officers cooperating in this survey of the coast visited only a few points on it, which were practically confined to the Gulf of Gishin because their duty was really confined to surveying the coast west of Mahra. Valuable information about the Mahra is given in H. J. Carter's *Notes on the Mahra Tribes of Southern Arabia with a Vocabulary of their Language*, in *J. R. A. S.*, Bombay Branch, July 1847, vol. ii, p. 339 sqq. Malzan combined ethnological research with his study of the Mahra language (in the introduction of his edition of *Adolph von Wredde's Reise in Hadramaut*, Brunswick 1873 [the preface is dated 1870], p. 18 sqq., and 28 sqq., and in his article cited below) but regarding the country itself which he never entered, he knows no more than the English naval officers. The extracts in Ritter, *op. cit.*, xii. 625 sqq., and 635 sqq. he says, are sufficiently accurate according to his own information. The coastlands east of Wādī Maṣīle to Rās al-Hadd, i.e. Mahra, Zafār and 'Omān he however calls the great "terra incognita of Oceanic Arabia", "The names Mahra and Gāra (also written Gara)" by which the two countries on the coast are distinguished, he described as "not clearly defined" (*op. cit.*, p. 28). We now know that these are the Mahra and Kaṣī (the hill-people of Zafār) and the language of the latter is Kaṣawī (Gawī) or Shawawī, in modern times also called Ḥakīlī, or Shehrāṭ (cf. ZAFAR). Malzan recognised

that the two peoples are fundamentally different in language, mode of life, and religion from the people of Central Arabia.

Glaser, *Shi'ar*, II, p. 26, wrongly identifies *Mawala* in Strabo, xvi, 768 (quoting Eratosthenes) with Mahra (*Realencycl.*, s.v. *Saba*, 1334-1339). On p. 20 he gives the land of Hadramūt (after the fall of the "Abyssinian-Arab kingdom") too great an extent (as far as Mirbat). On his note that the *Tasapras* of Ptolemy are the hill-peoples of all Mahra cf. *Realencycl.*, s.v. *IGRAPITAL*. — As a result of the enquiries made by him on his travels in Arabia, he states (*Afghanistan*, p. 87) that there are now three different divisions of the Mahra tribes: the eastern is called *Shehar* or *Zair* and inhabits, according to his information, the coast from Rās Nās (55° 17' East Long. from Gr.), according to another authority from the island of Maḡra, to Rās Darbat 'Alī (53° 3' East Long.); the western that to which the name Mahra is generally applied, stretches from Rās Darbat 'Alī to *Shūḥ*, while the third group inhabits *Sokotā* (cf. above on *al-Maḡḡar*). — L. Hirsch gives not a little new and valuable information about the people of the southwestern coast. His account of Mahra is based on his ten days' stay (1893) in *Gishin* (or *Gishin*; transcribed *Gishin* or *Gishin*; Hirsch writes sometimes *op. cit.*, p. 48, 50, 52-53) *Gishin* and sometimes *Kishin*, like W. Hein and others [p. 2 etc.], he gives "Kishin" in the Index as the Mahri pronunciation which is also given by Jahn [see below]. Of the wretched little capital of the country, he tells us, practically agreeing with Haines before him and Hein and Bent after him, that it consists almost entirely of isolated mudhouses in a ramous condition and a few ragged tents and reedhuts which, being scattered aimlessly over a wide area, leave irregular wide open spaces between them. Even the palace of the Sulṭān whose rule over *Gishin* and *Shūḥ* and other places on the coast is quite nominal, as he can do nothing without the approval of his Beduins, is a broken down mud building; there is said to be only one building in the town that is kept clean, the house of another Sulṭān. According to Hein, the most imposing of the mud houses, which are not built according to any system, is that occupied by the reigning Sulṭān's bodyguard. There is nothing like a regular market or regulated trade there. Even the most rudimentary necessities of life are acquired by barter and money is unknown. From the government buildings a little mosque may be seen. While Maitzner, corroborating Frowel and Haines, pointed out (*Ward's Reise*, p. 29), that the Mahra have long been distinguished as heretics from the great majority of the orthodox and indeed can hardly be called Muslims at all, Hirsch says that at least in *Gishin* and *Shūḥ*, the Mahra are no less attached to Islam than any other Arabs; he saw them regularly performing their *ḡalāt*. This contradiction may perhaps be explained by the observation already made by Haines on the same question. According to Hirsch the ruling Sulṭāns or *Shaykhs* are pure Arabs and not Mahra's. In any case the attitude to Islam of Beduins living north of the coast territory is quite superficial. The Sulṭān of *Gishin* belongs to a dynasty which has also a kind of suzerainty over *Sokotā*. The Mahra coast, like *Sokotā* is under British suzerainty. Hirsch (p. 76 *op. cit.* and on his map) gives the names of several places on the coast east of *Gishin*. Th.

Bent (*Southern Arabia*, London 1900, p. 280) notes the striking contrast between the sandy plain of *Gishin*, which he did not succeed in reaching, and the fertile stretch of the coast of *Zafar*. Shortly before his arrival in *Zafar* (in the winter of 1894—1895) the wāḡ residing in *al-Hafa* had been fighting with the Mahra tribes. The coast-town of *Rakhayt*, west of *Rasūt*, has a little fort to defend it from the Mahra. Bent gives a more detailed account of the Mahra who live in *Sokotā* [q. v.]

The statement in A. Jahn (*Südarabische Expedition der Vienna Academy of Sciences*, III, 1902, *Die Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien*), p. 1: "The Mehri is the language of the South Arabian coast between *Hawāḡ* and *Dafar* which is called *bilād mahra* by the Arabs" — is misleading. *Hawāḡ* lies roughly in the centre of the Mahra coast in 50° 9' East Long., N. E. of the capital *Gishin*. — W. Hein, who was sent out by the Vienna Academy to continue the work of collecting specimens of the language begun by the South Arabian expedition, arrived in *Gishin* with his wife in 1902. During his stay of 66 days, during which his work was much impeded as he was interfered most of the time; he collected, among other information, statistical and topographical data for the adjacent parts of the coast and also for the interior (see his article, *Ein Beitrag zur Statistik Südarabiens*, in the *M. Geogr. Ges.*, Vienna 1903, p. 219 *op. cit.*). In D. H. Müller's preface to vol. IX of the South Arabian Expedition, introductory remarks to W. Hein's record of his journey are given (p. viii, *op. cit.*). According to him *Gishin* is the name of the whole stretch of country along the coast from Rās *Shirwā* to Rās *Dardja* for a breadth of 5 to 15 miles. About 2 miles to the north of the coast a ridge runs parallel to it. Immediately on the coast lie the *dhura* fields of the district of *Maghlol*, behind it, the centre *Gishin*, the district of *Rihbet*, in which the Sulṭān lives, east of it the most important district *Yentuf*, west of *Rihbet* *Sellā*, the western boundary of which is the *Wādī Ghahuri*. Further inland lies *Durūb*, where prominent Sulṭāns have their homes. Hein clears up many statements by Hirsch and gives further topographical details about the surroundings of the capital. *Gishin* has an area of about 80 square miles. Hein estimated the permanent population at 2,386; Hirsch put that of the capital and its immediate neighbourhood at about 500.

From the results of exploration so far, it appears that the country of Mahra stretches from *Wādī Maḡḡ* eastwards to Rās *Darbat 'Alī* i. e. from 51° 13' to 53° 3' East Long. and between 16° and c. 17° 30' N. Lat. The Mahra rule the lower course of the main *wādī* which runs through *Hadramūt*. No European has yet penetrated into the interior of the country, their presumed original home; it was however equally unknown to the Arab geographers.

In the coast district of *al-Shīr* (Mahra to *Omā*) old south Arabian dialects are still spoken, which differ essentially from Arabic and indeed from Semitic in general. The Mahra as a rule speak very little Arabic. *Al-Iḡḡar*, *op. cit.*, p. 25; *Im Hawāḡ*, *op. cit.*, p. 32; *al-Idrīs*, I, 48, 250 who identifies it with the old Himyarite language; *Im al-Maḡḡar* [cf. *Sokotā*], *Abu 'l-Fida* (see *Rommel*, *op. cit.*, p. 33) and others describe it as unintelligible to Arabs. *Al-Handān* also (*Sifa*,

p. 134) calls their language a jargon and al-Mas'ûdi, l. 333, points out differences between it and Arabic. Fresnel was the first, apart from early vague reports of a peculiar language in Haḍramût, to establish the existence of a hitherto unknown language quite different from Arabic "in the interior of Yemen towards Haḍramût". He had become acquainted with it from natives who called it Ekhili. This name however he gave (*Note sur la langue Hâmnyrite*, *J.A.*, 1838, 3^e Ser., vi. 79 *seqq.*) not only to Mehri or what he considered as such but to other South Arabian dialects and, as Maltzan has already pointed out, to Hîmyarite also, although we must confess that this (or Sabaeen) has several features in common with Mehri. Ritter, *op. cit.*, ii. 46 ff., 254 and others followed Fresnel's error, including Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, iii. 437; it is however quite an old mistake; it was made by Ibn Duraid (see Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, Register, p. 280) whom Sprenger follows (on al-Idrîsî see above). Hains (see above) said that the language of the Mahra was strange to the Arabs. With these earlier and recent statements may be compared Landberg's observation given by Hommel, *Ethnologie*, p. 153, that, "according to the statements of Arabs, Beduin tribes of the great desert of el-Rûh el-khali north of Haḍramût and the frankincense coast speak a language which the ordinary Arabs do not understand"; this, according to Hommel, could best be explained if a Mahra dialect were spoken there. M. v. Oppenheim (*Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii. 332) was told that in el-Rûh el-khali lived people who spoke a language unintelligible to the Arabs and he supposed that this was Mehri. After Fresnel, Carter (see above) studied Mehri and particularly Maltzan (*Über den Dialect von Mahra*, *Z.D.M.G.*, xxy. [1871], 196 *seqq.*; *Dialectische Studien über das Mekri*, *ibid.*, xxvii. [1873], 225 *seqq.*; *Dialect von Mahra*, *ibid.*, p. 252 *seqq.*). He was the first to give scientific proof of the difference between this language and Arabic in vocabulary and grammar. He also classed Mahra and Kari together as Ekhili and describes it as a modern dialect of old Hîmyarite, from which he said it was descended through an unknown intermediary. He called attention to the similarity with Ethiopic and its modern forms, Ge'ez and Amharic, and presupposed a homogeneous group distinct from Kur'anic Arabic (see also his edition of Wrede's *Reise*, p. 30 ff.). In Sprenger's belief (*Geographie*, p. 268), the Semites of Ethiopia are of Mahri origin.

Maltzan's studies in spite of their defects were most valuable preliminary work. Glaser was the first to define more accurately the limits within which Mehri was spoken (*Abscissur*, p. 87). Fresnel, Maltzan and Glaser had not been in Mahra or Zufâr, but they ascertained the existence of the two dialects. Fresnel in Djidda, Maltzan and Glaser in 'Aden (Glaser, *Abscissur*, p. 184). The latter states (*Shiwa*, ii., p. 96) that the Hakili live east of Haḍramût and western Mahra (on the form of the word cf. Hommel, *Ethnologie*, p. 235), and their language is called Shehrî, while the dialect of the territory west of it is "Mahri (certainly not Ekhili)", similarly on p. 178 *sq.* In his *Abscissur*, p. 185, also he identifies the Kari people with the Hakili (as does Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 153, who says: "Jari (villages) is the Arabic name for the native tribe of Hakili, whose language

is called Shehrî"). Hakili is the name given by Glaser (*Shiwa*, ii., p. 95) to the inhabitants of Mahra whose tribal name in the form Ekhili, Fresnel took for the name of the language spoken there and thus introduced it into European philological literature. Landberg's opinion (*Arabica*, v., Leyden 1898, p. 153) that the name Ekhili is "toute à fait juste à côté de la vraie forme Hakili", is contradicted by Hirsch's testimony (*op. cit.*, p. 32; from Schût) that the name Ekhili applied by European scholars to Mehri is unknown there and simply means "barbaric, unintelligible". Hommel records (*op. cit.*, p. 153) that Glaser had interesting specimens of the Kari dialect and of Mehri and Sokhri; but these have not been published.

Glaser (cf. *Shiwa*, ii., p. 20, 96, 181 *sq.*, 246, 503; *Abscissur*, p. 84 *seqq.* and Hommel, *Ethnologie*, p. 12, 148, 150 *seqq.*) further developed these ideas of Maltzan on the South Arabian-Ethiopic group of languages. According to the latter, the Ethiopic alphabet came from the Axum inscriptions and that of the later literature in the Ge'ez language from a variety of the alphabet of the South Arabian inscriptions, once common in the Mahra country and the frankincense land in general was the ancestral home of the Semitic Abyssinians and Amhâra. Against the view that the name of the latter is a plural of Mahra, it is sufficient to quote the form Amkhar (Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 152, N^o 182). There is no reason to doubt contacts between Mehri and Ethiopic (Hommel, p. 153). That in ancient times members of the people called Habashat in the South Arabian inscriptions (cf. Glaser, *Shiwa*, l., p. 25—27 and *Abscissur*, p. 28) were settled in Arabia is suggested by the mention of the 'Aḥḥimol in Stephanus Byzantinus i.v. from Uranus' *Arabica* (μῆρα τοῦ Ἰσλαίου Καρραδῶν, 'Aḥḥimol) and the 'Aḥḥimol in Ptolemy, vi. 7, 11 (in Zufâr, q. v.). From the first passage, Glaser, *Abscissur*, p. 88 has concluded that the Aḥḥimol lived east of Haḍramût, while in *Shiwa*, l., p. 26 he had previously supposed that by the land of the Aḥḥimol was understood the whole coast from eastern Haḍramût to Mahra and islands lying off it: his further identification, which however had been suggested by his predecessors, of the Aḥḥimol with the Abyssinians (cf. *Satirische Denkmäler* by J. H. Moedtmann and D. H. Müller, Vienna 1883, p. 40, where attention is called to the Abḥashân of the inscriptions) is however worthy of attention. C. Conti Rossini in his article *Saghi Habashat* (*R. R. A. I.*, Vol. xv., Ser. 5^a, 1906, p. 39—59) has however shown that the old home of the Habashat of the South Arabian and Axumite inscriptions was in the southwest of Arabia and on the plains along the coast west of Senâ, roughly between Luhayn and Zaid. In the Aḥḥimol of Uranus, Rossini rightly sees only an isolated section of this people or a military settlement. Glaser moreover (*Shiwa*, l., p. 27) had at once identified the people Ḥashar mentioned in the Monumentum Adulianum (cf. D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Abscissur*, *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, xliii., p. 5, 739), with the Mahra and the people of the islands off the coast, which cannot at all be considered proved. In any case one cannot draw any deductions from the spread of Mehri regarding the extent of an old Habasha kingdom (with Glaser, *Shiwa*, p. 179) nor assume that as late as 100 B.C. the kings of Habashat

were established in the land of Mahra (Hommel, *Ethnologie*, p. 151).

D. H. Müller and his collaborators were the first to collect and investigate texts in the Mahra language in a systematic and comprehensive fashion. In Vol. IV of the *Südarabische Expedition*, Vienna 1902, *Die Mehri- und Soqotri-Sprache* (I) he published Biblical texts, stories, poems and proverbs, which he collected for the most part on the Swedish steamer placed at the disposal of the expedition from the mouths of natives, who had been taken on board in 'Aden and Soqotri. For Mehri in particular, he had a single authority, the same man as Jahn had. In the third volume of the same collection appeared *Die Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien* by A. Jahn, texts and glossary, Vienna 1902. On these two works cf. the brief review by Glaser, *Zwei Wiener Publikationen über den habaschisch-äthiopischen Dialekt in Südarabien*, *Beilage der Münchener Allgemeinen Zeitung*, 1902, No. 186 and 187 of 15th and 18th August, and the very thorough and expert criticism by Landberg, *Die Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien... von A. Jahn und D. H. Müller*, *Kritisch beleuchtet*..., Leipzig 1902 (Vol. II, ed. by D. H. Müller, *Soqotri-Texte*, Wien 1905, forms Vol. VI, of the collection).

The already mentioned traveller W. Heis had in 1902 in Gishin with the assistance of various natives collected Mehri and Hadrami texts. He died in 1903 before he was able to put his material into its final form; D. H. Müller edited and published it in vol. IX of the collection (*Mehri- und Hadrami-Texte*..., Vienna 1909). Some of these texts are also included in vol. VII, *Soqotri-Texte* (III) by D. H. Müller, Vienna 1907 and supplied with Soqotri and Soqotri parallels.

M. Bittner's grammatical studies in Mehri are full of matter and excellent in method (see *Bibl.*). The modern South Arabian dialects in spite of some features in common with Sabaeen cannot be explained as daughter-languages and the last surviving relics of the South Arabian language which is found in the Sabaeen and Minaean inscriptions (Jahn, *op. cit.*, p. 1; see also Soqotri). In them, especially Mehri and Soqotri, we can at most recognize with Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 152 "a daughter language of south Arabian dialects formerly spoken there (in Mahra-land and on Soqotri)", a pronouncement to which Maltzan had already come very near. On the other hand Glaser went too far when he described Mehri and Soqotri as remains of the oldest "Pentite" Arabic or (*Das Weisheitsbuch und Soqotri*, *Beilage der Münchener Allgemeinen Zeitung*, 1899, No. 120 and 121) of May 27 and 29) as descendants of the old language of Hahab from which Ethiopic and Amharic are also said to come (see Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 153, note 4 and 5 and in Niebuhr's *Handbuch*, p. 91).

According to Vollers (*Z. A.*, xlii, 223) the South Arabian dialects go back to the time of the settlement from 'Omair, the immigrant Arab, not long before the coming of Islam, had occupied Mahra from 'Omair and influenced its language by their dialect. So early as al-Mas'udi, i. 333 we find the Mahra described as a mixed people. Glaser (*Söhne*, II, p. 188 and 96) also speaks of the influence of eastern and north-eastern peoples on the Mahra language, but he wrongly ascribes to Parthian and Indian elements "the notable corruption of the Arabic language in the district of Mahra Thir".

hypothesis is in any case sufficient to help to explain the similarity of 'Omair to the neighbouring dialect of Zafar. As regards Mehri, the possibility of older and deeper causes for its fundamental divergence from Arabic must be taken into consideration. That the foundations for the modern South Arabian dialects were laid not much before the coming of Islam is not probable. The Mahra may, as has already been suggested, be the remains of an original population, which was driven into the inhospitable south from more habitable territory by later immigrations of Arab tribes. Even now, as Glaser, *Söhne*, p. 187 tells us, the whole area in which Mahra is spoken is becoming more and more Arabic because no foreign people is now predominant in these regions, but traders who are mainly Arab. The cultural level of the Mahra is very low. They have never played a part of any note in history.

Bibliography: The Arab authors and the modern travellers, whose works come into consideration have been mentioned in the context with bibliographical references (Fresnel, Haines, Carter, Maltzan, Sprenger, Glaser, Hommel, Landberg, D. H. Müller, Hirsch, Hein, Jahn). We may further add: Hein, 1. *Vorläufiger Bericht über die Reise nach Aden und Gishin*, in *Anz. Akad. Wien*, xxxix, 1902, of 18th June, 2. *Südarabische Literatur*, *M. G. G. W.*, lvii, 1914, p. 32 sqq.; and to the literature on the language: Ewald, *Über die himjarische Sprache*, in A. Hofer's *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache*, I, Berlin 1846, p. 311 sqq.; and especially M. Bittner, 1. *Studien zur Laut- und Formenlehre der Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien*, I—V, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, cxiii, 1911—1915, 2. *Neues Mehri-Material*, *W. Z. K. M.*, xiv, 70 sqq.; also N. Rhodokanakis, *Zur Formenlehre der Mehri*, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, cxv, 1916; Jahn, *Grammatik der Mehri-Sprache*, *ibid.*, cl, 1905.

(J. TRATCH)

AT-MĀ'IDA (A), the Table, title of the fifth Sūra of the Qur'an.

AL-MAIDANI AḤMAD B. MUHAMMAD ABU 'L-FADL, Arabic philologist born in Maidān Ziyād, a quarter of Nisabūr, pupil of the Qur'an exeget and philologist 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Wāḥidī, teacher of Sam'ān among others, died in his native town on 25th Ramaḍān 518 (Oct. 27, 1124). His principal work, the great collection of proverbs *Maḥḥad al-Aḥḥad*, exists in numerous MSS. (listed by Hidayat Humm in *Cat. Buhār*, No. 400, also Paris, No. 5861, 6512, 6702), pr. Bulāq 1284, Cairo 1310, lith. Teherān 1290, with Lat. transl. by G. W. Freytag, *Arabian proverbs*, Bonn 1838—1843; synopsis *al-Durr al-muntazzah* by al-Kāsim b. Muḥammad al-Bakrāḥī († 1169 = 1756), Berlin, Ahlwardt, No. 8672, anonymous metrical version by an Ottoman, Gotha 1250, do. with commentary by Ḥurūḥim al-Aḥḍāb al-Bairūtī entitled *Forūḥ al-Liḥāḥ fī Maḥḥad al-Aḥḥad*, Bairūt 1312 (1895). His Arabic-Persian Dictionary *al-Sam' fī 'l-Aḥḥad* is arranged in subjects in the following categories: a. technical terms of fight, b. living, c. heavenly, d. earthly things, finished on 14th Ramaḍān 497 (Jun. 11, 1104), in many MSS. (s. *Cat. Lugd. Bat.*, I, No. cv.; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, I, 284; also Paris, No. 5883, 6592, *Cambr. Suppl.*, No. 750, *Brit. Mus.*, Or. 6241, ascribed to Thā'ibī, and in a very different form *ibid.*; s. *Oriental Studies*... to E. G. Browne, p. 149, No. 88), lith.,

along with al-Tha'libi's *Sirr al-Adab fi Maḡāziri 'Ulam al-'Arab*, Teherān n.d., s. Weijers, *Orientalia*, I. 368 sqq.; two anonymous commentaries thereon Leyden, N^o. cvi., cvii. (s. Weijers, *op. cit.*, I. 371 sqq.); a synopsis prepared by his son Abū Sa'īd Sa'īd († 539 = 1144; s. Suyūṭi, *Bughyat*, p. 254) in the order of al-Djāwharī's *Ṣaḡḡ* entitled *al-Asmā fi 'l-Asmā* is perhaps in Leyden, N^o. cviii. Besides a grammar *Nuḡat al-Tarf fi 'l-ilm al-Sarf* (Brit. Mus., Or. 5964; pt. Istanbul 1299), a syntax with Persian notes *al-Hādī li 'l-Shādī*, with anonymous commentary on the verses Leyd. clxii. (also Paris, Schefer, N^o. 6066), and minor grammatical treatises (Leyden, N^o. clxviii., Paris, N^o. 4000), he wrote a critique of al-Djāwharī's *Ṣaḡḡ*, mainly based on al-Aḡharī's († 370 = 980) *Takḍīb al-Luḡa*, entitled *Kaid al-Aḡḡb min al-Fawā'id*, Berlin, Ahlwardt, N^o. 6942.

Bibliography: al-Anbārī, *Nuḡat al-Aḡḡb*, p. 466; Yāqūt, *Iṣṣāḡ al-Aḡḡb*, II. 107; Ibn Khallikān, *Bulāḡ* 1299, p. 157; al-Suyūṭi, *Bughyat al-Wuḡūḡ*, p. 155; Quatremère, *Mémoire sur la vie et les ouvrages de M. J. A.*, Ser. 2, vol. 1, 1828, p. 177—233 (mainly extracts from the *Madīma al-Aḡḡb*; s. do., *Précis des arabes de M.*, ibid., March 1838, p. 211 sqq.). (C. BROCKELMANN)

al-MAIL (أ), the inclination, a factor which plays a very important part in astronomy.

The first inclination (*al-Mail al-awwal*) is an arc of the circle which goes through the two poles of the equator and one degree (point) of the ecliptic, namely the arc which lies between this point and the equator. This circle is perpendicular to the equator. The second inclination (*al-Mail al-thānī*) is an arc of the circle, which goes through the two poles of the ecliptic and a point of the ecliptic, namely the arc which lies between this point and the equator. This circle is perpendicular to the ecliptic.

In the figure let *ac* be the ecliptic, *ae* the equator, *be* perpendicular to *ae*, *bd* perpendicular to *ac*, then *be* is the first and *bd* the second inclination. For the calculation it is important that we should have a right angle in each of the two spherical triangles, *abe* and *abd*. The first inclination is also called *Mail al-falak mu'addil al-mahūr*, inclination towards the equator.

Of special importance is the obliquity of the ecliptic, i.e. the inclination of the plane of the ecliptic to the equator; it is equal to the first inclination in the solstitial points. It is called *Mail falak al-jurūdī*, inclination of the ecliptic, *al-Mail al-a'zam*, the greatest inclination, *al-Mail kulluhu* or *al-Mail al-kullī*, the whole inclination. To distinguish it, the inclination of any degree is called *al-Mail al-dunā'ī*, the degree-inclination.

If it is a question not of points on the ecliptic but of some star, the arc corresponding to the first inclination is called *sa'f*, "interval" that corresponding to the second "arḡ", "width". We speak in the first case quite generally of declination, in the second of latitude.

The obliquity of the ecliptic is one of the fundamental magnitudes of the solar system. It was therefore continually being calculated anew and almost always so as to obtain the altitudes of culmination α_1 and α_2 of the sun at the summer and winter solstices. The sun is at these times at the same distance from the equator, north in one case and south in the other. The obliquity of the

ecliptic is the $\frac{\alpha_1 - \alpha_2}{2}$. It should be mentioned

that Muḥammad b. Ṣābit (c. 875) claims to ascertain the magnitude from three different points (O. Schirmer, *op. cit.*, p. 52).

The first method was that used by Hipparchus, Ptolemy and Eratosthenes, using the most varied instruments, the two rings, the quadrant and the armillary spheres. In the Muḥammadan period these observations were continued with larger and larger instruments and account taken of the fact that the sun does not always enter the solstices in question by day but may do so at night, that the heavens may be obscured at the time etc. From observations made before and after the time in question the value has to be obtained by interpolations. This is how al-Khujandī, for example, worked (on the instruments used, cf. e.g. E. Wiedemann and Th. W. Juybnoll, *Avicenna's Schrift über ein von ihm erfundenes Beobachtungsinstrument*, *Acta orientalis*, v., 1926, p. 81—167). The values ascertained have been calculated by O. Schirmer (O. Schirmer, *Studien zur Astronomie der Araber*, *S. B. P. M. S. Exl.*, lviii., 1926, p. 30—90). From the measurements, it was found that the obliquity of the ecliptic decreases in course of time, i.e. that the plane of the ecliptic approaches the plane of the equator. A conspectus of the views of Muslim scholars on this question has been given by O. Schirmer (*op. cit.*).

Further expressions used in this connection are *al-sūf al-mā'il*, the inclined horizontal; it means any horizontal, except that of the equator, i.e. the horizontal inclined towards the horizontal of the equator. *Ḥaṭṭ mā'il 'an ḥaṭṭ al-istiwā'*, i.e. the line which is inclined towards the equator; this is a line (a circle) which lies parallel to the equator on the globe of the earth either north or south. *Falak mā'il 'an falak mu'addil al-nahār* has a corresponding meaning on the globe of the heavens; *irṭifā' alluḡḡi li mail li-samā'ihi*, third altitude in the first vertical i.e. the vertical which goes through the eastern and western points of the horizontal. (E. WIEDEMANN)

MAIMANA, situated at 36° N. and 64° 45' E., was formerly known as al-Yahūdīn, al-Yahūdīya (Yāqūt also calls it Yahūdān al-Kubrā), but the name was changed to Maimana, "the auspicious town", for the sake of good omen. It is at present the capital of the little province of Almāz in Afghān Turkistān on the trade route between Herāt and Balkh. Afghān Turkistān includes the western Khānates of Sar-i-pul, Shībarghān, Andkhūi and Maimana, sometimes classed together as the Čāḡār Wilāyat. Dost Muḥammad took this territory from Bakhārā in the year 1855; the sovereignty remained in dispute between Kābul and Bakhārā, till it was settled in favour of Kābul by the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1873.

The low spurs and offshoots of the Band-i Turkistān range subside gently into the Oxus plains and this favoured part of Afghānistān is

rich in agricultural possibilities. Until Maimana was visited by Professor Vambéry in 1863, but one European, Captain Surling, had set foot within it. According to Vambéry, the place consisted of some fifteen hundred mud huts and a dilapidated brick bazar. Its inhabitants are Uzbeks with a sprinkling of Tadjiks, Heratis, Jews, Hindus and Afghans. Trade is now considerable and Maimana is renowned for its carpets and other stuffs made partly of wool and partly of camel's hair. It traffics with Persia and Baghdad in raisins, aniseed and pistachio nuts. Horses are good, plentiful and cheap.

Bibliography: A. Vambéry, *Travels in Central Asia*, London 1864, p. 244; C. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 424; Th. Holdich, *The Gates of India*, London 1910, p. 249.

(R. B. WHITEHEAD)

AL-MAIMANDI, SHAHSHU L-KUTĀB L-KĀHIM AHMAD B. HASAN, the famous wazir of Sulṭān Mahmūd of Ghazna, was a foster-brother of the Sulṭān, and had been brought up and educated with him. Hasan, the father of Ahmad, was the 'Amīl of Bust under Subuktigīn; but on a charge of misappropriation of the revenue, he was put to death. In 384 (994), when Amīr Nūh b. Manṣūr the Sāmānid conferred on Mahmūd the command of the troops of Khurāsān, Mahmūd put Ahmad at the head of his correspondence department. After this Ahmad rapidly rose in the service of his master, and occupied in succession, the posts of *Mustauf* (i.e. *Mamluk*) (Accountant General), *Sāhib-i Dīwān-i Aḥd* (Head of the War Department), and 'Amīl of the provinces of Bust and Rūghhād. In 404 (1013), Sulṭān Mahmūd appointed him wazir in place of Abu 'L-Abbās al-Faḥlī. Ahmad al-Astarīnī. For twelve years, Ahmad managed the affairs of the growing empire of Sulṭān Mahmūd with great tact and diplomacy. Ahmad was very strict and exacting, and did not tolerate any evasion of duty or departure from the usual official procedure, with the result that many of the dignitaries of the Empire became his enemies and worked to bring about his ruin. He was disgraced and dismissed in 415 (1024), and sent as a prisoner to the fort of Kālingjar, in the southern Kashmir hills. After his accession to the throne, Sulṭān Mas'ūd, whose cause Ahmad had always supported, re-appointed him wazir in 422 (1031). Ahmad died in Muharram, 424 (December, 1032).

Ahmad is considered to be one of the greatest of Oriental wazirs. He was a learned man, encouraged scholars and showed great respect to them, and ordered all official correspondence to be carried on in Arabic instead of Persian.

Bibliography: al-Uṭṭī, *Atṭaf al-Yamīni* (Lahore ed.), p. 266-274; *Al-Bihar 'L-Wazir* (India Office MS., No. 1569), fol. 89^a-106^a; and scattered notices in *Tārīkh-i Mas'ūd* of Balḥist. (M. NĀSIR)

MAIMUNA, the last wife that Muhammad married. She was the daughter of al-Harith of the Hawāzin tribe of Sā'ū'a and a sister-in-law of 'Abbās. After she had divorced her first husband, a Thaqifi, and her second, the Kuraishi Abū Rukm, had died, she lived as a widow in Mecca where the Prophet wooed her, primarily no doubt for political reasons, on the 'wars' allowed him in the year 7. His wish to marry her in Mecca was refused by the Maimana in order not to prolong his stay there; the marriage therefore took place in Saif,

a village north of Mecca. Her brother-in-law 'Abbās acted as her guardian at the ceremony. The question whether the Prophet on this occasion was still in the *ḥijāb* or not is a much disputed and variously answered question. The bridal gift is said to have been 500 diḥama. Maimuna survived the other wives of the Prophet and died in 61 (681) in Saif, where she is said to have been buried on the spot where she was married.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 790 sq.; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, viii. 94-100; Tabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 1595 sq.; al-Bakri, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 772 sq.; Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, ii. 66 sq. (Fa. BURI.)

MAIMUNI. [See **IBN MAIMUN.**]

MAISÂN, the name of a district in southern Iraq.

The origin and significance of this name, which fell into disuse in the late middle ages, is unknown. There is no certain trace of it in the cuneiform inscriptions; for the Babylonian *Misā*, which Hommel (*Zeitschr. f. d. Geogr. d. alt. Orient*, Munich 1906, p. 261; 263) identifies with it is as little worthy of serious consideration as the Old Testament *Misphā* (*NBZ*, Gen. x. 30) which Biblical exegists

frequently quote. Maisân first appears in the form *Mesēn* in Strabo in the first century A.D. Ptolemy gives *Maisān* (μαῖσαν) as the name for the innermost part of the land of the Persian Gulf. The word is certainly not Greek; the meaning "middle land", the land between two rivers, may be dismissed as a fanciful etymology. The territory of Mesene is in the cuneiform inscriptions the region of the southern Kaldai states, especially the most southerly Bit-Yakin; at the same time we find in them the term the sea-land (*mat-fimili*) as almost identical with Bit-Yakin; the part of Mesene between the Tigris and Khūzistan was in the Babylonian period the home of the nomadic Aramaic tribe of Gambulu; cf. Streck, *Assyrienspal*, Leipzig 1916, iii. 778, 783, 796-97.

In classical literature Mesene is usually absolutely synonymous with *Charakene*. Mesene or Charakene appears in the second century A.D. (after ca. 129) as a small independent kingdom founded by a certain Hypsacines, our knowledge of whom is practically limited to his coinage. After an existence of three and a half centuries Ardashir I put an end to this kingdom shortly after his accession, between 224 and 227 A.D.; for Arabic sources for this event, see Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Araber und Perser zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden 1879, p. 13 (Tabari, i. 818). In the strict sense of the word, Charakene is only the delta of the Euphrates and Tigris before the junction of the two streams, the land on the north was Mesene; we have no information about the eastern and western frontiers of Charakene. Perhaps, as Weissbach suggests (see *Bibl.*), Mesene was only later conquered by the rulers of Charakene and its name transferred to this southern district.

The Talmud knows Mesene as *Misān* (and *Misān*), Syriac literature as *Maishān*. Among the Persians we have *Misān* and the Armenians *Misān*; cf. thereon Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 11. The Arabs took the word over as *Maisân*; but we occasionally also find *Maishān* (e.g. Tabari, iii. 1980, 5). The old name Mesene is perhaps concealed in that of the little town of Mashān, which, according to the Arab sources, was near Bayra and was celebrated as the birthplace of the Maḥmāna

poet Hariri (q. v.; Vākūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 536; Vākūt, *Irshād al-Arib*, ed. Margoliouth, vi. 167; Karwini, *Āḥār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 308).

As in the case of Mesene-Charakene, we have no exact information about the mediaeval Arab Maisân, which would enable us to define exactly the area and boundaries of the district. According to Vākūt, iv. 714 and Karwini, p. 310, Maisân is "an extensive district with numerous villages and palm groves between Basra and Wasit, the capital of which is also called Maisân". This district formed the sixth in the old Sāsānian division into *usūd*, which was taken over by the Arabs (q. v.) and was called *Shah-i Bahman* or "the Tigris district"; the name Furāt-Basra is also found. It was divided into four divisions (*farāḡ*, q. v.) namely, Bahman Ardashir, Maisân, Dastimaisân and Abas-Kubādī; according to Kudāma (*B. G. A.*, vi. 236, 12), these four divisions of the Tigris district later passed into the administrative district of Basra. All four *farāḡ* are to be located on the east side of the Tigris. Bahman Ardashir, the capital of the district of the same name, lay on the left or north bank of the Tigris, opposite Uballa on the west or south side of the river (the latter roughly on the site of the modern 'Ashshār, the port of modern Basra). The second division, Maisân in the narrow sense, must have been that in which stood the capital of the whole district of the same name. *Al-Madhār* however usually figures as such in the Arabic sources; it may be supposed that this was the successor of an older town called Maisân. The locality of *al-Madhār* cannot be exactly fixed (see below); it lies on the east bank of the Tigris, about thirty miles (as the crow flies) north of Kurna. Dastimaisân also is to be sought east of the Tigris, in the region of *al-Madhār*, probably south or south-east of it. As to the fourth division, Abas-Kubādī, a name, which Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 41 and Herzfeld, *ibid.*, xi. 150 would emend to *Isādh-Kawādī* (Kubādī), relying on Hamza al-Isfahānī (*Ṭarīkh*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 37), this also must be placed east of the Tigris not too far from *al-Madhār*. A reference in Kudāma (p. 235, 25 *sq.*) agrees very well with this, according to which the four divisions of the land of Maisân lay east of the Tigris.

Even under the Sāsānians there was a separate Nestorian ecclesiastical province of Maishān, which was again divided into four subdivisions, the bishoprics of Perī de Maishān, Karkhā de Maishān, Beth Raimā and Nehar Gāl (Gūr); cf. especially Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 48 *sq.*; Marquart, *op. cit.*, assumed it as certain that these four dioceses must correspond to the four political divisions of the district of Maisân. This view in itself probable and first found by Sachau, p. 49 as worthy of consideration is untenable, as Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 29 *sq.* has shown. Perī de Maishān is certainly identical with Bahmān; but the second bishopric Karkhā de Maishān does not correspond to the *tasūd* of Maisân or *Madhār* but is to be located much further south in the district of the modern Muhammara. Beth Raimā very probably lay not on the east but on the west bank of the Tigris at some distance N. E. of Basra, so that it does not even come into consideration as the equivalent of one of the four Arab divisions. Nehar Gāl (Gūr) may be equated to *Nahr Dīr* of the Arab geographers (see Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 37). This is to be sought towards Khūzistān somewhere in the

neighbourhood of Huwaira (see below). Whether the fourth *tasūd* Abas-Kubādī corresponds to it cannot be settled.

If then the capitals of all four divisions of the Tigris district are to be located on the east bank of the river, the lands on the west bank, also included in the *sawād* must have belonged to the same district as did the whole delta down to the Persian Gulf; for there is no district to which only the doubtful western and southern divisions might be allotted. In the Sāsānian period, according to the Turfan fragments (cf. Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 28), the term Maisân was usual for the whole of southern 'Irāk (or Mēshān) and this remained the case under the Arabs. But according to the Muslim sources, it does not seem to have been limited to the south proper but to have extended a considerable distance northwards. The quotations above given from Vākūt and Karwini show that Maisân was considered to stretch northwards to Wasit (q. v. and vol. I, p. 676, ii, art. KASKAR); indeed it is most probable that the extreme N. E. frontier of the area known as Maisân lay in the vicinity of the modern Kūt al-Amīra (q. v.; the *Mādhar* of the Arab geographers; cf. 969 *sq.*; Streck, *Babylonien*, ii. 310 *sq.*). The district of Kaskar also stretched up to here and seems in the main to have included lands east of the Tigris (cf. KASKAR). To avoid misunderstandings it should here be expressly mentioned that for the Arab period, of the present course of the Tigris only the *Shatt al-'Arab* and the stretches as far as *al-Madhār* come into question; in those days the Tigris bed corresponded with that of the *Nahr al-Gharraf* (*Shatt al-Jaiy*) which was the western boundary of the district of Kaskar. For further details of the hydrography of Maisân, see below. Maisân is occasionally used as synonymous with Kaskar; cf. Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 14, 17 *sq.* Maisân probably stretched to the east as far as the alluvial land of the *sawād*, up to the frontier of Khūzistān in places beyond the present frontier of 'Irāk. At least Huwaira (the modern Hawira (q. v.)) which is now on Persian soil, is expressly mentioned as a town belonging to Maisân.

The swamp regions, *al-Baṭīḥ*, for the most part came within the area of Maisân. On this cf. *AL-BATĪḤA* and the articles on *al-Baṭīḥ*, *al-Haltā* and *al-Djāzīr* by 'Alī Shārki in the periodical *Lughat al-'Arab*, iv. (Baghdād 1927), p. 375-384, 474-477, 526-530 and vi. 277-279; also Ḥāshim al-Sa'dī, *Ḍiḡḡat al-'Arab*, Baghdad 1927, p. 40, where the more important of the swamps (*ḥūr*'s) are given. In modern times the practically synonymous name *al-Ahmār* (plur. of *ḥūr*) is used for *al-Baṭīḥ* (see 'Alī Shārki, *op. cit.*, iv. 376). The two specifically 'Irākī words *ḥūr* and *ḥāḥ*, which are very often used indiscriminately in European works, especially on maps (usually the one form *ḥūr*) (cf. *AL-BATĪḤA* where *ḥūr* is wrongly given for *ḥāḥ*), have to be carefully distinguished. For *ḥām* (older alternative *ḥāḥ*), popularly *ḥūr* = "permanent swamp, temporary lake, land liable to inundation" (cf. *B. G. A.*, ed. de Goeje, iv. 370; G. le Strange, *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 298) and *al-ḥāḥ*, popularly *ḥāḥ* = "arm of a river, creek, lagoon-like gulf", cf. especially the remarks of Père Anastase-Marie, the editor of the Baghdad periodical *Lughat al-'Arab*, in M. Lidzbarski, *Das Faramān-buch der Mandatier* (Gießen 1915, p. 145).

One of the divisions of the Tigris district was called, as already mentioned, *Dast-i Maisân*. The

name is also vocalised *Dasta* and *Dasta-Maisân* in our Arabic texts. Ibn Khallikân always writes the Persian form *Dast-i Maisân*; cf. *Marâṭib al-Iqbal*, ed. Juybnoll, v. 468. *Dast*, *dast* can here only be the Persian *dāst* = "plain". Schaefer's assumption, *op. cit.*, p. 34, that *Dast* represents an abbreviation of the Pahlavi *Daskert* (Arabic *Daskara*, q. v.) seems to me hardly tenable. Why this division in particular was distinguished as the "plain of Maisân" from Maisân proper (especially from the second division of the district), is however not apparent. Could it here have been a more level plain, less filled with swamps? In any case, it is not correct to equate *Dast-i Maisân* without more ado to Maisân (as does G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 43). Yāqūt (ii. 574) thus defines *Dast-i Maisân*: "It is an important district between Wāṣiṭ, Bagra and al-Ahwāz [q. v.] (= Khūzistān, q. v.) lying near to the last-named. The capital is Basūmā; *Dast-i Maisân* is not identical with Maisân but is connected with it; it is also said that it is a district with the capital al-Ubulla and Bagra belonging to it". Nothing further is known of Basūmā, here mentioned as the capital of *Dast-i Maisân*; the form in which the name is handed down varies (see the variants in the *Marâṭib*, ed. Juybnoll, v. 468); it is apparently identical with Basūmā, which al-Makaddasī (*E. G. A.*, iii. 114, 1) details among the places of the district of Wāṣiṭ (cf. Tabari, iii. 1958, 22; *Z. D. M. G.*, xxix. 660; xxix. 26).

From the rather general remarks in Yāqūt the boundaries of the district of *Dast-i Maisân* cannot unfortunately be ascertained. We are brought a step forward by a note in Ibn Rosta (*E. G. A.*, vii. 94, 22) which expressly states that a place named 'Abdāsī, frequently mentioned in Arabic sources, is in *Dast-i Maisân*. When Yāqūt in another connection (iv. 275, 2-3) mentions 'Abdāsī alongside of *Dast-i Maisân* (i. e. distinguishing the two), as a division of Kaskar, this probably is an inaccuracy. From the passage of Ibn Rosta quoted it is further evident that 'Abdāsī must have been above al-Maghār in the direction of Wāṣiṭ. In keeping with this is an itinerary given by Ḥudāma (*E. G. A.*, vi. 126, 2-3), according to which a road from Wāṣiṭ via Bāḡhibin (5 farsakhs S. or S.E. of Wāṣiṭ; cf. Yāqūt, i. 461) to Bagra passed successively through 'Abdāsī (= 'Abdās) and al-Maghār. The distance of Bāḡhibin from 'Abdās is put at 5 stages (*sikks*), and from 'Abdās to al-Maghār at 8; cf. also Streck, *Babylonien*, I. 13-14. As a *sikka* on the average may be put at 4-5 miles (see Streck, *op. cit.*, p. xv) the distance from Bāḡhibin to 'Abdās may be estimated at 30-40 miles; from Bāḡhibin to Wāṣiṭ was about 15 miles. To this location of 'Abdāsī agrees very well a note in Ibn Hawqal (*E. G. A.*, ii. 159, 22) who says that the date-palm groves of the district of Bagra stretched without interruption for over 20 parasangs = 150 miles from 'Abbadān (then away to the south on the sea-shore; q. v.) as far as 'Abdās (!); the latter must therefore mark the northern limit of the then district of Bagra. From the passages mentioned we have to look for 'Abdās a fair distance to the north of al-Maghār, probably rather near the bank of the eastern arm of the Tigris which was dry in the middle ages. The position given to 'Abdās by G. Le Strange in his map to Ibn

Serapion (*J. R. A. S.*, 1895) and in *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (map ii.) — south of al-Maghār on the left bank of the Tigris (in map ii.) or on the right bank opposite al-Maghār — seems untenable. For further reference to 'Abdāsī (with the variants 'Abdās, 'Abdās or 'Abdās; according to Ḥamm al-Iṣfahānī in Yāqūt, iii. 603, 20, a Persian word) see *E. G. A.*, iv. (glossary), p. 94.

The approximate identification of the position of 'Abdāsī, which we have obtained, gives us a clue to that of *Dast-i Maisân*. This must have been above Maisân proper (with al-Maghār), and have comprised roughly the most northern part of the whole district of Maisân in the wider sense. It should be noted that the order in which the four divisions of the Tigris district are officially given (Bahman Ardāshir, Maisân, *Dast-i Maisân*, Abas-Kubādī; see above) is apparently that from south to north or rather north-east. To the east *Dast-i Maisân* extended as far as Khūzistān. But it should not be forgotten that the eastern frontier of Maisân during the caliphate must have undergone changes as a result of several alterations in the organisation of the provincial administration (cf. Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 290, 291); this explains the apparent contradictions in our sources, in which one and the same place is sometimes put in the Irāk, sometimes in Ahwāz (q. v.) (Khūzistān, q. v., 'Arabistān; see 'ARABICA).

When we know definitely that *Dast-i Maisân* was separated by the division of Maisân from that of Bahman Ardāshir to which Ubulla belonged, it appears rather remarkable that in Ibn Khordādhbih as well as in Yāqūt (cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, p. 16, 19) *Dast-i Maisân* is equivalent to Ubulla. If this is not simply a mistake, it might at most be explained, as Schaefer does (*op. cit.*, p. 35), by saying that under the 'Abbasids the headquarters for the collection of taxes for *Dast-i Maisân* was moved to Ubulla. The whole system of division into sawād, originally simply made for convenience in taxation, had lost any practical importance, at least under the later rulers of this dynasty. We are further definitely told that the Tigris district later passed under Bagra, where no doubt some of the officials of the old administrative district were moved to towns near Bagra like Ubulla.

A part of *Dast-i Maisân* was known as *Djūkhā*. It must have lain to the west of the modern course of the Tigris roughly from al-Maghār to 'Abdās. Ibn Rosta (*op. cit.*, p. 95) tells us that in *Djūkhā* between the two towns just mentioned, a part of the Tigris water used at one time to collect into swamps, before the river altered its bed in the direction of Wāṣiṭ. From the accounts of the campaigns of the Eshārids in the Umayyad period when the *Djūkhā* was a favourite place for these rebels to assemble (see vol. ii., p. 905^b), it is evident that this district must have occupied the position here sketched out for it; cf. Wellhausen, in *N. G. W. Göt.*, N. S., vol. v., n^o. 2 (1901), p. 22. Whether al-*Djūkhā* stretched as far as the Nahr al-Gharraf (Shatt al-Hay) and even beyond it, we do not know. There is a Tell *Djūkhā* at some distance from the west bank of the Nahr al-Gharraf, to be exact in 45° 52' E. Long. Greenw. and 31° 45' N. Lat. It is possible that the mediæval name of the division *Djūkhā* has survived in that of this mound, which conceals the ruins of the very ancient, not unimportant town of *Umma* (ideographically written *Gish-Umma*).

For Umma, which is mentioned in inscriptions as early as 3200 B. C., and disappeared from history even before the time of Hammurabi, see Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 354—355, 1019, 1102 (Index) and Unger in the *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, xv. (1928), p. 3—4. Names like Dīrkhā, Dīrkhā, Dīrkhā are found elsewhere in the mediaeval geographical nomenclature of 'Irāk and Khirāsān; see Vākfī, i. 669, 75—105; ii. 143, 144, 1; iii. 15, 13; cf. on Dīrkhā (Dīrkhā) also Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

In southern 'Irāk, to which the district of Maisan of the Arab middle ages roughly corresponds, in course of time far reaching changes have taken place in the appearance of the country. The history of the hydrography of this area is thus a very complicated problem and the solution of topographical questions especially difficult. The first thing to note in this connection is the fact that the Persian Gulf, the Khalij al-Basra or al-Faris, as the modern inhabitants of al-'Irāk call it (cf. Hashim al-Sa'di, *op. cit.*, p. 20, 41; 'Abd al-Razzak al-Hamzi, *op. cit.*, p. 115; *Lughat al-'Arab*, iii. 58, and the article NAHR AL-FARIS), stretched much farther north in ancient times and the middle ages than it does to-day. In the Babylonian period it was a lagoon almost as wide as a sea called *Nāru Murrat* (see Streck, *Assur-kanipal*, Leipzig 1916, iii. 796) and stretched northwards nearly as far as 31° N. Lat. The lagoon must have stretched from Kurna in a westerly direction indicated by the later course of the Euphrates or the modern swamps (*dhār's*) of Abū Kelām and al-Hammār, as far as the region of the mound of ruins of Abū Shahrain (c. 12 miles S.W. of al-Mukayyir-ūr). Abū Shahrain, the ancient Eridū, certainly lay on the shore of this lagoon as we know from inscriptions found there; cf. Langdon, *Ausgrabungen in Babylonien seit 1918* = *A. O.*, xxvi. (1928), p. 3—4; Weissbach's objections to the equation Abū Shahrain = Eridū (in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, vi. 1205) are now disposed of. From Kurna the lagoon probably sent an arm to the east as far as the Kārūn. The land south of Kurna beyond Bagra on both sides of the broad arm of the sea now marked by the bed of the Shatt al-'Arab was probably only partly under water in ancient times (cf. Herzfeld, in Sarre-Hersfeld, *Archäolog. Reise im Euphrat und Tigrisgebiet*, vol. I. Berlin 1911, p. 251), although it was probably exceedingly swampy. In any case in the Sargonid period, the Euphrates, Tigris, Kerkhā, and Kārūn all entered the sea or rather the lagoon running up from it by separate mouths. Cf. also al-BATTHA and ii. p. 777.

If then the question of the extent of the advance of the delta since the beginning of the historical period can be approximately answered, it hardly seems possible to allot accurately the increase in land to each century, as we do not know if the sea always retired at a constant rate. In the middle ages 'Abbasid (q. v. and below) in 48° 22' E. Long. Greenwich and 10° 12' N. Lat., c. 45 miles in a direct line from Bagra, was still regarded as the most southerly town of the 'Irāk. According to Ibn Battūta's *Travels* (ed. Paris, ii. 18) in the first half of the 13th century, it was already an hour's journey from the coast. This distance has now increased to over 20 miles. In the last 50 years there has been an average increase of land of at least 2½ miles a century. For further information on the

steady formation of land by alluvial deposits at the north end of the Persian Gulf cf. SHATT AL-'ARAB; S. Genthe, *Der Pers. Meerbusen*, Marburg 1896, p. 54 sq.; *The Persian Gulf* (= *Handbook of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office*, No. 76, London 1920), p. 13; Hashim al-Sa'di, *op. cit.*, p. 51—52. Since the last century the most southerly settlement immediately on the sea has been the telegraph and lighthouse station of Fao; on this cf. below.

On the hydrographical conditions in Southern 'Irāk, especially the course of the Euphrates and Tigris and the canal systems connected with them, as well as the swamps there (al-Battha [q. v.] or al-Bat'ih), we have a full and lucid description of the beginning of the tenth century in the part of the *Geography* of Ibn Serepion that has survived to us; see the pertinent passages in Le Strange's edition, in *F. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 9—10 (sect. i—ii), 28—30 (sect. xiii—xvi), and translation and notes on p. 33 sq., 46 sq., 296—311.

The Tigris, probably, was in ancient times forked at the site of the modern Kūt al-'Amīra [q. v.], the Mādharayā of the mediaeval Arabic sources (see above), into an eastern and western arm. For four centuries the main body of the Tigris has used the eastern bed running via 'Amāra to Kurna, while the western arm, a more canal-like channel only navigable at high water, has connected it with the Euphrates. This western arm is in modern European literature known as *Shatt al-Haiy*. This seems to be a name coined by European travellers, apparently first found in the last decades of the 18th century (in Beauchamp; see Ritter, *Erkenntnis*, xi. 973). *Shatt al-Haiy* = "river of al-Haiy" was and still is the name given locally to the northern stretch of the river reaching as far as Haiy; but its whole course is usually called in the 'Irāk *Nahr al-Gharraf* (cf. the quotations noted below from the works of Hashim al-Sa'di and 'Abd al-Razzak al-Hamzi; Vākfī (ii. 533, 3 sq.; iii. 781, 3) already knows *Nahr al-Gharraf* as the name of one of the five arms of the Tigris and of a district belonging to it. The *Nahr al-Gharraf* was at one time called *al-Mawrah*; cf. *Lughat al-'Arab*, i. 51. At the little town of al-Haiy the *Nahr al-Gharraf* divides into five channels of which only the western *Shatt al-'Amī* (or *Amī*; on the name cf. above ii. 777) is now quite dry; cf. *Lughat al-'Arab*, i. 51, with note and correction on p. 225 sq. Four miles above Shatra the main western arm also divides into two channels: the large *Nahr al-Shatra* in the west, which enters the Tigris at Nāziyye (Nāziyye, see KUT AL-'AMARA), the capital of the *limes* of Muntafiq—for some years joined by a branch line to the station of al-Mukayyir-ūr (Ur-junction) on the Baghdad-Bagra railway—and the smaller eastern *Nahr Bad'a* (*Bad'a*) said to have been originally dug out by the Muntafiq which enters the Hās al-Hammār somewhat east of Sūk al-Shiyakh [q. v.].

On the *Nahr al-Gharraf* (*Shatt al-Haiy*) and the territory through which it flows, of which now as in the Turkish period, the northern part (including al-Haiy) belongs for administrative purposes to the *limes* of Kūt (al-'Amīra) and the southern to the *limes* of al-Muntafiq, cf. vol. I, p. 676; ii. 513 sq. and KUT AL-'AMARA; and Streck, *Babylonien*, ii. 311 sq.; *Lughat al-'Arab*, i. 51 sq., 152, 217, 219,

222—226; Hishim al-Sa'idi, *op. cit.*, p. 17, 25, 142, 144 sq., 147, 159, 162 sq.; 'Abd al-Razzak al-Hasanî, *op. cit.*, p. 41 sq.; 168, 109—113, 130. Here we may emphasise once more that the whole river and canal system of the Nahr al-Gharrâf, especially the wide area between the Nahr al-Gharrâf in the west, the Tigris in the east and the Euphrates in the south have only been very insufficiently explored as yet. The accounts of the older travellers are given in Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, xi. 935 sq.—973, 998 sq.; cf. also H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig 1861, ii. 82, 138—139; E. Sachau, *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, Leipzig 1900, p. 60—80 (with map ii.) and A. Lindeskerke-Beaufort, in *Babylonien*, vii, Paris 1922, p. 110—116.

The information of the Tigris at Mādharayā (or Kūf al-Awra) is certainly very old, and may be assumed for the old Babylonian period at least. The ruins of Tellō (the old town of Lagash), N.E. of al-Shāra, and of several neighbouring mounds of ruins (like al-Hilba, Serghul) are at a short distance to the east of the modern Nahr al-Gharrâf, on an arm (canal?) of older bed of it. It is possible that the western bed of the Tigris, Nahr al-Gharrâf, is of artificial origin (cf. above ii, p. 513 sq.) and was a canal dug at a remote period planned to give a convenient connection with the Euphrates. The western arm of the river was in all probability the regular course of the Tigris in the Babylonian period (cf. also the sketch map in Melissar, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, vol. i.); it is only since the last centuries B.C. that the main channel of the Tigris, for reasons not known to us, must have made its way into the eastern modern river bed. Under the later Sāsānians another change took place, originally connected with the great extension of the swampy area of the Baṭṭha. According to a note in Yāqūt (i. 669, 3), the Tigris had already ceased in the reign of Bahram V Gur (420—438) to flow in the direction of al-Madhār and instead of this had chosen the route of the arm that runs towards Karkar. In any case bustlings of dams which took place, especially in the reigns of Kābūsh Pērōz (457—484) and Khvāzīm II Parwēz (590—628) (cf. i., p. 676), considerably furthered this development. It is certain that at the beginning of Muslim rule, the Tigris was using the western bed exclusively. The eastern was quite dry as far as al-Madhār, and only after this town did it contain water again. On the state of the river in the middle ages cf. especially the descriptions in Ibn Rosta (*B.G.A.*, vii. 94, 22 sq.) and thereon G. Le Strange, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, p. 300 sq. and Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 21 sq.; see also Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 27—28 and above i., p. 669 sq.

In the early decades of the ninth (9th) century the Tigris was still flowing in its western bed; but in the next century it again altered its course and sent the mass of its water to the eastern bed, so that this again became the usual route for navigation. It was used as such, as we know from European travellers (see Le Strange, *The Lands etc.*, p. 28 sq.) at least since the middle of the 11th century; the eastern arm has remained the Tigris proper to the present day.

The stretch of the eastern Tigris which alone was filled with water in the middle ages, south of al-Madhār, the *Didjlat al-Awra* (cf. below), joined the Nahr Abi 'l-Asad, which flowed out of the Baṭṭha, according to Ibn Serapion, probably

a little below the modern Kurnā; cf. i. 676, 969 sq., ii. 119. Yāqūt's account differs seriously from Ibn Serapion's description of the Lower Tigris. How far Yāqūt, who lived 300 years after Ibn Serapion, reflects an alteration in the river system, it is impossible to say. According to Yāqūt (ii. 553, 3 sq.; cf. thereon Streck, *Babylonien*, i. 39—40 and above i., p. 676), the Tigris after passing Wāsi divided into five arms, which reunited at a place called al-Majāra. This Majāra (var. Maṭāra and Maṭār in *B.G.A.*, ii. 53, 14; iii. 161, 2) lay a day's journey from Baṭra i.e. about halfway between this town and Kurnā.

These five arms of the Tigris were, he says, the Nahr Sāsī, Nahr Gharrāf, Nahr Daḡla, Nahr Dja'far and Nahr Maisān. Sāsī is mentioned in another passage in Yāqūt (iii. 11, 10) as a place above Wāsi. Gharrāf has already been mentioned as the usual modern name for the western arm of the Tigris (Shāṭ al-Haṭṭ). The Nahr Daḡla (apparently the Aramaic form of the Arabic *Didjla*) flowed, according to Yāqūt, (iv. 830, 22; or v. 838, 2) near the Nahr Abi 'l-Asad and east of the Nahr *Tha'fur*. The latter was (see Yāqūt, v. 838, 2) between Wāsi and Nahr Daḡla. The Nahr Maisān, finally, seems to be identical with the *Didjla al-Awra* from al-Madhār to the mouth of the Nahr Abi 'l-Asad (cf. also Yāqūt, i. 603, 4).

The bed of the upper *Didjlat al-Awra* which seems to have been dammed at al-Madhār was apparently also fed by the waters of the Nahr Abi 'l-Asad. The Arab geographer Qādīmā (*B.G.A.*, vi. 231, 2—4) says, "After leaving the Baṭṭha, the Tigris divides into two arms, the one of which goes to Baṭra and the other to al-Madhār". On the banks of the Nahr Maisān, "between al-Madhār and Baṭra", lay the village of al-Bazāra (Yāqūt, i. 603, 4).

As to the Euphrates, we are told that in the middle ages it poured its waters into the Baṭṭha in two channels below Kūfa and Hilla, like the main body of the Tigris in the west; cf. especially Ibn Serapion, ed. G. Le Strange, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, p. 10, 18 sq. (and p. 47, 260); G. Le Strange, *The Lands etc.*, p. 74 and above ii., p. 513, 29; art. AL-FURKĀT.

The Nahr Abi 'l-Asad, which runs out of the Baṭṭha and is often described by the Arab geographers as the eastern section of the (western) Tigris (cf. above and Yāqūt, iv. 830, 22) might with a certain amount of justice also be claimed as the last stretch of the Euphrates. It is in this sense that Yāqūt (iv. 561, 22) says that al-Majāra, mentioned above, is "on the bank of the Tigris and of the Euphrates at the junction of the two". On the alterations in the lower course of the Euphrates in the later middle ages down to the 17th century we have very little information (cf. AL-FURKĀT), but we may assume that since about the 14th century, at latest since the beginning of the 15th, the whole volume of the Euphrates no longer disappeared in the swamps but a portion ran in a definite channel which roughly coincided with the course of the modern bed, and ultimately used the channel of the Nahr Abi 'l-Asad and thus effected a direct communication with the Eastern Tigris. From the reports of European travellers (see G. Le Strange, *The Lands etc.*, p. 28 sq.) it is evident that at the junction of the two rivers there stood since at least the middle of the 17th century a castle named al-Kurnā (now a small

town; see also below, iv. 364). Since the great scheme for regulating the Euphrates was carried out by Willocks in the first decade of this century (cf. ii., p. 515 and SHATT AL-ARAB) only a small and insignificant arm of the Euphrates now flows out at Kurna while its main arm cuts through the swamps of al-Hammir in a new channel and enters what is now called the Shatt al-Arab above Karmat 'Ali (c. 10 miles N. of Basra). On this modern Euphrates channel called after Karmat 'Ali (popularly Karmat and Garmat 'Ali) cf. Hāshim al-Sa'di, *op. cit.*, p. 20, 89, 36, 10, 159; 39; 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Hamānī, *op. cit.*, p. 69, 2; *Lughat al-'Arab*, i. 365, 2; iv. 527, 3; *Metopotamia* (Handbook of the Foreign Office, No. 63), London 1920, p. 6, 52 19, 55 and cf. ii., p. 515.

The Eastern Tigris from al-Madhār to its mouth on the Persian Gulf bore in the middle ages the name of *Didjlat al-'Awrā'* = the 'one-eyed Tigris' (on this cf. above, ii. 777); cf. especially Ibn Rosta (*B. G. A.*, vii.), p. 94 29, and Ibn Serāpīm (*J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 28, 299-303); Streck, *Babylonien*, i. 41-42; G. Le Strange, *The Lands etc.*, p. 43; Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 21-23 and cf. i., p. 676, 969 29; ii., p. 513 29. Yāqūt (iv. 830, 22) however limits the name *Didjlat al-'Awrā'* to the stretch from al-Madhār to the sea, i. e. the combined Euphrates and Tigris. At the same time we find other special names for this last section among the Arab authors of the middle ages like *Didjlat al-Basra* (the Tigris of B.), Fārij al-Basra (cf. e. g. Yāqūt, iii. 931, 10), Bādhawād (Yāqūt, i. 462, 11). A specifically Persian name is Bahmanāshir = the river of the district of Bahman Aīdashir (cf. ii., p. 777; see Yāqūt, i. 770, 20).

Even in the Babylonian period the lower Tigris seems to have had a special name, *Surrūp*; see Meissner, *op. cit.*, p. 5. For nearly two centuries the combined Euphrates and Tigris has been known as *Shatt al-'Arab* = 'the river of the Arabs', because its banks, although since 1640 (with interruptions) they have been in parts incorporated in the Persian kingdom, are almost exclusively inhabited by Arab tribesmen. (The name *Shatt al-'Arab* is found in the middle of the 11th century in Nāṣirī Khuraw (*Sefirname*, ed. Schaefer, p. 89) but this is the only early occurrence). In its lower half the *Shatt al-'Arab* has since that date formed the often contested frontier between Persia and Turkey or (since the World War) the Kingdom of Iraq; about an hour's journey above (or west of) Muḥammara, the eastern bank becomes Persian. Cf. also the article SHATT AL-ARAB and *The Persian Gulf* (Foreign Office Handbook, No. 76), London 1920, p. 13, 54.

The stretch of the *Didjlat al-'Awrā'* corresponding to the modern *Shatt al-'Arab* in the middle ages sent out numerous canals on either side; the very complicated canal-system of the country round Basra was especially celebrated. The most important canals on the west bank were the Nahr Ma'kil (still to-day the name of a small village, an hour above al-Ashbār) and the Nahr Ubulla (apparently the modern Nahr al-Ashbār) which united at the town of Basra and connected it with the Tigris. The mediaeval Nahr Abi l-Khaṣṣ, c. 15 miles south of Basra on the west side, may also be mentioned; this still exists to-day and has given its name to a district and its capital (belonging to the sanjak of Basra); see Cuneo, *op. cit.*, p. 23; 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Ḥasānī, *op. cit.*, p. 118. Of the canals

on the west bank the most important was the Nahr Bayān (cf. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p. 311, 390-391). The Nahr Bayān formed an artificial channel connecting the Tigris and the Karūn; we have also mediaeval references to a similar communication between these two rivers. Another canal still in existence on the west side is the Nahr Kaiyān (Bayān?; modern Riyān) north of the Nahr Bayān. The most northern canal on the east side which left the Tigris about the neighbourhood of the modern Kurna, was called Nahr al-Mubarak, not Nahr al-Madhār (cf. thereon de Goeje, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 749; emendation to *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 30, 2, 307, 308 and Streck, *Babylonien*, i. 41). Generally speaking, there are not now so many canals in the *Shatt al-'Arab* as there were in the middle ages. The best account of conditions in the caliphate is that of Ibn Serāpīm: see the text in *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 29-30 (thereon p. 303-311); cf. also Streck, *Babylonien*, i. 42 and G. Le Strange, *The Lands etc.*, p. 46-48. Cf. particularly the article *al-Basra wa-Anḥarūha*, which gives a list of old and new names of canals, in *Lughat al-'Arab*, iii. (1913), p. 57-68, 128-132 and p. 673-674 (additions) and p. 700-704 (indices); al-Nabbānī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Nabḥiyya fi Tarīkh al-Diyār al-'Arabīya*, 2nd ed., Cairo 1342 (1923), ii. 15-53.

After the hydrography of the district of Maisān, we may now deal briefly with the more important places in it. The mediaeval Arab geographers give as its capital the already frequently mentioned al-Madhār on the eastern bank of the Tigris, 4 days' journey from Basra. The Shī'a inhabitants according to Yāqūt (vi. 468) had a splendid mosque here with the tomb of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī who fell at Karballā in the year 680; on this see the references in Wāstenfeld, *Geologische Tabellen der arab. Stämme, Register* (1853), p. 8 and Yāqūt, vi. 506; cf. also HAWITZ. This sanctuary still survives and it enables us — which has not been noticed before (hence, for example, the inaccurate locations by G. Le Strange in *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 300 and in *The Lands etc.*, p. 42) — to define quite exactly the site of al-Madhār. The name al-Madhār is no longer known on the spot; as of the old town the highly revered 'Alid sanctuary is all that remains, the place is now called simply 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī. Keppel, who passed here on his way up the river in 1824, speaks erroneously of 'the residence of Sheikh Abdillā bin Allī, an Arab chief'; cf. his *Personal Narrative of a Journey from India to England* (London 1827), i. 91. According to Chesney's map (*see Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, London 1856, Atlas, Pl. 2.), 'Usair and 'Abd Allāh are only 10 miles apart in a direct line, a figure which has however to be doubled when allowing for the many windings of the river if one goes by boat. The traveller Schiaffī, who in 1862 went down the Tigris on a steamer, took two hours to go from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī to 'Usair; cf. his *Reisen im Orient* (Winterthur 1864), p. 137; Rich took six hours to ascend (Ritter, xi. 945). On my own journey in March 1927 I visited 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī; the steamer covered the distance from here to 'Usair with the river in favourable condition in not quite three hours. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī lies on a slight eminence ten minutes from the left bank of the Tigris, which describes a curve here. The mosque of the tomb with its dome

visible from a long distance off stands within the south side of an oblong court, to which entrance is given by a door in the slightly built north wall. The *Maḥṣūn*-poet al-Ḥarīrī, born in Maḥṣūn (near Basra) is said by Yāqūt (iv. 468) to have died in al-Maḥṣūr. As Ibn Rosta (*B. G. A.*, vii, p. 95, 2) tells us, the tides came up as far as al-Maḥṣūr; this agrees with Schäffli's observation (*op. cit.*). The tide indeed is sometimes perceptible as far up as the town of Kal'at Salih, farther north; cf. Ḥāshim al-Sa'dī, *op. cit.*, p. 39, 2; cf. also *The Persian Gulf Pilot*, London 1898, p. 295. Opposite al-Maḥṣūr, on the west bank was the little town of al-Hāṭir (Yāqūt, iv. 947, 8).

When Yāqūt observes in one passage (iv. 714) that the capital of Maṣān was also called Maṣān, he can only be referring to al-Maḥṣūr, the centre of the district of Maṣān in the narrower sense, not perhaps, Furāt Maṣān, for which we also find an abbreviated form Maṣān. The name al-Maḥṣūr probably first came into existence in the Muslim period, perhaps for a new foundation on the site of the old town of Maṣān.

As to Kal'at Salih already mentioned on the left bank of the Tigris which like 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī belongs to the land of 'Amāra, see Ḥāshim al-Sa'dī, *op. cit.*, p. 151; 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ḥamānī, *op. cit.*, p. 123—124 and *Lughat al-'Arab*, iv. 377, 4, 378, 4, 536. This town of modern origin a couple of hours' journey below 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī has now about 3,000 inhabitants (including many Mandaeans). The site of al-Maḥṣūr cannot be marked by Kal'at Salih for al-Maḥṣūr was certainly of moderate extent and the 'Alid mosque is to be sought within it and not in its vicinity.

As to 'Usair already mentioned (now usually pronounced 'Aṣīr), south of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī on the west bank of the Tigris, it is especially mentioned that it belonged to the district of Maṣān; see Yāqūt, iv. 319, 714; Kāẓimī, *Aḥṣā' al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, II. 310. The proper name of this place with the alleged tomb of Ezra ('Uzair) in the middle ages was, according to Arabic and Jewish sources, Nahr Samura (popularly Simmura); cf. e.g. Yāqūt, iv. 840, 2. Cf. on 'Usair especially D. S. Samson, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*); J. R. Ghazima, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*), p. 189 27 and the article 'USAIR.

The town of 'Abdast ('Abdast etc.) to the north of al-Maḥṣūr has already been discussed. On the town of Hawwa (now Hawra) also belonging to Maṣān see above I, p. 676 and art. HAWRA; to the bibliography may now be added: Layard in *J. E. G. S.*, xvi, (1846), p. 34—36; J. de Morgan, *Mission scient. en Perse, Étude géograph.*, II, Paris 1893, p. 278 and Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p. 392 27; *Lughat al-'Arab*, vi. 277 27. An extensive swamp (*ḥaw*) (*cf.* I, p. 876) takes its name from this town, the water from which flows into the Tigris a little south of Karna; cf. Ḥāshim al-Sa'dī, *op. cit.*, p. 21, 2.

The modern towns of importance on the Nahr al-Ḥarīrī (Shatt al-Hay) are of recent origin and are still developing. They are from north to south: Hay (Kūt al-Hay), a town with 9,000—10,000 inhabitants (*cf.* above and I, p. 676; *Lughat al-'Arab*, I. 152, 224); Kal'at Sikkar with 1,500 and Shatra with 7,000 inhabitants; on these three places cf. Cuinet, *op. cit.*, III. 290, 310 27, 312—313 (where Kal'at Sakar is wrongly given for

Kal'at Sikkar); Sachau, *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, Leipzig 1900, p. 69 27; 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ḥamānī, *op. cit.*, p. 111—113; 130 27; Ḥāshim al-Sa'dī, *op. cit.*, p. 147, 162—163.

At the spot which up till some two centuries ago was regarded as the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris stands the little town of Karna (Karna, Gurna) with 2,000 inhabitants. It is not known to have existed in the middle ages; on it cf. above and Mignan, *Travels in Chaldæa*, London 1829, p. 284 27; Ritter, xi. 1018—1023; Cuinet, *op. cit.*, III. 211 27; 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ḥamānī, *op. cit.*, p. 119; Ḥāshim al-Sa'dī, *op. cit.*, p. 156; *Lughat al-'Arab*, III. 57. Halfway between Karna and Basra must have stood al-Majra where, according to Yāqūt, the two arms of the Tigris, or the Euphrates and Tigris met in the middle ages; cf. above. About 3 hours' journey above Basra on the right bank of the river is the little village of Karna 'Alī, where as already mentioned, the main stream of the Euphrates flows into the Tigris or the Shatt al-'Arab.

In the Muslim period, Basra was the largest and most important town in the old district of Maṣān and in practice its capital, although under the 'Abbāsids, al-Maḥṣūr may have for a considerable period been regarded as the official capital. On Basra, mediæval Basra, modern Basra and al-'Ashshūr, cf. the article BASRA.

Al-'Ashshūr stands approximately on the site of Uballa which as a suburb and port on the Tigris for the mediæval Basra was of some importance. In our sources we are expressly told that Uballa lay north of the canal which bore its name, partly on an island, which was formed by the Tigris and the two canals of Nahr al-Ma'kil and Nahr al-Uballa which joined one another at Basra. The modern Nahr al-Khōra which leaves the Shatt al-'Arab about one hour south of al-'Ashshūr, cannot be the Nahr al-Uballa (in spite of *Lughat al-'Arab*, III. 63). The modern al-'Ashshūr, the principal commercial centre of southern Iraq, is only a little inferior to Basra as regards numbers of population. The two together have now a population of 50—60,000. On Uballa, the ancient *Amōryon lucipos* (s. Panly-Wissowa, *Reallex. der Klass. Altertumswiss.*, Suppl.-Bd., I. 111), cf. G. Le Strange, *J. E. G. S.*, 1895, p. 306 and *The Lands etc.*, p. 47; Dronin, *a. u. O.* (s. *Litt.*), p. 9; Sachau, *Abh. Fr. Ak. W.*, 1919, No. 1, p. 20, 51 27; *Trl.*, xi. 151; *Lughat al-'Arab*, v. 477; *cf.* v. 200, 2 and the art. AL-UBALLA.

Opposite al-'Ashshūr, on the east bank of the Shatt al-'Arab stands the little town of al-Taṭūma (*cf.* *Lughat al-'Arab*, III. 129, 2, 230, 2; 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ḥamānī, *op. cit.*, p. 118; Ḥāshim al-Sa'dī, *op. cit.*, p. 156, 2). On its site or at least somewhere in the neighbourhood, there was already in ancient and mediæval times an important harbour, known to Pliny as *Foyat* (*cf.* also Dronin, *op. cit.*, p. 8). In the Talmud (see Berliner, *op. cit.*, p. 44) and in Syriac sources it is called *Perat de Maḥṣān*, in the mediæval Arab authors *Furāt Maṣān* or *Furāt al-Basra*. In Syriac and Arabic texts we also find *Perat* or *Furāt*, without the addition of Maṣān; with *Furāt* = Euphrates the name has no connection. When the first Sāsānīan king Ardashīr I refounded the city it received from him the new name of Bahman-Ardashīr, shortened to Bahmanshīr; see Hamza al-Iṣṣāḥānī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 37 27, 46 and *Trl.*, xi. 149. Cf. the above mentioned

specifically Persian name of the *Didjlat al-'Awra'* and *Bamahir* (= *Bahmanhir*) as a name of an arm of the Kârin (cf. B., p. 777). That *Furât Maisân* was opposite *Uballa* on the left bank is quite clear from the Arabic references: cf. Wellhausen, *Abh. G. W. Göt.*, N. F., v., N° 2 (1901), p. 34 and Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 31. The identification of *Furât Maisân* with the modern *Bagra* or even with old *Bagra* (Berlin, *op. cit.*), which has been championed by different scholars (Nöldeke in *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1893, *Abh. ix.*, p. 18; Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Sachau, *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1919, N° 1, p. 49; only suggested as a possibility by Herzfeld in *Sarre-Hersfeld, Archiol. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, i. 251) is therefore untenable. *Perât de Maishân* was the see of the Nestorian metropolitan which was later moved to *Bagra* (first certain reference in 893); cf. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 49 and Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 31 *sq.* The old name of the diocese *Perât de Maishân* was still frequently used in place of *Bagra* even after the transfer of the episcopal see. If we have on one occasion, c. 900 A.D., a mention of a bishop of *Maishân* simply, we should refer it to *Perât de Maishân* rather than to *Karkh de Maishân* (so Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 30) because the abbreviation *Maishân* for *Perât de Maishân* is found elsewhere in Syriac literature (cf. Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 32-33). As to the coins of the Omayyad period of the mint of *Maishân*, this is probably to be explained also as *al-Furât Maisân* and not as *Karkh Maisân* (so Mordtmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxiii. 126) or *Maishân* (*al-Madhâr*) as Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 34 thinks. *Abu l-Fida'*, *Taqwîm al-Buldan* (ed. Reinaud, p. 296), also is obviously thinking of *Furât Maisân* not *Maishân* (*al-Madhâr*) when he says "*Maishân* is a little town in the lower part of the land of *Bagra*".

* On the east bank of the *Shatt al-'Arab* about where the *Eulamas* or *Dudjail* (the modern *Kârin* [q. v.]) joins it, Alexander the Great built a new town on the site of an older settlement, which he called *Alexandria* after himself. After its restoration by one of the Seleucids, it was known as *Antiocheia*. When *Spasines* (*Hysposines*) created a kingdom of his own in *Mesene-Charakene*, *Alexandria-Antiocheia* became his capital and was known as *Ḫḫḫḫ Ḫḫḫḫ*; under this name (Aramaic *Karkhā Aspasinā* or simply *Karkhā*) it is mentioned in the Palmyrene inscriptions. Another refoundation of the town is ascribed to *Ardashir I.*, hence its official designation in the Sasanian period as *Astāribādh Ardashir* (also abbreviated to *Astāribādh*); cf. Nöldeke, *Guck. d. Arab. und Pers. im Zeit der Sasaniden* (Leyden 1879), p. 14; Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Herzfeld, *ibid.*, xi. 150; *Hama al-Jafāhān*, *op. cit.*, p. 47, gives the (corrupt) form of the name *Inghā Ardashir*. The older name *Karkhā* more exactly defined by the addition "*of Maishân*" remained in existence. The Syriac texts always write *Karkhā de Maishân*. There was a Nestorian bishopric here, which seems soon to have disappeared under Islam; see Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 49-50 and Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 33. The Arabs took over the Syriac name as *Karkh* [q. v.] *Maishân*; cf. e.g. *Yāqūt*, iv. 307, v. The Persian traveller *Nāṣiri Khuraw* who visited the 'Irāk about 443 (1051) (cf. his *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, p. 89) mentions, besides *Bagra*, in the district of *Maishân* a place called "*Akr Maishân*, probably an inaccurate reproduction of *Karkh Maishân*. The site of *Karkh*

Maishân is usually sought on that of the Persian port of *Muhammara*, which has only arisen since about 1812, or at least in its immediate neighbourhood; cf. Andreas in *Pauly-Wissowa, Realencykl.*, i. 1394 *sq.*; Drouin, *op. cit.*, p. 7; Herzfeld in *Sarre-Hersfeld, Archiol. Reise*, i. 251; Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 33. This identification does not have been absolutely certain: *Karkh Maishân* is perhaps to be located farther to the north; cf. e.g. the objections of Mordtmann in *S. B. Bayr. Ak.*, 1875, vol. ii., Suppl. Heft, iii., p. 14. Cf. also on *Alexandria-Charax Spasinu-Karkh Maishân* the important article "*Alexandria*" by Andreas in *Pauly-Wissowa, Realencykl.*, i. 1390 *sq.* and the article *Charax Spasinu* by Weishäup, *ibid.*, iii. 2122; Drouin, *op. cit.*, p. 7-8, 15; Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 31 *sq.* On coins struck in *Karkh Maishân* of the Arsakid and Sasanian periods cf. Mordtmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxiii. 126 *sq.* and G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of Greek Coins of Arabia and Persia in the British Museum* (London 1923); cf. also *MUHAMMARA* and also vol. ii. p. 777.

In the middle ages the most southerly town in the 'Irāk was *'Abbādān*, which then lay on the coast—under the later *'Abbāda* it was already some distance from it—and was an important harbour. Cf. above and the article *'AMMĀDĀN*.

At the beginning of the twentieth century it was still an insignificant little village. It is only since the last twenty years that it has undergone an unexpected development because of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company making it the terminus of their pipes from *Shuster* and *Maidān-i Naftān* (cf. ii., p. 779^b). The oil is now pumped into tank-steamers at *'Abbādān*; important factories, warehouses etc. have been built there. *Brēm*, five minutes west of *'Abbādān* proper, has developed into a flourishing town which bears the name *Brēm 'Abbādān* or *'Abbādān al-Hadīqa*—New *'Abbādān*. On the meaning of the word *brēm* (a particular kind of date) cf. *Lughat al-'Arab*, i. 125, i. *sq.*, 443, i. iii. 592, i. from below. In *Brēm* are the ruins of a palace or castle said to date from the time of the Caliph *Harun al-Rashid*; cf. *Lughat al-'Arab*, i. 126, i. *sq.* *'Abbādān* is now next to *Bagra-Aghahār* and *Muhammara* the largest and most important town in the whole of the *Shatt al-'Arab*. On the other places on the island of *'Abbādān* cf. *Lughat al-'Arab*, i. 128, i. *sq.* The island, which before the war belonged to the *Shāikh of Muhammara* who was under Persian suzerainty, was leased about 1911 by England for 99 years. On mediaeval *'Abbādān* cf. *Lughat al-'Arab*, i. 121-129; on modern *'Abbādān* and the works of the Persian Oil Company, *ibid.*, i. 176-184; W. Schweer, *Die türk.-persisch. Erdölverkömmerung*, Hamburg 1919, p. 52, 112-115.

At *'Abbādān* close to the sea-coast there stood in the middle ages the lighthouses known as *al-'Aḫḫābūt* [q. v.].

As has already been pointed out, *'Abbādān* is now over 20 miles from the sea. The most southerly place in the 'Irāk for about a century has been the important lighthouse and telegraph station at *Fāo* [q. v.], built on the shore of the Persian Gulf; on it and the district, cf. *Cuiver, op. cit.*, iii. 268-270; *'Abd al-Razzāk al-Hamānī, op. cit.*, p. 118; *Hāshim al-Sa'dī, op. cit.*, p. 21, 155, i. from below; cf. above and art. *SHATT AL-'ARAB*. This *Tākh* fortified this important strategic point (see *Persian Gulf [Handbook etc.]*, p. 54; *Mes-*

potamitis [*Handbüchlein* etc.], p. 48, 63; al-Nahhānī, *loc. cit.*, li. 142—146).

It may be here mentioned that the Zindj, the African negro-slaves, settled in the southern 'Irāk (cf. 2193 and I, p. 676), during their rebellion in the second half of the ninth century, built several strong places west of the Shatt al-'Arab, which they used as bases during their struggle with the armies of the Caliph. Their main bulwark was the town of al-Mukhtār (Yāqūt, iv. 831, 2) on the Nahr Abi 'l-Khaṣṣ (see above), south of Basra. Other strongholds were called al-Munfa and al-Mangira. When al-Muwaffāq, the brother of the Caliph al-Mu'tamid, undertook command of the military operations against the Zindj, he pitched his camp opposite these places on the east bank of the Shatt al-'Arab; this camp soon grew into a considerable town, called al-Muwaffāqiyā with mosques, bazars and even a mint. But when in 883 the capture of al-Mukhtār broke the power of the rebels and the dangerous servile war was over, this new foundation of al-Muwaffāq seems to have been soon abandoned again. On al-Muwaffāqiyā and the three strongholds of the Zindj above mentioned cf. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalīf*, ii. 456, 462, 464; Lang, *Z. D. M. G.*, xl. 610; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendl.*, i. 585 ff.; Noldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen* (1892), p. 174—183; (= *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 146 ff.); de Goeje, *Mem. sur les Carmathes*, Leyden 1886, p. 103.

The population of Maisân in the early centuries of Islām still had a strong admixture of Persian blood; it was therefore regarded as not quite equal to the pure blooded Arabs who were proud of the purity of their stock. We thus see why the poet al-Akḥḥāl thinks he can most effectively insult Arabs by calling them people from the Maisân district of Asfahān (cf. the verse in Yāqūt, i. 233, 6) i. e., by denying them to be Arabs; cf. Goldziher, *Muhammed. Stud.*, i. (Halle 1889), p. 118 and cf. *idem*, p. 119, note 1, the quotation from the *Kitaḥ al-Aḥḥāl*, (xvii. 65, 23). This naturally produced a reaction among the Maisân Arabs. The celebrated poet and historian Saḥl b. Ḥarūn [q. v.] of Dast-i Maisân, a functional believer in the doctrine of the equality of all Muslims (*Saḥl-nāma*, q. v.) on the other hand, extols the blue blood of the people of Maisân (cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, i. 161).

The Muslim inhabitants of Maisân were in the middle ages as at the present day for the most part Shi'as. The number of Jews does not seem to have been considerable before the invasion of the Arabs. At the present day there is only a considerable community of them in Basra. The alleged tomb of Ezer in 'Uzair (cf. above), a much-visited place of pilgrimage also honoured by Christians and Muslims, is in Jewish hands.

Christianity is said, according to legend, to have reached Maisân in the first century A. D. A quite legendary person named Mān, said to be a disciple of Jesus, is regarded as the apostle of the Gospel in Central and Southern 'Irāk; cf. Raabe, *Geschichte des Dominus Mari*, Leipzig 1893 (Dissert.), p. 57—58 and Streck, *Babylonien*, ii. 286 ff. This much is certain that as early as 410 A. D. there was a separate Nestorian ecclesiastical province with 4 dioceses; cf. *Z. D. M. G.*, xliii. 304; Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 41 and Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 48—52.

The remarkable sect of the Mandaeans (the Sabi'a of the Kur'an, q. v.), now called Sabi'a, had from their early times their headquarters in southern 'Irāk, in Maisân, especially in the swamp country. On their geographical distribution in the sixth century cf. Chwolson, *Die Sabier und der Sabismus* (St. Petersburg 1850, i. 124—125) and Euting, in *Das Ausland* (1876), p. 224—225. According to enquiries which I made in 1927 of Mandaeans, the number of Mandaeans in the larger towns of the 'Irāk may be approximately estimated as follows: in 'Amīra and Hawra 1,000 each; in Kalāt Sūlī and Muḥammara 500 each, in Basra 300 and in Kurna 100. The language of the Mandaeans, who represent a remnant of the original native Aramaic population of Babylonia, is probably identical in the main with the Aramaic idiom which was once predominant in southern 'Irāk, the dialect of the old kingdom of Mesene-Charakene, the Meshān dialect as it is called in the Targum; cf. Noldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik* (Halle 1875), xxvi and Pognon, *Inschrift mandaïte des coupes de Khunabir* (Paris 1898—1899), p. 13—14, 224.

On the Indian people of the Djaī (Arab Zeit) and the Zindj from East Africa, who were settled on the soil of Maisân at the end of the first (seventh) or in the third (ninth) century, see above i., p. 676 and the articles 2193 and 2177.

As to the industries of the people of Maisân in the middle ages we need only mention the mats made here, which are praised as the best of their kind; cf. S. Frauke, *Die aram. Fremdwörter im Arabisch*, (Leyden 1886), p. 92. The reed-beds of the marishes supplied excellent material for them in enormous quantities. Even at the present day the manufacture of reed-mats continues to give employment to many hands; for the people of the flat lands in southern 'Irāk like to use long tun-shaped hats called *ṣarṣafa*, the walls of which are made of reed-matting.

The history of Maisân since the introduction of Islām practically coincides with that of the 'Irāk, especially that of the northern part (the province of Basra and the Baḥra); the reader may therefore be referred to the articles 'IRĀQ, BASRA and AL-BĀḤRA. Here we will only point out that the administrative district of the Tigris belonging to Maisân was conquered with Dast-i Maisân in the year 14 (635); on this conquest cf. Balādhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 340—346 and Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, iii. 252, 301—304 (§ 6 and 81—86); vi. 108 (Index s. v. Maisân).

Al-Maḥḥār, the capital of Maisân, was the scene of important military happenings at the time of the Arab invasion and frequently later also. In the year 12 (635) al-Ḥakīm and al-Muthannā fought a great battle with the Persians at this town, the first in their invasion of the 'Irāk. This battle is sometimes called after an adjacent canal, called al-Jihī (Yāqūt, i. 937, 17). The defeated Persians are said to have lost 30,000 men in this encounter; cf. Balādhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 242, 5; Tabari, *op. cit.*, v. 2026—2029; al-Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, iv. 209; Müller, *Der Islam*, i. 228; Caetani, *op. cit.*, ii. 959—962 (§ 195—200). In the fighting with the Khiridjīs for whom the district of Dīkha in Dast-i Maisân frequently served as a hidingplace, there was a desperate battle in 47 (664) in and around the town of al-Maḥḥār. These rebels were forced to retreat by the Kūfāns under the leadership of Ma'kil b. Kais; cf. Wellhausen, *Abh.*

G. W. Gott, N. S., v. N^o 2 (1901), p. 22—23. In the campaigns against the 'Alids, Muṣ'ab b. Zuhair at al-Madhar in 67 (686) inflicted a serious reverse on the army sent by Mukhtar under the command of Ahmad al-Nakhli, which had very grave results for the Shi'a cause championed by Mukhtar; cf. Vākūf, *op. cit.*, iv. 468; Weil, *op. cit.*, p. 83 and above i., p. 676. Several centuries later, there was again fighting at al-Madhar, on this occasion with varying results. This was during the struggle between Abū Kalidjar and Djalāl al-Dawla in 421 (1030) in connection with the disputed succession among the Būyids; see above i., p. 94^b.

Bibliography: (in addition to the references in the text): B. G. A. (passim); Ibn Scapion, ed. G. Le Strange (*J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 1 19, 255 19); Vākūf, *Muṣ'ab* (ed. Wüstenfeld), register; Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldan* (ed. de Goeje), register, p. 533, 573 (s. v. Madhar, Maisan); Tubari, *Ta'rikh* (ed. de Goeje), indices s. v. Dast-i Maisan, Maisan, Madhar; *Kutub al-Aghani*, index; Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographien*, i. and ii., Leyden 1900—1901 (passim); G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 26—30, 40—49, 80; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, indices: ii. 1381; vi. 108, 116; 'Abd al-Razzak al-Hasani, *Rikla fi 'l-'Iraq*, Baghdad 1925; Hashim al-Sa'idi, *Djughrafiyat al-'Iraq (al-baditha)*, Baghdad 1927. — Viv. de St. Martin, *Recherch. sur l'Hist. et la Géogr. de la Mésopotamie et de la Chazarie*, Paris 1838; Ritter, *Erdbunde von Asien*, x. 55, 121, 150, 181; xi. (passim); Reinoud, *Mém. sur le commencement et la fin du royaume de la Mésopotamie et de la Chazarie*, in *J. A.*, 1861, vol. xviii. 161—262 (also separately); E. Drouin, *Notice historique et géographique sur la Chazarie*, Paris 1890 (reprinted in *Muséon*, ix. 148 19); Andrews, the articles Agnis, Alexandreis (N^o 13), Ampe, Auge (N^o 2), Aple in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. der class. Altertumswiss.*, vol. i. 810—816, 1390—1396, 1877—1880, 2185—2188, 2810—2812; Weissbach, the articles Auge, Charakene, Charax Spasinu (or Hypaspasines and Isidor of Charax), Euphrates, *ibid.*, ii. 2299; iii. 2116—2119, 2122; vi. 1200 19, ix. 540, 2067—2068; Marquart, *Eruntakr* (Abh. G. W. Gott, N. F., vol. iii., N^o 2, 1901), p. 40—42; Herfeld, in *Mém. de*, i. (Leipzig 1907), p. 135—140; Sachau, *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1919, N^o 1, p. 48—52; G. E. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia*, London 1922, p. cxciv—ccxiv. 289—313; E. Herfeld, *ibid.*, xi. 149—151 (Sassanian foundations in Maisan); H. Schaeder, *ibid.*, xiv. 11—41; Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud*, Paris 1868, p. 325, 382; H. Götze, *Das Königreich Mesene und seine jüdische Bevölkerung*, Breslau 1879; A. Berliner, *Beiträge zur Geographie und Ethnogr. Babyloniens im Talmud und Midrasch*, Berlin 1885, p. 17, 43—44, Lévy, *Chaldäisch. Wörterbuch*, ii. 574^b (Suppl. to ii. 304); S. Fraenkel, *Die aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, Leyden 1886, p. 92, 217—218; S. Funk, *Etzel und Bibel* (= *Monumenta Talmudica*, i., Leipzig 1913), p. 340 (register); J. R. Ghanima, *Nuḥat al-Muḥtaṣṣ fi Ta'rikh al-'Iraq*, Baghdad 1924; D. S. Sassoon, *The History of the Jews in Bagdad*, in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, xvii., London 1927, p. 407—469.

(M. STRECK)

MAISARA, a Berber chief of the Maghrib, who rebelled against Arab authority in 122 (739/40). He belonged to the tribe of the Maghira and the historians give him the surname of al-Hakir "the low-born" because he was of humble origin and before his rebellion had been a water-seller in the market of al-Kairuwan.

After the recall of Muṣ'ab b. Nuṣair at the end of the first century A. H., rebellion began to smoulder in North Africa. Umar b. Abd Allah al-Muradi, governor of Tangier, and a grandson of 'Uqba b. Nafi', Habib b. Abi Ubaida, governor of Sūs, were inflicting grievous wrongs on the Berbers by treating them, as regards taxation, as a conquered people not converted to Islam, and by taking the fairest of their women to send as slaves to Damascus. The general Habib having been sent from Sūs with his troops to the conquest of Sicily, his departure was the signal for insurrection. A movement on a large scale broke out: at its head the Berbers put Maisara al-Maghiri. With the related tribes of the Miknasa and Barghawata [q. v.] Maisara advanced on Tangier and seized it. The Arabs tried in vain to withstand him; the governor of Spain, 'Uqba b. al-Harithi, even crossed the Strait to help Tangier but his efforts were in vain. It was not long before Maisara was dismissed and killed by his own followers but his successor Khalid b. Hamid al-Zanati was more fortunate: at the beginning of 125 (740) he inflicted on the Arabs on the banks of the Wadi Shalif (Chelif) the disastrous defeat known as the "battle of the nobles" (*ghazwat al-akhrif*). It required a great expeditionary force to be organised in the east in order to overcome finally this general rebellion, which was not done without considerable losses.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kutaybi, *Ta'rikh Iftitah al-Andalus*, Madrid 1926, p. 14—15 of the text, 10—11 of the transl.; Ibn Idhari, *al-Bayān al-mughribi*, ed. Dozy, i. 39—40, transl. Faguan, i. 50—53; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, v. 142 = *Annales du Maghrib et de l'Espagne*, p. 63—65; al-Nawaiti, *Histoire d'Afrique*, ed. Gaspar Remiro, p. 34—35; Ibn Khaldun, *Ibar*, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. and transl. by de Slane, text, i. 137 and 151, transl. i. 216—217, 237—238; Fournel, *Les Berbères*, Paris 1875, i. 286—289; R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, i. 241—243.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MAISIR, casting lots by arrows, a method by which a head of cattle was divided. This was the custom of the Arabs before Islam. The word seems almost to mean lucky chance, easy success, from *yasira*, to be easy, *yasara*, to succeed; cf. *maisara*, comfort, riches. A group of ten Arabs used to buy a young camel, which was cut into ten portions and the *yasir* presiding distributed the portions among his companions by means of arrows on which he had written their names and which he drew at random out of a bag. In another system 25 portions were made of the animal: there was one part for the first arrow, 2 for the second and 3 for the third and so on up to 7; the three last got nothing. These arrows were deposited with the guardians of the temple in Mecca.

The game was considered a pagan practice and the Kur'an (ii. 216 and v. 92) forbade it along with wine and idols as a major sin.

The word *maisir* has acquired a wider sense among the commentators and in certain traditions.

Zamakbahrî gives it the same sense as *himâr* [q. v.]. According to a tradition of the Prophet, *maisir* is applied also to dice: "these accursed dice are the *maisir* of Parâia (*maisir al-'ajam*)"; according to a tradition attributed to 'Alî it is also to be extended to backgammon and chess (presumably in so far as dice were used in these games) and according to Ibn Sirîn to every practice in which there is an element of chance.

Cf. the Dictionaries, the *Ġawâz*, *Ġawhar*, *Zamakbahrî*, *Kashshaf*, ed. Nassim Lant, i. 380; *al-Ya'qûbî*, ed. Houtama, i. 300 sq.; Huber, *Über das Maisir gemünzt Spiel*; Freytag, *Einleitung*, p. 170 sq.

MAISUN, daughter of the Kalbi chief Bahdal b. Unâil [q. v.], mother of the Caliph Yazîd I. We do not know if after her marriage with Mu'âwiya she retained the Christian religion which had been that of her family and of her tribe. A few verses are attributed to her in which she sighs for the desert and shows very slight attachment for her husband, but the attribution to Maisûn of this fragment of poetry, which is in any case old, has been rightly disputed. She took a great interest in the education of her son Yazîd and accompanied him to the desert of Kalb where the prince passed a part of his youth; this temporary separation from her husband gave rise to the legend of her repudiation by Mu'âwiya. She must have died before Yazîd became Caliph.

Bibliography: This is given in Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omeyyade Mu'âwîya I* (*M. F. O. B.*, III), p. 286-287, 305, 312-314.

(H. LAMMENS)

MAISÜR (MYXOR) (Skt. *mahish-Candûra* "buffalo town"), the premier Hindu State in India, is a principality in Southern India under the British protection, having an area of 29,453 square miles, between 11° 36' and 15° 2' N. and 74° 38' and 78° 36' E. Its Hindu rulers preserved their independence until the middle of the 17th century when Haidar 'Alî [q. v.] took possession of the country. It remained in his and his successor, Tipu Sultan's [q. v.], possession until the capture of Seringapatam by the British in 1814 (1799). Maisûr was then restored by Lord Wellesley to the old Hindu dynasty. The majority of the Mussulmans are Sunnis, very few being Shî'as. Of Muhammadan buildings the most noteworthy are the Gumbaz or Mausoleum of Haidar 'Alî and Tipu at Gandhin, and the Daryâ Dawlat, a summer palace at Seringapatam. The population at the census of 1911 was 5,806,193, of whom 314,494 are Mussulmans, mostly Sunnis. The capital of the principality bears the same name, Maisûr. The languages spoken are Canarese, Hindustani, Tamil and Telugu.

Bibliography: *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Mysore and Coorg, Calcutta 1908; *Census of India*, 1911, vol. xxi, Bangalore 1912.

(M. HIDAYET HORAIN)

MAITA (A.), feminine of *maul*, dead (used of senseless things); as a substantive it means an animal that has died in any way other than by slaughter. In later terminology the word means firstly an animal that has not been slain in the ritually prescribed fashion, the flesh of which therefore cannot be eaten, and secondly all parts of animals whose flesh cannot be eaten, whether because not properly slaughtered or as a result of a general prohibition against eating them.

In addition to Sûra XXVI. 33 where *maisir* appears as an adjective, the word occurs in the following passages in the Qur'ân in the first of these meanings: xvi. 116: "He has forbidden you *maisir* blood, pork and that over which another than Allâh has been invoked; if however anyone is forced (to eat these) without wishing to transgress or sin, Allâh is merciful and indulgent" (of the third Meccan period, since vi. 119 may refer to this contest and the appearance of the same exception for cases of coercion in vi. 146 [cf. below] is then only easily explained in view of the whole trend of the passage, if there were an earlier passage, namely xvi. 116, in which it was given full justification; cf. Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur'ân*, i. 146 sq.; Grimme, *Mohammed*, ii. 26 transfers the whole Sûra to the later Meccan period); vi. 140, 146: "They have said: 'What is in the womb of this cattle belongs to the males, and is forbidden to our females'; but if it is *maisir* (still born), all have a share in it... Say: I find in what is revealed to me nothing forbidden, which must not be eaten, except it be *maisir* or congealed blood or pork — for this is filth — or a slaughter at which another than Allâh is invoked, but if anyone is forced (to eat it) without wishing to commit a transgression or sin, thy heart is merciful and indulgent" (of the third Meccan period; cf. Noldeke-Schwally, i. 161; Grimme, ii. 26); ii. 168: "He has forbidden you *maisir*, blood, pork and that at which another than Allâh is invoked but if anyone is forced (to eat it) without wishing to commit a sin or transgression, it is not reckoned as a sin against him; Allâh is merciful and indulgent" (of the year 2 of the Hijra, before the battle of Badr; cf. Noldeke-Schwally, i. 178; Grimme, ii. 27); v. 4, 5: "Forbidden to you is *maisir*, blood, pork, that at which another than Allâh is invoked, and that which has been strangled, killed by a blow or a fall, or by the horns (of another beast), that which has been eaten by wild beasts — with the exception of what is made pure — and that which hath been sacrificed to idols... But if anyone in (his) hunger is forced to eat of them without wishing to commit a sin, Allâh is merciful and indulgent" (in all probability revealed after the valedictory pilgrimage of the year 10; cf. Noldeke-Schwally, i. 227 sq.; Grimme, ii. 28 dates the Sûra to the year 7).

It is quite evident from Sûra, vi. 140 that the *maisir* was of some significance for the Meccans in the many laws about food with which Arab paganism was acquainted (cf. Wellhausen, *Reise arabischen Heidentums*, 2nd ed., p. 168 sq.). Although it is no longer possible to define exactly the part it played (even the statements recorded by Tabari from the earliest interpreters of this passage, which moreover only refers to a detail, reveal the complete disappearance of any reliable tradition), it may be assumed without misgiving that the Qur'anic prohibition contained a corresponding pre-Islamic prohibition, although it perhaps modified it. Both go back to the religious reluctance to consume the blood of animals, and indeed in all the Qur'anic passages quoted, blood is mentioned alongside of *maisir*. It is unnecessary to assume that Muhammad was influenced by Judaism on this point and the suggestion may be rejected especially as the prohibition in its stereotyped form occurs again in Sûra ii. 168 just at the time of vigorous reaction against Judaism and Sûra vi. 147 (Madness, a

late insertion) which contrasts the prohibition of *maita* etc. with the Jewish laws relating to food. What Muhammad understood by *maita*, he tells us himself in the latest passage dealing with it, v. 4: in the second half of the verse the principal kinds of *maita* are given (with the exception of the animal that dies of disease), which had already been mentioned in general terms; the commentators were thus able to interpret the single cases given as examples wrongly as different from the *maita* proper. The purification (in the *Kur'an* only mentioned in this passage) must mean ritual slaughter, by which, even if done at the last moment, the animal does not become *maita* but can be eaten.

These prescriptions of the *Kur'an* are further developed in the Traditions. According to the latter it is forbidden to trade in *maita* or more accurately its edible parts; some traditions (mainly on the authority of Ahmad b. Hanbal) even forbid any use being made of all that comes from *maita*; others again expressly permit the use of hides of *maita*. An exception from the prohibition of *maita* is made in the cases of fish and locusts; these are in general considered as the two kinds of *maita* that are permitted, i.e. no ritual slaughter is demanded in their case (because they have no "blood", cf. above). While some traditions, extending this permission by the earliest *fiqh*, say that all creatures of the sea, not only fishes, can be eaten without ritual slaughter, including even sea-fowl (in this case it is said that "the sea has performed the ritual slaughter"), others limit the permission to those animals and fishes which the sea casts up on the land or the tide leaves behind in contrast to those which swim about on the water. But there is also quoted a saying of Abū Bakr expressly declaring what swims on the surface to be permitted. In this connection we have the story of a monster cast up by the sea (sometimes described as a fish) which fed a Muslim army under the leadership of Abū 'Ubayda when they were in dire straits; but in this tradition and in the interpretation that has been given it (that they only ate of it out of hunger i.e. took advantage of the *Kur'anic* permission for cases of need) is clearly reflected the uncertainty that prevailed about such questions as were on the border line. In the Traditions, we find it first laid down that portions cut out of living animals are also considered *maita*. The way is at least paved for the declaration that all forbidden animal-dishes are *maita*. The regulations found in the *Kur'an* appear again here, e.g. the permission to eat *maita* in case of need and slay properly dying animals at the moment to prevent them becoming *maita*.

Some traditions handed down through Hammād from Ibrahim al-Nakha'i bring us to a somewhat late period (in the *Kitāb al-Athār*): one says that of the creatures of the sea only fishes can be eaten; another, which is found in two versions, limits the permission to what is thrown up by the sea or left behind by the tide; ritual slaughter is not demanded in this case. The question whether the embryo of a slaughtered dam requires a special purification i.e. ritual slaughter, is raised in one tradition and decided in the affirmative.

The most important regulations of Muslim law about *maita*, which express the last stage of development are as follows: It is unanimously

agreed that *maita* in the legal sense is impure and "forbidden" (*ḥarām*) i.e. cannot be eaten and also that fish are exceptions to this; the Mālikis and Hanbalis also except the majority of creatures of the sea, and according to the more correct Shāfi' view, this applies to all marine creatures (the Hanbalis here hold the opinion of Ibrahim al-Nakha'i, except that the two ideas of "thrown up" and "swimming on the surface" are later overlaid and destroyed by the to some extent synonymous "slain by another cause", "died of itself"). The edible parts of *maita* are also *maita*, as are the bones, hair etc. among the Shāfi'is, but not the Hanafis, and among the Mālikis only the bones; the hide when tanned, is considered pure and may be used. Emergency slaughter (*ḍabḥ* or *ṭahḥiyya*; ritual slaughter in general is *ḍabḥ* or *naḥr*) is according to the Hanafis and the better known view of the Shāfi'is (also according to al-Zuhri) permitted, even if the animal will certainly die, provided it still shows signs of life at the moment of slaughter. According to the view predominant among the Mālikis, such slaughter is not valid and the animal becomes *maita* (in contrast to Mālik's own view). The question of the embryo (cf. above) is answered in the affirmative by the Hanafis, following Ibrahim al-Nakha'i and Abū Hanifa (al-Shāhān himself held the Mālikī view, to be mentioned immediately) but in the negative by the Mālikis and Shāfi'is (in this case it is said that "the ritual slaughter of the dam is also the ritual slaughter of the embryo") except that the Mālikis made it a condition that the embryo should be fully developed (Mālik himself also demanded its slaughter "to draw the blood from it" in the case where the embryo had been dropped). That anyone who is forced to eat *maita* may do so, is the unanimous opinion; only on the questions whether one is bound to eat *maita* to save his life, whether he should satisfy his hunger completely, or only eat the minimum to keep life alive etc., there is a difference of opinion. The Shāfi'is and Hanbalis further demand that one should not have been brought to these straits through illegal action (a different interpretation of the *Kur'anic* regulations).

A clear definition of *maita* and its distinction from other kinds of forbidden animal foods was never reached. Sometimes it is separated on the authority of the *Kur'anic* passage itself from its own 4 subdivisions given in Sūra v. Sometimes its validity is extended over extensive allied fields. As is evident from the *Fiqh* books, this terminological uncertainty has not infrequently caused still further confusion in the discussion of differences of opinion.

Bibliography: Lane, *Ar.-Engl. Lexicon*, s.v.; the books of *Ḥadīth* and *Fiqh*; Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s.v.; Juyabali, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Muhammadanische Wet*, p. 169 sq. (J. Schacht).

MAIYAFARIKIN, a town in the north-east of Diyarbakr [q.v.]. The other Muhammadan forms of the name are Mafarkin, Mafāskīn, Fārkin (whence the name of origin al-Fārīkī) etc. The town is called in Greek Martyropolis, in Syriac Mipherkēš, in Armenian Nphrkert (later Mubarkin, Mphargin). According to Yāqūt, iv. 702, the old name of the town was Madīr-ḡala (read *ḡala* < *mater-*ḡala* in Armenian, "town of the martyrs"). On the identification of Tigranocerta with Maiyafarikin see below.

Geography. The town lies to the south of the little range of the Harō which rises like the first tier of the amphitheatre of the mountains, the higher parts of which consist of the summits (Derkōsh, Antok) rising to the south of Mush and separating the course of the eastern Euphrates (Murād-zai) from those of the Tigris and its left bank tributaries.

Mayyāfārikīn lies 25 miles north of the Tigris and 12 west of the Batmān-yū. It is watered by a little river (now called the Fārkin-yū) which flows into the Batmān-yū 12 miles to the south-east, an important left bank tributary of the Tigris which drains the wild and mountainous country south of Mush (the cantons of Kulp and Sāsūn). The old names of the Batmān-yū are Nicephorius (Roman period), Nymphios (Byzantine period), Syriac Kallath, Arabic Sātidamā (a word of Aramaic origin transcribed Shithithuma in Armenian and explained as "drinker of blood"; Armen. Geogr. of the seventh century, Marquart, *Eränfahrt*, p. 161), Armenian Khalirt and perhaps Mamushet (Faustus of Byzantium). Some of these identifications, as we shall see, are still uncertain.

Mayyāfārikīn is the meeting-place of a number of roads from the north following the different streams which go to form the Batmān-yū: 1. Çabakhdjār (on the Murād-zai)-Dhu l-Karnain-Ladje-Boshāt-Mayyāfārikīn; 2. Mugh-Kulp-Pāst-Mayyāfārikīn; 3. Mugh-Khoit-Tingirt (= Sāsūn)-Mayyāfārikīn. Routes 3 and 4 passing Sāsūn are still little known. The distance between Diyārbakr and Mayyāfārikīn is about 45 miles. The old road Diyārbakr-Bitlis, which used to run through Mayyāfārikīn, now runs farther south and crosses the Batmān-yū south of Almadin (Diyārbakr-Simān-Zok-Weisjāran-Bitlis).

Mayyāfārikīn has thus lost the advantage of being a stage on the road between Armenia and upper Mesopotamia. Since 1260 it has no longer been a political centre around which gravitated the interests of this country around. It retains only its importance as a market for the produce of the mountainous and pastoral country drained by the Batmān-yū.

Ancient History. The mountains to the north of Mayyāfārikīn have long sheltered the remnants of ancient aboriginal peoples. About 600 A.D., Georgios Cyprus (ed. Gelzer, p. 48), mentions the Khothaitai and Sanasounitai there who gave their names to the districts of Khoit and Sāsūn. Marquart (1916) supposes there are elements of the aboriginal language in names like *Māphēr-kēt and *Ma-mush-ēl(i) which are, he says, formed with Caucasian ("ād-kaukasisch") prefixes. According to tradition (Yāqūt, iv. 703), the founder of Martyropolis, Marthā b. Laylā, was the son of a woman of the mountains, and Marquart sees in Laylā a mutilated form of the name of the people Urtā(n) < Urtā (Händes Antiochia, 1915, p. 96; 1916, p. 126). The Marwāld Abū Naṣr was married to the daughter of Sanjharib, lord of the Sanjunn, cf. Amelroos, in *J.E.A.S.*, 1903. Lehmann-Haupt thinks he can recognise at Mayyāfārikīn traces of an ancient Assyrian settlement, "eine von Hans aus assyrische Anlage" (*Armenien*, I, 396, 398).

Tigranocerta = Mayyāfārikīn (?). As early as 1838 von Moltke had suggested that Mayyāfārikīn was the ancient Tigranocerta i.e. the new capital founded by Tigranes II about 80 B.C., which was

taken by Lucullus after the victory won on the banks of the Nicephorius (Oct. 6, 69 B.C.) and again in the reign of Nero by the legate Corbulo (c. 63 A.D.); it is regularly mentioned down to the middle of the fourth century A.D. Other scholars had sought Tigranocerta at Si'rt (d'Anville), Arran (H. Kiepert, 1873), near Keft-Djāz (Kiepert 1875), at Tell-Armen west of Nisibin (E. Sachau; cf. DUNABIA) etc. Late Armenian tradition gives the name Tigranocerta to Diyārbakr. Moltke's idea was taken up vigorously by Lehmann-Haupt and W. Belck, after their expedition to Armenia in 1898-99.

On the north wall of Mayyāfārikīn is a mutilated Greek inscription. It was deciphered and published by Lehmann-Haupt, who attributes it to the Armenian King Pap (369-374), which is quite in keeping with the known facts of the reign of this monarch. In spite of his criticism of the details of Lehmann-Haupt's hypothesis, Marquart (1916) has rather corroborated him by bringing forward new considerations.

In view of the many contradictions found in the classical sources regarding Tigranocerta the question comes to be, if Mayyāfārikīn is not Tigranocerta, what other unknown town existed here in the time of Pap, unless the stones on which the inscription is engraved and which are now hopelessly disarranged ("in heillosen Verwirrung") were brought from another place when Martyropolis was being built?

The main objection to the identification of Tigranocerta with Mayyāfārikīn is that, according to Eutropius, vi. 9, 1 and Faustus, v. 24, Tigranocerta was in Arranene (Atanikh); on the other hand the river Mamushet seems to have formed in the fourth century the western frontier of this latter province. From this fact (Hübischmann, *Die altarmen. Ortsnamen, Indogerm. Forsch.*, 1904, p. 473-475), it seems that Tigranocerta ought to be placed east of the Batmān-yū if this river is identical with the Mamushet. This last name was connected by Marquart with the name al-Musiliyāt, which Muḥaddas, p. 144, gives to one of the tributaries of the Tigris (on the left bank) and apparently corresponding to the Batmān-yū. [A district of Musiliya (?) still exists farther east on the upper course of the Bidlis-zai, in the area of the ancient possessions of the Baṭrīk Mushalik; cf. Kisrawī, in Yāqūt, ii. 551-552].

To reconcile the statements of Faustus, iv. 24 and 27, with the position of Mayyāfārikīn (12 miles W. of the Batmān-yū), Marquart proposes to identify the Mamushet = Nicephorius with the Fārkin-yū while the Musiliyāt would be applied to the whole system of the Batmān-yū (Nymphios, Sātidamā etc.). The insignificance of the Fārkin-yū, which rises in the hills about 3 miles north of Mayyāfārikīn (Ibn al-Aṣṣak calls its source Ra's al-'Ain; the *Ḍihān-namā*, p. 437: 'Ain al-Hawd) and does not suit the description of the hermitage of Mambri, which, according to Faustus, must have been on the right bank, makes Marquart's hypothesis less attractive. If finally we consider the position of Mayyāfārikīn from the point of view of the interests of Tigranes, one is forced to admit that against an enemy coming from the west (Lucullus!) Tigranocerta = Mayyāfārikīn was devoid of natural defences, while in the event of an enemy coming from the east it ran the risk of being easily cut off from Armenia on the main road from Bitlis (the ancient *Κλεινὴ Βαλακίσιον*, cf. Tomaschek,

Sassen, *Sitzungsber. A. W. Wien*, Vienna 1895, p. 8). On the other hand Maiyāfārikīn from its position later played an important part in the defensive system of the Byzantine empire.

In these circumstances and before a more detailed study has been made on the spot, it is a mistake to think that all the difficulties in the identification of Tigranocerta have been cleared up.

Maiyāfārikīn = Martyropolis. The identity of these two towns is quite certain. The Christian sources (Syriac, Armenian and Greek) referring to the foundation of Martyropolis are numerous. A Syriac "history" (*taḥṣīṭhā*) kept in the Jacobite church of Maiyāfārikīn was translated for the historian of the town, Ibn al-Azrak, and is given in a synopsis in Yāqūt, iv. 703—707 and Ḳaswini, ii. 379—380 (transl. with notes in Marquart, *Handes Amorya*, 1916, p. 125—135).

The town is said to have been founded on the site of a "large village" (*ḥarya 'asima*) by the bishop Marūthā (Mār Marūthā) who had obtained the authority of Vezdegird I of Persia to do so. This ecclesiastic flourished between c. 383 and 420 (on the sources for his biography cf. Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 91—92, 125). The town of Martyropolis to which Marūthā brought the remains of the Christian martyrs of Persia is mentioned for the first time in 410. The etymology of the Syriac name Mipherkē is uncertain (cf. above). In Armenian the town is mentioned for the first time in the Geography of the viiith century as Nphkert (once Nphret).

By the peace of 297 with Diocletian, the province of Sophanene, within which Martyropolis lay, had become part of the Roman empire. Even after the disastrous peace made by Jovian (363) Sophanene remained to the Emperor. Under Theodosius II (401—450), the new town, situated quite near the frontier, acquired considerable importance and became the capital of Sophanene (= Great Tsofkhk). The town was still insufficiently fortified and in 502 the Sāsānian Kawādī b. Pērōz seized it and carried the inhabitants off to Khuzistan where he founded for them the town of Abaz-Ḳobādī (Yāqūt, iv. 707) (Web-Amīdīh-Kawādī = Arrāḍīn; cf. Marquart, *Eränlahr*, p. 41, 307). Anastasius began the fortification of Martyropolis but Justinian, after his accession (527), was the first to reorganize completely the eastern frontier between Dērā and Trebizond. Martyropolis, the headquarters of a commander under the strategos of Theodosiopolis (Erzerüm), became one of the most important military centres. Procopius, *De aedificiis*, iii., gives a complete description of the walls of the town, the height and thickness of which were doubled and a full account of the system of defences (outer walls, advanced forts etc.); cf. Adontz, *op. cit.*, p. 10—12, 140—142. In 589 the town fell into the hands of the Sāsānians but in 591 came back to the Byzantines in return for the support given by the Emperor Maurice to Ḳhusraw II. Heraclius held it till the year 18 = 639 (Yāqūt, *l.c.*). [The date is not given in Muralt, *Chronogr. byz.*, i].

The vicissitudes of Martyropolis probably explain the fact that in the Armenian Geography of the seventh century (ed. Patkanow, transl., p. 45; Marquart, *Eränlahr*, p. 18 and 161) the Persian province of Atšinikh (Arranene) is separated from Tsofkhk (Sophanene) by the line of the Khatir (= Batmān-qu) while in the description of parts

of Armenia Nphret (= Nphkert) figures as one of the 10 cantons of Arranene.

Christian legend as preserved by Ibn Azrak and Yāqūt gives very full details of the building of the town in the time of Mār Marūthā: the arches (*ḡān*) of the walls in which the remains of the martyrs were placed, the eight gates of the town, the names of which are carefully recorded, the convent of SS. Peter and Paul, the buildings erected by the three ministers of the Byzantine emperor, each of whom built a tower and a church. There is still to be seen in Maiyāfārikīn the ruins of a magnificent basilica and of the Church of the Virgin (al-'Adhrā). Miss Gertrude L. Bell, who has studied these monuments, dates the basilica "not much later than the beginning of the fifth century", and suggests that the Church of the Virgin was one of the two built by Ḳhusraw II in recognition of the assistance lent by Maurice; cf. Abu 'l-Faraj, *Muḥṭaṭar*, ed. Pocock, p. 98.

Under Islām. In 19 (640) in the reign of the caliph 'Umar, Maiyāfārikīn was taken by 'Iyād b. Ḡhann without a blow being struck (Balāḡharī, p. 175—6) and henceforth shared the lot of Diyarbakr.

The intermediate character of the position occupied by Maiyāfārikīn puzzled Arab geographers. Ibn Rusta, p. 106, puts the town in Ijastra while the others (Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 246) regard it as belonging to Armenia. According to these authors, Maiyāfārikīn was a little fortified town having an unhealthy climate on account of the stagnant water but not without its amenities (Iṣḥākhrī, p. 76; Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 131, 151, 153; Muḡaddasi, p. 54). The region (*ḡiyā' wa-ḥula'*) of Maiyāfārikīn and Arran in the time of Ibn Ḥawḳal was however entirely depopulated.

The Ḥamdānids and the Būyids. Maiyāfārikīn formed part of the territory of the Ḥamdānids [q. v.] (317—394). They built a castle (*ḡasr*) there near the gate Bāb al-Farāḡ wa 'l-Ḡhann (Yāqūt); its ruins are apparently mentioned by Ewliya (1655), iv. 71—4 under the name *Saif al-Dawla Sarāy*. The Bāb al-Maldān gate also dates from Saif al-Dawla (333—356). This prince was buried at Maiyāfārikīn; cf. *Qitāb-namā*, p. 437. In 352, Nadjā, a client of the Ḥamdānids, rebelled in Maiyāfārikīn. In 362 (July 4, 973) Hibat Allāh b. Nāḡir al-Dawla defeated the Byzantines in the vicinity of the town.

In 367 (978) the Būyid 'Aḡud al-Dawla dispossessed the Ḥamdānids who had supported his cousin Bakhtiyār and in 368 Abu 'l-Walī, a general of 'Aḡud al-Dawla, took Maiyāfārikīn (Ibn Miskawayh, ed. Amedroz, ii. 199, 266, 312, 324).

The Marwānid dynasty. After the death of 'Aḡud al-Dawla (374), Maiyāfārikīn and the rest of Diyarbakr fell into the power of the Kurd Bādīh [cf. KURDS and MARWĀNIDS] who had the Dailami garrison of Maiyāfārikīn massacred and was able to defend what he held against the Būyid Šamsām al-Dawla and the sons of Nāḡir al-Dawla, who had meanwhile returned to Mawṣil. After the death of Bādīh, his nephew, Abū 'Alī Ḥasan b. Marwān, established himself in Maiyāfārikīn and for a century this town remained the capital of the Marwānid dynasty (380—479 and again in 486). In 384 the governor Mammā, appointed by Abū 'Alī, succeeded in checking the turbulence of the inhabitants who had been incited by Ḥamdānid intrigues. There is an inscription of Mumahhid

al-Dawla dated 391 (1000) on the wall of the town. In 392 an 'Alid pretender again stirred up trouble in Mayyafarikin. In 401 after the assassination of Muzahhid al-Dawla, his murderer Sharwa, son of Mammū, with the help of his Georgian guards seized Mayyafarikin but Sa'id Abū Naṣr came from Arzan and began his long and brilliant reign (401—453).

A fine castle decorated with gilding was built in 403 on the little hill on which stood the convent and the Church of the Virgin. This Christian sanctuary (the connection of which with the al-'Adhri church is not quite clear, cf. above) was transferred to the Melkite church. Later were built a hospital, a mosque with a clock (*ḥanḥān* < Pers. *ḥinḍā*) and bath. Water was led to all the town from the spring of Ra's al-'Ain. A palace was built on the banks of the Sittidami (Bajman-qa) and this water was raised to it from the river by a noria. A bridge spanned the river Haww (Harrū?). A waqf bequeathed by Shaiḥ Abū Naṣr al-Manāni endowed the mosque(?) of Mayyafarikin with a library. A fort was built to protect the town against the Sāsānī (people of al-Sāsān).

This list from Ibn al-Azraq is supplemented by the statements of Naṣir-i Khusrāw, who visited the town under Abū Naṣr on the 6th Djumādī I 438. The Persian traveller speaks of its walls, built of huge blocks of white stone (Ibn Miskawayh, II, 384: "strong walls of black stone"; Lehmann-Haupt: "gelblichweisser Kalkstein"), the western gate all of iron, the Friday mosque, the water-channels passing before each house (one uncovered with drinking water and the other covered serving as a sewer). Outside the town were the caravanserais, the hot baths, and a second Friday mosque. To the north of the town was the suburb of Muḥadatha, also with a Friday mosque and baths. At a distance of 4 farsakhs from the town (on the bank of the Sittidami?) was a new little town called Naṣriya built by the emir then reigning.

After the death of Abū Naṣr, who was buried in the town, the Saldjūqs began to interfere in the affairs of Mayyafarikin. In 458 Sallās Khorrāsāni sent by Taghribī arrived before the town with 5,000 horsemen. In 463 it was visited by the celebrated Niṣṣan al-Mulk. In 478 by orders of Malik Shāh the former vizier of the Marwānids, Ibn Djaḥir, besieged the capital of his masters, which surrendered in Djumādī I 478. The treasures of the Marwānids valued at 1,000,000 dinārs were carried off by Ibn Djaḥir. In 482, 'Amīd al-Dawla, son of Ibn Djaḥir, was appointed governor of Mayyafarikin. After the death of Malik Shāh (485), the Marwānid Naṣir al-Dawla succeeded in re-entering Mayyafarikin but the Saldjūk Tutuḡ of Syria took the town in Rabi' I 486; cf. Ibn Azraq in Amedroz, *J. E. A. S.*, 1903. In 532 (Ibn al-Aḥbar, XI, 43) the last representatives of the Marwānid family disappeared from the neighbourhood of Mayyafarikin.

The Ortuqid and Aiyūbids. In 575 (1121) the Saldjūk Salṭan Maḥmūd added to the possessions of Il-Ghāzi, founder of the line of Ortuqids of Mardin, the fief of Mayyafarikin, to which Il-Ghāzi appointed his son Saḥmūd (516—518); cf. Abu'l Faraj, ed. Pocock, p. 249 and Kātib Ferdī, *Mardin Maḥabāt-i Ortuqīya (Arḍiyyat) Ta'rikhi* (written in 944=1537), ed. 'Alī Enṣrī Eṣṣadi (Constantinople 1331, p. 20). Six successive Ortuqids ruled Mayyafarikin till 580 (1184). In 587 (1191) the last

Ortuqid Yuluḡ Arḍān again seized the town and held it for a time.

In 581 the Aiyūbids had become masters of Mayyafarikin and held it till 658 (1260). Salāḥ al-Dīn built a mosque there for which the columns of the Byzantine basilica were used (Gertrude L. Bell, *op. cit.*, Pl. xi.). Mayyafarikin had a mint under the Aṭabegs: the coins which they struck (dated 591, 599, 600, 612, 618) bear curious human figures which are portraits or symbolical personages (Ḥalīb Edhem, *Catalogue des monnaies turques* etc., Constantinople 1894, p. 149—67; S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol. IV, p. 255; see vol. III, p. 24 for a Marwānid coin of this mint). On the walls of the town are inscriptions of the following Aiyūbids: Aḥmad Naḍīm al-Dīn Aiyūb (of 600 A.H.), Malik Ashraf Mūsā (607—617), Malik Muḥaffar Ghāzi (623), Malik Kāmil Maḥmūd (654). A complete list of rulers at Mayyafarikin from 515 to 658 prepared by van Berchem is given in the appendix to Lehmann-Haupt, *Materiales*, p. 134.

The Mongols. In 639 (1241) the Aiyūbid Shihāb al-Dīn Ghāzi had received the summons from the Mongol Khāqān to submit and raze the walls of the town but gave an evasive answer. In 650 (1252) the Mongols pillaged the country round Mayyafarikin. During Hülegü's expedition to Syria in 658 (1260) the army of the prince Yashmut besieged Mayyafarikin which was defended with great bravery by Malik al-Kāmil. The blockade produced a terrible famine in the town which was forced to surrender. Only 70 of the defenders survived. Kāmil was put to death in cruel fashion and his head carried on the point of a lance through the streets of Damascus (Rashid al-Dīn ed. Quatremere, p. 330—331, 350—375; d'Osson, *Histoire des Mongols*, III, 354). Before his death, in 662 (1264), Hülegü gave the district of Diyārbakr to his general Tudān (cf. *supra*). Three years later, Abayza allotted Mayyafarikin to his father's widow, Kutay-Khātun. Mayyafarikin later lost its independence and henceforth shared the lot of Diyārbakr (q. v.).

In 796 during Timūr's stay at Mardin, a number of Maliks including those of Arzin (*ric*) and Batmān came to pay him homage but the *Zafar-nāma* (I, 665) does not mention the lord of Mayyafarikin. After the conquest of Diyārbakr, Timūr on his way to Mīsh took the road via Mayyafarikin (*ibid.*, I, 685) and Sivasur (the name of a summit in al-Sāsān east of al-Antok). This march is the only example of a considerable force following the direct road Mayyafarikin-Mugh.

The Safawids and the Ottomans. Our information about the rule of the Turkoman dynasties (Kara-Koyunlu and Ak-Koyunlu) in the region of Diyārbakr is still very deficient. In pursuit of his campaign against the last Ak-Koyunlu Murād, Shāh Ismā'il I Safawī in 915 occupied all the region of Diyārbakr, the government of which was entrusted to Khān Muḥammad Ustādīn (*Sharaf-nāma*, I, 408; *Adam-ḥus*, p. 23—25). The defeat at Cāldirān produced risings against the Persians throughout Kurdistan. The Kurd chief Sniyid Ahmad Beg Rāzaki seized Mayyafarikin and Atak (Hātākh, cf. the *Ḳārtas* 'Αττάκας of Georgios Cyprus). Mayyafarikin passed definitely under Ottoman rule after the battle (921) of Koç-Hisar (south of Mardin) in which the Persian general Kara-Khān was defeated (von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, I, 731—741).

In 1529 Maiyafarikin was visited by the Portuguese Jesuit Tenreiro, who found there "many monuments with inscriptions and Greek characters. On the walls were images of the apostles and other saints painted in gold and in brilliant colours. . . The town was almost deserted".

The Sulaimāni Kurds. While the events above described affecting a wider area were going on, the power of the local Kurd chiefs was gradually growing. At the end of the xvth century we find the whole valley of the Batman-su reunited under the rule of the Sulaimāni chiefs, one branch of whom was established at Maiyafarikin and the other at Kulp (*Sāraf-nāma*, i. 261—271; cf. above ii. p. 1244 ff.). In 1838 von Moltke found the town full of ruins, evidence of the recent conquest of this part of Kurdistan by the Turks. The Kurds however kept the de facto power down to the beginning of the xth century (cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, i. 394, 419). The name Silwān which in the local administrative language finally eclipsed the old Maiyafarikin, can only be a kind of development of the name Sulaimāni > Silwāni (in Turkish Silwān); cf. Pers. *silwān* (from *māhān*) > Kurd. *māwān*.

In 1891 (Cuihet) there were in the *kaḍā* of Silwān 363 villages with 25,217 inhabitants of whom 18,500 were Muslims and 6,717 Christians (Armenian and Jacobites). The town had 1,450 houses with 7,000 inhabitants (half Muslims and half Christians).

Bibliography: On the question of Tigranocerta, cf. especially H. Kiepert, *Über die Lage d. arm. Hauptstadt Tigranocerta*, *Monatsberichte Pr. Ak. W. Berlin*, 1873, p. 164—210; Mommsen und Kiepert, *Die Lage v. Tigranocerta*, *Herms*, ix., 1875, p. 129—149; Sachau, *Über die Lage v. Tigranocerta*, *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1881, p. 1; Henderson, *Controversies in Armenian topography*, i., *The site of Tigranocerta*, *Journal of Philology*, xviii., 1903, p. 19—121; Hübschmann, *Die alt-arm. Ortsnamen*, *Indogerm. Forsch.*, xvi., 1904, p. 473—475; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, i., Berlin 1910, 380—429 (general description and history of Maiyafarikin to 1258), 500—523, 419—420 (Kurd castle of Boshāt with a Sāsānian bas-relief of Artaban II), 500—525 (Tigranocerta), 537—540 (bibliography and complete list of earlier publications by W. Belck and C. F. Lehmann-Haupt); ib., Berlin 1926, p. 396—421, *9—10 (polemic with Marquart); Marquart, *Mithras und Tigranocerta*, *Handes Amtoria* (organ of the Mekhitarists of Vienna), 1916, columns 68—135, cf. also Marquart, *Forsch.*, p. 161, 306 (in *Nachträge* the author was at first inclined to see a local name or an Iranian name *Nevak-fari graecised) and Marquart, *Südasien und die Tigrisquellen*, *Handes Amtoria*, 1915, col. 116 (Sāidamā).

For the Byzantine period the works quoted by Marquart and Lehmann-Haupt; Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate de Pompée à la conquête arabe*, Paris 1907, p. 359—360; Adontz, *Arménie = éparchie d'Asiaticum*, St. Petersburg 1908, index (complete geographical and political study of Armenia in the 16th century); Miss G. L. Bell, *Churches and monasteries of the Tur Abdin and neighbouring districts*, *Zeitschr. f. Gesch. d. Archäol.*, Beiheft 9, Heidelberg 1913, p. 86—92, plates 21 (mosque of Saladin), xlii-xiv. (basilica), xv-xix. and xxviii. 1 (st. Admā).

For the Muslim period: the general sources quoted in the text and L. Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 111—112. The special history of the town is *Tārīkh Maiyafarikin* written in Arabic in 572 by Ahmad b. Yusuf b. 'Alī Ibn al-Azrak al-Fāriki, unique MS. Brit. Mus., Or. 3805 (fragment of an older version in Or. 6310). The history of Ibn al-Azrak is quoted and completed in vol. II of *al-A'īn al-haḥira fī Dīār Umrā al-Shām wa 'l-Djazīra* (Bodleian Marsh 333, Catalogue I, No. 945) by 'Izz al-Dīn b. Shaddād al-Halabī. The publication of the histories of Ibn al-Azrak and Ibn Shaddād is proposed by the G. M. S. The data in Ibn al-Azrak (and in part of Ibn Shaddād) have been excellently summarised by Amedroz in the articles: *Three Arabic MSS. on the History of the city of Mayyafariqin*, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1902, p. 784—812; *Marwanid dynasty at Mayyafariqin*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 123—154; *Notes on two articles on Mayyafariqin* (remarks by Marquart), *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, 170—176. The epigraphical materials of the German expedition of 1898—1899 have been studied by M. van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften aus Armenien u. Diyarbakr*, in Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien z. Altarm. Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens*, Abh. G. W. Gott., N.F., ix., No. 3, p. 125—142; Naḥr-i Khuraw, *Sāraf-nāma*, ed. Schefer, p. 7—8; transl., p. 24—25; Rashid al-Dīn, *Dīwān al-Tawārīkh*, ed. Quatremère, p. 330—331 (Amid) and 360—375 with an excellent study by the editor on Maiyafarikin); Hādījī Khāfī, *Dīwān-nāma*, p. 437; Ewlyā Celebi, *Siyāḥnāme*, iv. 71—74 (interesting details); A. Tenreiro, 1529, *Itinerario . . . da India*, Coimbra 1560 (second edition 1762); Bittl-Haas, "Monfarquim"; Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände . . . in d. Türkei*, ed. Kiepert, Berlin 1841, p. 287: The river ("ein reicher Fluss . . . [der] in schönen Windungen durch die Ebene dem Tigris zusieht") of which Moltke speaks seems to correspond to the Batman-su, as Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x. 79, 87—95 takes it to be; Taylor, *Travels in Kurdistan*, *J.R.G.S.*, 1865, p. 21—58 (this article is still very important); Cuihet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1891, ii. 470—472 (*kaḍā* of Silwān); Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, cf. above; Flury, *Islam Schriftbänder*, Paris 1921, p. 44—48 (inscription of Saladin at Maiyafarikin) with two plates. (V. MINORSKY)

MAKALLA. [See **MUKALLA**.]

MAKAM (A.), place, place where *ṣalāt* is performed. As to *Makām Ibrāhīm*, see **KABLA**.

MAKAMA (A.), a variety of Arabic prose of a highly elaborate and artificial nature.

Makama in the old language was the name for the assembly of the tribe, synonymous with *saḍā* (e. g. Lelūd, *Dīwān*, No. 46, 10; Salīm b. Dīnād, *Dīwān*, i. 4 = *Musafḥasīyāt*, ed. Thorbecke, No. 20, 50, ed. Lyall, No. 122, 1; *Hamāra*, p. 95, v. 1 etc.; so also Hamādīn, *Maḥ.* 16, 5 [Stamb. = 44 u. Bār]), hence the word was next applied to gatherings at which the Omayyad and early 'Abbasid caliphs received pious men in order to hear edifying discourses from them, as Hishām for example did with Khālid b. Ṣafwān (*Kitaḥ al-Aḥḥād*, ii. 1 35, 3 35; 19 199); Ibn Kutaiba gives an account of it in the chapter *Makāmāt* (the Sing. appears as *Makām* in the separate headings) *al-Zuhād* 'inda 'l-bāḥiḥ wa 'l-matā' in the *K. al-Zuhād*, 6 of the *K. 'Uyūn al-Aḥḥād* (cod.

Kopr. 1344, fol. 212^v–215^v), upon which Ibn 'Abd Rabbih in *ʿIḥḍ al-Farid* (Cairo 1305), I, 286 *app.* and al-Torṭuṣī, *Siwāf al-Mulūḥ* (Bulāq 1289), p. 32 *app.* have again drawn. The word then came to have the more general meaning of lecture, e.g. in Maṣ'ūdī, *Maṣnūʿ al-Dhahab* (ed. Paris), v. 421, 2 and perhaps also Ḍahbī, *K. al-Bukhārī*, p. 218, 12, where it appears along with poetry, proverbs and tales of battles as an essential element in Arab education. In the third century A.H., however, the word began to sink from this higher sphere; it became the name for a beggar's appeal, which had to be framed in carefully chosen language, the more the literary training of the *adīb*, once a privilege of court circles, became disseminated among the people; an example of these appeals is preserved by Ḍahbī in Baihaqī, *K. al-Maḥasin wa 'l-Maḥsun* (ed. Schwally), p. 623 *app.*. The appeals of beggars seem to have paved the way for the literary genre proper (cf. A. Mez, *Abu 'l-Kāsim*, p. xxiii/xxiv.). This owes its existence to Hamadhāni [q. v.]. He created a typical representative of this literary Bohemianism to which he himself belonged, which entered upon the inheritance of the *siwāf* poets of the early days of Islām, like al-Ḥuṭaī'a. The frequently very witty execution of the constantly changing part of his hero Abu 'l-Faṭḥ al-Iṣkandarī and from the point of view of form the adoption for his tales of rhymed prose, which was already beginning to dominate the finer style of letter-writing, are the two special characteristics of Hamadhāni's work. To the hero himself he gives a *hail* in the person of a narrator, 'Isā b. Hishām, who sometimes appears instead in the role of a trickster, as in maḥma 12. In the 7th also — one of the poorest by the way —, in which a certain 'Isma b. Badr al-Fasrī records a meeting with Farṣadāq not very creditable to 'Isma b. Rūmān, the principal hero takes no part. Six of these stories are only intended to glorify his patron, Khalaf b. Aḥmad ruler of Sijlātān, to whom as Margoliouth supposes (cf. HAMADHĀNI) the whole collection was dedicated. Sometimes he only uses the maḥma form to give expression to his own views on literary questions as, for example, in the first on ancient and modern poets, in the fourteenth on the masters of prose, al-Ḍāḥiq and Ibn al-Muḥallā; in the 25th maḥma, another in which al-Iṣkandarī does not appear, he puts his polemic against the Muṭawillīs in the mouth of a mailman. He does not always make al-Iṣkandarī appear as a rogue but in the 42nd maḥma he displays a knowledge of the world which is quite innocent of guile. No. 26 (Syrian, lacking in the Beirut edition) and 31 (the Russian, incomplete in the Beirut edition) contain specimens of erotic jargon and cant-language; of purely lexicographical interest is maḥma 30, edited and elucidated by Ahlwardt in *Chalif al-Aḥmar*, p. 250 *app.*, which deals with a competition instituted by Saif al-Dawla for the best description of a horse. The last (No. 52 in the Beirut edition) is of quite another character and has only the rhymed prose in common with the maḥma proper: it is on this account classed with nine other anecdotes (as *maḥla*) in the Stambul edition and put in an appendix.

How far al-Hariri's statement quoted above, i.e. HAMADHĀNI, that al-Hamadhāni got the idea from Ibn Damiya's *Arba'īs* is true cannot be ascertained

as this work has not survived. In any case he is entitled to the credit of having created a new literary form, which might have proved very fertile in Arabic literature which is not exactly rich in forms. It is perhaps impossible to appreciate his talent fully if we may believe the tradition that the 52 specimens that have survived to us and which were apparently all that were known to al-Hariri represent only about an eighth of his whole output. His contemporaries and immediate successors were however not able to follow him on the path he had indicated. One only of his contemporaries, the court poet of Saif al-Dawla Abū Naṣr 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Omar al-Sa'dī († 405 = 939), has left us a maḥma (Ahlwardt, *Verz. der ar. Handschr. Berlin*, in No. 8536). Not till a century later do Ibn Nāḥiyya and al-Hariri again take up the form created by him. The former (Abu 'l-Kāsim 'Abd Allāh or 'Abd al-Bakī Maḥammad b. Husayn, b. 15th Dhu 'l-Ḥiḍa 410 [March 14, 1020] in Baghdād, d. 4 Muḥarram 485 [Febr. 15, 1092]), of whose other poetical and philological work nothing has come down to us, does not keep strictly to the model created by al-Hamadhāni in the nine maḥmas preserved in a Stambul MS. (Pāsh. 4097; *M.O.*, vii. 112) in as much as he does not have one hero all through and also introduces various persons as narrators, but the main point is the polished form, in which he tells his otherwise not remarkable stories (cf. Cl. Huart, *Les états d'Ibn Nāḥiyya*, *J. A.*, ser. 10, vol. xii., 1908, p. 435–454, and the edition by O. Reuchet, in *Revue sur Maḥmūd-Literatur*, Heft 4, Stambul 1914, S. 123–153). It is not till Hariri [q. v.] that the maḥma receives its classical form, but the latter at the same time considerably limited its subject matter in as much as he makes the anecdotes recorded by al-Hariri b. Hamadhāni centre round a hero, Abū Zaid of Sarūj, and relates the adventures of this Bohemian, whose wit is never at a loss and who is able to meet all difficulties, in a style sparkling with wit and full of all the tricks of language. That he owed the stimulus to his work to an encounter with an actual vagabond may be legend; al-Sabkī, *Tadhkirat al-Shāfi'iya*, iv. 296, and Ibn Taghribirdī, iii. 23, 2 *app.* say he was a Banian al-Muthharī (Ibn Taghribirdī says al-Muḥallā) b. Sallā (cf. C. Dumas, *Les héros des maḥmūd de Hariri, Abū Zaid de Sarūj*, Algiers 1917). The story at least may be quite true that the Maḥma al-Haririyya said to be inspired by this meeting was the first from his pen. In any case Hariri's tricks of rhetoric (cf. the analysis in Crussard, *Études sur les états de H.*, Paris 1923) so overshadowed his subject matter in the eyes of later generations that henceforth the form became the essential characteristic of the literary genre, and it could be used to clothe very varied subject matter. Al-Ghazālī (d. 505 = 1111) and 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sam'ānī (d. 562 = 1167) in their *Maḥmūd al-'Ulamā' bainā yūdai al-Khulafā' wa 'l-'Umarā'* (Ahlwardt, *Verz. der Hss. Berlin*, No. 8537, 1) and *Maḥmūd al-'Ulamā' bainā yūdai al-'Umarā'* (Hādijī Khalifa, No. 12702) attempt to go back to the older form. But the Spaniard Abū 'l-'Aṣḥir Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Aṣḥarī (d. 538 = 1143 in Cordova) seems to have come nearer to Hariri in his *al-Maḥmūd al-Sarāfiyya* (in Stambul, Laleli, No. 1928, 1933). He also set himself the classical number of 50. Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538 = 1143) on the other hand disclaims any

such affinity; his makāmas are simply moral admonitions and like their counterparts, the *Nawābiḡa al-Kalim* and the *Atwāq al-Libāḡa*, are intended to be appreciated mainly as tours-de-force of rhetoric (cf. the editions, printed Cairo 1313, 1325, and the translation by Rescher, in *Beiträge zur Maqām-litteratur*, Heft 6, Greifswald 1913). Whether the *Maqāmāt al-Sāfiya* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 587 = 1191), which deal with mystic terminology (s. *Cat. of MSS. Brit. Mus.*, No. 1349, 23), belong to this class at all is doubtful. On the other hand the *Maqāmāt al-Djāwīya* of 'I-Ma'āni al-Ma'āniya (Leyden, No. 426, Cambridge, No. 1098, Escorial, Dénoubourg, No. 542), which the author Ibn al-Djāwī (d. 597 = 1200) himself provided with a lexicographical commentary, are certainly modelled on those of Hariri. The *al-Maḡāmāt al-Maḡābiya* of the Christian physician Abū 'I-Abbās Yahyā b. Sa'īd b. Mārī (d. 589 = 1193; see Ibn al-Kifī, p. 361, 4) definitely profess to be a single imitation of the latter. They have a hero and a narrator but the subject matter is varied, usually of a learned and technical nature (cf. Flügel, *Verz. der Hist. Wien*, No. 384). To the end of the sixth century A. H. seems to belong Abū 'I-Abbās Ahmad b. Abī Bakr b. Ahmad al-Rāzi al-Hanafi who dedicated 30 makāmas to the chief kadi Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Kasim al-Shahrastūrī (not the same as mentioned in Ibn Khallikān, *Bulak* 1299, i. 597). The only indication of his date is the mention of the Khāḡān of Shirwān (51, 7); this title was first borne by Manučehr II, about 550 A. H. (cf. iv, p. 384). His aim is to imitate Hamadhāni and Hariri but to use simpler language. Like them he introduces his hero and a narrator and is fond of elaborate descriptions, frequently dropping into the obscene; a number of the makāmas go together in pairs, the one being complementary to the other (cf. the edition in O. Rescher, *Beiträge zur Maqām-litteratur*, Heft 4, p. 1-115). Of the fifth century A. H. we only need mention an imitation of Hariri's makāmas, 50 in number, dedicated to the family of Djuwainī (cf. his *Tarīkh al-Dhahāngīyā*, ed. Mirza Muḥammad, G. M. S., xvii, p. iii, note 2) by Shams al-Dīn Ma'add (Muḥammad) b. Naṣr Allāh b. al-Saḡalī in 672 (1273) (Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, No. 12709) entitled *al-Maḡāmāt al-Zalabīya* (s. *Brit. Mus.*, No. 669, 1403; *Stambul*, Nūr-i-'Oṭmāniya, No. 4273). The Syrian Egyptian poet Muḥammad b. 'Afrī al-Dīn al-Tilmāsī al-Shabb al-Zarī († 688 = 1289) applied the form in the field of love-poetry, sometimes with lascivious subjects (*Maḡāmāt al-'Ushshūb*, Paris, No. 3947; *Faḡḡat al-Maḡāḡāt fī Maḡāḡat al-Ma'āḡāt* and *al-Maḡāmāt al-Hittīya wa 'I-Shāḡīya*, Ahlwardt, *Verz. Hist. Berlin*, No. 8594, 4, 5). These imitations became more numerous in the eighth century. In 730 (1329) Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu'ayyad al-Rāzi composed *al-Maḡāmāt al-ḡhāna 'ashara* (pr. Tunis 1303, *Les deux plances du Chikh A. b. M. al-Mohaddhem*, publ. by M. Soliman al-Hariri, Paris 1282 [1855]). The form was occasionally used for religious subjects, e.g. by Abū 'I-Faṭṭī Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Nās († 734 = 1334) in praise of the Prophet and his companions in *al-Maḡāmāt al-'aliya fī 'I-Karāmāt al-djāliya* (s. *Rosen, Notices sommaires des ms. ar. du Musée Asiatique*, St. Petersburg 1881, No. 146, 10), for mysticism by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrahim al-Dimashqī († 727 = 1327) in *al-Maḡāmāt al-falāfiya wa 'I-Tarjūmāt al-*

ḡisfiya, in number 50 (Cambridge 1102), and again for the parnassus in 749 (1349) by Zain al-Dīn 'Omar b. al-Wardī in the makāmas on the plague of which he died in the same year entitled *al-Naba' 'an 'I-Waba'* (Ahlwardt, *Berlin*, No. 8550, 3, probably identical with the makāma which Suyūṭī put in his work on the plague). The makāma was adopted for the panegyric by the Meccan 'Alī b. Naṣir al-Hijāzī in his *al-Maḡāmāt al-ḡhawriya wa 'I-Tuḡfa al-Makkiya* in honour of the Mamlik Sulṭān Kāṣim al-ḡhawwī (606-922 = 1500-1516; s. *Portsch, Verz. der Hist. Gotha*, No. 2773). The great encyclopaedist of the ninth century, al-Suyūṭī, naturally did not omit this form of composition, which he used with complete contempt for its traditional use to treat of subjects from the most varied branches of knowledge, religious as well as profane, e.g. the question of the fate of Muḥammad's parents in the other world, the merits of different perfumes, flowers and fruits; nor did he hesitate to use it for obscene subjects (cf. the article *suṭūṭ* where the printed editions are given). His contemporary, the South Arabian Zaidī Ibrahim b. Muḥammad al-Hidawī b. al-Waṣir (d. 914 = 1508), used the makāma for theological instruction in *al-Maḡāmāt al-maḡābiya wa 'I-Fakīha al-khabariya* (Leyden, No. 438; *Brill-Houtama*, No. 67), as did Suyūṭī's rival Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Kastallānī (d. 923 = 1517) in the *Maḡāmāt al-'Arīṣṭa* (Stambul, Köprülü, No. 784). Even in the centuries when literature was at a low level, the sixth and seventh, the makāma was still used for the most varied purposes. In 1078 (1667) Djamāl al-Dīn Abū 'I-Faṭṭī b. 'Alawān al-Kabbānī composed a makāma on the war then being waged by the lords of Baḡra Husain Paṣha and 'Alī Paṣha Afrāsiyāb on a Turkish army under Ibrāhīm Paṣha, which he elucidates in the commentary *Zād al-Muṣṭafī* (*Brit. Mus.*, No. 1405-6, *Baghdād* 1924, used by R. Mignon in his *History of modern Bānoraḡ*, p. 269-286; s. *St. H. Longrigg, Four Centuries of modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925, p. 328). His compatriot 'Abd Allāh b. al-Husain b. Mārī al-Baḡdādī al-Suwaidī (d. 1174 = 1760) and his son Abū 'I-ḡhair 'Abd al-Raḡmān (d. 1200 = 1786) used the form to string together a series of old and new proverbs in a witty context (*Maḡāmāt al-Amḡḡāt al-'alīya*, Cairo 1324 and the son's *al-Maḡāmāt al-djāmi'at al-Amḡḡāt 'alīyat al-Amḡḡāt*, Berlin, No. 8582-83). An imitation of Hariri in 50 adventures, the scene of which is laid in India, of an Abū 'I-Zafar al-Hindī al-Sa'iyāh, which al-Nāṣir b. Farḡḡ narrates was finished in 1128 (1715) by Abū Bakr b. Muḥsin Ba'ūd al-'Alawī (ilth. at the Majlis al-'Ulūm Press 1264 entitled *al-Maḡāmāt al-Hindiya*, s. *M. Hidayat Husain, Catalogue raisonné of the Bahār Library*, ii. 459).

Hariri himself had already allowed his art to degenerate to mere juggling with words, when he used in the *Raḡd' al-Siniya wa 'I-Shāḡīya*, not included among the makāmas, in the one only words with *sin* and in the other only those with *shin* (just as a contemporary of Simonides had written a Greek hymn without a *sigma* in it; cf. V. Wilamowitz, *Kultur d. Gegenwart*, i. iii. 49); also al-Hanaff's makāmas contain such jugglings with words; 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh al-Idkṣī (d. 1184 = 1770) wrote *al-Maḡāmāt al-Iḡḡandariya wa 'I-Taḡḡifiya* in which the words are arranged in pairs only distinguishable by their disjunctive points

(cf. Ahlwardt, *Vers. Hist. Berlin*, No. 8581, 2). An ostentatious display of learning marks *al-Makāma al-Duḡallīya* wa-*l-Maḡalla al-Umariya* of 'Othmān b. 'Alī al-Umārī al-Mawṣilī (d. 1184=1770), the subject of which is a list and brief characterisation of the Muslim sects (ed. Rescher, in *Beiträge zur Maḡāmalit.*, iv, 191-285, where other later examples of this art are given).

The subject, popular in Arabic literature from early times, of the dispute for precedence, *munāzara* (s. Steinschneider, *Rangstreitliteratur*, S. B. A. H. Wien, clv. 4, 1908; Brockelmann, in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientalischen Gesellschaft*, p. 231; *Asia Major*, i. 32), is clothed in this form in the *Maḡāmat al-Muḡāḡama bain al-Muḡāmat al-Zuhūr* (Ahlwardt, *Vers. Berlin*, No. 8580) of Yūsuf b. Sālim al-Hifsi (d. 1178=1764), who in his *al-Maḡāma al-Hifsiya* (Brit. Mus., No. 1052, 1) also used the *makāma* for the panegyric. A Turk, the Cretan Aḡmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Rumī (d. 1179=1783), also essayed this genre; his *al-Maḡāma al-Rumīya al-Hifsiya* is given by al-Murādī, *Sikā al-Duḡar*, i. 74 sqq.

Finally it may be mentioned that the endeavour to revive this form has been made by writers of the sixteenth century. The Beirut Christian Nāḡī al-Yūsufī (d. 1871) gave a very successful imitation of Hariri in his *Maḡāma al-Badrān* in 60 *makāmas* on which he also wrote a commentary (printed Beirut, 1856, 1872, 1880, 1924). Less successful were the *makāmas* composed in 1237 (1822) and published in 1270 (1853) by Shihāb al-Dīn Maḡmūd al-Aḡlā (d. 1270=1853), iih. Baghdad 1273. In the collected works of the Egyptian 'Abd Allāh Faḡh al-Fihri (d. 1307=1890), *al-Aḡḡar al-Fihriya* (Bulaq 1315), there are several *makāmas*, one of which, *al-Maḡāma al-Fihriya fi l-Muḡāma al-Hifsiya*, has appeared separately (Cairo 1289).

This form of composition so popular in Arabic was also imitated in the literatures of other languages. Among the Persians the *makāmas* of Kāḡī Ḥamīd al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. 'Umar b. Maḡmūd al-Bulḡhī (d. 559=1164), which he wrote in 551 (1156) (*Ḥādīdī Khulfa*, No. 12716), are particularly esteemed; 'Arīdī in the *Caḡar Maḡāla* (ed. Mirz. Muḡammad, p. 13, 11, transl. Browne, p. 25) compares them to those of Ḥamāḡīḡānī and Hariri. They consist of a number of *munāzarat*, e.g. between youth and age, between a Sunni and a Shī'i, between a physician and an astronomer, also descriptions of spring and autumn, love and frenzy, and lastly discussions of legal and mystical problems, but here again the matter is quite secondary to the form. The arrangement and titles of the 23 or 24 *makāmas* in the British Museum MS. (Bleu, *Cent. Pers. MSS.*, No. 747) differ considerably from the Tabriz and Cawnpore lithographed editions (see Browne, *A Lit. Hist. of Persia*, ii. 347). Ḥamīd al-Dīn's example does not seem to have been much followed; but the journalist Adīb al-Mamālīk (d. Feb. 13, 1917), according to a MS. in Browne's possession (see *Lit. Hist.*, iv. 349), composed a collection of *makāmas*.

In Spain the Jew Rahlī Jehūdā ben Shalūm Hariri, who flourished at the beginning of the thirteenth century translated the *Maḡāmat* of Hariri into Hebrew and he composed 50 similar modelled on them which he called *Sefer Zephkūm*; in them he imitated Hariri's style, very skillfully working in quotations from the Bible (s. *Judas Hariri's Maḡāmat*, ed. P. de Lagarde, Göttingen 1834, repr. Hildesheim 1924).

Finally the metropolitan of Nisibi 'Abdīghō' (Ebedyehō) who died in 1318, composed in 1290-91 on Hariri's model 50 Syriac poems, religious and edifying in their subject matter in two parts, called after Enoch and Elias, the artificial language of which he himself elucidated in a commentary in 1316 (the first half: *Paradisa dha Edhān* i.e. *Paradise Eden Carmine auctore Mar Ebedias Sabensi*, ed. Gabriel Cardahi, Beirut 1889).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

MAKĀN u. KĀKĪ, Abū MAḡMŪD, like his father was a captain in the army of the 'Alid rulers of Tabaristān. Saiyid Abū 'I-Kāsim Dī'far b. Saiyid Nāḡīr, son-in-law of Makān, who came to the throne after the flight of Saiyid Abū Muḡammad Ḥasun b. Kāsim, known as the Dī'f ('the summer unto the truth'), appointed Makān to the governorship of Djurdjān. Saiyid Abū 'I-Kāsim died in 312 (924) and was succeeded by Saiyid Abū 'Alī Muḡammad b. Abū 'I-Husain Aḡmad. Makān deposed him, sent him as a prisoner to 'Alī b. Husain b. Kākī, his nephew, for safe custody, and placed his own grandson Saiyid Jamāl b. Abū 'I-Kāsim on the throne. Shortly after this, Saiyid Abū 'Alī Muḡammad effected his escape and was joined by Asfār b. Shīrawāhī (q.v.) who had rebelled against Makān and made himself master of Djurdjān. Makān took the field against them but was beaten and forced to take refuge in the hills in the neighbourhood of Sari.

Saiyid Abū 'Alī Muḡammad died in 315 (927), and was succeeded by his brother, Saiyid Abū Dī'far Ḥasun. Makān now issued from his mountain retreat, overthrew Asfār, who was the commander of the army of Saiyid Abū Dī'far, forced him to fly to Khurāsān, and declared the Dī'f ruler of Tabaristān. In 316 (928) Muḡammad b. Sa'īk, the Samānīd governor of Raiy, invited the Dī'f and Makān to Raiy, delivered the province to them and retired to Khurāsān. During the absence of the Dī'f and Makān, Asfār returned from Khurāsān, conquered Djurdjān, defeated and killed the Dī'f, and became the ruler of Tabaristān. He then marched to Raiy, defeated Makān and put him to flight. But soon after this Asfār came to terms with Makān and delivered Raiy to him. Makān now gradually extended his sway to Djurdjān and even conquered Nishāpūr in 318 (930). About this time Mardāwīḡ revolted against Asfār, and forced him to take refuge in Tabas in Kūhīstān, but Makān fell upon him from Nishāpūr and sent him flying back to Raiy.

In 319 (931) Makān evacuated Khurāsān at the request of Amir Naḡr b. Aḡmad and returned to Tabaristān, but he was soon turned out of it by Mardāwīḡ who had become master of Raiy after the death of Asfār. Makān tried to recapture Tabaristān with the help of Abū 'I-Faḡl of Dīlīn and later of Aḡmad b. Muḡammad b. Muḡtādī, the commander of the army of Khurāsān, but Mardāwīḡ proved too strong for him and he was forced to fly for refuge to Khurāsān. Amir Naḡr b. Aḡmad now bestowed on him the government of the province of Kirmān. He proceeded thither, defeated the former governor and took possession of the province. But when he heard the news of the murder of Mardāwīḡ in 323, he returned from Kirmān, procured the grant of the province of Djurdjān from Amir Naḡr b. Aḡmad,

and asked Washungir, the brother and successor of Mardāwidj, to surrender the province to him which he did. Henceforth very friendly relations were established between them on the strength of which Makān threw off the yoke of Bukhārā. When Amir Nasir b. Ahmad learnt this, he despatched Ahmad, the commander of the army of Khurāsān, against Makān who was defeated after a desperate struggle of 7 months and forced to flee to Washungir at Raiy. Ahmad followed him thither, and defeated the combined forces of Makān and Washungir at Ishākhābād (near Raiy) on 21st Rabi' I, 329 (December 25, 940 A.D.). Makān was shot in the head by an arrow and fell dead. His head was cut off and sent to Bukhārā.

Bibliography: *Taḍārīḥ al-Umam*, ed. Margoliouth, i. 275—297; Ibn al-Athir, ed. Tornberg, viii. 140—292; Ibn Isfandiyyār, *G.M.S.*, ii, p. 308—219; Saiyid Zahir al-Din, *Turkh-i Tabaristan*, ed. B. Dorn, p. 171—176; *Habib al-Sayar*, Tihmīn ed., ii. 145 ff. (M. NADIM)

MAKARI. [See MAMARU.]

MAKDISHU, a town in East-Africa on the shore of the Indian Ocean, capital of Italian Somaliland. Population 21,000. Setting aside the question of some ruins perhaps South-Arabic, Makdishu arose in the 5th century A.D. as an Arabian colony. The immigrations of the Arabs reached Makdishu in different times successively, and from different regions of the Arabian peninsula; the most remarkable one came from al-Aḥsā on the Persian Gulf, probably during the struggles of the Caliphate with the Karmitians.

Perhaps at the same time also Persian groups emigrated to Makdishu; and even to-day some inscriptions which have been found in the town demonstrate that Persians from Sindh and Nalāshir were dwelling there during the Middle Ages. These foreign merchants were, however, obliged to unite themselves politically against the nomadic (Sōmālī) tribes that surrounded Makdishu on every side, and eventually against other invaders from the sea. Therefore a federation was concluded in the same 5th century A.D. and composed of thirty-nine clans: 12 from the Makri tribe; 12 from the Qjīd'atī tribe; six from the 'Aḳābī, six from the Imā'īlī and three from the 'Aḳīfī tribe. The trade was even more developed under such conditions of internal peace; then in the town the Makri clans acquired a religious supremacy and, having adopted the *nizāh* "al-Kaḥḥānī", formed a kind of dynasty of "imān" and obtained from the other tribes the privilege that the *ḥāḳī* of the federation should be elected only from among themselves.

But, in the second half of the 13th century, Abū Bakr b. Fakhr al-Dīn established in Makdishu a hereditary Sultanate with the aid of the Makri clans whom the new Sultan recognised again the privilege of giving the *ḥāḳī* to the town. During the reign of Shaikh Abū Bakr b. 'Umar, in the year 1331 A.D., Makdishu was visited by Ibn Battūta, who described very carefully its conditions in his *Rihla*. Shaikh Abū Bakr b. 'Umar was probably a Sultan from the family of Abū Bakr b. Fakhr al-Dīn; and under this dynasty Makdishu reached in the 15th and 16th century A.D. the highest degree of prosperity. Its name is quoted even in the "*Maḥṣaf al-Milād*", a book by the king of Abyssinia Zare'a Yāqob, with reference to the battle fought by the same king against the Mussalmen at Gomat, December 25th, 1445 A.D.

In the 17th century A.D. the dynasty of the Muzaffar succeeded to the dynasty of Fakhr al-Dīn. However, in the region of the Webi Shabellā, viz. the Iran commercial hinterland of Makdishu, the Adjarān (Sōmālī), who had constituted there another Sultanate friendly and allied with Makdishu, were defeated by the nomadic Hawiya (Sōmālī) who conquered that territory. Thus Makdishu was cut away by the Bedouins from the interior of the land and began to decline from its prosperity. The colonial enterprises of the Portuguese and the British in the Indian Ocean hastened even more this decadence. Vasco da Gama, when he was coming back from India in 1499 A.D., assailed unsuccessfully Makdishu with his squadron; and even Da Cunha in 1597 A.D. did not succeed in occupying the town. In 1532 A.D. Makdishu was visited by Dom Estevam da Gama, son of Vasco, who came there to buy a ship. In December 5, 1700 A.D. a British squadron of men-of-war stopped threateningly before Makdishu but they did not land any force and after some days went away probably to India. During the wars between the Portuguese and the *Imām* of 'Omān, Makdishu and other towns on the Sōmālī coast were occupied by the soldiers of *Imām* Sa'īd Sultan (died 1116 = 1704); but after a little while the *Imām* ordered his troops to come back to 'Omān.

In the meantime the Sultanate of Makdishu was practically finished; and the town divided in two quarters (Hamar-Wes and Shanganī) was wasted by civil wars. The Sōmālī had so penetrated, little by little, into the ancient Arabian town that the clans of Makdishu changed their Arabic names with new Sōmālī appellatives: the "Aḳābī" clan became the "rūr Shākh"; the "Qjīd'atī" were called "Shan-shiya"; the 'Aḳīfī took the name of "Gad-ma'at"; and even the Makri (Kaḥḥānī) changed their name for the Sōmālī "rūr Fakhī". But in the 18th century A.D., the Bedouins (Sōmālī) Darandolla, excited by exaggerated traditions of the wealth of Makdishu, assailed and conquered the town. The chief of the Darandolla, who had the title of *imām*, established himself in the Shanganī quarter; and the privilege of the Kaḥḥānī about the election of the *ḥāḳī* was again recognised by the new masters of the town. In the first half of the 19th century A.D., Sultan Barghash b. Sa'īd of Zanzibar occupied Makdishu and ruled the town by means of a *wāḳī*. In 1889 the Sultan of Zanzibar leased the town to Italy, who afterwards in 1906 bought all the settlements of Zanzibar on the Sōmālī coast.

Bibliography: Vāḡūl, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 502; iv. 602; Ibn Battūta, *Rihla*, Cairo 1322, i. 190 (ed. Deffrémery and Sanguinetti, ii. p. 183); De Barros, *Decadas da Asia*, Lisbon 1777—1778 dec. i, lib. iv., cap. xi., and i. viii., cap. iv.; De Castanhoso, *Das feitor de Dom Christovam da Gama*, ed. Esteves Pereira, Lisbon 1898, p. xi.; Diego do Couto, *Decadas da Asia*, Lisbon 1778 dec. iv., i. viii., cap. ii.; Gaspare Correa, *Lendas da India*, Lisbon 1858—1866, t. i., vol. ii., p. 678; t. iii., vol. ii., p. 458 and 540; Guillaum, *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique Orientale*, Paris 1856, vol. i.; C. Conti Rossini, *Vasco da Gama, Pedestal Cabral e Giovanni da Nere nella Cronica di Kikwah*, in *Atti del 3^o Congresso geografico italiano*, vol. ii., Florence 1899; do., *Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia*, in *R. S. O.*, vi. 367, note 2; E.

Cerulli, *Scritture e documenti arabi per la storia della Somalia*, in *R. S. O.*, xi, 1-24; do., *Le popolazioni della Somalia nella tradizione storica locale*, in *R. S. A. L.*, series vi, vol. ii, fasc. 3-4, p. 150-172; do., *Novi documenti arabi per la storia della Somalia*, in *R. S. A. L.*, ser. vi, vol. iii, fasc. 5-6, p. 392-410.

(ENRICO CERULLI)

MAKHĀDUM AL-MULK, whose real name is Mawlānā 'Abd Allāh, was the son of Shāikh Shams al-Dīn of Sulṭānpur. His forefathers immigrated from Multān and settled at Sulṭānpur near Lahore. He was the pupil of Mawlānā 'Abd al-Kādir Saḥrīndī and became one of the most distinguished scholars and saints of India. He was a bigoted Sūfī and looked upon Abū 'l-Faḍl (d. 1011 = 1602) from the beginning as a dangerous man. Contemporary monarchs had a great regard and respect for him. Emperor Humāyūn (937-963 = 1530-1556) conferred on him the title of *Shāikh al-Zilām*. When the empire of India came into the possession of Shāh Shāh (946-952 = 1539-1545) he also honoured him with the title of *Sadr al-Zilām*. He was also a man of great importance during the time of Emperor Akbar (963-1014 = 1556-1605). Bairam Khān Khānān (d. 968 = 1560) exalted his position very much by giving him the sub-division of Thānkawāla which yielded an income of one *luc* of rupees, while Akbar gave him the title of *Makhādūm al-Mulk* by which designation he has become known to posterity. When Akbar introduced his religious innovations and converted people to his "Divine Faith", Makhādūm al-Mulk opposed the Emperor who became very angry with him and ordered him to go on a pilgrimage to Mekka. He therefore started in 987 (1579).

He died or was poisoned in 990 (1582) in Ahmadābād after his return from Mekka.

He is the author of the following books:

1) *Imāt al-Anbiyā*, a work on the chastity of prophets (cf. Badā'ūnī, iii, 70); 2) *Mishkāt al-Dīn*, the life of the prophet (cf. Maḍāhīr al-Umūr, iii, 252); 3) *Ḥikāya Sharh Makhādūm*, a supplementary to Dīnī's commentary on Ibn al-Hādīb's *Kāfiya* (cf. Maḍāhīr al-Umūr, iii, 252); 4) *Sharh Shams al-Tirmidhī*, a commentary on Tirmidhī's *Shams al-Nabī* (cf. Badā'ūnī, iii, 70).

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Kādir Badā'ūnī, *Muntahab al-Tawārikh*, iii, 70; Shāh Nawāz Khān Awrangabādī, *Maḍāhīr al-Umūr*, iii, 252; *Khawāṣṣ al-Aḥyā*, p. 443, 464; *Asnād Akbarī*, transl. by Blochman, p. 172 and 544.

(M. Hidayat Hossain)

MAKHĀDUM-I DJAHĀNİYĀN. [See DJAHĀN BUKHĀRĪ.]

MAKHLAD (BANT), a family of famous Cordovan jurists who, from father to son, during ten generations, distinguished themselves in the study of Fiqh. The eponymous ancestor of the family was Makhled b. Yazīd, who was ḥāḍī of the province of Reyvāh (the *lāra* in the south-west of Spain, the capital of which was Málaga), in the reign of the Emir 'Abd al-Rahmān II, in the first half of the third century A.H. His son, Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān Bakī b. Makhled, was a great jurist and traditionist. He was born in Ramādān 201 (April 817) and after being in Spain the pupil of Malik b. Anas and of Yahyā b. Yahyā al-Lathī, he made a long journey to the East where he perfected himself in the sciences

of Law and Tradition. On his return to Cordova his indisputable mastery earned him the hatred and envy of the chief Spanish jurists, especially of Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Marṣād (cf. Ibn al-Farādī, N° 245; al-Dabbī, N° 572) who tried to get him sentenced to death by accusing him of impiety and heresy. Bakī b. Makhled only owed his safety to the intervention of the secretary to the court of Hāshim b. 'Abd al-'Azīz and was able to end his life under the protection of the Umayyad government, respected by the people of Cordova, where he died in 276 (889). Bakī b. Makhled who, it is believed, was one of the first to introduce the Zāhīrī movement into al-Andalus [see the article *ZITTĀT*], wrote two celebrated books: a *Tafsīr al-Kur'ān* and a *Muḥadḍ* of Muḥammadan traditions, the loss of which is greatly to be regretted if we may believe the laudatory judgment passed on them by Ibn Hārm in his *Kitāb* repeated by al-Makḥḥārī (*Analictes*, ii, 115). On Bakī b. Makhled, cf. Ibn al-Farādī, *Tarīkh 'Ulamā al-Andalus* (B. A. H., vii-viii), N° 283; Ibn Baḥḥawāl, *Sils* (B. A. H., i-ii), N° 277; al-Dabbī, *Bughyat al-mullamān* (B. A. H., iii), N° 584; Ibn 'Abd Rabbīh, *al-Fih*, ii, 366; al-Khūmānī, *Kitāb al-Kuḍāt bi-Kurṭuba*, ed. and transl. J. Ribera, Madrid 1914, index; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-muḥarrir*, ed. Dozy, ii, 112-113, transl. Fagnan, ii, 179-181; al-Makḥḥārī, *Nafḥ al-Fih*, *Analictes*, i, 312; ii, 115 and 120 and index; Dozy, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xx, 598; Goldziher, *Die Zāhīrīen*, Leipzig 1884, p. 115; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i, 164.

The direct descendants of Bakī b. Makhled devoted their scientific activity mainly to commenting on the masterpieces of their celebrated ancestor. A list of these scholars, with bibliographical references, is supplied in a little monograph devoted to the family of the Baḥḥ Makhled by Rafael de Ureña y Sinenjand, *Familias de juristas consultos: Los Benimājad de Córdoba, Homenaje a D. Francisco Codera*, Zaragoza 1904, p. 251-258.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MAKHZEN (A.), from *khazama*, "to shut up; to preserve, to board". The word is believed to have been first used in North Africa as an official term in the second century A.H. applied to an iron chest in which Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, emir of Ifrīkiya, kept the sums of money raised by taxation and intended for the 'Abbāsid caliph of Baghdad. At first this term, which in Morocco is now synonymous with the government, was applied more particularly to the financial department, the Treasury.

It may be said that the term *makhzen* meaning the Moroccan government and everything more or less connected with it at first meant simply the place where the sums raised by taxation were kept, intended to be paid into the treasury of the Muslim community, the *ḥiṣ al-māl*. Later, when the sums thus raised were kept for use in the countries in which they were collected and were no longer paid into the treasury of the Muslim community, and they became as it were, the private treasuries of the communities in which they were collected, the word *makhzen* was used to mean the separate local treasuries and a certain amount of confusion arose between the *makhzen* and the *ḥiṣ al-māl*.

We do find in Spain the expression *'abid al-makhzen* but it still means slave, of the treasury.

rather than slave of the government, and it seems that it was only later in Morocco that in proportion as the state became separated from the whole Muslim community after being successively under the Omayyads of Damascus, the 'Abbasids of Baghdad, the Omayyads of Spain and the Fatimids of Egypt that the word *makhzen* came to be used for this government itself.

To sum up, the word *makhzen*, after being used for the place where the sum intended for the *his al-mal* of the Muslim community were kept was used for the local treasury of the Muslim community of Morocco, when it became separate under the great Berber dynasties: later with the Sharifi dynasties the word was applied not only to the treasury but to the whole organisation more or less administrative which lives on the treasury, that it is to say the whole government of Morocco. In tracing through history the changes of meaning of the word *makhzen*, one comes to the conclusion that not only is the institution to which it is applied not religious in character but on the contrary it represents the combined usurpations of powers, originally religious, by laymen, at the expense of which it has grown up through several centuries. The result of these successive usurpations is that the *makhzen* which originally was only a chest in the treasury came to mean first the treasury itself, and the government and to represent to the Moroccan the sole principle of authority.

We know that the fundamental principle of Muslim society is that of the community: the head of this community is simply an administrator who has to exercise his functions, said the caliph 'Umar, like an honest teacher solely concerned with the interests of his pupils. Of this ideal the only part remaining in practice is that the members of the community are effectively in tutelage. In rapidly surveying the history of the *Makhazen*, we can see how this arbitrary government became gradually established while using the prescriptions of Islam, and how it succeeded in forming in face of the native Berber element which surrounded it a kind of Arab façade, behind which the Berbers in spite of the slowness of their gradual Islamisation, have preserved their institutions, superstitions and their independence. In this connection it cannot be too strongly emphasised that, in spite of their perhaps disputable orthodoxy, the Berbers are Muslims and consider that they belong to the Muslim community. No doubt they do not practise it very frequently but they have the pride of Islam and its intolerance; they have taken Muslim ostracism into the service of their native savagery and it would be a dangerous error to think that they could be open to anti-Muslim sentiments and particularly to imagine that their religious lukewarmness ought to make them favourable to us.

No organisation was made at the first conquest by 'Uqba b. Nafi' in 63 (682 A.D.). All the representatives of Arab culture had to do was to levy heavy tributes in money and slaves to satisfy their own greed and to enable them to send valuable gifts to the caliph of Damascus.

It was the same in 90 (708) with Mu'li b. Nu'air but the conquest of Spain brought over to Islam a large number of Berber tribes by promising them a share in plundering the wealth of the Visigoths. On the other hand the exactions of the Arabs and the desire to escape the demands

of the caliphs facilitated the spread of Kharijite doctrines, the many schools of which made any unity of power impossible and on the contrary increased decentralisation.

The Idrisid dynasty, which its Sharifi origin gives a claim to be the first Muslim dynasty of Morocco and which completed the conversion of the country to Islam only exercised its power over a small part of Morocco. Alongside of it the Barghawāta [p. 11.] heretics and numerous Kharijite emirs continued to exist. The Zenāta Miknassa, Maghāwra and Banū Ifren at a later period were no more able to effect a centralisation of power. It was not till the fifth century A.H. (eleventh A.D.) under the Sanhājī dynasty of the Almoravids that in the reign of Ya'qūb b. Tashfin we can see the beginnings of a *makhzen* which only becomes clearly recognisable under the Almohad dynasty.

It was under the latter that religious unity was first attained in Morocco. The heresy of the Barghawāta and all other schisms were destroyed and a single Muslim community, that of the Almohads, replaced the numerous more or less heterodox sects which had been sharing the country and its revenues. It may be said that the organisation of the *makhzen* which we found in Morocco is fundamentally based on this unification and the measures which resulted from it. The Almohads regarded theirs as the only true Muslim community. All who did not belong to it were infidels whom it was lawful to fight, to kill, to reduce their women and children to slavery and to seize their goods and lands for the benefit of the Almohads, the only orthodox community. The Almohads were thus able to apply to all the territory of their empire the ideal Muslim principle for dealing with land, i.e. that all the lands conquered by them from non-Almohads and even from Almohads whose faith was regarded as suspect were classed as lands taken from infidels and became *ḡubūr* of the Muslim i.e. Almohad community. These *ḡubūr* districts are those whose occupants have to pay the tax called *kharaḍj*. In order to levy this the Sultan 'Abd al-Mu'min had all his African empire surveyed from Gabes to the Wādī Nūn.

A few years later Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr brought to Morocco the ḡhughham and Banū Hīlāl Arabs and settled them on lands belonging to the Muslim community, which had been uninhabited since the destruction of the Barghawāta, the wars of the Almohads with the last Almoravids and large despatches of troops to Spain.

These Arab tribes who formed the *ḡhūsh* (pronounced *ghish* in Morocco) of the Almohads did not pay the *kharaḍj* for the lands of the Muslim community which they occupied. They were *Makhazen* tribes who rendered military service in place of *kharaḍj*. We shall find later the remains of this organisation with the *ḡhūsh* tribes and the tribes of *mā'isha*. The efforts of the Marinids to reconstitute a *ḡhūsh* with their own tribes did not succeed and they had to return to the *makhzen* of Arab tribes brought to Morocco by Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr and even added to it contingents of the Ma'kil Arabs of Sūs.

Under the Banū Wajjīn this movement became more marked and Spanish influences became more and more felt in the more complicated organisation of the central *Makhazen* and by the creation of new offices at the court and in the palace.

The conquests by the Christians by causing the development of the *sawiyas* and the fall of the Banū Waṭṭās brought about the rise of the Sa'diāns [q.v.] of Wādī Dar'a. The latter with their primitive manners as Saharan tribes and under the religious influence of the *shaykhs* of the brotherhoods began to try to bring back the exercise of power to the patriarchal simplicity with which it was wielded in the early days of Islām. The necessities of the government, the intrigues of the tribes and the wars of members of the ruling family against one another soon made necessary the constitution of a proper makhzen with its military tribes, ministers, its crown officials of high and low degree, its governors to whom were soon added the innumerable groups of palace officials which will be mentioned below.

The frequent intercourse between the Sa'diāns and the Turks, who had come to settle in Algeria at the beginning of the xvth century brought to the court of Morocco a certain amount of eastern ceremonial, a certain amount of luxury and even a certain degree of pomp in the life of the sovereign and in that of his entourage and of all the individuals employed in the Makhzen.

It is from this time that really dates the existence of this entity, which is really foreign to the country itself, which lived by exploiting rather than governing it and is known as the Makhzen.

The increasing official relations of Morocco with European powers, the exchange of ambassadors, the commercial agreements, the ransoming of Christian slaves, largely contributed to give this Makhzen more and more the appearance of a regular government. The jealousies of the powers, their desire to maintain the *status quo* in Morocco and the need to have a regular government to deal with them further strengthened the Makhzen both at home and abroad and enabled the Sulṭān Mawlay al-Ḥasan to conduct for nearly twenty years this policy of equilibrium between the powers on one side, and the tribes on the other, who kept till his death the empire of Morocco in existence, built up of very diverse elements, of which the Makhzen formed the façade.

The very humble, almost humiliating, attitude imposed on the European ambassadors at official receptions increased the prestige of the Sulṭān and the Makhzen in the eyes of the tribes. The envoy of the Christian power, surrounded by the presents which he brought, appeared on foot in a court of the palace and seemed to have come to pay tribute to the emir of the Muslims, who was on horseback. All the theatrical side was developed to strike the imagination of the Makhzen with much care and succeeded in creating an illusion of the real efficiency of this organisation in the eyes of both tribes and powers.

Under the Berber dynasties, the Almohads, the Marinids and the Banū Waṭṭās, the military tribes, the *qjaish*, were almost all Arab; under the Sa'diāns they were entirely Arab; to the Djusham and Banū Hilāl Arabs were added the Ma'kil Arabs of Sūs. On the other hand the Sa'diāns had removed from the registers of the *qjaish* a certain number of the Arab tribes who then paid in money the *shharāḍj* for the *ḥabūs* lands of the Muslim community which they occupied. These tribes, in contrast to the *qjaish*, were called tribes of the *nā'iba*, that is to say, according to the etymology proposed for the word, they were

under the tutelage of the makhzen (from *nā'ib* "tutor" or "substitute" for a father) or perhaps that they paid the tribes of the *qjaish* a sum for replacing them (from *nā'ib*, to substitute).

From this time on, Morocco assumed the appearance which it had when France established her protectorate there. The frontier, settled with the Turks in the east, had hardly been altered by the occupation of Algeria by France and the territory of Morocco was, as it still is to-day, divided into two parts: 1. *bilād al-makhzen* or conquered territory; 2. *bilād al-siba'* or land of schism; the latter was almost exclusively occupied by the Berbers.

The *bilād al-makhzen*, which represents official Morocco, was formed of territories belonging to the *ḥabūs* of the Muslim community and liable to the *shharāḍj*.

This land was occupied by Arab tribes, some *qjaish*, others *nā'iba*. Morocco consisted of an Arab government (makhzen) which administered the regions liable to *shharāḍj*, and occupied by Arab tribes, the status of which varied according as they were *qjaish* or *nā'iba*.

The Berber tribes of the *bilād al-siba'* not only refused to allow the authority of the makhzen to penetrate among them, but even had a tendency to go back to the plains from which they had gradually been pushed into the mountains. One of the main endeavours of the present dynasty, the 'Alawī Shurfa' of Tāfilalt, which succeeded the Sa'diāns in the seventeenth century has been to oppose this movement of expansion of the Berber tribes. This is why Mawlay Ismā'īl, the most illustrious Sulṭān of this dynasty, built 70 *ḥajba's* on the frontier of the *bilād al-makhzen* to keep down the Berbers. Hence we have this policy of equilibrium and intrigues which has just been mentioned and which up till quite recent years was the work of the Makhzen.

As we have already said, it was not a question of organising the country nor even of governing it, but simply of holding their own by keeping rebellion within bounds with the help of the tribes of the *qjaish* by extracting from the ports and from the tribes of the *nā'iba* all that could be extorted by every means. From time to time expeditions led by the Sulṭān himself against the unsubjected tribes asserted his power and increased his prestige.

The Makhzen, gradually formed in course of centuries by the possibilities and exigencies of domestic policy as well as by the demands of foreign policy seems to have attained its most complete development in the reign of Mawlay al-Ḥasan, the last great independent Sulṭān of Morocco (1873-1894). The government of Mawlay al-Ḥasan consisted in the first place of the Sulṭān himself, at once hereditary and also, if not exactly elected, at least nominated by the '*ulamā'*' and notables of each town and tribes from among the sons, brothers, nephews and even the cousins of the late ruler. This proclamation is called *ḥukm*. It is in general he who takes control of the Treasury and of the troops when the moment comes to assume the right of succession. It sometimes happens that the late sovereign has nominated his successors, but this does not constitute an obligation on the electors to obey it. There is then no rule of succession to the throne.

Formerly there was only one vizier, the grand vizier: the grand vizierate, a kind of Home

Ministry, was divided into three sections, each managed by a secretary (*kātib*):

1. From the Strait of Gibraltar to the Wād Bū Regreg.
2. From Bū Regreg to the Sahara.
3. Tāfūlīt.

In the reign of Sidi Muhammed (1859—1873), the more frequent and intimate relations with Europe and more particularly the working of the protectorate made it necessary to found a special office for foreign relations, and a *waḥī al-baḥr*, literally Minister of the Sea, was appointed. This does not mean minister for the Navy, but for all that came by sea, i.e. Europeans. This minister had a representative in Tangier, the *nāib al-sulṭān*, who was the intermediary between European representatives and the Central Makhzen. His task was to deal with European complaints and claims from perpetual settlements and to play off against one another the protégés of the European powers, who were certainly increasing in numbers and frequently formed an obstacle to the traditional arbitrary rule of the Makhzen. The régime of the consular protectorate, settled and regulated in 1880 by the Convention of Madrid, had also resulted in discouraging the Makhzen from extending its authority over new territory.

The exercise of this authority was in fact automatically followed by the exercise of the right of protection and from the point of view of resistance to European penetration, the Makhzen had everything to gain by keeping in an apparent political independence the greater part of the territory which thus escaped the influence which threatened in time to turn Morocco into a regular international protectorate.

By a conciliatory native policy and cautious dealing with the local chiefs, the *shaykhs* of the *sūways* and the *Sharīfī* families, the Makhzen was able to exert even in the remotest districts a real influence and never ceased to carry on perpetual intrigues in order to divide the tribes against one another.

It maintained its religious prestige by the hope of preparation for the holy war which was one day to drive out the infidels and sought to penetrate by spreading the Arabic language and the teaching of the Qurʾān and gradually substituting the principles of Muhammadan law of the *sharʿ* for Berber customs. In a word, it continued the conquest of the country by trying to complete its Islamisation and making Islām permeate its customs.

In the reign of Mawḥy al-Ḥasan, the Makhzen consisted of the grand vizier, the *waḥī al-baḥr*, minister of foreign affairs, the *ʿaṭāf* — afterwards called minister of war —, the *amīn al-umamāʾ*, — afterwards minister of finance —, the *kātib al-shikāyāt*, secretary for complaints, who became minister of justice by combining his duties with that of the *ḥāqī ʿl-ḥuqūq*, *Ḳāḍī* of *Ḳāḍis*. These high officials had the offices (*ḥanīḥa*, pl. *ḥanāʾiḥ*) in the *maḥḥwar* at the Palace.

The offices were under the galleries which were built round a large courtyard. At the top of the *maḥḥwar* was the office of the grand vizier, beside which was that of the *ḥāqī al-maḥḥwar*, a kind of captain of the guard, who also made presentations to the sulṭān. The *ḥāqī al-maḥḥwar* was in command of the police of the *maḥḥwar* and he had under his command the troops of the *ḡāḍ*, *maḥḥwarīya*, *masakhrīya* (*ḥanāḥī* — sg.: *ḥanḥa*) etc., as well as all

the bodies of servants outside the palace; the *maḥḥwar al-ḥamā*, grand-master of the stables, the *ḥāqī ḡiḡiḡa*, who had charge of the sulṭān's encampments.

In addition to these *ḥanīḥas* of the *maḥḥwar*, mention must be made of an individual, who as was shown in recent times could play a more considerable part in the government than his actual office would lead one to expect. This is the *ḥāqīb* [q. v.], literally the "curtain", i.e. an official placed between the Sulṭān and his subjects like a curtain. His *ḥanīḥa* was situated between the *maḥḥwar* and the palace proper and he had charge of the interior arrangements of the Sulṭān's household. Under his orders were the various groups of domestic servants (*ḥanāḥī al-dūkhḥiyyīn*), *ḥanāḥī al-ḥuḍūḍ*, who looked after the washing arrangements, *ḥanāḥī al-ḥaḥḥ* who attended to the beds, etc., etc.; he also commanded the eunuchs and even was responsible for the discipline of the women of the Sulṭān, through the *ʿarīḥas* or mistresses of the palace. The *ḥāqīb* is often called grand chamberlain, although he does not exactly correspond to this office.

Around these officers gravitated a world of secretaries of different ranks, of officers of the *ḡāḍ*, then the *ḥāqī al-ḥaḥḥ*, who was in theory in command of 500 horsemen, the *ḥāqī al-maḥḥwar*, who commanded 100 down to a simple *ḥanāḥī*. All this horde of officials, badly paid when paid at all, lived on the country as it could, trafficking shamelessly in the influence which it had or was thought to have and in the prestige it gained from belonging to the court, whether closely or remotely. The influence of these court officials spread throughout the regions controlled by the organisation of Makhzen officialdom, which contributed to the centralisation of authority and its profits.

In this organisation it may be noticed that the authority of the Makhzen properly so-called, i.e. of a lay power, continually increased at the expense of the religious power by a series of changes. No doubt the basis continued to be religious, but the application of power became less and less so and the civil jurisdiction of the *ḥāqīs* and of the Makhzen more and more took the place of the administration of the *sharʿ* by the *Ḳāḍis*, which finally became restricted to questions of personal law and landed property.

The authority of the sulṭān was represented in the towns and in the tribes by the *ḥāqīs*, appointed by the grand vizier and by the *muḥḥasibīs*, whose office owed its origin to the religious law of the *sharʿ*. The *muḥḥasib* supervised and controlled the *ḡāḍ*, fixed the price of articles of food and inspected weights and measures and coins.

The tax of the *nāḥiḥa*, which represented the old *ḡharḡiḡ*, was levied on the non-*ḡāḍ* tribes by the *ḥāqīs* of these tribes. It was one of the principal causes of abuses; the amount of this tax was never fixed and the sums which came from it were in reality divided among the *ḥāqīs*, the secretaries of the Makhzen and the vizier without the sulṭān or the public treasury getting any benefit from them.

The grand vizier also appointed the *nāḥī* officers, who from the reign of Mawḥy ʿAbd al-Rahmān had been attached to the local *nāḥīs* of the *ḥabūs* of the mosques and sanctuaries. The *Ḳāḍis* were appointed by the *ḥāqī ʿl-ḥuqūq*; at the present day they are appointed by the minister of justice.

of vol. iv. by Famey (*Archives Marocaines*, vol. ix. and x.); Akenas, *al-Djalil al-ʿaravani*, lib. F. 1336 (1918); *al-Hulal al-bahya fī Mulūk al-Dawlat al-ʿalawiya*, anonymous MS. of the beginning of the 13th century (xvth c. A.D.); E. Famey, *Choix de Correspondances marocaines*, Paris 1903; M. Nehil, *Lettres chrétiennes*, Paris 1915.

6. European works: Diego de Torrés, *Relation de l'origine et Succès des Cherifs*, Paris 1637, p. 315—320; Sieur Monette, *Relation de captivité, and Histoire des Conquêtes de Mouley Archy* (botté Paris 1682), *passim*; Marmol, *L'Afrique*, French transl., Paris 1667, *passim*; Pidou de St. Olon, *Etat présent de l'empire de Maroc*, Paris 1694, p. 58 *seq.* and p. 153 *seq.*; P. Dominique Buzot, *Histoire du règne de Mouley Ismael*, Rouen 1714, p. 35—62; P. P. Jean de la Faye, Denis Mackar, etc., *Relation du voyage pour la redemption des captifs aux esclaves de Maroc et d'Alger*, Paris 1726, p. 146 *seq.*; Bräthwaite, *Histoire de révolutions de l'Empire de Maroc*, French transl., Amsterdam 1731, p. 214; Georg Høst, *Esfer etulunge om Marokko*, Copenhagen 1779, p. 158—171; L. S. de Chénier, *Recherches historiques sur les Maures et l'histoire de l'empire de Maroc*, Paris 1787, iii. 161—170, 226—244, 391—394, 480—481; *Voyages d'Ali Bey et d'Abbas*, Paris 1814, vol. i., *passim*; Jacopo Gräberg di Hemso, *Specchio geografico e statistico dell' Impero di Marocco*, Genoa 1834, p. 194—217; Garcin de Tassy, *Mémoire sur les noms propres et les titres musulmans*, Paris 1878, p. 38—41; Dr. Oskar Lanz, *Die Mochnanyah in Marokko*, Deutsche Rundschau f. Geogr., 1882; Jules Erckmann, *Le Maroc moderne*, Paris 1885; Henri de la Martinière, *Le Sultan du Maroc et son Gouvernement*, Rev. fr. de l'Et. et des Col., 1885, vol. ii., p. 282—285; L. de Campou, *Un empire qui croît*, Paris 1886; Ch. de Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, Paris 1888, *passim*; L. de Campou, *Le Sultan Mouley Hacen et le Makhzen Marocain*, Paris 1888; El. Reclus, *Géographie universelle*, vol. xi., Paris 1890; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1897, *passim* and esp. vol. ii.; Rouard de Card, *Les traités entre la France et le Maroc*, Paris 1898; Budget Meakin, *The Moorish Empire*, New-York 1899, p. 197—236; Eugène Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1904, p. 172—256; Dr. F. Weisgerber, *Trois mois de campagne au Maroc*, Paris 1904; Gabriel Veyre, *Un Maroc, Dans l'intimité du Sultan*, Paris c. 1905; de Caubries, *Source inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, Paris 1905 *seq.*, *passim*; Gust. Wolffson, *Le Maroc, ce qu'il faut en connaître*, Paris 1906; Louis Massignon, *Le Maroc dans les premières années du 16^{ème} siècle*, *Tableau géographique d'après l'Annuaire*, Algiers 1906, p. 172—184; Chevillon, *Un crépuscule d'Islam*, Paris 1906, p. 190—192; Cte Conrad de Buisseret, *A la Cour de Fez*, Brussels 1907, p. 40—48; Gustave Jeannot, *Etude sociale, politique et économique sur le Maroc*, Dijon 1907, p. 185—268; H. Gaillard and Ed. Michaux-Bellaire, *L'Administration au Maroc — Le Makhzen — Etendue et Limites de son Pouvoir*, Tangier 1909; Michaux-Bellaire, *L'Administration au Maroc*, *Bull. de la Société de Géographie d'Alger et de l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909; Jerónimo Becker, *Historia de*

Marruecos, Madrid 1915, *passim*; Aug. Bernard, *Le Maroc*, Paris 1915.

Periodicals: *Archives Marocaines*, i., p. 1 *seq.*; Salmon, *L'Administration Marocaine à Tanger*, i., p. 56 *seq.*; Michaux-Bellaire, *Les Impôts Marocains*, ii., p. 1—99; *Essai sur l'Histoire politique du Nord Marocain*, xv., p. 53 *seq.*; Xavier Lécureul, *Historique des Douanes au Maroc*, xviii., p. 1—187; A. Peretti, *Le Rais El Khadid Ghilian*.

Revue du Monde Musulman, vol. v., p. 242—274; Michaux-Bellaire, *Un rouage du Gouvernement Marocain, La Benigat ech-chikayat de Mouley Abd el-Hafid*, p. 646—662; Michaux-Bellaire, *Le Palais du Sultan Marocain*, vol. vii.; Michaux-Bellaire, *L'Islam et l'Etat marocain*, vol. ix., p. 1—43; Michaux-Bellaire, *L'Organisation Marocaine*, vol. xii., p. 87—91; A. le Châtelier, *Lettre à un Conseiller d'Etat*, vol. xviii., p. 104—107; *Enquête sur les corporations musulmanes, L'influence du Makhzen*.

Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique Française, 1902, p. 420; *Le Voyage du Sultan*, 1905, suppl., p. 293—304; René Manduit, *Le Makhzen Marocain*, 1904, p. 41; General Desvignac, *La crise marocaine*, p. 50; *L'évolution du Makhzen*, 1905, R. C., p. 517—528; Commandant Ferry, *La réorganisation marocaine*, 1906, p. 335; *Le Sultan et la Cour*, 1907, p. 102; *Le Gouvernement Marocain*, p. 367; *Le Sultan du Sud*, p. 368; *Le déplacement de la Cour de Fez*, 1909, R. C., p. 185 *seq.*; Ed. Doutté, *Les causes de la chute d'un Sultan, Le Royaume marocain*. (M. BURET)

MAKHZUM (BANK) along with the Omayyads, the aristocratic clan of Mecca. This assertion is contrary to the theory popularised by the *Sira* in virtue of which the ancestor of the aristocratic families was Kuraish [q. v.]. About the middle of the 17th century A. D. we find that among the clans of Kuraish [q. v.] that held in most consideration was the Band Makhzum, which traced its descent through Yakaça b. Murra to the legendary Fihir (Kuraish) without going through Kuraish. At this period the Makhzum controlled everything at Mecca except the sanctuary. They alone were able to counterbalance the growing influence of the Omayyads. It is at this time that their name becomes occasionally synonymous with Kuraish (Ibn Duraid, *Kitaḥ al-ʿAshraf*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 94, 10).

The Makhzum seem to have owed their primacy to Mughira b. ʿAbd Allāh, a contemporary of ʿAbd al-Muttalib and grandson of the eponymous ancestor of the clan. The adjective Mughiri thus comes to be used for Makhzumi. His son, Hishām b. al-Mughira, is even said to have had the title "lord (rabb) of Mecca" (Ibn Duraid, *ʿAshraf*, p. 93, 10). The Kuraish are said to have dated one of their eras from the death of this individual, if the reference is not to Walid b. al-Mughira. Tradition hesitates between these two Makhzumis. The influence of the Makhzum was preponderant in the *malaʾ*, or council of notables which decided affairs at Mecca. It is frequently a Makhzumi who speaks in name of the *malaʾ*, as for example in the discussion with Muhammad, at the beginning of the preaching of Islam. They are believed to have opened up to Meccan commerce the principal routes to foreign markets. For their intelligence, their activity — they were said to be "ardent as

fire" (*Aghāni*, Būṣī, xv, 8 *infra*) — their patrician pride and particularly their wealth they were envied by the other Meccan clans. In a word they threw into the shade the descendants of Kusayy like the Banū Hāshim, for whose benefit the traditional theory seems to have been put into circulation. They lost a large number of members at the battle of Badr; after this disaster from which they never recovered, they had to yield the first place to the Umayyads.

What injured their reputation in Muslim tradition was their opposition to the rise of Islām. Tradition has chosen from them in the person of Abū Jahl [q. v.] the type of the intractable opponent of Islām. In Mecca the Makhzūmī Walid b. al-Maghira was numbered among the "mockers" of the Prophet. Several verses of the Meccan sūras are said to be directed against him (Ibn Duraid, *Ṭahkīk*, p. 60-61). Before becoming the "sword of Allāh" Khālid b. al-Walid [q. v.] fought with the majority of his people against Muḥammad at Badr, Uhud, Khandaq etc. This persistent opposition explains why they and the Umayyads are called *al-Aḥḍarān min Quraysh*: "the two wicked clans of Quraysh" (Tabari, *Taḥṣīl al-Kurʾān*, xlii, 130).

After the *Fatḥ* (conquest of Mecca) they adopted the new religion without enthusiasm; many went and settled in Madīna, which now became the capital of Islām, so as to get in touch with the governing circles. The Prophet was able to use the military talents of Khālid but had to shut his eyes to his disobedience. Neither he nor the other Makhzūmīs showed themselves more manageable by the Caliphs, as they refused to come to terms with the Umayyads and to respond to the advance of Abū Sufyān (Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 203, 273-5). When the father of Abū Bakr heard that his son had been elected Caliph, the old man's first question is said to have been: "Did the 'Abd Manāf and Makhzūm give their assent?" (Ibn al-Athir, *Uṣul al-Ghāba*, iii, 222). The author of the *Tahf al-Arabi* 'i-Arab (ed. Mann, p. 170, 16) expresses surprise at his discovering in the pre-Hijra genealogies of the Makhzūmīs, names like 'Abd and 'Uḥayr, showing pre-occupation with religion.

Abū Bakr only had peace with Khālid by sending him to wage war in remote lands and giving him *ṭaba* blanche. With the second caliph there was open conflict. 'Umar, although he is said to have been the son of a Makhzūmī mother, had to suppress the turbulent general more used to conquer than to obey. The Makhzūmīs came into conflict with 'Othmān over 'Anmār b. Yazīd [q. v.], a client of their family (Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, iv, 121, 266, 279, 360). They declared against 'Alī in a body 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Khālid b. al-Walid [q. v.] who at first supported Mu'āwīya in the end by his independence aroused the misgivings of the Umayyad caliph. The Makhzūmīs accused Mu'āwīya of having had their relative poisoned and assuming the right to wreak vengeance, they gave a new proof of their independent spirit. From this time they were on bad terms with the Umayyad caliphs, as they had been with earlier caliphs, being naturally inclined to resist authority and to offer a useless opposition. When 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zuhayr [q. v.] rebelled against Yazīd I, they adhered almost without exception to his cause. In return the Meccan anti-caliph appointed one of them his representative in Basra.

The Marwanids after their triumph agreed to

bear no grudge against the Makhzūmīs. They even chose members of the clan for the office of governor of Madīna, hitherto reserved for an Umayyad. After, as before, the Hijra, the Makhzūmīs continued to be reckoned among the richest capitalists in Mecca. They had about 5,000 mithqāl of gold laid out in the caravan which was the cause of the battle of Badr. It was to them that Muḥammad applied on the eve of Hunayn for a loan of 40,000 dirhams. Their systematic opposition to authority put them completely out of the running for any of the great administrative offices in which the members of the Quraysh clans enriched themselves. Their aristocratic pride did not prevent them however from seeking profit in commerce and even in industry. We know this from the story of 'Umar b. 'Alī Rāṣa [q. v.], the most famous of the Quraysh poets. 'Umar kept 70 of his slaves employed in the weaving-mills established in Mecca (*Aghāni*, i, 37, 5). Another Makhzūmī, a contemporary of 'Umar, was known as "the monk (*rāḥib*) of Quraysh" on account of his merit and his assiduity in prayer (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaṭai*, ed. Sachau, v, 153, 20). Much better known than this ascetic and continually quoted on questions of *Fiqh* and *Ḥadīth* is the Makhzūmī Sa'd b. al-Musayyib [q. v.], one of the most famous *ṭabībīs* of the first century A. H.

With the coming of the 'Abbāsids, influence passed over to the Iranians. Gradually the Makhzūm, like other Quraysh clans, fell into obscurity. At the present day there are still families bearing the name Makhzūmī. It remains to be seen to what extent they are justified in claiming descent from the Makhzūmī, if it is not in the female line as in the case of Sirāj al-Dīn al-Makhzūmī al-Himā (cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii, 98). Kalkashandī (*Suḥb al-A'ḥab*, Cairo, i, 213) justly remarks that the tribe of the Banū Khālid which led a nomadic life around Hima has only the name in common with the great Makhzūmī captain. The male line from Khālid b. al-Walid is said to have become extinct very early (cf. Ibn al-Athir, *Uṣul al-Ghāba*, v, 249, *infra*), a statement disputed by the Sirāj al-Dīn mentioned above.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article cf. Ibn Duraid, *Ṭahkīk*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 60 *supra*, 91 *supra*; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaṭai*, ed. Sachau, v, 88 *supra*, 328-330; *Aghāni*, iii, 100, 102; xv, 11 *supra*; Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 171, 238, 272; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-ʿIṣṭiṣāṭ al-fird*, ii, 47; Ibn Kutsība, *Uyūn al-Akhbār*, ed. Brockelmann, p. 236, 243; P. Schwarz, *Der Dīwan des Umar b. al-Rāṣa*, fascicule 4, Leipzig 1909, p. 1-34; H. Lammen, *Études sur le régime du Califé Omayyade*, *Mo'arad* I, p. 4-11 (reprint from *M. F. O. R.*, i-iii); do., *La Mequie à la veille de l'Algérie*, p. 24, 35, 53, 67, 75, 213, 223, 231, 316 (reprint from *M. F. O. R.*, ix).

(H. LAMMENS)

AL-MAKIN b. AL-AMID, DIBRUGI ('ABD ALLAH) b. AMR b. YUSUF b. AMR b. AL-MAKIN, the Christian author of a world-chronicle in Arabic. His life has been several times treated by western authors in encyclopaedias and other works of reference; but nothing can be learned of their sources from their articles. Even Brockelmann (i, 348) has to be content with giving the traditional biography and relies upon his European predecessors. To avoid repetition

here, we only give the dates of his birth and death, 602 (1205) and 672 (1273). The latter date is given by Ḥaḍḍī Khaliḥ, ii. 104, No. 2103. His grandfather, according to J. H. Hottinger, *Fruchtbaum*, p. 75 299, died in 606 and his father in 636.

Al-Makin's world-chronicle consists of two parts, the first of which deals with the pre-Islamic world from the Creation onwards and the second with Muslim history down to 658 (1260). The work is so planned that the whole history of the world is given in the form of successively numbered biographies of its most important men. Near the beginning the discussion of several cosmological questions and the several climes is inserted. Down to 586 A.C. it is based on Biblical history; the numeration of the biographies begins with Adam as No. 1. For the period after the destruction of Solomon's temple there come on the usual scheme the dynasties of Eastern Asia, which in turn are succeeded by Alexander, the Romans and the Byzantines. In this and in the second part, as the author himself tells us, he is following the model of al-Ṭabarī's chronicle.

The work which is entitled *al-Maḍīn al-mubārak* exists in numerous manuscripts. The first part is regularly quoted with a Latin translation by Hottinger, *Synopsis Orientale* (1658) in the chapter *De usu linguarum orientalium in theologia historica* on various facts of history. The chapter on Alexander the Great has been edited in Ethiopic and translated into English by E. A. W. Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great* (1896). The second part was edited and translated by Th. Erpenius under the title *Historia Saracenicorum . . . a Georgio Elmachino*, 1625; English and French translations appeared soon after. Many emendations were given by Köhler in Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, vii—ix, xl, xiv, xvii. A critical edition of the whole work is an urgent desideratum. How important it is for Oriental church history has been shown by A. v. Gutschmid, *Verzeichnis der Patriarchen von Alexandria* = *AT. Schr.*, ii., 1890, p. 395—525. This is sufficient to show how necessary would be a comprehensive investigation of al-Makin's place in historical tradition, which could only be undertaken on the basis of a certain text. Besides it is evident that al-Makin used old sources independently which are not known to his immediate predecessors like Eutychius [q. v.] and his contemporary, much quoted by him, Ibn al-Rāḥib (Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 349 where of course it should be 669 = 1270) with whom he agrees in the numbering of the biographies which are also used by al-Ṭabarī. In the chapter on Alexander the Great, the Ethiopic translation of which edited by Budge agrees very closely with the Arabic original, are found long word for word extracts from the very old Hermetic work in Arabic entitled *al-Ḥisām al-kabīr* (cf. Stein-schneider, *Zur pseudopigraph. Lit.*, 1862, p. 37; *Die arab. Übers. u. d. Griech. Centralbl. f. Bibliothekswesen*, chap. iii., 1893, p. 88), which had been previously copied in the *Ghāyat al-Hakīm* of Pē-Maḍīnī (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 243, cf. Ritter, *Placita, sive arab. Handbuch hellenist. Magic, Vorträge d. Biol. Warburg*, i. 94 299; ed. by Ritter and transl. by Ritter and Plessner in preparation for *Studien d. Biol. Warburg*), in Budge's work is also given the Ethiopic translation of Ibn al-Rāḥib's account of Alexander which in contrast to the Arabic text in Cheikh's edition

(*C.S.C.O. Arab.*, mfi., 1903) is here not simply a brief list of events but is a very full account. Only general statements are given from the above mentioned Hermetic work and do not compel the belief that it was used independently so that in spite of all agreements between him and Ibn al-Rāḥib, al-Makin must really have worked independently of him. That the reverse might be the case and Ibn al-Rāḥib be dependent on al-Makin is impossible because al-Makin expressly quotes Ibn al-Rāḥib (cf. Budge, ii. 380, note 7). Since Cheikh only published the Ibn al-Rāḥib text of Abrahamus Ecchellensis, which is perhaps an abbreviation of the basic text while the Ethiopic translation perhaps reproduces the original form, the question of the relations between the two ecclesiastical writers cannot yet be definitely settled; but even the Alexander chapter shows that it is of the utmost importance to settle the problem.

On the continuation of the Chronicle by Maḥmūd b. Abī Ṭ-Ḥaḍḍī, see Brockelmann, *op. cit.*

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned cf. Jourdain in *Revue*, *supra*, new ed., iii. 215 s. v. Ecchellensis, 413 s. v. El Makin; E. Rödiger in Ersch and Gruber, xxxiii. 426 and the others mentioned by Brockelmann and the sources cited by him. On the text cf. Seybold, *Zu El Makin's Weltchronik*, *Z.D.M.G.*, lvi. 140—153; reproduction from the Breslau MS. mentioned there in Severus Ibn al-Muḥallaf, *Alexandrinische Patriarchatsgeschichte*, ed. Seybold, Hamburg 1912, t. 5; for Byzantine history cf. Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. byz. Lit.*, p. 368, 401; on the Alexander chapter of Ps-Aristoteles, *Secretum secretorum*, ed. R. Steele (*Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, v., 1920), index s. v. Al Makin, (thereon Plessner, *O.L.Z.*, 1925, p. 912 199; *lit.*, xvi. 93, note 5 and the introduction to the edition in preparation of the *Ghāyat al-Hakīm*; Wilhelm Hertz, *Aristoteles in den Alexander-Dichtungen der Mittelalters*, *Gez. Abh.*, 1905, esp. p. 34 299.

(M. PLESSNER)

AL-MAKKARĪ, ABU 'L-ARAB AHMAD b. MUHAMMAD b. AHMAD b. YAHYA AL-TILIMSĀNĪ AL-MALIKĪ SHIHĀB AL-DĪN, a Maghribi man of letters and biographer, born at Tilmisān (Tlemcen, q. v.) c. 1000 (1591—92) d. at Cairo in Rjmad II 1041 (Jan. 1632). He belonged to a family of scholars, natives of Makkara (about 12 miles S. E. of Malla, in the present province of Constantine in Algeria). One of his paternal ancestors, Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Makkari, had been chief judge of Fās and one of the teachers of the famous Lisan al-Din Ibn al-Khatib of Granada. He himself received a wide education from his early youth; his principal teacher was his paternal uncle Abū 'Uthmān Sa'īd (d. at Tlemcen in 1030 (1620—21); on him cf. Ben Chenech, *Iḍām*, § 103). He then left his native town and went to Marrākush and Fās where he became *Imām* and *Mafī* of the great mosque of al-Karawīy from 1022 (1613) to 1027 (1617). He then set out for the Holy Places; after doing so he came to Cairo in 1028 (1618) where he stayed for some months and married. In the next year he made a journey to Jerusalem then returned to Cairo. In 1037 (1627) he again made the pilgrimage which he was to repeat several times later. At Mecca as well as at Medina on these occasions

he taught *ḥadīth* in a way that attracted much attention. He again made stays at Jerusalem and Damascus where he was received at the Madrasa Dīnīyya by the learned Ahmad b. Shāhin. In this city also his lectures on Muslim Tradition were largely attended. He then returned to Cairo and while he was preparing to return to Damascus to settle there permanently, he fell ill and died.

In spite of his long stay in the East, it was in Morocco that al-Makkārī collected the essential materials for his work as the historian and biographer of Muslim Spain, especially at Marrākush in the library of the Sa'dian Sultāns (now in part in the Escorial; this is how al-Makkārī consulted among other works the unique copy of the *Muḥammad* of Ibn Marzūq: cf. *Hispania*, v. 8 19). Indeed his masterpiece, written in the East at the suggestion of Ibn Shāhin from materials collected by him in the Maghrib, is a long monograph on Muslim Spain and on the famous encyclopaedist of Granada, Liṣān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Nafḥ al-Fīṭḥ min Ghayn al-Andalus al-Raḥīb wa-Dhikr Waṭrinā Liṣān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb*, an immense compilation of historical and literary information, poems, letters and quotations very often taken from works now lost. It is this that gives the *Nafḥ al-Fīṭḥ* an inestimable value and puts it in the first rank for our sources of Muslim Spain from the conquest to the last days of the "Reconquista". Even for the later period it is the only Arabic source that we still possess.

The *Nafḥ al-Fīṭḥ* consists of two quite distinct parts, a monograph on the history and literature of Muslim Spain and the monograph on Ibn al-Khaṭīb. The first part is divided as follows: 1. physical geography of al-Andalus. 2. Conquest of al-Andalus by the Arabs, period of the governors. 3. History of the Umayyad Caliphs and of the petty dynasts (*Mulūk al-ḥawāṣif*). 4. Description of Cordova, its history and its monuments. 5. Spanish Arabs who have made the journey to the East. 6. Orientals who have made the journey to Spain. 7. Sketches of literary history, the intellectual and moral qualities of the Spanish Arabs. 8. The "reconquista" of Spain and the expulsion of the Muslims. The second part contains 1. Origin and biography of the ancestors of Ibn al-Khaṭīb. 2. biography of Ibn al-Khaṭīb. 3. biographies of his teachers. 4. letters in rhymed prose of the chancelleries of Granada and of Fās, sent or received by Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*mudhakkāt*). 5. a selection of his works in prose and verse. 6. analytical list of his works.

The *Nafḥ al-Fīṭḥ* was printed in full at Būlāq in 1279 and at Cairo in 1302 and 1304 (4 vols.). The first part was published at Leyden from 1855 to 1861 under the title of *Annales sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes d'Espagne*, by R. Dory, G. Dugat, L. Kiehl and W. Wright. In 1840, D. Pascual de Gayangos had published in English, at London, under the title *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, a version adapted from the part of the first half which deals with the history of Muslim Spain. A critical translation of this monumental work in its entirety remains to be done.

Al-Makkārī also wrote other important works, among which special mention must be made of a lengthy monograph on the famous ʿāshī 'Iyāḥ (q.v.) *Asḥar al-Riyāḥ ft Asḥar al-ḥayāt 'Iyāḥ* publ. at Tunis in 1322 in 2 vols. A list with reference

to known MSS. will be found in Brockelmann and Ben Cheneb.

Bibliography: Muhammad Maṣūṭa, *al-Durr al-Thamīn*, Cairo 1306, p. 41; al-Yāsī, *al-Muḥaddarāt*, Fās 1317, p. 59; al-Khaṭīb, *Naḥḥ al-Abḥāṭ*, Cairo 1294, p. 293; Ibn Maṣūm, *Sulṣat al-Aḥ*, Cairo 1324, p. 589; al-Muḥibbi, *Khaṭibat al-Aḥ*, Cairo 1284, l. p. 302; al-Ifrānī, *Sufwat man intaḥar*, Fās, n. d., p. 71; al-Kādīrī, *Nayḥ al-Maḥḥān*, Fās 1315, i. 157; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, Göttingen 1882, p. 265; Dugat, *Notice sur al-Makkārī*, at the top of the edition of the *Annales*; R. Basset, *Notice sommaire des manuscrits orientaux de deux bibliothèques de Liège*, Liège 1894, p. 24; Jo., *Recherches bibliographiques sur les sources de la Salomat al-Anṣar*, p. 22; N° 33; F. Pons Boigues, *Essays bibliographiques*, p. 417; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, II, 296; Ben Cheneb, *Idjama*, § 102; Huart, *Litt. ar.*, p. 374; Carra de Vaux, *Les Peintures de l'Islam*, I, p. 158; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens de Chérfa*, p. 93 and note 3.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-MAKKĪ, ABŪ TALĪB MUHAMMAD b. 'ALĪ AL-ḤAKĪMĪ, d. in Baghdād in 386 (996), an Arab muḥaddith and mystic, head of the theological madhhab of the Sālihiyya [q.v.] of Baṣra. His principal work is the *Kut al-Kuṭūb* (Cairo 1310, 2 vols.) whole pages of which have been copied by al-Ghazālī into his *Iḥyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn*.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, I, 200; Sayid Murtadā, *Ḥāf*, ed. Cairo, II, 67, 69 19; Shā'rawī, *Lafḥ*, ed. Cairo, II, 28; Ibn 'Abd al-Rundī, *Rasā'il ḥabṣ*, lith. Fās 1320, p. 149, 200-201. (L. Massignon)

MAKRĀN, the coastal region of Balūchistān, extending from about 39° to 65° 35' E. and inland from the coast to the Siyāhān Range, a little beyond 27° north. This tract was known to the Greeks as Gedrosia, and was inhabited by the Ichthyophagi, or fish-eaters, the Persian translation (*Māk-Kaurān*) of whose name supplies a fanciful derivation for its present name, which is traced, with more probability, to a Dravidian source.

In Persian legend Kaiḫuraw of Irān captured the country from Afrasiyāb of Tūrān, and both Cyrus and Semitamis marched through it. In 325 B.C. it was traversed by Alexander in his retreat from India, and fell, later, under the dominion of the Sasanians, but was occasionally absorbed into the Hindu kingdom of Sind. It was annexed by the Arabs in the course of the rapid expansion of the empire of Islām in the early days of the caliphate, and it was through Makrān that Muhammad b. Qasim invaded Sind in 711 A.D., and established the first Muslim settlement to the east of the Indus. Marco Polo mentions it in 1290 as the most westerly part of India, under an independent chief, probably a Muslim, who found it unnecessary to make any pretence of submission either to Persia or to India. Indigenous tribes ruled the country until they were ousted by the Gīkīs from India, but the Persian monarchs reckoned Makrān as part of Balūchistān, which was included in the great province of Kirmān. In the middle of the eighteenth century the Ahmadi Khāns of Kalāt established their suzerainty over the country, and in 1879 Colonel Goldsmid demarcated the frontier between Persian Makrān and eastern Makrān, which remains subject to

the Khm̄ of Kalat, though British intervention has frequently been necessary to compose the disputes between him and the dominant tribes of the province, Gikr̄, Nūghr̄wān̄, Bimudjān̄ and Shīwār̄. Cultivators of the soil are Bālūm̄, and tribes of inferior social status and the fishermen form a class apart.

The climate of the country varies with the altitude. Near the coast it is uniformly hot, but not unpleasant; in Keč or Kedj, from which eastern Makrân is known as Kedj Makrân, the winter is dry and cool, the summer intensely hot; and higher still Pandigū is bitterly cold in winter and moderately hot in summer.

Bibliography: Ibn Khurādībīh, *B. G. A.*; Abū Ishāk al-Ishāqī, *B. G. A.*; Ibn Hawkal, *B. G. A.*; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldan*, ed. de Goeje, index; *Cambridge History of India*, vol. i.

(T. W. HAIG)

AL-MAKRÎZÎ **ABU 'L-'ABDŪS AHMAD B. 'ALI B. 'ABD AL-KĀDIR 'AL-HUSAYN TAḤŪ AL-DĪN**, Arabic historian, b. 766 (1364) at Cairo, grandson of the Hanafī Ibn al-Sā'igh who educated him according to his school; but on attaining his majority he went over to the Shāfi'is, attacked the Hanafis and even showed Zāhiri tendencies. He began his career as deputy ḥāfi in Cairo and rose to be head of the al-Hakīmīya mosque and teacher of tradition at the al-Mu'ayyadīya madrasa. In 811 (1408) he was transferred as administrator of the waḥf at the Kālīnīsiya and at the Nūrī hospital and also as teacher at the al-Ashrafīya and al-Ikbalīya madrasas to Damascus. About ten years later he returned to Cairo as a private individual to devote himself entirely to literary work. He spent five years in Mecca after his pilgrimage in 854 (1430). He died in Cairo after a long illness on Thursday the 27th Ramaḍān 845 (Feb. 9, 1442).

His literary activity began with his local history of Egypt dealing mainly with topography. He then extended his interest to neighbouring lands as far as Abyssinia and dealt also with questions of social history such as weights and measures and coinage. His principal work, the *Kh̄ṭa*, seems however to be based to a large extent on that of a predecessor, al-Awhādī, which he simply appropriated without acknowledgement according to al-Sakhāwī's well-founded charge. After a very long full historical and geographical introduction he begins his description of the country with Alexandria and goes with particular thoroughness into the topography of Fustāt and Cairo. On the sources of the work see Khayun Gaest, *J. R. A. S.*, 1902, p. 103 sqq. It is entitled *al-Muḥallī wa 'l-'Aḥbār fī Dhikr al-Kh̄ṭa wa 'l-Aḥbār*, Bulāq 1270, 2 vols. fol., Cairo 1308, 1324—1326, 4 vols., ed. G. Wiet (*M. L. F. A. O.*, i—v, 1911—1927) transl.: Makrīzī, *Histoire de l'Égypte*, trad. de l'arabe et accompagnée de notes hist. et géogr. by E. Blochet, Paris 1908; *Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte* by M., transl. by U. Boustani and P. Casanova (*M. L. F. A. O.*, i—vi, 1893—1920); cf. Taḥī al-Dīn Ahmad al-Makrīzī, *Narrative of expeditionibus aeternis Dimgathum*, ed. H. A. Hamaker, Amsterdam 1824; Makrīzī's *Geschichte der Copten* of F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1845; P. Ravanne, *Essai sur l'histoire et la topographie du Caire d'après M.*, Paris 1890; P. Casanova, *Histoire et description de la capitale du Caire d'après M.*, li. 1894—1897. Synopses of the *Kh̄ṭa* were made

by Ahmad al-Hanafī under the title *al-Rawḍa al-hadiya* (s. Petersch, *Kat. Ar. Hist. Gotha*, No. 1685) and Abu 'l-Sūrī Muhammad al-Bakrī al-Siddīqī in the year 1054 (1644) under the title *Kaṣf al-Aḥbār min al-Kh̄ṭa wa 'l-Aḥbār* (Leyden, No. 974; Paris, No. 1765—1766; St. Petersburg, As. Mus., No. 237; Ahmad Taimūr Pāshā in *La revue de l'ar.*, iii. 334; cf. Vollers, *Note sur un ms. ar. abrégé de M. in Bull. de la soc. égypt. géogr.*, 3 series, No. 2, p. 131—139). As a supplement to his main work he then wrote a history of the Pālmīds (*Ittīḥ al-Hunafā' bi-Aḥbār al-A'imma wa 'l-Kh̄ṭa*), first publ. from the unique Gotha autograph by H. Baer, Tübingen 1908) and of the Aiyūbids and Mamlūks 577—840 (1181—1436) (*al-Sulūk li-Muḥarrifāt Duwal al-Mulūk*, MSS. s. G. A. L. ii. 39; *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks*, transl. by Quatremère, 2 vols., Paris 1837—1844), which was continued by al-Sakhāwī (Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 902 = 1497) under the title *al-Tibā al-mustāḥ fī Dhikr al-Sulūk* (*Continuation de l'histoire des Mamlouks de M. par al-Sakhāwī*, texte ar. d'après le ms. unique conservé à la bibl. égypt. rev. and corr. by A. Zeki Bey, Rev. d'Ég., li. iii, Bulāq 1896—1897, ed. E. Gaillardot, Cairo 1897) and by Ibn Taghribirdī (s. E. L. i. 103). As a further supplement to the *Kh̄ṭa*, Makrīzī planned two large biographical works but they remained unfinished on account of the enormous scale on which they were planned. He intended to write the lives of all the rulers and famous men who had lived in Egypt in 80 volumes entitled *al-Muḥallī* but was only able to complete 16 of them of which 3 are preserved in autograph in Leyden (*Cat. codic. ar.*, No. 1032, perhaps also 1103) and one in Paris (No. 2144), see Dozy, *Notice sur quelques mss. arabes*, Leyden 1847, p. 8—16, a portion in van Vloten, *Z. D. M. G.*, li. 224. His collection of biographies of contemporaries entitled *Durar al-'Uḥūd al-farīda fī Tarāḍim al-'A'yān al-muḥallī* intended to be arranged in alphabetical order also remained a torso (a portion of the autograph of vol. i, *Alif* and a part of *'Ain*, Gotha, No. 1771). He also dealt with a number of historical questions in separate essays, some of which are preserved in two collected volumes, Paris, No. 4657 and Leyden, No. 2408 (the latter in part written by the author himself, and in part revised by him, see Dozy, *Notice*, p. 17). The most important of these deal with the history of the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids (*al-Niḥā' wa 'l-Takḥārum fī-mā balma Bani Umayya wa-Bani Hāshim*, ed. G. Voa, Leyden 1888, and *Dhikr mā warada fī Bani Umayya wa-Bani 'l-'Abbās*, Vienna No. 1887; *al-Durar al-muḥallī fī 'l-Tarāḍim al-Dawla al-islāmīya*, Cambridge, Preston, p. 2), the Arab tribes who migrated into Egypt (*al-Bayān wa 'l-'Iṣṣā' 'amma bi-'Arq Mīr min al-'Arab*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1847), the geography of Hadramawt based on enquiries made of pilgrims from there whom he met in Mecca (*al-Turfa al-zharība min Aḥbār Wādī Hadramawt al-muḥallī*, ed. P. Noskowsky, Bonn 1866), the Muslim princes in Abyssinia (*al-Itmām bi-Aḥbār min bi-'Arq al-Habasha min Mulūk al-islām*, Cairo 1895, ed. Fr. Th. Rink, Leyden 1790, cf. J. Guidi, *Sul testo del Itmām d'al-M. in Centenario della nascita di Mich. Amari*, Palermo 1910, li. 387—394), on the Ziyānids in Tiencen (*Tarāḍim Mulūk al-Ghawr*, Leyden, *op. cit.*, according to Dozy's hypothesis, originally a portion of the *Durar al-'Uḥūd*), Islamic coins and

measures (*Nuḥḍat al-'Uḥūd fī Umūr al-Nuḥūd*, Cairo 1298, ed. O. G. Tychsen, Rostock 1797; *Traité des monnaies musulmanes*, transl. by S. de Sacy in *Mag. enl.* by Millin, II/iv., 1797, p. 472; III/L, p. 38 299, revised reprint, Paris 1797, an edition revised by the author *Shuḥūr al-'Uḥūd fī Dhikr al-Nuḥūd*, printed under the title *al-Nuḥūd al-ḥadīma wa 'l-islāmīya*, Stambul 1298 in a collected volume; *Risālat al-Makrūzī wa 'l-Mawāṣin al-ḥarīya*, ed. O. G. Tychsen, Rostock 1800). He also wrote a general geography under the title *Djānī al-Aḥḥār min al-Rawḍ al-miṣṣūr* (Berlin, N^o 6049, Cairo, v. 40) what work he drew upon for this is still uncertain; in Paris, N^o 5919, al-Iḥṣā' *Nuḥāt al-Muḥṭāḥ fī 'l-ḥiṣṣāt al-'Aḥḥār* is said to be the basis; Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorf*, p. 361 identifies it with the *al-Rawḍ al-miṣṣūr fī Khabar al-Aḥḥār* mentioned by Ḥādḥī Khalfā, III., N^o 6598 of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyarī, which is said still to exist in the Karawīn mosque of Fez. In some of these shorter essays he touches on theology, a subject he does not elsewhere deal with, dogmatics in the essay composed in 813 (1410) entitled *al-Bayān al-muḥṭāḥ fī 'l-Farḥ bain al-Tawḥīd wa 'l-Talḥīd* the autograph of which is in Leyden, Amin, N^o 188 (cf. also Cairo, vii. 565), *Tadwīn al-Tawḥīd* (in Paris) and tradition in lectures on the family and domestic arrangements of the Prophet, which he delivered in Mecca (*Ḥikā' al-Aḥḥār fī-mā li 'l-Nabī min al-ḥafala wa 'l-Marā'*, in 6 vols., Gotha 1830, Stambul, Köprülü, N^o 1004). To supplement this work, towards the end of his life, he planned a work which beginning with the Creation, was to be also a general geography to give the genealogies of the Arab tribes and the history of the Persians down to the Sāsānians under the title *al-Khabar 'ani 'l-Baḥār*, at which he was still working in 844 (1441) (parts in the autograph Stambul Aya Sophia, N^o 3362 and Fāḥ, N^o 4338—4341, others in the copy Aya Sophia, N^o 3363—3366, Strasbourg, s. Nöldeke, *Z. D. M. G.*, xl. 306, cf. T. Tauer in *Islamica*, I. 357—364). Even later than this work which he quotes in it was the essay *Ḍaw' al-Sarī fī Ma'rifa al-Aḥḥār Taṭaww al-Dārī* (in the Leyden collected volume and also in Leyden, N^o 1080, Brit. Mus., p. 669).

Bibliography: Suyūṭī, *Ḥimā al-Muḥṭāḥ*, I. 321; de Sacy, *Chrest. arab.*, I. 112; Hamaker, *Spec. int.*, p. 207; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtskreiter*, p. 482; Goldziher, *Zabiratin*, p. 196—202; G. A. L., II. 38. (C. BROCKELMANN)

MAKRÛH. [See SIKRĀ']

MAKS, toll, customs duty, is a loanword in Arabic and goes back to the Aramaic *mākā*, cf. Hebrew *maḥar* and Assy. *makā*; from it is formed a verb *m-k-ḥ* I, II, III and *mukḥār*, the collector of customs. According to the Arabic tradition preserved in Ibn Sida even in the Ḍahīliyya there were market-dues called *maks* so that the word must have entered Arabic very early. It is found in Arabic papyri towards the end of the first century A. H.

Becker has dealt with the history of the *maks*, especially in Egypt, and we follow him here. The old law books use *maks* in the sense of 'utht', the tenth levied by the merchants, more properly the equivalent of an excise duty than of a custom. They still show some opposition to the *maks*, then give it due legal force, but the word con-

tinued to have unpleasant associations, cf. the ḥadīth: *inna ḥāḥā 'l-makrī fī 'l-nār*: 'the tax-collector will go to hell': Goldziher has suggested that the Jewish view of the publican may have had some influence here.

The institution of the customs duty was adopted by Islām about the beginning of the Omayyad period or shortly before it. While theological theory demanded a single customs area in Islām, the old frontiers remained in existence by land and water, and Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia were separate customs areas. The amount of the duty in the canon law was settled not so much by the value of the goods as by the person, i.e. the religion of the individual paying it; but in practice, attention was paid to the article and there were preferential duties and no attention was paid to the position of the owner in regard to Islām. The laws of taxation were very complicated and graduated; the duties rose in course of time from the tenth (*uḥr*) to the fifth (*ḥāḥā*).

The Egyptian *maks* was levied on the frontier at al-Arīḥ and in the ports (*ṣawāḥil*) 'Aḥḥāb, al-Kuṣair, al-Tūr and al-Suwais but there was also an octroi to be paid in al-Fuṣṭāṭ at a place called Maks. This name is said to have replaced an old Unm Dunain and then became identified with the Maks=custom-house of Cairo. All grain had to pass through here before it could be sold and two dirhams per *arṣab* and a few minor charges had to be paid on it. Further details of the administration of the *maks* in the earliest period are not known but there are references towards the end of the first century A. H. to a *ḥāḥā maks Miḥr* in papyri and in literature also.

The conception of the *maks* was extended in the Fāṭimid period when all kinds of small dues and taxes became known as *mukḥār*, especially — emphasising the already mentioned unpleasant associations of the word — the unpopular ones which the people regarded as unjust. Such occasional taxes had been levied from time to time in the early centuries of Islām. The first to make them systematic was the dreaded financial secretary and noted opponent of Aḥmad b. Ṭāḥīn, Aḥmad b. al-Mudabbir. The latter introduced not only an increase in the ground-tax and the three great monopolies of oilers, fisheries and soda (in connection with which it is interesting to note a reversion was made to old Roman taxes), but also a large number of smaller taxes which were called *maḥṭawīn* and *marāḥīl* and included among the *ḥitālī*, the taxes to be paid according to lunar years. Such artifices (known as *mukḥār* from the Fāṭimid period and later as *marāḥīl*, *ḥimāyāt*, *riwāḥāt* or *mustaḥḥarāt*) were destined to develop in time into the main form of oppressing the people and to become one of the principal causes of the economic decline of Egypt, until under the Mamlūks a limit was reached where hardly anything was left untaxed and *mukḥār* were even granted as fiefs and 'misfortune became general' (*wa-'ammat al-ḥalā'*). These small taxes however (but not the monopolies) were repeatedly abolished by reforming rulers, indeed *ḥitālī al-mukḥār* (other terms are *radd*, *muḥṭawāt*, *isḥār*, *waḥ'*, *raf'*, *al-mukḥār*) even formed part of the style and title of such rulers. Thus it is recorded of Aḥmad b. Ṭāḥīn that he abolished some duties, and later of Salāḍīn, Baibars, Ḳalā'ūn and his sons Ḳhalīl and Nāṣir Muḥammad, of Aḥraf Shāḥān, Barḳūḥ and Djak-

mak. Makrîzi gives a long list of *maks* abolished by Saladin and Kalkashandî gives copies of the texts of *muṣamḥāt*, which are decrees of the Mamlūk Sultāns abolishing taxes or granting exemption from dues which were sent to the governors and read from the minbars and sometimes contain very full details, while shorter decrees were probably carved on stone and are given among the fragments published by van Berchem. It would of course be wrong to deduce from such abolitions of taxes that the government was a particularly good one, while on the other hand the continually recurring extortion of the same taxes shows that the abuses had been restored in the interval. Makrîzi, i. 111 concludes with the well known jibe at the Copts: "even now there are *maks*, which are in the control of the vizier, but bring nothing to the state but only to the Copts, who do exactly as they like with them to their great advantage".

Among the great variety of dues which were of course not all levied at the same place and at the same time were the following: *hīlālī*-taxes on houses, baths, ovens, walls and gardens; harbour-dues in Gizeli, in Cairo at "the corn-quay" (*ṣāḥīl al-ghalla*) and at the arsenal (*ṣināʿa*), also levied separately on each passenger; market-dues for goods and caravans (*baḥāʾi wa-ḥawāʾi*) especially for horses, camels, mules, cattle, sheep, poultry and slaves; meat, fish, salt, sugar, pepper, oil, vinegar, turnips, wool, silk, linen and cotton; wood, earthenware, coal, halfa grass, straw and henna; wine and oil-presses, tanned goods; brokerage (*zamtara*) charges on the sale of sheep, dates and linen. Taxes on markets, drinking-houses and brothels which were euphemistically called *ruṣūm al-wilāya*. Wardens deprive prisoners of everything they have; indeed this right is sold to the highest bidder; officers consume the fiefs of their soldiers; peasants pay their lords forced labour and give them presents (*barāʾī, kalfāyā*) and many officials (*ḥāḍḍ, muḥtāḍ, muḥṣirūn* and *ṣulāt*) also accept them; when a campaign is begun the merchants pay a special war-tax and a third of inheritances falls to the state; when news of victories is received and when the Nile rises, levies are made; the dhimmās, in addition to paying the poll-tax, have to contribute to the maintenance of the army; pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre pay a tax in Jerusalem; separate special taxes are levied to maintain the embankments, the Nilometer etc.

Outside of Egypt we occasionally hear of the *maks* as toll or market-fee, e.g. in Djidda, in North Africa (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii. 606). Ibn al-Hādīd, iii. 67 mentions a *muṣamḥat maḥālim*, but does not use the word *maks* in this sense.

Bibliography: Ibn Mammūn, *Kawāṣin al-Dawāwīn*, p. 10—26; Makrîzi, i. 88 199, 104—111; ii. 267; Kalkashandî, iii. 468 199. (= Wüstenfeld, p. 169 199.); xiii. 30 199, 117; Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, p. 51 199; do., *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 140—148; do., *E. I.*, ii. 15; do., *Islamstudien*, i. 177, 267, 273 199; van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, i. 59, 360; ii. 297, 332 199, 374, 377, 384; Mes, *Renaissance*, p. 111 199, 117; Hefening, *Fremdenrecht*, p. 53 199; Bowen, *Ali b. Tā, p. 124*; Wüstenfeld, *Handbook*, p. 228; Pagnan, *Additions*, p. 165; Yāqūt, *Muḍjam al-Bulān*, iv. 606 on *Maks*. (W. BJÖRKMAN)

MAKSURA. [See **MAṢḤID.**]

MAKTAB (A.), literally a "school in which writing is taught" in practice means a Qur'anic school, the Muslims believing that the first thing that should be taught an infant is the Qur'ān.

The word *maktab*, plur. *makṭib* belongs to the classical language. It is hardly ever found in the spoken dialects in this form. These prefer the word *kuttāb*, especially in Cairo and Tunis. *Kuttāb* is found in the middle ages used by Ibn al-Hādīd al-'Abdārī, a Moroccan author (see *Bibliography*), but it is not now used any longer in Algeria or Morocco.

The Qur'anic school has also other names: *mad* in Algiers, Tlemcen, and in certain districts of the Algerian Tell, at Fer, Rabat and Salé; *ḡāma* at Tangier, Larache, Constantine, in Orania and some districts of Morocco and the Algerian Tell; *ḡarfa* among the nomads of Algeria; *m'imra* among the Moroccans of the Djabala; *thima'urt* among the Kabyls of the Djurdjura; *maḥḍar* at Safi; Spain had *maḥḍra*, now found in Senegal.

The position of the Qur'anic school varies in different countries. Among the African nomads it is a tent placed in the centre of the douar which is also used as a mosque. In most towns it is a room on the ground floor, very often dark, damp and badly ventilated. In Cairo, the Qur'anic school is placed on the first story of some public building, usually a fountain. In Fer, a number of *mad* are also on a higher level than the street. The schools of Fer and those of Cairo show architectural features which deserve special study. The façades, doors, windows, usually large, are adorned with carved woodwork.

Inside, the Qur'anic school is as a rule bare of all ornament, mats of *alfa* grass or of rushes are stretched on the floor; the walls are also hung with mats of the same kind from the ground up to a height of 4 to 6 feet. A wooden or stone bench serves as a chair for the teacher. In one corner is a vessel of water (*nāḥī*) in which the slates of the pupils are washed.

The Qur'anic schools are distributed through the different quarters of the town. There are none in the immediate vicinity of the mosques, the Prophet having recommended that children and lunatics should be kept away from mosques (cf. *Madḥḥal*). On the other hand, it is not unusual to find Qur'anic schools in sanctuaries built to the memory of some saint or in the *sāwiyas*, the places of assembly of the religious brotherhoods. According to the *Madḥḥal*, it is recommended to place schools in the most frequented streets and not to place them in isolated places or by-streets. Although the author of this book gives pedagogic reasons for this recommendation, it is quite clear at the present day that it is due to the desire to let as many passers-by as possible hear the divine word. In the village, the Qur'anic school is held in one of the rooms of the building which is used as a mosque. The sites of Qur'anic schools are *ḡāmas* or *wakf* properties. Rich individuals sometimes install Qur'anic schools at the entrance to their houses fronting the street for the use of their children and of those of their servants and neighbours and friends.

The head of the Qur'anic school is called *ḡāḥ* or *ḡā* (classical *ḡāḥ*) in the towns of Morocco, *ḡāḥ* in the country districts of North Africa, sometimes *ḡāḥ*, *ḡāḥ* at Tunis and in the Tunisian

Sahel; at Tlemcen, we find the the word *derâr* which again crops up in the Algerian towns.

The master in the Qur'anic school has as his only intellectual equipment as a rule a perfect knowledge of the text of the Qur'an. He cannot understand or expound it; he hardly knows any grammar or any of the branches of religious knowledge. The most learned masters are those who have devoted themselves to learning a certain number of the seven ways of reciting the Qur'anic text according to the principles laid down by the seven *shaikh al-rinâya*.

In some towns there are Qur'anic schools for girls but this is exceptional. The mistress is known as *fakîha* or *shîra* (Morocco).

The pupils are called *tlamîdh* in the towns, *genâlis* in the country districts and *maâfiri* in the towns of Morocco. Their ages run from six to eighteen. Where there are schools for girls, little boys are sent there also up to the age of six.

In Qur'anic schools nothing is studied but the Qur'an and without any explanation. The task of the pupils is to learn the sacred text by heart. Ibn Khaldûn in his *Mufaḥḥisa* says that in his time the schools of Spain and Tunisia taught children reading and writing and the Arabic language before putting them to study the Qur'an, which they then learned without much difficulty while in the rest of the Maghrib they were only taught to recite the Qur'an and from the beginning of their studies. It is this latter that is still the usual fashion in North Africa of our day.

The Qur'an is not studied to know and understand it. It is learned by heart for the reward promised in the next world to those who know it and to benefit by the virtues or *baraka* of the divine word. This latter point of view is very much in keeping with the mentality of Muhammadan peoples with a strong belief in magic.

When the boy begins his studies he is taught to smear a wooden slate with a fine white clay called *ganjal* steeped in water. When the slate is made dry, either by being exposed to the sun or held to a fire, the master traces on it the letters of the alphabet with the point of a *ḥalam* (or reed sharpened for writing) without any ink. He cuts into the clay by forming the letters on the slate and the pupil is then asked to go over them with the *ḥalam* dipped in ink (which is made from burned wool). At the same time the child learns by heart the names of the letters and their descriptions without the master however thinking it worth while to point out to him on the slate that a certain character corresponds to a certain name of a letter. It is therefore not surprising that with such a method a pupil has to devote two or three years to learning to read and to write.

When the child can write to dictation, the master dictates verses from the Qur'an. The child writes them one by one. As soon as he has finished writing one he says *na'am yâ zîdi* on reaching the last word he has to write. The master then dictates the next verse and so on till the slate is completely covered with writing. Then the pupil goes to the bottom of the class and begins to learn by heart what has been dictated to him aloud. When he knows the text by heart, he recites it to the master. If the latter is satisfied he orders the child to clean his slate. For this purpose the boy washes it in the *maî*, the vessel of water in the corner of the school; then he

covers his slate with clay again and begins all over again.

If we reflect that the master has 30 or 40 pupils in front of him each of whom is at a different place in the Qur'an and that his method of instruction is individual, we can see that to learn the whole of the Qur'an, even the most intelligent pupil requires several years if he is not discouraged before reaching the last sûra.

The study of the Qur'an begins with the first chapter, the *fatiha*. After this sûra the last and then the second last, then the ante-penultimate is learned and so on back to the second sûra, that of the Cow. The Qur'an is thus learned in reversed order. This method is explained by the fact that the sûras have been classed, except for the *fatiha*, in order of length, the shortest being at the end. Since at the time of prayer, the believer repeats a sûra, usually one of the last, there is some point in the study of the Qur'an beginning with the sûras at the end of the book. When the pupil has learned the sacred text in the reverse order, he repeats it in the proper order.

For study and recitation the Qur'an is divided into sixty parts called *ḥizb*; each *ḥizb* is divided in its turn into four *rûd* or quarters, each quarter into two *ḥumam* or eighths, and each eighth into two *ḥarrûḥa* or sixteenths.

The time-table of the Qur'anic school is as follows: the master and pupils arrive at dawn, at least in theory. They study without a stop till lunch-time. Some go home to eat and return as soon as possible; others are given their lunch in school and eat either in the class, which is not encouraged, or outside near at hand. If the master goes out, his place is taken by an older pupil. They continue reciting the Qur'an till sunset when everyone goes home to dinner; they frequently return to the school till the hour of the *ḥalât al-ḥiḥâ*. No recreation is provided for. The only relaxation is the recitation by the pupils in a body of panegyrics of the Prophet. In the Maghrib there is no school from Wednesday at midday till Friday after the noon *ḥalât*. Tradition has it that the Caliph 'Umar (who founded the first Qur'anic schools) prescribed the Thursday rest. It is said in explanation that the triumphal return of the Muslim troops after the conquest of Palestine took place on a Thursday; the pupils having had a holiday to take part in the festivities, the Caliph Umar decided that henceforth Thursday should be a holiday in the schools. In the Hijâz the holiday is Tuesday (cf. W. Marçais, *Textes Arabes de Tanger*, p. 184, note 2).

The schools are also closed on the occasion of the religious feasts and the fast of Ramadan for one week or two, each country having its own special habit in this respect (cf. especially Michaux-Bellaire in *Archives Marocaines*, xvii. 77 sqq.).

When a child knows by heart a fixed portion of the Qur'an, the first sûra, the first quarter of the book, the half, the whole, his parents give a feast in which all the pupils share, the master and frequently all the other masters of the quarter, needy men who take advantage of every occasion when good cheer is going. These feasts are called *ḥadîma* or *ḥalâ* or *ṭakrîḥa*, sometimes *ḥadîsa*, according to the country; some of these titles are used on the occasion of its partial recitation of the Qur'an and others of a complete recitation. For the feast the master decorates the boy's slate

with different colours. It is to be noted that the mixture used for this purpose always includes eggs. Some verses are written on the slate. A procession is formed to go to the house of the child, who is the hero of the occasion; a part of the *Kur'ān* is recited and a copious repast eaten. A collection made after the feast and also at the houses of the relatives and friends of the family procures the teacher a supplement to his salary which he much appreciates.

Discipline is maintained in the *Kur'ān* school by corporal punishment. The master keeps in his hand a long stick with which he strikes more or less cruelly inattentive children on the head. To punish serious faults he inflicts a certain number of blows on the soles of the delinquent's feet. The boy is laid on his back, with his legs in the air and laid together; one of the older pupils holds his feet up to the master who beats them rhythmically with a rod of the wild quince tree. If the pupil is too strong for his comrades to be easily able to keep him in the desired position, his feet are fastened to a wooden bench (*falaḥ*) which two of his comrades hold up. These corporal punishments have been frequently condemned (cf. especially *Maḥḥal*) but they continue to be applied with the unanimous consent of the parents. Indeed the parents very often commission the master to punish children for faults committed out of school.

The master's duty is to give the children a good education; that is to say an education that is entirely religious. He generally does his duty very badly, at least from the European point of view.

The results obtained in the traditional *Kur'ān* teaching are generally bad. After long and monotonous years spent in school, the child only knows a few sections of the *Kur'ān* and like his master is unable to write a letter correctly or read a book. Wherever general education has made some progress we find the *Kur'ān* schools losing their importance in spite of the piety of the people. The child is often taken there to learn a few *sūras* after which he is taken away and put at the primary school. Very often the child goes to the *Kur'ān* school outside of the hours of the primary school and only for a year or two. On the other hand in cases where the people are at all backward but ardent in their faith, the *Kur'ān* schools are numerous and largely attended.

The children at the *Kur'ān* schools play a certain part in social ceremonies on account of the doubly magic character which their youth and knowledge of the divine word gives them. On Thursdays they go in a body under the conduct of the master to recite the *Kur'ān* over the graves of persons recently buried; when a woman's accouchement is difficult and threatens to be dangerous, the children from the neighbouring school go round the town chanting litanies behind a piece of cloth held by four of them; in the centre of the cloth is an egg; the passers-by throw coppers into the cloth and utter good wishes for the sick woman. The school-children, slate in hand are also sent to seek mercy from a conqueror for a conquered town or tribe; to appeal for rain in time of drought, the *Kur'ān* schools are also called upon to take part in processions.

The organisation of *Kur'ān* teaching is rudimentary. In the towns, it is the *kādi* who in theory supervises the schools; in reality he only

interferes in cases where complaints are made against the teacher. In the tribes it is the *ḥāid* who takes the place of the *kādi* in this connection.

The teacher is very often a stranger to the country, more often from the country than the town, which is to some extent explained by the magic character common to the state of being a foreigner and to *Kur'ān* study.

In the towns he receives a very small sum monthly from the parents of his pupils; on the Wednesday, the children pay him a few coins on leaving school; on the occasion of school-feasts and holidays he receives a few more gifts. He also makes amulets which he sells. In the country the *fālāh* is paid in kind. The relatives of his pupils feed him in turn, giving him, eggs, butter, cereals and lambs; sometimes the village or donor shares the labour of working a plot of ground and gathering its yield for him. Payment in kind of the services of the teacher is the subject of a regular contract between the representative of the village or of the donor and the *fālāh*. The latter is then called *fālāh muḥarrif*. The teacher is also the imām of the village; he washes the dead and prepares them for burial; he is also occasionally tailor and public letterwriter. In brief although he enjoys the respect of those around him he lives very poorly.

The choice of a teacher is often decided by the reputation which he enjoys. The consent of the parents in the towns, of the *ḥāid* in the country gives him the right to exercise his functions. Tunisia however has endeavoured since the French occupation to regulate more carefully *Kur'ān* instruction and to demand a certain standard of knowledge and morality in the teacher. *Kur'ān* instruction by its very nature seems to have remained unchanged from the early days of Islām.

Bibliography: Abū Bakr Abdesslām, *Usages de droit coutumier dans la région de Tlemcen*, p. 88—90; Alarcon, *Textes en dialecte vulgaire de Larache*, p. 22; *Archives Marocaines*, i. 243—244; iii. 397; v. 431; vi. 327—328; viii. 113—120; xii. 77—98; xviii. 307—313; *Archives berbères*, i. 216; Balghiti, *al-Ḥikāḥ al-Nūr al-Sirāḥ*, i. 261; Budgett Meakin, *The Moors, a comprehensive description*, p. 303; Clermont, *L'arabe parlé tunisien*, p. 218; Delphin, *Recueil de textes pour l'étude de l'arabe parlé*, p. 323, 343, 346, 357; Desparmet, *L'arabe dialectal*, 2^{ème} période, p. 29 sqq.; Desparmet, *L'arabe dialectal*, classe de cinquième, p. 193; Destaing, *Etude sur le dialecte berbère des Ait Seghrouchen*, p. lxi; Eidenschenk and Cohen Solal, *Mots usuels de la langue arabe*, p. 4, 7, 8, 12; Hanoteau and Letourneux, *La Kabylie*, ii. 107—109; Hardy and Brunot, *L'enfant marocain*, p. 65 sqq.; Houdas, *L'islamisme*, p. 75; Ibn al-Ḥādī al-'Abdārī, *Kitāb al-Madḥal*, ii. 93 sqq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes*, transl. de Slane, ii. 285 sqq.; Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, i. 75—76, ii. 245 sqq.; Leo Africanus, ed. Schefer, ii. 132; Lévi-Provençal, *Textes arabes de l'Ouarsenis*, p. 288, Art. *ḥāid*; W. Margais, *Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen*, p. 242; do., *Textes arabes de Tanger*, p. 184, notes 1 and 2; do. and 'Alderrahman Guiga, *Textes arabes de Takrouna*, p. 331, note 22; Masquetay, *Formation des cités chez les indigènes de l'Aurès et de la Grande Kabylie*, p. 288, 250 sqq.; Michaux-Bellaire, article "Maroc" in Buisson's *Nouveau*

dictionnaire géographique; Moulléras, *Le Marze inconnu*, II. 49; *Revue du monde musulman*, vol. VII. (1909), p. 85 and vol. XV. (1911), p. 422 and 452. (L. BRUNOT)

MAKŪ, a khānate in the Persian province of Ādharbāidjān.

Makū occupies the N. W. extremity of Persia and forms an enclave between Turkey (the old sandjak of Bāyazīd) and Transcaucasia. In the west the frontier with Turkey follows the heights which continue the line of Zagros in the direction of Ararat. The frontier then crosses a plain stretching to the south of this mountain (valley of the Şarî-şu) and runs over the saddle between Great and Little Ararat. Down to 1920 Great Ararat formed the frontier between Russia and Turkey while Little Ararat was divided between Russia and Persia. Since 1920 Great Ararat has been completely surrounded by Turkish territory, while Little Ararat is divided between Turkey and Persia. The Turco-Persian frontier at the present day comes down to the Araxes. The Lower Kāra-şu and the Araxes (to its confluence with its right bank tributary Kōtur-çai) form the frontier between Makū and the autonomous territory of Nakhčevān which forms part of the Armenian Soviet republic. The third side of the triangle i.e. the inner boundary between the khānate and the Persian province of Khoi is somewhat vague. When the prestige of its khāns was at its greatest, their lands stretched to the districts of Çai-pāra, Çaldīrān (Kāra-Ain) and Ālānd. The little khānate of Awadīk (30 villages belonging to the Aīrūnli Khāns) on the Bāyazīd-Çaldīrān-Khoi road forms a little enclave close to the Turco-Persian frontier.

The khānate consists of a series of heights and fertile valleys. In the centre between the valley of the Zāngimār and that of the Akh-çai rises the isolated mass of Soğkar. At the foot of the Little Ararat along the frontier chain and on the slopes of Soğkar there are excellent pastures.

The lands of Makū are very well watered. The streams that flow into the Araxes on the right bank are as follows: 1. in the northwest the lower Kāra-şu which runs almost parallel to the Araxes and receives on the right bank the waters from Dambāt (a high plateau to the S. E. of Little Ararat where in 1905 Minorsky discovered the ruins of the ancient town which local Armenian tradition identifies with Arshakawan, cf. Moses of Chorene, III. 27 and *ibid.*, I. 30); 2. the mountain-torrents Ylāndīrāl and Şarî-çai; 3. the river Zāngimār (Zāngibār, Mākū-çai) which consists of three main branches, one coming from the khānate of Awadīk; the other, the Tighnīt, from the S. E. corner of the plain of Çaldīrān from the vicinity of the village of Tighnīt (Armenian: *Amut* = muddy); the third from the central canton of Bābādīk. The combined waters run through the defile in which lies the town of Makū and water the rich district of Zāngimār ("watered by the Zāngimār"). Here the Zāngimār receives on its right bank the waters from the central massif of Soğkar (this tributary seems to have been once known as the Şahan), and on the left bank the Şarî-şu (different from the above mentioned Şarî-şu) which rises on Turkish territory in the north of Bāyazīd and flows a considerable distance parallel to the central course of the Zāngimār. 4. The Akh-çai, the sources of which are on the eastern face of the chain which separates Turkey from Persia and on the southern

face of the transverse chain (Ālāgān) which separates Akh-çai from Tighnīt. The waters of the Akh-çai and its tributary irrigate the canton of Sōgmān-āwā, flow into the fertile plain of Çaipāra and flow into the Kōtur-çai which waters the plain of Khoi. Below this confluence the Akh-çai receives on its right bank the waters of the district of Ālānd which rise near the Turco-Persian frontier to the south of the sources of the Akh-çai and the north of those of the Kōtur-çai.

The town. The site of the town of Makū is very striking. It lies in the short gorge through which the Zāngimār here runs. The cliffs rise perpendicularly on the right bank. The cliffs on the left bank rise to a height of 600 feet above the river. The little town lies in an amphitheatre on the slope. Above the town at the foot of the rocks, are the ruins of ancient fortifications and a spring. Then the mountain wall rises almost perpendicularly and at a height of 180 to 200 feet leans forward. There is therefore an incredible mass of rock suspended over the town. (According to Monteith's estimate the dimensions of the cavern thus formed are: height 600 feet, depth of the cavern 800 feet(?), breadth 1200, thickness at the top of the arch 200 feet). It is only for a brief period daily that the sun penetrates into this gigantic cave. Just above is a cave which used to be entered by a perilous scaffolding. At a later date when the cave was used as a prison, the prisoners were hoisted up by a rope. (The only European who has been inside it is A. Iwanowski).

The population. The population of Makū consists of Turks and Kurds. The former, who are in the majority, occupy villages along the rivers of the khānate. They are the remains of the Turkoman tribes of Bayat, Pōrnāk etc. The canton at the foot of the Soğkar is called Kāraşoyunlu. The people (about 900 houses grouped into 26 villages) belong to the Ahl-i Haqq faith (*R. M. M.*, XI, p. 66) which is indirect but interesting evidence of the character of the heresy of which the Turkoman dynasty of the Kāraşoyunlu was accused (*Müneddjim-bağhi*, III, p. 153). The old enmity between the Turkoman tribes survives in the general name applied by the Kāraşoyunlu to their Shi'a "Twelve" neighbours: they call them Akşoyunlu (*Gordlevsky*, p. 9).

The Kurds of the khānate are semi-nomads. The Djalālī (cf. on their supposed ancestors, *Ālam-ārā*, p. 339 under the years 1017—1018) occupy the slopes of Ararat and in summer betake themselves to the pastures along the Turco-Persian frontier. Many sections of them lead a troglodyte life in the caves of the Dambāt region.

The Miān live between the Araxes and the massif of Soğkar where they pass the summer. At Kāra-ain (in Kurdish Kāleu) there are Haidarānlu.

Before the war there were only 1,200 Armenians left in Makū. It is remarkable that the confidential servants in the houses of the khāns are of this nationality. The celebrated and imposing monastery of St. Thaddeus (Thadēvos-Arakel = Kāra-Kilsa among the Muslims) rebuilt in 1247 (St. Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, II. 463) is in the central canton of Bābādīk. It is regarded with a certain respect even by Muslims who kiss the Gospels on entering it. A long inscription recording the *firman* of protection given it by Shāh 'Abbās adorns the doorway. At one time the villages at Makū and

at Khoi belonged to the monastery and paid their rents to it. Another Armenian monastery (Sarp-Stephanos; Dāniyāl-Peighambar among the Muslims) lies below the mouth of the Kōtur-čai on the borders of Mākū. The little village of Džabbārlu is inhabited by Yazidis.

Ancient history. The oldest monuments of Mākū go back to the period of the Khald (Yannic) kingdom. The chamber carved in the rock near Sangar (on the Mākū-Bāzīgān-Bāyazid road) is one of a number of similar constructions in Bāyazid and in the country west of Urmia (Minorsky, *Kela-ihin, Zap.*, xxiv., p. 171). A Khaldic inscription known as that of "Mākū" seems to come from Bastām on the Akh-čai (district of Cai-pāra). It is of king Rusa II, son of Argishti (c. 680—645 B.C.; cf. Sayce, *A new Vannic Inscription, J. R. A. S.*, 1912, p. 107—113; N. V. Marr, *Nadpis Rusl II iz Maku, Zap.*, xxv., 1921, p. 1—54). The inscription is important as showing that the power of the kings of Wān extended to the region of Khoi.

Mākū later formed part of Armenia. It corresponds to the canton of Artas of the province of Vaspurakan (Armenian seventh century *Geography*). According to Moses of Chorene, the district was at first known as Shavarshān but was given the name of Artas in memory of the old home of the Alān whom Artashēs transplanted thither (cf. Ardoz in Ossetia). The name Shavarshān may be explained from the rule of the Artiruni kings among whom the name Shavarsh (Xšayārīan = *Šāpūr* = Mod. Pers. Siyāwush) was frequent (cf. Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 4, 177). The suggestion of this scholar that Artas is connected with the older "Ažaga etc.", Strabo, xi. 14, 3, is untenable because Azara is above Artaxata which again is above the land of Artas = Mākū. The Amatuni kings who later established themselves north of the Araxes must also have ruled in Artas for the diocese of Mākū is called Amatunec'tan (Adontz).

The names Mākū and Hac'tun (= Hasun) north of Mākū are mentioned in the *History* of Thomas Artiruni written in the tenth century, in the passage (ii. § 3) describing the frontier of the lands ceded by the Sāsānian Khusrav to the emperor Maurice in 591 (Brosset, *Coll. d'Hist. Arm.*, St. Petersburg 1874, i., p. 78). On the many Armenian monuments in the land of Mākū cf. the work of Minorsky on the antiquities of the khānate; cf. also Hübschmann, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, 1904, p. 344 and Adontz, *Armenia v. epokhu Justiniana*, St. Petersburg 1908, index.

According to a legend recorded by Moses of Chorene (i. 30; ii. 49), Tigranes, having defeated the Mede (in Arm. *Mur*) Abdahak settled his descendants all around Masis (Ararat). Neither the Arab historians (Tabari, Ibn al-Athīr) nor geographers know this corner of Armenia although the name looks very old. It would be tempting to explain Mākū as Māh + Kūh = Mountains of the Medes (Pers. *māh* and Arm. *mār* go back to the old Iranian *Māda*). The form Mākūya (*Mākōya) which is found in Hamdullāh Muṣṭawfi however presupposes a different final element.

History under Islām. Hamdullāh Muṣṭawfi (*Nuṣṣat al-Kutub*, ed. Le Strange, p. 89) is the first writer (740 = 1340) to mention Mākū among the cantons of the *rumān* of Nakhčuwān: It is a castle in the cleft of a rock and at the foot lies a village which stands in the shade till midday. In this place lives the Christian chief priest (*ḥakīm*) whom

they call Mar-Hāsiyā (this reading is preferable to *Mardjanthā* of Le Strange; cf. Aram. *Mar-Khānā* "the Lord Bishop").

The Spanish Ambassador Clavijo who visited Mākū on June 1, 1404 still found it inhabited by Armenian Catholics ruled by their prince Noradin, who enjoyed practical independence. Timūr did not succeed in taking Mākū but by a treaty Noradin agreed to supply him with 20 horsemen when required. The eldest son of Noradin was taken to the court of 'Umar Mirā and converted to Islām when he was given the name of Sorgutmix (Suyurghatmish); as to another son, Noradin intended to send him to Europe to be consecrated a bishop. Clavijo mentions a monastery of Dominicans at Mākū, "en el dicho lugar" (Frayles de Sancto Domingo, *Vida y hazañas*, ed. Srenzewski, St. Petersburg 1881, p. 158—162 and 376; transl. Le Strange, London 1928, p. 144—145). Clavijo gives an accurate description of the town (a castle in the valley; on the slope, the town surrounded by walls; higher, a second wall, which was reached by steps cut in the rock).

On the death of Timūr, Kara-Yūsuf the Kara-Koyunlu reappeared on the scene and Mākū was one of the first places he conquered in Soq (1406) (*Sharaf-nāma*, i. 376). Henceforth the country must have become rapidly Turkicised. According to the *Sharaf-nāma* (i. 295, 308), in 982 (1574) the Ottoman government ordered the Kurd 'Iwād Beg of the Mahmūdī tribe (cf. above ii., p. 1145^b) to take Mākū (one of the cantons of Nakhčuwān) from the Persians and to restore the fortress. 'Iwād was given Mākū as *niḡāḡlīq*. After his death in 1002, Sulṭān Muḥammad II gave the fortress to Muṣṭafā Beg, son of 'Iwād.

When in the summer of 1014 (1605) Shāh 'Abbās was in the vicinity of Khoi the Mahmūdī Kurds of the district of Mākū and Pasak (a village on the Alind-čai to the west of Khoi) did not come to pay homage to the Shāh. 'Abbās I transferred the clan of Manṣūr-beg to the Irāq (Persian) and took the field in person against Muṣṭafā, beg of Mākū. The historian Iskandar-munghl mentions two forts at Mākū, one at the foot of the mountain (*pā-yi kūh*) and the other on its side (*miyān-kūh*). The former was soon taken by the Shāh's troops but the capture of the other was "not so easy". Orders were given to plunder the Mahmūdī tribe which was done. The women and children were carried off and the Mahmūdī men executed. The booty was so great that cows were sold at 2 dirhams = 200 (Persian) dinārs a head. The royal camp remained for 10 days at Mākū but the upper fortress "in spite of the constrictedness of the place and the lack of water" held out and the Shāh left for Nakhčuwān without having obtained its surrender (*Ālām-ārā*, p. 479).

The Turks and Persians attached great importance to the position of Mākū. Murād IV in the campaign of 1045 himself realised the importance of Kōtur and Mākū and in the instructions given in 1048 to Kara Muṣṭafā Paṣha ordered him to demand that the Persians should destroy the two fortresses. Indeed by the treaty of 1049 (1639) the Persians decided to raze Kōtur Mākū, (read Mākū) and Maghazberd (*Tārīkh-i Nā'imā*, i. 686). However Murād IV died and in the reign of Sulṭān Ibrahim the Persians reoccupied Kōtur and Mākū (Ewliyā Çelebi, iv., p. 279).

The next stage is recorded in the Persian inscription engraved on the rock above the fortress (Minorsky, *Drumstti*, p. 23). It tells us that Shāh 'Abbās II ordered the destruction of the fortress because it sheltered the unsubmitted (*muftidān*). The fortress is compared to a Ka'fa-yi Kābūn; the executor of the Shāh's order was a certain Akbar and the date is 1052 = 1641—1642 (Chronogram *gh-n-f*). The history of 'Abbās II (*Kiṭāz al-Khāṣṣi*, Bibl. Nat. Paris, Suppl. Pers., No. 227) throws no light on the incident but as (fol. 74^b) an Ottoman embassy to the court of the young Shāh in 1052 is mentioned, it is probable that it was not without influence on the destruction of the fortress, on the preservation of which Persia had formerly laid stress.

Contrary to the tenor of the inscription, Ewliyā Çelebi II, 337—339 claims that it was the Ottomans who, after the peace of 1049, destroyed Mākū and at the same time recalled the Maḥmūdī Beg who was their representative there. In 1057 (1647) the Kurd Beg of Shūshik (a stronghold on the borders of Persia) rebelled against the Turks. The Persians, while protesting against his raids, seized the occasion to introduce to Mākū 2,000 riflemen from Mārandārūn. The Ottomans sent an army of 72,000 men against Shūshik. Mustafa Beg of Shūshik was defeated and sought refuge in Mākū. Ewliyā accompanied the Pasha and the detachment that went to Mākū to demand the extradition of the rebel. Satisfaction was given them and the wali of Erzerum Mehmed Pasha treated the Persian envoys in a very friendly fashion. He told them however that if the Persians did not withdraw their troops from Mākū and destroy the fortress, he would attack Eriwān and Nakhčevān. The result is not known but Persia's possession of Mākū recognised in 1639 does not seem to have again been seriously disputed by Turkey.

The family which ruled Mākū from 1747 to 1923 belonged to the Bayat tribe, the clan settled around the Sokhar (on the Bayat cf. Köprülü-sāde Mehmed Fā'id, *Öğretmekle İhtilâsine Dâir Târîḥî Notalar*, *Türkîyat Medfû'esi*, Istanbul 1925, p. 16—23). According to oral tradition Abund Sultan Bayat was in Khōrāsān in the service of Nādir Shāh. After the latter's assassination, he seized one of his wives and a part of his treasure and returned to Mākū. Very little is known about him or his son Husain Khān (Monteith's host) who died in 1835. It is possible that under the Zand dynasty and at the beginning of the Kājārs the real authority in the region N. W. of Aḥar-bāidjān belonged to the family of Dumbull Khāns (cf. KURDS), whose headquarters was at Khōl (cf. TAKAR, the special history of the Dumbull is not accessible in Europe). The disappearance of the Dumbull must have opened the way to the Bayat. 'Alī Khān (1775—1865), son of Husain Khān, is often mentioned by travellers (Fraser, Abich, Flandin, Čirlikow, Likhutin) as an influential chief jealous of his prerogatives. We know that the Bāb was entrusted to the guardianship of 'Alī Khān from June to December 1847 and that the latter treated him very kindly. The Bāb in his esoteric language calls Mākū *ghabak-i ālī* in contrast to *ghabak-i ābādī* (= Čahrik, cf. SALMES) where his imprisonment was more rigorous (cf. Browne, *A Traveller's Narrative*, 1891, II, p. 16, 271—277; Jānī-Kāghānī, *Nuṣṣat al-ghaf*, G. M. S., xv., 1910, p. 131—132). During the war of 1853—1856 'Alī Khān derived

great material advantage from the neutrality of his territory which lay between Russia and Turkey. His son Timūr Pasha Khān (1820—1895?) profited by a similar situation during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877—1878. In 1881, his appearance at the head of the Mākū horsemen in the district of Salmās accelerated the collapse of the invasion of Kurds under Shāikh 'Ubaidallāh [q.v.]. Timūr Pasha Khān was hailed as the saviour of Aḥar-bāidjān and the people even called him *Mākū Pahlavān*.

His son and successor Murtadā Qulī Khān Iḡbal al-Salḥāna (1863—1923) at first continued the policy of isolation and aggrandisement of the khānate but his activity aroused suspicion on all sides. At the beginning of the war of 1914 Russian distrust earned him a forced stay in Tiflis. In time Mākū became part of the theatre of war. The Russian troops built a light railway from Shāh-takhd (on the Araxes) to Bilyazid and the station of Mākū became a busy centre. In 1917 the Sardār returned home and held his position till the coming of Rījā Shāh Pahlavī, when, accused of intrigues, he was arrested on 25th Mihr 1302 (Oct. 17, 1923) and transported to the prison of Tabriz where he died suddenly. A Persian officer was appointed governor of Mākū (Nawbakht, *Sākhinijāh-i Pahlavī*, Tihān 1342, p. 112).

Bibliography: Monteith, *Journal of a tour through Azerbaidjan*, J.R.G.S., III, 1833, p. 40—49 ('Arablār-Bilga-Mākū-Surp Thadewos-Zāwīya-Mahmūla); E. Smith and Dwight, *Missionary Researches*, London 1834, p. 313 (Khōi-Zorawa-Awādīk); J. B. Fraser, *Travels in Koor-distan*, London 1840, II, 314—321 (Khōi-Karā-Ziyāddin-Safīyān-Mākū-Bāirgūn); Ritter, *Erdkunde*, IX, 916—924; E. Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1851, I; Likhutin, *Russkiye v Aziat. Turtsii*, St. Petersburg 1863, p. 244—250; Čirlikow, *Putevnoe journal*, 1875, p. 506—508 (visit in September 1852: Bāyand-Mākū); M. Schlachtchinskii, *Aus dem Leben eines orientalischen Klimateutes an der Grenze Russlands, Das Ausland*, Stuttgart 1887, IX, p. 23—26; H. Abich, *Aus kaukasischen Ländern*, Vienna 1896, I, 97—112, 121—125 (visit to Mākū in 1844), II, 121; S. Wilson, *Persian life and customs*, London 1896, p. 85—89; A. Iwanowski, *V Mahinskoi khantse*, *Russk. Vidomosti*, 1897, No. 314, 323, 325; A. Iwanowski, *Pe Zakavkazye v 1893—94*, *Mater. po arkheol. Kavkazu*, VI, 1911, p. 68; Frangeman, *Atrpatakān*, Tiflis 1905, p. 10—27; Mākū, p. 27—43; Surp-Thadewos; Minorsky, *Osneto poyutke v Mahinskoy khantse v 1905*, *Mater. po izst. Wostoka*, St. Petersburg 1909, p. 1—62; Minorsky, *Drumstti Mākū*, p. 1—29 (repr. from *Wostok. Sbornik*, Petrograd 1916, II); M. Phillips Price, *A journey through Azerbaijan*, *The Persian Society*, 1913, p. 13—17; *Mahinskoye khandze*, *Nachl. Westok*, Moscow 1922, I, p. 334—344; V. A. Goričevskiy, *Karā-Koyunlu* [canton of Mākū], *Izv. Obshch. izsledov. Azerbaidjāna*, Bāku 1927, p. 5—33. (V. MINORSKY)

MÄL (A.), means in the old language possession, property, referring among the Beduins particularly to camels, but also to estates and money, in any case to concrete things. The word is formed from *māl* and *l* and means properly anything that belongs to any one. As a noun it is of course treated as a med. = stem from which a

verb is then formed. In the meaning "money" the word is used in the expression *māl jāmit* "dumb property" in contrast to *māl wāqif* "speaking property", applied to slaves and cattle. There is a full definition of the conception in the introduction to the *Isḥār ilā Maḥāsin al-Taḥfā* of Abū 'l-Faḍl Dja'far b. 'Alī al-Dīmashqī (Cairo 1318, p. 2 sq.) studied and for the most part translated by H. Ritter, *Isl.*, vii. (1916), 1—91. There and in the *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm* (see *Bibl.*), p. 59, the different classes of property are enumerated. As *māl* includes property in its different aspects the word can also mean "taxes".

The attitude of the Muslim religion to money and property and its acquisition was of course a subject of discussion from the beginning of the literature. The authoritative religious and ethical point of view is that of al-Ḡhazālī (so to be written, cf. Moh. ben Chenob, *R.A.A.*, vii., 1927, p. 224 sqq.) in the second decade of the 10th, especially book 13 (Ritter, *op. cit.*, gives an analysis) and 14 (transl. by H. Bauer, *Erläutertes und verbottenes Gut = Islamische Ethik*, iii., 1922; cf. R. Hartmann in *Isl.*, xiv.).

The acquisition, guarding and disposal of property is one of the four main sections of economics (*Tadwīr al-Mamāl*), the second part of practical philosophy, which is divided into ethics, economics and politics, just as it entered Islām with the rest of Hellenistic sciences. As the *Politics* of Aristotle, the first book of which deals with economics was not translated into Arabic, the Muslims had to be content with the only translated work on economics, composed by the Neo-Pythagorean Ps.-Bryson which has had a deciding influence on the whole economic literature of Islām. The text, the Greek original of which is lost, was first edited by L. Cheikh in *Machriq*, xix. (1921) and has been recently published with the Hebrew and Latin versions and a German translation by M. Plessner (cf. *Bibl.*). The interesting chapter on *māl* in it was further expanded by Muslim authors of the school of Ps.-Bryson, particularly from religious literature. A standard work is the *Akhḡḡḡ-i Nāṣiri* of al-Ṭūsī [q. v.] of which the economic section has been analysed and translated by Plessner. The view of the origin of money which Aristotle holds in the *Nic. Ethics* reached Islām direct, besides coming through Ps.-Bryson; it is first found in the *Tahḡḡḡ al-Akhḡḡḡ* of Miskawīh (this is his correct name and not Ibn Miskawīh [q. v.]) e.g. Cairo 1322, p. 38 (cf. also *NAMU* and *DIHANAB*).

The word *māl* very early became a technical term in arithmetic. It is first found in exercises in dividing inheritances applied to the property of the testator which is to be divided. We later find the word used regularly for the unknown quantity in an equation; in this meaning it was afterwards replaced by *ḡhar* [q. v.]. Used for the unknown in quadratic equations it became the word for the square of a number. The fourth power is called *māl al-māl*, the fifth *māl al-ḡḡḡ*, the square of the cube. The history of this change of meaning has been elucidated by J. Ruska, *Zur ältesten arabischen Algebra und Rechenkunst* (S.B. Ak. Heid., Phil.-hist. Kl., 1917, N^o 2; esp. chap. vi., cf. also index, s. v. *MĀL*).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, I; H. Ritter, *Ein arabisches Handbuch der Handelswissenschaft*, *Isl.*, vii. 1—91 (cf. esp. the passages quoted on p. 45 note 3 from the

Arab *Lexicographers*, the *Liṣān al-'Arab* and Douy, s. v.); M. Plessner, *Der alsoquand der Neupythagoreer 'Bryson' und sein Einfluss auf die islamische Wissenschaft*, 1928; Mers, *Die Einführung der aristotelischen Ethik in die arabische Philosophie (Verhandlungen der XIII. Intern. Orientalistenkongresses, p. 290 sqq.)*; on the meaning in algebra cf. the references given in Ruska, *op. cit.*; al-Khwarizmi, *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 1895, p. 59, 198 sq. (the latter passage transl. by Wiedemann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, xiv. = S. B. F. M. S. Erlg., xl., 1908).

(M. PLESSNER)

MĀL AMĪR, more accurately MĀL-i Amīr, a ruined site in Lūrīstān. It lies in the centre of a flat plain about 3,100 feet above sea-level, in 49° 45' East Long. and 31° 50' N. Lat., 3—4 days' journey east of Shūstār [q. v.] and marks the site of a mediaeval town for which during the caliphate the name Idḡadī (sometimes vocalised Aīdḡadī) was exclusively used. The modern name Māl-i Amīr seems to be first used in the Mongol period; at least the first known occurrence is in the first half of the 15th century in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii. 29) in the Arabic form MĀL al-Amīr = "estate of the prince". Idḡadī under the 'Abbāsids was the capital of a district of the province, and was also described more precisely as Idḡadī al-Aḡwā i. e. "Idḡadī of al-Aḡwā" (Khūzistān), sometimes called after Rām(a)hurmuz to distinguish it from a place of the same or similar name in the region of Samarkand (cf. Yāqūt, i. 416, 417; Idḡadī; ii. 496).

Even under the Sāsānians the somewhat inaccessible district of Idḡadī seems to have enjoyed a certain independence. When the Arabs for the first time invaded Khūzistān in 17 (638) they came to a friendly arrangement with the lord of Idḡadī by which the latter was guaranteed the possession of his power (Tabarī, i. 2553). Eleven years later (29 = 649) however, the governor of Basra, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amīr [q. v.], was forced by a rising in the newly won province to undertake a military expedition which took him incidentally to Idḡadī; see Balāḡdhuri (ed. de Goeje), p. 382 and above, ii. p.

Under the caliphate Idḡadī played no prominent part. During the troubles in the last decade of Omayyad rule Abū Dja'far al-Manḡūr afterwards Caliph (cf. v. Vloten, in *Z. D. M. G.*, iii. 314) administered the district of Idḡadī for the 'Alid pretender 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya [q. v.]. A son, afterwards the caliph al-Mahdī, was born to him here, apparently by a woman of Idḡadī (see Tabarī, iii. 527). The family of the latter apparently kept up its connection with Idḡadī for Yāqūt (i. 416) speaks of descendants of al-Mahdī who bore the family name of Idḡadī. The name Māl al-Amīr, "prince's estate", might date from the time of al-Mahdī when the 'Abbāsids seem to have had lands in Idḡadī. But this name of Idḡadī, as already mentioned, does not occur in an Arabic source till 500 years later, so it may be assumed with greater probability that it arose in the time of the Atābega of Lūr-i Buzurg [q. v. = Great Lūr] under whom Idḡadī attained its greatest prosperity. This ruling family, which traced its origin to a Kuri chieftain of Syria, is also called the Faḡlawī dynasty after an ancestor or the Ḥazāraspid after the proper founder of their power, Malik Ḥazārasp. Their rule over East and South Lūr-

ristin dated from about 550 (1155). The capital was Idhadj. At times the power of these princes stretched eastwards as far as the vicinity of Isfahan and southwards to Basra and to the Persian Gulf. They owned the suzerainty of the caliphs or of the Mongol Khāns who replaced the 'Abīdīs; in practice they were fairly independent. Among the Atābegs of this dynasty mention may be made of Almad Nuzrat al-Dīn (696—730 or 733—1226—1329 or 1332). According to Ibn Baṭṭiṭa, he built 160 madrasas in his kingdom, of which 44 were in Idhadj. He also improved caravan traffic by hewing roads through the rocks. Under his successor Afrāsiyāb II, Ibn Baṭṭiṭa spent some time in Idhadj and gives an interesting description of life at the court in this town. The Tīmūrids in 827 (1424) put an end to the rule of the Faḡlāwī dynasty. On this dynasty cf. above ii., p. 48 *sup.*, and the genealogical tables in Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, p. 460 and E. von Zambaur, *Manuel de Géral, et de Chronol. pour l'Histoire de l'Islam*, Hanoover 1927, p. 234.

On the later history of Idhadj nothing is known. The town probably became gradually deserted after the fall of the Faḡlāwīs. Its ruins are now represented by a large mound of earth, about 35 feet high, of irregular shape with smaller mounds of rubble around it. Cf. Layard in *J. G. R. S.*, xvi., 1846, p. 74 and Layard, *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana and Babylonia*, London 1887, i. 403, and Jéquier, *op. cit.* (s. Bibl.), p. 134.

It may be mentioned that the Būyid Sultāns struck coins in Idhadj; cf. Lindberg, *Les Monnaies Couffiques des Buyides = Mém. de la Société des Antiquaires du Nord*, Paris 1840—1844, ii. 269 and see above iii., p. 44^b. On coins of the Atābegs minted in Idhadj cf. above iii., p. 48^a.

The perfectly flat plain of Māl-Amīr out of which rises the mound of ruins of the Sāsānian and Muslim town of Idhadj is about 4 miles broad and about 7 long according to Jéquier (see Bibl.) who has given a plan of it (*op. cit.*, p. 133). It runs from N. W. to S. E. c. 3100 feet above sea-level and is surrounded on all sides by steep, barren but not high hills. The most important of these border ranges is in the S. E. and is linked up to the Mungasht hills farther south (cf. Rawlinson in *J. R. G. S.*, ix. 80—81; de Bode, *op. cit.*, xiii. 100; Layard, *op. cit.*, xvi. 74 and de Bode, *Travels*, ii. 30) within which stood the fortress of the same name, which played an important part in the middle ages (Mungasht, Man-shigh, Māndjagh; cf. also above iii., p. 46^b, 47^a). The ridge which shuts in the plain of Māl-Amīr in the east or N. E. is called Kūh Gashmet. According to Jéquier, there is a large artificial lake in the north (northeastern) part of the plain, which finally disappears in the swamp. According to de Bode (*J. R. G. S.*, xiii. 104), there were in his time two small lakes there, the so-called Shatt-bend's, which dried up in summer like the marshes and the small streams which run through the plain. The water of the latter came in the main from the lake of Deriādj-ei Bandān, south of the plain of Māl-Amīr, behind which Houtum-Schindler (see Bibl.) ascended the steep wall of the Tanawah range. The lake called Fām al-Bawwāb described by Yāqūt may be identical with this stretch of water; cf. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 245; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

Among the numerous ravines which are to be

found among the hills that border the Māl-Amīr plain on the N. E. the most interesting from the archaeological point of view is that of Kul-i Fārā (see the plan in Jéquier, *op. cit.*, p. 135). *Kul*, according to O. Mann means in Lāri "little ravine"; cf. above iii., p. 41^b. Dieulafoy and Schindler have erroneously reproduced this to them unintelligible word by Kal'a or Kūt = fortress; see Weissbach, *op. cit.*, p. 743, note, whose suggestion about the meaning of Kul is now ruled out. For Fārā, H. Schindler gives the form Ferā and Ferendj (Franks, Europeans), the latter apparently based on a Lāri interpretation of the male costume in the reliefs there. Earlier travellers (Layard, de Bode) write Kul-i Fir'awn, apparently because their Lāri authorities identified the name Fārā with Fir'awn (Pharaoh) whom they knew from the Kur'an.

The majority of the sculptures of pre-Īrānian (Elamite) origin in the region of Māl-Amīr are to be found in Kul-i Fārā. Quite close to the entrance to the ravine is a large stele with a large human figure in high relief, a row of smaller figures with a well preserved 24 line cuneiform inscription and 10 smaller inscriptions (the latter giving the names of the individuals represented). According to the large inscription it is a monument erected by a certain Hanni, son of Tahhīhi. Opposite, on the other side of the ravine at intervals on blocks of stone and on the wall are five tablets with other reliefs of rude execution. Special mention must be made of a great procession with 67 figures. The total number of figures in Kul-i Fārā is according to Layard 341.

Opposite the ravine of Kul-i Fārā, in the hills which bound the S. W. side of the plain of Māl-Amīr is the cave with many corridors of Shikefte-i Salmān, "the cave of Salmān". According to the Bakhtiyāris who hold this place in great honour, the name is derived from that of Salmān al-Fārist (q. v.), the first Persian to adopt Islām, who is buried there, contrary to the modern Samt and Shi'ī tradition which locates the tomb of this companion of the Prophet in al-Mada'in (Salmān Pāk; cf. iii., p. 79). In Shikefte-i Salmān have survived four primitive bas-reliefs of the Elamite period of which two are outside and two inside the cave. Among them is a figure, over life size with a 36 line cuneiform inscription which also dates from the Hanni above mentioned. On a little explanade to the south of the cave are the ruins of a little Muslim sanctuary, probably erected on the site of an older sanctuary. In the corner of the cave is a spring in which rises one of the little streams that water Māl-Amīr.

Apart from the monuments of Kul-i Fārā and Shikefte-i Salmān there are a series of other monuments and remains of the ancient and mediaeval periods in the plains of Shikefte-i Salmān. For example, in the southwest part of the plain near a ruined *imāmshāh* (saint's tomb) which the Lāris call Shāh-Suwār (the king on horseback) on a slope of the hill is a small stele, obviously also of the Elamite period, with 6 figures and an inscription which has been destroyed. According to Layard, there are many popular traditions about this place. A little north of Shāh-Suwār at a place called Kūh Wā are the ruins of a palace. In the opposite direction in the N. E. section of the plain rises a round palace on the summit of a rock, called Kal'a Gashdum (= Scorpion Hill) by the natives. A ravine near by is called Hong; in it

may be seen a much weathered Sāsānian rock-sculpture of great dimensions, probably of the earlier period (c. Shāpūr I).

That the plain of Māl-Amīr enjoyed comparative prosperity in the Sāsānian period is evident from the remains of canals of this date.

In the S.W. of the plain a narrow road runs to the village of Hallādjan (de Bode: Halegun). Near it are old ruins of the period of the Atābeg dynasty. There is an Atābeg citadel, an Atābeg bridge and well. The numerous traces of buildings probably date from a mediaeval town. Of recent date is the ruin (mentioned by de Bode) of a palace of Hasan Khān, a chief of the Bakhtiyārī tribe of Chahr Lāng who lived here about 1821. Here is another little river called Hallādjan or Shāh Rūben which is probably connected with the lake at Deriādj-e Bandān already mentioned (cf. Layard, *J.R.G.S.*, xvi. 74 and *Early Adventures*, I. 403; de Bode, *J.R.G.S.*, xiii. 100 and *Travels* etc., I. 404).

In the N.E. of Māl-Amīr runs an old road paved with huge blocks of stone, which is now called Rūh-i Sultān (the Sultān's path) or Qāddet-i Atābeg (= Atābeg road) to the Sar-i Rāk (Rādj) some 3,500 feet high, the highest point, and thence to Isfahān after several days' journey. It has already been mentioned above that the Atābegs did a great deal for road-making in their lands. But the original planning of the road probably goes back to a great antiquity; cf. thereon de Bode, *J.R.G.S.*, xiii. 102—104, and *Travels* etc., II. 6—8, 35—46. Perhaps, he suggests, the "ladder-road" (καλμαρὸς κελύς) over which Eumenes passed, as mentioned by Diodoros xix. 21, may be identical with the Atābeg road. Remains of old roads paved or hewn out of the rock are also found in other places in the neighbourhood of Māl-Amīr; cf. iii. 51^b. The natives ascribe them at once to the Atābegs, as they do the ruined caravanserais found everywhere. Near the Sar-i Rāk pass about 12 miles east of Māl-Amīr is a place called Kal'a-i Medrese, where chiefs of the Bakhtiyārīs meet every year. There are the ruins of two Sāsānian buildings; cf. Unvala, in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxv. 1928, p. 86—88, who gives a detailed description of them. Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 340 thinks that this Kal'a-i Medrese—in spite of the discrepancy in the distances given—corresponds with the place Halāfthān mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii. 41). A ruined site of the same name, also with two Sāsānian buildings is according to Unvala 24 miles S.E. of Masjd-i Sulaimān (cf. *SUSAN*); 4—5 hours N.E. of Māl-Amīr are the ruins of Sūsan (q.v.).

The Arab geographers of the middle ages reckoned the celebrated stone bridge (*qanāra*) of Idhādī crossing the Dūdjalī (Kārūn) among the wonders of the world. It was also called Qanāra Khurāsād from the alleged (otherwise unknown) name of the mother of Ardashīr I, who is said to have built this bridge and another in the town of Ahwāz (see Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 321). Otherwise we only know the masculine form of the Iranian name Khurāsād (cf. Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 338 note 4 and Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, p. 180^b). In the 10th (xth) century this bridge of Idhādī was restored by the vizier of the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla after two years of work. De Bode identifies it with the "Atābeg" bridge at Hallādjan; probably however we should, with Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 83 and Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 339, identify it with the

"Old Bridge" crossing a small tributary of the Kārūn N.E. of Kal'a-i Medrese. For further information on the Bridge of Idhādī cf. Yāqūt, I. 416, iv. 189 and Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 338—339.

The rulers who had the sculptures and rock inscriptions of Kul-i Fārā and Shikefte-i Salmān made, belong to the period of the later Elamite kingdom, to the period between Nebuchadnezzar I (1146—1123) and the rise of Assyria in the first half of the 12th century i.e. about 1000 B.C. It cannot be decided whether king Hānni, son of Tāhbiht, from whom the monuments and inscriptions date, and the Shūtur Nakhkhunte, son of Indada mentioned by him, ruled the whole of Elam or whether they are to be regarded as members of a local dynasty ruling perhaps the district of Māl-Amīr. The inscriptions are in the Elamite language but contracts written in the Babylonian language have also been found in Māl-Amīr; cf. the *Bibliography*.

Here it may be mentioned that following de Bode the town of the Uxiāns which Alexander the Great passed on his way from Susa to Persopolis after passing the "Susan Gates" has often been sought in the region of Māl-Amīr; cf. de Bode, *Travels* etc., II. 47 sq.; Spiegel, *Iranische Altertumskunde*, I., Leipzig 1870, p. 409 and Kaerst in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencykl. d. klass. Altertumswiss.*, I. 1424.

Since the late middle ages (beginning of the vii/xiii century) the Bakhtiyārī Lārs have settled in the district of Māl-Amīr (cf. above iii., p. 42^a, 45^b). They spend the winter there on account of the fine green pastures. On the Bakhtiyārīs see BAKHTIYARIS and iii., p. 42^b, 45^b, 46^a, 50^a.

Bibliography: B.G.A., *passim* (a. Indices); Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, I. 416 sq.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuḥat al-Kuṭūb* (= G.M.S., xxi.), p. 70; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Paris, II. 29—42; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 245; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arab. Geographien*, iv., Leipzig 1921, p. 293, 335—340; 441, note 3; 421, note 6; 439—440; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix. 152—157, 218. — It is only since the 19th century that we have more exact accounts of the plain of Māl-Amīr and its monuments from European travellers. On those for the period 1841—1889, see Weissbach, *op. cit.* (see below), p. 743. Rawlinson was not himself in Māl-Amīr but heard of the ruins there when in the neighbourhood in 1836; cf. his article in *J.R.G.S.*, ix. 82—84. — For the archaeological monuments of Māl-Amīr the most valuable records are those of Layard and C. A. de Bode who both visited it in 1841 and that of Jéquier at the beginning of the 20th century. Cf. A. H. Layard in *J.R.G.S.*, xvi., 1846, p. 74—81, 94—95 and in *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana and Babylonia*, London 1887, I. 401—411; II. 4, 7, 11—14; C. A. de Bode in *J.R.G.S.*, xiii., 1843, p. 100—104 and in *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, London 1845, I. 400—404; II. 1, 6—8, 25—60, 102—106; Jéquier, *Description du site de Māl-Amīr*, in *Diligation en Perse, Mémoires*, vol. III., Paris 1901, p. 133—143 (with 2 plates). Cf. also the description by A. Houtum Schindler (*Reise 1877*), in *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin*, xiv., 1879, p. 45 sq. Cf. also the descriptions of the monuments of Māl-Amīr in Weissbach,

Neue Beiträge zur Kunde der indischen Inschriften = *Abh. d. ind. Ges. d. Wissensch.*, xxxiv, 1894, p. 743—747 (based mainly on Layard) and G. Hüsing, *Der Zagros und seine Völker* (A. O., ix, 3—4), Leipzig 1908, p. 47—57 (based on Jéquier); s. also J. de Morgan, *Mission scient. en Perse*, vol. iv., *Recherch. Archéol.*, Paris 1896—1897, p. 176 sq.

For the Elamite bas-reliefs in Māl-Amīr and the cuneiform inscriptions with them the reader is referred to Weissbach, *op. cit.*, p. 745, 747—748 for illustrations, aquettes, editions, decipherment and commentaries as regards the *Bibliography* down to 1893. The inscriptions were first edited by Layard in his *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character*, London 1851, Pl. 31—32, 36—37. Mention should also be made of: A. H. Sayce, *The Inscriptions of Mal Amīr*, in *Actes du 1^{er} Congrès Internat. des Orientalistes*, à Leyde, vol. II, Leyden 1885. Weissbach gave a new edition in the publication above mentioned, a new transcription and translation of the Māl-Amīr texts with commentary; cf. *op. cit.*, p. 748—752, 759—777 (and plates i—iv). A transcription, differing in many points from Weissbach, of the two great inscriptions of Kū-i-Fāst and Shikēstē-i-Salmān (with notes) was given by G. Hüsing in *Elamische Studien* (= *M. V. G.*, iii, Heft 7), Berlin 1898, p. 21—34; cf. also Hüsing's short articles in *O. L. Z.*, ix, 1906, col. 605—606; xi, 1908, col. 337 sq. The latest edition of all the Māl-Amīr inscriptions — including the fragmentary one of Shikēstē-i-Salmān omitted by Weissbach — is that of Scheil; s. *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires*, vol. iii, Paris 1901, pl. 23—26; transcription and translation under No. lxiii and lxiv, p. 102—112. Scheil (*ibid.*) also published autotype facsimiles of the bas-reliefs and a picture of the cave of Shikēstē-i-Salmān; cf. pl. 27—33. In his travels in Kurdistan O. Mann also visited Māl-Amīr and took aquettes of the inscriptions there (cf. *O. L. Z.*, xi, 605); but so far as I am aware he has published no more about them. — On the particular form of cuneiform used in the Māl-Amīr inscriptions see Weissbach, *op. cit.*, p. 752—759 (syllabary) and the epigraphic tables on pl. iv—v; cf. on the question of transliteration Hüsing, *Elamische Studien*, p. 15—21 with table of characters and do., in *O. L. Z.*, vii, 1904, col. 437—440.

In Māl-Amīr have also been found cuneiform tablets of a legal nature (contracts) written in the Babylonian language; 16 of these contracts have been edited, transliterated and translated by V. Scheil in *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires*, vol. iv., Paris 1902, pl. 19—20 and p. 169—194.

(M. STRACK)

MALABAR, a district of the Madras Presidency in British India, situated on the west coast of the peninsula, between 10° 15' and 12° 18' N. latitude and 75° 14' and 76° 15' E. longitude, and extending for 450 miles along the shores of the Arabian Sea; on the E. the district is bounded by the Western Ghats, the hills of which attain an average elevation of 5,000 feet, but occasionally rise to 8,000 feet. Out of a total population of 2,039,333 (according to the Census of 1921) there are 2,004,327 Muslims, of whom 93.60 per cent are Sunnis; the greater part of them are Mappillas [q. v.];

the Labbais [q. v.] form the next largest group, and there are a few Pathans, and in the larger coast towns a few Arabs.

Trade with Arabia appears to have led to the introduction of Islam into the Malabar coast at an early period, the exact date of which is uncertain. Hindu rājās encouraged the Arab traders and the commerce of the western coast had passed almost entirely into their hands by the end of the xvth century when the Portuguese arrived to dispute it with them. The Arabs did not give way without a struggle, but by the middle of the xvth century only the petty coasting trade was left in Arab hands, and when the power of the Portuguese declined in the xvith century their place was taken by English and Dutch traders. In 1766 Haider 'Alī [q. v.] added Malabar to his dominions, but found it a turbulent possession, and his son Tipu Sultan [q. v.] in 1792 had to abandon this territory to the British.

Bibliography: W. Logan, *Malabar*, Madras 1887; C. A. Innes, *Malabar (Madras District Gazetteer)*, Madras 1908.

MALACCA (from the Sanskrit *mālaka* through the Malay *mēlaka*, *Phyllanthus pectinatus* Hook. fil., Euphorbiaceae) is the name of a town situated on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula in 2° 17' 30" N., 102° 15' E. (Gr.), of a river which enters the sea at that spot, and of a territory of about 720 English square miles adjacent to and administered from the town. Formerly the name was often extended to the Malay Peninsula as a whole, but this usage is obsolete in English though still sometimes found in Continental works.

The earliest date in the history of Malacca occurs in Book 325 of the History of the Ming dynasty of China (1368—1643), which relates the sending of a Chinese mission to it in the year 1403, in consequence of which the local chief was shortly afterwards recognized as king by the Chinese Emperor. Previous to this time Siam had apparently claimed some kind of suzerainty over the country. Two alleged earlier references are very doubtful, one in chapter ix. of the Javanese history *Pararaton*, and the other in the Siamese *Kor Mongkhitrakhan* (*Majapahit*). The latter work certainly mentions Malacca as a vassal of Siam, but in its introduction it speaks of a Siamese king (Paramatralakanātha) whose reign began about 1435. The oldest strictly contemporary notice of the place occurs in the *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* of Ma Huan, which records a Chinese mission to it in 1409 and states that at that time the king and people of Malacca carefully observed the tenets of Islam. As Malay traditional history connects the rise of Malacca with the fall of Singapore (probably circa 1327), it seems likely that the establishment of Islam as the official religion in Malacca may have occurred between these dates.

Owing to its position on the trade route from India and Western Asia to the Malay Archipelago, China, and Japan, Malacca became in the xvth century the most important of the Malay states; it was visited by traders from various countries, many of them being Muslims from Northern and Southern India, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, and it became the centre of a Muslim propaganda of which the earliest successes in this part of the world had already been registered by Marco Polo in North-Eastern Sumatra before the close of the

xiiith century. After the middle of the xvth century Malacca territory was increased by the conquest of Pahang (on the East coast of the Peninsula); and for a time the kingdom included all the coasts of the centre and South of the Peninsula to about 4° N. together with a suzerainty over the parts of Sumatra lying opposite to it. Siam made several unsuccessful attacks on Malacca during this period.

The growth of this incipient empire, which however already showed signs of decay in the form of internal divisions and bad administration, was cut short by the Portuguese conquest in 1511, whereby the town and its immediately adjoining territory, together with the command of the sea, fell into European hands. Though often challenged by the attacks of their Muslim neighbours (especially the new state of Aceh [Achin] in Northern Sumatra), the Portuguese maintained their hold on Malacca till 1641, when after a prolonged siege it was taken by the Dutch. In 1795 it was occupied by the British, in the name of the Prince of Orange, and held until 1818, when it was returned to the Netherlands under the provisions of the treaty of Vienna. In 1824 it finally became British and in 1826 it was incorporated in one government with Penang and Singapore and made subject to the East India Company.

During the Dutch period the importance of Malacca as a trading centre declined: it was never allowed to compete seriously with Batavia, and in the end it was quite overshadowed by Penang (founded in 1786) and Singapore (founded in 1819). In recent times it has shared in the general economic development of the Peninsula; but it only ranks as the fifth town in British Malaya, with a population (in 1931) of 30,671 (of whom about one-fifth were Muslims) in an area of 3.5 English square miles. In the whole settlement or territory of Malacca, including the town itself, the population was 153,522; of whom 83,635 were Malays proper (including a considerable number of Minangkabau descent), 2,777 other Muslims (such as Javanese, Banjarese, etc.) of similar Indonesian stock, 1,146 Muslim Indians, 257 Muslim Chinese, and 56 Arabs, making an approximate total Muslim population of 87,871, almost all of whom were Sunnis of the school of Shafi'i. Of the rest of the Asiatic population about four-fifths were Chinese and one-fifth Hindus.

Bibliography: W. P. Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, Verhandelungen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, 1879, xxix, 123 sq., reprinted in *Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China and the Indian Archipelago*, 1887, Second Series, I, 245 sq.; R. O. Winstedt, *Malaya*, London 1923, p. 129 sq.; R. J. Wilkinson, *A History of the Peninsular Malays*, Singapore 1923, p. 28 sq.; F. A. Swettenham, *British Malaya*, London 1907, p. 5-7, 12-33, 56-62; T. J. Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*, London 1839, I, 108 sq.

(C. O. BLADEN)

MALAGA, Arabic *Mālaqa* (ethnic: *Mālaqa*), a large town in Spain on the Mediterranean and capital of the same name, has at the present day 133,000 inhabitants. It is built at the centre of a bay commanded by the hill of Gibralfaro (the *Ujhal Fārsh* of Idrisi). The town is traversed from north to south by the "rambla" (i.e. the bed, usually dry [Arabic *ramla*]) of the Guadalemeña

(*wadī 'l-mudlana*) which, while very often dried up, sometimes overflows in the rainy season. To the west of the town lies the Vega or Hoya of Malaga where the vegetation is exotic and extremely luxurious.

Malaga, the ancient *Mālaqa*, was founded by the Phoenicians and remained for long under Roman rule traces of a deep Punic influence; its port under the Empire was one of the most important in the Iberian peninsula. At a later date it was the see of a bishop. It was taken from the Byzantines in 571 by the Visigothic king Leovigild. In 711 it was taken by a Muslim force sent from Ecija by Tariq. It soon became an important Muslim town and in time supplanted Archidona (Archidona, q.v.) as capital of the province of *Reiyo* (Latin: *regio*) where in the time of the governor Abu 'l-Khattar al-Husam b. Dā'ir al-Kalbi the Arab *ghazw* of Jordan (al-Urdunn) was settled in 125 (742). Malaga welcomed the founder of the Umayyad dynasty of Spain, 'Abd al-Rahmān I al-Dāghil, after his landing at Almorovar and his triumphal progress through the district of Elvira. But, in the second half of the third (ninth) century, the province of *Reiyo* including Malaga became closely involved in the troubles stirred up by the nationalist 'Umar b. Hafsun. In the reign of the Emir Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hakam, according to the historian Ibn Haiyān, the province supplied for a summer expedition (*ḡiḡa*) against Galicia an imposing number of horsemen: 2,600. Later, when the rebel was causing anxiety to the Emir 'Abd Allāh an expedition on a large scale had to be undertaken against the province of *Reiyo*. An army under the command of prince Abūn son of 'Abd Allāh took the field in 291 (904) and inflicted a severe defeat on the troops of Ibn Hafsun. Three years later, the same general had to besiege Malaga which was held by the rebel Musawwir b. 'Abd al-Rahmān. Another expedition was again led against Malaga in the reign of 'Abd Allāh in 297 (909).

The great caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III, on ascending the throne, had no peace until he succeeded in putting down the rebellion of Ibn Hafsun. In the early years of his reign several expeditions were again sent against the rebels in the province of *Reiyo* of which Malaga was the port but not yet the capital. Once order was completely restored by the sovereign, Malaga entered on a long period of prosperity which continued till the end of the Umayyad caliphate.

From being capital of a province, Malaga became the capital of an independent kingdom in the period of the *waṭiḥ al-jamāl*. The Hammūdid after having had to renounce their claims to the caliphate of all Muslim Spain were able to hold out in a little principality in the S.E. of Spain with Malaga as capital. At the same time another branch of the same family founded a little kingdom around the town of Algeiras. The Hammūdid dynasty of Malaga survived till 449 (1057) [on it cf. the article *ḡamāṭiṭ*]. The king of Granada, the Zīrid Bādīs b. Ḥabbūs, had hitherto been nominally their vassal. He decided to cast off their suzerainty and seize their principality. He did this with ease and called the last Hammūdids to Africa: his son al-Mu'izz was appointed ruler of Malaga. On the death of Bādīs in 466 (1073) his kingdom was divided between his two grandsons 'Abd Allāh and Tamīm and Malaga

fell to the latter. The town very soon passed to the Almoravids and then to the Almohads. When in 629 (1232) Muḥammad I Ibn al-Aḥmar founded the Nasrid kingdom of Granada, Malaga and its province formed part of his lands and remained in the power of the dynasty till the period of the Catholic Kings. Ferdinand and Isabella took Malaga from the Muslims on Aug. 18, 1487 after a close blockade.

The Arab geographers of Muslim Spain almost all give enthusiastic descriptions of Malaga. Idrisi (xith century) mentions two of its suburbs, praises the sweetness of its waters and the flavour of its fruits. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in the second half of the xivth century says much the same and adds that a fine gilt porcelain was made at Malaga which was exported to the whole Muslim world. Finally Ibn al-Khaṭīb frequently speaks of Malaga in his description of the kingdom of Granada; one of his minor works is devoted to a comparison of Malaga with Salé, the *Mufakkarat Malaga wa-Salé* (the Arabic text has been published from two MSS. of the Escorial by M. J. Müller, *Wettstreit zwischen Malaga und Salé*, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der weltlichen Araber*, p. 1—13).

Very few monuments of the Muslim period survive in Malaga, which have not been very much altered. The old chief mosque has become the cathedral. According to the author of *al-Rawḍ al-miṣṣar*, this *ḡriba* had five naves and five doors, two on the side facing the sea, one on the east front (*Bāb al-Wādī*) and one on the north side (*Bāb al-Baḥr*). Another mosque at Malaga built in the *ḡriba* is said to have been founded by the traditionist Mu'awiya b. Sāliḥ of Emma (d. 158 = 775). The old Muslim citadel is still called *Alcazaba*. There are very few relics of Islam in it, a vaulted gateway (Arco de Christo) and a tower (Torre de la Vela). This citadel was joined to another fortress by a double rampart built on the hill of Gibralfaro; it was restored at the end of the xiiith century by the Nasrid rulers of Granada.

Malaga in the Muslim period remained an important sea-port and an active centre of shipbuilding, less important however than its neighbour Almeria. This *Dār al-Sinā'a*, the name of which has survived in the form *Atarazana*, occupied the actual site of a market and one of the gates with the motto of the Nasrids (*fā ḡalibū illa'llāh*, "There is no victor but Allāh") is still standing.

Bibliography: al-Idrisi, *Sifat al-Andalus*, ed. Dory and de Goeje, p. 200—204 and 244—250; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, s.v. *Malaga*; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taqwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinand and de Slane, p. 174—175; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Magreb*, index; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Miṣṣar al-ḡharib*, Fas 1325, p. 13—15; *Iḥṣā', qur'ān*; al-Maḥṣarī, *Nasb al-Fih* (Analectes), index; Ibn Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-maḡribī*, II, ed. Dory, index; III, ed. Lévi-Provençal, index; Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyari, *al-Rawḍ al-miṣṣar fī 'Aḡḡā' al-Aḡḡar*, ed. in preparation, N° 116; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages*, ed. Defremery and Sanguinetti, index; F. J. Simonet, *Descripción del reino de Granada*, Granada 1872, p. 109—120; F. Guillén Robles, *Malaga musulmana*, Malaga 1880; R. Dory, *Histoire des musulmans d'Espagne*, esp. vol. III, and iv.; F. Codera, *Estudios críticos de historia árabe española*, Zaragoza 1903, p. 301—322.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MALĀḤIM (A., sing. *malḥama*) came, after a long and obscure development, to mean "destinies", either simply *al-malāḥim*, or *kutub al-malāḥim* or in the singular. The word was already quite adequately explained by De Sacy in his *Choix de mathie arabe*, II, 298—302, on the basis of several passages in Ibn Khaldūn's *Muḥaddira*. There Ibn Khaldūn defines *al-malāḥim* as "numerous books on dynastic changes and events (*hidṭhān al-dawā*)", written in verse and prose and *radjaz*, many of which are spread abroad amongst the people, some dealing with the changes in the Muslim people (*al-milla*) as a whole, and others with particular dynasties, but all ascribed to well known individuals", although, in Ibn Khaldūn's opinion, it would be difficult to prove the correctness of any of these ascriptions (Quatremère's text, II, 192 foot; De Slane's transl., II, 226). The most famous case of these is the book called *al-Djāfī* (q. v. and the references there). Such predictions as to public affairs have close connection with, and were probably developed from the Jewish and Christian apocalypses. As there are many stories, both in sober historians and in popular tales, describing these books as secretly preserved and consulted by dynastic leaders for their own guidance, they have also contacts with the Roman Sibylline books. The popular doctrine of the Mahdi [q. v.] and of the Last Day (*al-Kiyāma* [q. v.]) became inextricably confused with this branch of Muslim literature.

The derivation of *malḥama* and the development of its meanings are very obscure. The word does not occur in the Qur'an which has the root only in *laḥm* and *luḥm* with the concrete meaning, "flesh". Yet the root *l-ḥ-m*, like the cognate Hebrew root, had apparently two very separate but old meanings, "food" and "fighting". Further, the fact that the Hebrew food-word, *leḥem*, means "bread", while its exact equivalent in Arabic means "flesh" would suggest a separation very far back rather than a borrowing (cf. the comparative treatment and references in Browne-Driver-Briggs, *Hebrew Lexicon*, p. 535 109). In old Arabic the meaning of decisive fighting, leading to defeat, pursuit and slaughter, seems to be certain (cf. the treatment in the *Lisān*, xxii, 9—12, and add to the quotations there *Hamān*, ed. Freytag, p. 124, 728; *Dawān* of Tufail b. 'Awf, ed. Krenkow, p. 171, l. 29, with translation and note on p. 15).

The *Lisān* endeavours to connect the meanings (flesh; warp and woof in weaving; close, entangled fighting) under the general idea "being intricate, mixed" (*ḡṭṭān*, *ḡṭṭilān*) or with the picture of the flesh of the slain on the battle-field. But, in view of the Hebrew usage, it is better to be satisfied with the meaning of *malḥama* as "a stricken field"; the *Lisān* (p. 10) reiterates the idea of war and fighting with much slaughter and especially "in the Fitna" (*ḡṭṭān*), its only allusion to the prophetic and eschatological usage. An epithet of Muḥammad is "the prophet of the *malḥama*" and of that the *Lisān* gives two explanations: (i) "the prophet who was sent with the sword" (as in another tradition, *ḡṭṭān ḡṭṭān*); (ii) "the prophet of union and good order" (*ḡṭṭān*).

There is very little general prophecy in the Qur'an as to future historical events in this world; but in Tradition there is a great deal. Even the two *Ṣaḥīḥ's* have sections on such future *ḡṭṭān* —

apparently the oldest word for them and frequent in the *Kur'ān* — especially those leading up to the Last Day. In Bukhārī (*Bulāḡ* 1315, ix. 46-61; Book 92 in Wensinck, *Handbook*) the Prophet is quite explicit in foretelling such woes and trials to come and in warning how they must be met. In Muslim (Constantinople 1329-1333: viii. 165-210; Book 52 in Wensinck, *Handbook*) there is a similar series of hortatory predictions, but, also, an explicit statement (p. 172 sq.) that the Prophet foretold everything which would happen to his People until the Last Day. By Ibn Khaldūn (*Maḡaddima*, ed. Quatremère, ii. 182 sqq.; transl. De Slane, ii. 212 sqq.) this tradition is cited and others, by later and less weighty authorities, which make the Prophet give a dynastic history for future Islām, with the names, fathers' names and tribes of all leaders of revolts until the end.

The use of the term *malāḥim* in connection with those prophecies appears first among the 'Alids in their doctrine of the *Djafr*. The *Fihrist* gives two occurrences: 'Alī b. Yaḡmīn (d. A. H. 182; p. 224, l. 22) had a *Kitāb min umūr al-Malāḥim* and Ismā'īl b. Mīhrān (p. 223, l. 20) had a *Kitāb al-Malāḥim*. But the use must have spread very rapidly. In the *Maḡārib* of al-Baghawī (Cairo 1318, ii. 128 sqq.) those traditions are classified and one section is *Ḥab al-Malāḥim* (p. 130-33). All the traditions bear on the wars of the Last Days but the word *malḥama* itself occurs only in the early part of the *ḥisān* section (p. 132 middle) in such phrases as "the *Malḥama*", "the great *Malḥama*", connected with the capture of Constantinople and the appearance of al-Dajjāl. In the *Mishkāt al-Maḡārib* (Dihlī 1327, p. 396 sqq.) the text is practically the same, only adding the names of the collections from which the traditions are taken, Abū Dāwūd and al-Tirmidhī. Abū Dāwūd has a separate section on *malāḥim* (N^o. 36 in Wensinck). In such a book of edification as the *Tadhkirat* of al-Kurtubī (d. 671 = 1272), in the *Muḥḥataṭ* of al-Shā'irānī (Cairo 1324) the sections on the *Malāḥim* have swallowed up the whole doctrine and history of the Mahdī (p. 113-21), to the aid of whom there is sent an angel called *Qamāra* (i), *qāḥib al-malāḥim*.

Ibn Khaldūn has recorded the final form which these prophecies took. Traditions put in the mouth of the Prophet were supplemented and largely displaced by calculations of astrologers and by the speculations of pantheistic Sufis using the science of *Simiyā* [q. v.] in the interests of the 'Alids. We have thus to distinguish sharply between (i) the *malāḥim*-predictions registered in the canonical books of traditions and in the literature of edification based upon these and (ii) the *malāḥim*-books based upon secret tradition and on astrology which went back to the 'Alids and are represented best by the *Djafr*. For, besides the *Djafr* ascribed to Dīfār al-Sāḍik, there was also an astrological *Djafr*, ascribed to Ibn Ishāḡ al-Kindī, dealing with the dynastic destinies of the 'Abbāsids. An asserted fragment of this, called the Little *Djafr*, was in circulation in the Maghrib in Ibn Khaldūn's time, but had apparently been composed in the interests of the Muwāḥhid. Further Ibn Khaldūn had known as in circulation in the Maghrib several poems of this class in the interests of different western dynasties. In the Orient he had heard of several such *malāḥim* ascribed to Ibn Sīnā and he had actually had

knowledge of one such ascribed to Ibn al-'Arabī. In Cairo he had found another, also ascribed to Ibn al-'Arabī, giving a horoscope for that town. In the Orient, too, he had seen a *malḥama*-poem by a certain Sifī, Muḥammad al-Bājirīkī, of the Karandall Fraternity of darwishes, who left behind him a heretical sect, al-Bājirīkīya, and who died 724 (1324). Ibn Khaldūn gives a mass of details on this *malḥama* and on its author, who called it a *Djafr*. It dealt with the dynasties of the Mamlūks and Ibn Khaldūn knew it in two recensions from which he quotes. For still more details on this genre of literature, based on Ibn Khaldūn's personal knowledge, see Quatremère, text, ii. 193-201 (the *Bulāḡ* texts are not complete) and De Slane's translation, ii. 226-237. In stories, there are frequent references to the science of *malāḥim* as one of the esoteric sciences along with astrology and *qarāb al-ramal*. Thus, in Habicht's text of *The 1001 Nights* (ed. Breslau, iii. 218) in the Story of Kamar al-Zamān and Budūr, a form closely akin to the version of Galland and different from that in the second Calcutta and the *Bulāḡ* editions, Marzawān, the foster-brother of Budūr, is described as learned in the sciences of astronomy and the sphere and reckoning and algebra and *ramal* and *malāḥim*.

Bibliography: is given in the course of the article.
(D. B. MACDONALD)

MAL'AK. [See MALĀ'IKĀ.]

MALĀ'IKĀ, angels, is the Arabic broken plural of an early Semitic (Canaanite?) word *mal'ak*, meaning "messenger". The evidence would suggest that it is a loan-word, coming into Arabic from Hebrew: there is no trace of a verb in Hebrew (nor in Phoenician, where the noun occurs in later inscriptions), and in Arabic the root, even, is in the greatest uncertainty, being referred to a dubious *mal'ak* (Lane, p. 81, b, c; *Lisān*, xii. 272 sqq.; Tabari, *Tafsīr*, i. 150) and to a still more dubious *mal'ak* (*Lisān*, xii. 370). The singular in Arabic is normally *malak* without *hamsa*, and so always in the *Kur'ān*; although the *Lisān* in two places (xii. 274, 2; 371, 2) quotes the same verse as a proof that *mal'ak* does occur, but as an exceptional form (*shūdhūh*). Both singular and plural in Arabic are used only in the sense "angel". In the *Kur'ān* it occurs twice in the dual (*malakain*, ii. 96; vii. 19); of the two angels Hārūt and Mārūt (q. v. and under *mar*), and of Adam and Eve being tempted in the Garden to believe that they may become angels. The plural occurs very often in the *Kur'ān* (in Flügel's *Concordance* under *mal'ak*, p. 171) but the singular only 12 times (Flügel under *mal'ak*, p. 183). These are of the people demanding revelation by an angel rather than a human being (*ḥaḡḡar*, vi. 8, 9, 50; xi. 15, 33; xvii. 97; xxv. 8); women think Joseph an angel for his beauty rather than a human being (*ḥaḡḡar*, xii. 31); an angel's intercession (*shaf'a*, liii. 26) does not avail; twice as collective for angels, beside the *'arsh* (lxix. 17), and in rows and rows (lxxxix. 23).

In xxxii. 11 "the angel of death" (*malak al-mawt*) occurs but not by name; see article *mal'ak*, and references in tradition in Wensinck, *Handbook*, p. 226. *Djibril*, the angel of revelation, is named three times (ii. 91, 92; lxvi. 4); cf. traditions on him in Muslim, i. 109-111 of ed. Constantinople 1333, and other references in Wensinck, p. 59. In *Kur'ān* xxvi. 193-195, *Djibril*, unnamed, is called

"the Faithful Spirit" (*al-rūḥ al-aqīm*); he brings down the revelation to the *ḥab* of Muhammad in a clear Arabic tongue. There are other descriptions of him, still unnamed, in *Qur'ān* iii. 5-18 and lxxii. 19-25, as appearing plainly to Muhammad in revelation. He, as "our Spirit" (*rūḥanā*), was sent to Maryam (xix. 17). He is called "the Holy Spirit" (*rūḥ al-quds*) in xvi. 104 and Allāh's aided *Isā* with the same (ii. 84, 254; v. 109). Mikā'il (variant Mikāl) is named (ii. 92) as an angel of the same rank as Djibril; see a long and apparently true story of how his naming came about in Baiḍawī (Fleischer's ed., l. 74, 18 199.); in traditions he, with Djibril, appears to Muhammad and instructs him; he does not laugh (Weissbach, p. 152^b); Muhammad called the two his wazir's of the angels. To Isā'il (q. v.), the angel with the trumpet of resurrection, there is no reference either in the *Qur'ān* or in canonical traditions but very much in eschatological legend. In *Qur'ān* xliii. 47, the tortured in hell call to the keeper of hell, "O Malik!" and in xcv. 18, the guards of hell are called *al-Zabāniya*, an otherwise unused word, meaning apparently, "violent thrusters" (*Liṣān*, xvii. 55); the number of these, *Qur'ān* lxxiv. 30, is sixteen and they are asserted specifically to be angels; apparently to guard against the idea that they are devils; they are called "rough, violent" (*ghillāṣ, ḥidād*). Another class of angels are those "Brought Near" (to Allāh), *al-muqarrabūn* (iv. 170); these praise Allāh day and night without ceasing (xxi. 20); Baiḍawī calls them also *al-ḥawṣiyūn* (on *Qur'ān* ii. 28; Fleischer's ed., l. 47, 22); and *al-ḥawṣiyūn* (حَوَصِيّوْنَ) on *Qur'ān* iv. 170 (Fleischer's ed., l. 243, 24) as those that are around the *ḥab*. The same term, *muqarrab*, is used of Isā' (*Qur'ān*, iii. 40) as he is in the company of the angels nearest Allāh; cf. article 183, above, for his semi-angelic character. At the beginning of the *Sūra* of the Angels (*Qur'ān* xxxv.) there is a significant description: "making the angels messengers (*rasūlūn*), with wings two and three and four; He increases in the creation what He wills"; this has had much effect on later descriptions and pictures. They are guardians (*ḥafẓa*) over mankind, cognizant of what man does and writing it down (*kitāb*); *Qur'ān* lxxvii. 10-12). In xxi. 94 the writing down is ascribed to Allāh himself. In lxx. 4; lxxvii. 38; xcvii. 4, there occurs the very puzzling phrase "the angels and *al-rūḥ*". Baiḍawī on the first two passages shows how perplexing the distinction was found (Fleischer's ed., ii. 356, 1; p. 383, 4): "the *rūḥ* is an angel set over the spirits (*al-arwāḥ*); or he is the whole genus of spirits; or Djibril; or a creation (*ḥalq*) mightier than the angels"; cf., too, Kaẓim's *Al-faḥḥ*, ed. Wasmuth, p. 36. For spirits and the conception "spirit" in Islām see article 181c. In the *Qur'ān* there is no reference to the two angels, Munkar and Nakir, who visit the dead man in his grave, on the night after his burial, and catechize him as to his Faith. Thereafter, if he is an unbeliever, his grave becomes a preliminary hell, and if he is a believer, it becomes a preliminary purgatory from which he may pass at the Last Day into paradise; it may even, if he is a saint, be a preliminary paradise. This is called technically the Questioning (*ḥawṣ*) of Munkar and Nakir and, also, the Punishment of the grave (*ʿadāb al-qabr*). This doctrine, similar to the Lesser Judgment of Christian theology, is

one of the *ṣam'iyyāt* (to be believed on oral testimony) and is based on the implicit meaning of *Qur'ānic* passages (xiv. 32; xl. 11, 49; lxxi. 25) and upon explicit traditions (Taftāzūl's commentary on Nasāfi's *ʿAḥḥād*, ed. Cairo 1321, p. 109; *Mawāḥiḥ* of al-Jāḥiz with commentary of al-Djardjān, ed. Brill 1266, p. 590 199.). There is a still fuller account and discussion by the Hanbalite theologian Ibn Kaṣīr al-Djāwī (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 106, N^o. 23) in his *Kitaḥ al-Kaṣḥ*, ed. Haidarabad 1324, p. 62-144, §§ vi-siv.

The angels are, also, called the heavenly host, or multitude (*al-mala' al-a'la*, xxxvii. 8; xxxviii. 69) and guard the walls of heaven against the "listening" of the *ḡinn* and *ḥaṣīf*'s. See further on this under *ḡinn*, iii. p. 410^a.

The *Qur'ān* lays stress on the absolute submission and obedience of the angels to Allāh, "To Him belong those who are in the heavens and in the earth and those who are with Him" (*ʿindahu*) are not too proud for His service (*ʿibāda*) and they do not become tired. They praise, night and day, without intermission" (xxi. 19, 20). "They do not anticipate Him in speech and they labour in His command" (xxi. 27). At the creation of Adam they are distinguished in this respect from him and his future race: "while we praise Thee and sanctify Thee" (ii. 28). Over the Fire there are set certain terrible and powerful angels; "they do not rebel against Allāh as to what He commands them and they do what they are commanded" (lvi. 6). But does this absolute obedience extend to impeccability (*ʿiṣma*; q. v.)? The *Qur'ān* is emphatic as to their obedience, but is in contradiction as to their created nature and as to their relationship in that respect to the *ḡinn* and to the *ḥaṣīf*'s. Thus, in several passages in the *Qur'ān*, the story is told of the creation of man out of clay and that the angels were hidden by Allāh to prostrate themselves to him. This they all did "except Iblīs" (*iblis*; *Qur'ān* ii. 32; vii. 10; xv. 31; xviii. 48; xxxviii. 74). Iblīs, therefore, must have been an angel; as Baiḍawī says, "If not, the command to them did not apply to him and his being excepted from them was illegitimate" (Fleischer's ed., l. 51, 21). This would mean that the angels were not impeccable. But, again, in *Qur'ān* xviii. 48 the statement is expanded, "except Iblīs; he was of the *ḡinn*"; so he departed from the command of his Lord" (*ṣaḥaḥ 'an amr al-ḥab*). Further, in *Qur'ān* vii. 11; xxxvii. 77, Iblīs pleads in justification that man was created of clay (*ṣaḥ*) but he of fire (*nār*); and the *ḡinn* are acceptedly created of fire; "fire of the *ḥawṣ*" in *Qur'ān* xv. 27, "of a *mawḥ* of fire" in *Qur'ān* iv. 14. The meaning of *mawḥ* is unknown; the *Liṣān* (ii. 189, 13-14) gives a number of contradictory explanations, but it is probably an unidentified loan-word. Iblīs and the *ḡinn*, then, were created of fire; but there is no statement in the *Qur'ān* as to the material out of which the angels were formed. A tradition traced back to A'ishā is the foundation of the accepted position that the angels were formed of light: "The Prophet said, 'The angels were formed of light (*ḥalq min nūr*) and the *ḡinn* were formed of a *mawḥ* of fire and Adam of that which was described to you'" (Muslim, vii. 226 of ed. Constantinople 1333; Radlwi, i. 52, 1). Another difficulty in the doctrine of the impeccability of the angels is the *Qur'ānic* statement as to Hārūt and Mārūt referred

to above. These two angels are supposed to have yielded to sexual temptation, to be confined in a pit near Bābil and there to teach magic to men. But, it is answered, the Qur'ān says nothing of their fall; (ii.) teaching magic is not practising magic; (iii.) they always first warn those who come to them, "We are only a temptation (*fitna*); so do not disbelieve" (Qur'ān ii. 96); cf., further, Tafsīrīn on the *ʿAḥzād* of Nassāfi, ed. Cairo 1321, p. 133.

In Baiḍawī on Qur'ān ii. 32, there is a long discussion of the angelic nature (ed. Fleischer, i. 51, so to p. 52, 2) which, however, runs out in the despairing statement that knowledge on the point is with Allāh alone (*al-ʿIlm biḥdāllāh*). Perhaps Iblīs was of the *ḡinn* as to his actions (*ʿasā*) but of the angels as to species (*naṣb*). Also, Ibn ʿAlbās has a tradition that there was a variety (*ḡarḡ*) of the angels who propagated their kind (this has always been regarded as an essential characteristic of the *ḡinn* and of the *ḡalḡ* as opposed to the angels) and who were called *al-ḡinn*; and Iblīs was of these. Or, that he was a *ḡinn* brought up among the angels and identified with them. Or, that the *ḡinn* were among those commanded to prostrate themselves to Adam. Or, that some of the angels were not impeccable, although that was their characteristic in general, just as some men, e.g. the prophets, are guarded against sin but most are not. Further, perhaps a variety of the angels are not essentially different from the *ḡalḡ* but differ only in accidents and qualities as men are virtuous or evil, while the *ḡinn* unite both, and Iblīs was of this variety. The tradition from ʿAḡḡa is no answer to this explanation, for light and fire in it are not to be taken too precisely; they are used as in a proverb, and light is of the nature of fire and fire of light, they pass into another; fire can be purified into light and light obscured to fire. So al-Baiḡawī.

With this should be compared the scholastic discussion in the *Mawāḡif* of al-ʿIḡḡī, with the commentary of al-ʿIḡḡḡī (ed. Bonn 1266, p. 576). In it the objector to the *ḡinn* of the angels has two grounds: (i.) their urging upon Allāh that he should not create Adam showed defects (slander, pride, malice, finding fault with Allāh) in their moral character; (ii.) that Iblīs was rebellious, as above. These grounds are then answered scholastically. Then various Qur'ānic texts, as above, on the submission and obedience of the angels are quoted. But it is pointed out that these texts cannot prove that all of them, at all times, are kept free from all sins. The point, therefore, cannot be absolutely decided. Individual exceptions under varying circumstances may have occurred, just as, while the *ḡalḡ* as a class were created for evil (*al-ḡalḡ al-ḡalḡ*), there is a definite tradition (*ḡarḡ* by al-Māḡḡḡī on *al-ḡalḡ* ascribed to Abū Hanīfa, ed. Hahārāḡḡ 1321, p. 25) of one Muslim *ḡalḡ*, a great-grandson of Iblīs, who appeared to Muḡammad and was taught by him certain sūras of the Qur'ān.

The story of Hārūn and Mārīḡ suggests that the angels possess sex, although they may not propagate their kind. But "they are not to be described with either masculinity or femininity" (*ʿAḡḡīd* of Nassāfi, ed. Cairo 1321, p. 133). Tafsīrīn and the other commentators in this edition explain that there is no authority (*naḡḡ*) on this

point and no proof by reason (*ʿaḡḡ*); it should, therefore, be left unconsidered and that, apparently, was the course followed by al-ʿIḡḡī and al-ʿIḡḡḡī. They may have sex and not use it. In that respect man who has in him the possibility of sin and must himself rule his appetites of lust (*ḡalḡ*) and of anger (*ḡalḡ*) has a higher potentiality of excellency than the angels (Baiḡawī on Qur'ān ii. 28, ed. Fleischer, i. 48, 2 227).

This leads to the second question as to the angels which scholastic theology has considered, the relative excellency of angels and men, and, especially, of angels and prophets. This is stated shortly by Nassāfi (p. 147 of ed. cited above): (i.) "The Messengers (*rasūḡ*) of mankind (*al-baḡḡar*) are more excellent than the Messengers of the angels and (ii.) the Messengers of the angels are more excellent than the generality of mankind and (iii.) the generality of mankind are more excellent than the generality of the angels". Tafsīrīn develops that there is general and indeed necessary agreement on the excellency of the messengers of the angels over mankind in general, but that the other two statements (i. and iii.) will bear argument. He urges (i.) the prostrating of the angels to Adam; (ii.) that Adam was taught all the names of things (Qur'ān ii. 29); (iii.) that Allāh "chose" (*ḡḡḡḡ*) Adam and Nūḡ and the family of Ibrāḡīm and the family of ʿIsrāḡ over all created things (*ʿaḡḡ al-ḡalḡ*; Qur'ān iii. 30); (iv.) that mankind achieves excellencies and perfections of knowledge and action in spite of the hindrances of lust and anger. But the Mu'taḡilites and the "philosophers" (*al-falḡḡḡ*) and some Ash'arites held the superior excellency of the angels. They urged (i.) that they were spirits, stripped of materiality (*arwāḡ muḡḡarrada*), complete actually, free of even the beginnings of evils and defects, like lust and anger, and from the obscurities of form and matter (*ḡubūḡ al-ḡḡḡḡ wa ḡḡḡ*), capable of doing wonderful things, knowing events (*ʿaḡḡ*), past and to come, without error. The answer is that this description is based on philosophical and not Muslim principles. (ii.) That the prophets learn from the angels, as in Qur'ān xvi. 193; iii. 5. The answer is that the prophets learn from Allāh and that the angels are only intermediaries. (iii.) That there are multiplied cases both in Qur'ān and in tradition where mention of the angels precedes that of the prophets. The answer is that precedence is because of their precedence in existence or because their existence is more concealed (*al-ḡḡḡ*) and, therefore, faith in them must be emphasized. (iv.) In Qur'ān iv. 170, "al-ḡalḡ does not disdain to be an *ʿaḡḡ* to Allāh nor do the angels" must mean, because of linguistic usage, that the angels are more excellent than ʿIsā. The answer is that the point is not simple excellency but to combat the Christian position that ʿIsā is not an *ʿaḡḡ* but a son to Allāh. In the *Mawāḡif* (p. 572-578) there is a similar but much fuller discussion which involves a philosophical consideration of the endowment—mental, physical, spiritual—of all living creatures from immaterial spirits to the lower animals (*al-baḡḡa*).

In the *ʿAḡḡīd al-Maḡḡḡīn* of al-Karḡīnī (ed. Wustenfeld, p. 55-63) there is an objective description of the angels in all their claims, in which the statements of Qur'ān and Sunna are adjusted to the Aristotelian-Neoplatonic universe

with its spheres (*al-afāq*), in accordance with al-Karwini's general aim to give a picture of the created universe in its details and wonders. Yet, apparently, while the angels possess the quality "life" (*ḥayā*) and are the inhabitants of the heavens and of the heavenly spheres (*jahān al-samawāt*) they are not to be reckoned among the animals (*al-ḥayawān*). Al-Damiri includes mankind and the *qinn*, even the diabolic (*mutashakkaf*) *qinn*, such as the *ghāl*, in his *Hayāt al-Hayawān* but not the angels. Equally acute and scholastic with the discussion in the *Mawāḥiṣ*, and more spiritual than that by Karwini, is al-Ghazālī's treatment of the mystery of the angelic nature in some of his specialistic smaller treatises. For him it is part of the general question of the nature of spirit to which his smaller *Maqāṣid* is devoted. See, too, the larger *Maqāṣid* (ed. Cairo 1303) in *Rubn*, II, p. 23 sqq., and the translation by W. H. T. Gairdner of his *Mithqāl al-Anwār* (London, Royal Asiatic Society, 1924), *passim*.

The above is a statement of Muslim ideas as to the angels. But Muslim literature also takes account of non-Muslim ideas on them, as those of "philosophers", Christians, dualists, idolaters. These will be found given shortly by Baiḍawī on *Kurʾān* II, 28 (ed. Floischoi, I, 47, 10 sqq.) and in more detail in *Dict. of techn. terms*, p. 1337 sqq.

Bibliography: Besides the references above, Walter Eickmann, *Angelologie u. Dämonologie des Koran*, New York and Leipzig 1908; a number of books and articles by Josef Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin 1926; *Jewish paper names in the Koran*, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, vol. 2; *Muhammed's Himmelfahrt*, *ibid.*, IX, 139 sqq.; E. W. Lane, *Thousand and One Nights*, notes I and 21 to Introduction; note 15 to chap. I. (H. B. MACDONALD)

MALATYA, an old city, not far from the upper Euphrates. It lies at the junction of important roads (in antiquity: the Persian royal road and the Euphrates route; in modern times Samarra-Sivas-Malatya-Diyarbakir and Karsartaya-Albistan-Malatya-Kharput) in a plain, the fertility and richness of which in all kinds of vegetables and fruits was celebrated by the Arab geographers, as in modern times by von Möltke and others, at the northern foot of the Taurus not very far south of Tokkima-ḡā (Arab. Naḥr al-Kubākib) which is there crossed by the old bridge of Kırğöç. The town was supplied with drinking-water by the springs of Üçün Dāwūdīya and by the Euphrates. Weaving used to be a flourishing industry there; according to Ibn al-Shihna there were once 12,000 looms for spinning wool in Malatya but they no longer existed in his time.

The town appears as Melitida in Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions and two "Hittite" steles have been found there (to be more accurate: at Arslan Tepe, a little south of Malatya; Messerschmidt, *Corpus Inscr. Hittite*, in *M. V. A. G.*, 1900, part IV, p. 13; 1906, part V, p. 7). It is probably also to be identified with the district called *M-l-e* (last letter uncertain) in the inscription of king Zabar of Hamat, (c. 800 B.C.) which Pognon found in 'Aṣṣ near Aleppo. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, VI, 8) calls the town *Melita* a *Somiranide condita*; the name of the legendary foundress has perhaps survived in that of the fortress of Shamra which Michael Syrus (*Chronicle*, transl., Chabot III, 272) mentions in the sixth century in the land of Sawād

in the region of Malatya. To its position on the Oriental *limit* Malatya owed its great prosperity in the Roman period. From the time of Titus it was the headquarters of the *Legio XII Fulminata*; it was much extended by Trajan and under Justinian raised to be the capital of the province of Armenia III. Anastasian and Justinian refortified and beautified it. After his severe defeat at Malatya in the autumn of 375 Khosrow I burned the town (John of Ephesus, VI, 9; E. Stein, *Studien zur Gesch. d. Byzant. Reiches*, Stuttgart 1919, p. 66-8; 83 note 9; 200 Habib b. Maslama al-Fihri was sent by Iyad b. Ghāsim from Armenia VI (Shimshār) against Malatya and took the town; but it was later retaken from the Muslims. When Mu'āwiya became *wālī* of Syria and al-Djazīra, he again sent Habib b. Maslama against the town. He stormed it in 36, left a troop of cavalry in it to guard the frontier and placed a governor in it. Mu'āwiya himself visited Malatya on his campaign against Asia Minor and left a large garrison in the town which henceforth became one of the headquarters for the summer campaigns into Bilād al-Rūm. When the people abandoned the town in the time of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair, it was taken and sacked by the Byzantines; on their withdrawal, it and the whole of Armenia IV was settled by the Armenians and and Nabataeans, that is Aramaic speaking peasants, driven out of their kingdom by the emperor Philippos (Noldeke, *Z. D. M. G.*, xxv, 125; al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 185; Michael Syrus, transl. Chabot II, 482; according to Theophanes the Armenians were settled in Malatya by Philippos in 712 A. D. They increased very much and were valuable allies of the Arabs in the wars against the Byzantines (Michael Syrus, *loc. cit.*). The caliph Omar settled the fugitive inhabitants of Turanda (now Derenda) in Malatya and made al-Djāwana b. al-Harith of the tribe of the Banī 'Anīr b. Sa'ya's governor. In 123 (740-741) a Greek army of 20,000 men under Ashkivash, the general of the Thema Armeniakon, advanced against Malatya and plundered the country round it. The inhabitants closed the gates and sent a messenger to Hishām in al-Raqāfa; but the latter soon heard that the Greeks had withdrawn and sent the messenger back with a body of cavalry. Later, when he himself took the field against the Byzantines, he camped before Malatya until the rebuilding of the town which the enemy had destroyed was completed (Balādhuri, *loc. cit.*; Michael Syrus, II, 306; Theophanes, ed. de Boor, year 743; Ps. Dionys, ed. Chabot, year 1051). The Emperor Constantine VI Copronymos in 135 (750) advanced on Kamakh and Malatya, whose inhabitants looked in vain for help to Mesopotamia, as a civil war was raging there. As the emperor knew this he demanded that the inhabitants should abandon the town. After at first refusing they finally agreed, being exhausted by the siege, left the town with all their goods and chattels and went to al-Djazīra whereupon Constantine levelled Malatya to the ground; nothing but a half ruined granary remained standing. Hishām Kalawdhīya was also destroyed and its inhabitants, like those of the other villages in Armenia IV, carried off into captivity (Balādhuri, *loc. cit.*; Michael Syrus, II, 518; Baethgen, *Abh. f. d. K. d. Morgenl.*, VIII, 3, p. 34, 127; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, II, 15). Six years afterwards (139 A. D.) al-Manṣūr wrote to Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh who had in the

previous year defeated an army of 100,000 men under Constantine and retaken Malatya (G. W. Freytag, *Selecta ex histor. Halebi*, Paris 1819, p. 62, note 58) ordering him to rebuild and fortify the town. He then appointed his nephew, the Imam 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm, governor of al-Djazīra and its marches (*al-Djāzira*). He arrived there in 140 with al-Hasan b. Kāshān and Khurāsān troops, who were reinforced by Syrian and Mesopotamian troops to the number of 70,000. They camped at the ruined city and collected builders and workmen of all kinds from everywhere and rebuilt Malatya with its mosque and large barracks for the frontier troops; the work was finished in six months. Hish Kālawdhīyā was also rebuilt (Baladhuri, *loc. cit.*; Michael Syrus, ii. 522; Ps. Dionys., ed. Chabot, p. 67; Vāhūtī, *Mu'jam*, iv. 633; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 35); a frontier fort was built 30 *mil* from the town and another on the Nahr Kubākīlī (Tōkhma-sū). Al-Manṣūr settled 4,000 Mesopotamian soldiers in Malatya to whom he gave increased pay and allotted lands as fiefs.

In the next year (141) Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm was sent to Malatya with a Khurāsān army to protect the town from the enemy. The former inhabitants, at least those who were still alive, thereupon returned to Malatya. An expedition sent by the Byzantines against Malatya was defeated by Hārūn al-Rashīd (Baladhuri, *loc. cit.*). In the reign of al-Ma'mūn, his son, al-'Abbās, who was governor of al-Djazīra conducted a campaign against the Byzantines (Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 239) from Malatya. In the summer of 222 (837) the emperor Theophilus went into Armenia via Zibāra, which he sacked and burned, and on his way back passed through the country of Malatya which was also laid waste and its inhabitants carried off prisoners into Byzantium (Michael Syrus, iii. 89; Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, viii. 133 *sq.*; Tuhātī, Ya'qūtī and other Arabs wrongly date this campaign in 223 [838]; cf. for the contrary view Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 310, note 1 and Bury, *Hist. of the East Roman Empire*, 1912, p. 260, 1; Markwart, *Hamlet Amirya*, xxviii. 1914, p. 44, 1). The town itself, which was handed over to him by the Roman prisoners there, he spared out of fear of an approaching army of the enemy. Towards the end of the following year al-Mu'tasim sent the Syrian amir Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad b. Yūsuf against the Byzantines but he only met with moderate success; the people of Malatya under Afshin and the amir 'Omar b. 'Abd Allāh b. Marwān al-Aḥṭā' of Malatya in alliance with the Armenians and 10,000 Turks then defeated the emperor Theophilus near the fortress of Duṣīmān (al-Mas'ūdī, *B.G.A.*, viii. 169; Mas'ūdi, *Chronogr. Byz.*, p. 418, 729; Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 312). In 841, however, the Byzantines conquered al-Hadāth, Mar'ash and the land of Malatya. When in the middle of the 12th century the Paulicians (Arab. al-Ballīkātī, al-Baylīkī) some of whom lived in the country west and north of Malatya (Kaspet Ter Mardēan, *Die Paulicianer*, Leipzig 1893, p. 116 *sq.*) rebelled against Byzantium, the amir of Malatya, 'Omar b. 'Abd Allāh al-Aḥṭā' (*Ḥamṣ*, *Ḥamṣ*), protected them from their persecutors; their leader Karbeas built in this region the fortresses of 'Ayyawān (Ayyawān), Tephrikē (Diyarbakir) and Amara (Emirli, near Vanuz). Fighting went on for some years with varying results (Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 363—365); finally 'Omar al-Aḥṭā' was completely defeated on a

campaign in Asia Minor in Rajab 249 (863) by the valiant Petronas (al-Bayrūtī), Michael III's general, with his whole army on the Mardī al-Uḥāl (Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 380; Tomaschek, *Savun u. d. Quellengabel des Tigris*, S. B. Ak. Wien, cxxxiii, vol. iv., 1895, p. 23; on the site of the "Bishop's Meadow": Le Strange, *Eastern Caliph*, p. 138). The Emperor Basil I in 871 went against Tephrikē and Taranton (Dereunde); he plundered Zibāra and Samaisā and then encamped *ṣūḥ ṣū Zayduy weraṣū* (Nahr al-Zarūk, now: Cirmiklī-Sū), *ḥḍa ṣū Kapaṣṣṣu ierī* (Theophan. continuat., ed. Bonn, p. 268; Kastrā Karāmīs in Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i. 460; now: Cirmiklī, cf. Tomaschek, *Brit. z. alten Gesch. u. Geogr. Festsch. f. H. A. Lepel*, Berlin 1898, p. 141). But he was not able to take Malatya which was fortified (Hergenröther, *Phoenice*, ii. 242; Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 471). His army suffered heavy losses during the siege and the emperor himself was nearly captured. Whether he undertook a second campaign against Malatya is doubtful (Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 475).

The Arab general Mūsā in 304 (916—917) devastated Cappadocia from Malatya (Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 635); similar invasions took place in 310 and the following years. It was not till 314 (926—927) that the Byzantines were able to exact their revenge. Under the brave Domestikos Joannes Kurkuas (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, viii. 221; *al-Dumistīk Kurkūsh*; Michael Syrus, iii. 122 *sq.*; 158; Kyriakos), they entered the district and advanced up to the suburbs of Malatya, laying waste the country and going as far as Shimshāt (Arsamusa) (in 315 according to Hamza al-Isfahānī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 205; transl. p. 158, wrongly "*in fines Samosatensis invadere*"). Kurkuas forced the amir of the town to send his son, Abū Ḥafṣ ('*Arḥḥal*'), and the general Abū 'Alī 'Ash' ('*Arḥḥal*') to him and to acknowledge the suzerainty of the emperor (Synecion Magister, Bonn, p. 741 *sq.*; Georg. Monach., ed. Murali, p. 834, while the Bonn edition p. 908 and Theophanes contin., ed. Bonn, p. 416 and Georg. Kedren., ii. 310 *sq.* wrongly write '*Arḥḥal*'). Kurkuas, himself an Armenian by birth, seems to have granted the lands of Malatya and Samaisā to the Armenian prince Mīch (Arab. Malīḥ, Greek *Maliaz*) who was however again driven out of Malatya and Samaisā in 320 by Sa'īd al-Dawla, uncle of the Hamdanid Nāṣir al-Dawla of Mawṣil (Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 639; *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk*, xiv. 162 *sq.* following Djamāl al-Dīn b. Zāfir). But in 934, after the death of the two friends of the Byzantines, Abū Ḥafṣ and Abū 'Alī 'Ash', Kurkuas and Mīch again appeared before the town, which at that time was protected by a double wall and a ditch full of water. The inhabitants found themselves forced by starvation to negotiate about the surrender of the town. During the negotiations the Greeks succeeded by a stratagem in forcing an entrance through the north gate of the town and taking it on May 19, 934. The inhabitants, in keeping with the promise that had been given them, were allowed to leave the town. The walls were razed so that the town was henceforth open to all attacks (Michael Syrus, iii. 122 *sq.*; Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 221; Ramlah, *L'Empire Grec au XI^e siècle*, Paris 1870, p. 423, 1; Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 89 *sq.*, 106, 108). In the next decade Sa'īd al-Dawla repeatedly raided the territory of Malatya.

His *mamlūk* Najjā² in his campaign to Hanzī in 350 (961—962) encountered 'Abd Allāh of Malatya and put him and his friends to flight (Freytag, *2. D. M. G.*, xi. 197; Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 88). Two years later he again ravaged the land of Malatya for 18 days with fire and sword (Freytag, p. 204, 206).

When the emperor Nicephorus conquered Syria, he wished to repopulate Malatya, which was defenceless and deserted. But the Greeks refused to live there for fear of Arab *razzias*. His advisers therefore recommended him to invite Syrian Jacobites to the country. He did this and promised the Patriarch Mās Yohannan Sarigā, that if he repopulated Malatya, Hanzī and the passes (*κλειρώματα*), he would no longer persecute the Jacobites (Michael Syrus, iii. 130 *sq.*; Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i. 411 *sqq.*; Markwart, *Handb. Arabiya*, xxx., 1916, p. 121 note). People now flocked to Malatya from all parts (c. 969 A.D.). Monasteries were built. About 1100 there were said to be in Malatya and district 53 churches and 60,000 Christians capable of bearing arms, including many Melkites (Michael of Tinnis in Renaudot, *Hist. Patr. Alexandr.*, Paris 1743, p. 403; Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, i. 424, note 1). The emperor did not, however, keep his promise; persecutions again became of everyday occurrence and drove the Jacobites more and more into the arms of the Arabs (Michael Syrus, iii. 131, 136, 147).

According to Ibn al-Athīr (*al-Kāmil*, iii. 65), Malatya at this time was placed in the *département* (*Armiya*) which he says stretched to the Bosphorus (*Khalīf al-Kutūb*).

The Emperor John Trimisces (Shihabīk) in Dhu l-Hijja 361 (972) on his campaign to Nijīn crossed the Euphrates at Malatya (Yahyā al-Anṣārī in Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 183 note; Schlumberger, *L'Épique byzantine*, i. Paris 1896, p. 255). The rebel Bardas Scleros in 366 (976—977) seized the town of Malatya, imprisoned the strategos who was governing it for the Emperor and had himself proclaimed *basileus*. When Scleros was fighting against the imperial general Michael Burtzes (al-Burdj) there was with him a Shaikh who had been converted to Christianity, the patrician 'Ubaid Allāh al-Maṣnagīr of Malatya, who is perhaps identical with the 'Abd Allāh mentioned in 350. Scleros made him *magister* and sent him with one of his slaves, the eunuch Kantatish (l'Anatol 'Alaudet') whom he raised to the rank of *basileus* ("Count"), to Antakya against the patrician Kulaib, the imperial governor of this town. Kulaib surrendered to them Antakya, the Taurus and the whole of the "Orient"; he and the most prominent citizens of Antioch were then sent as prisoners to al-Kalādhuk (Cappadocia) (Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 2 *sq.*, and note, p. 81—90 *sq.*; Schlumberger, *L'Épique byzantine*, i. 359, 362, 376 *sq.*). Scleros however at once sent the Antioch notables back to their homes and made Kulaib *basileus* of Malatya (Rosen, *op. cit.*; Schlumberger, i. 386) while on the other hand 'Ubaid Allāh soon went over to the emperor Basil (977—978). When after a seven years' internecine on the Tigris island of Madida near Baghdad, Bardas Scleros succeeded in gaining his freedom, he escaped to Malatya with the help of Beduins, where he at once (in Shawwāl 376 = March 987) seized the *basileus* Kulaib who had gone over to the emperor, and himself again proclaimed

basileus (Yahyā, transl. Rosen, p. 22; Schlumberger, i. 678). Bardas Phocas, who took Bardas Scleros prisoner by treachery and then claimed the imperial title for himself, passed through Malatya on Sept. 14, 987 on his way westwards straight through Asia Minor (Schlumberger, i. 695). In 399 (1008) the Hamdanid Abn 'I-Hakīm fled to Malatya before the Mirdasid Maṣṣūr b. Lu'lu', where the emperor appointed him *magister* (Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Schlumberger, ii. 442).

The most important event during the Byzantine occupation of Malatya was the invasion of the Turks. Their first incursion into the area of the town was in 1058; the inhabitants fled before them mainly into the adjoining mountains where they perished of hunger and cold. The Turkish force 3,000 strong under the amir Abū Dīnār remained 10 days pillaging Malatya and laid the country waste for a day's journey round. On their retreat the Turks were surprised by the people of the Armenian district of Samsun (Arab. al-Samsana; now, Şamsūn) and all slain, with the assistance of the prisoners and fugitives from Malatya (Michael Syrus, iii. 158 *sq.*, according to whose erroneous chronology these incidents took place in the 9th or in the last year of Constantine IX [i.e. 1050—1051 or 1054—1055]; Matthias of Edessa, transl. Dulamier, p. 107—109; Aristakēs Lastivenci, in Tomaszek, *Sassan u. das Quellengebiet des Tigris*, S.B. Ab. Wien, cxxxi., vol. iv., 1895, p. 29 *sq.*). One of the prisoners who survived, the Syrian monk Joseph, wrote three *shams* on these events; the patriarch Yohannan X bar Shāhān also composed 4 *shams* on the devastation of Malatya (Rammstark, *Gesch. d. syr. Lit.*, p. 291 *sq.*). By the time of the Emperor Isaac I. (1057—1059) we again find the Turks raiding the country of Malatya and carrying off prisoners from it. His successor Constantine X Doucas (1059—1067) restored the two walls and the ditch at Malatya (probably in 1060—1061). When the imperial decree regarding this was published, a number of citizens of Malatya, who were in Constantinople returned home and arranged for a large number of workmen and builders to be brought from Asia Minor and Antakya; in a very short time owing to the continual threat to the town, the fortifications were rebuilt on the old foundations (Michael Syrus, iii. 165 *sq.*). The Byzantine *καρναγος* Krinotes was afterwards killed with his wife and children and the town "henceforth knew no peace" (Michael Syrus, *loc. cit.*).

These constant invasions of the Turks, which specially affected the region of Malatya (Skylitzes in the ed. of Kedrenos, Bonn, ii. 660 *sq.*) met with very little opposition. Then the legions quartered around Malatya, whose pay and provisions had been withheld, refused to cross the Euphrates to meet the enemy along with the local volunteers. The Turks did not besiege the town but went on to attack Karkara, which they stormed (Skylitzes, *loc. cit.*). When Romanus IV Diogenes attacked the Turks in 1068 he sent a general from Gökün, perhaps, as Gfrörer suggests (*Byz. Gesch.*, iii. 720), the Bulgar Alutianos, to Malatya to guard the frontier against the raids of the Turk Afshin (Αψίνος). The general however did not leave Malatya so that Afshin was able to advance against the emperor undisturbed (Skylitzes in Kedrenos, ed. Bonn, ii. 671; Weil, *op. cit.*, iii. 112, note 2).

In the same year the emperor appointed the

κατοικησάντες Φιλάρητος Βραχάριος (Sklitzes, *op. cit.*, p. 681; Anna Komn., ed. Reifferscheid, I. 205 sq.; Zonaras, ed. Dindorf, IV. 209; Arab. Filardūs al-Rūmī) to be μάγος ἀμύραντος (Tomaschek, *Sasan*, p. 36). He won for himself with his Armenian hordes an ephemeral kingdom on the Syrian frontier and installed the Armenian Thoros (Theodoros) son of Hétom as governor in Malatya. Thoros was succeeded as *éyepátēs* of the town by the Armenian Hareb, then by Balatianos (Valentinus?) and finally by the defeated Greek Gabriel (Michael Syrus, III. 173 sqq.; in Matthias of Edessa, ed. Dulaurier, p. 222 sqq. with mod. Greek pronunciation *Káwtirī*). When the latter recognised that the Byzantines could not permanently hold out against the Turks he got the Caliph to confirm him in his rule over Malatya. He was at first able to keep the Turkish hordes from Malatya by various devices. But when they besieged Malatya, Gümüştagin b. Dānīshmand of Siwās made peace between them and Gabriel (Michael Syrus, III. 179). Kılıdī Arslān I besieged Malatya for the first time in 1100 A. D., but retired when Gabriel, whose daughter Morfā had been given in marriage to Baldwin of Edessa, summoned the Franks to his assistance (Michael Syrus, III. 187, 192; Will. of Tyre, XII. 4). When Gümüştagin besieged the town and laid waste the country around, Boemund came from Antakya with his relative Riccardo del Principato and a troop of cavalry, but he was ambushed at Mar'ash and sent a prisoner to Niksār (or Siwās) in June 1100. From there he appealed for help to Baldwin of Edessa who relieved Malatya and pursued Gümüştagin for 3 days without overtaking him. He then returned to Edessa via Malatya which Gabriel surrendered to him and left 50 horsemen for its protection. Gümüştagin appeared before Malatya again in 1100, where Gabriel had in the meanwhile made himself so detested by the inhabitants that they handed him over to Gümüştagin, who thereupon entered Malatya on Sept. 18, 1101 (Michael Syrus, III. 188; *Reinild. Hist. Or. Cris.*, I. 5, 203; III. 522, 526; Matthias of Edessa, transl. Dulaurier, p. 230). The dynasty of the Dānīshmands (q. v.) thus came to rule there (on them cf. also van Berchem-Kh. Edhem, *C. I. A.*, III. p. 2, note 3; p. 3, note 1; Zambaur, *Mannell d. Genital. et de Chronol.*, Hanover 1927, p. 146 sq.). At the suggestion of the Emperor Alexios, Gümüştagin in the summer of 1103 released Boemund, who had been brought to Malatya, on payment of 100,000 dinars (Michael Syrus, III. 189; Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Kaiser. Jerusalem*, p. 45). According to Michael Syrus (III. 192), Taushtinan i. e. Gümüştagin b. Dānīshmand died within two years of the taking of Malatya (i. e. 1103—1104); he was succeeded by his son Aghuian (Yāghūtassan?). Kılıdī Arslān again began the siege of Malatya on June 28 and directed siege-artillery against the round N. E. tower of the town, which had to surrender after several onslaughts had been made on it. Kılıdī Arslān I began his rule there on Sept. 2, 1106; when he fell the very next year in the battle on the Khābūr, he was succeeded in Malatya by his youngest son Tughril Arslān, in whose reign much evil fell upon the town as a result of the murder of the governor Fīzīhī (Michael Syrus, III. 194). During the fighting among the other sons of Kılıdī Arslān, of whom Mas'ūd sought refuge in Malatya about 1107 (*Reinild. Hist. Or. Cris.*, III. 534) Boemund

succeeded in conquering Abulastān, the district on the Djāhān and the whole country round Malatya (Michael Syrus, III. 195). The Atabeg of the Sulhān of Malatya (probably Balāq), in 1111 again deprived him of his lands on the Djāhān. Kılıdī Arslān's widow left Malatya to marry the doughty amir Balāq (Michael Syrus, III. 200). A Turkish cavalry leader offered to sell Tughril Arslān the fortress of Ziyād; when the young sulhān of Malatya wanted to take possession of it, however, it was taken from him by the son of the sulhān of Khurāsān without a blow being struck. On the 11th March 1118 the amir Mangadag of Kamakh pillaged the country round Malatya; the Khātūn of Malatya thereupon turned to Joscelin of Edessa for help (Michael Syrus, III. 204). In the following year the Sulhān of Malatya conquered Abulastān and the lands on the Djāhān; the region of Kafā passed as a gift to Malatya (Michael Syrus, III. 205). Tughril Arslān owed his success to the governor Balāq, who advanced as far as Kamakh, defeated the Greeks with the help of al-Ghāzī b. Dānīshmand; again took Hīsn Ziyād and defeated the Armenians of Gargar on the Euphrates (Michael Syrus, *loc. cit.*). When, after further considerable successes, Balāq fell fighting the Franks before Manbidj his kingdom was divided; the Sulhān of Malatya received Masārā and Gargar with the result that there was soon fighting with Salāmīn of Hīsn Ziyād. On this occasion al-Ghāzī of Siwās and his son-in-law Mas'ūd attacked Malatya and besieged it from June 13 to Dec. 10, 1124. The town suffered exceedingly from famine and the Khātūn's reign of terror and the inhabitants breathed more freely when the ruler left the town with her son and all her followers and al-Ghāzī entered it (Michael Syrus, III. 219 sq.; Matthias of Edessa, p. 315). Under him Malatya enjoyed continued peace. His son Malik Muhammad who succeeded him in 1135 left Malatya soon afterwards when the news of the approach of the Byzantine Emperor reached him (Michael Syrus, III. 237). When John II Komnenos invaded Syria, Mas'ūd invaded Cilicia from Kōniya and carried the inhabitants of Adhāna prisoners to Malatya (Michael Syrus, III. 245). Malik Muhammad in 1139 also invaded Cilicia and took from the Greeks the fortresses of Bahgāy and Galmūpert (Rāzī, *Karshirpagan*, Armen. Vaghe, Gaban; Michael Syrus, III. 248; Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Agr. Jerusalem*, p. 211, note 2). Two years later he was fighting with the Franks who had advanced as far as Zibajra, Arka and Abulastān and encamped at Niksār opposite the emperor John, who had again taken the field against the Turks, for six months without fighting (Michael Syrus, III. 249). After his death (Dec. 6, 1143) Dhu l-Nūn succeeded him in Malatya (Syr. Dānūn in Michael Syrus, III. 253 and Suppl., p. lvii.; Byz. *Δαδούως*). When however his brother 'Ain al-Dawla (Michael Syrus only 'Dawla') advanced against him, the Turkish garrison of Malatya broke through the Burāldiya gate and surrendered the town to him (Michael Syrus, III. 253). Sulhān Mas'ūd of Kōniya besieged Malatya, when 'Ain al-Dawla would not submit to him of his own accord, first from June 17 to Sept. 14, 1143 and again in 1144 without success (Michael Syrus, III. 254, 258 sq.; Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 226, note 3). After 'Ain al-Dawla's death (June 12, 1152) his minor son Dhu l-Karizān succeeded him, for whom his mother first acted as regent but she was soon banished as she

plotted against his life (Michael Syrus, iii. 305 sq.). Mas'ud again (July 24, 1152) tried without success to take the town. Dhu 'l-Karnain was succeeded in October 1162 by his minor son Nasir al-Din Muhammad (Muhammad) who made himself so detested by his excesses that he had to leave Malatya (1170). His place was taken by his brother Abu 'l-Kasim (Fakhr al-Din Kasim; Michael Syrus, iii. 336 sq.). In May 1172 when 15, he married the daughter of the lord of Hsin Ziyad. During the wedding festivities he fell from his horse while jousting and died of his injuries (Michael Syrus, iii. 343). He was succeeded by his younger brother Feridun (Afirdin) who had to marry the princess intended for the brother. On the news of these happenings, Kilidj Arslan II attacked Malatya, where however preparations were rapidly made for the defence under the direction of the eunuch Sa'd al-Din. Kilidj Arslan had to withdraw but carried off with him 30,000 prisoners from the country round (Michael Syrus, iii. 346). On Feb. 15, 1175, Feridun was murdered by his brother Muhammad, who after many adventures had returned in disguise to Malatya by a secret agreement with the princess of Ziyad who had left her husband (Michael Syrus, iii. 362—364). When Kilidj Arslan II thereupon again besieged Malatya, the discontent with Muhammad was so great that he no longer felt safe in the town but withdrew to Hsin Ziyad. Kilidj Arslan after a four months' siege entered Malatya on Oct. 25, 1178 (Michael Syrus, iii. 373). He repaired the two walls of the town (Michael Syrus, iii. 388). The Turkomans, who since 1185 had been ravaging wide tracts of Asia Minor also invaded and plundered the district of Malatya (Michael Syrus, iii. 402). In 1189 (Michael Syrus, 1191 according to Arabic sources) Kilidj Arslan gave the town of Malatya to his son Ma'izz al-Din Kaiqar Shih (Michael Syrus, iii. 407; *Rec. Hist. Or. Cris.*, ii. 56; iii. 269). Kilidj Arslan later found himself forced to hand Malatya over to his other son Kotb al-Din Malik Shih; but Ma'izz al-Din went to Salih al-Din (580 = 1191—1192) and regained his position with his help (*Rec. Hist. Or. Cris.*, i. 57, 68 sq.; iii. 269; v. 44).

To strengthen the alliance he married the daughter of Malik al-Adil and accompanied Salih al-Din's army to Tihata (*Rec. Hist. Or. Cris.*, v. 117). In June 1200 Rukn al-Din Sulaiman of Diyar (Toghat) deprived his brother Ma'izz al-Din of Malatya; the latter fled to his father-in-law Malik al-Adil (Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syriac.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 406; *Rec. Hist. Or. Cris.*, ii. 71). Saladin's son, al-Malik al-Zahir, who had only Sumaiyah left of his inheritance, submitted in 1207 to Rukn al-Din of Malatya and Koniya (Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, p. 408). In the next year Rukn al-Din took Angora; a few days later he died (Barhebraeus, p. 418 sq.). He was succeeded by his young son Kilidj Arslan III, who was however soon thrown into prison by Ghiyath al-Din Kai-Khusraw I (Barhebraeus, p. 419). After the latter (d. 1205) came his son 'Izz al-Din Kai-Khusraw, who while on a campaign against Malik al-Ashraf in Malatya developed consumption from which he died on his return (Barhebraeus, p. 437; *Rec. Hist. Or. Cris.*, ii. 150 sq.). In the reign of his successor 'Ala' al-Din Kai-Kubad, the Tatars in 1231 penetrated to Hsin Ziyad and to the Euphrates near Malatya (Barhebraeus, p. 463). 'Ala' al-Din took Khilaf from Malik al-Ashraf in 1232. When in the next year

the latter along with his brother Malik al-Kamil of Egypt occupied Hsin Mansur, 'Ala' al-Din collected an army of over 100,000 men, took Hsin Ziyad (Barhebraeus, p. 467) and besieged al-Ruha in the following year; the inhabitants of Hsin Ziyad fearing an attack on Malatya sent him the keys of their town (Barhebraeus, p. 468; Kamal al-Din, transl. Blochet, *R. O. L.*, v. 58). His successor Kai-Khusraw II (1237—1245) at the beginning of his reign drove the Khwarizmians out of his kingdom; on their retreat they defeated the commander (Sibghat) of Malatya Saif al-Dawla and crossed the Euphrates at Masur (var. Muṣra) (Barhebraeus, p. 471). In 1241, the Amir of Malatya again suffered an annihilating defeat from fanatical Turkoman hordes under the prophet Papi (Baba) (Barhebraeus, p. 474). When the news of the victory of the Tatars at Koz-Dagh (1243; Barhebraeus, p. 475) reached Malatya, the Sibghat Rashid al-Din and the other court officials broke into the royal treasury, shared the treasure among themselves, and fled to Halab. Many prominent citizens followed them; but they were surprised by the Tatars on the hill of Bih Göz, a day's journey from Malatya and some slain, some taken prisoners. The inhabitants of the town, Muslims and Christians, asked the Metropolitan Mār Dionysios 'Angur to direct the defence of the town. After two months during which Malatya was watchfully defended, the Tatars withdrew. In 1244 the Tatar chief Isawür (var. Nasawür) Nuyin besieged Malatya and ravaged the country round until Rashid al-Din caused him to retreat by rich presents (Barhebraeus, p. 477—479). After the division of the Saljuq empire by Hülakü, there ruled at first 'Izz al-Din at Malatya, then, after his dethronement, his brother Rukn al-Din (Barhebraeus, p. 482). At the end of 649 (1251—1252) and in July 650 (1252—1253), the Tatars again besieged the town under Isawür and wasted its surroundings (Barhebraeus, p. 491). When in 1257 'Izz al-Din sent al-Fughr Ifafa into the district of Malatya to seek recruits and the latter allotted the towns to the Kurd chief Sharaf al-Din Ahmad b. Bilal, the inhabitants would not have him as they had sworn fealty to Rukn al-Din and feared his Tatar patron Baldu. It was not till 'Izz al-Din had sent a second envoy, Bihadur, that they admitted him into the town; but the latter soon fled again before Baldu and only returned when he had gone, but again found the gates closed against him and was only admitted after famine had broken out in Malatya as a result of his siege (Barhebraeus, p. 498—500). In 1260 Hülakü built bridges over the Euphrates for his west host at Malatya, Kai' al-Rum al-Bira and Karakisiya (Barhebraeus, p. 509). The Egyptian governor of al-Bira Hidar (Khidr) in 1282 laid waste the country round Malatya (Barhebraeus, p. 546).

The Mongol Khan Abaka (1265—1282) again divided the kingdom of Rum between two Saljuq cousins of whom Mas'ud received Arrindjan, Siwa and Malatya.

In the ninth and tenth century lived the two great Syrian historians, both born in Malatya, to whose chronicles we mainly owe our knowledge of the history of the town: the patriarch Michael I (1126—99), son of the priest Eliya, who belonged to the family of Kindasi in Malatya and the Mafr'yan Gregor Abu 'l-Faradj called Barhebraeus (1226—86; q. v.), whose father, the baptised

Jewish physician Ahron had restrained his fellow citizens in Malatya from stupidly flying before the Tatars (Baumstark, *Gesch. d. iyr. Lit.*, p. 298—300, 312—20). Michael's principal authority, Ignatius (d. 1104), was also metropolitan of Malatya (Baumstark, *op. cit.*, p. 291).

The increasing weakness of the Seljuks about 1300 favoured the formation of local Turkoman and Armenian petty states, especially in the east of Asia Minor. According to Abu 'l-Fida', Christians and Muslims in Malatya in those days lived on the best of terms with one another; the town took the side of the Tatars and informed them of everything that went on in the country. During his war against the Tatars, Sultan al-Malik al-Nasir in 715 (1325) decided to send a large army under the aid of Hammam, Saif al-Din Tugus who was joined by his vassal Abu 'l-Fida' of Hamah, against Malatya. The army went by Halab, Ainab, Hama Mangur and Zibatu to Malatya and encamped before the town on April 28. The inhabitants sent their hakim Dhamal al-Din al-Khafi, whose father and grandfather had filled the same office in their time, through the south gate, Bab al-Kadi, to Tugus, who was willing to afford them protection and security, if they surrendered the town. But he was unable to fulfil his pledge for the soldiers could not be restrained from plundering and ravaging in the town. Among the prisoners was the Tatar Ibn Kerbogha and the sibil of Hama Arkanus, Shaiikh Mindu. The greater part of the town was finally burned down (Abu 'l-Fida', *Annales Muslim.*, ed. Reiske, v. 286—92; ed. Stambul 1286, iv. 77 sq.; transl. also in *Rec. hist. ar. orient.*, i. 180; Weil, *Geogr. d. Chalf.*, iv. 310 sq.). The Sultan made the territory of Malatya a separate frontier province, which included seven districts (Khalil al-Zahiri, *Zubda*, ed. Ravaisse, p. 52). There were seven citadels around the town: Mushar or Minshar, Kumi, Karahisar, Kaderbirt, Kafat Akdis, Kafat Nawhamam (?) and Kafat al-Ahrad (Khalil, *op. cit.*; Gaudelroy-Demumhynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, p. 97, 105).

Malatya for the next few decades belonged to the Mamluk Sultans. As their remotest province, it was with Halab in 791 (1389) the scene of a great rebellion led by the governors Minshar and Yelboghla against Barsuk [q.v.]. About this time the Turkish family of the Dhu 'l-Kadroggha [q.v.] began to rise to power in the region of Malatya and Albistan where they ruled till 1515 under Egyptian suzerainty. About 794 (1391/2) Bayazid I conquered the town and in 1400/1 Thumr. By the battle of Kös Hissr (1516) it fell into the hands of Selim I [q.v.] who destroyed the Dhu 'l-Kadroggha. This was the cause of his war against Egypt, which was rapidly decided on the field of Marj Dabik. At a later date the eyalet to which the Sanjak of Malatya belonged was still called Dhu 'l-Kadriya; Malatya now forms a sanjak of the wilayat of Ma'muret al-Aziz (Kharjir).

The town in 1838 was the headquarters of the Serasker Hafiz Pasha, with whom Moltke was attached. It is said to have suffered much at the hands of the troops quartered there for months before the battle of Nizib. After the earthquake of 1893 Malatya was rebuilt on the site of the suburb of Asma S.W. of the older site now called Eski-Shehr, but the old town continued to be inhabited. It has now about 30,000 inhabitants, including many Armenians, Kurds and Ghilbash.

Bibliography: a. Geography: Khwārizmī, *Kitāb Sūrat al-Ard.*, ed. v. Maik in *Bibl. arab. Hist.*, n. Geogr., iii, Leipzig 1926, p. 25 (N^o. 366); al-Battāni, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, ii. 40; iii. 238 (N^o. 143); al-Istakhrī, *B. G. A.*, i. 62; Ibn Hawqal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 120; Ibn al-Fakih, *B. G. A.*, v. 114; Ibn Khurdādhbih, *B. G. A.*, vi. 97, 108, 173 sq.; Kādūm, *ibid.*, 233, 254; Ibn Kasta, *B. G. A.*, vii. 97, 107; al-Ya'qūbi, *ibid.*, 238, 362; al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitaḥ al-Tanbih*, *B. G. A.*, viii. 52, 58, 169, 183, 189; al-Idrisi, ed. Gildemeister in *Z. D. P. V.*, viii. 26; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 633; Saif al-Din, *Alavā'id al-Iffid*, ed. Juynboll, iii. 144; Abu 'l-Fida', ed. Reinand, p. 235; Hamid Allah al-Mustawfi, transl. Le Strange, p. 98 sq.; Kāshandī, *Sūb al-Aḥdā*, Cairo, iv. 131 sq., 228; transl. in Gaudelroy-Demumhynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. 97, 217; Ibn al-Shihna, *al-Durr al-muatah*, *Khāḥ fī Tārīkh Helā*, transl. in A. v. Kremer, *Denkschr. Akad. Wiss.*, iii. 1850, p. 42 sq.; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 499—500 and Index; do., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 120; E. Reilemeyer, *Die Städtegründungen der Araber im Islam*, Munich 1912, p. 79 sq.

b. History: al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, S. 184—88, 190, 199; Abu 'l-Fida', *Annales Muslimi*, ed. Reiske, ii. 4, 10; v. 286; Michael Syrus, *Chronik*, ed. and transl. J.-B. Chabot, Index, p. 50; Gregorius Barhebraeus, *Chronicon Serricum*, ed. Bedjan, Paris 1890, passim; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, Index, ii. 815; Yahyā b. Sa'ūd al-Anṣārī, ed. Rosen, p. 1—3, 20, 49 (= p. 1—3, 22, 51 of the Russian transl. in *Zagikh Imper. Akad. Nauk*, xlv. (1883); Ibn Idris, in Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seljoukides*, iv., Index, p. 358. (E. HOSIOMANN)

MALAY PENINSULA is a name sometimes rather loosely applied to the whole tract of land South of the Isthmus of Kra (Lat. 10° N.); but so far as the Northern part of this tract is concerned the name is a misnomer, the bulk of the population there being Siamese and Chinese, not Malay. Excluding from the total Malay population of Siam [q.v.] as a whole some 50,000 Malays scattered in Ayuthia, Bangkok, Chantabon and the rest of the Eastern shore of the Gulf of Siam, the remaining 350,000 are in Southern Siam and mainly in the parts South of Kra. But it is not till about Lat. 7° N. that one meets with districts where the majority of the inhabitants is Malay, viz. on the West coast Palen and Sital and on the East coast the province of Patani (formerly an important Malay state, finally conquered by Siam in 1832). Of the approximate total population of 370,000 in these three districts the greater part consists of Malays. The Southern boundary of Siam, running irregularly between 6° 45' and 5° 45' N., separates them from the rest of the Peninsula, which is attached to the British Empire and with which we are here concerned. The area of this latter portion is about 52,500 English square miles.

The geological structure of the Peninsula includes calcareous rocks and limestone, cherts, shales, quartzite, volcanic rocks, granite, alluvial deposits, and the ferruginous substance known as laterite. The most important minerals are tin and tungsten. The former has been exported for more

than a thousand years and is still a very important product.

Until about fifty years ago the rivers, though mostly small and only navigable for small craft, were the chief and almost the sole means of access to the interior, which was then an almost trackless forest of luxuriant vegetation, traversed by a number of mountain ranges, some running roughly north and south, others transversely or irregularly. A few of the highest points exceed 7,000 feet (roughly 2,100 metres). At sea-level the average temperature is about 82 F. (about 27 C.) with a daily and annual variation of not more than about 10 F. (about 4.5 C.) in each direction; the annual rainfall varies locally from about 60 inches (about 150 cm.) to four times that amount. The N.E. and S.W. monsoons prevail, but are subject to periods of slight or variable wind. The climatic conditions are therefore very favourable to the main staples of native agriculture, viz.: rice, coconuts and miscellaneous local fruits; to these, foreigners have added the cultivation of other products, such as tapioca and coffee (now almost abandoned) and especially Para rubber, in the cultivation of which the Peninsula has led the way. The economic development of the Peninsula may be said to date from the institution of the Residential system in three of the Western states in 1874, which led progressively to the making of a network of excellent roads and a State railway system now comprising a trunk line from Singapore to the western part of the boundary with Siam, where it links with the Siamese system, and a number of branches, one of which turning northward through the centre of the Peninsula is destined to join the Siamese railway at a point near the eastern end of the frontier.

From the administrative point of view, the British portion of the Peninsula falls into: 1. the British colony styled the Straits Settlements (which is an abbreviation of "British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca"), comprising the three "settlements" or divisions of Singapore, Penang and Malacca; 2. the Federated Malay States, viz. Perak, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan, on the West coast and Pahang on the East coast, which are united in an administrative union under a Chief Secretary to Government at Kuala Lumpur (in Selangor) and 3. the Unfederated Malay States, viz. in the extreme North and on the West coast, Perlis and Kedah, and on the East coast, Kelantan and Trengganu, and in the extreme South, Johor. Administratively the Island of Labuan off the coast of North Borneo, and the Cocos-Keeling Islands and Christmas Island to the South-West of Java form part of the "settlement" of Singapore; and the State of Brunei (Bérunai) in Borneo is an unfederated Malay State ranking with those of the Peninsula.

The Colony has the usual administrative machinery, consisting of a Governor (who is also the High Commissioner for the Malay States), together with executive and legislative councils, and a Supreme Court. Each of the Malay States has a Malay ruler, who usually bears the title of Sultan, and also a British official, styled in the Federated Malay States the British Resident and in the unfederated ones British Advisor or General Advisor, and a State Council. For the Federated States there is in addition a Federal Council and a Judicial Commission. In these States the chief

administrative departments are federalized under federal heads, and in one or two cases (such as Education) are linked up with the corresponding department in the Colony. Both the Colony and the States are divided into administrative districts, and the officials in charge of such districts in the Colony and Federated States are mainly Europeans. The same applies to the heads of the principal departments of Government. Many of their assistants are also European. In the unfederated States the administrative machinery is not so elaborately organized and the proportion of Europeans is smaller. Government schools have been established in the principal villages and give elementary instruction exclusively through the medium of Malay. In towns there are also higher schools, supported but not founded or managed, by Government, which give instruction through the medium of English. The college at Kuala Kangsar, which is bilingual, is mainly for the sons of Malay rajahs and chiefs though others are admitted. Female education has developed more slowly but is gaining ground.

The ancient history of the Peninsula is obscure. Palaeolithic and neolithic implements have been found in various places. The so-called aborigines, amounting in 1921 to about one per cent. of the total population, comprise in the extreme North a few thousand woolly-haired Negritos, generally termed Sémang, in the centre a much larger number of wavy-haired light brown people known as Sakai, and in the South mostly straight-haired people of the Indonesian type, often referred to as Jakun. The first two groups and a portion of the third speak languages containing a strong Mon-Khmer element, the remaining Jakun speak Malay dialects with some alien admixture. From about the 7th century A. D. Sanskrit inscriptions on stone found in Kedah and Province Wellesley (opposite Penang) attest the presence of Buddhists using a South Indian script. An inscription of 775 originally set up at Ligor (Nakhon Sri Dhammaraj) about Lat. 8° N. indicates that before that date certain points on the isthmus were held by the Śaileन्द्रa kings of Sri Vijaya (Palembang in Southern Sumatra), who controlled the trade route through the Straits and across the isthmus probably till near the end of the 13th century. It would appear from a notice in the History of the Liang dynasty of China (502-556 A. D.), Book 54, that this isthmus had formerly been controlled by the state of Funan, which centred round the mouth and lower course of the Mekong river. An inscription found at Chaiya (Jaiya, near Lat. 16° N.) and probably dated 1183 gives the king who presumably set it up a princely title which points to the Malaya region of Southern Sumatra, adjoining Sri Vijaya to the North-West. Another inscription of Chaiya dated 1230 was set up by the local king Candrabhānu who according to the Mahāvamsa and other sources raided Ceylon on two occasions (probably about 1236 and 1256) with his "javaka" (i.e. Malay) forces.

It is plain, therefore, that between the 7th and the 13th centuries the settlement of the Peninsula by Malays from Sumatra had been going on. A few years later, but before 1280, the Siamese from Sukhothai (Sukhodhaya) put an end to Malay rule in Ligor, thus beginning the extension of Siamese influence to the southward. In the Javanese poem Nāgarakṛtāgama (1365) a

number of places on both coasts, from Kédah and Sai (in the old Patani state) in the North to Singapore [q.v.] in the South are claimed as vassals of the Javanese empire of Majapahit. In the same century, but at a date which cannot be precisely fixed owing to the fragmentary condition of the record, the earliest Malay inscription in the Arabic character as yet discovered makes it plain that Islam had recently become the state religion of Tréngganu. In the xvth century Islam was being spread in the Peninsula under the influence of the then most important state, Malacca [q.v.]; and after its fall in 1511 at the hands of the Portuguese its dynasty continued to rule in the extreme South (Johor) and neighbouring islands, while another branch held Pahang, and Perak eventually came into the hands of a family claiming to descend from the senior line of the same stock. In or before the xvth century an immigration of Minangkabau settlers from Sumatra founded a number of small states inland of Malacca, which all eventually admitted the suzerainty of Johor, save the southernmost, Naning, which was in theory at any rate a subordinate ally of the Portuguese. In the early part of the xvth century the Achinese raided Kédah, Perak, Johor, etc., and for a number of years exercised some sort of suzerainty over Perak. Meanwhile the Northern states came intermittently under Siamese influence, which varied with the strength of that power but retained the character of an external suzerainty till Kédah in 1821 and Patani in 1832 (this last finally) were conquered by Siam.

The Dutch tenure of Malacca (1641—1795), while it controlled to some extent the external trade of the Malay states, did not interfere with their internal affairs. In the eighteenth century Bugis adventurers settled in the Riau-Lingga Archipelago and made their influence felt on the mainland, ultimately establishing the new state of Sélangor under a still ruling Bugis dynasty. British influence dates from the founding of Penang (1786), which was followed by a temporary occupation of Malacca (1795—1818), its final cession in 1824, the founding of Singapore (1819), and the incorporation of all three settlements in one government (1826), which in 1867 was transferred from the control of India to that of the Colonial Office. The policy of non-interference with the Malay states was maintained until long continued disturbances in Perak, Sélangor, and Sungai Ujong (part of Nègèri Sembilan), due to Malay dynastic quarrels and civil war between unruly gangs of Chinese tin-miners, coupled with an increase of piracy in the Straits, led in 1874 to the inauguration of the Residential system. This ultimately developed into the present system whereby since 1895 Perak, Sélangor, Nègèri Sembilan and Pahang form a federation administered under the direction of British officials. Pèrlis, Kédah, Kèlantan and Tréngganu were ceded by Siam in 1909 in return for certain concessions, one of which was the abolition of the extra-territorial privileges of British subjects.

The population in 1921 of the part of the Peninsula and adjacent islands under British administration or protection was about 3,325,000, nearly half being immigrants, mainly Chinese, and to a less extent Indians, among whom males predominated very considerably. The great bulk of the native-born population consisted of Malays, and the total number of Malays, properly so-called

(including, however, something like 100,000 persons of Minangkabau descent in Nègèri Sembilan and Malacca) numbered 1,418,198. The other Muslim Indonesians amounted to 171,315 (including 112,775 Javanese, 37,848 Banjarese, 9,772 Bogyane, 8,388 Bugis, 727 Achinese, 859 Korinchi, and 946 Mendeling). The 47,465 non-Indonesian Muslims comprised 41,337 Indians, 4,315 Arabs, 1,800 Chinese, and a few Persians and Turks; the total Muslim population was 1,636,978, the great majority being Sunnis of the school of Shāfi'i. Of the non-Muslim population roughly three-quarters were Chinese and about one-quarter Indians but there were also 32,448 so-called aborigines of the Peninsula (a few of whom may, however, have been converts to Islam), 18,178 Siamese, 14,833 Europeans (mostly British, but including Continental Europeans and Americans of European descent), 12,629 Eurasians, 6,989 Japanese, and 2,215 Sinhalese, besides several smaller communities.

Bibliography: W. P. Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, 1879, xxxix. 119 sq., reprinted in *Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China and the Indian Archipelago*, 1887, Second Series, i. 239 sq.; R. O. Winstedt, *Malaya*, London 1923; R. J. Wilkinson, *A History of the Peninsular Malays*, Singapore 1923; F. A. Swettenham, *British Malaya*, London 1907; T. J. Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*, London 1839; H. S. Paterson, *An Early Malay Inscription from Tréngganu* (*Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1924, vol. ii., part iii., p. 252 sq.); G. Coedès, *A propos de la chute du Royaume de Gréjavara* (*B. T. L. V.*, 1927, lxxxiii. 459 sq.); J. E. Nathan, *The Census of British Malaya 1921*, London 1922. (C. O. BLODEN)

MALAYS. People. In this article only the Islamic features of the Malay nation will be dealt with, so neither ethnographical nor anthropological questions will be discussed. It may be sufficient to say that the Malays originally—we do not venture to say: as autochthons—were established in the middle part of Sumatra, especially in Palembang, and spread over the eastern and northern parts of that huge island, and settled in the Straits, mainly in Malacca (see MALAY PENINSULA), and founded colonies in Borneo, along the great rivers, and elsewhere eastward. They belong to the widely dispersed Polynesian (or Indonesian) race, whose languages extend from Madagascar to the Philippines and from the peninsula of the utmost S.E. point of Asia to the remoter islands of Micronesia and Melanesia in the Pacific. The Malay chronicles, for the greater part mythical, and a few epigraphical data, make it clear that there was a highly cultivated Hinduised Malay kingdom in Palembang, the seafaring people of which went over to several adjacent and more distant countries; it was along the ways of commerce that they carried the Malay language to sundry ports and lands. It is not exactly known in what century Islam swept away Hinduism, but it is a fact that the new religion on its arrival in the Straits found Malay people settled in the Peninsula and the Malay language introduced there as the generally adopted speech of commerce and political intercourse.

Language. It is due to Islam that Malay, being already a language enriched with many Sanskrit words, became an idiom of very mixed lexicographical character. The Islamic current brought words of Tamil origin, innumerable Arabic words, some of them in Dekhanised or Persian-like garb, many Persian words, some of them with Indian characteristics, and a small quantity of Hindustani vocables. In that heterogeneous form Malay became the vehicular language of the new religion. Undoubtedly it had found its way already to the most visited ports in the Archipelago in a simplified form fit for intercourse with all kinds of natives and foreign merchants, later also with European, namely Portuguese and Dutch captains and ambassadors. It was Islam that gave Malay a literary character, and when it had established itself as a medium into which innumerable Arabic books were translated, its form became crystallised and its orthography was fixed systematically. That uniformity made it the appropriate language for literary and liturgical purposes and also a *seré* for dogmatics and mysticism, as well as romantic and historical literature. It has to be borne in mind that there is a great difference between the patois or *linguacée* heard in most of the sea-ports, and the cultivated literary language, which became highly developed in Malacca, once the seat of a Muhammadan court and a royal library. When Arabic and Indian learned men came to Aceh, they discussed theological questions in Malay and even wrote books in that language. The literary form is sustained uniformly to the present day, literary products being written in archaistic formulae, and the colloquial style being used in different parts of the Archipelago, the purest in Johore and Malaya in general and the East-coast-districts of Sumatra; the least pure in Java and more eastern islands. In the Moluccas, especially in Ambon (Amboyna), the preaching of Christianity availed itself of Malay; in those islands this language has therefore assumed an individual character. As to its linguistic character, it may suffice to notice that Malay, like all Polynesian languages, belongs to the agglutinative type, declension not existing, conjugation being limited within narrow bounds, and amplification of the mainly dissyllabic stems with a quantity of prefixes, infixes and suffixes giving opportunity of forming words for almost all grammatical and logical relations. There are some traces of the influence of Arabic grammar on Malay syntax, but on the whole the Muhammadan current has not essentially altered the character of the language; it has only enriched it with an enormous number of words, and given to its written literature an individual Islamic character.

Literature. Of pre-Islamic literature nothing is known. As far as may be concluded from a few old inscriptions in Hindu script, it seems that Malay was written in Kawi-like characters, but literature, in its earliest known form, is written in Arabic letters only. The oldest manuscripts are preserved in the Cambridge and Oxford libraries; they date from the last years of the xvth and the first decade of the xvith century. The only literary-historical evidence of the existence of written literature in the xvth century is the mention, in a xvith century chronicle, of the use made of a royal library at Malacca at the time when the Portuguese endeavoured to capture that town (1512).

Malay literature, as it presents itself now, is only for a very small part original. Hardly any of the chronicles, tales and poems are derived from Arabic sources directly, most of the religious and semi-historical romances having been translated from Persian, but all these literary products are imbued with the Muslim atmosphere, being full of Arabic words and phrases, and laden with Islamic theory. There are, it is true, some indigenous farcical tales, and some fables, especially the sometime highly appreciated mouse-deer-tales, moreover some original romances with Hinduistic influences, and several adapted old Javanese tales, that do not betray real Islamic influence, but the very fact that all these books are written in Arabic characters makes them overflow with Arabic words, and in that way shows that they belong to Islamic mentality. In this short account there will be no mention of literary products going back to the great Sanskrit epic poems, nor of the tales that do not show traces of Muslim influence; only in so far as Malay literature has Islamic features, will it be treated here. The originally genuine Indonesian deer-fable has undergone an Islamic correction. The historical writings, more or less mythical and semi-romantic, are almost absolutely Islamicised. To that class of works the chronicle *Sjarah Melayu*, and other ones, as the chronicles of Kutawaringin, Kutai, Aceh and Pasai are to be reckoned. A partly historical, but for the greater part fictitious, romance is the *Hikayat Hang Tuah*. A host of romances, dealing with foreign princes and princesses and their endless adventures, has been spread over a great part of the Malay-reading East-Indian World; the titles of all those popular, but for European readers less attractive, books, may be found in the catalogues of Malay manuscripts at Leyden, Batavia and London. Some books of fiction have been translated from Persian, Arabic or Hindustani. A group of them is to be traced to the *Hispadesa*-collection, another one to the *Tuti-nama*-series, a third one to the Bakhtiyar-cycle. By way of exception foreign authors have written in Malay; e.g. the Radjput Nûr al-Dîn al-Ranî (q.v.), who wrote a great encyclopaedic chronicle at the instigation of an Acehnese queen. A very great number of texts deals with the old prophets, the Prophet Muhammad, his family and friends. These works, like e.g. the romances of Amir Hamza and Muhammad b. al-Hanafiya, have Persian originals. The purely religious books cannot be regarded as Malay literature.

Poetical literature has a different character. The real Malay kind of poetry, though not devoid of Persian influences, is the *pentun*, i.e. popular quatrains, whose first two lines deal with a natural fact, or a well known event, and are intended to prelude, phonetically, the 3rd and 4th lines, that contain the real meaning of the usually erotic poem. The other "genre" is the *gâ'ir*. Its form is the stanza of four rhyming lines. Some of these very extensive overloaded poems are from the Javanese, some others are versified versions of prose romances; moreover historical events, love-scenes, religious matters, mystical speculations etc. are dealt with in innumerable *gâ'irs*, the titles of which may be seen in the following catalogues: Leyden Univ. Library, by H. H. Juynboll; Supplement thereto by Ph. S. van Ronkel; Batavia, the Hague and Brussels by the same; London (R. A. S.) and ibidem E. I. H. (India Office Library) by H. N. van der Tuuk.

Special literary questions have been dealt with by Ph. S. van Ronkel. The papers on Malay Subjects and some numbers of the Malay Literature Series contain some valuable contributions. A fuller account is given in the Dutch *Encycl. van Nederlandsch-Indië*, s. v. Literatuur (Maleische).

(PH. S. VAN RONKEL)

MALÄZGERD, district (*Kaḡā*) and town in Armenia, to the North of the lake of Wan. Of the name, there occur, in old-Armenian, the forms Manavazkert, Manavaskert and Manazkert. The middle-Armenian and Byzantine forms, Mandagerd and *Manvazkert* resp. as well as the Arabian form *Manūdzjird*, point to old-Armenian Manazkert being the original form, Manavaz(a)kert representing a popular etymological formation, from the name of the noble family of the Manavazenn's, which, in older times, resided in the district. For it is phonetically impossible, that an old-Armenian form Manavaz(a)kert should regularly become Manazkert. This is the theory of Hübschmann, who admits however the possibility, that an earlier Manavaz(a)kert may have been arbitrarily shortened in pronunciation, so as to become Manazkert, the word being otherwise too long. W. Belck has conjectured, that in the first part of the word, there may be hidden the name of the Urartæic (pre-Armenian) king Mennas of Wan. This conjecture is based on the fact, that from an inscription of Mennas it appears, that this king founded a city, which was called Mennahim (= Mennas-town); thus it would, according to Belck, be very probable, that Maläzgerd, in whose environs there have been found many inscriptions of Mennas, was this very town, named after him. If such be the case, then the old-Armenian form *Manvazkert* must have originated from a later, popular etymology. From the fact, that names of towns formed with *-kert* (= *-karta*) seem to have originated not before the Parthian epoch, as Hübschmann observes, it would follow, that the memory of the old king Mennas was still alive in the relatively late Parthian time. This difficulty, however, is not insoluble, for it seems, that the name of another Urartæic king of Wan also may survive in classical Armenian quasi-historical tradition as Aram.

The oldest and best Arabic spelling of the name of the town is *Manūdzjird*, with *n*; the forms with *l* are later, and on them is based the modern name (*Maläzgerd*). The spelling with *n* we find e.g. in al-Iṣṭakhrī; Yāqūt; the author edited by Houtsma in *Rec. des textes rel. à l'hist. des Seljoukides*, ii.; al-Nasawī (ed. Houdas); in a varia lectio of the text of the *Rūḡat al-Sūdūr* (G. M. S., New Series, ii. 119); and in the text quoted *J. R. A. S.*, 1902, p. 797. The spelling with *l*, common in later texts, occurs, among older authors, in al-Mukaddasī; Ibn al-Aṭṭār; the *Rūḡat al-Sūdūr* (the reading adopted by the editor); Djuwainī, and the *Nuḡat al-Kuṭub*. The terminations *-dzjird* and *-kird* also alternate in the spelling: this variation is already noted by Yāqūt (*Muḡjam*, iv. 648). As regards the form Manazav, cited by Marquardt (*Evangelik*, p. 162) from Thomas Arizuni, cf. Hübschmann, *Die alt-armenischen Ortsnamen* (in *Idg. Forschungen*, xvi.), p. 450.

For the year 1898 the number of inhabitants of the district Maläzgerd is given as 21,000, viz. 12,000 Kurds, and the rest Armenians. The district belonged to the *vilāyat* Bitlis, *sandjaḡ* Muḡh. In this hilly country, the highest elevation is the

Sipān-Dagh (3,000 m.); perhaps the same mount as the *Sang-i Safid*, which is, according to Yāqūt (*Muḡjam*, iii. 168), a mountain in these regions. The soil of the district is fertile; its main products are wheat, barley, millet, lentils and peas, which are also exported, as are also sheep and horses, e.g. to Diyarbekr. The region of Maläzgerd produces also salt and mineral stone, which becomes hard when brought to the day light. Its wild animals are the wolf, the fox and the stone-marten, which is hunted for its fur. Textiles are manufactured in and exported from the district.

The town of Maläzgerd is situated on a tributary of the Murād Şu, called the Tuzla Şu; Hājjdī Khālifa (*Djihad-nūmā*, p. 426) reckons 2 *marḡala* between Maläzgerd and Erzerum. The town lies, moreover, on the way from Şivās to Ardīsh, and also at the crossing of the two different ways, which connect Muḡh and Bāyasīd. The city is surrounded by a high wall and towers; at the East of the town there is the citadel, built from black volcanic stone. In the 11th (12th) century, Maläzgerd had a triple wall, and it was well furnished with drinking water from within (Cedrenus, ed. Bonn, ii. 590). More than one fruitless siege of this place is recorded in its history.

Belck supposes, that the well-known battle between the Assyrian king Tiglathpileser I against the allied Natri-kings took place in the plain of Maläzgerd (*Z.D.M.G.*, li. 560). If, at that remote time, the town of Maläzgerd existed already, is not certain. That it existed in the time of the Urartæic king Mennas, who, as Belck thinks, gave his name to the town, is made probable by an inscription of that prince, from which it would appear, that he rebuilt an older citadel and an older palace on that place. The environs of the modern city of Maläzgerd are remarkably rich in cuneiform inscriptions, which were discovered by Lehmann and Belck during their stay there. They found an Assyrian inscription of Tiglathpileser I and several Urartæic inscriptions, among others, of Mennas (± 800 B.C.) and Argistis II (714—ca. 690 B.C.). It appears from these documents, that Mennas devoted great attention to the irrigation of the land, by constructing several canals.

In the early Middle-ages, the town of Maläzgerd (Manazkert), lying on the confines of the cantons Harkh and Apahunikh, was sometimes assigned to the former, sometimes to the latter. That in old-Armenian times here resided the family of the Manavazenn's, has already been remarked. For these matters, and also for the quotations from Byzantine and Armenian authorities regarding them, cf. Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, p. 328, 330, 449 sq.

Maläzgerd belonged, since the beginning of their dynasty, to the realm of the Bagratides of Armenia, who allowed it to be ruled, as well as Ahlat, Ardīsh and "Perkri" (= Bergir?), by a family of their vassals. This family, whose members bear Arabic names, became in course of time independent of the Armenian kings, but, on the other hand, was obliged to pay tribute to the emperor of Byzantium (Constantinus Porphyrogenetus, *De admin. imp.*, ed. Bonn, p. 192 sq.).

Yāqūt says, that the inhabitants of Maläzgerd are Armenians and Byzantines (*Rūmī*); a native of this town was Abū Naḡr al-Manāzī (this, therefore, is the *nirba* of the name), who was wazir to one of the Marwānid princes of Diyarbekr. This Abū

Nasr died 437 (1045—1046) and, according to our authority, was a good poet. Yāqūt cites two fragments from his poems (*Muʿjam*, iv. 648 sq.). Regarding another al-Manāṣir, cf. *J. A. S.*, 1902, p. 788, note 1.

Among political events connected with the town of Malāzgerd, it may be noted that, on the occasion of the campaign, which the great Ḥamānīd Saif al-Dawla undertook into Armenia (328 = 940), there is mentioned one 'Alid al-Ḥamīd, prince (*shih*) of Malāzgerd and Sibelwark (Sewerek) (*J. A. S.*, 1902, p. 797): the name 'Abd al-Ḥamīd occurs among the names of the dynasty of Malāzgerd, recorded by Constantinus Porphyrogenetus, and this contemporary of Saif al-Dawla doubtless belonged to that family. But he cannot be the 'Abd al-Ḥamīd of the Greek text, who, from a chronological point of view, must have lived two generations earlier (cf. the genealogical table of these dynasts of Malāzgerd in Bandurius *Animadversiones in Const. Porph. Lib. de Administr. Imp.*, in the Bonn edition of Constantinus, iii. 372). In 353 (964) a certain Naḍjā, a *ghulam* of Saif al-Dawla, revolted against his master, after taking possession of that part of Armenia, which was ruled by one Abu T-Ward. The latter was slain, and, among the places conquered by Naḍjā, Malāzgerd also is cited (Ibn al-Athir, ed. Tornberg, viii. 408); in the year 359 (969—970) Malāzgerd was taken by the Byzantines (*ibid.*, viii. 445); they must have lost it again before 382 (992—993), for in that year they besieged not only Akhlāt and Ardjāh, but also Malāzgerd, but this time they could not take it, but returned home after concluding a treaty for ten years with Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Marwān (*ibid.*, ix. 67). In 440 (1048—1049) it must have belonged to the Byzantines, for the *gherna*, which Ibrāhīm Toghril Beg's brother, undertook into the Byzantine empire, affected also the territory of Malāzgerd (*ibid.*, ix. 372). And it is explicitly stated by Ibn al-Athir (ix. 411), under the year 446 (1054—1055), that Malāzgerd was in possession of the Byzantines, for there he relates, that this strong city resisted a siege by Toghril Beg himself (cf. also Cedrenus, ed. Bonn, ii. 590 etc.). The most important historical event, with which the name of the town is connected, is the battle of Malāzgerd (463 = 1071) between Alp Arslān and the Byzantine emperor Romanus Diogenes, in consequence of which the eastern part of Asia Minor, viz. Armenia and Cappadocia, was lost for ever to the Greek empire (Ibn al-Athir, x. 44; *Rec. des textes rel. à l'hist. des Seldjoukides*, ed. Houtama, ii. 38 etc.; *Riḥat al-Safar* (G. M. S., New Series, II), p. 119; Zouhar, ed. Dindorf, iv. 213 etc.; cf. also H. Geller in E. Krumpholtz's *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur* 2, p. 1010). After this event, therefore, Malāzgerd passed into the possession of the Seldjūqs. In 531 (1137) it was given by king Malikshāh, along with Erzerum and part of the territory of Akhlāt, to his brother Seldjūq, as a *kif* (*Rec. des textes* ..., ed. Houtama, ii. 185).

In course of time, the city was besieged in vain (587 = 1191) by Taki al-Din 'Umar b. Ayyūb. In 601 (1204—1205) its environs suffered from the incursions of nomads from the direction of Adharbāydjan (Ibn al-Athir, xii. 41, 134). During the disturbances, of which Armenia was the scene in the beginning of the sixteenth century, mention is several times made of Malāzgerd. In 603

(1206—1207), a former *mamlūk* of the Shāh Arman took possession of Malāzgerd, and, after that, also of Akhlāt. He had, in addition, control of Ardjāh and other places. This man, whose name was Ballās (the vocalisation of the first syllable is uncertain), was assisted by the prince of Erzerum, Muḥṣin al-Din Toghril Shāh b. Kiliḍj Anāim, against al-Malik al-Awhad, son of al-Malik al-'Adil of Egypt. Later on, Ballās was murdered by his ally of Erzerum, who tried to enter Akhlāt and Malāzgerd, but in vain, so that he was obliged to return to his own states (Ibn al-Athir, xii. 168 sq., 180 sq.). In 623 (1226), Djalāl al-Din b. Khwārizmshāh 'Alā al-Din Muḥammad occupied Malāzgerd, as he intended to attack Ḥusām al-Din 'Alī, the *newwāl* of al-Malik al-Ashraf, in Akhlāt. But, since his attempt on this town did not succeed, and as the winter also set in (he had entered Malāzgerd on Dhu T-Ka'd 13, November 5, 623), and the Turkomans invaded his own realm, he was obliged to retire (Ibn al-Athir, xii. 301). In 626 (1229) however he succeeded in taking Akhlāt, after which he besieged Malāzgerd, first in person, afterwards leaving one of his generals in charge of the siege, but on this occasion without success (al-Nawawī, ed. O. Houdas, text, p. 205, 208; translation, p. 342, 344, 347).

Bibliography: Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 115 sq.; W. Belck and C. F. Lehmann, in *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, etc., 1898, p. 569, 572 sq., 576 sq.; W. Belck, *ibid.*, 1892, p. 478; C. F. Lehmann, *ibid.*, 1892, p. 487; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix. 989, 984; x. 326, 328, 355, 527, 647, 649, 659 sq., 665 sq., 754; Sami Bey Feraht, *Nāma al-'Alam*, p. 4388; E. Hanse, *Die Türkei* 2, p. 210, 214.

(V. F. BUCHNER)

MĀLDA (properly, Māldah or Māldaha), a district in Eastern Bengal and in the Rājshahi Division of the Presidency of Bengal. Area 1,899 sq. m. Pop. in 1911, 1,004,159, of whom 465,521 were Hindus, and 505,396 Muslims. In old times it was famous for its two capitals of Gam [q. v.] or Lakhnawti, and Pandua, where there are many ruins of the mosques and other buildings of the Muhammadan kings of Bengal.

Bibliography: Minhaj-i Sarāfi, *Tabaqāt-i Nāiri*, Raverty's translation (*Bibl. Ind.*, 1881); Ghulam Husain Salim, *Kiyāḍ al-Salāṣin* (*Bibl. Ind.*, text and translation); Mohini C. Moḡammad, *Brāhman of Gaur* (in Bengali, Calcutta 1886); *Hedger's Diary*, ed. Yule (Hakluyt Society); H. Creighton, *Ruins of Gaur*, London 1817; Ravenhill, *Gaur*, London 1878; W. Franklin, *Notes on old Gaur 1810* (*J. A. S. B.*, for 1894); *Archaeological Reports*, xv.; Blochmann, *Gog. of Bengal* (*J. A. S. B.*); Iliāh Bokhtāb, *Khurūḍ Dīshān-nāma* (*J. A. S. B.*, for 1895); *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, and *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. vii., s. v.; *Census Report for 1911*, vol. v., parts i. and ii.

(H. BEVERIDGE)

MALDIVE ISLANDS, a group of coral islets in the Indian Ocean, lying between 7° 6' N. and 0° 42' S. lat. and 72° and 74° E. long., and consisting of seventeen atolls with a great number of islands, of which about 300 are inhabited, the population being estimated at 70,000. The Moorish traveller, Ibn Battūta, lived for more

than a year (1343—1344) in the islands, but the first Europeans to visit them were the Portuguese, who established a factory in them in 1518. The Maldives were much harassed by Mappilla (Moplah) pirates from the Malabar Coast and in 1645 the king, who is entitled 'Sulṭān of the Twelve Thousand Isles', placed himself under the protection of the Dutch in Ceylon, with which island the Maldives have, since that time, been politically connected. The natives are Muslims and fall into three ethnographical divisions, (1) the northern, with a strong admixture of Dravidian blood from India, (2) the central, under the immediate rule of the Sulṭān, who resides in Male, which has acquired from Arab traders and settlers a strain of Semitic blood, and (3) the natives of the southern clusters, who have had little communication with the central group, and preserve more of the primitive type, resembling the Sinhalese villagers of Ceylon. All are peaceful, intelligent and industrious, growing their own crops and weaving their own cloth and mats. The chief exports are copra, oil, and dried fish products. The language is a dialect of the Sinhalese, somewhat Muhammadanized, but many read Arabic more or less fluently.

Bibliography: J. S. Gardiner, *Maldives and Laccadives Archipelagoes*, Cambridge 1901-1905; Ibn Battūta, ed. Defremery and Sanguinetti, Paris 1858; *Voyage of François Pyrard de Laval*, ed. Ch. Gray and Bell (London Hakl. Soc., 2 vols., 1887-1890); T. Allan, *The Coinage of the Maldives Islands*, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1912; F. C. Danver, *The Portuguese in India*, London 1894; H. C. P. Bell, *Report on the Maldives Islands* (Ceylon Gov. Publ., 1883); Young and Christopher, *Memorie on the Maldives*, in *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society*, vol. i.

(T. W. HAIG)

MALHAMA. [See MALAUM.]

MALI, a town, which no longer exists, the old capital of the Mandingo empire, in the western Sūdān, also called Mali, Māli, Melli, Melle, Mani or Mané. All these names are dialectic or local variants of the same word which is the name of the country of origin of a people whom the French call Malinké, following the Pul and Tukulor, and the English 'Mandingo', following the form used by one section of this people on the Lower Gambia.

The name found in the Arab authors for this town was not the one used by the inhabitants themselves and the latter is not given us by the geographer Idrisi, nor the historian Ibn Khaldūn, nor the traveller Ibn Battūta, nor Leo Africanus. It was only in 1913 that the translation of an Arabic manuscript not long before discovered in the Sūdān, the *Ta'rikh al-Futūkh*, enabled us to learn that in reality there were two successive capitals of the Mandingo empire or of Mali: the older was called Djirila or Djériba and there was later another called Niani.

Recent researches in the valley of the Niger have enabled the sites of these two towns to be discovered. The first was situated at the junction of the Niger and the Sankarani, and at the place called Mani or Mali Tombo, i.e. ruins of Mali. There are still traces of a very ancient and important town, which the natives regard, according to their traditions, as the ancient residence of their former sovereigns and the place where the latter are buried.

As to the second town, a copyist's error in the text of Ibn Khaldūn concealed the true name till

the publication of the *Ta'rikh al-Futūkh* in 1913. It was recently recognised that the capital in question should be located on the left bank of the Sankarani, and at the level of Siguiri, not far from the place where there is still a town of the same name, Niani.

Djériba was no doubt the cradle of the Mandingo dynasty of the Keita of the xiith—xiiith century. We have no information about it. We are more accurately informed about Niani. It is supposed to have been founded in 1238 after Sundjata Keita, ruler of the Mandingo, had defeated in 1235 at Kirina the emperor of Sōn, Sumanguru Kante, his rival and enemy. Gongo Mūsā, often wrongly called Kanku Mūsā, was ruling there a century later, when on his return from a pilgrimage to Mecca, he attracted to his court an Arab poet named al-Sāhilī who belonged to a Granada family. By orders of Gongo Mūsā, this foreigner built in Gao a mosque with battlemented terrace and pyramidal minaret. According to tradition, this was the first building of the type, now so widely spread in the western Sūdān, the origin of which is North Africa.

In 1352—53, in the reign of Sulaimān Keita, brother of Gongo Mūsā, the Arab traveller Ibn Battūta visited the town. It was then a completely Muslim metropolis, in which lived Egyptian and Moroccan legal authorities, students of Islam, readers of the *Qur'ān* in the mosques, and merchants. No description of the different quarters of the town has come down to us but we have a fairly detailed account of the sovereign's palace. The ruler gave his audiences in a room looking out on a courtyard, with six windows of wood, three of which were covered with plates of silver and above these three covered with plates of gold. These windows were hidden by curtains, which were lifted to show that the hour of audience had come.

The empire of Mali retained its power down to the beginning of the xvth century when its decline began. According to Leo Africanus who visited the Sūdān in the first half of the xvth century, the capital Mali or better Niani was inhabited by about 6,000 families who included many artisans and traders. Islam was flourishing, the town had still a number of mosques and prosperous schools but it had lost its former glory.

In 1545, Dā'ūd, brother of the *askiya* of Gao, marched to Niani; the ruler of the Mandingo having succeeded in escaping, Dā'ūd occupied the town which he plundered for a week before withdrawing, ordering his soldiers to denude the palace of the king with ordure.

In the xvth century the growth of the Bambara kingdoms of Segou and Kaarta contributed to overthrow what was left of the old Mandingo power, the last chiefs of which, leaving Niani, took refuge in Kangaba.

There is no doubt that Niani was visited on several occasions by the Portuguese. We know nothing of the expeditions which set out from their factories in Lower Gambia to the interior; on the other hand, we have notes about the Mandingo capital on the journey made in 1483 of an embassy from Elmina (now the Gold Coast Colony). João de Barros describes it in his Book III of his *Asia*: 'By the route of the fortress of Minas (Elmina) he (John II) also sent an embassy to Mahmūd b. Mansur, grandson of Mūsā, king of Songo. This city is one of the most populous of this great country which we usually call the

land of the Mandingoes". Another author, Barth, claims to identify the *Songo* of the Portuguese historian with the land of the Songhay on the Niger. This is clearly wrong. But is *Songo* a name applicable to the Mandingo capital? M. Delafosse does not think so; he calls attention to the fact that the country of the Mandingoes is still known among the coast peoples of the Gulf of Guinea and in all the Fanti and Ashanti country under the name of *Songo*, so that among those with whom the Portuguese of Elmina mixed, the word was simply a synonym of Mandingo or Mali.

Bibliography: Ibn Battuta, *Voyage dans le Soudan*, transl. de Slane, Paris 1843; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, Algiers 1852—6; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique tierce partie du Monde*, mise en français par Jean Temporal, nouvelle édition annotée par Schefer, Paris 1896—8; 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sa'di and Tomboukt, *Ta'rikh al-Sūdān*, transl. Haudas, Paris 1900; M. Delafosse, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger*, Paris 1912; Marquart, *Die Beninmündung des Reichthums für Völkerkunde in Leiden*, Index a.v. Malli; Ibn Fadl Allāh al-'Umari, transl. Gaudet-Demombynes, p. 52 199. (HENRI LABOURET)

MALIK (A.), King. In the Qur'an the word, in addition to being used of the kings of this world, is also applied to Allāh, e.g. xx. 113: "So is Allāh exalted, the King, the Truth". In iii. 25, Allāh is the *malik al-mulk*, the possessor of royal power, which he gives to and takes from whom He will; in the *Fatḥ* many Qur'an readers read *malik* (for *mālik*) *ṣaym al-dīn*: God's kingdom is also described as *mulk* and *malūkāt* [cf. ALLĀH].

Muslim rulers do not generally call themselves kings; as in the Qur'an, the use of the word was confined to the rulers of foreign peoples in so far as it had an earthly significance. The application of the word to Muslim potentates was regarded not so much as blasphemy but rather as implying a form of rule which was contradictory to Muslim political theory. It was considered very much to Mu'awiya's discredit that he described himself as the first king in Islām; and as a kingdom, which is contrasted with the imāmate, the dignity alone worthy of the Muslim rulers, the rule of the Omayyads was attacked and despised by the pious old-fashioned party.

While religious constitutional literature does not recognise the word *malik* as a term for Muslim conditions, it plays a very much greater part in the literature of mirrors for princes which is indifferent to religion, but, only when it is a question of a ruler in general and not of specifically Muslim rulers. Al-Dīnawarī gives his *K. al-Ta'rikh* the subtitle *Fī Akhbār al-Mulūk* and al-Fārābī deals very fully with the duties of a king. In the ethical encyclopaedias which deal with all three moral sciences, ethics, economics and politics [cf. MĀL], like the *Sūfīk al-Mulūk* *fī Tadhīr al-Mamūlīk* of Ibn Abī 'l-Rabi', the king appears as the subject of special chapters in the scheme of division of this kind of literature.

With the spread of Islām and the Arabic language into Asia, *malik* became used as the equivalent of the Persian *šāh* and as a royal title was particularly favoured by mediaeval dynasties of Turkish origin. We find the title *malik* as early as the Sāmānids and in the next century the Buyid Bahā' al-Dawla calls himself *Malik al-Mulūk*,

a title modelled on the ancient Iranian title of "King of Kings". Among the Seldjūqs, Atābegs and Urtukids, it is the regular title of sovereignty, usually combined with an honorific epithet. It is not so generally used by the Aiyūbids and Mamlūks. In the feminine it is the royal title of the Mamlūk queen Shajar al-Durr, who calls herself "queen of the Muslims" (*Malika al-Muslimin*). One of the rare occurrences in India of the title is also in the feminine *Malika*, which queen Ragya of Delhi uses in place of the *Sultān* of the other members of the dynasty. After being practically extinct for several centuries in the Muslim world *malik* has quite recently been adopted as the royal title in the new kingdoms of Egypt, Iraq, the Hijāz and Afghanistan so that it has suddenly, if somewhat artificially under the influence of the western conception of king, come to be the royal title *par excellence* in the Muslim world.

Bibliography: *Lūghat al-'Arab*, a.v.; Hughes, *Dictionary*, a.v. "King"; Kremer, *Gesch. d. herrsch. Idem*, p. 323; Goldziher, *Mus. St.*, ii. 31 199. (M. PLESSNER)

MALIK 'AMBAR ḤABASHI, an Abyssinian slave, who rose to great power and influence in the Deccan. When Ahmadnagar was conquered by prince Dāniyāl in 1609 (1600), Malik 'Ambar and Rājā Minnān, a Deccan chief, divided the remaining territories between them. About this period owing to the rebellion of Sulṭān Salīm, the death of Akbar, and the revolt of Sulṭān Khurāsān, 'Ambar found time to regulate his country and raised large armies, and even dared to seize several of the imperial districts. He introduced a new revenue system into the Deccan, perhaps in imitation of Tōdār Mall. When the authority of the emperor Dīnshah was established, he sent several expeditions to the Deccan, but 'Ambar could not be subdued. At last he restored the places taken from the Mughals to Shāh Dīshah, to whom he became attached and remained loyal to him until his death, which occurred in 1635 (1626), in the 80th year of his age. He was buried in Dawlatābād [q.v.].

Bibliography: *Muṭṭir al-Umarā*, i. 115—116 19; Elphinstone, *History of India*, 1889, p. 553; Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vi. 104, 105, 395 and 428; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, ii. 389 19. (M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

AL-MALIK AL-KĀMIL I, NĀṢIR AL-DIN ABU 'L-MĀ'LI MUHAMMAD R. AL-MALIK AL-'ĀDIL, an Aiyūbid, was born in Rabi' I 576 (Aug. 1180) and knighted with full ceremony on Palm Sunday (May 29) 1192 in Akkā by Richard Cœur-de-Lion who was on friendly terms with his father. A few years later his name begins to appear in the history of the Aiyūbid wars. When his father, who was besieging Māridin [q.v.] with his army, left it after the death of al-'Asir, Saladin's brother, on 27th Muḥarram 595 (Nov. 29, 1198) to seize the capital, Damascus, for himself, he entrusted the conduct of the siege of Māridin to his son Kāmil. The governor of the town had begun to negotiate with him for surrender, when reinforcements arrived and after a fight which went badly for al-Kāmil, the latter was forced to withdraw and join his father in Damascus. Al-'Ādil's death (7th Djumādā II, 615—Aug. 31, 1218) left him the difficult task of clearing Egypt of the Crusaders, who had landed near Damietta in the beginning of summer and had begun to besiege the town.

On the news of their landing, al-ʿAdī [q.v.], who was then in Syria, sent troops to Egypt and al-Kāmil endeavoured to defend the land as best he could. The Christians gained the upper hand at first and by the end of Shaʿbān 616 (beg. Nov. 1219), Damietta had fallen into their hands. It took nearly two years for al-Kāmil, who had had homage paid to himself as sultan of Egypt and Syria after the death of his father, to retake the town with the help of the other Ayyūbids, particularly his brother al-Malik al-Muʿazzam; the Christians by this time were tired of fighting and in Raddab 618 (the end of August 1221) they offered to abandon the town if given a free passage. Al-Kāmil, who feared not without reason that they would soon receive reinforcements from Europe, gladly accepted their terms whereupon the Franks left Egypt. But then troubles broke out within the Ayyūbid ranks. When al-Muʿazzam died (end of Dhu l-Kaʿda 624 = Nov. 1227) al-Kāmil and his brother al-Malik al-Ashraf attacked his son and successor al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dawūd and finally took Damascus from him (Shaʿbān 626 = June/July 1229); al-Kāmil next occupied southern Syria and Palestine and al-Ashraf was recognised as ruler of Damascus under the suzerainty of al-Kāmil, while their nephew Dawūd received al-Karak, al-Shawbak and some other remote fortresses as compensation. Al-Kāmil had previously entered into negotiations with the Emperor Frederick II and concluded a treaty with him by which he ceded Jerusalem to him with a corridor to Jaffa and the Emperor in return promised to help him against all his enemies. After some time the Ayyūbids came into conflict with the Saljuqs. Kai-Kāṣ I [q.v.] had previously quarrelled with al-Ashraf and sought to bring against him a confederacy of petty Mesopotamian dynasties and under his brother and successor Kai-Kobād I [q.v.] it came to open fighting. The successes won by al-Kāmil in this war, however, aroused the jealousy of his relatives and they formed a coalition against him [cf. ARYUNDS]. Al-Kāmil then set out for Egypt and advanced victoriously as far as Damascus. He succeeded in taking this city also but died very soon afterwards (in Raddab 635 = March 1238). As a ruler he was undoubtedly one of the most distinguished of the Ayyūbids. He was a brave soldier and a skilful diplomat and rendered lasting services to the development of his country. He devoted special attention to irrigation and in his reign the defences of the citadel of Cairo were completed. He also took a lively interest in the cause of learning.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān* (ed. Wüstenfeld), N° 705 (transl. de Slane, liii, 240); Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), xii, see Index; Abu l-Fidaʾ, *Annals* (ed. Reiske), iv, passim; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Iʿbār*, v, 345 sqq.; Ibn ʿIyās, *Taʾrīkh Miṣr* (Bulak 1311), i, 77 sqq.; *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, *Hist. orient.*, i, v, passim; Weil, *Gesch. der Chulifen*, iii, 433 sq., 441 sqq.; Stanley Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt*, p. 221 sqq.; Röhricht, *Gesch. des Königreichs Jerusalem*, see Index. (K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

AL-MALIK AL-KĀMIL II. [See SHAʿBĀN.]

MALIK SARWAR, KHAWAJA-I DJAHĀN was a eunuch given by Salar Raddab to his grandson Muhammad, son of Firuz Shah Tughlak, in whose service he rose to be chief eunuch and controller of the elephant stables. He

was faithful to his master in all his troubles, and in 1389 received the title of Khawaja-i Djahān and was made *warir*. Muhammad's son, Mahmūd Shah, sent him in March, 1394, to govern the eastern provinces, with his headquarters at Džawnpūr, and conferred on him the title of Malik al-Sharḥ, or lord of the east. He took thither with him Karanful, a slave and water-bearer of Firuz Tughlak, whom he had adopted, and his brothers. His administration was most successful and his adopted son Karanful served him loyally. On the disruption of the kingdom of the Tughlak dynasty after Timur's invasion, Malik Sarwar assumed the title of Sultan al-Sharḥ and established his independence in Džawnpūr. Karanful received the title of Malik al-Sharḥ, and his brother Ibrahim was made commander of the fort and city.

Malik Sarwar died in 1400 and was succeeded by Karanful, who ascended the throne of Džawnpūr under the title of Mubarak Shah.

Bibliography: Firsiroti, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīm*, Bombay 1832; *Taʾrīkh-i Mubarak Shāhi* in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, vol. iv.; *Tabaqāt-i Akbari*, by Niẓām al-Dīn Ahmad; *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, New Series, vol. i, N. W. P. and Oudh (*Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpūr*, by A. Führer), 1889. (T. W. HAIG)

MALIK b. ANAS, a Muslim jurist, the imām of the *madhhab* of the Mālikis, which is named after him, and frequently called briefly the Imām of Medina.

1. The sources for Malik's biography

The oldest authority of any length for Malik, Ibn Saʿd's account (d. 230) based on al-Wāqidi (d. 207) in the sixth class of the Medina "successors", is lost as there is a hiatus in the manuscript of the work, but it is possible to reconstruct the bulk of it from the quotations preserved, mainly in Tabari (iii, 2519 sq.), in the *Kitaḥ al-Uyūn* (*Fragm. hist. arab.*, i, 297 sq.), in Ibn Khallikān and al-Suyūṭi (p. 7, 6 sq., 12 sq., 41, 46). From this it is evident that the brief biographical notes in Ibn Kutaiba (d. 276) and the somewhat more full ones in the *Fihrist* (compiled in 377) are based on Ibn Saʿd. The article on Malik in Tabari's (d. 310) *Dhail al-Mudharriyāt* is essentially dependent on the same source, while a few other short references there and in his history are based on other authorities. Al-Samʿāni (c. 550) with the minimum of bare facts gives only the legendary version of an otherwise quite well established incident, while in Ibn Khallikān (d. 672) and particularly in al-Nawawī (d. 676) the legendary features are more pronounced although isolated facts of importance are also preserved by them. Al-Suyūṭi (d. 911) gives a detailed compilation from Ibn Saʿd and other works, most of which are now no longer accessible but are for the most part of later date and unreliable, like the *Muṣnad Hadīth al-Muwaffiq* of al-Fāḥikī, the *Ḥilya* of Abū Naʿīm, the *Kitaḥ al-Musṭafas* wa l-Muṭṭalaf of al-Khatīb al-Baghādī, the *Kitaḥ Tarīkh al-Madīnah* of al-Kāḍi ʿIyāḍ, the *Faṣṣal* of Abū l-Ḥasan Fihri. The bulk of the later *Manāẓih*, for example that of al-Zawāwī, is of no independent value.

II. Malik's Life

Malik's full name was Abū ʿAbd Allāh Malik b. Anas b. Malik b. Abū ʿĀmir b. ʿAmr b. al-

Harith b. Ghaimān b. Khurrah b. 'Amr b. al-Harith al-Asbahī; he belonged to the Humair, who are included in the Banū Taim b. Murra (Taim Kuraish).

The date of his birth is not known; the dates given, varying between 90 and 97 are hypotheses, which are presumably approximately correct. As early as Ibn Sa'd we find the statement that he spent three years in his mother's womb (over two according to Ibn Katalba, p. 290), a legend, the origin of which in a wrong interpretation of an alleged statement by Malik on the possible duration of pregnancy is still evident in the text of Ibn Sa'd. According to a tradition preserved by al-Firmidhi, Muhammad himself is said to have foretold his coming as well as that of Abū Hanifa and al-Shāfi'. His grandfather and his uncle on the father's side are mentioned by al-Sam'āni as traditionists, so that there is nothing remarkable in his also being a student. According to the *Kitaḥ al-Aghani*, he is said to have first wanted to become a singer, and only exchanged his career for the study of Fiqh on his mother's advice on account of his ugliness (cf. Goldziher, *Mus. Studien*, II, 79, note 2); but such anecdotes are little more than evidence that some one did not particularly admire him. Very little reliable is known about his studies, but the story that he studied Fiqh with the celebrated Rabi'a b. Farrūkh (d. 132 or 133 or 143) who cultivated *ra'y* in Medina, whence he is called Rabi'at al-Ra'y can hardly be an invention, although it is only found in somewhat late sources (cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 80). Later legends increase the number of his teachers to incredible figures: 900, including 300 tālīmūn are mentioned. He is said to have learned *ḥir'a* from Naḥ' b. Abi Nu'aim. He transmitted traditions from al-Zuhri, Naḥ', the Mawla of Ibn 'Umar, Abu 'Zinād, Ḥāshim b. 'Urwa, Yahyā b. Sa'id, 'Abd Allāh b. Dīnār, Muhammad b. al-Munkadir, Abu 'Zulair and others, but the isnaḍs of course are not sufficient evidence that he studied with the authorities in question; a list of 95 shuyūkh is given by al-Suyūṭī, p. 48 *sup.*

A fixed chronological point in his life, most of which he spent in Medina, is his being involved in the rising of the 'Alid pretender Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh in 145 (on the other hand the story of Malik's alleged dealings with Ibn Hurmuz in the same year gives the impression of being quite apocryphal). As early as 144 the caliph al-Manṣūr sent to the Ḥasanids of Mecca through him a demand that the two brothers Muhammad and Ibrahim b. 'Abd Allāh suspected of being pretenders should be handed over to him; this shows that he must have already attained a position of general esteem and one at least not openly hostile to the government; he was even rewarded out of the proceeds of the confiscated property of the captured 'Abd Allāh, father of the two brothers above named. This mission met with no success. When Muhammad in 145 by a coup made himself master of Medina, Malik declared in a *fatwā* that the homage paid to al-Manṣūr was not binding, because it was given under compulsion, whereupon many who would otherwise have held back joined Muhammad. Malik took no active part in the rising but stayed at home. On the failure of the rebellion (147) he was punished by flogging by Dja'far b. Sulaimān, the governor of Medina, when he suffered a

dislocation of the shoulder, but this is said to have still further increased his prestige and there is no reason to doubt that the stories of Abū Hanifa's ill-treatment in prison are based on this episode in the life of Malik. He must have later made his peace with the government: in 160 the caliph al-Mahdi consulted him on structural alterations in the Meccan sanctuary, and in the year of his death 179 the caliph al-Raḡid visited him on the occasion of his pilgrimage. While this fact may be considered certain, the details in the *Kitāb al-Uyūn* are already somewhat legendary and in Suyūṭī, following Abū Nu'aim, quite fantastic. The story of al-Manṣūr found as early as Ibn Sa'd, in a parallel *riwāya* in al-Tabari of al-Mahdi, is quite fictitious and is given again with fantastic detail in al-Suyūṭī (from Abū Nu'aim) of al-Raḡid, that the caliph wanted to make the *Muwatta'* canonical and only abandoned his intention on the representations of Malik.

Malik died, at the age of about 85 after a short illness, in the year 179 in Medina and was buried in al-Baqī'. 'Abd Allāh b. Zainab, the governor there, conducted his funeral service. An elegy on him by Dja'far b. Ahmad al-Sarrāḡī is given in Ibn Khallikān. Pictures of the *ḡubba* over his grave are given in al-Hatamī, *al-Riḥla al-Hijāziya* 2, opposite p. 256 and in Ibrahim Rif'at Pasha, *Mir'at al-Haramain*, vol. I, opposite p. 426.

As early as Ibn Sa'd (certainly going back to al-Wāḡidī) we have a fairly full description of Malik's personal appearance, his habits and manner of life, which however cannot claim to be authentic, nor can the sayings attributed to him which became more and more numerous as time went on. The few certain facts about him have been buried under a mass of legends: the most important facts have already been noted and the others will be found in al-Suyūṭī and al-Zawāwī.

On the transmitters of his *Muwatta'* and the earliest members of his madhhab see Sect. III, and v.; here we will only mention the most important scholars who handed on traditions from him. These were 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, al-Awāḡī, Ibn Djarāḡī, Ḥammād b. Zaid, al-Laith b. Sa'd, Ibn Salama, al-Shāfi', Shu'ba, al-Thawri, Ibn 'Ulayya, Ibn 'Uyaina, Yazid b. 'Abd Allāh and his shaikhs al-Zuhri and Yahyā b. Sa'id; al-Suyūṭī, p. 18 *sup.* gives a long list of transmitters but most of them are not corroborated. We may just mention the apocryphal story of Malik's meeting with the young al-Shāfi' (*Fragm. hist. ar.*, I, 359; Wustenfeld, *Gott. Abh.*, 1890, p. 34 and 1891, p. 1 *sup.*), which is simply an expression of the view that was held of the relation between the two Imāms.

III. Malik's Writings

Further sources for his teachings

1. Malik's great work is the *Kitaḥ al-Muwatta'*, which, if we except the *Corpus Juris* of Zaid b. 'Ali, is the earliest surviving Muslim law-book. Its object is to give a survey of law and justice, ritual and practice of religion according to the *ijmā'* of Islām in Medina, according to the *sunna* usual in Medina and to create a theoretical standard for matters which were not settled from the point of view of *ijmā'* and *sunna*. In a period of recognition and appreciation of the canon law under the early 'Abbāsids, there was a practical interest in pointing out a "smoothed path" (this

is practically what *al-muwaffa'* means) through the far-reaching differences of opinion even on the most elementary questions. Mālik wished to help this interest on the basis of the practice in the Hijāz and to codify and systematise the customary law of Medina. Tradition, which he interprets from the point of view of practice, is with him not an end but a means; the older jurists are therefore hardly ever quoted except as authorities for Mālik himself. As he was only concerned with the documentation of the *sunna* and not with criticism of its form, he is exceedingly careless as far as order is concerned in his treatment of traditions. The *Muwaffa'* thus represents the transition from the simple Fikḥ of the earliest period to the pure science of Ḥadīth of the later period.

Mālik was not alone among his contemporaries in the composition of the *Muwaffa'*; al-Mājjahūn (d. 164) is said to have dealt with the consensus of the scholars of Medina without quoting the pertinent traditions, and works quite in the style of the *Muwaffa'* are recorded by several Medina scholars of the same time (cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 219 *sq.*) but nothing of them has survived to us. The success of the *Muwaffa'* is due to the fact that it always takes an average view on disputed points.

In transmitting the *Muwaffa'*, Mālik did not make a definitive text, either oral or by *munāwala*, to be disseminated; on the contrary, the different *riwāya's* (recensions) of his work in places differ very much (cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 222). The reason for this, besides the fact that in those days very little stress was laid on accurate literal repetition of such texts and great liberty was taken by the transmitters (cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 221), lies probably in the fact that Mālik did not always give exactly the same form to the same lectures in different "classes". But the name *Muwaffa'*, which certainly goes back to Mālik himself, and is found in all recensions is a guarantee that Mālik wanted to create a "work" in the later sense of the term, although of course the stories which make Mālik talk of his writings reflect the conditions of a later period. In later times the *Muwaffa'* was regarded by many as canonical (cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 213, 265 *sq.*; al-Suyūṭī, p. 47) and numerous legends deal with its origin (al-Suyūṭī, p. 42 *sq.*).

Fifteen recensions in all of the *Muwaffa'* are known, only two of which still survive in their entirety, while some five were studied in the 11th/12th centuries A. H. in Spain (Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 222, note 2 and 4) and twelve were still available to al-Rudānī (d. 1094) (Heffening, *Fremdenrecht*, p. 144, note 1):

a. the vulgate of the work transmitted by Yahyā b. Yahyā al-Maḡmūlī (d. 234), often printed, e.g. Delhi 1216, 1296 (without isāda, with Hindustani translation and commentary), 1307, 1308, Cairo 1279—1280 (with the commentary of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Zurqānī, d. 1122), Lahore 1889, Tunis 1280; numerous commentaries, editions and synopses; cf. Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, I, 176; Ahlwardt, *Katalog Berlin*, 1145; Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Lakhnawī (Introduction to the edition of the recension *h*), Lucknow 1297, p. 21 *sq.*; al-Suyūṭī, p. 3 and *passim* (work of al-Faḡḡī), p. 57 (on Ibn 'Abd al-Barr) and p. 58 (chief passage); Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 230, note 2; Schacht, *Abb. Preuss. Ak.*, 1928, N. 2; and al-Suyūṭī, *1'af al-Muḡaffa' li-Riḡāl al-Muḡaffa'*, Delhi 1320 and

Muḥammad b. 'Aḥīr al-Fatmī, *Madjma' Biḡār al-Muḡaffa'*, Lucknow 1283;

β. the recension of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaibānī (d. 189) which is also an edition and critical development of Mālik's work, as al-Shaibānī at the end of most chapters gives his own views and that of Abū Ḥanīfa on the questions discussed, sometimes with very full reasonings; often printed e.g. Lahore 1211—1213 (with Hindustani translation and notes), Ludhiana 1291, 1292, 1293, Lucknow 1297 (with introduction and commentary by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Lakhnawī), Kazan 1910 (*do.*); several commentaries; cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*; Schacht, *op. cit.*, N. 2, 2a, 2b; and the works quoted under a.

On the relation of these *riwāya's* to one another cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 223 *sq.*

γ. The quotations from the recension of 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb (d. 197) which are preserved in the two fragments of al-Ṭabānī's *Kitaḡ al-Ḥatā'if al-Fuḡḡā'* (ed. Kern, Cairo 1902, and Schacht, *op. cit.*, N. 22) are fairly comprehensive; this *riwāya* follows that of Yahyā b. Yahyā quite closely.

The other recensions of the *Muwaffa'* are given by al-Lakhnawī, *op. cit.*, p. 18 *sq.*; further lists of transmitters of the *Muwaffa'* are given in al-Suyūṭī, p. 48, 51 and in al-Nawawī.

z. Whether Mālik composed other works besides the *Muwaffa'* is doubtful (the statements in the *Fihrist*, p. 199, *sq.*, which speak of a number of writings by Mālik are quite vague and uncertain). The books ascribed to him fall into two groups: legal and otherwise. Among the legal we read of a *Kitaḡ al-Sunan* or *al-Sunna* (*Fihrist*, p. 199, *sq.*), transmitted by Ibn Wahb or by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam al-Miṣrī, a *Kitaḡ al-Manārik* (al-Suyūṭī, p. 40), a *Kitaḡ al-Muḡḡā'āt*, transmitted by Ibn Wahb (*ibid.*), a *Riḡāla fī 'l-Adḡiya*, transmitted by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥallī (*ibid.*, p. 41) and a *Riḡāla fī 'l-Fatāwā*, transmitted by Khaliḡ b. Naṣṣār and Muḥammad b. Maṭarrif (*ibid.*). The genuineness of all these is, however, uncertain and even if they go back to Mālik's immediate pupils (sometimes they are actually attributed to the latter; cf. al-Lakhnawī, *op. cit.*, p. 19) Mālik's own share in them would be still uncertain. A book (Gotha 1143) said to have been transmitted by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam al-Miṣrī and heard by him along with Ibn Wahb and Ibn al-Kāsim is certainly apocryphal and besides does not pretend to give any utterances of Mālik himself.

Of other titles are mentioned a *Taḡrīf*, a *Riḡāla fī 'l-Kadār wa 'l-Radd 'ala 'l-Kadāriya*, a *Kitaḡ al-Nuḡūm* and a *Kitaḡ al-Sirr* (al-Suyūṭī, p. 40 *sq.*) which are in the usual style of the apocryphal literature. The suspicion of falsity is also strong in the case of the *Riḡāla* containing advice to the caliph al-Raḡḡid, mentioned as early as the *Fihrist* alongside of the *Muwaffa'* (printed Bulāḡ 1311; cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*) which look like a Mālikī counterpart of the *Kitaḡ al-Kānūḡī* of Abū Yūsuf: even al-Suyūṭī doubted its genuineness, although for reasons which are not convincing to us.

3. There are two other main sources for Mālik's teaching (setting aside the later accounts of the doctrine of the Mālikī madḡhab):

The more important is the *al-Mudawwana al-Kubra* of Saḡnūn (d. 240) which contains replies by Ibn Kāsim (d. 191) according to the school of Mālik or according to his own *ra'y* to questions of Saḡnūn as well as traditions and opinions of

Ibn Wahb (d. 197) (cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 177; Hefening, *op. cit.*, p. 144; Krenkow, in the article *SAHNUN*).

Al-Tabari who in his *Kitaḥ al-Iḥtiṣāṭ al-Fuḥḥāṣ* has preserved fragments of the *Muwattaʿ*-recension of Ibn Wahb (cf. above), also quotes frequently traditions and opinions of Mālik in his commentary on the Qurʾān on the "legal" verses.

IV. Mālik's position in the history of Fiqh

Mālik represents, in time, a stage in the development of Fiqh in which the reasoning is not yet thorough and fundamental but only occasional and for a special purpose, in which the legal thought of Islām has not yet become jurisprudence and, in place, Medina where the decisive foundations of Muslim law were laid down. One of the main objects in the juristic thought that appears in the *Muwattaʿ* is the permeation of the whole legal life by religious and moral ideas. This characteristic of the formation of legal ideas in early Islām is very clear, not only in the method of putting questions but in the structure of the legal material itself. The legal material, having in itself no connection with religion, that has to be permeated by religious and moral points of view, is the customary law of Medina, by no means primitive but adapted to the demands of a highly developed trading community, which for us is the principal representative of old Arabian customary law: it appears in Mālik sometimes as *sunna* "use and wont", sometimes it is concealed under the Medina *ijmāʿ* which he ascertains with great care; broadly speaking this only means that objections on religious grounds have not been raised by anyone against a principle etc. of customary law. The older jurisprudence had another main object: the formation of a system which sets out from principles of a more general character, which aim at the formation of legal conceptions in contrast to the prevailing casuistry and is to some extent rounded off in a codification, if still a loose one, of the whole legal material.

While the islamisation of the law had been already concluded in its essential principles before Mālik, many generations had still to work at its systematisation; therefore Mālik's own legal achievement can only have consisted in the development of the formation of a system. How great his share in it was cannot be ascertained with certainty from the lack of material for comparison. The surprising success achieved by the *Muwattaʿ* of Mālik out of a number of similar works, would in any case be completely explained by the fact that it recorded the usual consensus of opinion in Medina without any considerable work of the author's own and came to be regarded as authoritative as the expression of compromise (just as the works on Tradition came to be regarded as canonical). The *Muwattaʿ* would in this case have to be regarded less as evidence of Mālik's individual activity than as evidence of the stage reached in the general development of law in his time. It may be said that this average character was just what Mālik aimed at (cf. Sect. iii. 1).

The high estimation in which Mālik is held in the older sources is justified by his strict criticism of Hadith and not by his activity in the interest of Fiqh (al-Tabari, iii. 2484, 2492; al-Samʿānī; al-Nawawī; Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 147, 168; do., *Zāhirīyya*, p. 230); even this only means that

with his hadiths he kept within the later consensus. That al-Shāfiʿi devoted special attention to him out of all the Medina scholars (cf. his *Kitaḥ al-Iḥtiṣāṭ* Mālik waʾl-Shāfiʿi) is explained by the fact that he was a disciple of his.

As to the style of legal reasoning found in the *Muwattaʿ*, Hadith is not by any means the highest or only court of appeal for Mālik; on the one hand he gives the *amāl*, the actual undoubted practice in Medina, the preference over traditions, when these differ (cf. al-Tabari, iii. 2505 *sq.*) and on the other hand in cases where neither Medina tradition nor Medina *ijmāʿ* existed, he laid down the law independently; in other words he exercises *raʾy*, and to such an extent that he is occasionally reproached with *idʿarrah*, agreement with the Iraqis (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii. 217; do., *Zāhirīyya*, p. 4 *sq.*, 20, note 1). According to a later anti-*raʾy* legend, he is said to have repented of it on his deathbed (Ibn Khallikān). It is scarcely to be supposed that he had diverged seriously from his Medina contemporaries in the results of his *raʾy*.

V. Mālik's Pupils

The Mālikī Madhhab

In the strict sense Mālik no more formed a school than did Abū Ḥanīfa; evidence of this is found in the oldest names *Ahl al-Hijāz* and *Ahl al-ʿIrāq* resp., compared for example with *Aḥḥāb al-Shāfiʿi*. These names at once indicate the probable origin of the Mālikī madhhab; after a regular Shāfiʿi school had been formed, which in view of al-Shāfiʿi's personal achievement, is quite intelligible in the development of Fiqh (cf. Bergsträsser, *op. cit.*, p. 76, 80 *sq.*), it became necessary for the two older great schools of Fiqh, whose difference was probably originally the result of geographical conditions in the main, also to combine to form a regular school, when a typical representative of the average views like Mālik or Abū Ḥanīfa was regarded as head. In the case of Mālik the high personal esteem, which he must have enjoyed even in his life-time (cf. Sect. II) no doubt contributed to this also. But it is to his pupils that his elevation to the head of a school is mainly due. Traces of this process are still to be found in the varying classification of old jurists as of the Hijāz school or as independent madhabs (cf. also *Fihrist*, p. 199, *sq.*).

Among Mālik's pupils and companions who soon became known as Mālikīs may be mentioned: al-Laiṭi b. Saʿd (d. 161 or 165 or 175), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Kāsim (d. 191), ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb (d. 197), Maʿn b. ʿInā (d. 198), Aḥḥāb b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 204), ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 212), ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 214), ʿAbd Allāh al-Kaʿnabi (d. 221), ʿImāʾil b. Uways (d. 226) and his brother Abū Bakr, Sahnūn (d. 240). Sahnūn was too late to hear Mālik himself; with him the formation of the Mālikī madhhab is already concluded.

Of the later Mālikī Fiqh literature two short compendia attained special fame as text-books: the *Riṭāla* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Zaid al-Kairawānī (d. 386) whom the author of the *Fihrist* mentions as an important contemporary (p. 201, 12) and the *Mukhtaṣar* of Khalfi b. Ishāq (d. 767); numerous commentaries on and editions of both exist and they have also been discussed in Karo-

pean languages (cf. *Bibl.*). Their importance has sometimes been exaggerated in Europe; development did not stop with them (cf. *Pröbster, Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.*, xlii. 422 sqq.; *Pröbster* deals with an important later jurist in *Islamic*, ii. 430 sqq.). His immediate pupils are not to be regarded as opponents of *ra'y* any more than Mālik, and the Mālikī madhhab is not at all more conservative or traditionalist than the Ḥanafī for example (B. Ducati in *Islamic*, iii. 214 sqq., even endeavours to show that it is the most juridical of the Muslim schools of law).

The Mālikī madhhab spread mainly in the west of the Muslim world; after it had succeeded in driving out the madhhab of al-Awā'ī and the Zāhir school, it prevailed not only in the Maghrib (Tunis, Algeria, Morocco, including Muslim Spain) but in all the rest of Africa, so far as it has adopted Islam. The Mālikī school has many followers in Egypt: in Upper Egypt it occupies about the same position as the Shāfi'ī in Lower Egypt. This geographical distribution seems to go back to corresponding conditions existing before the formation of the madhhabs. Particularly ardent or successful disseminators of Mālik's teaching were 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb al-Sulamī (d. 238 or 239) and Ism'īl b. Ishāq (d. 282; *Fihrist*, p. 200, 2) but there must also have been earlier scholars for whose time the existence of a regular school is doubtful.

Bibliography: On Mālik's life: Ibn Kuthayba, *Kitāb al-Ma'arīf*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 250, 290; al-Tabarī, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, Index, s. v.; *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 198; al-Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ani'ah*, G. M. S., xx. 412; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, No. 560; al-Nawawī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 530; de Goeje, *Fragmenta historiarum arabicarum*, Index, s. v.; al-Suyūṭī, *Taswīf al-Manāzil*, in: Ibn al-Kāsim, *al-Madawwana*, vol. I, Cairo 1324; 'Isā b. Ma'ād al-Zawāwī, *Manāẓih Sayyid al-Imām Mālik*, ibid.; the further *Manāẓih* and Mālikī *Ṭabaḥāt*-literature; a modern list by Muhammad 'Abd al-Hayy al-Lakhnawī in the introduction to his edition of the *Muwatta'* of al-Shāhānī (cf. above iii. 16).

On Mālik's writings: Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 175; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. 213 sqq.; al-Lakhnawī, *op. cit.*

On Mālik's position in the history of Fikh: Bergsträsser, *Isl.*, xiv. 76 sqq.; Goldziher, *op. cit.*

The older Mālikīs are given in *Fihrist*, p. 199 sqq. Of the Mālikī *Ṭabaḥāt*-works there have been printed e.g. *al-Dibāj* of Ibn Farḥūn (d. 799) along with the *Takmil al-Dibāj* of Ahmad Baba (d. 1032), Fez 1898 and *Nail al-Dibāj* of al-Ṭaḥṣīn al-Dibāj of the same Ahmad Baba, Fez 1317 (cf. Fagnan, in *Festschrift f. Codera*, p. 105). On individual Mālikī jurists cf. the articles on them. On the spread of the Mālikīs: Ahmad Pasha Taimūr, *Nagara ṭarīkhīya fī Hudūd al-Maghrib al-arabīya*, Cairo 1344; Juybolli, *Handbuch der islamischen Geistesg.*, p. 28; do., *Handbuch*, p. 21; Ibn Farḥūn, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Bergsträsser, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1914, p. 410 sq.

Discussion of the Mālikī teaching in European languages (some further references): Petron, *Précis de Jurisprudence Musulmane* (transl. of the *Mukhtasar* with extracts from the commentaries), 1848; Sautyria-Cherbon-

bonnean, *Du Statut personnel et des Successions* (based on the *Mukhtasar*; the commentary takes note of modern decisions), 1873; 'Abd al-Rahīm, *The Principles of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, 1911 (Italian by Cimino, 1922); al-Kairawānī, *Risāla*, transl. by E. Fagnan, 1914; Ruxton, *Mālikī Law* (synopsis of French transl. of the *Mukhtasar*), 1916; Khalīl b. Ishāq, *Mukhtasar*, transl. and annot. by J. Guidi and D. Santillana (Italian), 1919; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, 1926; Russell-Suhrawardy, *A Manual of the Law of Marriage, from the Mukhtasar*.

(J. SCHACHT)

MĀLIK b. 'AWF, a contemporary of Muḥammad, called al-Naṣrī, to distinguish him from several men of the same circle in his time, and also because he traced his descent through Naṣr b. Mu'āwiya to the eponymous ancestor of the powerful Kaṣī tribe of the Banū Hawāzin. We know very little about his history previous to the day of Hunayn [q. v.] to which he owes his dubious fame. We may assume that he early found opportunities to display his personal bravery. He was still *amrad*, "beardless" (*Aghānī*, xix. 81) — that is, barely out of his first years of adolescence — when he commanded a detachment of the Hawāzin in the Fijār [q. v.] war.

This distinction he perhaps also owed to the consideration which his clan, the Banū Naṣr b. Mu'āwiya, enjoyed among the Banū Hawāzin. Allies of the tribe of Thaqaf (*Aghānī*, xii. 46), the Banū Naṣr found themselves in the same position with regard to the latter and the town of Tā'if as the *Aghānī* with respect to the Quraysh and Mecca. They supplied mercenaries to Tā'if and were given the task of defending the town and protecting against the depredations of marauders the fine gardens that covered the Thaqaf territory. Their relations were, as a rule, peaceful and friendly, but occasionally it happened that the anarchical instincts of the Beduins gaining the upper hand drove them to encroach on the domain of their allies, the citizens of Tā'if. This situation enables us to understand how in the struggle that was about to develop against Islam, the Thaqafis were ready to march under the banner of a Beduin generalissimo.

In the year 8, Muḥammad at the head of a strong force was preparing to attack Mecca. This news disturbed the people who lived on the hills of the Sarāt. They asked themselves, if, once master of Mecca, the Prophet would not be tempted to invade their country. It was then that Mālik b. 'Awf succeeded in combining for their joint defence the majority of the Kaṣī tribes, settled in the frontiers of Najd and of the Hūdūd. The Thaqafis joined their forces to those of their Hawāzin allies. The only result was the defeat at Hunayn. The commander-in-chief Mālik had had the unfortunate idea of bringing the women, children and flocks along with the actual combatants. The whole of this enormous booty fell into the hands of the Muslims.

The defeated side did not distinguish themselves by bravery on the battlefield; the tradition of the Banū Hawāzin attempts the impossible when it endeavours to hide this failure and save Mālik's reputation. After the debacle, he is said to have bravely sacrificed himself to cover the retreat of his comrades-in-arms. This same tradition attributes

to him a series of poetical improvisations on this occasion, in which, after the fashion of the old Beduin paladins he explains and excuses his flight.

The defeated leader tried to make a stand at Liya, a few hours south of Tā'if where he had a *ḥuṣn*. What was a *ḥuṣn*? In Medina at the time of the Hijra the name was given to an enclosure commanded by an *uṣṭun* or tower. Mālik's had probably only brick walls like the little strongholds in Yemen described by the geographer Maḳḍī (Aḥsan al-Takwīm, ed. de Goeje, p. 84). A century ago, the traveller Maurice Tamisier (Voyage en Arabie, Paris 1840, ii. 5) passing through Liya saw there "une forteresse flanquée de tours" intended, as in the days of Mālik, to guard the road. In any case, whatever the strength of the little building, Muhammad easily destroyed it. When Mālik learned of the approach of the Muslims, he thought it prudent to seek refuge behind the ramparts of Tā'if.

In the interval all the booty taken by the Muslims at Hunain had been collected in the camp at Djifra including Mālik's family and flocks. To the Hawāzin deputies sent to negotiate the ransom of the prisoners, Muhammad said: "If Mālik comes to embrace Islam, I shall return him his family and property with the addition of a gift of a hundred camels". Whatever the decision adopted by Mālik, this declaration could not fail to compromise him with the Thakafis. He rightly recognised that his position in Tā'if had become untenable. He succeeded in escaping from the town and presented his submission to Muhammad who fulfilled his promise to the letter. Mālik then pronounced the Muhammadan confession of faith and, to use the traditional formula, "his Islam was of good quality".

The new proselyte had extensive connections and was remarkably well acquainted with the Thakafi region. The Prophet was glad to use him against Tā'if which he had been unable to take by force. He put Mālik at the head of the Ka'bi tribes who had adopted Islam. Mālik therefore organised a guerrilla war against his old allies in Thakaf. No caravan could leave Tā'if without being intercepted by Mālik's men. Exhausted by this unceasing struggle, the Thakafis decided to sue for terms. Mālik then became the representative of the Prophet among the Banū Hawāzin, and the caliph, Abū Bakr, later confirmed him in the office. He took part in the wars of conquest, and was at the taking of Damascus and the victory of Kādisiya in the 'Irāq.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 840, 852, 854, 867, 872, 879; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaṭṭāʾi*, ed. Sachau, vi. 17; Nawawī, *Tahḍīb al-Awām*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 539; *Aḥḥādith*, viii. 160; xvi. 141; xix. 81; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Uṣṭ al-Ghāba*, iv. 289—90; Caṭṭānī, *Annāl al-Islām*, ii. 119, 152, 162, 199, 189, 359, 559; Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen*, p. 282; H. Lammens, *La cité arabe de Tā'if à la veille de l'égire*, p. 61, 65, 65, 74—5 (extract from *M. F. O. B.*, viii. 4).

(H. LAMMENS)

MĀLIK b. NUWĀIRA, chief of the Banū Yarbūʿ, a considerable clan of the Banū Ḥaṣala, who were in turn a branch of the confederation of the Banū Tamīm [q. v.]. His liberality, magnanimity and especially his courage had earned him a great reputation before the Hijra. His contem-

poraries said that in the last respect he was without a peer. There was a proverbial saying: *fatā wa-lā ka-mālik*, "a hero no doubt, but not comparable to Mālik". His fame, however, came principally from the impression made by his tragic death and from the collection of elegies, which his brother Mutammim [q. v.] devoted to him.

Along with several other Tamīmī notables he embraced Islam in the lifetime of Muhammad. In return the latter appointed him to collect the canonical taxes, *jizāʾāt*, from among of his fellow-tribesmen. By giving him an appointment like this the Prophet hoped to bring him definitely to his side. The death of the Prophet and the incident of the *riḍā* [q. v.] served to show the foolishness of this hope. Like most of the nomads, Mālik had joined Islam as a political organisation, having clearly made up his mind that he would not be absorbed by it to the extent of sacrificing the independence of his tribe and his own prerogatives.

When the Muslims, or more accurately the Quraysh, of Medina gave their votes for Abū Bakr, Mālik refused to recognize the validity of this election which had been carried through without his participation in it. He argued for the strictly personal character of the *baʿa*, as the Beduins interpreted it. He explained himself in verse, for he was also a poet: — "If the thing turns out badly, we shall bring a remedy, crying: — long live the faith of Muhammad!". He did not stop at this but passing from words to deeds, he divided among the Tamīm the taxes which had been collected. An even graver step, he next plundered a caravan which was taking to Medina the contributions of those nomads who had remained loyal. Then — an eminently Beduin trait — he celebrated in verse this strange exploit, which was equivalent to a declaration of war. He finally compromised himself completely by joining his cause with that of the prophetess Sadiyya [q. v.].

In Medina, Abū Bakr had at first to shut his eyes to these things. But as soon as he felt himself master of the situation, he decided to act vigorously. Khalid b. al-Walid was sent against the secessionists. His orders were to spare only those who declared themselves Muslims. The individualism of the Beduins singularly facilitated the task. He attacked separately the tribes, who were divided or hesitating, and succeeded without difficulty in defeating the rebels in small sections. Thus he came to the Banū Tamīm. The chiefs were suspicious of one another and declined to combine for joint action. Surprised by Khalid and finding himself almost alone, Mālik had to refrain from fighting forces so markedly superior to his. He surrendered on an assurance that his life would be spared and finally declared himself a Muslim.

The prisoners including Mālik were, nevertheless, executed with refinements of cruelty. It was said there had been some misunderstanding of Khalid's orders for which dialectic differences were to blame; so say those authors who feel the need of exculpating Khalid. It was by no means the first action of the kind of the impetuous Makhlams. Did he want to get rid of a rival or deal the last blow to a rebellion by sacrificing, even against the laws of nations and his own orders, a person so highly esteemed as the chief of the Yarbūʿ? As he had been anxious to marry Laila, the vivacious wife of Mālik, he was credited with the first aim. 'Omar demanded that the

faithless leader should be dismissed and brought to judgment, but Abū Bakr refused. "Never", he replied, "shall I put back in the scabbard a sword which Allāh has brought out of it". The elegies on Malik by Mutammim remained celebrated in literary tradition. "No dead man", said the Arabs, "was ever lamented as Malik was by Mutammim".

Bibliography: Ibn Hajar, *Iḍāʿa* (Cairo 1907), vi. 36—7; Ibn al-Athir, *Uḍ al-Ghāba*, iv. 295—6; *Aghāni* (Bulāq), xiv. 66—72; xvi. 139; xix. 49; Tabari, *Annales* (ed. de Goeje), i. 1923—6; Abū Tammām, *Hamāsa* (Freitag), p. 370 sqq.; Balʿadhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldan* (ed. de Goeje), p. 98 sqq.; Ibn Hishām, *Sirāt al-Raṣūl* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 965; Caetani, *Annali*, li. 575 sqq.—653 sqq.; Nöldeke, *Beitr. zur Kenntnis der altarabischen Poesie*, p. 87 sqq.

(H. LAMMENS)

MALIK AL-ṬAI, Abū Walid Malik b. Abī Ṭamh, was one of the great singers and composers of the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsid period. He was born during the reign of Mu'āwiyā I (40—60 = 660—680) in the land of the Ṭai', his father belonging to the Banū Ṭhāl, a branch of the Ṭai', whilst his mother came from the Banū Makhrūm. In this way Malik could claim to be one of the aristocracy of Islām, and as a child he was adopted by 'Abdallāh b. Dja'far, the famous art patron of Madīna, and was given a good education. In the year 64 (684), he became enamoured with the singing of the celebrated Ma'bad [q.v.] whom he heard at the house of Hamza b. 'Abdallāh al-Zubair, and the event changed his whole career. Taking lessons from Ma'bad and Djamila [q.v.] in singing, he soon astonished everyone by his abilities, and he became very popular with the aristocracy. He thus came to be recognised as a professional musician, for indeed his protector, 'Abdallāh b. Dja'far, had made his house a veritable conservatory of music (al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, v. 385, text). On the death of 'Abdallāh b. Dja'far, Malik attached himself to Sulaimān b. 'Alī the Hashimite. In spite of this however (cf. *J. A.*, Nov.—Dec., 1873, p. 499), Malik was favoured by the Umayyads Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik and al-Walid b. Yazīd. On the accession of the 'Abbāsids (132 = 750) Sulaimān was appointed governor of the Lower Tigris, and Malik accompanied him to his seat at Bagra. After a short stay in this city, Malik returned to Madīna, where he died over eighty years of age about the year 137 (754).

Malik was certainly a fine singer. In one place in the *Aghāni* at least (i. 98; cf. ii. 327), he is mentioned as one of the "four great singers", by no less an authority than Ishāk al-Mawṣilī, although the latter in another place ranks him after Ibn Surīdī, Ibn Muhriz, Ma'bad, and al-Gharrī (cf. *Aghāni*, ii. 131). He was apparently not an original composer but a good adapter it would seem (*Aghāni*, i. 173; xiii. 64). Certainly, he was at a disadvantage in not being a performer on the lute (*ūd*), and Ma'bad had to correct his compositions for him.

Bibliography: *Aghāni*, ed. Bulāq, iv. 168—175; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-Iḥd al-farid*, Cairo 1887—1888, iii. 187; Kosegarten, *Lit. Cont.*, p. 17; *J. A.*, Nov.—Dec., 1873, p. 497—500; al-Buhārī, *Diwān*, Constantinople 1300, ii. 193; al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, vi. 10.

(H. G. FARMER)

MALIKSHAH AL-ARSLAN ABU 'L-FATH, Saldjūk Sulṭān (465—485 = 1072—92), born on the 9th or 19th Djumādī I, 447 (Rāwandī and *Zub al-Tawārīkh* wrongly 445) = Aug 6th or 16th, 1035. He accompanied his father on his last campaign into Transoxania and homage was at once paid to him as Sulṭān by the vizier Niḡm al-Mulk and the Turkish amirs on Alp Arslān's death. His uncle Kāwurd [q.v.], the ruler of Kirmān, was not satisfied with this, however, because he thought that, as the oldest member of the family, he had the best claim to the throne and set out with his troops for Hamadīn. When attacked by Malikshāh they made but feeble resistance, Kāwurd himself was captured and later strangled (April 1078). Malikshāh then returned to Transoxania by forced marches for the Khakān of Samarḡand, Shams al-Mulk, on hearing of the death of Alp Arslān, had seized the opportunity to occupy Tirmidh and even Balkh had opened its gates to him. The Saldjūk governor Aynā, a brother of Alp Arslān, happened to be away at the time and when he hurried back, he suffered a terrible defeat and died soon afterwards. Shams al-Mulk, however, did not dare to risk another breach with Malikshāh, so the latter re-occupied Tirmidh and proceeded to Samarḡand. The Khakān thereupon submitted; Balkh and Tokharistān were granted to Malikshāh's brother Takash. These campaigns prevented the Sulṭān from going at once to Baghdad to receive the homage of the Caliph in person, and an ambassador was sent to carry through the ceremony. The Caliph was quite ready to do so, and gave the Sulṭān the honorific titles of Djalāl al-Dawla, Mu'izz al-Dīn, Kāsim Amir al-Mu'minin. Our sources are silent about the happenings of the next few years; it is not till 472 that we hear of a campaign against Kirmān, which, however, came to a peaceful termination for Saldjūkshāh, Kāwurd's son, submitted to the Sulṭān and was confirmed by him in the hereditary possession of this province. In Ibn al-Kalānisi (ed. Amedroz, p. 115), we are told that in 475 Malikshāh came to Halab, but Ibn al-Athir and the other sources accessible to me make no reference to this. At this time the Sulṭān made the mistake of discharging 7,000 of his soldiers, although the vizier advised him against it, pointing out that if these men were deprived of their livelihood, they would in desperation become robbers or rebels and a public danger. This is what actually happened. The men went to Takash and he thought that with their help he was strong enough to rebel against his brother. He took several towns and was preparing to occupy all Khorān so that Malikshāh was forced to take the field against him. Takash then retired to Tirmidh, and submitted when besieged there; on this occasion he was pardoned, but when he again rebelled without success a few years later (477 = 1084), he was blinded and thrown into prison in Takrit. In 479 (1086) Malikshāh left Isfahan which he had made his capital and went via al-Mawṣil, Harrān, al-Ruhā and Kalāt Dja'bar to Halab. His object was to establish and re-organise Saldjūk rule securely in these places, but one great inducement for this campaign was that the commander of Halab had appealed to Malikshāh because he was threatened by the latter's brother Tutush [q.v.]. The latter had conquered the Saldjūk ruler of Asia Minor, Sulaimān b. Kutalmish [q.v.], and was trying to

bring Halab under his rule also, but retired when he heard of the approach of Malikshah. The town was granted to Aksonkor, father of Zangi, another general. Buran received al-Ruhil and Vaghisiyan, Antakiya which had just been retaken from Sulaiman while Sulaiman's son Kildj Arslan (q.v.) who was still a youth was taken back by the Sultan to the Irak. There was no further campaign in Asia Minor, Malikshah left the war against the Byzantines to be conducted by the above mentioned amirs, to whom should be added Burjuk, although the author of the *Zubdat al-Tawarikh* makes him besiege Constantinople in person. The fiction narrated in the *Ta'rikh-i Guzida* and in Mirghasod is well known, according to which Malikshah was taken prisoner by the Byzantines without their recognizing him, and only regained his liberty by the stratagem of the vizier, Nizam al-Mulk. The story in al-Bondart is more credible that the Byzantines had to pay the Sultan an annual tribute of 300,000 dinars plus a lump sum of 30,000 dinars. On his return from Halab, Malikshah visited Baghdad for the first time and he was received in ceremonial audience by the Caliph al-Muqtadi bi-Amr Allah. The latter had previously in 474 sought a daughter of the Sultan in marriage but as she had been then still a child, the opportunity was now taken to conclude the matrimonial alliance. The wedding took place next year with great splendour and amid the jubilation of the people of Baghdad. The chroniclers give a full account of it and give no hint that this marriage was soon to be a source of trouble to the Caliph as well as to the Sultan. Before we deal with that, it must be mentioned that in 482 (1089) Malikshah undertook a second campaign against Baghdad, Samarqand and Kashghar as a result of the tyrannical conduct of the young prince Ahmad, a nephew of Shams al-Mulk who was now dead. He gained great successes, took Ahmad back a prisoner to the Irak and then forced the ruler of Kashghar to recognize Saljuq suzerainty. Later however, he allowed Ahmad to return to his kingdom and resume his rule, probably at the intercession of his wife Tarkan Khatun (so to be read, not Turkan Khatun) who was Ahmad's aunt. On these incidents, cf. Barthold *Turkistan down to the Mongol Invasion*, p. 316 sq. Towards the end of the reign of Malikshah the Saljuq empire thus reached its greatest extent, especially when in 485 some Turkish amirs were sent even so far as Yaman, who subdued the land for the Sultan, temporarily only, it is true.

As regards the internal administration of the country, the Sultan left this in the hands of his vizier, Nizam al-Mulk, who was given unlimited power by him at the very beginning of his reign, which he wielded till his death, although as a result of his great age his prestige began to decline towards the end of the reign of Malikshah and to be threatened by intrigues in the palace. His services will be appreciated in the article *NIZAM AL-MULK*; here it is sufficient to characterize his policy briefly, which was to restore the dominion of orthodox Islam under its supreme head, the Caliph, with the help of the sword of the Saljuqs. He had, therefore, to do all he could to maintain harmony between the Sultan and the Caliph, but the course of events led to a breach between the two. Malikshah had several sons by his wife Zubaida Khatun, and the eldest, Ahmad, had been design-

nated successor to the throne but died in 481 (1088). The obvious thing was for Prince Barkiyaruk to take his place as was desired by Nizam al-Mulk and the Turkish amirs but Malikshah had in the meanwhile married another wife, the Princess Tarkan Khatun, who made every effort to secure the throne for her son Mahmud born in 480. Malikshah, however, was more anxious about his daughter who had married the Caliph, for she was unhappy in Baghdad and complained of being neglected by her husband, so that finally the Sultan demanded that she should be sent home with the little son whom she had borne to the Caliph. She, therefore, returned to her father but died soon afterwards in 482; her son Djafar however, became his grandfather's pet and he gave him the name of "Little Commander of the Faithful" in the hope that he would one day bear this title in reality. At the same time he decided to make Baghdad his winter capital and had extensive building operations carried out in the N.E. of the town when he was there in the winter of 1091/92, including a great mosque, the *Djami' al-Sultani*; he also ordered Nizam al-Mulk and his amirs to build residences for themselves there. During this period the great amirs from the west, Aksonkor, Tutush etc., had come to Baghdad, great hunts and other pleasure parties were held, but the Caliph was completely ignored. When in the autumn of 1092 he was on his way from Isfahan to Baghdad for the third time, the aged vizier Nizam al-Mulk was stabbed by a *shahin* at Sahna. It was now for the first time apparent how much the existence of the Saljuq empire depended on this one man, for when the Sultan and his wife were no longer guided by his advice, they committed the gravest errors, which were very soon to plunge themselves and their empire into destruction. Scarcely had the Sultan arrived in Baghdad than, with the intention of making his grandson Caliph, — which was contrary to Muhammadan law as he was a minor — he announced to Muqtadi that he must at once abdicate and leave the town. With difficulty the Caliph obtained a few days respite which he was spending in prayer and fasting, when suddenly the news came that the Sultan was dead. The exact date is not certain but it was about the middle of Shawwal 485 (middle of November 1092). He was said to have caught a severe fever while out hunting, which they attempted to cure without success by bleeding, and he died soon afterwards. But it can hardly be doubted that he was poisoned, as some writers expressly state (cf. Houtema, in *Journal of Indian History*, Sept. 1924, p. 147 sq.). The usual funeral ceremonies were not held; the body was sent to Isfahan and buried there. The Caliph had no difficulty in coming to terms with Tarkan Khatun; he offered to recognize her young son Mahmud as Sultan, if she would hand over to him his own son, the Sultan's grandson. This was done. The title "Commander of the Faithful" died the very next year, when the course of events took a disastrous turn for the Caliph and Tarkan Khatun with the rise of Barkiyaruk. The tragic deaths of the Sultan and his vizier were celebrated in verse by Mu'izzi; cf. Schefer, *Sassanid*, suppl., p. 62 sq.

Malikshah's was a highly honourable character, he was loyal to his relatives and to his servants, brave, just and gentle. His rule is, therefore, much praised by Christian as well as Muslim

authors, but he was uncultured and owed to his vizier the reputation of a patron of learning, whose name is associated with a reform of the calendar (cf. the article *ḤALĪF*), and with certain new legislation; cf. *al-Maṣṣal al-Malikshāhiya*, in *Urda fī Ḥikāyat al-Salḡūkiya*, ed. Süsseheim, p. 69 sq. His connection with the *Risāla-i Malikshāhiya*, a geographical work used by Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, is unknown but it was certainly not written by the Sultān himself, as Ḥādijī Khalifa says (s. v.).

The name Malikshāh was first borne by: 1. Malikshāh, the infant son of Barkiyārūk, who after the death of his father in 1104 held the title of Sultān for a short time, but had soon to give way to his uncle Muḥammad. 2. Malikshāh b. Maḥmūd who, after the death of his uncle Maḥmūd in 1152 became Sultān, but after a few months was thrown into prison as he was quite an incapable ruler, escaped from confinement, spent some time in Khorāsān and died in 1160. We also find individuals of this name among the Salḡūks of Rūm and Syria and among the Khwārizmshāhs.

Bibliography: cf. the article *SALḤŪKA*. The best sketch of the character and reign of Malikshāh is in the article on him by Ibn Khallikān, who had taken many of his facts from a history by al-Ḥamdānī (MS. of vol. i. till the year 367 in Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, No. 1469). (M. TH. HOOTMA)

MALTA, the chief island of the Maltese archipelago (Malta, Gozo, Comino, Cominotto, Filfoia and minor rocks), inhabited in ancient times by a Mediterranean race, whose megalithic monuments are preserved at Hagiar Kim ('standing stones'), Hal Tarxien and Hal Saġieni. It was colonized very early, certainly before the 2nd century B.C., by the Phoenicians, and formed a base for their trading ships.

It is not certain that the name of Malta is derived from the Phoenician, while the Phoenician origin of Gauslo (Gozo), meaning 'a merchant boat of round shape', seems certain.

The Carthaginians became masters of the island in the 5th–4th century B.C., and kept it four or five centuries. The Romans conquered it in 218 B.C., and for the next ten centuries Malta remained under Roman and Greek influence, being situated near Eastern Sicily. Gozo had only Greek coins, and Greek and Roman coins in great number were minted in Malta. Very early, with St. Paul in the first century, the island was converted to Christianity; during the Western Empire's decay the Byzantines established themselves in it; after their conquest of Northern Africa the possession of Malta became indispensable to them.

The Muslim conquest of Malta is usually ascribed to the year 256 (869–870); in reality it was occupied long before. Ibn al-Athīr informs us that in 221 (835–836), the Aghlabid Ibrāhīm 'despatched a fleet against the islands'; we have every reason for believing that he refers to the islands between Africa and Sicily, comprising the Maltese islands. Further when Ibn al-Athīr speaks of an army sent to Malta from Sicily in 256, he adds that at that moment 'the Christians raised the siege'. If Malta was besieged, undoubtedly by the Greeks of Byzantium, it may be concluded that it had already been occupied by the Muslims, who probably, having landed in 824 at Marara, in Sicily, had occupied the Maltese islands beforehand.

The raids against Sicily and Malta began in the 8th century A.D., and it is not rash to believe that Malta fell before 800 A.D. under Muslim influence. This is also de Goeje's opinion (*Z. D. M. G.*, lviii, 905, note 2).

In Malta the Muslim occupation was certainly more permanent and strongly established than in Sicily; the narrow island was completely subjugated by the conquerors; and this helps us to understand how the Arab-Berber Muslims of Africa succeeded in forcing upon Malta the Arabic language, from which the modern Maltese dialect is derived.

The question of the origin of the Maltese dialect has occasioned many discussions between those who sustained its Phoenician origin (Vassalli, Bres, Bellermann, Cumbo, E. Carnana, Preca) and those who derived it from Arabic (Gesenius, de Sacy, L. Bonelli, Stumme, Noldeke). The conclusion must be accepted that Maltese is an Arabic dialect, which in some ways shows resemblances to the Eastern Arabic dialects, in many others recalls the Arabic dialects of the Maghrib. Peculiarities of Maltese phonetics are the *imāla* of *ā*, which tends to become *ē* and *ē* (*ye* at the beginning of words, as *yēnā* for *ānā*), the pronunciation of *ḥ* as *hamas*, the existence of *ḡ* and *ḥ* sounds in neo-latin and arabic words; in morphology the use of *ni* as prefix of the 1st person singular forms the main affinity with the Maghrib dialects. The accent tends to fall towards the beginning of words. In Malta itself are to be found dialectal varieties between town and country; in the country and in Gozo the dialect is nearer the original Arabic, sounds like *ḥ* and *ḡ* not heard in Valletta, are noticeable in the Gozo vernacular.

A study of the Maltese lexicon, to show how affinities with Arabic dialects, Eastern and Western, may be explained, and how word-fossils have been preserved in Maltese, is still to be undertaken. The prevalence of the Latin-Italian race and the flourishing of Italian civilization and culture in the island have influenced its dialect, both as to syntax and as to phonetics. The percentage of Latin, or rather Italian, words in spoken Maltese varies according to the degree of individual culture.

The Maltese, up to a few centuries ago, had not chosen any particular alphabet for their dialect, as they did not use it as a written language. In the 17th century Agius de Soldanis, a Maltese, turned his attention to the dialect and began to study it; since his time several attempts have been made to systematize the writing of Maltese; it was also proposed to use the Arabic alphabet, and a diacritical transliteration, precise and scientific, was tried. In practice the use of the common Latin alphabet, with the modification of some few letters, was continued. The last attempt of this kind, which has not met with public favour nor with the approval of the vernacular press, was that of the *Għajda tal-kittiba tal-walid* 'Association of the writers of Maltese', which has published a small grammar, particularly concerned with the spelling, called *Taġrif fuq il-kita maltija*, Malta 1924; the preface mentions the precedent systems of writing Maltese. The same *Għajda*, in 1925, began to publish a quarterly review called *Il-Malti*; it is mostly concerned with grammatical questions, and has promoted a movement in favour of pure Maltese (*malti safi*).

Since about 1850 the question of the Maltese dialect has also acquired a political character: the English rulers favoured the development of the dialect at the expense of the Italian language (which remains the language of culture, of the Church and of the Bar). Bibliographical information on Maltese literature to about 1900 is to be found in the works of L. Bonelli and H. Stumme.

Besides the Arabic dialect and place-names, the Muslims have left in Malta a few coins and a considerable number of inscriptions on tombstones: one of them, the celebrated inscription called of Maimūna, dated 1173 A.D., was published more than a century ago, and repeatedly studied by orientalist (Italmaki, Lanci, Amari, Nallino etc.); another one, found in Gozo, is to be seen in the Malta Museum; about twenty more have been found in the excavations made in 1922—1925 at Rābato (near the city Notabile); they are preserved in the Museum of the Villa Romana, near the place of excavation.

The Muslims lost Malta in 1090, when the Normans conquered it; they were however allowed to live on the island under the Norman government until 1249. From 1530 to 1798 Malta was the seat of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, which the Turks had expelled from Rhodes in 1522. The Order organized there an important war navy. The island was in constant relations with the East and with Barbary; thousands of Muslim slaves were taken to Malta; the Maltese ships had repeated encounters with those of the Porte and of the Levantine and Barbary pirates. The Turks attempted to occupy Malta in 1565, with their well-known expedition which ended in disaster, and again in 1614; more than once they threatened to invade it under Sultan Muhammad IV.

Considering the Order's relations with the Muslim East and the fact that an important portion of the registers of Rhodes was saved, the importance of the Order's archives for the history of the Mediterranean Levant and of North Africa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is easily understood.

A few Arabic MSS. and nautical charts, of no great value, are preserved in the Public Library of Malta and in its Museum.

Bibliography: S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1918—1920, vol. I—IV; A. Mayr, *Die Insel Malta im Altertum*; G. A. Abela, *Descrittione di Malta, isola nel mare siciliano*, Malta 1647, re-edited, with additions by G. A. Clontas in 1772; G. A. Vassallo, *Storia di Malta*, Malta 1854; A. E. Caruana, *Sull' origine della lingua maltese*, Malta 1896; A. A. Caruana, *Frammento critico della storia di Malta*, Malta 1896; A. Preca, *Malta Cananea*, Malta 1904; L. Bonelli, *Il dialetto maltese* (Suppl. *Archivio Glottologico*, 1898—1900); M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia e Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, *passim*; H. Stumme, *Maltesische Studien, Maltesische Märchen und Gedichte und Rätsel in deutscher Übersetzung, Maltesische Volkslieder*, Leipzig 1904—1909; Th. Nöldeke, review of H. Stumme's works, in *Z. D. M. G.*, LVIII, 903—999; B. Roudanovsky, *Quelques particularités du dialecte arabe de Malte*, Beyrouth 1911; R. Paribeni, *Malta, un piccolo paese dalla grande storia*, Rome 1925; Th. Zammit, *Malta, the Islands and their History*, Malta 1926; *Le siège de Malte par les Turcs en 1565*, *Byz. Zeitschr.*, 1911. (ETTORE ROMI)

MALTHAI, or properly MA'AL-THAYYA, the Arabic name of two villages in the *ḥaḍra* of Duhūk in the old wilāyat of Mawṣil. They are about 40 miles N. N. W. of Mawṣil at the point where the river of Duhūk (left bank tributary of the Tigris) enters the plain, whence the Aramaic name Ma'al-thā > Malthai, "entrance".

The pass of Ma'al-thā giving access to the country to the south of Lake Van must have played an important part in ancient times. Its importance is indicated by the famous bas-reliefs carved on the rock half an hour's walk to the south of Ma'al-thāyā. They reproduce the same scene four times: a king standing in an attitude of adoration before a procession of seven gods, six of whom are standing, each on a mythological animal, and the seventh is seated on a throne placed on the back of a lion. There are no inscriptions accompanying them. Since, however, they are evidently connected with the similar bas-reliefs at Bāwīyān (30 miles N. E. of Mawṣil on the Khazir, a right bank tributary of the great Zab) and these belong to the kings Salmanassar II (860—825 B.C.) and Sennacherib (689—681), it is supposed that the bas-reliefs of Ma'al-thāyā were also executed in the time of Salmanassar II. The figures of the gods are especially interesting as forming a link between Assyrian and Hittite art.

Among the Nestorian Christians Ma'al-thā gave its name to a diocese (also called Bēth-Nuhāḏrē). A Nestorian bishop of Ma'al-thā is mentioned as early as the fourth century. (Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 52, 210); there are other references to the years 497, 544, 554, 576, 585, 605, 962, 1063, 1074, 1092, 1265 (Chabot, *Synedicon Orientale*, Paris 1902, Index, and Hoffmann, *op. cit.*). In the seventh century the Metropolitan of the Jacobites, Mārūṭha, still numbered among his subordinates a bishop of Ma'al-thā (Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire grec*, 1904, p. 240). At the present day Ma'al-thāyā is still inhabited by Nestorians (in part in union with the Catholic Church).

Balādhūri, p. 331, mentions al-Ma'alā (sic) among the places in Mawṣil conquered by 'Uṭba b. Farḡad in 20 (641). Ma'addasi, p. 139, 145—146, talks highly of the wealth of the vicinity of Ma'al-thāyā in coal, fruits, salt, meat and camphor. He locates the little town on the road from Mawṣil to al-Ḥasaniya (= Zakhū on the little Khābur; cf. M. Hartmann and G. Bell). The importance of this route for communication with the lands of the Kurds is evident from Ibn al-Athīr (viii, 521). Yāqūt, iv, 578, knows Ma'al-thāyā as a little town (*balad*) the name of which is occasionally mentioned in the history of the later period.

Bibliography: Layard, *Niniveh and its remains*, 1849, I, 231; Badger, *The Nestorians*, London 1852, I, 174; V. Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, 1867, pl. 45; Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten pers. Märtyrer*, 1880, p. 208 and Index; Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, 1884—1890, II, 642; Luscha, *Ausgrabungen von Sendsjirli*, I, (1893), p. 23; G. L. Bell, *Amurath*, London 1911, p. 284; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, *ibid.*, 1926, p. 369—375; Thureau-Dangin, *Les sculptures rupestres de Malatya*, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxi, 1924, p. 185—197; new photographs taken at Malatya have led the author to identify the gods and the beasts which carry them in the following order: Assur (a dragon and a horned lion),

Ninlil, wife of Assur (a lion), Enlil (a horned lion), Sin (a dragon), Shamash (a harnessed horse), Adad (a horned lion and a bull), Ishtar (a lion). According to Thureau-Dangin the bas-reliefs should be attributed to Sennacherib; as to the motif of the mounted gods, usually explained as showing Hittite influence, examples are found in Sumerio-Accadian art. Cf. also Bachmann, *Federleiste in Assyrien* (Bavarian, Malthai und Gamluk), publ. by the Deutsche Orient. Gesell., Berlin 1927. (V. MINORSKY)

MĀ'LULĀ, a town in Central Syria north-east of Damascus. It is mentioned as early as Georgios Kyrios (ed. Gelzer, p. 188, N^o 993) as *Μαλούλαι* (MSS. *μαλούλαι*, *μαλουργούλαι*) in Phoinike Libanensis. Yāqūt also calls Mā'lulā an *iftīm* (*κλίμα*) near Dimashk with many villages. The modern Mā'lulā, a village of Christians, is picturesquely situated at the west end of a deep ravine of the Antilibanon, which splits into a western and southern arm. "At the entrance to the northern lies the monastery of Mār Taklā built half into the rocks. The two ravines form the way to the other monastery of Mār Serkis, which stands on a rocky plateau above the village". Numerous caves, mostly ancient dwelling-places, have been found on the west and southern corner of the rock on the eastern slopes of which the modern village is built in the form of an amphitheatre. Some Greek inscriptions have been found in the caves (Waddington, *Inscriptions*, N^o 2563—2565; Moritz, p. 145—147, N^o 3—8, including one dated 107 and 167 A.D.). Mā'lulā and the adjoining villages of Bakh'a and Djabb 'Adin are noted for the fact that the Western Aramaic dialect still spoken there represents the last remnants on Syrian soil of the Syriac spoken throughout Palestine and Syria in the time of Christ.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 578; Saif al-Din, *Muru'id al-Iftilā*, ed. Juynboll, iii. 123; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 500; Parisot, *J. A.*, ixth Series, xi. [1898, 4], 239—312 (on p. 252—254 the older literature is given); xii. [1898, ii.], 124—176; B. Moritz, *M. S. O. S.*, i. 146, note 2; Wright, *Catalogue of the Syr. Mus. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 327 sq.; Habib Zayyat, *Akhar al-Kutub fi Dimashk wa-dhawā'iqha*, Mir 1902, p. 121—161; Uspenskiĭ, *Imetija Ruska. Arch. Inst.*, v. Kpōll, vii., Sofia 1901, p. 107—109 and Pl. vii—viii.; Cyrille Charon (i.e. C. Karalevskij), *Les citadelles Melchites de... Mā'lulā*, in: *al-Maghrib* xiii., 1910, p. 380; S. Ronzevalle, *M. F. O. Beyrouth*, v., 1911, p. 8*—9* = *Notes et Études d'arch. orient.*, p. 145 sq.; Bergsträsser, *Abh. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.*, xiii., N^o 2; xv., N^o 4; da, *Z. A.*, xxxii., 1919, p. 103—163; Nöldeke, *Z. A.*, xxxi., 1917—1918, p. 203—230; J. Segall, *Jewish Missionary Intelligence*, xxvi., 1910, p. 9—11, 20 sq. = *Travels through Northern Syria*, London 1910, p. 113—120; Dussaud, *Tépor. hist. de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, p. 264, 270, 281.

(E. HONIGMANN)

MĀLWĀ proper is an inland district of India bordered on the south by the Vindhya, and lying between 23° 30' and 24° 30' N. and 74° 30'. To this tract, known in the age of the *Mahābhārata* as Nishadha, and later as Avantī, from the name of its capital, now Ujjain, was afterwards added Akara, or Eastern Mālwa, with

its capital, Bhilsā, and the country lying between the Vindhya and the Sātpūrā. The province formed part of the dominions of the Mauryas, the Western Satraps, the Guptas of Magadha, the White Huns, and the Kingdom of Kanawdj, and then passed to the Mālawa, from whom it has its name. These, when Hinduized formed the Paramāra (Pawar) tribe of Rājputa, which bore sway in Mālwa from 800 to 1200, and was overpowered in 1053 by a confederacy of the Čalukyas of Anhilvāda and the Kalachuris of Tripuri. In 1235 Shams al-Din Iltutmish of Dihli captured Ujjain, demolished the temple of Mahakāl, and sacked Bhilsā. Mālwa became a province of Dihli, and, with interludes of Hindū revolt, remained so until, in 1392, on the dissolution of the kingdom of Dihli after Timūr's invasion, the Afghan governor, Dilawar Khān Ghūrī, made it an independent kingdom. He was murdered in 1405 by his son Alp Khān, who ascended the throne under the title of Hūshang Shāh. He transferred the capital from Dhār to Māndū [q. v.] and founded Hūshangabad. On his death in 1435 he was succeeded by his son Gharni Khān, who, after a reign of a few months, was succeeded by his infant son Mas'ūd Khān. The child was removed by his cousin and guardian, Mahmūd Khaldīr, who in 1436 ascended the throne as Mahmūd I, and whose reign of thirty-three years was the most glorious in the annals of Mālwa. He waged war successfully against the kings of Gujjarāt, the Dakhān, and Džawnpūr, the small state of Kālpi, and Rāna Kumbha of Čitor; he retired, but without disgrace, before the superior power of Dihli; and he extended the frontiers of his kingdom on the north, the east, and the south. On his death in 1469 his third son, 'Abd al-Kādir Ghilyāh al-Din, who succeeded him, surfeited with public business during his father's strenuous reign, retired into his harem and left the administration of the kingdom to his son, Nāsr al-Din, who in 1500 poisoned his father and ascended the throne. Nāsr al-Din met his death in 1510 by falling in a fit of drunkenness, into a tank or cistern, where his attendants, thankful to be rid of the monster, let him lie. He was succeeded by his son Mahmūd II, who was as unfortunate in war as the first of that name had been fortunate. With the help of Mupassar II of Gujjarāt he rid himself of his powerful Rājput minister, Medni Rāi, but in doing so embroiled himself with Sangrama Rānā of Čitor, who defeated him in the field and took him prisoner, but generously released him. He then, with inconceivable folly and ingratitude, bitterly offended Bahādur Shāh of Gujjarāt, who invaded Mālwa and, after giving Mahmūd every opportunity of atoning for his error, carried Māndū by assault on March 27, 1551. Mahmūd and his sons were sent in custody towards Čāmpān, but the officer in charge of them, apprehending a rescue, put them to death.

Mālwa now became a province of Gujjarāt, and in 1555 the emperor Humāyūn, invading that kingdom, defeated Bahādur Shāh at Mandasor and captured Māndū, but was recalled to Hindūstan in the following year by the menacing attitude of Shēr Khān in Bengal, and Mallū Khān, an officer of Mahmūd II, established himself in Mālwa and assumed the title of Kādir Shāh. Shudjāt Khān and Hūjdīr Khān, two officers of Shēr Shāh, drove him from Mālwa and assumed the government of the province. Shudjāt Khān died

in 1554, and was succeeded by his son Malik Bayazid, known as Bāz Bahādur, who, during the decline of the power of the Śūr emperors, became independent. A severe defeat at the hands of the queen of the Gond kingdom of Garha Mandla engendered in him a distaste for warlike enterprise and he devoted himself to music and to the embraces of the beautiful Rūpmati. In 1561 Akbar's army under Adham Khān surprised the voluptuary at Sirangpur, defeated his troops, put him to flight, and captured his mistress, who took poison rather than become the conqueror's paramour. Bāz Bahādur fled into Khāndesh and Pīr Muḥammad Khān, second-in-command of Akbar's army, who followed him thither, was defeated by Mubārak Khān of Khāndesh and drowned in the Narbadā. Bāz Bahādur returned and again reigned in Māndū, but in 1562 another army under 'Abd Allāh Khān the Uzbak invaded Mālwa and compelled him to flee to Citor. He remained a fugitive until 1570, when he submitted to Akbar and entered his service.

Mālwa was now a province of the empire, and remained so until, in 1743, the Marāṭhas extended their rule over it, and the Peshwā was made deputy-governor.

It was afterwards divided between the great Marāṭhā generals whose descendants, Sindhya of Gwalior, Holkar of Indor, and the Ponwars of Dhār and Dewas still hold most of it.

From 1780 until 1818, when British supremacy was firmly established, the province was one of the principal arenas in which Muslim, Marāṭhā, and European contended for empire. Since then its history has been uneventful, but sporadic risings took place at six military stations during the mutiny of 1857.

Bibliography: Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrākīnī*, Bombay 1832; *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, translated by Blochmann and Jarrett; *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, ed. E. Denison Ross; *The Cambridge History of India*, vols. i and iii; *History of the Marāṭhas* by G. C. Grant Duff, London 1921; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, vol. xvii.

(T. W. HAIG)

MA'MAR n. al-MUTHANNA. [See **AMM**

MA'AL.]

MAMLÜK (A., plural *mamlūkūn* and *mamlūk*), participle passive I of *malaka* "to possess", denotes the slave as his master's possession. The term owes its origin probably to the current phrase of the Qur'an *mā malakat aimānukum* "what your right hands possess", a general designation of slaves without specialisation of gender. Mamlük occurs once only in the Qur'an (sūra xvi. 77), in the expression *'abd mamlūk* "a slave in the possession of his master", mamlük alone not yet being a technical term for slave, to all appearance. In *ḥadīth*, *'abd mamlūk* occurs likewise (Darimī, *Siyar*, h. 34), but throughout the literature of *ḥadīth* mamlük alone is already a technical term synonymous with *'abd*. — The distinction between a slave born and a slave born from free parents, must be made by the addition of a genitive to *'abd*, in the former case *ḥinn* (*'abd ḥinn*), in the latter *mamlaka* (*'abd mamlaka*).

It may be remarked that neither in *ḥadīth*, nor, to all probability, in Arabic literature, has the term mamlük ever received the religious meaning of devotee, as is the case with *'abd*.

The Qur'an enjoins the master to be humane

towards "what his right hands possess" (sūra iv. 40). *Ḥadīth* is copious on this point. It assures us that Muḥammad on his death-bed did not cease repeating "(I recommend to you) *'abd* and what your hands possess" (Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, iii. 117; cf. i. 78). "Whoever does not treat his mamlük as he ought to do, shall not enter Paradise" (Ahmad b. Hanbal, i. 12). "When the mamlük performs *ṣalāt*, he is thy brother" (Ibn Māja, *Adab*, b. 10). "The mamlük may claim his food and raiment" (Muslim, *Aimān*, trad. 41). "The Apostle of Allāh used . . . and to protect the mamlük who appealed to his help" (Ibn Māja, *Zuhd*, b. 16). "The mamlük who acquits himself of his obligations towards Allāh and towards his master, will receive double wages" (Bukhārī, *Ḍu*, h. 31) and "one is bound to pardon his mamlük even unto seventy times a day" (Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 111).

For the legal position of slaves see **AND**.

For the Egyptian dynasties called the Mamlūks, see the following article. — It may be finally remarked that in certain circles mamlük had the special meaning of white slave. See Fagnan, *Addition aux lexiques arabes*, s. v.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

MAMLÜKS, a dynasty of rulers of Egypt and Syria.

A. Period from 1250 to 1517. The history of this dynasty is dealt with under the separate rulers; the general questions of art, religion and economics of their time are also dealt with in these articles and notably in Becker's article **EGYPT** [q. v.] and Hartmann's article **DAMASCUS** [q. v.]. Only a brief survey of the whole period is given here.

They were, as their name shows [cf. **MAMLUK**], former slaves from the bodyguards of the sultāns and amirs who had distinguished themselves by ability and been given their freedom by their masters. A somewhat arbitrary distinction is made between two dynasties, the Bahrī [q. v.] from 648–792 = 1250–1390 and the Burdjī from 784–922 = 1382–1517. The name Bahrī Mamlūks was given to the guards of Sulṭān Naḍīm al-Dīn Aiyūb (637–47 = 1340–49), whose barracks were upon the island of Rōḍa [q. v.] in the Nile (Bahr). Except for the first three the Bahrī Sulṭāns were chosen by the Mamlūks from among the descendants of the Sulṭān. Thus after Balbars [q. v.] there ruled two of his sons, after Kālī'ūn [q. v.] two sons, a series of grandsons and a great grandson. It was different with the Burdjī Mamlūks, a bodyguard founded by Kālī'ūn, who were quartered in the towers of the citadel of Cairo. The first Burdjī, Barkūl, [q. v.], was able to secure the succession of his son and even a second son succeeded for a brief period to the throne, but after this the Mamlük guards never tolerated hereditary succession again; no Sulṭān's son, who was proclaimed heir-apparent, ever succeeded in keeping the throne (the only exception is al-Nāṣir Muḥammad II who occupied the throne for nearly three years.) The Mamlūks did not always choose the ablest, but more often the oldest; a kind of system of seniority developed. The first Mamlük on the throne was 'Izz al-Dīn Albak (648–55 = 1250–57), the husband of Shāḍir al-Durr [q. v.] a slave whom Aiyūb had married.

In the period of its greatest extension under the Mamlūks, the frontiers of Egypt were in the west the Lybian desert as far as Barka, in the

south Nubia as far as Massaw'a, in the north the Mediterranean Sea. The frontiers of Syria in the east stretched to the Euphrates to Dēr al-Zōr through Raḳka, in the south to the Arabian deserts and in the north to the Taurus. The two countries met in Sinai and were separated by the Red Sea. The sultāns usually exercised suzerainty over the holy places in Mecca and Medina; Sultān Kānshū Ghūrī [q.v.] even maintained garrisons in South Arabia for a time.

The first task of the Mamlūk sultāns was to consolidate the kingdom. Their most dangerous enemy, the Tatars under Hülegü, was defeated in Syria in 658 (1260) at 'Ain Djilāt [q.v.]; the Crusaders were destroyed by Sultāns Balbars, Kālān and Khallī, the remnants of the 'Alids and Assassins [q.v.] rendered harmless by Balbars. Their power was finally consolidated and justified to the Aiyūbids by the petty kingdoms left to them, by Balbars welcoming in Cairo the Caliph who had been driven from Baghdad by the Mongols, restoring the caliphate here in 659 (1261) and then having himself appointed by the Caliph participator in power (*Ḳāsim al-Dawla*) and having the power ceremoniously transferred to him. This remained the position till the end of Mamlūk rule. The Caliph paid homage to the Sultān on his accession and ceded all his rights to him. He thus lost all authority and became the shadow of a ruler without power, without money and without influence; only now and then an Indian Sultān sought a diploma of investiture from the Caliph.

The rule of the Sultān was absolute. He was assisted by a council in which the chief commanders of the Mamlūks sat to the left and right of the ruler according to their rank (this sitting in order of rank dated from the early Mamlūk period): the representative of the Sultān (*na'ib ḳāfi*, later only appointed in case of absence of the ruler), the commander-in-chief (*amir ḳabir*), later combined with the office of Atābeg, the commander of the guards (*ra'is nawab al-anawād*, see AL-AMIR AL-KAḲIR), the War Minister (*amir-jilāḳ*, ibid.), the president of the council who was the chief civil official (*amir maḳḳis*); later the minister of the Interior (*dawūdār ḳabir* [q.v.]) and the ministers of the palace and domains (*ustādār*) gained more influence and became numbered among the highest officials, as did the chief military judge (*ḳāḍī al-ḳudḍiḳā* [q.v.], properly high chamberlain) and at times the chief marshal (*amir ḳhāḳir* q.v.). The officers and their relative rank (cf. e.g. under AMIR AL-KAḲIR for the composition and order of precedence in later times) changed. These members of the council were military officers, the so called lords of the sword (*aḳḳāb al-sayf*), they belonged to the class of amirs of 1,000 (*mukaddim al-ulūf*). From this class were chosen the governors of the Syrian provinces (Damascus, Aleppo, Tripolis, Hamā, Safad) and frequently also the governors of the citadels of Damascus and Aleppo who were appointed by the Sultān himself. The next class was formed by the *Tashakkānā*, amirs of 40 Mamlūks, who had the right to be accompanied by a band. They were followed by the amirs of 10 and those of 5 Mamlūks. All the amirs of 1,000 were appointed by the Sultān himself; the other amirs in the provinces sometimes by the sultān and sometimes by the governor. The administrative system at the Sultān's court was reproduced on a small scale in

the provinces. Every governor was a little Sultān who had to some extent the same retinue as the Sultān in Cairo. The Syrian governors were in general independent of one another (very few like the Amir Tengiz [see DAMASCUS, I., p. 908] had other governors subordinated to them). In the beginning the Mamlūks, perhaps influenced by the Mongols, had the tendency to make all offices secular and fill them with Mamlūks who, as lords of the sword (*aḳḳāb al-sayf*), belonged to the military caste. They kept this up in the highest offices throughout the dynasty, but they had to create the important offices of private secretary (*ḳatib al-sirr*) and head of the chancery (*ḳāḍī Dīwān al-inḡāḳ*) and fill them with civilians and even admit Christians, Jews, and especially converts to Islām to them, because the Turkish ruling caste was not fitted for them. The above mentioned chief offices on the military and administrative side remained however reserved for the constantly increasing oligarchy, into which neither Arabs, nor the sons of Mamlūks were admitted. It hardly ever happened (I only know of 3 cases of Arabs) that Arabs or sons of Mamlūks became amirs of 1,000, or rose to the highest posts in the legal and scholastic world and in the other branches of the civil service.

The Mamlūks were purchased on behalf of the government by a high officer, the purchaser of Mamlūks (*ḳāḍir al-mamlūk*), educated in the first place in the Mamlūk School in Cairo, then distributed in the different branches of the corps of pages to act as armour-bearers, cup-bearers, carvers, polo-grooms, club-bearers etc., for further training and then placed in the service of the amirs or of the Sultān as vacancies occurred. The Sultān's lifeguards were called *ḳhāḳḳ* and the amirs had also similar bodyguards. The army consisted of a) the bodyguard of the Sultān, b) the *dīwān al-ḳhāḳḳ*, enlisted troops, who were paid in money and with the yield of the crown estates, c) the guards of the great amirs and former Sultāns. In later times there was a body of reserves, *amlūk al-nās*, who were only called up for service in times of war but also received pay in times of peace. Military expeditions were usually decided upon by the council of state; the amirs were given money to equip and maintain their troops, to be able to lead them into the enemy's country.

In addition to the military officers there were civil officials, *aḳḳāb al-ḳalam* (lords of the pen): a) the religious officials (*al-ʿulmā*), who filled posts in the legal and scholastic worlds and a series of other offices; b) the regular administrative officials (*al-dīwāniyya*) for the rest of the civil service.

The Sultān's revenue was made up of the ground-, poll- and poor-tax, from the yield of the fiefs (on the Egyptian system of appanages cf. II., p. 92) out of which he gave the necessary funds for the army and officials, the customs, the state factories and extraordinary taxes on goods and markets, which, not being laid down in the *Qurʾān*, were considered illegal and resisted. He also sometimes made money by forced purchases and sales. The government bought up goods at a fixed price and forced purchasers to take them at a definite price. Finally there were monopolies out of which the Sultān made profits. Another favourite means of raising money was for the Sultān to visit some great man from whom he extorted large sums while a guest (especially *Ḳāḳḳā* [q.v.]). Things

seem to have been similar in Syria but we know very little about the division of the fiefs there.

The importance of the Mamlüks in history lay in the fact that, protected by the deserts and their armies they stemmed the flood of Asiatic conquerors; they conquered Čingiz Khān's Mongols and later the hords of Timūr Lenk, who had conquered Syria for a short time, and other conquerors. After the defeat of the Tatars and the retreat of Timūr, the Sulṭāns were forced to concentrate on the struggle with the gradually increasing power of the Ottomans. The struggle was long avoided by the formation of buffer states on both sides; among these the most notable were the dynasties of Dhū l-Qaḍir and of the White and Black Sheep (so-called from their standards). The success of Kā'ithā's policy postponed the end but the rulers who followed him were weak. The rule of the Mamlüks lost its vigour. They were weakened in long wars; their finances became quite hopeless as a result of their immoderate expenditure, not commensurate with their means and a defective system of taxation, which in the later period enabled the owners of large estates to escape the taxes. They therefore could not permanently resist the Ottomans, especially as the lack of discipline among the Mamlūk leaders and the weakness of their field artillery made the army useless. The well equipped fortresses were not defended against the Ottomans; they fell through treachery. The himself able Sulṭān Kānṣūh Ghūrī was defeated and slain in 922 (1516) at Manjī Dābiḳ (in the province of Aleppo). The way to Egypt was thus opened to Sulṭān Selīm; after six months' resistance the last Sulṭān Tūmṭūḳī had to surrender. He was hanged from the Rib Zuwallā in Cairo. A number of the great amirs and the Caliph were taken to Constantinople. The caliphate ceased as no new Caliph was appointed; the Sulṭān of Constantinople became the first ruler in Islām. The protection of the holy places also passed automatically to him.

The period of the Mamlüks was marked by great activity in building (ii. 23^a). Of secular buildings, few palaces have survived; on the other hand fortresses (Cairo, Aleppo, Damascus and Biredjik) which were entirely rebuilt in the Mamlūk period, as well as a large number of fine tombs, hospitals, baths, fountains and aqueducts still exist. Of religious buildings splendid mosques with schools attached to them were built. While even under the Aiyūbids there had been only one "great mosque" in each town or independent suburb, where the Friday service was held, it became the custom under the Mamlüks that many Sulṭāns and governors and occasionally even one of the guilds built "great mosques" for the Friday service in the large towns. Mention may be made of the mosques of Balbars, Kālā'ūn, Muḥammad al-Nāṣir, Sulṭān Ḥasan, Baḳḳū, Mu'ayyad, Kā'ithā' in Cairo, as well as the mosques in the provincial capitals Aleppo, Damascus and Tripoli. While agriculture, industry and art showed great prosperity, trade suffered very much under the later Mamlūk Sulṭāns through the extortionate taxes of the government. The trade through Egypt, based on treaties with Frankish and Oriental rulers, yielded huge sums. The customs and the treatment of merchants by the Sulṭāns finally became so intolerable that the European powers did everything possible to secure the sea-route to India in order to avoid the transit

through Egypt with its enormous expense and the rogery to which it was exposed.

The object of the last wars of Sulṭān Kānṣūh Ghūrī was to gain a footing in South Arabia and nearer India to secure the Egyptian share in Indian trade.

Bibliography: Only the most important of the rich literature on the Mamlüks is cited below (s. especially in van Berchem's index to *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, i., *Égypte*, Paris 1903, the full list):

I. Aids to history: Sayyūḥ, *Lubb al-Lubb*, ed. P. J. Veth, Leyden 1840 (on the Nomina relativa of the Arabs); Wüstenfeld and Mahler, *Vergleichend-tabellen der mohammedanischen und christlichen Zeitrechnungen*², ed. by E. Mahler, Leipzig 1926; S. Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, Westminster 1894; Zambaur, *Manuel de génologie et chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, Hanover 1927; Sauvage, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et la métrologie musulmane*, J. A., 1879—1887; S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol. 4, London 1879; Jacobus Artin Pacha, *Contribution à l'étude du klavon en Orient*, London 1902.

II. Political History: Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, vol. 4—5, Mannheim 1860—1862; M. Amari, *Diplomi arabi del R. Archivio fiorentino*, Florence 1863; Aug. Müller, *Der Islam im Abend- u. Morgenland*, Berlin 1885—1887; W. Hryd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Âge*, Paris 1885; Marino Sanuto, *Diarii* (consular diaries of the Mamlūk period), Venice 1879—1903; *Historiens orientaux des croisades*, 5 vols., Paris 1872—1906; H. Lammens, *Correspondances diplomatiques entre les sultans mamlouks d'Égypte et les puissances chrétiennes*, 1904; Cl. Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, 2 vols., Paris 1912 and 1913; W. Muir, *The Chalifs*, ed. Weir, Edinburgh 1915; H. Saladin and G. Migeon, *Manuel d'archéologie musulmane*, 2 vols., Paris 1907; Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicarum*, Paris 1903 *seq.*: I. *Égypte*; II. *Syrie du Nord* (by M. Soberheim); III. *Syrie du Sud* (ed. Wiet), 1920; Yūsuf b. Taghribirdi, *al-Nuḥūḍ al-ḡāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wa l-ḡāhira*, ed. Popper, Berkeley 1909 *seq.* (down to 865 [1461], the rest still in MS.), s. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 41, where also is quoted the *Ḥawādith al-Duḥūr* (both very important for biographies); Ahmad al-Makrīḍī, *al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifaṭ Duwal al-Mulūk*, (part 1) transl. E. Blochet, Paris 1908; (part 2) *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Égypte*, transl. E. Quatremère, Paris 1837—1845 (to 708 [1309]), the rest still in MS., s. *G. A. L.*, ii. 38; Abu l-Fida', *Tārīkh*, Constantinople 1286; al-Nuḥūḍ, *Niḥāyat al-'Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, vol. 1 *seq.*, Cairo 1342; Omar b. al-Ḥabīb, *Durrat al-Aslāk fī Dawlat al-Atrāk* (full list of contents by H. E. Weyers in *Orientalia*, ii., Amsterdam 1846); Ibn Hadjar al-'Asqalānī, *Inṣā' al-Ghāwī bi-Aḥmā' al-'Umr*, only in MS., s. Brockelmann, ii. 70; Ibn Iyās, *Tārīkh Miṣr*, 1311—1312 (for the years 906—922 only in MS., s. Brockelmann, ii. 295); Sakhāwī, *Kitāb al-Ti'r al-mashhūk fī Dhail al-Sulūk*, Bulāq 1896; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, Bulāq 1284, vol. 7; Biographies: Khalīl b. Albek al-Safādī, *Aḡḡān al-'Atr*

mo-Awān al-Nasr (biographies of the viiith [xivth] century, s. Brockelmann, ii. 32); Yūsuf b. Taghribirdi, *al-Manhāl al-ḥafī wa'l-mustawḥiḥ* (biographies of 650–857 [1251–1453], s. Brockelmann, ii. 41).

III. Art and Architecture: E. W. Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, London 1885; S. Lane-Poole, *The art of the Saracens in Egypt*, 1886; do., *Cairo*, London 1896; J. Franz Pachá, *Die Baukunst des Islams*, Darmstadt 1896; M. S. Briggs, *Muhammadan Architecture in Egypt and Palestine*, Oxford 1924; H. Glück and E. Dietz, *Die Kunst des Islams*, Berlin 1925.

IV. Constitution: J. von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815; Gaudefroy-Démoubynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923; W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Egypten*, Hamburg 1928; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geographie und Verwaltung von Egypten*, Göttingen 1879, from Kalkashandī; Kalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-ʿaṣā* (Guide to administration), Cairo 1340 (1922) and abbreviated edition *Daw al-ṣubḥ*, Cairo 1324 (1906); Khulīf al-Zahīrī, *Zubdat Kalkash al-Mamlūk* (Guide to administration), ed. Ravaisse, Paris 1894; Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿOmārī, *al-Taʿrīf* (official letter-writer), 1312 (1894); Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb, *Kitāb al-Kharāj* (Book on Taxation), Bulāq 1302 [1885], transl. E. Eugène, Paris 1921.

V. Geography: Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890; do., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905; Abū ʿl-Fidāʾ, *Geographie*, ed. de Slane, Paris 1840; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig 1866–1873; *Djāhā-Numā* (general geography), Istanbul 1145, transl. into Latin by M. A. Norberg, Gotha 1818; Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿOmārī, *Masālik al-Aḥqār* (geography of the Mamlūk kingdom), only vol. i., publ. Cairo 1342; Ibn Duqmāq, *Kitāb al-Intiqār* (Descr. of Egypt), Bulāq 1893; Sharaf al-Dīn Yahyā ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. al-Djān, *al-Tuhfa al-saniya fī Arnāʾ al-Bilād al-masriyya*, ed. Moritz, Cairo 1898; transl. by Silvestre de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par ʿAbd al-Laṭīf*, Paris 1810.

VI. History of separate towns:

1. Cairo: Ahmad al-Maḥrizī, *Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ*, Bulāq 1270; ed. Wiet, in *M. I. F. A. O.*, xxx., Cairo 1911; transl. Book I and II, by Bouriant, in *M. M. A. F.*, xvii., Cairo 1895; Book III, by Casanova, in *M. I. F. A. O.*, Cairo 1906; Casanova, *Histoire et description de la citadelle du Caire*, in *M. M. A. F.*, vi.

2. Jerusalem: Muḥḥid al-Dīn, *Uns al-Djāhil*, Cairo 1283, transl. by Sauvaire.

3. Damascus: H. Sauvaire, *Description de Damas*, 7. A., Paris 1894–1896; Muhammad Kurd ʿAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Sūdān* (History of Syria and Damascus to modern times), 5 vols., 1924–1927.

4. Bairūt: Ibn Yahyā, *Histoire de Beyrouth*, transl. P. Cheikh, Bairūt 1902.

5. Aleppo: Ibn Shihna, *al-Durr al-muntāḥa fī Taʾrīkh Mamlakat Ḥalab* (History of Aleppo with additions down to the beginning of the xth century), 1906; Muhammad Rāghib, *Ḥām al-Nubātā bi-Taʾrīkh Ḥalab al-ḥāḥiḥ*, 6 vols., Aleppo 1342–1344 (very full history and topography of Aleppo).

6. Mecca: *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig 1858.

7. Medina: Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-Wafāʾ*, Cairo 1285 (1869); *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, transl. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1861.

(M. SOBERNHEIM)

B. Period from 1517 to 1798. It is a significant fact, that even this period of nearly three centuries, during which Egypt belonged to the Ottoman Empire, may still be designated as a third Mamlūk period. The change brought about by the conquest of Sultan Selīm in 1517 was, after all, not a radical one, from the point of view of government. Egypt and its inhabitants remained under the rule of a powerful minority of foreign race. The antagonism that existed in the beginning between Ottoman Turks and Mamlūks and which had led at first to much bloodshed (execution of 800 mamlūks by Selīm I in Cairo) did not last very long after the troubles of the occupation were over. The Turkish soldiers and officials who entered Egypt during Ottoman rule soon became mixed up to a large extent with the numerically more powerful class of the Mamlūks, whose aid was, moreover, indispensable, for the government of the country. Besides, the number of Mamlūks (*al-Sharāḥiṣa*) continued to receive additions by purchase of slaves from the Caucasus. An author of the xviiith century (Vansleb, p. 13) says that Egypt, in his day, was inhabited by Copts, Moors (by whom he means the islamised population), Arabs, Turks, Greeks, Jews and Franks. The "Turks" were the governing class and composed of Mamlūks and Ottomans, between whom no distinction is made. We may even speak of a mamlūkisation of the Ottoman element; the real ottomanisation of the country belongs to the xixth century. In accordance with what is said, the history of those centuries never shows, among the parties and factions into which the Mamlūks were divided, a pro- or anti-Ottoman party; those quarrels were only of local and personal character. Even the first governor of Egypt, Khāṭir-bek, was a Mamlūk, although, after him, the Pashas were sent, without exception, from Constantinople.

During the first 100 years, it is true, the authority of the Pashas sent from Constantinople to govern the country was undisputed. The Pasha could rely on seven contingents of troops (*ṣafās*) six of which were instituted by Selīm I, while a seventh contingent was added under Sulaimān I, composed of Mamlūks. Their nominal strength was 20,000 men in all. They were not commanded by the Pasha, but by their own commander, who belonged to the *ṣafā* of the Janissaries and resided in the citadel of Cairo. Afterwards these troops behaved more and more independently and were even able to depose Pashas whom they did not like, until, in the xviiith century, this military force became the instrument of some all-influential Mamlūk beys. Important matters of administration were treated by a great *Dawān* or State Council, which only met in extraordinary cases and in which the high functionaries were represented, as well as the military chiefs and the high religious dignitaries. Local and special government functions were exercised by twelve Sandjak Beys; these represented at the same time the feudal aristocracy; from the beginning however, the ties that linked them to particular provinces seem to have been rather loose, for among them are mentioned the *Kāḍys* of the

Paḡha, the *Daftardār*, the *Amir al-Haḡḡī* and the *Amir al-Kāḡḡa*, the three first of whom were also members of the great *Diwān*. The other *Beys* were commanders at Suez, Damietta and Alexandria, and governors of the five big provinces in the Nile delta. Besides these twelve *Beys* there were twelve other *Beys* with similar functions. The real provincial administration was exercised by a class of functionaries called *Kāḡḡī*. Their chief task was the collection of the revenues. They may be considered as a kind of governor; some of the great *Beys* themselves were also *Kāḡḡī* in their districts or had different *Kāḡḡī*s under them. Vansleb mentions 36 *Kāḡḡī*s. As to the revenues, they were collected in various ways, the local customs in different parts of Lower Egypt and Upper Egypt varying considerably. The most common form was the farming out of revenues (*iltizām*); the *mullasims* had different kinds of right of possession on the lands, which were hereditary. They collected the revenue, in taxes or in kind, from the *fellāḡa*, generally through the village notables called *Ṣaḡḡā al-Balad*. In the tax-collecting there were further employed, a host of subordinate technical and financial functionaries, many of whom were Copts. Some *Kāḡḡī*s were at the same time *mullasims*. This system of administration showed the close relation between administration and land-owning, which has always been characteristic of Egyptian conditions (cf. ZAYY). It was the continuation of the system which had prevailed under the Mamlūk Sultāns (regulation by Kāḡḡī Bay) and was regulated again in the *Kāḡḡī-nāme-i Mīr* of Sulaimān I (cf. J. von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, i. 101—142); here a special stress is laid on the rights and obligations of the *Kāḡḡī*s.

In Cairo a large chancery, the chief of which was the *Nāḡḡī*, had to collect these taxes and to keep the registers; the revenues collected were reserved partly for the pay of the troops and works of public utility such as irrigation, building of bridges and dikes, etc. and partly for the yearly tribute to the Sultan, which was in the beginning 800,000 ducats and afterwards lowered to 600,000 and later to 400,000 ducats. In the xviiith century the paying of tribute practically fell into disuse.

Besides the land-tax, there existed a great number of other taxes, under different denominations; they were collected more or less arbitrarily, and, as in course of time, the anarchy in the government assumed greater proportions, they pressed ever heavier on the population. The rural population had as much to suffer from the exactions of their Mamlūk administrators and proprietors as from the raids of Arab tribes, which the government was unable to control.

The history of Egypt during this period is a not very interesting succession of domestic intrigues, struggles and revolts. Until the beginning of the xviiith century the *Paḡhas* could more or less maintain their authority, but they were replaced too often to have a lasting influence. No less than 117 *Paḡhas* governed Egypt until the arrival of the French (a complete list of them is given in Thurely, *Souvenir d'Orient*, iv. 835 seq.). Many of them tried to make their short stay as profitable for themselves as possible, and several of them had to pay their cupidity with their lives after their return to Constantinople. In the xviiith

century the real power in the country was exercised by the great *Beys* in Cairo, who had the troops in their hand and tolerated only those *Paḡhas* who did not interfere with their affairs. By this time the two most powerful positions in the country were those of the commander of Cairo, called the *Ṣaḡḡā al-Balad* and of the *Amir al-Haḡḡī*. Some of the *Ṣaḡḡā al-Balads* are reputed as good rulers, especially Isma'il Bey, who held that office from 1707 to 1724. But the changes of power were always of a violent kind and prevented the forming of a dynasty; Isma'il's *Ṣaḡḡā al-Balad*ship itself had been preceded by a curious struggle between the two rival parties of the *ḡhu* *ḡḡāriya* and the *Kāḡḡiyya*, which had lasted for three months outside Cairo. In 1747 the Porte tried for the first time to reestablish its authority by ordering the governor Rāḡḡīb *Paḡha* to exterminate the Mamlūk *Beys*; this attempt failed, however, completely and the disorders continued until the appearance of the young Mamlūk 'Alī Bey [q. v.] who made himself for a short time independent *Ṣaḡḡā al-Balad* and ruler of Egypt, for the years 1770—1771. By this time the Porte began to take more serious measures to retain its hold on Egypt, but the regime of the Mamlūk *Beys* did not end until a foreign power, France, temporarily occupied Egypt (cf. KHEDIVE).

Under such a regime the conditions of living of the population could not be flourishing. It was not so much the position of Egypt as an Ottoman province that caused the suffering of the population, as the lack of a strong central power. European travellers like Vansleb and Lucas point to the fact that Egypt was, in the xviiith century a rich country and that by the practical stopping of the payment of tribute, all the money remained in the country itself. But the riches remained only in the possession of the ruling minority, while the rural population was oppressed very hardly. The bad organisation caused, moreover, from time to time terrible famines, while, about the middle of the xviiith century, began a series of ravaging epidemics of plague. Since the last period of the Mamlūk Sultāns the country had lost, moreover, a rich source of revenue by the change of the trade-route to India. The transit trade was now restricted to inner African products and coffee and aromatics from Arabia, while the exportation of Egyptian products such as corn, cotton and sugar was limited. The timber that the country needed had to be imported from Turkey. Moreover, the trade with Christian countries often experienced serious hindrances from the arbitrary measures of the local authorities. At the same time the local industries declined rapidly; one of the causes may have been the transportation of a large number of skilled craftsmen to Constantinople by Salīm I; the once flourishing guild organisation was paralysed by this measure (cf. Thörning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der islamischen Verfassung*, Berlin 1913, p. 81 and al-Uḡbartī, i. 20).

The decline of Egypt's economic strength, on the other hand, made Egypt a relatively quiet possession for the Porte. Only in the very beginning of Ottoman rule, in 1524, a Turkish governor, Ahmad *Paḡha*, tried to take the title of sultan of Egypt, but afterwards no attempts to recover independence were made until the time of 'Alī Bey. Then, however, the political needs of the European colonial powers

made Egypt appear again as an important stage on the way to India and opened new possibilities of a more independent development, which were to be realised in the sixteenth century. In the meantime the possession of Egypt had been useful to Turkey in many respects; the Porte could always count on an Egyptian contingent of troops in its wars and the country itself was a base of action for the military operations in Syria, the Hijaz and Yaman. The reconquest of Yaman under Selim II was carefully prepared in Cairo. As soon as the tendency to independence appeared, however, as under 'Alī Bey, the Turkish hold on Syria and Arabia was immediately endangered seriously.

The predominant position of Egypt in Islam was not seriously affected by the Ottoman occupation. Al-Azhar [q.v.] remained one of the most important centres of Islamic learning; the Turkish Pashas and other dignitaries showed their acknowledgement of this fact by gifts and by the execution of restorations to the building, as they did occasionally for other religious institutions in the country. Though Islamic science continued to flourish, Egypt did not produce many prominent figures in this period. In the domain of *fiqh* the most important figure was al-Ramlī (q.v.; d. 1596), the commentator of al-Nawawī, further the mystic al-Sharānī (q.v.; d. 1565), and, as representative of Arabic philology, 'Abd al-Kādir al-Baghdādī (q.v.; d. 1682). In popular mysticism the veneration of Ahmad al-Badawī [q.v.] by the Ahmadiya held a large place.

The period of Ottoman domination in Egypt is not wholly without interest from the point of view of architecture and art. Several governors, beginning with Khā'irbek have constructed mosques; these mosques show a kind of transition from the Mamlūk to the Ottoman architectural style. There are also in Cairo several mosques founded by the Mamlūk Beys, like the mosque of Abū Dhahab, the traitor of 'Alī Bey, constructed in 1773. Some beautiful palaces have likewise been built by the Mamlūks, but only few of them are still extant (cf. on this subject: Mme R. L. Devonshire, *L'Égypte musulmane et les fondateurs de ses monuments*, Paris 1926, p. 115 sqq.).

Bibliography: The sources for the history of Egypt under Ottoman rule have not been much studied. Of the many Arabic works have to be mentioned (cf. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 289 sqq.): Ibn Iyās, *Badrī' al-Zuhūr fī Wafā' al-Dukhūr*, iii., Būlak 1312, p. 101 sqq. (until 1522); al-Minhājī, *al-Budūr al-izāra fī man waliya 'l-Kāhira*, MS. Vienna, No. 9152 (until 1549); al-Burhān, *al-Riyāṣ al-zahira fī Akhbar Miṣr wa 'l-Kāhira*, MS. Algiers, No. 1605; Ibn Zūnbul, *Paṭṭa Miṣr*, many MSS. (1517—1519); al-Iḥākī (cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 160 sqq.), *Dumḥat al-Akhbar fī man waliya 'l-Diyār al-Miṣriya* also called *Laṭā'if Akhbar al-Uwal fī man taqarrufa bi-Miṣr min Arṭūḥ al-Dumal*, several times printed in Cairo 1276, 1296, 1300, 1304 (until 1623); do., *al-Rawḍ al-burīq fī Akhbar man waḍa min al-Awālim*, MSS. Paris, No. 1562 and Brit. Mus., No. 1251 (until 1623); al-Ghumrī, *Dhahā'ir al-ʿilām bi-Tārīkh Umayyā 'l-Miṣr fī 'l-ʿilām*, only in MSS. (poem, until 1630); Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Sūrūr, *al-Tuḥfa al-Baḥiya fī Tamalluk 'l-Uḥmān al-Diyār al-Miṣriya*, several MSS. (until 1634); do., *al-Rawḍ al-Zahira fī Wafā' Miṣr al-*

Kāhira al-Muṭṭaiya, several MSS. (until 1651); do., *al-Kawākib al-Sā'ira fī Akhbar Miṣr wa 'l-Kāhira*, several MSS. (until 1645); al-Awfi, *Tarāḍim al-Sawā'ih fī Wafā' al-Sandūfīh*, several MSS. (treats of some events in the years 1658 and 1661); 'Abd al-Kādir, *Tārīkh*, MS. Berlin (*G. A. L.*, ii. 299; the years 1603—1643); Ibrāhīm al-Khaṭīb, *Mabḍa' al-Adīb bi-mā dū'a fī Miṣr min al-Majā'ih*, MS. at Cairo (*G. A. L.*, ii. 299; written about 1721); al-Damir-dāshī, *al-Durra al-Mārjāna fī Wafā' al-Kināna*, several MSS. (*G. A. L.*, ii. 300; the years 1688—1755); Muṣṭafā b. Ibrāhīm, *Tārīkh Miṣr*, MS. Copenhagen, No. 159 (the years 1686—1739); al-Djabbārī, *Adīb al-Akhbar fī 'l-Tarāḍim wa 'l-Akhbar*, Cairo 1236, vol. i. and ii. (from 1694 up to the French occupation).

Among the Turkish sources all the great historical works of the Ottoman Empire since the time of Selim I should be mentioned, to begin with the different *Salim-nāmes*; on the conquest of Egypt: Haidar Çelebi, *Tagebuch des ägyptischen Feldzuges Sultan Selims*, transl. by Khalil Edhem, Weimar 1916 (*Deutsche Orient-bücher*, vol. xx.). The following deal specially with Egypt: 'Abd al-Samad, *Nawādir al-Akhbar*, several MSS. (*G. O. W.*, p. 58 sqq.; Turkish translation and continuation of an older Arabic work, up till 1540); Ṣāliḥ b. Djalāl, *Tārīkh-i Miṣr-i Qudsiya*, several MSS. (*G. O. W.*, p. 100 sqq.; written in 1546); Yūsuf b. Ni'met-Allah, *Tārīkh-i Miṣr*, MS. Turin (*G. O. W.*, p. 121; Turkish translation of an older Arabic work and continuation up till 1592); 'Alī, *Hāṭat al-Kāhira min al-Adāt al-Zahira*, several MSS. (*G. O. W.*, p. 133; written in 1599); Mahmūd b. 'Abd Allāh, *Tārīkh-i Miṣr*, several MSS. (*G. O. W.*, p. 243 sqq.; up till 1679).

J. J. Marcel, *Histoire de l'Égypte depuis la conquête arabe jusqu'à celle des Français*, Paris 1834, p. 416 sqq. (this author uses the more important Arabic sources); M. Delaporte, *Abrégé chronologique de l'histoire des Mamlouks d'Égypte depuis leur origine jusqu'à la conquête des Français*, in *Description de l'Égypte*, xv., Paris 1826, p. 322 sqq.; M. A. Lancret, *Mémoire sur le système d'imposition territoriale et sur l'administration des provinces de l'Égypte*, in *Description de l'Égypte*, xl., Paris 1822, p. 401 sqq.; François Charles-Roux, *Les origines de l'expédition d'Égypte*, Paris 1910; the general works on the history of the Ottoman Empire.

Vamaleb, *Nouvelle Relation d'un voyage fait en Égypte*, Paris 1677; Ewliya Çelebi, *Siyāhet-nāme*, xth part, not printed; Paul Lucas, *Voyage dans la Turquie, l'Asie, l'Afrique, l'Espagne, l'Italie et dans l'Égypte*, etc., Amsterdam 1720, 2 vols.; B. de Maillet, *Description de l'Égypte*, Paris 1735. Cf. also the articles *EGYPT* and *KIBT*.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-MA'MUN, 'ABU 'L-AHMAD 'ABD ALLAH [a. HAKUN], 'Abbāsīd caliph, born in Rābī I 170 (Sept. 786), son of Hārūn al-Rashīd and a Persian slave named Marāḍīl. After a desperate struggle, which ended in the assassination of the Caliph al-Amin [q.v.] in Maḥarram 198 (Sept. 813), the latter's brother al-Ma'mun ascended the throne; it was six years, however, before he could make his entry into Bagdad. On account of his sympathy for things Persian, which was stimulated by the vizier al-Faḍl b. Sahl [q.v.] the Caliph was not

at all popular with the Arabs. An 'Alid Muhammad b. Ibrahim, usually called Ibn Tabataba, therefore set up as a pretender to the throne in Kufa in Jumādā II 199 (Jan.-Feb. 815) and was supported by a former adherent of al-Ma'mün, Abu 'l-Sariya. The rebels had some success at first but Ibn Tabataba died suddenly and when the general Harthama b. A'yan [q. v.] advanced against him, Abu 'l-Sariya had to take to flight. Soon afterwards he was taken prisoner and put to death (Rabi' 200 = Oct. 815). In the meanwhile the movement had spread, but the 'Alids made themselves so hated that Harthama's troops were able to restore order everywhere without difficulty. The victorious Harthama, however, was shamefully rewarded for his services. After he had occupied Merw, the suspicious Caliph had him thrown into prison where he soon died (Dhu 'l-Ka'da 200 = June 816). This increased the general discontent. While al-Ma'mün remained for the time in Merw, the people of Baghdad rebelled and placed al-Manṣūr, a son of the Caliph al-Mahdi, at the head of the movement. When in Ramaḍān 201 (March 817) al-Ma'mün designated an 'Alid, 'Ali al-Riḍā [q. v.], as his apparent and assumed the green of the 'Alids instead of the black of the 'Abbasids, the people of the capital elected Ibrahim, another son of al-Mahdi, Caliph (Dhu 'l-Hijja 201 = July 817). Then there were troubles in Egypt and in Ḍḥarbidjan, the people were stirred up by the Khurrami Bābak [q. v.] who terrorised the northern provinces for nearly 20 years. In these circumstances al-Ma'mün had finally to leave Merw and go to the 'Irāk (202 = 817). But when the Arabs murdered the vizier al-Faql who was particularly hostile to them, and 'Ali al-Riḍā died suddenly, and in addition, the governor of Wāsiṭ, al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, the vizier's brother went mad, or at least was treated as such, the people of Baghdad had really no longer reason to support Ibrahim and in Ṣafar 204 (Aug. 819) al-Ma'mün entered the capital and the 'Alid colours were exchanged for the 'Abbasid. Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl was then restored to his governorship, and a few years later the Caliph married his daughter Bāran [q. v.]. As soon as the Caliph had left Khurāsān a rebellion broke out there among the Ḥarūris. At the end of 205 (June of 820) or beginning of 206, Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥunain [q. v.] was appointed governor of Khurāsān. He proved in every way fitted for his difficult post but carried his independence so far that in 207 (822) he renounced his fealty to the Caliph. Although he died the following day, the Caliph did not dare to deprive his sons of Ṭāhir's governorship, and in this way the dynasty of the Ṭāhirids was founded in Khurāsān. In 210 (825-826) 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir [q. v.] after defeating Naṣr b. Shabath went by the Caliph's orders to Egypt. Here the Yamanis, who were loyal to al-Ma'mün, had begun to fight with the Kaṣis who sided with al-Amin, and the struggle lasted till the latter's death. A more peaceful period ensued, but soon new troubles broke out, and with the arrival of the Spanish Muslims banished by the Caliph al-Ḥakam I [q. v.] the situation became still more complicated. The latter seized the town of al-Iṣkandariya, but when 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir arrived in Egypt the native rebels had to submit, and the Spanish intruders retired to Crete. When 'Abd Allāh was appointed governor of Khurāsān,

the Caliph made his brother, afterwards the Caliph al-Mu'tasim, governor of Egypt. But in 214 (829) the Egyptians rose again against his deputy so that al-Mu'tasim had to go himself to Egypt to bring the rebels to terms. Two years afterwards the people of Lower Egypt again rebelled against al-Mu'tasim's officers. The Copts defended themselves with desperate vigour until the Caliph himself arrived with fresh troops and ruthlessly put down all resistance. Towards the end of the reign of al-Ma'mün, the old struggle with the Byzantines broke out again. The cause is unknown but probably Bābak was being supported by the Emperor Theophilus. In any case the Caliph in Muharram 215 (March 830) took the field against the Byzantines accompanied by his son al-'Abdā [q. v.]. In the next two years campaigns were conducted by al-Ma'mün in person; as usual the fortune of war varied, but the Muslims succeeded in taking the fortress of La'lu'a after a long siege, whereupon Theophilus wanted to make peace. But his offer was refused by al-Ma'mün and in 218 (833) he again invaded Byzantine territory but died in Radjab (August) of the same year in Badendūn not far from Tarsus, after having had al-Mu'tasim proclaimed as his successor.

In spite of all political troubles al-Ma'mün found time to devote his attention to religious problems and to the cause of learning. His rationalistic tendencies made him join the Mu'tazilis, whose most prominent representative then was the Kaḍi Ahmad b. Abu Du'ād [q. v.]. Urged on by him, the Caliph went so far as in Rabi' I 212 (June 827) to publicly proclaim the dogma of the creation of the Qur'ān and therefore to raise the Mu'tazila to be the State religion. While he persecuted the orthodox and catechised them severely about the soundness of their belief in the Mu'tazila, he treated the 'Alids with the greatest consideration. In his reign poetry and learning reached their golden age. It was then that lived men like Abū Tammām and al-Buḥārī, each of whom collected a *Ḥamāsa*, the historian al-Wāḳidi, the traditionist al-Buḥārī and the jurist Ahmad b. Hanbal. The Caliph also took a special interest in philosophy and the exact sciences. In Baghdad he built an astronomical observatory with a fine library, and the medical school in Dīmdal Sābūr [q. v.] was an object of his special care. Scientific works by Greek physicians and natural philosophers had previously been translated into Arabic through the Syriac, but under al-Ma'mün there was a great revival of activity in this branch of learning.

Bibliography: Ibn Kutāiba, *Kitaḥ al-Ma'rif* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 196—199; Ya'qūbi (ed. Houtsma), ii. 491, 500—509, 521, 528—575, 582; Balādhuri (ed. de Goeje), see Index; Ahmad b. Abi Ṭāhir Ṭāfir, *Kitaḥ Baghdad*, Bd. vi. (ed. Keller), passim; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kamil* (ed. Wright), p. 171, 174, 241, 558; Ṭabari, iii. 647 *sqq.*, 764—1164; Ma'sūdi, *Murūj* (ed. Paris), vi. 283 *sqq.*; vii. 101; viii. 300 *sqq.*; ix. 45, 51, 70; *al-Aghāni*, see Guidi, *Tablā al-ḥabshiyat*; Ibn al-Athir (ed. Tornberg), vi. 74 *sqq.*, 201—311; Ibn al-Fikākā, *al-Fakhri* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 297—316; Muhammad b. Shākir, *Fawa'id al-Wafayāt*, i. 239—41; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, iii. 231 *sqq.*; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chal.*, ii. 149 *sqq.*; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 498 *sqq.*; Muir, *The Caliphate, its rise, decline, and fall* 3,

p. 477 sqq.; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid caliphate*, p. 103, 195, 237, 305—310; do., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, see index; Browne, *An abridged translation of the history of Tabaristan* by Ibn Isfandiyyār, passim; Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, i. 299 sqq.; ii. 345, 363, 368. (K. V. ZETTERSTEEN)

AL-MA'MUN, honorific *ṭāgh* of the principal sovereign of the dynasty of Berber origin of the Banū Dhī l-Nūn, who founded a kingdom with Toledo as its capital on the fall of the Umayyad caliphate of Cordova in the first quarter of the eleventh century [cf. the article *DHU L-NUN*].

Al-Ma'mun, whose full name was Yahyā b. Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Amir b. Muḥarrir b. Dhī l-Nūn, succeeded his father, Ismā'il al-Zāfir, on the latter's death in 429 (1037) and spent his long reign in incessant warfare with all his Muslim neighbours, the dynasties of Saragossa, Valencia, Badajoz, Seville and Cordova.

The beginning of his reign was mainly occupied by a struggle with the powerful king of Saragossa, Sulaimān b. Hūd al-Musta'in, who disputed the possession of Guadalajara (Wādī l-Hijāra) with him and took this town. Al-Ma'mun set out against him but was defeated and had to retire to Talavera in which he was besieged. He was then reduced to seek an alliance with and to own the suzerainty of the king of Leon and Castile, Ferdinand I. In spite of the help of the Christian king he could not bring his enemy Ibn Hūd to terms. Al-Ma'mun then turned for help to the king of Seville al-Mu'tadid b. 'Abbād and to obtain it had to declare himself the vassal of the pseudo-caliph Hishām II. Ibn 'Abbād then fighting the Aftasids of Badajoz [q. v.] did not give al-Ma'mun the help for which he hoped and Ibn Hūd becoming bolder, laid waste the country of Toledo and forced its inhabitants to submit to him. He would undoubtedly have deprived al-Ma'mun of his kingdom if he had not died in 438 (1046).

The rest of al-Ma'mun's reign was spent in a struggle with the Aftasid prince of Badajoz, Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Muḥaffar, and hostilities between the two dynasties continued for several years with varying success. In 457 (1065) al-Ma'mun seized Valencia. The king of Valencia, al-Manṣūr 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abī 'Amir, had died at the end of 452 (1060—1061) and his young son 'Abd al-Malik al-Muḥaffar had succeeded him but his lands aroused the cupidity of Ferdinand I who besieged him. Under the pretext of assisting him, al-Ma'mun came to 'Abd al-Malik in Valencia and soon deprived him of his throne.

A few years before his death, al-Ma'mun was asked by the Berber lord of Carmona, al-'Izz b. Iḥṣān al-Burālī, to come to his assistance against the attacks of the 'Abbāsid king of Seville al-Mu'tadid on his little kingdom. Al-Ma'mun occupied Carmona and as a result of negotiations with al-Mu'tadid, he abandoned this town to him in return for a promise of his assistance in taking Cordova, then ruled by a prince of the family of the Dihawarids. Once more the 'Abbāsid failed him at the last moment. On his death his son and successor al-Mu'tamid [q. v.] took up al-Ma'mun's plan on his own account, seized Cordova in 461 (1068) and left his son 'Abbād there as governor. But a few years later in 467 (1075), al-Ma'mun with the help of a Cordovan of low birth, Ibn 'Ukāsha, was able to hatch a plot

which made him master of Cordova. Six months later, al-Ma'mun was poisoned on the 11th Dhu l-Ka'da 467 (June 28, 1075) either at the instigation of al-Mu'tamid, king of Seville, or of Ibn 'Ukāsha. His son Yahyā al-Kādir succeeded him. A few years later, Alfonso VI took Toledo.

The long reign of al-Ma'mun is quite characteristic of the period of the *mūlūk al-tawā'if* of the Iberian Peninsula. He certainly increased his dominions but his conquests were ephemeral and he was one of the first to have no scruples about an alliance with the Christian princes of Castile and Leon in order to fight other Muslim rulers of al-Andalus. He even afforded hospitality at his court for nine months to Alfonso VI when the latter was deposed by his brother Sancho of Castile.

Bibliography: Ibn Haiyān, *uḥūd* Ibn Bassām, *al-Djāhira*, *passim*; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-muḥarrir*, vol. iii. (ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, in the press), p. 227—283; R. Dozy, *Scriptorium arabum loci de Abbadidis*, *passim*; do., *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, iv. 119, 127, 155 sqq.; A. Prieto Vives, *Los Reyes de taifas*, Madrid 1926, p. 23, 41, 53—54. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-MA'MUN, ABU 'L-'ALĀ' IDRIS b. YA'KUB AL-MANṢŪR b. YUSUF b. 'ABD AL-MU'MIN b. 'ALĪ, ninth sovereign of the Almohad dynasty, born in 581 (1185—1186) in Malaga, of the marriage of his father with the Spanish princess Ṣāfiya, daughter of the amir Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Mardanish (Martinez). The Arab historians pay high tributes to the good qualities of this prince who was very well read, equally well versed in profane and religious learning. At a time when the Almohad dynasty was much troubled by the strife stirred up by pretenders, he was able by his energy to postpone for several years its final collapse.

At first al-Ma'mun served in Spain as the lieutenant of his brother Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-'Adil then on the throne. The latter had soon to leave the Peninsula and return to Morocco without having been able to subdue the rebel leader Abū Muḥammad al-Baiyāṣi supported by Ferdinand III of Castile, but he was soon betrayed by his own men in his own land and assassinated in 624 (1227). This murder was followed by the almost simultaneous proclamations of al-Ma'mun and another Almohad pretender, nephew of the preceding, Yahyā b. al-Nāṣir b. al-Manṣūr, who took the honorific *ṭāgh* of al-Mu'taṣim bi'llāh. On his accession and without leaving Spain, al-Ma'mun was soon able to make himself recognised in the greater part of his empire and to get rid of the rebel al-Baiyāṣi. But almost immediately a rebellion broke out in the east of al-Andalus, in which Muḥammad b. Yūsuf of the powerful family of the Banū Hūd was proclaimed caliph in the town of Murcia. At the same time the prestige of Yahyā al-Mu'taṣim increased in Morocco and his partisans became more and more numerous. Feeling himself powerless in Spain and forced to turn his eyes towards Africa al-Ma'mun was forced to seek an alliance with the king of Castile. The latter agreed to support al-Ma'mun under very harsh terms, including the surrender of ten Muslim strongholds of the *frontera* and the building of a church and the granting of freedom of worship in Marrākuṣh. In return, al-Ma'mun received a body of 12,000 Christian mercenaries with whom he at once went to the Maghrib. He was soon able to enter Marrākuṣh in triumph, after having

defeated the army of al-Ma'tāsim in 627 (1230).

Enraged at the defection of the Almohad Makhzen so devoted to his predecessors, al-Ma'mūn took a decision at Marrākush, that was quite unprecedented in the annals of the dynasty. He stigmatised the memory of the Mahdi Ibn Tūmart, denied him 'impeccability' (*ʿiṣma*) and had a large number of Almohad *shaykhs* executed whom he suspected of having betrayed him. The rest of the reign of al-Ma'mūn was spent in trying to put down several rebellions in the Maghrib; but he did not succeed in bringing his rival to terms for the latter was able to take and plunder Marrākush. On hearing this, al-Ma'mūn, then busy with the siege of Ceuta, hurried off to the capital at once but fell ill and died on the way in the valley of the Wādī 'l-'Abd at the end of Dhū l-Hijja 629 (Oct. 1232).

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Zar', *Ramḍ al-Kīrās*, ed. Tornberg (*Annuaire regnum Mauritanie*), Upsala 1843, p. 166—169; *al-Hulal al-mawḥiyya* (Tunis 1329), p. 123—125; Ibn Khaldūn, *Iḥṣān*, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i. 342—344, transl. do., ii. 233—237; al-Nāṣiri al-Salāwi, *al-futūḥ* (Cairo), ii. 197—200, transl. I. Hamet (*Archives Marocaines*, xxiii, Paris 1927), p. 213—225; R. Millet, *Les Almohades*, Paris 1923, p. 145—150.

(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

MA'MUNIS, name of a dynasty.

In the 19th (11th) century Džurdjāniya, to the north of modern Khiva, was a dependency of Bukhārā and was ruled by a line of princes called the Ma'mūnis. Nothing is mentioned about them by the Oriental historians till 382 (992) when Ma'mūn b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, ruler of Džurdjāniya, is said to have assisted Amir Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr the Sāmānid in his exile during the temporary occupation of Bukhārā by Bughārā Khān, ruler of Kāshghar. In 385 (995) Ma'mūn attacked Abu 'Abd Allāh, ruler of Khwārizm, in order to punish him for his treachery to Abū 'Alī Simjūnī, took him prisoner and annexed Khwārizm. Ma'mūn was assassinated in 387 (997). His son Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī succeeded to the throne, and married a sister of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna. Abū 'l-Ḥasan died about 399 (1008—1009) and was succeeded by his brother Abū 'l-Abbās Ma'mūn. Abū 'l-Abbās married his brother's widow, the sister of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. Shortly after this he gave offence to his army by doing homage to Sulṭān Maḥmūd. The commanders of the army organised a rebellion against him, put him to death on Shawwāl 15, 407 (March 16, 1017) and raised one of his sons to the throne. On hearing this, Sulṭān Maḥmūd marched to Khwārizm to avenge the death of his brother-in-law, defeated the rebels at Hazrasp on Ṣafar 5, 408 (July 3, 1017), and executed the leaders of the insurrection. All the scions of the royal house were taken prisoners and sent to Khurāsān. The kingdom of Khwārizm was annexed and placed under the command of Altūntāsh with the title of Khwārizmshāh. But after the return of Sulṭān Maḥmūd to Ghazna, Abū Ishāq, father-in-law of Abū 'l-Abbās Ma'mūn, tried to establish himself in Khwārizm but he was defeated by Altūntāsh.

The rulers of this dynasty were famous patrons of learning, and it was at the court of Abū 'l-Abbās Ma'mūn that Abū Raiḥān al-Bīrūnī, the astronomer, Abū 'Alī b. Sīnā and Abū 'l-Khayr b. Khammās, the physicians, and Abū Naṣr b. 'Arrāḥ, the mathematician, flourished.

This dynasty has been confused by the *Ta'rikh-i Ghalib* and *Ta'rikh-i Džahān Arā* of Kāḍī Aḥmad Ghaffārī, with the Farḡhānīs who were the rulers of Džūdžānān.

Bibliography: al-'Uṭbī, *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*, ed. Lahore, p. 77 sq., 94—96, 106, 300—303; Abū 'l-Faḍl Baiḥaqī, *Ta'rikh-i Maḥmūdī*, ed. Morley, p. 834—853; Niṣānī Samarḳandi, *Čakār Maḥāla*, G. M. S., p. 76—80, 241—244; Ibn al-Aṭṭar, *Kāmilī*, ed. Tornberg, ix. 93 sq., 184 sq.; E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de géologie et de chronologie*, p. 205. (MUHAMMAD NAZIM)

MA'MURET AL-'AZIZ, the name given to the new town of Meṣre, built beside Kharpūt [q.v.] in honour of Sulṭān 'Abd al-'Azīz. In time the name became applied to the new wilāyet formed in 1879 around Kharpūt-Meṣre; this consisted of three sanjaks: al-'Azīz, Khōzāt and Malāṭiya. As a result of the administrative reforms of 1340 (1921) each of these sanjaks became an independent wilāyet but later modifications were made.

According to the official annual of 1925—1926, the wilāyet of Ma'mūret al-'Azīz has an area of 11,299 sq. km. or 12,428,900 *dōnūms*, of which 3,124,596 are arable. It contains 6 *kāḍās*: the central *kāḍā*, Pāla, Kharpūt, Kebān, 'Arabkir, Kemāliye (this new name replaces the historical one of Egin).

The annual of 1926—1927 records an even more radical reorganisation. The area of the wilāyet of al-'Azīz is given as 17,268 sq. km. with 1,562,296 *dōnūms* of arable land. The wilāyet which lost the western *kāḍās* ('Arabkir and Egin) has been extended on N. and E. It has 11 *kāḍās* subdivided into 32 *nāḥīyas* with names little known and difficult to transliterate:

1. the *kāḍā* al-'Azīz, with the *nāḥīye*: Khānkendi, Mullā-kendi, Īme, Khūḥāḥiyya (?), Erenler (Aynuw), Bāl-Bey, Kharpūt, Čongush, Sarnī (Daghidi).

2. Kebān, with only one *nāḥīye*: Tahir.

3. Bāskil: Muḥār-Huyuk, Leoli (Komūr-khān), Karabekān (Meriwan), Seywan.

4. Pāla: Gök-dere (and Balanlık) Okht (and Lower Balanlık), Kara-Gor.

5. Khōzāt (Dersim): Ballkan (Elghāzi), Kermilī, Anantka, Stn. Dere-Aghannik.

6. Cemish-gerek: Waskowān, Bash-Wartenik, Kermilī, Waakerū (Pāshaweng), Čarsandjak, Shawak (Albighker = Awi-sheker?).

7. Māzgerd: Pakh, Tereshmek, Mukhandī (Muḥundī).

8. Čabakčur: Perkhenguk (Kamran).

The *kāḍās* without *nāḥīye* are:

9. Owadlık.

10. Gen dī-marker (Dārlin).

11. Ma'den.

Number of the <i>kāḍā</i> .	Number of villages.	Number of inhabitants.
1	241	52,700
2	78	22,494
3	?	16,117
4	333	17,496
5	127	12,000
6	?	?
7	180	13,000
8	104	12,000
9	87	6,180
10	?	5,649
11	?	11,476

The wilāyet (without Cemish-gerek) has therefore 171,631 inhabitants. The events of the war and the suppression of the Kurd rising in 1925 must have had far-reaching effects on the ethnical aspect of this territory. Before the war the population was mixed: Kurd, Armenian and "Zaza" (a people speaking an Iranian dialect, q. v.).

Bibliography: cf. the fundamental article KHARPUT, *Türkiye Dişinüriyü Devlet Sânu-meri*, 1925—1926, p. 836—841; do., 1926—1927, p. 694. (V. MINORSKY)

MA'N b. AWS, an early Muhammadan poet of the tribe of the Banū Muzaina. His period can be established with some accuracy. From the *Kitāb al-Aghāni* we know that he composed a panegyric on 'Omar I and a lampoon on 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair for his lack of hospitality; the latter is preserved in the *Aghāni* as is the beginning of the former. The panegyric survives also in the *Divān*, where it is dedicated to 'Omar's son 'Āṣim. The *Aghāni* further records that Ma'n lived to the beginning of the *fitna* between 'Abd Allāh and Marwān b. al-Hakam, i. e. to 64 (684). The poet must therefore have been born about the beginning of the Muslim era. The *Aghāni* further gives details of his private life and the *Divān* also gives similar information. He had an estate in Arabia and made journeys to Syria and the 'Irāk. One of his wives came from Syria. He also took part in the wars of his tribes. In his old age he became blind.

Up till recently all that we knew of Ma'n's poems were the fragments preserved in the *Aghāni* and elsewhere. P. Schwarz however discovered in the Escorial an incomplete manuscript of the *Divān* with a commentary, the work of al-Kāfi [q. v.] which he published in 1903 with a short introduction and translation of the notices in the *Aghāni*. H. Reckendorf supplemented this. In 1927 Kamāl Muṣṭafā published an edition in Cairo. It lacks some poems given by Schwarz; on the other hand it has two fragments not given by him. The introduction is in part a literal translation of Schwarz, who is mentioned by name. It is not clear from it on what the edition is based. It seems however to be based simply on Schwarz's edition without new manuscripts and, compared with it, only shows corruptions of the text, omissions and additions from other sources.

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, x. 164—168; P. Schwarz, *Gedichte des Ma'n Ibn Aws*, Leipzig 1903 (cf. Nöldeke, in *Z. A.*, 1903, p. 274 sq. and Reckendorf, *O. L. Z.*, 1904, p. 138—140), where further sources are given; *Ma'n Ibn Aws, Hayātuhū, Shī'rūhū, Akhḥārūhū, Ḍamā'ihū* Kamāl Muṣṭafā, Cairo 1927.

(M. PLESSNER)

MA'N b. MUHAMMAD b. AHMAD b. ŞUMĀDH AL-TURĪBĪ ABU 'L-AHWAS or ABU YAHYĀ, founder of a dynasty in the little principality of Almería, in Eastern Spain in the middle of the 11th century A. D. The principality had been founded in 1025 by the two 'Amirid "Slavs" Khairūn and Zuhair. On the latter's death in 1037, their overlord 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Abi 'Āmir, king of Valencia, declared it his property and in 1041 placed his brother-in-law Ma'n b. Şumādh as governor there. The latter belonged to a noble family of Arab origin; his father had been one of the generals of the celebrated Hādijb al-Manṣūr [q. v.] and was governor of the town of Huesca. Ma'n remained

loyal to the king of Valencia for nearly four years, then cast off his allegiance and declared himself independent. He reigned at Almería for a few years longer and died in Ramaḍān 443 (Jan. 1052).

Bibliography: Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-muḥarrir*, vol. iii. (ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, in the press), p. 167; R. Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen-âge*, Leyden 1881, vol. i., p. 241 and appendices xix. and xx.; A. Prieto Vives, *Los Reyes de taifas*, Madrid 1926, p. 40, 44, 61.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MA'N b. ZĀ'IDA, ABU 'L-WALĪD AL-ḤAJJĀBĪ, a Muslim general and governor. In the Omayyad period Ma'n was in the service of the governor of the 'Irāk, Yazīd b. 'Omar b. Habbāra, and took part in the fighting against the 'Alid rebel 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya and the general of the 'Abbasids Kaḥṭaba b. Shabīb as well as against his son al-Ḥasan. He thus gained the enmity of al-Manṣūr and after the murder of Ibn Habbāra had to go into hiding to escape the vengeance of the 'Abbasids. But when the Rawandis [q. v.] went to al-Ḥashimīya (probably in 141 = 758—759) and tried to storm the palace of the caliph, because he had had their ringleaders arrested, Ma'n came out of his retirement, drove back the rebels with his men and rescued al-Manṣūr, who at once pardoned him and gave him the governorship of the Yaman. Here he favoured his fellow tribesmen, the Banū Rabi'a, while the Yamanis were treated with the greatest severity. He was transferred to Sijjīstān, according to the usual date, in 151 (768—769) and his son Zā'ida followed him as governor of the Yaman. Soon afterwards, probably the next year, Ma'n was murdered in Bust by some Khurridjīs, who had gained an entrance to his house by pretending they were workmen doing repairs. 151 and 158 are given for the year of his death, in addition to 152.

Bibliography: Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 389 sq., 448, 462 sq.; Tabarī, ii. 1978—1980; iii. 16, 63—65, 130—133, 368 sq., 394—397; Mas'ūdi, *Murūḡ*, ed. Paris, vi. 45 sq., 168—170, 256 sq., 316 sq.; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ed. Tornberg, v. 284, 309, 336 sq., 383—385, 464; vi. 15, 16; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, N^o 742; transl. de Slane, iii. 398—408.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

MA'N (BANU), Emirs of the Lebanon. Their political history begins with the Turkish conquest of Syria. We do not know if they were of Arab origin like the Banū Bohtor, or Kurds like the Djuḥlāt, or Maghribi like the 'Abd al-Samad, the Talhāk etc., who came to the Lebanon in the retinue of the Fātimids. When, in the 11th century, the biographer Maḥibbī (*Khuṣṣat al-Aḥwāl fi Aḥwāl al-Karn al-ḥādī 'ashar*, iii. 266) was collecting the records of the family of the Banū Ma'n, he found they were not agreed about the genealogy of their ancestors. But he is certain that they had long been in possession of the emirate of Shuf (Southern Lebanon). He is certain that they did not belong to the princely family of the Lebanon Tanākh. It is none the less surprising that in the monograph, which he devotes to the latter family (*Tarīkh Batriūt*, ed. Cheikho) Sāliḥ b. Yahyā deliberately passes over the Banū Ma'n.

The Ma'n seem to have early adopted the teaching of the Druses. This step secured them the sympathies of the Druses of the Lebanon and

of the Wādī 'l-Taim at the foot of Hermon. In the latter district they were allied with the Shihāb emirs. Enfeebled by the struggles with the 'Alam al-Dīn — their relations and also their secular rivals — the Banū Tanūkh, themselves divided into Kaists and Vamanis, underwent the fate of such exhausted organisms and ended by breaking up. The Ma'nids were only waiting the opportunity to seize their political heritage. This was given by the Ottoman conquest of Syria.

On the eve of the battle of Dabik (1516) between the Turks and the Mamlūks of Egypt they divided in time to which side victory would incline and wiser than the Tanūkh declared for the Turks. Their chief at that time was the emir Fakhr al-Dīn I. He was one of the first of the Syrian chiefs to hasten to Damascus to congratulate Selim I on his victory. Favourably impressed by his protestations of devotion, the Sultān sent him back to the Lebanon with enhanced prestige and authority at the expense of the Tanūkh. In this accession of power, the Ma'nid emir was much assisted by Ghazālī, a traitor to the Mamlūk cause, to whose fortunes he had decided to link that of his family. We do not know how he escaped the catastrophe that overwhelmed (Jan. 1521) his protector Ghazālī, who in the end played traitor to the Turks also.

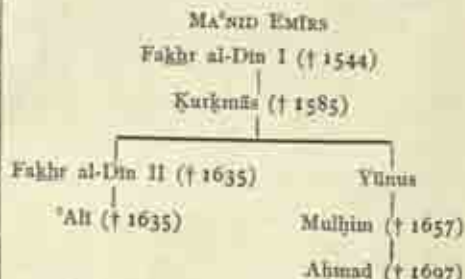
In 1544 the emir Kurkmas succeeded his father Fakhr al-Dīn and in 1585 there took place at Dīn 'Akkār the plundering of the caravan which was taking to Constantinople the taxes collected in Egypt and Syria. The Ottomans accused the Ma'n of complicity and of having sheltered the criminals. Their troops invaded the Lebanon. The emir Kurkmas shut himself up in the inaccessible rock of Shaḡīf Tūfān near Dījazin (Southern Lebanon) and died there of chagrin or poison (1585).

The most remarkable of the Ma'nids was undoubtedly the son and successor of Kurkmas, called Fakhr al-Dīn (1585—1635), like his grandfather. The partisans of the cause of independence in the Lebanon regarded him as a precursor and have never ceased to invoke the example of his efforts for his country. For an account of his career see the article on him (II, p. 45). The conquests beyond the Lebanon and his relations with European powers brought down upon him the vengeance of the Porte. He had to go into exile in Italy and leave to 'Alī, the eldest and most gifted of his sons along with his own brother Yūnus, the administration of the Lebanon (1613). On a promise to dismantle the chief fortresses of the Lebanon the Porte recognised 'Alī and even, after five years of exile, allowed his father Fakhr al-Dīn to return to the Lebanon. His son 'Alī displayed no enthusiasm at his return (1618). The new conquests of his father soon began to disturb the Porte, who resolved to make an end of the troublesome Ma'nid vassal. Surprised by superior forces in the Wādī 'l-Taim his son 'Alī fell fighting bravely and Fakhr al-Dīn was taken to Constantinople and put to death (1635).

The Central and Southern Lebanon, "the Mountain of the Druses" as it was officially called, was then handed to the family of the 'Alam al-Dīn, whose ambitions had never ceased from the beginning of the rise of the Banū Tanūkh, to thwart the efforts of all the rulers of the Lebanon. One of their first acts was to exterminate the last actions of the Tanūkh. This crime facilitated the rise to

power of the Shihāb. Their excesses and the regret for the Ma'nids soon made the 'Alam al-Dīn unpopular. After their expulsion from the Lebanon the Ma'nid emir Muḥim followed; his son Aḥmad succeeded in regaining a precarious authority under the jealous supervision of the Turkish Pashas. The more distinguished of the two emirs was Muḥim, son of the emir Yūnus and nephew of the great Fakhr al-Dīn. He ruled for about 20 years. Both continued the liberal traditions of their illustrious ancestor. Like him they protected the colonies of Christian agriculturists whom he had invited from northern Lebanon and for whom he had built churches and monasteries.

Aḥmad, grand-nephew of Fakhr al-Dīn II, died in 1697 without leaving male heirs and the family of the Ma'nids thus became extinct. Turkey could no longer have any illusions about the rebellious nature of the Lebanese and their impatience under a foreign yoke. To assume the direct government of the Lebanon was not attractive to the Porte and would have forced it to undertake its conquest. The grave political crisis through which Turkey was then passing prevented a new expedition being undertaken, the risks of which were very well known. On the other hand the rule of the 'Alam al-Dīn with official support had not given satisfactory results. On promise of the payment of an annual tribute, the notables of the Lebanon were authorised to form a general assembly at Sumḡāniya (province of Shūf) to elect a governor to inherit the legacy of the Banū Ma'n. Their choice fell upon the Shihāb emirs, allies and relatives of the old emirs.



Bibliography: see that of the article FAKHR AL-DIN and the notices of xviii century individuals scattered through Muḥibbi's biographical work quoted above; among them I. 381-387; III. 266 *qq.*, 299-303; IV. 396, 409, 426-427; Haidar Shihāb, *Tārīkh al-Lubnān*, p. 709-717, 722-725, 731-741; Tannūs Shidyak, *Tārīkh al-Aḡḡān fī Dījazin Lubnān*, Bairūt 1859, p. 247-345; Ristelhueber, *Les traditions françaises au Liban*, Paris 1918, p. 18-21; H. Lammens, *La Syrie, précis historique*, Bairūt 1921, II. 57, 66-94. (H. LAMMENS)

MA'NĀ (A.) means in the old language sense, significance and is so used as a grammatical term. In philosophical language the use of the word varies from the most general to the most particular so that it is impossible to give a general translation for it. It occurs in quite untechnical connections as "thought", "what is meant" or simply "thing" etc. but also has the special meaning of "conception" or as the *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, ed. by Sprenger, has it "an image of the intelligence (*ṣūra dhikniya*) in so far as a word corresponds to it, i.e. in so far as

it is meant by a word". Horten has investigated the special meaning of the word in metaphysics (*Was bedeutet معنى als philosophischer Terminus?*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxi, 391 sqq.). According to him, *ma'nā* is an "incorporeal reality" not merely a subjective conception. In this use it is regularly contrasted to *ḥiṣā*.

The plural *ma'ānī* is the name of a branch of study, namely, rhetorical style.

Bibliography: in the article; cf. also the dictionaries and *Tashkīr al-Miftāḥ al-Sa'ade* s. v. *Ḥim al-Ma'ānī*. (M. PLESSNER)

MANĀF is the name of an early-Arabian idol which was venerated by Kuraish and Hudhail, as may be concluded from the fact that among these clans the name 'Abd Manāf "servant of Manāf" occurred. It is said that one of Muḥammad's ancestors — the pedigree being Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Muttalib b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf — received this name, because his mother consecrated him to Manāf, who was then the chief deity of Makkah.

Whether this last statement be true or not, it does not restore to life a deity whose individuality remains to us as dim as that of all its companions. Ḥim al-Kalbi knows nothing of its whereabouts, except that menstruating women were bound to keep themselves at a distance from it.

The name does not occur either in the *Qur'ān* or in classical *ḥadīth*. It derives from a root *n-a-f*, which in several Semitic languages conveys the meaning of "being elevated".

Bibliography: al-Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1091 sq.; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2nd ed., p. 56 sq. (A. J. WESSINK).

MANĀḤIB (أ.), plural of *manāḥib*, means the merits and doings of a miraculous nature of celebrated holy persons of Islām, heads of schools, saints and founders of *ṭarīqas*. Other terms like *ḥawāṣit*, *ṣaḥāb* are used with the same meaning but less frequently. We have the titles or manuscripts of several works on eastern *manāḥib*. Ḥajjī Khalifa gives a long list of them. Among the most notable may be mentioned the *manāḥib* of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, of al-Shāfi'i and of Abū Ḥanīfa.

The literature of the *manāḥib* assumed a special development in Morocco from the end of the middle ages. The majority of the *ghaibis* who played a part in the great renaissance of Islām in this country at that time had one or more monographs devoted to their *manāḥib* after their deaths.

For a more detailed study of the place occupied by the genre of *manāḥib* in the Arabic literature of Morocco cf. my *Historiens de Cherfa, Essai sur la littérature historique et biographique au Maroc du XVI^e au XX^e siècle*, Paris 1922, p. 44—54 and 220 sqq. (E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

MANĀRA, tower, minaret.

Material, structure and adornment. The use of brick or stone for *manāras* depended on the material generally used for building in the country in question. The *manāras* in Spain were therefore of stone so far as one can judge from those still extant, in the African Maghrib mainly of brick, in Cairo of stone, in Arabia, Syria, Anatolia, Armenia and Mesopotamia of both, in the Irāk, Persia and Afghanistan of brick and in India of both. In Persia there are isolated exceptions, like the *manāra* in Kerāt, a structure of

stone and lime with an outer covering of tiles; indeed stone and lime were very often used for the foundations and bases without affecting the character of the edifices themselves in brick. Of considerable importance from the artistic point of view is the outer covering of a layer of tiles in Persia and the Irāk, from the variations and patterns of which the *manāras* receive their decorative exterior; by alternating horizontal and vertical layers (*ḥāṣirāf*, banding), by alternating reliefs and depressions, ornamental areas are formed from which strips of ornament or script arise formed of tiles specially prepared for the purpose. The Tarkestān and Timīrid *manāras* are decorated with coloured glaze. In the post-Timīrid period also the glaze continually appears, especially in the pair of minarets which now commonly flank the entrance to a mosque (Tabriz, Mashhad, etc.). It is in the Guldasta, the balconies round the top, that the art of working decoratively in brick reaches its height. Here the necessary basis for the balcony was formed by brackets arranged in layers or rows of cells (stalactite-like cornices, *muḥarnas*).

Object and Significance. The term *manāra* or *minār* is applied to all Muslim towers. They were used not only for religious purposes as places from which to call to prayer and to mark mosques but also, as before the Muslim conquest, for profane purposes as watch- and signal-towers. The tower on the top of a hill at Kerāt in Khorezm (cf. below) is from its isolated commanding position intended as a signal-tower or column of victory and it shows that these towers were built in the Muslim period exactly like the *manāras* of mosques. In form and style these erections, serving different purposes, form one category, into which they also fall objectively from having the same name. There are a number of early references to such *manāras*, which were intended to be indicators for caravans and watch-towers (cf. Dier, *Persien, Islam. Bk. in A'harān*, p. 59). Such towers were however found all over the Asiatic plains and through China to the Pacific Ocean. Of course very few of them were works of art. There are a number of exceptions in the contemporary names for such towers, like that of Mahmūd of Ghazna which is called an *imār* in an inscription (see below). One of the minarets of the *mosalla* in Herāt is called simply *imarat* in the inscription (cf. Niedermayer-Lies, *Afghanistan*, p. 59). The *stambhas* or *ṭūtas* erected by King Aśoka in India between 250—232 B.C. may be claimed as precursors of the minarets of eastern Islām; although actually pillars of much smaller size than a *mināra*, many of them already show the same division into a polygonal and a cylindrical section. Their object was also half religious and half monumental in character. They in turn came from the Indo-Aryan columns of wood which were put up from the earliest times as symbols of the deity. The Indo-Buddhist *stambhas* of brick in Kabul of uncertain date is a connecting link between these and the earliest Muslim memorial towers in Ghazna (see below).

Shape. From this similarity just mentioned, it is evident that the *manāras* follow the traditional shape of the towers of the country in question. In the Mediterranean lands, as H. Thiersch has shown, it was the lighthouses and in Syria the watch-towers, dwelling- and church-towers that

were the predecessors in form of the manāras. The *malwiya's* of Samarra and the manāra of Ibn Tulūn in Cairo again go back to old Oriental models. In Persia and Sijidistan also, Nestorian church towers may have given the early manāras their square and polygonal shape (cf. Dietz, *Persien, Isl. Bk. in Khuridān*, p. 75); but in the rivalry of shapes in the eastern empire the slender cylindrical manāra, which is often also called *mil*, won. It was the victory of the monumental building without windows over the western dwelling-tower with windows. Their earliest precursors were, as already mentioned, the Indian *lita*. The observatory towers built by Salṭāna Mahmūd and Mas'ūd III. in Ghazna were built as memorials of victories like the Indian *Djagatamāhas*. Their shape was suggested by India but remodelled by the spirit of Muslim Persia and given a character of their own (cf. Dietz, *op. cit.*, p. 76 and 151 *seq.*). The best monumental evidence of Indian inspiration is the Kūth Minār [q.v.] in Delhi (beg. of viith—xiiith century; cf. M. v. Berchem, in Dietz, *Churatanische Bauten*, p. 109 *seq.*). The fact that the Persians called them *mil* points to their ancestry, the primitive poles and pillars used as indicators. To such poles, which can still be found at the present day at saints' tombs, revered by the common people in the country districts of Persia, may perhaps be traced the square and octagonal decorative shafts of the city and mosque *twihs*, found in pairs in Persian towns with Turkish inhabitants and in Asia Minor. Although they are frequently in the shape of minarets and have a gallery, their object is as a rule merely decorative. Both groups of manāras, the square and the round, are hollow towers with a staircase winding up inside opening out on the gallery. In the old Persian minarets of brick, these galleries or *guldests* have been completely destroyed as they were made of wood. We must imagine them to have stood on cornices of cells with carved wooden railings, rafters and roofs such as may be seen everywhere in the surviving mināras at popular places of pilgrimage like Karbalā, Kum and Maghad. A comparison with the galleries in the towers of the wooden churches of Eastern Europe (e.g. in Transylvania) points to the descent of the minaret galleries from wooden buildings of an everyday character.

Form and Significance of the manāras. In spite of the similarity of purpose there is a marked difference, indeed contrast, between the minarets of eastern and western Islām. The square and polygonal minarets of the Maghrib, Egypt and Syria are still essentially buildings for habitation; the cylindrical manāras of the eastern lands are on the other hand distinctly monumental buildings, pillars symbolic of the deity. The angular minarets of the west are divided into stories by mouldings and have windows for communication with the outer world; they are usually heavy on a broad base, while in contrast the cylindrical minarets of the east incorporate the symbol of the absolute which has this form, the unique, the abstract, the irresistible ascension to the deity without transitions or stopping places. The minarets of the west remain individual towers, of which hardly two are alike; in the east of the viith (xiiith) century the cylindrical form was already established as the absolute and only one, never to be altered nor made capable of ascension, as the only possible

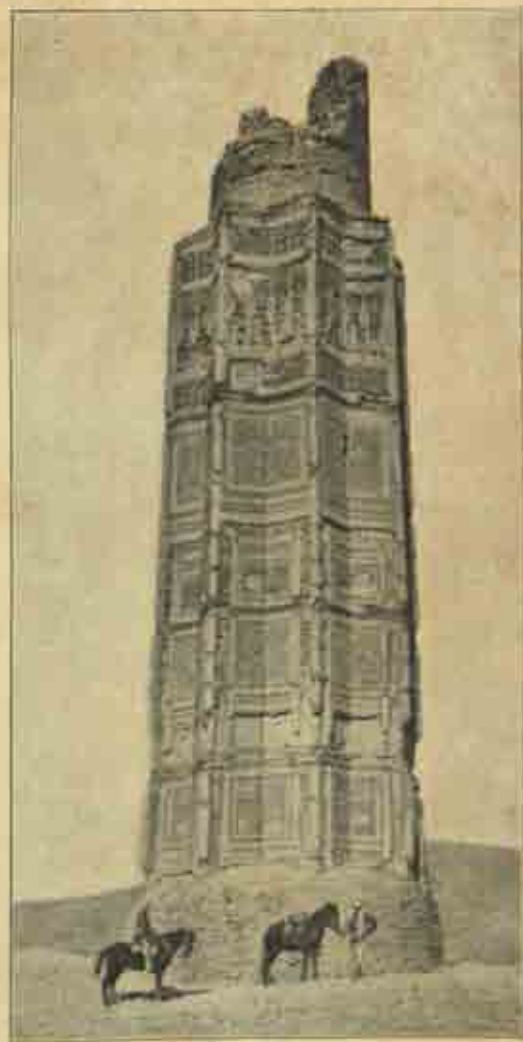
form of manāra. The minarets of the west thus remain ex-watch-, church- or lighthouse-towers without bells or lights, decorative survivals of a culture foreign to their nature; those of the east on the other hand were etherealised and became spiritual manāras. The Cairo minarets were an interesting sport in their shape; the Persian and Turkish on the other hand a confession of faith in monumental form. They soar up to the heavens with unimpeded vigour. The silhouette of their tiled decoration rises upwards on close inspection till finally the eye of the beholder is held by the marked effects of light and shade on the guldest. The form of the guldest however is chosen with an idea of magical effect. The spire rests on a gallery of cells, the secret of the construction of which the spectator cannot easily grasp and the decorative gallery of wooden rafters and railings glitters with bright colours above it. A coat of glaze and the gilt top reflect far and wide a magic reflection like the glazed dimes.

Shape and development of the manāra in different countries.—Syria is the original home of the square manāra, which there took over the old native form for watch-towers, dwelling-towers or grave-towers and the church-tower which succeeded them. Islām at first used the existing pre-Islamic towers as minarets, on to which mosques were frequently built, when old churches which already had towers were not taken over and adapted (cf. Brünnow in Thiersch, *Pharos*, p. 101). The oldest minarets of this kind are in Hawrān, the land of stone building *xar ḥayr*, which contained many old undecaying stone-towers (Bosra, manāra of the mosque of 'Umar b. al-Khattāb, inscription of the time of the Caliph 'Umar, *Dār al-Muslim* etc.). In Damascus the two southern minarets of the Omayyad mosque begun by Walid in 86 (705 [?]) belonged to the old church of St. John, while the northern minaret was a completely new building of Walid's. This is therefore the oldest independent Muslim manāra. The manāras of the Omayyad mosque became models not only for Syria but through the Omayyad migration to Spain (Cordova) for the Maghrib also. Wherever we later find in Syria the Egyptian tower-form, there is always definite Egyptian influence present and as a rule they are Mamlik foundations. It is still hardly possible to compile a chronological list of Syrian manāras (cf. Thiersch, *op. cit.*, p. 99—110 and the illustrations).

Palestine. In this country on the borders of Egypt, the influence of the latter country made itself felt. The octagonal manāra on a square base predominates. The manāra of the chief mosque in Ghazna shows an octagon diminishing in width by successive stages; while the minaret of the mosque of al-Hāshim there has the same diameter throughout and is only divided into four stories with windows by large mouldings. The smaller mosques have short squat octagonal towers. The manāra of 'Alī Bakka in Hebron is half rectangular and half octagonal with a high miḥrāb-like niche in the lower story. The octagonal tower is found as far as Jerusalem, where it meets with the northern Syrian square towers. The latter is again found at Harām al-Sharif and in the mosque of Sūda 'Umar beside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and along the coast in Jaffa, Haifa, Sidon, Tyre and Haifa, and in the interior in Tiberias, Safed, Nāblus, etc. On the other hand



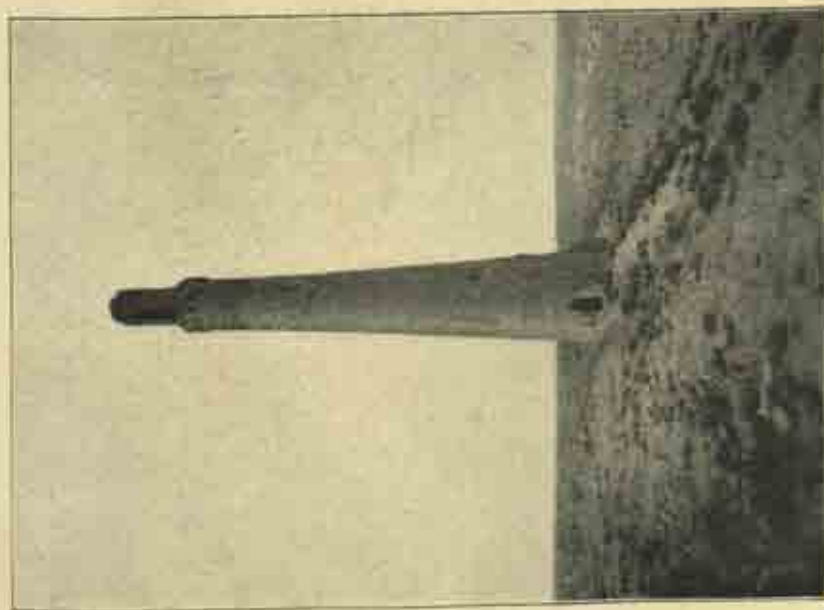
Khusrawgird near Sabzewar in Khorāsān:
Mauṛa of 505 (1111)



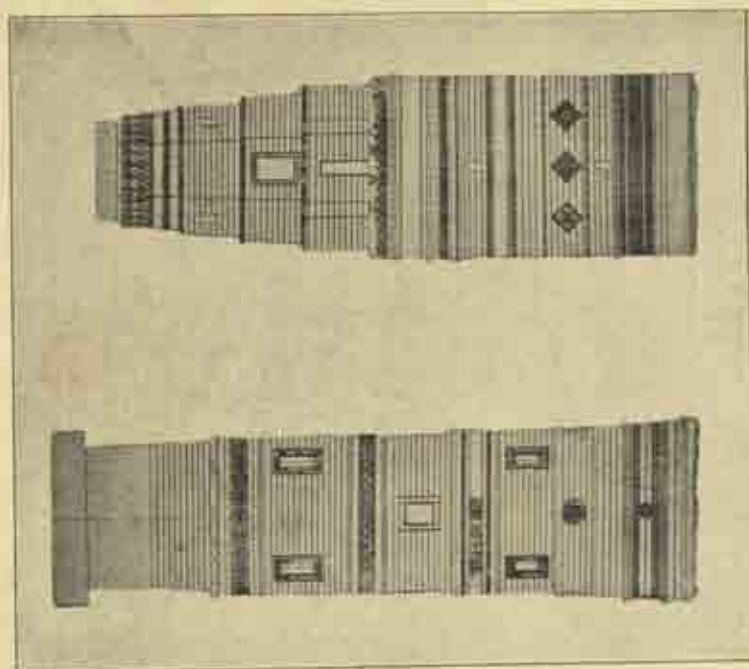
Gharna: Mauṛa of Ma'ād of 495 (1101-1102)



Cairo: Mosques of the Mamlūk period



Sangbani near Masliah in Khordgan; Manira
of N. R. 1827, 9th (18th) cent.



Cairo: sketches of the two Maniras with outer
covering of the Mosque of Hakim

the manāra in Ramla of the viiith (xiith) century is unique with its buttresses and pointed arched niches and dwarf pillars and columns. Thiersch takes it to be a copy of the most celebrated Christian tower of the country, the bell-tower of the Holy Sepulchre built in 1160—1180 in Jerusalem, of which only the base is still standing; (cf. Thiersch, *op. cit.*, p. 119 *seq.* and the pictures there).

Egypt. The oldest manāra in Egypt is the tower of the Dīmi' b. Tūlūn. Like the Malwiya of Sāmarrā, this minaret stands outside the mosque and resembles them in form also, although it differs in its material which is limestone. The first storey is a square tower with a window with horseshoe arches, the second is cylindrical and an outer staircase leads up around them. The two upper octagonal stories are later in date, having been erected by the Mamlūk Sultan Lādīm. Nothing final can be said about this manāra, apparently erected by a foreign architect and combining a number of foreign influences. The manāras next to it in time are the five towers of hewn stone of the mosque of Ḥakīm with their covering of tiles of a later date; they must be contemporary with the mosque, which was built in 393—404 (1002—1013), and were covered by Baibars II and given new spires (703 = 1303—1304). They are of different shapes. The northern tower is cylindrical on a square base, the southern has a square lower half and four octagonal upper stories, each narrower than the one below it, the first of which has four semi-cylindrical cornices in the corners. The decoration in relief on the stone has analogies in the gateway of the same date (pictures in Diez, *A. d. Isl. Volk*, I, p. 58; *, p. 54). Of these two towers the southern one may be considered the ancestor of the minarets of Cairo. Its square-octagonal form, usually crowned by a cylindrical storey, survives. The further development is limited to the proportions, which aim at greater elegance and slenderness, and the breaking up of the surface with niches and muqarnas cornices. Towards the end of the second Mamlūk period, say under Ka'it Bey, it reached its culmination. The minaret of the mosque at his tomb was never to be surpassed in grace and wealth of ornament. A list of the most important minarets of Cairo between 1000—1356 A. D. is given by Thiersch with many illustrations.

Arabia. As in Palestine, in Arabia there was no native type of manāra and indeed Arabia never developed any sacral architecture with a character of its own. The minaret of the mosque of Walid in Medina may have been Syrian in form. The manāras at present standing in Medina belong to the sixth restoration of the mosque by Ka'it Bey in 888 (1483). They are slender minarets of the Mamlūk type with octagonal and cylindrical stories. The seven manāras in Mecca, the sanctuary of which was ten times restored, only show modern forms of tower, frequently influenced by the slender Turkish form (cf. Thiersch, *op. cit.*, p. 123). Two slender round minarets of the ixth (xvth) century still flank the ruined mosque on the island of Bahrain (cf. Diez, *Jahrb. d. dt. Kunst*, 1925, ii. 2).

Maghrib. The oldest *zawmā'a*, as the manāras of the Maghrib are called, in Africa is in Kairuān, the massive three storied tower of the mosque of Sidi 'Oktā of 105 (724). The two upper receding stories with blind niches are probably of later

date than the unadorned upper storey with loopholes on three sides and three windows only on the side that looks on the court. The cistern in the basement and the measurements of this tower which are exactly half those of the Pharos, suggested to Thiersch that it was an imitation of the Pharos. Another *zawmā'a*, also of the ixth (viiith) century was the minaret of the Dīmi' al-Zūna in Tunis before its restoration in the sixteenth century. Old pictures of it show a plain square lower storey with a narrower octagonal upper storey and the platform on top enclosed by a breast-high parapet with a pillared gallery. Of this probably only the lower part is old, while the second storey and the parapet date from the restoration of 1653 (pictures in *A. d. O.*, ix.; Kühnel, *Maurische Kunst*, vi.). Egyptian influence, in so far as such existed, extended to Tunis. West of Tunis begins the Spanish sphere of influence, the model for which was the *zawmā'a* in Cordova built by 'Abd al-Rahmān III in 339—340 (951) and destroyed in 1593. A description of it is given by Idrisi (c. 548 = 1154). According to him, the minaret of Cordova was a high quadrangular tower, square in plan, the sides of which were richly adorned with inscriptions in relief. The upper section terminated in two rows of blind arcades probably like those still to be seen in the mosque of Cordova and on other minarets of the Maghrib. On the platform was a second, probably also square, storey with four doors and upon the dome which crowned it shone three halls of gold and two of silver and lily leaves (cf. Thiersch, *op. cit.*, p. 127). This minaret however had a predecessor in a more modest tower built by 'Abd al-Rahmān I, the model of which according to Marçais (*Rev. Afr.*, 1906) was Walid's minarets in Damascus. The second, imposing and splendid, minaret at Cordova seems to have served as a model for the *zawmā'as* of Seville and Morocco. At the same time we must consider the claims of the minaret of the Ka'la Bani Hammād built in 393 (1001), the only tower that survives of the Fatimid period, which was half destroyed by the Almohads in 1152 (cf. Saladin, *Bull. arch.*, 1904, p. 243 *seq.*). It is a high square tower of hewn stone, smooth on three sides and embellished on the courtyard side only with shallow blind niches and balcony doors in three layers above one another (pictures in Thiersch, *op. cit.*, p. 130; Kühnel, *op. cit.*, xviii.; Saladin, *Mannet*, p. 217; Marçais, *Mannet* and *op. cit.*). This tower already shows the scheme of decoration of the Giralda and allied towers, namely the vertical combination of two windows or doors of the middle axis above one another by flanking double high shallow niches. The almost contemporary Giralda in Seville of about 1190 A. D., the so-called Tower of Hasan in Rabat and the Kutubiya in Marrākuṣh are allied to it, the two latter of the end of the viiith (xiith) century (pictures in Thiersch, Kühnel, Marçais), all square with narrower square top stories, of which only that of the Kutubiya still survives. These towers already show the system of decorating the surface now becoming typical in the later Maghribi manāras, the network of geometrical patterns in high relief and the beautiful windows with horseshoe and toothed arches and muqarnas niches. In the other towers of Morocco, in Fez, Tetuān, Tangier, etc., are more modern minarets. The characteristic type of Algeria is best seen in the numerous minarets in Tlemcen, mainly of the xiiith—xivth

century. They continue the form, characterized above, only the geometrical decoration in relief gains the upper hand and the windows disappear; their appearance is not quite so solid. On the other hand, the huge minaret of the great mosque of Manṣūra is highly thought of in Morocco for its size as well as its decoration, because it was built by a Moroccan Marinid (701-702 = 1302). The square tower therefore dominates the whole of the west. It is only later in the xvth century that we find the octagonal tower appearing in Tunis, which Saladin attributes to Hanafi influence.

The 'Irāk and Džazīra give a picture of development similar to that of Persia and the lands east of Persia. The oldest manāras still standing, the two malwiyas in Samarra of the iijth (ixth) century, have remained the only examples of spiral towers but they are significant monuments of the early Muslim Arab variation of Babylonian architecture (the spiral as motif). These genuinely Arab buildings were followed by a reaction towards the Mediterranean style with square and octagonal towers and with the coming of the Turkish peoples and Seldjūk rule the cylindrical minaret, usually on a polygonal base. The following list is given by Herzfeld (*Arch. Reist.* ii. 229): Raḡḡa, mosque extra muros, rectangular tower of the ivth (xth) or vth (xith) century; Raḡḡa, intra muros, a round tower, Nūr al-Dīn 561 (1166); Abū Huraira, round; Bāli, octagonal, 589 (1193) to 615 (1218); Irbil, round on octagonal base 586-630 (1190-1232); Sindhār, round on polygonal base 598 (1201); Bagdad, Saḡ al-Ghazī, round on a base (?) (630 = 1232); Mōsul, minaret of the great mosque, round on a cubical base; Mōsul, minaret of the Ka'fa, round on a cubical base; Mōsul, Manāra al-Mak-sūra; Ta'ik, round shaft on a polygonal base. In addition there is the unique octagonal minaret built of small broken stones with a covering of plaster, on the island of 'Ana in the Euphrates of the vth (xth) century (Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii. 319, and Pl. 137) and the bulk of the later minarets from the viith (xivth) century onwards, which repeat this type.

Persia. The oldest manāras of Irān and the countries adjoining on east and north, Afghanistan, Sijidjīstān and Turkeṣtān seem to have been usually octagonal, as the ruin of the manāra, possibly of the liith (ixth) century in Zaranj. Nūr 'Alī, Sijidjīstān (now 25-30 feet, originally twice as high; cf. G. P. Tate, *Sistan*, Calcutta 1910, p. 202 and Plate) shows. The models for these earliest manāras may have been the watch-towers found all over the Asiatic steppes, hence the blind window and the great diameter. Octagonal manāras still exist in Amrān, Sijidjīstān (vth-viith century?); octagonal with cylindrical upper storey are the two observatory towers of Ghazna of about 410 (1019-1020) and 495 (1101-1102) (the original height was estimated at about 140 feet; the inscriptions on the two towers only say that their erection was ordered by Maḥmūd and Ma'ūd respectively, both with full titles; cf. Diez, *Chur. Bālm.*, p. 162 197). Counterparts to these towers in two parts are the manāras in Sirwān, east of Herāt (c. 100 feet high) and Kerāt in eastern Khurāsān (c. 80 feet high), with octagonal bases and cylindrical shaft, both of the vth (xith)-viith (xith) centuries. Cylindrical manāras of the vth-viith (xth-xiith) centuries still survive in Persia and the lands east of it in Sangbāt, Fīrūzshād, Kāsim-

Shād (Sijidjīstān), Khoarūgird (Sabzawar) of the year 505 (1111), Damghān, (2) Bastām, Sawa, Semnān, Tabas, Kunya Urgendj (old Khtwa), Termez on the Amū Daryā, Būkhārā, Manār-i Kalyān 542 (1147-1148), Kāshān, Mestoryān (Turkoman steppes north of the Atrek, 2 towers) and Isfahān (4) (cf. the list in Diez, *Persien, Lit. Bk. in Churāsān*, b. 168-169). In the Timūrid period with the general flourishing of architecture the manāras are given a further last increase in their embellishment, a few examples of which are still to be seen in the Timūrid ruins in Herāt. Here we still have the ruins of nine polygonal-cylindrical manāras the soles of which are usually of slabs of white marble with inscriptions in relief, the shafts to the top covered with glazed mosaics of fabulous beauty which in their delicacy recall the work of the carver in ivory (cf. Niedermayer-Diez, *Afghanistan*, p. 58 199, and illustrations, p. 157 199). To this Timūrid group also belong the manāras in Samarkand mostly in ruins and the minarets of the Masjid-i Shāh in Mashhad built by the amir Malik Shāh and the two minarets now destroyed of the Blue Mosque in Tabriz, built in the time of Džahān Shāh (841-872 = 1437-1467). The last mentioned minarets belong to the group of double towers found all over Persia and Turkeṣtān which either flank the doors or stand at the corners of the wall of a mosque or are built on the top of the doors. These double towers which become more and more common after the Seldjūk and Mongol invasions never of course attained the height of the single manāras just described and their importance lies mainly in their decoration.

Asia Minor and Turkey. Among the Seldjūks and Ottomans the manāra lost the character and individuality which it revealed among most other peoples, at least in the early period. Apart from isolated exceptions like the very interesting fluted minaret at Adalia (pictures in Lanckoroński, and Thiersch, *op. cit.*, p. 149), the minarets are henceforth subordinated in the general architectonic scheme to the main building, either placed as a pair at the gate or as a single tower built into the wall of the mosque. It is true that these arrangements are found also in Persia, which was filled with Turkish tribes, but there was constant change there, while in Asia Minor a certain style soon became predominant which culminated in the absolute uniformity of the Ottoman minarets. The early minarets of Asia Minor of the xiiith century usually have their surfaces broken up into round and smooth areas which give them a certain charm, especially when this plastic ornamentation is combined with the painting of frescoes and with relief (Laranda Masjid and Indje Minareli, Konis, Gök Medrese, Sirwān, etc.). The Ottomans heightened the minaret which they had taken over from the Seldjūks, made it still more slender and gave it a long conical spire which has become typical. According to the importance of the mosque, it was given one tower on the front or flanked with two or even 4 or six minarets (the Mosque of Sulṭān Ahmad, Constantinople) and these were given one, two or three galleries.

India. In India there is only a single old manāra of importance: the Kutb Minār (q. v. and the illustrations) in Old Delhi built by order of Aibek Kutb al-Dīn and completed by Iltutmish (diameter 45 feet and height 240 feet). The three lower stories of this, the highest and finest ma-

nāra in the Muslim world, are built of red sandstone, the two upper, which have been restored, of white marble with layers of sandstone. The pavilion which once crowned the top fell down in 1803 during an earthquake and was put up again on the ground. The exterior is of angular and round flutings and ornamented with inscriptions from the Qur'ān. There is no reason to doubt that the numerous mosques of the Pathan dynasties also had minarets but most of them seem to be destroyed and so far as I am aware no one has yet studied the subject. Isolated surviving minarets like the detached slender round minaret of the Lat-ki-Masjid in Hissar show however that they were usual (cf. *Arch. Surv. India, Annual Report*, Pt. 1, 1913—1914, Pl. I). But their occurrence in India was confined to particular areas. The mosques of Dhanpur, Sirke, Mandi, Kulbargah and other places usually of the xvth—xvth century have no minarets. On the other hand they are characteristic of the xvth—xvth century mosques in Ahmadābād, built in pairs flanking the doors or at the corners of the surrounding wall, as in the Mongol mosques of Persia. In shape, the towers of Ahmadābād are quite Indian with well marked outlines, many mouldings outside and three to six galleries. In the Moghul empire again the smooth round or faceted minaret of Persian origin again became predominant but was Hinduised by the pavilion placed on the top and by other alterations.

Bibliography: The fundamental monograph on the manāra is Herman Thiersch, *Pharos in Antike, Islam und Occident* (B. G. Teubner, Leipzig and Berlin 1909); where references are given to the detailed literature. Further general works: E. Dietz, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker* (Supplement to *Hdbch. d. Kunstwissenschaft*, Wildpark-Postdam, 1915; 2 1927); Saladin, *Manuel d'art musulman*, Paris 1907; new ed. by G. Marçais, 1926; cf. also M. v. Berchem's article ARCHITECTURE in this encyclopaedia. — For the separate countries:

Syria: M. v. Berchem, *Inscriptions arabes de Syrie, Mémoires de l'Institut Égyptien*, Cairo 1897; do., *Voyage en Syrie, M.I.F.A.O.*, 1914, 2 vols.; R. Phené Spiers, *The great Mosque of the Omeyyads, Damascus and do., Architecture, East and West*, London 1907; Marçais, *Mosquée de Waddi, Rev. Afr.*, 1; *J. A.*, 1896, new ser., vii.; F. K. Walsinger and C. Wattinger, *Damascus, die antike und die islamische Stadt*, 2 vols.; cf. on vol. I, Herzfeld's criticism in *D. L. Z.*, 1922. — Egypt: M. v. Berchem, *C. I. A.*, I, passim; do., *Notes d'Archéologie Arabe, Monuments et Inscriptions Fatimides, J. A.*, 1891 and 1892; K. A. C. Creswell, *British Chronology of the Muhammadan Monuments in Egypt to A.D. 1517, B. I. F. A. O.*, vol. xvi.; M. S. Briggs, *Muhammadan Architecture in Egypt and Palestine*, Oxford 1924; the source for the architecture in Egypt is the *Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'art arabe* (over 30 vols.). — Maghrib: M. v. Berchem, *L'art musulman au musée de Tlemcen, Journal d. Savants*, 1906; G. Marçais, *Les monuments arabes de Tlemcen*; do., in *R. A.*, xlix. and l.; do., *L'art en Algérie, Algiers 1906*; Saladin, *La mosquée de Sidi-Ohba à Kairouan*, Paris 1903; G. Marçais, *Manuel de l'art musulman*, deals very thoroughly with the Maghrib; E.

Kühnel, *Die Qal'a der Beni Hammad in Algerien, Monatshefte f. Kw.*, 1/II, 1908, p. 1013—1016; do., *Algerien*, Leipzig 1909, *Stätten d. Kultur*, vol. xviii. — Iraq and Hijaz: Sarre-Hersfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, Berlin 1911, 4 vols., index. — Persia, Turkistan, Afghanistan: F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, 2 vols., Berlin 1910; Dietz, *Churdmännische Baudenkmäler*, with a contribution by M. v. Berchem, Berlin 1918; do., *Persien, Islamische Baukunst in Churdmänn*, Hagen and Munich 1923; do., *Die buddhistischen und islamischen Baudenkmäler Afghanistan*, in *Niedermaier-Dietz, Afghanistan*, Leipzig 1924. — Asia Minor and Turkey: F. Sarre, a. W.; M. v. Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, III: *Aile Minure, Cairo 1910*; J. H. Luytved, *Konia, Inschriften der seldschugischen Bauten*, Berlin 1907; C. Guritt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, Berlin 1912, 3 vols. — India: *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1871; Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1900, 2 vols.; Emanuel La Roche, *Indische Baukunst*, 1921, 6 vols. (E. Dietz).

MANAT, an old Arabian goddess. Her character can only be deduced from her name, which may safely be connected as a plural (for *manawāt*) with the Aramaic *manā*, plur. *manāwāt*, portion, lot, Hebrew *mānā*, plur. *manān* and also with the god of fate *manī*, Is. lxx. 11 (cf. lxx.). In Arabic we have corresponding to it, *maniya*, plur. *manāya*, "the allotted, fate, especially of death". She was therefore a goddess of fate, especially of death. Her main sanctuary was a black stone among the Haghailis in Qadai, not far from Mecca on the road to Medina near a hill called Mughallai. She was however worshipped by many Arab tribes, primarily by the Aws and Khazraj in Yathrib. In Mecca she was very popular along with the goddess al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā [q. v.]; the three (according to the Qur'ān) were regarded as Allāh's daughters, and in a weak moment Muhammad declared their worship permitted (cf. Sūra liii, 19 sq.). The obscure expression "Manat, the third, the other" is probably due simply to the rhyme. According to Ibn al-Kalbī, she was the oldest deity, whose worship gave rise to that of the others, because names compounded with Manat occur earlier than other theophoric names. Another view is found in the poem of Ibn Hishām, p. 145, where "the two daughters of 'Uzzā" are Manat and al-Lāt. As an independent deity we find her in the Nabataean inscriptions of al-Hidjr, where מנא (the Aramaic plural form; cf. above) is often found along with Dughāra and others. Manat is connected in a peculiar way by some writers with the great *ḥadīṣ* [q. v.], for we are told that several tribes including the Aws and Khazraj assumed the *ḥadīṣ* at the sanctuary of Manat and on the conclusion of the rites cut their hair there and dropped the *ḥadīṣ* [q. v.]. Wellhausen sees in this an erroneous confusion of an independent pilgrimage to Manat with the great *ḥadīṣ*, as later writers acknowledge none but the latter; it is however possible that some such confusion may really have taken place in pagan times.

That Manat was also a domestic deity is evident from the story in Ibn Hishām, p. 350 (cf. Wākidī, ed. Wellhausen, p. 350). The destruction of the

great sanctuary in Khudaïd after the capture of Mecca is attributed by some to Abū Sufyān, by others to 'Alī, according to Wāḳidī, *op. cit.*, Ibn Sa'd, *lil.* 15, 25, to the Awsī Sa'd b. Zaid.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 652-654; Wellhausen, *Reise arabischen Hidentums*, p. 25-29; Ibn Hishām, p. 55; Tabari, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, i. 1649; Asrafi, ed. Wüstenfeld, *C.S.M.*, i. 76, 82, 154; commentaries on Sūra lil. 19; Nöldeke, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xli. 709; Bukhārī, ed. Krehl, lil. 161; Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique*, i. 491 (Index); Caskel, *Das Schickel in der altarabischen Poesie (Morgent. Texte und Forschungen)*, ed. by H. Fischer, 1/5). (Fr. Buhl)

MANĀZGERD. [See MĀLĀZGERD.]

AL-MANĀZIL (A.), pl. of *al-manzil*, more fully *manzil al-ḥamār*, the stations of the moon. Just as for the sun the zodiacal circle is divided into 12 stations each of 30°, which it traverses in the course of a year, so the course of the moon is connected with 28 groups of stars, each of which corresponds to one day of its course, so that on an average each is an arc of 13° apart. The settings of the sun at these stations, Arabic *manāz*, pl. *manāzil*, are of decisive importance for the beginning and forecasting of the phenomena of the weather and the fertility or otherwise of a year which depends on them, i.e. for the peasant's calendar. As regards the testimony of the Arab poets, the reader may be referred to the verses given by al-Kāzimi. M. Steinschneider in particular has published very thorough investigations of the importance of the stations of the moon among the Hindus and Arabs from Arabic, Hebrew and late Latin sources. The Arabic names of the stations and the constellations belonging to them are as follows:

1. *al-Sharāṭīn*, "the two signs", also *al-Aḥrāṭī*; the Horns of the Ram (β γ Arietis).
2. *al-Buṭāin*, "the little paunch"; the paunch of the Ram (α δ ε Arietis).
3. *al-Zūraiṣā*, "the Pleiades" (q. v.).
4. *al-Dalārān*, "the Aldebaran" (α Tauri) with the Hyades.
5. *al-Ḥaṣ'a*, three small stars on the head of Orion.
6. *al-Ḥan'a*, the stars *al-Zirr* and *al-Mairān* (γ ξ Geminorum).
7. *al-Dhira'*, "the Lion's Paw"; Castor and Pollux (α β Geminorum).
8. *al-Naṣṣra*, "the nostril" of the Lion or fence with asses (in Cancer).
9. *al-Tarf*, i.e. *Tarf al-Asad*, "the eye" of the Lion (ξ Cancri & Leonis).
10. *al-Djabbā*, i.e. *Djabhat al-Asad*, "the forehead" of the Lion (ζ γ α Leonis).
11. *al-Zubra*, i.e. *Zubrat al-Asad*, "the mane" of the Lion (δ ε Leonis).
12. *al-Sarfa*, "the weathercock" (β Leonis).
13. *al-Samra'*, "the barkers" or Dogs (β γ δ Virg.).
14. *al-Simāl*, "the prominent", more accurately *al-Simāl al-aṣat*, the unarmed S. (α Virg. = Spica; cf. *E. l.* iii. 456).
15. *al-Ḥaṣra*, "the cover" (φ α Virginis).
16. *al-Zubāna*, i.e. *Zubānat al-Aḥra*, "the pincers" of the Scorpion (α β Librae).
17. *al-Ḥalī*, "the crown", i.e. the head of the Scorpion, the three stars (β δ ε Librae).
18. *al-Qalb*, "the heart" of the Scorpion, the Antares (α Scorpi.).

19. *al-Shawla*, "the tail" or sting of the Scorpion (λ υ Scorpi.).

20. *al-Naṣīm*, "the ostriches", 8 stars in Sagittarius (γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ Sagitt.).

21. *al-Balda*, "the town", an area in Sag. without stars.

22. *Sa'd al-Dhābiḥ*, "the luck of the slayer" or sacrifices (α β Capric.).

23. *Sa'd Bala'*, "the luck of the devourer" (μ ν Aquar.).

24. *Sa'd al-Sa'ūd*, "the greatest luck" (β γ Aquar.).

25. *Sa'd al-Aḥbiya*, "the luck of the tents" (γ ζ η Aquar.).

26. *al-Fargh al-awwal*, "the fore socket" on the pail (α β Pegasi).

27. *al-Fargh al-ḥamī*, "the hinder socket" on the pail (γ Peg. & Androm.).

28. *Baṭn al-Ḥūt*, "the fish-belly", a number of stars in the form of a fish (β Androm. the brightest).

Bibliography: W. Jones, *On the Antiquity of the Indian Zodiac*, in *As. Researches*, vol. ii. 99; L. Ideler, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, p. 120, 148, esp. p. 287 sq.; al-Kāzimi, *Al-Jāz' al-Maḥḥabāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 41-52, transl. Ethé, *Kosmographie*, p. 87-106; M. Steinschneider, *Über die Mandastationen (Noxatra) und das Buch Arandam*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xviii. 1864, p. 118-120; do., *Zur Geschichte der Überlieferungen aus dem Indischen in Arabische*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxiv. 1870, p. 359; H. Suter, *Das Mathematiker-Verzeichnis im Fihrist*, p. 77; Ferrand, *Geogr.*, i. (J. RUSKA)

MANBIDJ (Bambyke, Hierapolis), an ancient city in northern Syria, two days' journey or 10 farsakh N.E. of Halab, about 3 farsakhs from the Euphrates. It lay in a fertile plain, and had a double wall built by the Greeks. According to Ibn Khurdādhbih, there was a very fine church there, built of wood (*B.G.A.*, vi. 161 sq.). Ps. Dionysius (ed. Chabot, p. 47, 68) mentions a church of the Virgin and another of St. Thomas in Manbidj. There were no buildings in the neighbourhood of the town (Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, ed. Schefer, p. 31); Abu 'l-Fida' mentions the many canals, fruit- and particularly mulberry-trees there, the latter for the silkworm culture. As K. Ritter (*Erdkunde*, x. 1057 sq.) has shown, the name *Βάμβυξ* for the silkworm can hardly be connected with "Bambyke", the old name of Manbidj; on the other hand, the Levantine trade-name *bombazina*, *bombagio*, common in the middle ages for raw cotton, seems to be derived from Manbidj; it is perhaps also concealed in the name of the ancient Phrygian Hierapolis, Pambuk-Kal'esi (as early as Michael Syrus, ed. Chabot, i. 148; Mabbug in Phrygia). The Arabs called the robes made in Manbidj, *manbidjāniya* (Lammens, *Fāfima*, Rome 1912, p. 71).

Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-'Adīm gives the following account of its origin: Khusrāw [I] built it, when he conquered Syria (in reality the town in 540 A.D. ransomed itself from a threatened siege by paying tribute), built a fire-temple there and made a certain Yazdānyār of the family of Ardashir b. Bābak its governor. According to other authorities, Manbidj was the name of the fire-temple, from which the town took its name (Ibn al-Shihna, *al-Durr al-muntakhab fī Tārīkh Halab*, ed. Sarkis, Bairūt 1909, p. 227). Mabbug (Agapioz) b. Kustantīn of Manbidj says in his history of the world written

in the tenth century, at the end of the history of the patriarchs (ed. Vasiliev, *Patrol. Orient.*, v. [1910], p. 664): "In the year 31 after the birth of Levi, the son of Jacob, queen Samrin built a great sanctuary for the worship of the idol *Kay-nas* in a town on the banks of the Euphrates (F), installed 70 priests and called the town Hieropolis (Mahbub: *أبروليس*; Ibn al-Shihna, p. 227: *أبروليس*, var.

أبروليس), i.e. the City of the Priests; this was the town *Manbidj al-Atika*". For *Kay-nas* *Kaywān* should be read; on the coins of Hieropolis this deity seems also to be depicted (Wroth, *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria* [Brit. Mus.], 1899, p. liii.), and the Armenian Epiphanius (ed. Finck, p. 12) says: "Erapolis consists of 3 towns: it is called Mapēn; in it is the idol *Kaynana*"; with Preuschen (*Götting. Gel. Anz.*, clxvii. [1905], li. p. 837, note 3) we should here also read *Kaywan*.

In reality Manbidj seems to have already been known to the Assyrians (as Nappigi or Nampigi in Salmanassar, *Karêh-Memolith*, rev. 35; Johns, *Assyr. Bibl.*, xvii. 11, 82; cf. also Bambuki on the cuneiform tablet *Brit. Mus. K 180*, in Johns, *Assyr. Deeds and Documents*, No. 773; Cheyne's *Encycl. Bibl.*, s.v. *Carchemish*). If the name is of Semitic origin, it perhaps goes back to a Syriac word *mambog*, "spring" (Nöldeke, *Nachr. G.G.W.*, 1876, p. 5-8). The Greeks knew as the name of the town besides Hierapolis (on coins always Hieropolis) also the native form of *Βαμβούκ* (rarely *Βαμβούκ*; *Papyr. Oxyrh.*, xi. [1915], p. 197, col. v., l. 100); in the common proper name *Μαμβουγαίς* etc., Nabataean *Mamboghā*, the name of the town is concealed (for references see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenz.*, suppl. vol., iv., p. 733). The town which at first was included in Kyrhestikē and afterwards was made, probably by Constantine, the capital of the Syrian Euphratesia, played an important part in ancient times as the centre of the worship of Atargatis. Bardaisan was brought up here by a heathen priest Anūthbar and his son Kuduz. After the triumph of Christianity, the pagan cult was supplanted by the worship of holy relics, which also brought numbers of the faithful to Bambyke (Procopius of Gaza, *Puntyr.*, ch. 18, in Migne, *Patr. Græc.*, lxxxvii., iii., col. 2817). From the third century onwards the town is frequently mentioned as a place for the concentration of troops for campaigns against the east or for the defence of Syria. In the Byzantine period it was a great centre of the Monophysites, according to whose tradition Justinian married Theodora in Hierapolis; she is said to have belonged to the neighbourhood of the town (Michael Syrus, ii. 189). After the end of the Byzantine period, it was for a considerable period a stronghold of the Maronites (Michael Syrus, ii. 412, 511).

In the year 16 Abū Ubaida went to Halab al-Sādjiir and sent 'Isā b. Ghānim on to Manbidj. The inhabitants capitulated under the same conditions as the people of Antioch; when Abū Ubaida reached the town, the agreement was ratified (al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 150; al-Ya'qūbi, ed. Houtsma, ii. 161; Ibn al-Shihna, ed. Baifut, p. 228; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, iii., p. 792, § 281, p. 794, § 284, p. 797, § 290, p. 816, § 325). Manbidj seems to have enjoyed a certain degree of independence down to the time of Yazid I; the inhabitants of the town, for example, asked

'Umar for permission to trade within the caliphate (Lammens, *M. F. O. B.*, vi. 437, note 1). The vicinity of the town was settled by Yamani tribes (Michael Syrus, iii. 47), notably the Banī Taghlīb (Lammens, *op. cit.*, p. 445, note 1). Yazid, when he created the *djund* of Kinnasra threw Manbidj into this military province (al-Balādhuri, p. 132; Lammens, p. 437 *seq.*). Hārūn al-Rashid separated it again, made it the capital of the frontier district of the 'Awasim [q.v.] in 786 and appointed 'Abd al-Malik b. Šalīb b. All as wali there in 173, to whom the town owed many buildings (al-Balādhuri, *loc. cit.*). In 131 (748) it was severely damaged by an earthquake, in which the church of the Jacobites collapsed during mass and buried many of the worshippers in its ruins (Pseudo-Dionysios, transl. Chabot, p. 42; Michael Syrus, ii. 510; Beathgen, *Abh. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.*, viii/iii., 1884, p. 126). The brother of the caliph al-Mu'tasim, al-'Abbās, who had taken part in the mutiny led by the general 'Udjaif b. 'Anbasa, was tortured to death by Haidar b. Kāwus, the Afshin of Urdshana, at Manbidj in 223 (838) (Tabari, iii. 1265; Ibn al-Athir, ed. Tornberg, vi. 349; Michael Syrus, iii. 101; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalif.*, ii. 320). The conquest of Syria by Ahmad b. Tulūn in 264 (877-878) brought Manbidj also under Egyptian suzerainty (Ibn al-Shihna, p. 228). In the account of the *akaw āghyōnawōs* of Edessa, said to have been compiled by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitos, a miracle is mentioned that took place in the time of Christ at the *κέντρον ἱερουπόλεως*, ἢ τῇ μὲν Σαρακενῶν φωνῇ *Μαμβίχ λέγεται*, τῇ δὲ τῶν Σύρων *Μαμβούκα* (*De imag. Edess.*, in Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, cxliii., col. 432; better in von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, in *Texte u. Unters. z. altchristl. Lit.*, xviii., 51⁸²). Abgar's envoy, who was spending the night in a brickworks near Manbidj on his way back from Jerusalem hid there among the bricks the sacred handkerchief with the portrait of Christ. Terrified by the bright light like that at fire, the heathen inhabitants of the neighbourhood hurried next morning to the brickworks and found there a brick with a miraculous copy of the portrait, which they carefully preserved in their city.

The Hamdanid Saif al-Dawla, soon after the capture of Manbidj in 947, made his cousin, the poet Abū Firas, governor of Manbidj (Dvořák, *Abū Firas*, p. 75). When the Domestikos Nicephoros Phocas invaded Syria in 962, Abū Firas, who happened to be hunting outside the town, was taken prisoner by the strategos Bēdrus (Theodoros?, Petros?), a nephew of the emperor, and taken first to Kharghana and then to Constantinople (Dvořák, 98 *seq.*; Weil, iii. 17) where he wrote poems full of longing for Manbidj and his mother there (Dvořák, p. 300, 302, 323 *seq.*). In 966 when emperor, Nicephoros encamped before Manbidj and made the people of the town produce the sacred brick (*al-Kirmīda*, i.e. *argamāna*) but did them no other injury (Yāhyā al-Anṣārī, *Cod. Parisin. Bibl. Nat.*, anc. foud. ar. No. 131 A, fol. 96^a; the translation by Freytag, *Z. D. M. G.*, xi. 212, has been corrected by Rosen, *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk*, aliv., 1883, p. 07-08, note d). The Byzantine writers who apparently did not know that *Mamburka* was the Arabic name of Hierapolis and sought to locate it in Palestine or near Hims, wrongly make Nicephoros take Manbidj in 968 and carry off the brick and some hairs from the head of John the Baptist (which was only done

by his successor) (Leo Diaconos, Bonn, iv. 10, p. 71; John Skylitzes, ii. 364; Zonaras, xvi. 25, p. 503; Glykas, Bonn, p. 569 etc.) but this statement cannot be reconciled either with the route given for his campaign of 968 (cf. v. Dobschütz, *op. cit.*, p. 172, note 1; Schlumberger, *Nicéph. Phocas*, p. 704—706, note 5), nor with the bounds of his conquests given by Kamāl al-Dīn (in Freytag, *Z. D. M. G.*, xl. 232). It was his successor John Tzimiskes, who first took the fortress (ἑρμύριον) of Manbij in 974, and found there Christ's sandals and some still bloody hairs of John the Baptist, which he brought as relics to Byzantium (Leo Diaconos, x. 4, p. 165).

In the year 1025 the Mirdāsīd Šālih took the town (J. J. Müller, *Historia Merdasidarum ex Halebnibus Cernaleddini annalibus excerpta*, Bonn 1819; Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 68). By the treaties between Mahmūd and 'Alīya [cf. HALAB, ii. p. 345*] Manbij passed in 456—457 to 'Ayya (Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 56 sq.). In 472 (1079—1080) Tādī al-Dawla Tutuṣh occupied the town (Müller, p. 88). The emperor Romanus IV Diogenes took it on his Syrian campaign in 1068 and strengthened the defences of the citadel (John Skylitzes, Bonn, ii. 673, 675, 685; Michael Attaliates, Bonn, p. 108 sq., 111, 116; Zonaras, xviii. 11, 26, Bonn, iii. 691; Michael Syrus, iii. 168; Matthēos of Uḫay, transl. Dulaurier, p. 162; Weil, iii. 112; Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 63 sq., where it is wrongly stated that Manbij remained Greek for 70 years). It was not till 479 (1086) that Malik-ghāh deprived the Greeks of Manbij and al-Ruha, and gave the rule over Halab, Hamā, Manbij and al-Lādhiḳya to Aḫ-Sonḳor (Ibn al-Aṭīr, x. 98; Weil, iii. 131).

In 504 (1110—1111) the Franks conquered Manbij, occupied and plundered the town and advanced as far as Bālis which they burned (Röhrich, *Geich. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, p. 88; Weil, iii. 193; according to Michael Syrus, iii. 215, probably wrongly, in the year 502). But they lost Manbij again in the same year (504) (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annal. Musulm.*, ed. Reiske, iii. 370). Baldwin II in 513 (1119) invaded the lands east of Halab as far as Manbij and al-Nukra, and Joscelin, in the following year, on the pretext that one of his followers had been imprisoned in Manbij and that no compensation had been given to him for it, plundered the lands of al-Nukra and al-Aḥas (Recueil hist. or. crois., iii. 623, 625). When Nūr al-Dawla Balag enticed the amir of Manbij, Ḥassān al-Ba'labakki, within his power and then imprisoned him in Palā, Ḥassān's brother 'Isā seized the citadel of Manbij, which Balag then attacked with siege artillery (1124). 'Isā then appealed for help to Joscelin and had him proclaimed lord of Manbij, but Joscelin suffered a severe defeat before the walls of the town. On the next day, however, Balag was mortally wounded by an arrow shot by an unknown hand (according to Kamāl al-Dīn, by 'Isā himself; according to Matthēos of Edessa, by a sun-worshipper). In 518 (1124) Ḥassān was liberated and returned to Manbij (Ibn al-Aṭīr, x. 436; Michael Syrus, iii. 211; Matthēos of Edessa, transl. Dulaurier, p. 311 sq.; Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 161 sq.). The Crusaders never again took the town after the brief occupation in 504. Although we know of Frankish archbishops of the town (cf. William of Tyre, xiii. 11; xv. 14; xvii. 17) one of whom, Franco, took part in the Council of An-

tioch of Nov. 30, 1139 (Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 223), we also know that they did not reside in Manbij itself but in Duḫk (Doliche) (Michael Syrus, iii. 191). In the old French text of William of Tyre, the archbishopric is called *Geraple* (ed. Paris, I. 489; ii. 68, 167), a name which has often been identified with the modern *Qerābulus* (*Qerābuli*) (Ray, *Les colonies françaises de Syrie*, Paris 1883, p. 315; cf. also Bischof, in *Ansland*, 1873, p. 136). This equation must however be rejected on phonetic grounds (Hogarth, *Annals of Archaeol. and Anthropol.*, Liverpool, ii. [1909], p. 166, note) as well as historical (*Qerābulus* = Syr. *Agropos*, *Ἐβρωτες*).

The Atābeg 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī in 521 (1127—1128) seized the towns of Manbij and Ḥiṣn Biṣā'a and entered Halab on the 17th Djumādā II, 522 (*Recueil hist. or. crois.*, I. 17, 380; ii. 69). The emperor John II Comnenos on his campaign against Zangī (1142) only captured Biṣā'a (Ḥiṣā), while he passed by Manbij (ṭā Bāḥar) because, as Niketas (Bonn, p. 37) disparagingly remarks, it was considered easy to take and lay in the hollow of a valley (ὡς ἐν καταρτήσιν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὁρατὰς), a statement, which in view of the lack of success at the sieges of Halab and Shaizar hardly seems credible. Anna Comnena mentions (Bonn, I. 331) a certain *Ἡεμπερζήτης* (i. e. al-Manbijī), *τὸν ἐπικουρῶντα αὐτὴν ἐν ἐνεγκαμένης λαχόν*, as in the Byzantine service; but the Byzantines never occupied the town itself after the eleventh century.

An amir Ḥassān of Manbij, probably a descendant of the same name of the Ḥassān already mentioned, distinguished himself frequently in the fighting against the Crusaders, especially by the capture of Tell Bāḥit on July 8, 1151 (Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, *R. O. L.*, iii. 526 sq.; Röhrich, *Geich. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, p. 197, 268, note 3, 281). He was succeeded by his son Ghāzi (Kamāl al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 543). He rebelled against Nūr al-Dīn from whom he had received Manbij as a fief. Nūr al-Dīn sent troops to Manbij, deposed Ghāzi and made his brother Kuṭb al-Dīn Ināl (in Kamāl al-Dīn: Niyāl) his successor (*R. O. L.*, iii. 543; *Recueil hist. or. crois.*, ii. 241). After ruling for eleven years, this well beloved amir, who had built a Hanafī school in Manbij (*R. O. L.*, iii. 544), was deposed in 572 (1176—1177) by Saladin (*Recueil*, i. 46 sq.; ii. 241; iv. 132; Michael Syrus, iii. 366). According to a note in Kamāl al-Dīn (*R. O. L.*, iv. 147), in the same year (572) Ghāzi al-Dīn Khidīr set out with his followers to Manbij against al-Duwalk to whom Malik al-Nāṣir had granted the town as a fief; but this al-Duwalk is otherwise quite unknown. Taḳī al-Dīn 'Umar of Hamā, a nephew of Malik al-Nāṣir who was in Manbij in 577, wished to bar 'Isā al-Dīn's way to Halab; when he failed in this, he retired to Hamā, but was not allowed to enter it by the inhabitants (*R. O. L.*, iv. 156). 'Imād al-Dīn attacked Manbij in 578 (1182—1183) and laid waste the country round it (*R. O. L.*, iv. 162). Saladin made his brother Malik al-'Adīl governor of Manbij and he went there in Ramaḍān 579 (1183—1184) (*Ric. or. hist. crois.*, iv. 249). He seems to have spent most of his time in camp, for in 582 (1186—1187) the sultan gave Manbij to Taḳī al-Dīn along with other towns (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annal. Musulm.*, iv. 72). Among the leaders, whom Saladin sent in 1190 against the Germans who after Frederick's death were trying to reach 'Akkā, was Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Taḳī al-Dīn of Manbij (*Recueil*

hist. or. crois., iii. 165). Saladin's third son Malik al-Zahir Ghāsi in 589 (1193) was allotted Hārim, Tell Hāshir, Manbij, A'zās and other fortresses (*Recueil*, i/l. 76; Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerus.*, p. 658). In 591 (1195) the latter set out from Kindasim to Karā Hīsar in order to besiege Manbij which then belonged to al-Malik al-Manṣūr of Hama but on receiving disquieting news hastened to Damascus (*R. O. L.*, iv. 209). Saif al-Dīn Tughril al-Zāhiri defeated a division of the army from Hama, which attacked Manbij in 595 (1199), took many prisoners and brought them to Malik al-Zāhir, who however released them again (*R. O. L.*, iv. 218). The lord of Hama in 596 (1200), at the request of al-Malik al-ʿAdil, gave ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Muḥaddam the towns of Manbij, Famiya and Kafarab in compensation for Bārs (Weil, iii. 434, note 4). When the latter died in Famiya, Manbij was to go to his brother Shams al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Malik whom however Malik al-Zāhir in 597 deprived of his rule over Manbij and Kalʿat Nadjm and carried off a prisoner with him; he offered the two towns to al-Malik al-Manṣūr of Hama, who once previously in 588 (1192—1193) had refused Manbij (*Rec. hist. or. crois.*, iii. 298), if he would assist him against Malik al-ʿAdil, which however he declined to do (Röhricht, *op. cit.*, p. 685). Al-Zāhir thereupon destroyed the citadel of Manbij lest it should fall into an enemy's hands and gave the town, now deprived of its defences, in 597 (1201) to al-Ḥadīdjāf as a fief (*R. O. L.*, iv. 222) and in the following year to ʿImād al-Dīn b. Saif al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ahmad al-Mashūb (Abu ʿI-Fidaʿ, *op. cit.*, iv. 195). But very soon afterwards, al-Zāhir had again to send the amir of Halab, Mubārīz al-Dīn Akdja, to the siege of Manbij: the latter however withdrew on the approach of Malik al-Faʿiz, son of Malik al-ʿAdil. Malik al-Faʿiz entered Manbij, rebuilt the citadel and fortified it. He then returned to his father al-ʿAdil in Nābulus, while the Halab troops avoided an encounter (*R. O. L.*, iv. 223). Soon afterwards the Halab army again marched on Manbij but was recalled by Malik al-Zāhir, who was besieging Damascus. A little later, al-Zāhir himself set out against Manbij to avenge himself on the inhabitants who had taken the side of al-Faʿiz; but he was appeased by his amirs, pardoned the town which submitted to him and gave it as a fief in 598 (1202) to Ibn al-Mashūb (*R. O. L.*, iv. 224). The Saljuq Kai-kāʾus in 615 (1218—1219) went to Manbij, which opened its gates to him, placed one of his officers, Sārim al-Dīn al-Manbijī, as governor there and repaired the walls of the town; but when al-Malik al-Ashraf approached, he left the town again and suffered heavy losses in his retreat (*Recueil hist. or. crois.*, i/l. 146; Kāmil al-Dīn, in *R. O. L.*, vi. 57; Abu ʿI-Fidaʿ, *Ann. Mus.*, iv. 266). When the Sulṭān of Halab, al-Malik al-Nāṣir, concluded an alliance with the Sulṭān of Rūm for their mutual defence against the raids of the Turkomans, he sent the kādī of Manbij, Awhad al-Dīn, as a confidential envoy to him (*R. O. L.*, v. 94). Al-Malik al-Maghūth of Harrān fled in 635 (1237—1238) before the Khwārizmians to Manbij to seek protection with his aunt (*R. O. L.*, v. 103). When the Khwārizmians three years later invaded Syria, a Halab army met them but suffered an annihilating defeat on the Nahr al-Dhabab (*R. O. L.*, vi. 3). Thereupon the Khwārizmians advanced

on Manbij, the inhabitants of which retired behind its walls and barricaded the place where the walls were no longer standing. The town was stormed on the 21st Rabiʿ II 638, numerous inhabitants put to death, the houses destroyed and rich booty taken; the enemy even entered the mosque where many women had taken refuge and violated them (*R. O. L.*, vi. 6). After the Khwārizmians had been driven back, al-Malik al-Manṣūr re-entered Manbij (*R. O. L.*, vi. 17). In the treaty between Sulṭān Kalāʾūn and Leo of Armenia of the 1st Rabiʿ II 684 (June 6, 1285), Manbij is mentioned among the Egyptian towns (Makrizi, ed. Quatremere, *Hist. des Sulṭans Mameluks*, i/l. 168; transl., p. 205).

According to Ibn al-Shihna (Bairut 1909, p. 228), Manbij which previously, excluding its 8 suburbs, had paid annually 510,000 dirhams to the Sulṭān's Dīwān, was destroyed by the Tatars (who invaded Syria several times between the end of 699 [1299] and 702 [1302]); perhaps there is here a confusion with the Khwārizmians. According to Abu ʿI-Fidaʿ, the fortifications and the town were for the most part in ruins in his time; Khallī al-Zāhiri does not mention it at all.

After the Russo-Turkish War (1879) Circassians were settled in Manbij: since that date the few remains of antiquity noticed by earlier travellers have almost completely disappeared.

The ruins of *Bambyk*, as the name of the place is now pronounced by the natives with a marked echo of the ancient Bambyke (Eating in M. Hartmann, *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdk.*, Berlin, xxix. 525; Littmann, *Amer. Archæol. Exped. to Syria*, iii. 171, note 3), have been visited by Maundrell (1699), Pococke (1737), Drummond (1747), Sachau (1879), Cumont (1907) and Hogarth (1908). The old town walls, surrounded by a broad ditch which were several times restored in the middle ages, still survive almost in their entirety (Ainsworth, *A personal narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, i. 1888, p. 238).

Bibliography: al-Khwārizmī, *Kifāh Surat al-Ard*, ed. v. Malik in *Bibl. arab. Histor. u. Geogr.*, iii. Leipzig 1926, p. 20 (N^o 273); al-Battānī, *al-Zīj al-jūbi*, ed. Nallino (*Publ. del R. Osservat. di Brera in Milano*, xl.), ii. 41 (N^o 154); iii. 238; al-Isfahānī in *B. G. A.*, i. 62, 65, 67; Ibn Ḥawqāl in *B. G. A.*, ii. 120, 125, 127; al-Makdisī in *B. G. A.*, iii. 54, 60, 134, 190; Ibn al-Fakhr in *B. G. A.*, v. 111, 115, 117, 134; Ibn Khurdādhbih in *B. G. A.*, vi. 75, 98, 117, 162; Kudāma in *B. G. A.*, vi. 228, 246, 254; Ibn Rūstā in *B. G. A.*, vii. 83, 97, 107; Yaʿqūb in *B. G. A.*, vii. 363; al-Masʿūdī, *Tamdhid* in *B. G. A.*, viii. 44, 152; do., *Murūj al-Dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, vi. 437, note 3; al-Idrīsī, ed. Gildemeister in *Z. D. P. V.*, viii. 26; Abu ʿI-Fidaʿ, *Tuḥfah al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud, p. 271; do., *Annales Muslem.*, ed. Reiske, iii. 370, 430; iv. 24, 72, 108, 140, 266; Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, *Sefir-Nāme*, ed. Schefer, p. 31; Ibn Djbair, ed. Wright, p. 250; Yāqūt, *Moʿdjam*, ed. Wustenfeld, iv. 654; Saif al-Dīn, *Murāʾid al-Iṭīlāʾ*, ed. Juynboll, iii. 153; *Beschreibung von Halep* in *Paris. ms. arab.*, N^o 1683, fol. 79^r; transl. Blochet in *R. O. L.*, iii. 526, note 4; al-Tahartī, *Annales*, i. 959; ii. 779, 1876; iii. 47, 654, 694, 1103, 1265; al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 132, 150, 188, 191; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, *Index*, vol. ii., p. 813; al-Kāṭikhandī,

Sukh al-Aḥḥāḍ, ed. Cairo, iv. 127; Ibn al-Shihna, *al-Durr al-muntakhab fī Ta'rikh al-Halab*, ed. Serkis, Bairūt 1909, p. 191 f.; Le Strange, *Palatinate under the Moslems*, 1890, p. 300 sq.; do., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 107; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamlouks*, Paris 1923, p. 92; Hittig, *Drei Städte in Syrien*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, viii, 1854, p. 211 sqq.; Noldeke in *Nachr. G.G.W.*, 1876, p. 5—8; Maundrell, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, Oxford 1740, p. 153 f.; London 1810, p. 204; Pococke, *Description of the East*, i, London 1745, p. 166; Drummond, *Travels through different cities of Asia*, London 1754, p. 209, 289; Chesney, *Expedition for the survey of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, London 1850, i. 310; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, p. 140—152; Hogarth, *Annals of Archaeol. and Anthropol.*, ii, Liverpool 1909, p. 183—196; Chabot in *J.A.*, ser. ix, vol. xvi, 1900, p. 277; Cumont, *Revue de l'histoire des relig.*, liii, 1910, p. 119—122; do., *Études Syriennes*, Paris 1917, p. 25—26 and Index, p. 358; Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, p. 474 sq., 518. — On the ancient town cf. my article *Hierapolis in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, R.E.*, Suppl.-Bd. iv, col. 733—742. (E. HONIGMANN)

MAND (I), a people whom the Arabs found in Sind. Only the outline of the name is certain *ماند* = *mnd (Mid, Maid), *mnd (Mand, Mund). In the reign of Mu'awīya (41—60), Rasht b. 'Amr lost his life on an expedition against the Mand (Balādhuri, p. 433). During the governorship of al-Hadijādī, some Mand from Daibul [q.v.] sailed on the high seas the Muslim women who were being repatriated by the king of the Rubis islands (Dharrat al-Yaḥyū); this act of piracy served the Arabs as a pretext to send an expedition against Daibul (*ibid.*, p. 435). After 95 (714) Muḥammad b. Kaṣim concluded a treaty of peace with the people of Suwat(?) who were "Mand, pirates of the sea" (*yafṣūna fī l-baḥr*), *ibid.*, p. 440; the name of this place recalls Surāṣṭra = Kāthiawār. In the reign of al-Ma'mūn (218—227), 'Amrūn b. Mūsā attacked the Mand, of whom he slew 3,000 and built a dyke (canal?) of the Mand (*ṣāḥ al-Mand*) probably to disturb their irrigation. Then with the Zutt whom he had conquered 'Amrūn resumed the campaign against the Mand; a canal (*nahr*) was dug from the sea and the lagoon (*ḥafṣa*) of the Mand inundated with salt-water (*ibid.*, p. 445). In the same period Muḥammad b. Faḍl, commander of the fort of Sandān (Dāmān to the south of Sūrat?; cf. Elliot, i. 402), undertook a naval expedition against the Mand with a fleet of 70 ships (*ibid.*, p. 446).

Of the geographers, Ibn Khurdādhbih (p. 56, 62) is the first to mention the Maid(?) who were four days' journey from the Indus (to the east) and who were robbers. Mas'ūdi (*Musūdī*, i. 378), who visited India after the year 300 says that the country of Maṣūra is continually at war with the Mand of Sind and other peoples; cf. also Mas'ūdi, *Tawḥīd*, p. 55; Istakhrī, p. 176 (= Ibn Hawkal, p. 231) mentions the Budha and the Mand among the infidel peoples of Sind. The latter lived on the banks of the Indus (*ḥanfū al-Māḥrūn*) from Multān to the sea, and occupied

pasturages in the desert which stretched between the Indus and Kāmūhal. According to Idriṣī (548 = 1154), transl. Jaubert, i. 163, the Mand dwelt on the borders of the desert of Sind. They pastured their flocks up to the borders of Māmāhal (Kāmūhal?). They were numerous and owned many horses and camels; their raids extended as far as Dūr (read Rūr; cf. IULI) and sometimes even to Makrān. This last detail is curious for it indicates an extension of the Mand towards Persia, but the text is not certain: perhaps we should read Multān. After this the name Mand disappears from Muslim literature.

The town of "Kāmūhal", the site of which is important to fix the limit of the habitations of the Mand, is sometimes located in Hind (Istakhrī, p. 176), sometimes between Sind and Hind (Idriṣī). The form of the name is uncertain (Fāmāhal, Māmāhal, Amāhal). Elliot, i. 363, identified it with Anahwāra; cf. al-Bīrūnī, p. 100. This last town (Anahwāra, Nahrwāra, founded in 746 A.D.) is identical with the modern Pātan (on the Saraswati in northern Baroda; cf. *Imp. Gazette of India*, 1908, vol. xx; Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 290, places "Māmāhal" at Umārkot). In any case Kāmūhal must mark the limit of the pasturages of the Mand to the S.E. of al-Manṣūra (= Haidarābād, on the Indus; cf. Elliot, i. 370).

Among the Muslim sources a special place is occupied by the *Muḥṣil al-Tawārīkh*, written in Persian in 520 (1126). This work gives extracts from a book which was composed first in an Indian language, then translated into Arabic by Abū Ṣāliḥ b. Shu'ayb b. Djamī (in 417 = 1028) and finally translated from Arabic into Persian by Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Halabī, librarian in Durgājan. This source which is a very inaccurate résumé of the *Mahabharata*, begins with a chapter on the "Maid and the Zutt, two peoples in the land of Sind, descendants of Cham (Hām), son of Noah. The Maid had conquered the Zutt, who withdrew to the banks of the river Pān (or Bahr?) and from there attacked the Maid by water. Finally tired of fighting, the two peoples agreed to approach king Dabūṣṣān b. Dahrān (Duryodhana, son of Dhrtaraṣṭra) to ask him to appoint a king over them. Dabūṣṣān sent them his sister Dūsal (Droṣālā), married to Bājdrī (Jayadratha) who became a powerful king. At the request of Dūsal, Dabūṣṣān sent 30,000 Brahmins to people Sind. One part of the country was given to the Zutt, who were given as a ruler Bājdrī (Vudhishthira, eldest son of Dhrtaraṣṭra). The Maid (Maidiyan) also were given a special area; cf. Reinaud, *Fragmente arabis et persanis relatifs à l'Inde*, 1845, p. 2—3, 25—27.

Here we have an attempt to connect the history of the Maid and Zutt with Indian tradition by quoting a passage in the *Mahabharata* which says that Droṣālā was given in marriage to Jayadratha, "king of the lands watered by the Indus" (transl. Fauche, Paris 1863, i. 299, *śloka* 2742). Indian tradition however contains nothing definite of value about the Mand. In the *Śikṣa-Samhitā*, transl. Kern, *J.R.A.S.*, 1871, p. 81—86 which is one of the sources for the enumeration of the peoples of India in al-Bīrūnī (ed. Sachau, p. 150—157, transl. i. 299—303), we find a Māṣṣarya people (located in the centre, north or northwest of India). The derivation of the Arabic Mand from some such name may be suspected (cf. the name of the

modern town on the coast of Kāthiāwar; Māndvi). On the other hand in Central India alongside of the Mapāṣya the Medha are mentioned (al-Bīrūnī: *Maitha*, the final a being only indicated by means of a *fatḥa*).

The question of the Maid/Mand has been discussed by Elliot and A. Cunningham; the former (*Hist. of India* [1867], i. 319—331) says that the Meda still exist on the borders of Sind and Jūdhpūr, as well as to the west in the little harbours of Makrān (the clans of Garbur, Hormāit, Ḥallār-zā', Celmar-zā'). The name *Med has even undergone a phonetic change to Mer (which we find in the mountains of Arāwālī and in Kāthiāwar). Elliot also thinks it possible that the Meda or one of their branches bore the name Mand of which traces can be found in place-names (Mand-ar, Mand-hro, etc.). Cunningham in his *Report 1863—1864* connected the Zup and the *Mayd or Mand" with the Iatli and Masdrueni whom Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, vi. ch. xviii.) mentions near the Oxus and calls the "Med or Mer" the first Indo-Scythic invaders of the Panjāb. In *The Ancient Geography of India*, 1871, p. 290—294, Cunningham finds a variant of the name Mand in the name of the town *Mavayāpa* of the *Periplus mar. Erythr.* (cf. Ptolemy, viii. § 63: *Mavayāpa* to the east of Indo-Scythia), which would be "the town of the Scythians, Mān" = Mānḥābari (Mandjābari) of the Arabs = Thatha, etc.

The question of the Mand evidently deserves a new special study. Was there only one, or two peoples *Maid and *Mand? The statements of the Muslim authors seem to refer to a single people. The toponymy of the land south of the Indus reveals the presence of an old element *Mand*; cf. Ptolemy, vii. § 7: Mandagana. When its origins have been studied, it will be interesting to compare its possible connection with the oldest name of the Aryans, *Manda*, found in the cuneiform inscriptions of the third millennium B.C. according to E. Forrer, *Die Inschriften und Sprachen des Hatti-Reiches*, Z.D.M.G., lxxvii, 1922, p. 247. According to E. Meyer, *Die Völkertämme Kleinasiens*, *Sind. A. W. Berlin*, 1925, p. 244—261 (cf. do., *Gesch. d. Altertums*, vol. ii, sect. i., p. 35, note 3), the name *Manda" meant the Scythians who in the seventh century B.C. had invaded nearer Asia and was sometimes transferred to the Medes alongside of whom the Scythians were settled. A diametrically opposite process would be to compare *Mand with the name of the Muṇḍa language (of the Mon-Khmer family; cf. in this connection: Przyluski, *Un ancien peuple du Punjab, Les Udumbara*, J.A., 1920, No. 1, p. 53, where a theory is advanced according to which, before the arrival of the Indo-Aryans the valley of the Indus was peopled by "Austro-Asiatics" from the Himalayan zone to the sea. The influence of the Austro-Asiatic substratum, i.e. languages of the Muṇḍa type, would also explain the preservation in Sanskrit of the aspirated sonants.

(V. MINORSKY)

MĀND (Münd, Mund), the longest river in Fārs (*Nuzhat al-Kulūb*: 50 farsakhs; E. C. Ross: over 300 miles in length).

The name. As a rule in Persia, sections of a river are called after the districts through which they flow. Mānd is the name of the last stretch near its mouth. The name seems to appear for the first time in the *Fārs-nāma* (before 310 = 1116) but only in the composite Māndištān (cf. below).

The old name of the river is usually transcribed in Arabic characters Sakkān (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 120; Ibn Hawkal, p. 191; Idriṣi, tr. Janbert, i. 401) but the orthography varies: *Thakān*, *Fārs-nāma*, G.M.S., p. 152; *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p. 134; *Zakān* or *Zakkān*, *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p. 217; Sittāgan, *Ḍiḥān-namā*, p. 247; cf. also *Ṣaḥkān* in Ḥasan Fāsā'i.

The identification of the Sakkān with the *Yaraxēs* mentioned in the *Periplus* of Nearchus (Arrian, *Indica*, xxxviii. 8) is generally recognised. The identity of Sitakos with the Sittogannus (Sittogannos) mentioned by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 26 is also usually admitted (Weinbach 1927), but Herzfeld (1907) relying on the existence of another river, the *Shādkhān* (= Sittogannus?), has suggested doubts about the identification of the Sitakos with the Sittogannus. Now, according to Iṣṭakhrī, p. 119, the *Shādkhān* flows into the Persian Gulf at *Duḥl al-Dastakān* (north of Bāshir). This *Shādkhān* must be identified with the river *Shāpūr*. The *Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange, p. 163, mentions *Rūdāl-i Sittādjin* ("the banks of the S.") as a station on the road from *Shīrāz* to *Tawwāḍj*. From this fact and especially from the name, Sittādjin seems to be applied to the left bank tributary of the *Shāpūr*. Pliny, who follows Onesicritus, adds that by the Sittogannus one reaches Pasargades in 7 days (*quo Pasargades septime die navigatur*). Whatever be the identity of the Sittogannus, the exaggeration in this statement is evident (especially in the direction of the sea to Pasargades) and the waters of Pasargades (Mushad-i Murghāb) do not flow into the Persian Gulf. But there is nothing to prove the absolute impossibility of using the Sakkān as a subsidiary means of transport in the season of floods (the winter). According to Arrian, Nearchus found at the mouth of the Sitakos large quantities of corn which Alexander had brought there for the army. Iṣṭakhrī, p. 99 places the Sakkān among the rivers of Fārs which are navigable at need (*al-anḥār al-kibār allatī taḥmilū al-sufūna idhā uffriyat fī-ḥā*).

Another question is the phonetical identity of the names Sitakos (Sittogannus?) and Sakkān. According to C. F. Andrus, *Yaraxēs* is a nominative restored from a supposed genitive **Yaraxēs* (Sittakān); Sittogannus is a mistake for Sittogannus; lastly the peculiarity of the Arabic script could explain the change of Sittakān to Sakkān. Here we may add that Ḥasan Fāsā'i gives one of the stretches of the river the strangely written form *Ṣaḥkān* (< **Stkān*?). Iṣṭakhrī however derives the name of the river from that of the village of *Sakk* (*Nuzhat al-Kulūb*: *Zakān*) in the district of *Kazm* considerably below the *Ṣaḥkān* stretch of the river.

To sum up the identification of the Sitakos with the Sittogannus does not seem sufficiently established.

The course of the river. The Sakkān (Münd) describes a great curve. At first it runs in the direction N.W.-S.E., to the northern base of the *Kuh-i Marra-yi Shikāst*, which separates it from the valley of the river *Shāpūr*. It follows this direction (c. 100 miles) to the end of *Āmān-gird* mountains around which it makes a bend and turns south (70 miles). It then meets the parallel ranges which run along the Persian Gulf and continues its winding course to the sea in a westerly direction (140 miles).

The Sakkān (Münd) and its tributaries drain and irrigate a considerable area. Iṣṭakhrī says that

its waters contribute the largest share to the fertility of Fārs (*akḥarā 'imrātin*).

The sources of the river (Kān-i Zard, Chihil-šāhna and Surkh-rag) rise in the mountains of Kūh-i Nār and Kūh-i Marra-yi Shikāft in the N.W. and W. of Shirāz. These streams unite before Khān-i Zinyān in the district of Mājarm on the great Shirāz-Kāzrūn-Būshir road. Iṣṭakhrī, p. 120, places the sources of the Sakkān near the village of Shāhidfāt (?) in the district of Ruwāidjān (?). In the same author, p. 130, Khān al-Asad on the Sakkān corresponds to the modern Khān-i Zinyān. The *Fārs-nāma* (and the *Nushat al-Kulūb*) places the sources of the Sakkān near the village of Cātrūya (?). Under the Turkish name of Karaghāc, i.e. "(the river of) the elm", the combined streams flow through the districts of Mājarm (= Kūh-i Marra-yi Shikāft), Siyākh (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 120: Siyāh) and Kawār. In this last district, Rivadaneyra, iii. 81, going from Shirāz to Firūzābād crossed the river by a "substantial bridge". It is in the district of Kawār that Ḥasan Fāsā'ī gives the river the name of Šāh-kān. In Kawār (Ḥasan Fāsā'ī) there used to be the barrage of Band-i Bahman, where by a subterranean channel (*ḥanā*) part of the water was led into reservoirs (*ḥāḥ*) and then to the fields. In the bulūk of Khāfr (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 105: Khāfr), which must be distinguished from the district of the same name in the kūra of Iṣṭakhrī, the river turns south. Aucher-Eloy, who crossed the river on the road from Firūzābād to Džarrūn (Džahrūm) calls it "Tengui Tachka" (= Tang-i Kashkai?) and speaks of its "beautiful valley". Rivadaneyra continuing his journey from Firūzābād to Dārāb crossed the river by a ford between the villages of Tadvān and "Asmān-luchend" (Asmāngūd?). He also admires the pleasant and flourishing aspect of Khāfr. Below the latter, the river enters the bulūk of Šimkān where, near the village of Surkāl, it receives on its left bank, the brackish (*šūr*) river of Džahrūm, and then flows through the ravine of Kāzrūn, and waters the bulūk of Kīr-we-Kāzrūn. Abbott coming from Fāsā' crossed the river by a ford between 'Alī-ābād and Līfandjān (cf. the name of the ramm of Kurds in Fārs al-Līwāldjān, Iṣṭakhrī, p. 113), where it was 100 yards wide and the water rose up to the horse's belly. Farther down below the ford, Stack, going from Kīr to Kāriyān crossed the river, here 60 yards broad, by the bridge of 'Arūs, built in a zig-zag and in two stories ("the queerest structure in the way of a bridge"). Near the village of Nīm-dih, the river enters the bulūk of Afrar. After having wound round the foot of Kāl's-yi Shahrīyār the river receives (near the place called Čam-i Kabkāb) the name of Bān and then irrigates the bulūk of Khundj (cf. Ibn Battūta, ii. 241: Khundj-bāl = Khundj + Bāl). In the district of Dīz-gūh of the bulūk of Galla-dār the river has two tributaries: near the village of Gabrī, the Dār al-Mīzān, and two farakhs lower, that of Dīhrām. The Dār al-Mīzān comes from the left (east) side of the bulūk of Asr. The Dīhrām much more important comes from the right side after watering the historic district of Firūzābād (the ancient Gūr, capital of Anāshīr-Khurrā; cf. the details in Le Strange, p. 256). Iṣṭakhrī, p. 121 makes this tributary come from Līkūjān (of Siyāh) and water first Khūmīghān and then Gūr (in place of the name of the river Tirza, Iṣṭakhrī, p. 99, 121, one should probably read Barzā; cf. the *Fārs-nāma*, p. 151,

Nushat al-Kulūb, p. 117—118: Ḥakīm Burtāz was the sage who dried up the Lake of Gūr).

After Dīz-gūh, the river enters the district of Sanā-wa-Shumba of the bulūk of Daštī, and near the village of Bāghān receives on the right bank the river Čānt which comes from the district of Tasūdji-Daštī. Finally near the village of Dāmānū the river enters the coast district of Māndistān and receives the name of Mānd. It flows into the sea near the village of Ziyārat, halfway between the old harbours of Nadjram (to the north) and Sirāf (to the south).

Māndistān. The district forms part of the bulūk of Daštī (which is to be distinguished from Daštistān to the north of Daštī up to Būshir). Daštī (36 × 18 farakhs) is composed of 4 districts: 1. Bardistān, the part of the coast in which is the port of Daiyir. 2. Māndistān on the coast to the north of Bardistān and the two banks of the river Mānd. 3. Sanā and Shumba on the river above Māndistān. 4. Tasūdji-Daštī, a very narrow valley (11 × 1/2 farakhs), watered by the Čāntir and separating Sanā and Shumba from the bulūk Arba'a (on the lower course of the river of Firūzābād).

The whole of the bulūk belongs to the torrid zone (*garmāyir*) of Fārs. Māndistān (12 × 5 farakhs) includes lands so flat that the current of the river is imperceptible and the water cannot be used for irrigation. Agriculture (wheat, barley, palm-trees) is dependent on the winter floods. The district has 40 villages. The capital of the district and of the bulūk is Kākī. There used to be two rival families in Māndistān: the Šāhkh-i-yān and the Ḥādījī-yān. During the disturbances under Afghān rule (1722—1729) the Ḥādījī Kākī Djamāl exterminated the Šāhkhīyān and founded a little dynasty of hereditary governors who were able to annex the district of Bardistān through matrimonial alliances. One of his descendants, Muḥammad Khān (d. at Būshir in 1299 = 1881), was noted as a poet under the pen-name of Daštī.

Ḥasan Fāsā'ī explains the name Māndistān by a popular etymology: "the place where the water flows slowly (*mā-mūda*)". Names in -istān are common in Fārs (Lāristān, Bardistān) but even if such a formation was possible in a river-name, the element Mānd would still be a puzzle. It is curious that Ḥasan Fāsā'ī sometimes writes it Mānd (read *Mānd*) and sometimes Mund (read: *Mūnd*). It might be suggested as a pure hypothesis that there is a connection with the people MND (cf. MAND), of which there might have been a colony in Māndistān.

Bibliography: Weissbach, *Silakan*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, 2nd Set., vol. v., 1927, p. 377; Iṣṭakhrī, p. 120; Ibn Hawkal, p. 191; Ibn Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, G.M.S., p. 156; *Nushat al-Kulūb*, G.M.S., p. 134; Ḥādījī Khalīfa, *Djāhān-namā*, p. 247; Ḥasan Fāsā'ī, *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāgiri*, Tihān 1314, ii. 210, 328—329; the author of this excellent work published separately a map of Fārs which is now very rare. Aucher-Eloy, *Relations*, Paris 1843, ii. 520; Keith Abbott, *Notes on a Journey eastwards from Shirāz*, J.R.G.S., 1857, p. 149—184; Haussknecht, *Routen im Orient*, map No. iv.; *Centrales und südliches Persien*; Rivadaneyra, *Viaje al interior de la Persia*, Madrid 1880, iii. 110; Stack, *Six months*, London 1882, chap. xvi., p. 111; E. C. Ross, *Notes on the river*

Mand. or Kara Aghatch, Proc. R.G.S., v., 1883, December, p. 712—716 with a map (the article reproduces the learned note by C. F. Andrews); Stolze, Persopolis, Bericht über meine Aufnahmen, Verh. d. Geogr. f. Erdk., Berlin, x., 1883, p. 251—276; Tomaschek, Topogr. Erläuterung d. Küstenfahrt Neuchâ, Sitzb. A. W. Wiss., 1890, cxxi., N^o. viii., p. 58—61; Schwarz, Iran, i., 1896, p. 8; Le Strange, The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 1905, p. 252, 255; Herfend, Pataigadae, Inaugural-Dissertation, 1907, p. 9—10 (with a sketch based on Hasan Fakr).

(V. MINORSKY)

MANDINGO, a people of the Western Sudan whose country of origin was on the Upper Niger stretching from Bamako to Siguiri inclusive. This region includes the gold-bearing district of Bouré, Bute, or Bito as well as the provinces of Lower Faleme and of Bambuk which also produce gold. At the present time the Mandingoes have spread into the mountainous country in which the two branches of the Senegal arise; they occupy Sangaran, Gangaran, Bambuk, and the valley of the Gambia to the South while to the North they extend as far as the Western Sahara. In the 13th century, they colonised a part of the modern Mauretania and, according to the Arab authors of this period, who mention them under the name of *Gangara* (sing. *Gangari*) or *Wangara* — a word which seems to be a corruption of the name of their country of origin: Gangaran, Gwangan or Gbangan — they were to be met with in Hadda. In our time the first of these names has been kept by the Moors and the Sarakole, the second by the Songhay, the Pul of Massina and the Hausa.

The country of these natives is called according to the different dialects: Manding, Mandi, Mami, Mandeng, Maneng, Mandé, Mane. The inhabitants are called by the names of Mandinka, Maninka, Maninga, Mandenka, Manenka or Manenga in the dialects of the Centre and of the East and Mandinko or Mandingo, in those of the North, South and West. This last form in use in the British possessions of Gambia and Sierra Leone has been adopted by the English while the French keep the form Manding or Mandingue.

The name of the country corrupted by the Pul has become in the language of these natives Mali, Malli, Malli, Meli, and that of the inhabitants has become Mallinke or Malinke. This last word has now come to stand for the South-Western portion of this people or for their dialect.

Ethnography. The Mandingo group constitutes a well marked ethnological group, but it does not form an organised people under one rule. Three chief divisions can be distinguished, and these can again be subdivided into many sections. They are the Malinke, the Bambara, or BaMama, and the Diula or Giula.

A Sudanese historian of the xvth century, Mahmūd Kōti, who wrote the *Tārīkh al-Fatāwā* in Arabic, distinguished in his time between the Malinke and the Wangara, regarding the former as warriors and the latter as merchants and traders. The Malinke are the least advanced of the Mandingoes from the social point of view, many of them remaining faithful to the matriarchal system and are still cultivators of the soil, hunters and gold-diggers.

An attempt has been made to derive their name

from that of the hippopotamus: *mali* or *muri*, and thus "malinka" would signify the "people of the hippopotamus!" This explanation is erroneous, the suffix "ka", signifying the nationality, can only be joined to the name of a country or of a tribe and never to that of an animal. It is possible however, that the name of the country which was the cradle of their race, could come from *ma*, mother, and *deng* or *ding*, child; this word then would signify "child of the mother", in allusion to the descent by the female line which is customary amongst them.

The Bambara inhabit the valleys of the Niger and of the Bani as far as Lake Diebo, they are numerous in the Sahel. They are more advanced agriculturists than the Malinke and they recognise descent by the male line. An attempt has been wrongly made to derive their name from that of the crocodile: *bamā* or *bama*. Some authors, on the other hand, have held that their name signifies "refusal to obey a master" (*lan*: refusal, *ma*: master, *na*: towards). This explanation, although it could be accepted linguistically, must, according to M. Delafosse, be rejected. He prefers that of "renunciation of the mother" (*lan*: refusal or renunciation; *ka* or *ma*: mother; *na* or *ra*: to).

The Diula or Giula inhabiting some fairly important centres are chiefly merchants and traders. They are met with in small colonies, settled amongst the indigenous peoples to the East of Bani as far as the Upper Volta and the Gold Coast. Having been converted at an early date to Muhammadanism, they have remained fervent Muslims and there are amongst them quite a large number of learned men.

Their name is said to signify "from the foundation, from the stock" (*diu*). According to their own account, it was given to them because their ancestors belonged to families of noble birth.

At the basis of Mandingo society is an extended family (*gba* or *gwa*) comprising all the living descendants of an ancestor, sufficiently near in place and in time for all the ties of relationship not to have been forgotten. In general this extended family covers four generations: the patriarch, his brothers and cousins, their children, the children and grand-children of the latter, and an equal number of generations of slaves. Persons of the same generation placed on the same level are called by the same name: father, brother, son, without distinguishing the fathers from the uncles, the brothers from the cousins, the sons from the nephews, all are collectively sharers in the family property, which they have helped to acquire and to augment by their labours. This family property consists of crops, of animals, arms, surplus utensils and clothing, as well as treasure in gold, silver or cowries gathered together by the founder of the family. It is administered by the patriarch who cannot dispose of it without the consent of the majority of the other members. Each of those, man or woman, possesses in addition a private store of which he has the free use.

The chief exercises a political, domestic and religious authority. In this capacity he is charged with making sacrifices and offerings to their ancestors and to the patron deities of the family. A number of families observing the same religious prohibitions and bearing the same name (*diama*) form a clan; the members, who form a clan are of the same origin, but so far removed by birth

that it is impossible to trace their descent back to a common origin.

The chief Mandingo clans are those of Keyta, Kante, Tarnore, the Dembele, the Konate, the Kulniali, the Kuruma, the Diara, the Samake, the Mareko, the Kamara, the Bakayoko etc. None of them is either organised or under a single ruler.

There exists between persons of different clans a particular tie called *enyakuya*; without doubt the remains of an ancient phratry which obliges them to assist one another and to exchange presents on certain occasions; the same persons can also quarrel among themselves or fight with one another without involving any serious consequences.

The organisation which is lacking in the clan and in the tribe shows itself on the contrary in each inhabited centre in the form of the hierarchical brotherhoods, which combine all the young people and the men of the same age who have together submitted to circumcision and to the tests of successive initiation. The first is that of *ntoma*, grouping together the boys from the ages of 7 to 14 years, then there come the so-called secret societies, such as those of the *komu* or of the *nama* which consist of politico-religious groups within the village.

The village or *dugu* is the administrative unit, the union of a number of villages and the lands which surround it forming a district or *kafo*; a number of districts constitute a province or a kingdom, *diamana*, at the head of which there was in former times the *Manu* or *Mansa*. The latter was surrounded by different ministers and assisted by a treasurer.

Although Muhammadanism has long penetrated amongst the noble families of the Mandingo, the greater portion of the population has remained faithful to the worship of natural forces and of protecting deities, *dugu la siri*, *guena* and *belli*. The great religious festivals are the agrarian feasts and the most important correspond to the periods of seed-time and harvest.

The Language. The Mandingoes properly speaking are in number about 2,800,000 of whom 77,000 are in Senegal; 1,000,000 in French Soudan; 200,000 in the Upper Volta; 2,500 in Nigeria; 290,000 on the Ivory Coast; 550,000 in French Guinea; more than 680,000 live in Gambia, Sierra Leone, Portuguese Guinea and the Republic of Liberia. In addition to these natives, whose mother tongue is Mandingo, more than 2,000,000 other people speak this idiom; for this reason it is often spoken of as a language that is still spreading.

The Mandingo belongs to the African Negro language and more especially to the group which M. Delafosse calls Nigero-Sennegalese; D. Westermann: Mandingo, and A. Drexel: Nko-Nke; it is closely allied to Senu. Foreign idioms seem to have had little influence, although it has borrowed certain abstract and religious terms from the Arabic; from Phoenician or Punic it has borrowed expressions relative to horsemanship and cotton; from Berber about a dozen words, and finally during the space of the last fifty years it has further borrowed from several European languages.

The roots are monosyllabic or dissyllabic and many of them can be traced to an ancient African Negro origin. For example: *faŋa*, the action of killing or being dead, seems to come from a root *faŋ* or *faŋ*; cf. in Senu *faŋa*; Hausa: *faŋa*; Mosai: *faŋ*; Fang: *war*; Pul: *war* (*de*); Mungu: *faŋa*;

Congo: *fuwa*; Swahili: *fa* and *wa*; Ancient Egyptian: *faŋ*. The nominal class does not exist in this language.

Mandingo uses derivative suffixes which are used to form distinct substantives used as substantives only; for example: *ka*, *nka*, or *nga*, the suffix for nationality: *Mandinka*; *la* or *ra*, the instrumental suffix: *tege*, to cut; *tege-la*, the instrument for cutting, axe. It employs also adjective suffixes; for example: *ma* or *mā* indicating the possession of the thing mentioned: *gyi*, water; *gyi-ma*, "full of water"; *ŋā* indicating on the contrary the lack of the thing expressed: *gyi n-ŋā*, "without water". Certain suffixes, joined to a simple or derived root, indicate the possession of a quality or of a state; for example: *yo-turu*, "short, little"; *turu-ya*, "shortness" and also "to shorten or to approach". Suffixes also exist, indicating determination or relationship.

The Mandingo conjugation employs prefixes denoting the perfect, the aorist, the injunctive. Certain auxiliary prefixes serve to indicate time. It has a considerable number of verbal forms, affirmative as well as negative.

This language does not possess any trace of a system of syntax of agreement; the relations between one element of a sentence and another are entirely determined by the respective position of the two elements and their grammatical function is often determined only by the place which they occupy in the sentence.

In the syntax of this language, the complement of a noun, pronoun or verb always precedes the noun, pronoun or verb in question; the adjective qualifying or determining a noun always follows this noun; the noun of number always the noun of the thing numbered; an adverb modifying a word follows it. The order of the words in the sentence is subject, prefix or auxiliary of conjugation, direct complement of the verb, verb root or derivative, indirect complement of the verb, adverb modifying the statement.

Mandingo is divided into a fairly large number of dialects revealing differences more or less marked. We distinguish the Bambara or Bamana dialects, the Diula dialects and lastly the Malinke dialects, which are themselves divided into the Malinke of the East, of the North (sometimes Khassonke), of the West and of the South.

History. The wide diffusion of this language is due to certain historical circumstances, and to the rise of the Mandingo hegemony which extended over almost all the Western Soudan from the year 1250 to 1500.

According to local tradition, the Mandingo sovereigns bore the title of *Mansa* or *Mama*; they belonged to the Keyta and married into that of the Konde or Kone. In the beginning, they owed their influence to their knowledge of sorcery and magical practices and little by little they emerged from obscurity. Ibn Khaldūn has transmitted to us the name of the first of them, Baramendana, who about the year 1050, was converted to Islam, in order to obtain, according to al-Bakri, the end of a drought, which was cruelly trying the country of Mande; thereafter he made the pilgrimage to Mecca. Native tradition has kept the name of two of the descendants of this prince, Hamana and Dyigui-Bilali. The son of the latter, Mūsā, called Allakoy, reigned from the year 1200 to 1218. Four times he made a pilgrimage to Mecca,

and he extended the power of his dynasty. On the other hand, his son Nare Fama (1218-1230) suffered a great reverse and was defeated by his neighbour, the king of Sôô, Sumanguru Kante, who annexed Mandingo in 1224 and put to death eleven out of the twelve sons of the conquered monarch. The last son, San Diata or Mari Diata (1230-1255), who was weak and delicate suddenly recovered his health and strength after touching his father's sceptre. Little by little he got together a powerful army, with the help of which he conquered a part of Futa Djalon, the country situated between the Niger and Bani, in the region of Kita and that of Beledugu. In 1235 he attacked his enemy Sumanguru Kante and defeated him at Krima, not far from the Niger. After having subdued shortly afterwards the whole of the Sôô, he advanced in 1240 as far as the celebrated city of Ghâna which he plundered. During the following years, San Diata took possession of Gangaran and of the gold-bearing district of Bambuk, without neglecting the good administration of his lands in which he encouraged agriculture and extended the cultivation of the cotton plant. Towards the year 1240 he abandoned the ancient capital of the Mandingoes, Djeriba, and transferred it to Niani, wrongly called Mali or Meili by the Arab historians. He died in 1255 in the vicinity of this town. One of his sons succeeded San Diata, whose name only is handed down to us, namely Mansa Ule or the Red King (1255-1270). After him reigned the princes Wali, Khalifa and Abu Bakari between the years 1270 and 1285 about whom we possess no information. After the death of the latter, the power passed into the hands of a slave of the Keyta called Sakura or Sabakura, who kept it from the year 1285 to 1300. Then the Keyta regained the throne and under Gan, Mamadu, and Abu Bakari they held it from 1300 to 1307. At the end of this undistinguished period, Kankan Mussa, also called Gongo Mûsa (1307-1332), the son of the last of these sovereigns, seems to have raised to its zenith the power of his dynasty. We owe to Ibn Khaldûn some details about his person and the events of his reign. He was an ascetic prince and full of piety, and he made a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1325 and on his return he brought back with him to the Sûdân, al-Mamer, a descendant of the founder of the dynasty of the Almohads, as well as the Arab poet al-Sâhili. When he was still in the Sahara, Kankan Mussa learnt that his troops had seized Gao, Tumbuktu, Walata and the kingdom of Songhoy. He decided to visit the first two of these towns, and on the advice of the strangers who accompanied him, he built in each of them a mosque and a palace, thus introducing Arab architecture into the country. When he died in 1332, his authority extended from the valley of the Bani to that of the Faleme, and from the Sahara as far as the thick forest, and he had entered into relations with the Sultân of Fes.

His son and successor Maghan (1332-1336) was not able to keep intact the kingdom bequeathed to him by his father. During the reign of this prince the Mossi pillaged Tumbuktu, and Songhoy cast off the Mandingo yoke.

On his death, Salaimân (1336-1359), the brother of Kankan Mussa, ascended the throne. According to Ibn Khaldûn, the first care of the new sovereign was to assert his authority in his possessions in

the North. He was not successful in regaining Songhoy, but he established peace and security in his kingdom, which he reorganised. The traveller Ibn Battûta, who passed through Mandingo in the year 1351-1352 furnishes us with valuable information on the country, the administration, justice and the court.

Kamba, the son of Salaimân, succeeded his father but was deposed at the end of a few months by Mari-Diata, the son of Maghan who kept his power until 1374. He died of sleeping sickness and is remembered as a cruel, debauched and extravagant prince.

His successors Mûsa II (1374-1387), Maghan II, Sandigui Maghan III, Mûsa III and Mûsa Ule II reigned until the beginning of the xvth century. From this time onwards exact information ceases, as our authority, the historian Ibn Khaldûn, died in the year 1406.

The decline of the Mandingo empire was hastened during the xvth century by the attacks of the Tuareg, the Songhoy, the Mossi and the king of Tekrur. In the year 1481 Mansa Mamadu feeling himself to be in danger, approached the Turks who were established on the coast of Africa and sought their protection. This move and others similar which followed it influenced the kings John II and John III in sending to the court of the king of the Mandingoes two ambassadors, the one in 1483, the other in 1534, but without lending any military aid.

In the year 1545 the Askia Dâ'ûd of Gao came and plundered the Mandingo capital. The Moroccans who had come from Tumbuktu some months before, joined in the year 1591 the enemies who surrounded the kingdom. The period from 1600-1670 marks the last stage of Mandingo power. But two new principalities were formed on its ruins at Segu and in Kaarta.

According to the legend, the Bambara under the guidance of two brothers, Baramangolo and Niangolo, were flying before their enemies. They were on the point of perishing under the blows of their enemies, since a river barred their route when they were saved by a miraculous fish which carried them to the opposite bank. After this miracle they took the name of "Kulu bali", that is to say the men "without boats".

In the middle of the xvth century the descendants of Baramangolo had spread into the valley of the Niger and of the Bani but they paid tribute to the inhabitants of Djenne and to the Moroccans of Tumbuktu; their capital was Segu. Biton Kulubali (1660-1710) liberated them from this tutelage. Having collected a powerful army and fortified Segu, he made war first against the sovereign of the Mandingoes, then seized the right bank of the Niger and finally Massina and even Tumbuktu. He died of tetanus after organising his kingdom and dividing it into sixty districts.

His son Denkoro (1711-1736), a cruel and debauched prince, was assassinated; 'Ali, the brother of Denkoro, only reigned a few days and was deposed by the army of the Tondion or government troops. The period 1736-1750 was troubled by internal disorders, and in the year 1750 the power passed to the family of the Diara, who kept it until 1861. At this time the conquering al-Jadili 'Omar seized Segu and put 'Ali, the last king of the dynasty, to death.

The descendants of Niangolo Kulubali are cal-

led "Massai", that is to say "royal race". At the end of the xviiith century they occupied all the province of Kaarta itself and they were the rivals of the Bambara of Segu. In the middle of the xviiith century, Massa Bakari succeeded in bringing under his authority Kaarta, Kingui, Bakuna, Gnidumo and Diapuna. One of his successors, Bessikoro, received the explorer Mungo Park at Guem in the year 1796. In the year 1854 the last sovereign of the line of the Massai, called Kandian, was reigning at Niore when al-Hajj 'Omar seized the village and executed all members of the royal family.

After these events the Mandingoes remained divided and until the year 1860 only played a modest part in history. In this year, there arose in the vicinity of Kankan, in the district of Wassulu, Samori Ture, at first the leader of a band and then the sovereign of the province of Bissandugu. This new conqueror, although he was quite illiterate, seized in a short time the whole of Wassulu and took the title of "Almami". Crossing the Niger he extended his warlike expeditions into Sankaran and advanced within 80 miles of Kita, a post recently founded by the French. The latter fought against Samori first from the years 1881 to 1886 and in the next year imposed upon him the treaty of Bissandugu, which he respected for only a few months. From 1888 to 1891 Almami attacked Tieba, the king of Sikasso, without any success; thereafter he resumed hostilities against the French, who at the end of the year 1893 occupied Wassulu. Samori then fled into the Upper Ivory Coast, which he ravaged from the year 1894 to 1897, and he destroyed Kong, Bondoukou and Buna. In front of this town, a detachment commanded by Captain Braulot was exterminated in the year 1897 by the warriors of Sarantie Mori, his son and his lieutenant. France thereupon determined to settle with Almami against whom a combined force was sent. It resulted in the capture of Samori and of his army on 29th Sept. 1898 at Guelennu on the Upper Ivory Coast. Samori was deported with his family to Gabon where he died in 1900; he was about 65 years old. Since the disarmament of his warriors, no event of importance has disturbed the peace of Mandingo.

Bibliography: Ethnography: Mungo Park, *Travels in the interior Districts of Africa in the Years 1795, 1796 and 1797*, London 1799; do., *The Journal of a Mission to the Interior of Africa in the Year 1805*; René Caillé, *Journal d'un voyage à Timbuctou et à Jenni dans l'Afrique centrale*, Paris 1830; A. Rafflenel, *Nouveau voyage au Pays des Nègres*, Paris 1896; G. Blinger, *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée par le pays de Kong et de Mossi* (1887-1889), Paris 1892; Brun, *Note sur les croyances et les pratiques religieuses des Malinkés fétichistes*, in *Anthropos*, Vienna 1906; S. Henry, *L'âme d'un peuple africain, les Bambaras*, Vienna 1910; M. Delafosse, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger*, Paris 1911; Ch. Monteil, *Les Khassonké*, Paris 1915; do., *Les Bambara de Ségou et du Kaarta*, Paris 1924.

Linguistics: H. Steinhil, *Die Mande-Neger-Sprachen*, Berlin 1867; Blinger, *Essai sur la langue bambara parlée dans le Kaarta et le Bissandugu*, Paris 1887; Père E. Monteil, *Éléments de la grammaire bambara avec exercices appropriés, suivis d'un dictionnaire bambara-*

français, Saint-Joseph de Ngasobil; Père O. Abiven, *Essai de grammaire Malinké*, Kita et Saint-Michel-en-Priziac; do., *Essai de dictionnaire pratique français-Malinké*, Kita et Saint-Michel-en-Priziac; Mgr. A. Toulotte, *Essai de grammaire bambara (idiome de Ségou)*, Paris; M. Delafosse, *Essai de manuel pratique de la langue mandé ou mandingue*, Paris; F. S. (Père F. Sauvart), *Manuel de la langue bambara*, Maison Carrée (Algiers); Père O. Abiven, *Dictionnaire français-Malinké et Malinké-français, précédé d'un abrégé de grammaire malinké*, Conakry; Mgr. H. Bazin, *Dictionnaire bambara-français, précédé d'un abrégé de grammaire bambara*, Paris; Moussa Travélé, *Petit manuel français-bambara*, Paris; E. Hopkinson, *A vocabulary of the Mandingo language as spoken in the Gambia*, London; Père F. Sauvart, *Manuel bambara*, Maison Carrée (Algiers); Moussa Travélé, *Petit dictionnaire français-bambara et bambara-français*, Paris; Moussa Travélé, *Proverbes et contes bambara*, Paris.

History: Ibn Battûta, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, Paris 1853-1859; Ibn Khaldûn, *Histoire des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, Algiers 1852-1856; Cadamosto (Alvise de Ca'da Mosto), *Relation des Voyages à la Côte Occidentale d'Afrique (1455-1457)*, French transl. by Temporal, new edition by Ch. Schefer, Paris 1893; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique, tierce partie du monde*, new edition annotated by Ch. Schefer, Paris 1896-1898; J. de Barros, *Asia*, Lisbon 1552-1553; Sa'di ('Abd al-Rahmân al-Sa'di al-Tumbukî), *Ta'rih al-Sūdân*, transl. Houdas, Paris 1900; O. Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique*, Amsterdam 1686; A. Mévil, *Samory*, Paris 1899; L. Desplagnes, *Le plateau central nigérien*, Paris 1907; Adam, *Légendes historiques du pays de Niore (Sahel)*, in *Revue Coloniale* (new series, N^o 13 1907); M. Delafosse, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger*, Paris 1911; Ch. Monteil, *Les Khassonké*, Paris 1915; do., *Les Bambara du Ségou et du Kaarta*, Paris 1924.

(H. LABOURET)

MANDŪ, a fortress now in ruins, was formerly the capital of Mālwa [q.v.], and stands in 22° 21' N. and 75° 26' E. It has probably been a stronghold from time immemorial, but little is known of its history until the fortifications were erected in their present form by Dilāvar Khān Ghūrī (1392-1405), the first independent Muslim king of Mālwa, and his successors. His son, Hūshang Shāh, made it his capital, and it remained the capital of the kingdom and province of Mālwa throughout the period of Muslim rule, and has stood many sieges. Its streets ran with the blood of 19,000 Rājapūts, slain by Mahmūd II of Mālwa when he recovered his capital from his rebellious troops.

Of the ten gates of the fortress (two on the south, two on the west, one on the east, and five on the north), the Tūrūp Gate was built by Dilāvar Khān, the Djāhāngīr Gate by the emperor Djāhāngīr, and the 'Alamgīr Gate by an officer of the emperor Aurangzib in A. D. 1668. The Bhagwān Gate was built in 1517 in the reign of Mahmūd Khaldjī II, and the Songarh Gate is an old gate rebuilt early in the nineteenth century by Maina Bai, the great Rājā of Dhār. The Lawant, Rāmpol, Dīhlī, and Bhāngī Gates are old, but bear no inscriptions. The last has

its name from the legend that a sweeper was buried alive on the completion of the gateway. The Gāpt or Carriage Gate bears no inscription and its age is unknown.

The principal buildings in the fortress are the mosques of Dilāvar Khān (1405), Malik Muḥṣib (1432), and Hūshang (1454), the last being one of the finest specimens of Pathān architecture in India; the Hindola Mahall with the Nahār Dīharokha, the Tawell and Dīhāz Mahalls, the palaces of Nāṣir al-Dīn (1509) and Cīshī Khān, the Campa Bāḥ or Well, Rūpmatī's pavilion, the tombs of Hūshang Shāh and Daryā Khān, the Hāthī-khāna (actually a tomb), and the Tower of Victory of Maḥmūd Khāldī. These buildings are now carefully conserved by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India.

Bibliography: Firsihta, *Gulistan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay 1832; *Āṭin-i Akbarī*, translated by Blochmann and Jarrett; E. Denison Ross, *An Arabic History of Gujaraṭ*; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, xvii. 171—173; *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xxi, p. 378—391, Bombay 1902.

(T. W. HART)

MANDŪ. [See SHARF A.]

MANF, or, according to Abu 'l-Fida' (p. 116), Minf, the ancient Egyptian capital Memphis, on the left bank of the Nile, not far from Cairo, is well known in Arabic literature as a very old town. The geographers cite, among the *āḥir*'s of Egypt, that of Manf and Wasim (cf. e.g. Ibn Khordādhbih, p. 81), but the town was already ruined in Muḥammadan times (al-Ya'qūbī, *Kit. al-Buldān*, p. 331) — by 'Amr b. al-'As, according to Abu 'l-Fida' (*loc. cit.*) — and was no more than a village in the time of Ibn Hawkal (p. 106).

Most Arab writers speak of the ancient traditions connected with Manf, often together with 'Ain Shams [q.v.]. It is said to have been the first town inhabited in Egypt after the Flood, founded by Bāṣar b. Hām b. Nūh (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, p. 9) or Miṣrayim b. Bāṣar (al-Maḥrizī, ed. Wiet, i. 73); the name is said to mean thirty (*maṣā*, *sc.* the Coptic *mas*), because the first inhabitants were thirty in number. Further it is said to have been the town, where the Qur'anic stories of Mūsā and Yūsuf took place (Yāqūt, iv. 667), namely the Madinat Firawn, which possessed 70 gates and from which flowed the four great rivers of the earth (Ibn Khordādhbih, p. 81). The temple (*barhi*) of Manf was built under the queen Dālūka by herself or by the sorceress called *al-afūka*, and had magical properties. Manf had also a tradition as a Christian town; the ruins of the monastery Dair Hirmā are still to be seen, and the Arab authors know of some churches in the place (e.g. Kantat al-Uṣṣaf; cf. Yāqūt, *loc. cit.*), which reminded them of the ancient enormous prosperity of the town.

Bibliography: Maspero and Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, Cairo 1909, p. 163, 200 *seq.*; 'Alī Paṣhā Muḥarrak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djādida*, xvi. 2 *seq.*

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MANGIR, the general name for copper coin under the early Ottomans, corresponding to *altun* (gold) and *akçe* (silver). As a particular denomination it was a copper coin struck in the reign of Sulaimān II during a period of financial stress. In 1099 (1687) it was resolved to issue

temporarily a token coinage in copper to be withdrawn from currency when the finances of the state improved. 800 mīngirs were struck to the oke of copper and put into currency as half aspers. When the situation did not improve, the value was raised to one asper; the remedy proved worse than the disease for very soon the country was flooded with copper coins and gold and silver driven out of circulation.

Mangir is also the name given to imitations of sequins in brass or other cheap metal worn as ornaments.

Bibliography: M. Belin, *Essai sur l'Histoire économique de la Turquie*, in *J. A.*, ser. vi., vols. 3—5 (1864—1865); A. Djewad Bey, *État Militaire Ottoman*, transl. by Georges Macrides, Constantinople—Paris 1882, p. 106 *seq.* (J. ALLAN)

MANGISHLAK, a mountainous peninsula on the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea, first mentioned under the Persian name Siyāh-Kōh ('Black Mountain'; cf. *B. G. A.*, i. 218); the same name was given to the hills west of the Sea of Aral (*op. cit.*, vii. 92; see *XMD-DARYA*). According to Iṣṭakhri (*op. cit.*, i. 219), the peninsula used to be uninhabited; it was only shortly before his time (or that of his predecessor al-Balkhī) that Turks, who had quarrelled with the Ghuzz [q.v.], i.e. with their own kin, had come there and found springs and pastures for their flocks. Ships which were wrecked on the cliffs of the peninsula used to be plundered by these Turks. Muḥaddasī (or Maḥalī) mentions the mountain of Bīnqishlah as marking the frontier between the land of the Khazars and Djurdjān [q.v.] (cf. *B. G. A.*, iii. 355).

In the form Mankishlah (vocalised Mankashlah by Yāqūt) the name first appears in documents of the viii (xiith) century (W. Barthold, *Turkistan*, i. 34, 44 and 79) and in Yāqūt (iv. 670). According to Yāqūt, this name was borne by a strong fortress near the sea between Khwārizm [q.v.], Saksin [q.v.] and the land of the Rūa. The peninsula was evidently no longer, as it had once been, a place held in terror not only for its natural conditions but also for its inhabitants; via Mangishlak there ran, as later almost into modern times, an important trade route from the Volga territory to Khwārizm; goods were unloaded in the bay near Cape Tūb-Karagun and taken to Khwārizm by caravans. Before its conquest between 1127—1128 and 1138 by the Khwārizmshah Atsız [q.v.], Mangishlak was a separate and practically independent principality on the frontier of the Muslim world (it was of course regarded as within the empire of the Saljuqs; q.v.). As the verse quoted shows, the conquest resulted in the destruction of the town. No permanent settlement is again mentioned on the peninsula until its occupation by the Russians, in spite of its importance for commerce.

For the last few centuries (perhaps even earlier) the peninsula has been inhabited by Turkomans. Towards the beginning of the xth (xvith) century these were the Salur [q.v.]; on the coast lived the 'inner Salur' (*ijā Salur*), on the road from the 'inner Salur' to the coast (about 500 miles; it took 20 days to traverse) lived the outer (*ṭāḥir*) Salur (Zap., xv. 208). Also 'l-Ghazī (ed. Desmoulin, p. 267) gives the Ersari for the Salur; towards the end of this century, this tribe was almost completely driven out by the Mangi [q.v.] i.e. by the Nogai; later we find the Kalmucks [q.v.]

conquering here. On their rule in Mangishlak, cf. Abu'l-Ghāṣī, p. 316; the name of the peninsula is written by Abu'l-Ghāṣī (see Index), Mānīshlak, Mangishlak and Mangishlak. In addition to the regular traffic by sea with Astrakhan [q. v.], frequently mentioned in Russian sources, there was also a connection with Shirvan mentioned by Abu'l-Ghāṣī (p. 257 and 273) and other sources. Three Turkoman tribes, the Čawdur, the Igdir and the Somađji, were deported by the Kalmucks under Ayska (1670—1724), according to others as early as the reign of Pansuk-Mončak (1667—70) from Mangishlak to the northern part of the Caucasus, but a section of the Čawdur continued to dwell in Mangishlak. When, under Russian rule, the land of the Turkomans was organised as the "Trans-Caspian territory" (*Zakavkazskaya oblast'*), the "district of Mangishlak" was included in it; the capital was the little settlement founded in 1839 as "Novo-Petrovskoye-ukrepleniye" and known from 1859 as "Fort Aleksandrovsk" (now: Fort Urickogo). In the 19th century the Turkomans were gradually driven out of Mangishlak by the Karak [cf. KIKRIZ]; therefore after the Revolution the district of Mangishlak was separated from the land of the Turkomans and now belongs to the republic of Karakistān.

After the western shore of the Caspian Sea had passed under Russian rule, it was recognised that the Gulf of Balkhān [q. v.] formed a better gateway to Central Asia than Mangishlak. In 1819 the ambassador Murawiew proposed to the Khān of Khiva, Muḥammad Rāḥim, that the caravan route from the Caspian Sea to Khiva should no longer start from Mangishlak but from the port of Krasnowodsk on the Gulf of Balkhān. The Khān replied: "It is true, the road via Mangishlak is much longer than the road via Krasnowodsk but the people in Mangishlak are my subjects, whereas the Yomut as far as Astrakhan belong for the most part to the Kādjar" [q. v.] (N. Murawiew, *Puteshestviye v Turkmenskiy i Khivan, Moscow 1822*, p. 134). It was only after Russian rule was firmly established in Central Asia that this question could be settled in favour of the Gulf of Balkhān. Since Krasnowodsk became the starting point for the Central Asiatic railway, Mangishlak has lost any importance it had in favour of the Gulf of Balkhān. According to the census of 1897, the population of Krasnowodsk was 6,322 and of Fort Aleksandrovsk only 895.

Bibliography: given in the article.

Descriptions of the district of Mangishlak will be found in all works on Turkestan, e.g. V. Masal'skiy, *Turkestanskii Krai*, St. Petersburg 1913, p. 621 sq. (W. BARTHOLO)

MANGIT, the name of a tribe and a people. In the time of Čingiz-Khān [q. v.] the word Mangit appears as the name of a Mongol people in Rashid al-Din (*Trudi Vost. Otd. Arkh. Otd.*, vii. 205 sq.: Mangit). From the Mongol period onwards the name Mangit (written Mangkit, Maughit, Mānghit, Manhit, Maughit and Maughit) like many other Mongol names (Naiman, Kungrat etc.) appears as the tribal name of Turkish or Turkicised peoples. According to the *Zafar-nāma* (Ind. ed., i. 277) the Mangit were a tribe (*timār*) of the Golden Horde, which produced the celebrated Emir İdegu (in Russian sources Vedigei), the contemporary and opponent of Timur and Tokhtamish. The people called Nogai in Rus-

sian sources is always called Mangit by Abu'l-Ghāṣī (see Index) and other Oriental sources of the same period. Now Nogai alone is used as the name of the people. The statement that the Mangit tribe makes up about 90% of them wants more careful investigation (M. Tinfahpaev, *Materiali k istorii Kirgiz-Kasakskogo naroda*, Tashkent 1925, p. 28); the name Mangit is said to be also found as the name of a family among the Yakuts. In the *Baḡr al-Asrār* of Maḥmūd b. Walī (MS. Ind. Off., No. 575, f. 35^a) the tribe (*atār*) of the Mangit and the tribe (*it'*) of the Kungrat are mentioned as the two most important branches of the Özbeks. The Mangit tribe was of some political importance for the political life of Bukhārā and Khwārezm. In the fighting with other tribes the Mangits of Bukhārā were supported by their brethren in Khiva and vice versa but it was only in Bukhārā that they became supreme. On the dynasty of the Mangit see the article BUKHĀRĀ (there written Manhit); the dynasty was overthrown in the revolution of 1920. In Khiva the Mangits combined with the Nukis to form a double tribe (the other double tribes were the Uigur-Naiman, Kitai-Kipčak and Kiyat-Kungrat).

The place called Mangit on modern maps was only founded in Radjab 1215 (Nov.-Dec. 1800) by members of the tribe who had been driven by the Turkoman Yomut to the east (History of Khiva, MS. of the Asiatic Museum, p. 590 supra, f. 75^b).

At the present day the Mangits number 99,200 in Bukhārā (of whom 44,000 are in Bukhārā itself and 31,000 in Karak; q. v.) and only 10,300 in Khiva.

Bibliography: Vambery, *Das Türkmenwolk in seinen ethnologischen und ethnographischen Beziehungen*, Leipzig 1885, p. 349 sqq. (among the Özbeks); 346, 554 and 557 (among the Nogai); Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, Leipzig 1893, i. 227; Aristow, *Zametki ob etnitskikh sostave tyurkikh plenenn*, St. Petersburg 1897, p. 149 sqq.; *Materiali po rayonniruvaniyu Srednei Azii. Territoriya i naseleniye Bukhara i Khorezma*, Tashkent 1926. Čast' I, Bukhara, p. 185 sqq.; Čast' II, Khorezm, p. 98. (W. BARTHOLO)

MANGU. [see MÖNGKE.]

MANGU-TIMUR, so on his coins, Mongol Möngke-Timur, as in the article NERKE, [q. v.], written Māngka (e.g. Rashid al-Din, ed. Blochet, p. 109), in the Russian annals Mengutemer, Khān of the Golden Horde (1266—1280), grandson of the Khān Bātū [q. v.], son of Tūgūlān. According to Egyptian sources, the death of his predecessor Berke took place in 665 (Oct. 1266—Sept. 1267); in Šafar 666 (Oct.-Nov. 1267) an embassy left Cairo which was to bring the new Khān an expression of sympathy and congratulations from Salḡin Baidars I [q. v.]. In 667 (Sept. 1268—Aug. 1269) an embassy from the Khān arrived in Egypt. The exchange of embassies was maintained throughout the whole of the Khān's reign. When in 670 (1271—1272) an embassy on the way to Egypt was captured by a Frankish ship from Marseilles, the ambassadors and all their goods had to be released on the Salḡin's demand. When in 680 (April 1281—1282) an Egyptian embassy left for the Golden Horde nothing was yet known of the death of the Khān. Only later did they learn that he was no more, having died in Rabi' I 679 in the district of Aḡlukīya (apparently nowhere else mentioned);

his death is said to have been caused by the unskillful removal of a boil on the neck. In Rashid al-Din (ed. Blochet, p. 142) the date of Mangū-Timur's death is given as 681 (Apr. 1282–March 1285); there are coins of his brother and successor Tughlugh-Mangū struck in this year.

The Egyptian government tried to induce the Khān to resume the war on the Persian Mongols begun by his predecessor Berke; but soon after his accession Mangū-Timur concluded peace with Abāka and never again attacked Persia. Rashid al-Din by an oversight attributes to Mangū-Timur the campaign against Arghūn of the year 689 = 1290 (in Blochet's edition in p. 140, we have not for this); d'Osson (*Hist. des Mongols*, iv. 42) and Barthold (article ARGHUN) have been misled by this.

On Mangū-Timur's participation in events in Central Asia down to the Kurultai of 667 (1269) (sending an army of 30,000 men under Berkedjār, a brother of Batu and Berke) see the article BUKAR-KHĀN. Accounts of this are found in the still unprinted parts of the *Djūmī' al-Tawārīkh* of Rashid al-Din (reign of Abāka, cf. d'Osson, *op. cit.*, iii. 428). The alliance between Mangū-Timur and Kaidū, whom he was then supporting, is also mentioned later; when in 1277 two sons of the emperor Kubilai Khān were taken prisoners in the war with Kaidū, the latter had the princes sent to the court of Mangū-Timur, from which they were later sent back to their father (Rashid al-Din, ed. Blochet, p. 8; d'Osson, *op. cit.*, ii. 452 *sq.*).

Russian rulers appealed to Mangū-Timur for support as they had done to his predecessors and successors. Lev of Galicia received assistance from him against the Lithuanians but the Tatar auxiliaries proved a great burden not only to his enemies but also to their protégés. In 1277, a Russian army was fighting in the Caucasus against the Alans under the Khān's orders. From Mangū-Timur dates the earliest extant edict of a Khān of the Golden Horde on the privileges of the Greek orthodox clergy; it is dated in the year of the Hare (probably 1267). The bishop of Sarai, Theognostos, was sent by Mangū-Timur as an ambassador to Constantinople.

In contrast to the last two decades of the thirteenth century the Golden Horde under Mangū-Timur was a great power, free from internal troubles. Coins were still struck only in the old commercial city of Bulghār (q.v.) but, unlike those of his predecessors, in his own name not in that of the Great Khān. On his coins, the seal of the Golden Horde appears for the first time.

Bibliography: (so far as not already given): Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii. 125 *sq.*; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, Pesth 1840, p. 248 *sq.* — The Egyptian references in W. Tiesenhausen, *Shornik materialov, etnoyazykovednykh k istorii Zolotoi Ordai*, part i., St. Petersburg 1884. (W. BARTHOLO)

MĀNĪ. [See ZINDUK.]

MANI is the name given in Ottoman Turkish to popular songs in quatrains. The name is a corruption of the Arabic word *ma'nā*, meaning "thought, idea", and is by no means found throughout the whole area where Ottoman Turkish is spoken. In many districts isolated quatrains, like songs of several verses, are simply called *türkü*. Songs in quatrains are known among almost all Turkish peoples; they must therefore be considered

to have been known to the original Turkish stock.

The rhythm of the mani is, as in Turkish popular poetry generally, sometimes purely syllabic (a definite number of syllables without a fixed caesura), and sometimes depends on the accented syllables (with a fixed caesura and therefore with the order of weak and strong syllables to some degree fixed). The lines show as a rule 7 syllables (4-3, 3-4, rarely 2-3-2). Quatrains with all four lines alike are rare, the third line usually differs from the others (3-4, 3-4, 4-3, 3-4, or 4-3, 4-3, 3-4, 4-3 and so on). The original arrangement of the rhyme in Turkish quatrains is *abab* (two lines rhyming) which clearly shows the quatrain was originally a distich. In the Ottoman mani we have a development of this form also, with three rhyming lines (*aaa*). The rhyme however which connects the second and fourth lines is often fatter and more distinct than that which connects the first and second lines. Alliteration, which is highly developed among many Turks, especially in the north, is only found sporadically in the mani; it is found both as line alliteration (similarity in the initial letters of the words of a line, e.g. *kara koyun karmarmak, ötmele benime hal, etc.*) and as verse alliteration (similarity of the initial letters of the lines in a verse, e.g. *varı gülüm yecinde, senin insaf nerinde, sul binde yok acı diyim, sana gönül verende*).

As regards matter, the majority of the mani fall into two distinct parts, an introduction dealing with nature, and a concluding part of a personal character. Originally the two parts must have been very closely connected. It would however be a mistake to find such a connection in all the manis, because the singers very often only improvise new conclusions to ready made introductions taken from older poems, without troubling in the least about the train of thought. The great majority of mani are tinged with eroticism, but we also find satirical ones, also soldiers' and robbers' songs in the form of quatrains. The quatrains composed on the Anatolian brigand Çakırdı have been much admired by European scholars. Isolated, originally independent mani are now often strung together to form ballads of some length. It would therefore be wrong to regard mani and *türkü* as two fundamentally different classes of songs.

The number of mani current among the people is enormous. They are sung at all kinds of festivals and ceremonies, and by people over their work in the house in the long winter nights. On *Hidrellez*, St. George's Day (April 23), they are used as oracles by young girls.

Very popular also among the Ottoman Turks are the so-called *şinasi mani*: punning mani. These are quatrains, the rhymes of which are identical syllables but have each a different meaning.

Bibliography: 1. Kinos in the introduction of Ottoman Turkish popular songs, especially in the second volume of the *Ottoman-Türk alphabeti zeyiftenleri*, Budapest 1889 and in the eighth vol. of the *Foeben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme*, ed. by Radloff, St. Petersburg 1899; G. Jacob, *Türkische Volksliteratur*, Berlin 1901, p. 23 *sq.*; T. Kowalski, *Zi studiów nad formą poezji ludowej tureckiej*, Kraków 1922, p. 63 *sq.*, 72 *sq.* — Collections of mani's are also found in the following works: Kinos, *Türkische Volkslieder*, W. Z. K. M., iv. (1890),

Chrestomathia Turcica, Budapest 1899; E. Littmann, *Tschakysch, ein Räuberhauptmann der Gegenwart*, Berlin 1915; T. Towalski, *Piosenki ludowe anatólskie z rękopiśmiennej księgi, Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, i. 337—355; W. Hefening, *Türkische Volkslieder*, in *Idl.*, xiii. 236—267; W. Gonilewskij, *Obrasci eimanikago narodnago tworstwa*, Moscow 1916; M. Räsänen, *Eine Sammlung von Mämi-Liedern aus Anatolien*, *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, xli. (1926) (a collection of 290 mani mainly from N. E. Anatolia); Sa'd al-Din Nüzhet and Mehmed Ferid, *Konya Wilâyeti Khalkiyatı wa-Halkiyatı*, Konya 1926, p. 155—177 (a collection of 375 mani from the Wilâyet of Konya); *Anadolu Türkleriñin Khalk Edebiyatı*, I *Maniler* (collection of texts with a very full introduction by Köprülü-Zade Mehmed Fa'ad is to be shortly published by the Turkological Institute in Constantinople); cf. also the *Bibl.* to the article TÜRKÜ. (T. KOWALSKI)

AL-MĀNĪ, one of Allāh's names. [See ALLĀH.]

MANISA, MAGNĒSIA (> MĀ'nisa), in Arabic Magnisiya, capital of the district of Şārīkhān in western Anatolia.

Magnisia is two hours' journey distant on the south from the river Gediz or Gedüs (the ancient Hermos; on its course, cf. Tchihatchef, *Asie Mineure*, II. [1866], p. 232) on the northern slope of Mount Magnisia-daghl or Yamanlar (the ancient Sipylon) which separates it from Smyrna (the distance between the two towns by the Sabuncı-beli pass is only 20 miles; by railway 40 miles).

In ancient times the town ("Magnesia ad Sipylum") was mainly noted for the victory won in its vicinity by the two Scipios over Antiochus the Great of Syria (190 B.C.). The town was then incorporated in the Roman empire. It flourished until the fifth century as its coins show. Magnesia is also often mentioned in Byzantine history: after the taking of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 John Ducas retired to Magnesia where he held out till 1255.

The Turkoman chief Şārī-Khān [q. v.] who had formed a principality for himself on the ruins of the Seldjūk kingdom of Konya, took Magnesia in 1313 and the town was the capital of his dynasty for 78 years. It was in the reign of Şārī-Khān that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (II. 312) visited the town where he stayed in a *sawwa* of the brotherhood of the *ṣūfīyān*. The town was large and beautiful, rich in gardens and with a plentiful supply of water. On the buildings erected by the Şārī-Khān dynasty see the article on them.

After the battle of Angora (805 A.H.) Timūr ordered his grandson Sulṭān Muḥammad to lay waste (*ishkhan*) the district between Brussa and Magnesia and to take up his winter quarters in the latter town. The author of the *Zafar-nāma*, II. 466—467, 480, calls it "Maghul-siyāh in the Şārīh-eli" [cf. Urudj-beg, p. 32: Şārī-khān] and comments on the excellence and abundance of its water-supply and the pleasantness of its climate. According to Turkish sources (cf. Urudj, *Tamr-i-ḥāṭi Ati 'Othmān*, ed. Bahinger, p. 34—35; *Ashiy-pāshā*, p. 70; Münedjīm-baḥrī, III. 33), Timūr restored the fiefs of Anatolia to their old holders (*beyli-beyine*) but by 813 (1410) Sulṭān Muḥammad I had retaken the region of Şārī-khān [q. v.].

Magnisia became the residence (*Djikhān-nūmā*, p. 635: *dār al-amān*) of the Ottoman princes but

for a time (1405—1425) its district was within the sphere of influence of the rebel Dīnāid (son of the Ottoman governor of al-Aydīn; von Hammer, *op. cit.*, p. 271—327). Murād II having abdicated the throne in 1444 chose Magnisia as his place of retirement. The Hungarian offensive drew him out of it but after the victory of Warna (Nov. 10, 1444) he returned to Magnesia (v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, I. 351, 357) where the remains of his palace and gardens can still be seen. Murād III (1574—1595) and his wife also contributed to beautifying the town; cf. *Djikhān-nūmā*, p. 635. Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor*, Oxford 1775, p. 207—209 and 266—268 speaks of the palace and pretty mausoleum of Murād (III?) and of his foundations (*tekke* = college of arishies, lunatic asylums etc.).

In 1633 in the reign of Murād IV, the governor of Kārasi [q. v.] İlyās Pāshā rebelled and laid siege to Magnesia which was taken and plundered for three days. İlyās was taken prisoner and the Sulṭān in ordering him to be beheaded reproached him with having devastated "the residence of his ancestors" (*l.c.*, III. 113—114).

In the xviiith century Magnesia became the capital of the powerful family of the Kārā 'Othmān-Oghlu whose authority extended from the Maeander to the Propontid. It was not till 1814 that these hereditary chiefs, whose administration is praised by Keppel, *Narrative of a Journey across the Balkans*, London 1831, II. 294—301, were replaced by a regular Turkish governor.

With the introduction of the system of wilāyets, Magnisia became the capital of the sandjak of Şārīkhān in the wilāyet of Aydin (Smyrna). Sāim-bey, *Kāwūs al-'Alām*, Constantinople 1898, VI. 4348 estimated the population of the town at 36,252 of whom 21,000 were Muslims, 10,400 Greeks, 2000 Armenians etc. Magnisia which is divided up by streams into 3 quarters had 25 *ḥamā*, 38 mosques, 25 *midrāṭa*, 18 *tekke* etc. The *kaḍā* of Magnisia had 4 *nāhiye*: Amīāk, Yont-daghl Palamut and Belek. Cuiet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, III. 1894, p. 523—534 gives the following as the *nāhiye* of the sandjak: Magnisia, Soma, Kır-Aghac, Ak-Hisar, Kasaba, Girdia, Demirdji, Şālibl, Kule, Ala-shehir, Eshme. After the reform of 1921 Şārī-khān became a wilāyet with 11 *kaḍās* (the old *nāhiyes*). The population of the new wilāyet is 302,752 souls and of the *kaḍā* Magnisia, 75,021 souls; cf. the *Turkiya Djumhuriyetinin Sāl-nāmeti*, 1926—1927, p. 926—933. In view of the movements of the population the ethnical composition of the sandjak must have undergone profound modifications.

(V. MINORSKY)

MANSHÜR (A.) means literally "spread out" (as in the Kūrān xvii. 14 and III. 3; opposite *maḥṣūl* "folded"), or not sealed (opposite *maḥṣūl*) hence means a certificate, an edict, a diploma of appointment, and particularly a patent granting an appanage.

In Egypt in the early Arab period *manshūr* seems to be a name for the passes which the government compelled the *fallāḥīn* to have in order to check the flight of colonists from the land, which threatened to become overwhelming (*Djāliya*, cf. above, II. p. 14¹ and 994²). In any case in the *Führer durch die Ausstellung (Papyrus Erbsenrog Rainer)*, N^o. 631 (cf. also N^o. 601—602) such a certificate of the year 180 (796) is called a *manshūr* and in Makrizi, *Khitaṭ*, II. 493, we are told

than 26 texts, beginning with one drawn up by Muḥyī l-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Zāhir in the reign of Kālān for the latter's son Nāṣir Muḥammad, which for its remarkable beauty he calls a regular *ṣaḥīḥ al-manāḥīr*. The other texts are for the above mentioned military ranks, as well as for sons of emirs (*awlad al-amūr*) and for emirs of the Arabs, Turks and Kurds.

The term *manṣūr* was also used for potentia of appointment in the Ottoman empire, but it does not seem to have been used so definitely or exclusively in this sense; there are however *manāḥīr* for viziers, generals, and governors (*recueil manṣūr*, *manṣūriyat manṣūr*, *evāliṣ manṣūr*), and in the treaties of peace made after the Balkan War in 1913, it is still provided that the chief motifs to be appointed in Bulgaria and Greece are to receive their *manṣūr* from the *Shaykh al-Islām* in Istanbul and they have also to put forward for approval the *manṣūr* of the ordinary muftis subordinate to them (cf. e.g. Karl Strupp, *Angewählte diplomatische Abenteuere zur orientalischen Frage*, Göttingen 1916, p. 295, 308).

The name *manṣūr* was also applied to the pastoral letters and epistles of the Christian patriarchs and bishops. In conclusion it may be mentioned that *manṣūr* in mathematical language means "prism" (varieties e.g. *M. mū'īl* oblique prism, *M. ṣā'im* straight prism, *M. musawwīl* 'isof' parallel prism, *M. musawwīl* regular prism, *M. musawwīl* triangular prism, *M. nāḥiṣ* truncated prism), and that in the language of the Persian poets the nightingales are called "the *manṣūr*-writers of the garden" (*manṣūr-nawīstān-i bāgh*).

Bibliography: In addition to the passages quoted, cf. Ibn Shuhā, *Ma'ālim al-Kutub*, p. 43; Khallī al-Zahīr, *Zuhdat Kaṣf al-Mamūlāt*, p. 100, 102; Gaudelroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mameluks*, Index; W. Björckman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Index 1.

(W. BJÖRCKMAN)

MANŠUKH. [See NAKH.]

AL-MANŠÜR, ABU DĪYĀR 'ABD ALLĀH B. MUHAMMAD, the second 'Abbāsid caliph. His mother was a Berber slave girl called Sallāma, his brother the caliph Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Saffār [q. v.]. In the fighting against the Omayyads he distinguished himself and took part in the siege of Wāsiṭ, which had been fortified by Ibn Hubāla [q. v.], the last important supporter of Marwān. The treacherous murder of Ibn Hubāla, to whom the two 'Abbāsids had expressly promised a pardon, is however not out of keeping with Abū Dīyār's character. His brother gave him the governorship of Armenia, Adhurbāidjān and Mesopotamia, which he administered till his accession. On the way back from the pilgrimage, he learned that Abū 'l-'Abbās had died in Dhū l-Hijja 136 (June 754) and that he himself had been proclaimed caliph. His uncle 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī [q. v.] wished to dispute the succession but was defeated by Abū Muslim [q. v.]. Soon afterwards the Caliph had the latter put out of the way, which led to a rising in Khorāṣān. The leader of this was a Persian named Sunbāgh; he advanced far into Media but was defeated between Hamadhān and al-Rāy by the caliph's troops led by Dīyār b. Marwān and soon afterwards slain. When Dīyār also cast off his allegiance to the caliph, the latter sent an army under Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath against him (138 =

755—756). Dīyār was defeated and fled to Adhurbāidjān, where he was put to death. About the same time the Khāridjīs rebelled in Mesopotamia under Muṭabbad b. Harnala al-Shāhānī who inflicted severe reverses on al-Manṣūr's armies, until the rebellion was finally suppressed by Khāsim b. Khazima in 138 and Muṭabbad slain; in al-Haḥimīya also there was a rising (probably in 141 = 758—759). A body of the so-called Bāwānī [q. v.] who identified the caliph with God himself, went to the capital and when al-Manṣūr had some of them arrested, they were forcibly rescued by their friends. But for the valiant Ma'n b. Zā'ida [q. v.] it would hardly have been possible for the caliph to dispose of these mad fanatics. A few years later, the 'Alids also rebelled under their leader 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan [q. v.]. In the autumn of 145 (762), a rebellion broke out in al-Medīna, and Muḥammad son of 'Abd Allāh was proclaimed caliph there, but in Ramaḍān of the same year (Dec. 762) defeated by the Caliph's nephew 'Isā b. Mūsā. 'Isā then attacked Muḥammad's brother Ibrāhīm, who had risen in Baṣra and severely defeated him at Bāghamrā [q. v.] where the latter was slain (Dhū l-Ka'da 145 = Febr. 763). In Spain the Omayyad 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu'āwīya had founded an independent kingdom in 138 (756) and in Africa there was fighting for several years with the Berbers and Khāridjīs. It was only after the Abūj Abū Ḥatīm [q. v.] had been defeated by the Caliph's troops under Yazīd b. Ḥatīm in Raḥat I, 135 (March 772) and killed that order was restored there. Yazīd remained in Kalawān as governor till his death in 170 (786—787). In Khorāṣān a new rebellion broke out in 149 (766—767) or 150. The leader Ustāḥḥas declared himself a prophet and gathered numerous followers around him but was defeated by Khāsim b. Khazima, who wrought a fearful massacre among the rebels.

The frontiers also resounded with the noise of battle. The war against the Byzantines was continued under al-Manṣūr, but was confined mainly to raids or the destruction of individual strongholds. Al-Manṣūr devoted special attention to protecting the frontier by building fortresses, and the two towns of Maṣāṣya (Meliteno) and al-Maṣāṣya (Mopsuestia) were rebuilt in his reign. Several expeditions were sent against Dailām and Tabaristān in the early years of al-Manṣūr's reign and after the extinction of the old line of Ispahbads of the Banū Dābūya [q. v.] in Tabaristān, this province too received Arab governors. In 147 (764—765) the Khazars invaded Armenia, seized the town of Tiflis and defeated the caliph's troops but retired again. There were also encounters with the people beyond the Oxus and in India; but these were of minor importance. At first al-Manṣūr lived at al-Haḥimīya near Kūfa, as did his predecessor; he later decided to build a new capital and in 145 (762) the foundation stone of Baghdād [q. v.] was laid. Khallī b. Barnak is said to have been his adviser in this matter; he played an important part in other respects in al-Manṣūr's reign (cf. NAKHARINS). Al-Manṣūr devoted himself with the greatest energy to his duties as a ruler but troubled little about the means he used and never hesitated to act in the most faithless manner if he could only attain his aim. He was always kept very well informed of everything that went on in the different parts of his wide empire, and devoted special attention to the improvement of the finances of the State in

order to leave his successor a full treasury. He took an active interest in literature and was a brilliant speaker; on the other hand he did not tolerate music and song at his court and in general led a very simple life. His nephew 'Isā b. Mūsā (q.v.) had been destined by al-Saffār to succeed al-Manšūr but was induced by the latter to withdraw his claims on condition that he should succeed after al-Mahdī (q.v.). Al-Manšūr died in Dhū l-Hijja 158 (Oct. 775) in Bīr Ma'inūn, when on the pilgrimage to Mecca and was buried near the holy city [cf. the article AL-MURVĀN].

Bibliography: Ibn Kutaiba, *al-Ma'arif*, ed. Wustenfeld, p. 191 sq.; Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, li. 409, 420-425, 430, 433, 436-475; Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, see index; al-Muḥarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 67, 115, 139, 248, 302, 361, 570, 786; Tabarī, iii. 57 sqq., 85-451; Mūsā b. 'Umar, ed. Paris, vi. 90 sqq.; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, v. 238 sqq., 350-vi. 23; al-Aghani, see Guidi, *Tables alphabetiques*; Ibn al-Jayshī, *al-Faḥḥā*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 215-242; Muḥammad b. Shākir, *Faḥḥ al-Wafayāt*, i. 232 sq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, iii. 180 sqq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, li. 2 sqq.; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 462 sqq.; Muir, *The caliphate, its rise, decline, and fall*, p. 428 sqq.; Nöldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen*, p. 115-151; Brooks, *Byzantium and Arabs in the time of the early Abbasids*, in *The English Historical Review*, xv. 728 sqq.; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, passim; do., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, see index; Browne, *An abridged translation of the history of Tabaristan*, by Ibn Isfandiyyār, p. 10, 53, 111 sqq., 117-119; Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, i. 289 sqq. (K. V. ZETTERSTERN).

AL-MANŠŪR b. 'ILĀH AL-KĀSIM, the name of two Zaidī imāms of the Yemen.

I. **AL-KĀSIM b. 'ALĪ AL-AYYAN** (?) according to others al-Ilyāsī). His genealogy goes back through a certain 'Abd Allāh and a Muḥammad to al-Kāsim b. 'Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā (d. 246 = 860), the spiritual founder of Zaidism in the Yemen; he is however not a descendant of the latter's grandson, al-Hādī Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn, the creator of the secular power of the Zaidis in the Yemen. The latter was succeeded in the imāmate by his two sons: the weak Muḥammad al-Murādī and the more capable Ahmad al-Nāṣir. With his death in the year 322 (934) the imāmate came to an end for a time. Although in 345 (956) al-Kāsim al-Mukhtār, a son of al-Nāṣir, seized the capital Sa'da, he was soon defeated by al-Daḥḥāk, the chief of the tribe of Hamḍān, who put Sa'da under the suzerainty of the Ziyādids of Zabīd; the hostile tribe of Khawlan however played it (352 = 963) into the hands of the Ya'furid 'Abd Allāh b. Kaṭṭān. In the midst of this civil strife, a nephew of the defeated Mukhtār, Yūsuf b. Yahyā b. al-Nāṣir succeeded for a short time in gaining power and being recognised by the Zaidis at least as a *ḥafī*. Driven out by the Ya'furids, his power became limited to the old Zaidi stronghold of Sa'da in the north. Al-Kāsim b. 'Alī, with the support of the Banū Hamḍān, rose against him, claiming the imāmate with the title al-Kāsim b. Manšūr b. 'Ilāh in 389 (999); he occupied Sa'da, forced his way through the Waḥī Shuwaḥ and al-Bawn southwards to the highlands in the N.W. of Sa'da and from there forced the capital to

recognise him. His career however was brief and his power unenduring: for when in 393 (1003) he died, his governor in Sa'da had already gone over to Yūsuf al-Da'i. He was however the first since al-Nāṣir Ahmad, and the fourth in all to be entered — although not by everyone — in the lists as Imām of Yemen (but cf. on the above claimants: Munadjjidmāghī, in *Sachau, Ein Verzeichnis saudi-arabischer Dynastien*, in *Abh. Pre. Ak. W., Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1923, i. 22).

Only for an equally short time from 401-404 (1010-1013) his son al-Ḥusayn al-Mahdī was able to regain his father's office. His early death in battle is noteworthy because it produced a quite un-Zaidi belief in his return and for a period founded a special sect, the 'Husayniya' in the name of this concealed imām. Some years later another son of al-Kāsim, 'Ilā'far, began a struggle full of vicissitudes with the other 'Alid claimants to the imāmate, which was complicated by a party grouping of the tribes of the country: about 453 (1061) Sa'da fell to the Imām al-Sulayhī and then to Hamḍān chiefs. Only in 545 (1150) Ahmad b. Sulaymān al-Mutawakkil, whose genealogy also goes back to al-Nāṣir Ahmad b. al-Hādī but neither through al-Kāsim al-Mukhtār nor Yūsuf al-Da'i, succeeded in restoring the imāmate for a long and brilliant period. For the history of the following centuries, which were full of incidents and individual imāms of importance cf. the article AL-MAHDI LI-DIN ALLAH and 2. The family of Yūsuf al-Da'i remained victorious in the end. His descendant in the twelfth (14th) generation:

II. **AL-MANŠŪR AL-KĀSIM b. MUḤAMMAD** (cf. *supra*, p. 119), was the founder of the modern Yemen dynasty. At the end of 1005 (1597) he appeared in the field and held his own against five Turkish governors. Not only did he find opponents and people he could not trust among his own Zaidis, who went over to the Turks but among the latter the change of governor frequently led to trouble and even to mutiny: the tribes were an incalculable element; the Turks were often able to call to their help the Isma'īlīs (Karāmīyās), always hostile to the Zaidis. The lack of equipment was a great hardship to the Imām; for example in one battle he is said to have mustered only 20 rifles against the Turks' 2,400. It is very difficult to get a clear idea of this minor war but the following are the main facts that emerge. After the proclamation of the holy war at Djidda al-Kāra in the northern district of Ṣaḥm al-Sharī at the end of Maharrat 1006 (Sept. 1597), al-Kāsim conquered the highlands of Ahūm and Shahrā, the latter with the fortress of the same name, which had been a bulwark of the Zaidis for 300 years with occasional interruptions; turning to the southeast he established himself in the mountains of Haḍḍr al-Shakh (also called Haḍḍr Banī Aḍ; cf. the article ḠAḌḌ) in the important Thula (see THULA) in the N.W. of Sa'da; his followers rose throughout the land and for a time even cut off the Turkish communications with the sea. But after two years, the collapse began before General Sīnā: by the end of 1010 or beginning of 1011 (1602) he had to flee from Shahrā. But in 1014 (1605) again he rebelled against Sīnā in the district of Shahrā who had been appointed governor this time from Wādī; he also took Sa'da. After Sīnā Paḡa was recalled, al-Kāsim was able to induce his successor 'Ilā'far Paḡa to make a truce, which

was observed for about ten years with a few interruptions especially on the arrival of new governors in 1022 and 1025. After renewed fighting a formal peace in 1028 left the imām in possession of the four separate areas: around Shāhāra, around Khāshab in the east, around Sa'da in the north, and lastly in the S.W. of Šan'a around Haima [q. v.], the inhabitants were, however for the most part not Zaidis but Shāfi'is. Al-Kāsim died in Rabi' I 1029 (Feb. 1620). In the middle of 1038 (beg. of 1629) Haidar Pasha had to evacuate Šan'a before his son and successor al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad.

Al-Kāsim b. Muḥammad was a conscientious Zaidi; as a youth when a fugitive before the Turks he had studied with many spiritual authorities; he composed numerous appeals for the rebellions; works of a legal and dogmatic nature by him still exist.

Bibliography: On I: Yaman, its early medieval history (London 1892), p. 228 sqq.; Strothmann, *Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strassburg 1912, p. 65, 119. — On II: al-Muhibbi, *Ta'rikh al-Khulafat al-Aḥbar*, Cairo 1284, iii. 293 sq.; Wüstenfeld, *Yemen im XI. (XVII.) Jahrhundert* (Abh. Ges. Wiss. Göttingen, xxxii., 1884), p. 38 sqq., 58 sqq.; Tritton, *The Rise of the Imams of Sanaa*, Oxford 1925, p. 1—78 (from records by contemporaries still in manuscript); Aḥmad Rāḥid, *Ta'rikh al-Yaman wa-Šan'a*, Istanbul 1921, i. 170 sqq.; Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 191 sqq. — On I and II: 'Imād al-Dīn Yahyā b. 'Alī al-Kāsimī, *Taḥimmat al-Isfāda fi Ta'rikh al-Dīmma al-ḥida* (Ms. Berl., N^o 9665); Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, Westminster 1894, p. 162 sq.; de Zambaur, *Manuel de géologie et de chronologie*, Hanover 1924, p. 122 sq.; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 405.

(R. STROTHMANN)

AL-MANŠŪR, the sixth ruler of the Ḥammādid dynasty, succeeded his father al-Nāṣir in the year 481 (1088). The latter had witnessed the rise to the height of its power of the dynasty of somewhat artificial development of Kal'a Bani Ḥammād [q. v.], a result of the destruction of Ḥairawān by the Arabs. Two years after the accession of al-Manšūr, the Arabs, who had advanced towards the west and who had spread over all the region adjoining the Kal'a, began to make existence there difficult. The prince moved his capital from Kal'a to Bougie which he considered less accessible to the nomads; it should be mentioned that his father al-Nāṣir had already made preparations for the exodus by transforming a little fishing port into a regular town, which he called al-Nāṣiriya and which was to become Bougie, while on the other hand, the Kal'a was not completely abandoned by al-Manšūr and he even embellished it with a number of palaces. The Ḥammādid kingdom had therefore at this time two capitals joined by a royal road.

After taking up his quarters at Bougie, al-Manšūr had in the first place to quell the revolt of one of his uncles, Belhar, the governor of Constantine. He sent against the rebel another Ḥammādid Emir, Abū Yakni. The latter after his victory was given the governorship of Constantine but shortly after he in his turn as well as his brother, who had been given the governorship of Bone, rebelled. These risings over which al-Manšūr, thanks to his energy,

was triumphant, brought to the side of the rebels of the Ḥammādid family the Zirids of al-Mahdiyya, who wished to get back some power in Barbary, the Almoravids of the Maghrib, who wished to extend towards the East and the Arabs who were always ready to join in the feuds of their powerful neighbours.

Al-Manšūr was, on the other hand, led to oppose the advance of the Almoravids who were curiously allied with the traditional opposition of the Zenāta [q. v.]. With the probable object of disarming the opposition al-Nāṣir and al-Manšūr had married two sisters of Mākhūkh, the chief of the Banu Wamānūl, at that time the most powerful of the Zenāta group. This alliance did not hinder the time-honoured feud from breaking out again. It became more acute when al-Manšūr murdered his wife, the sister of his enemy. The latter then asked for support from the Almoravids.

From Tlemcen, where they had been installed for more than twenty years, the Almoravids had after many attempts, endeavoured to expand towards the East at the expense of their brethren of the same race, the Sanhādja b. Ḥammād. Al-Manšūr had twice reduced them to impotence. It was at this time that the murder of the sister of Mākhūkh by al-Manšūr drove the Wamānūl chief into an alliance with the Almoravids of Tlemcen. The alliance formed in this way was a great blow to the Ḥammādid kingdom. Algiers was besieged for two days; Ashir was taken.

The fall of the latter fortress, the oldest stronghold of the family, was bitterly resented by al-Manšūr. He got together an army of 20,000 men, composed of the Sanhādja, the Arabs and even the Zenāta; he marched against Tlemcen, met the governor Tāḥfin b. Tin'amir to the North-East of the town and put him to flight. Tlemcen was not spared even at the supplication of Tāḥfin's wife, who invoked the ties of relationship uniting them with the Sanhādja (496 = 1102).

After the defeat of the Almoravids, al-Manšūr severely punished the Zenāta and the rebel tribes of the Bougie district, whom he forced to flee into the mountains of Kabylia.

Thus al-Manšūr seems on the eve of his death (498 = 1104) to have thoroughly re-established the power of the Ḥammādid. According to a tradition, which is not above suspicion, recorded by Ibn Khaldūn, the two capitals owed very important buildings to him: Bougie, the Palace of the Star and the Palace of Salvation; the Kal'a, the government palace and the Kaṣr al-Manā, the beautiful donjon of which is still in part extant.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, i. 227—228, transl. de Slane, ii. 51—55; Ibn al-Aṭhir, ed. Tornberg, x. 110; transl. E. Fagnan (*Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*), p. 488; E. Mercier, *Hist. de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ii. 53—56; L. de Beylié, *Le Kalan des Beni Hammād*, p. 38 sqq., 99 sqq. (doubtful traditions relating to the mosque of Bougie which was enlarged by al-Manšūr); G. Marcais, *Monum. d'art musulman*, i. 105, 121—123, 129—130.

(GEORGES MARCAIS)

AL-MANŠŪR, AḤMAD b. MUḤAMMAD, born in 1549, seventh ruler of the Sa'dian dynasty of Morocco, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad al-Mahdi and Saḥāba al-Rahmāniya. His victories and his wealth earned him the epithets al-Manšūr and al-Dhākabi.

He was still a child when on the accession of his eldest brother 'Abd Allāh (1557) he accompanied into exile his other brothers 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abd al-Mu'min, who went for safety from Sijilmassa to Tlemcen. The fugitives were potential claimants to the throne of the Sharifians, by virtue of an agreement concluded in the life-time of their father by which the one to inherit the power was not the Sultān's heir but the eldest of the family. 'Abd al-Mu'min was assassinated at the instigation of his nephew Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh called al-Mutawakkil and Aḥmad retired to Algiers to join 'Abd al-Malik who was already there. He was henceforth always a loyal lieutenant of his brother whose ability he fully realised. The death of 'Abd Allāh in 1574 gave the exiles the opportunity to assert their rights. Pretenders and rebels could always rely on the support of the natural enemies of every reigning sharif: Spain and Turkey. Philip II had remained deaf to the repeated appeals of 'Abd al-Malik, who appealed to the Grand Turk and in 1574 went to Constantinople where his marriage with the daughter of the renegade al-Hādīdj Morato assured him of patrons. In Algiers Aḥmad conducted successful negotiations with certain Moroccan notables, mainly in Fās. It was perhaps he who gave the signal when an expedition appeared to have some chances of success. He was at his brother's side when the latter entered Morocco in 1576 with a Turkish army led by Ramaḍān Pasha and helped him to raise troops in the region of Tlemcen. We do not know exactly what part he played in the battles of al-Rukn and al-Sharrāḥ which gave Morocco to 'Abd al-Malik but we know that he was given the task of pursuing the deposed sultān on his flight to Marrākush.

One of 'Abd al-Malik's first acts was to recognise his brother as his heir. It seems, however, that he did not show the latter as much esteem as affection and he had left in Constantinople, with his wife, his son Ismā'īl. But he was bound by his policy. In these circumstances Aḥmad naturally had the vice-royalty of Fās.

He did not stay there long, for he was recalled to save Marrākush from a return of al-Mutawakkil. Taking command of one of the three armies charged with pursuing the vanquished sultān in al-Sūs and the Atlas, he does not seem to have found an opportunity for a decisive military success; he returned to his governorship while Muḥammad was driven to seek refuge behind the walls of Ceuta.

In June 1578, 'Abd al-Malik summoned him with all his forces to Kaṣr al-Kabīr (Alcazarquivir, q.v.) to stop the advance of the King of Portugal's army. The latter had foolishly sought to realise the dream of conquering Morocco cherished by John III. When Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh after vainly appealing for help to Philip II, turned to Sebastian, he at once received a favourable reply. A large army with about 20,000 effective fighters left Portugal in June, landed at Tangier, then went to Arzila, which 'Abd al-Karīm b. Tuda had just relieved, and proceeded by land towards Larache. The Moroccan forces coming from Marrākush and Fās met them at al-Kaṣr. Aḥmad found his brother seriously ill, poisoned by the ka'ids of his staff, it is said. The battle was fought a few miles from al-Kaṣr on Aug. 4. Sebastian's men, abnormally led, having exhausted all their provisions, fought with their backs to the river of the Wādi 'l-Makhāzin. The sharif arranged

his army in a crescent. In about 5 hours the Christians were annihilated by the Moorish cavalry. 'Abd al-Malik died in his litter during the battle, Sebastian was killed or committed suicide and al-Mutawakkil was drowned. That evening, Aḥmad henceforth known as Aḥmad al-Manšūr was proclaimed emperor.

Elegant, cultivated, very learned in religious matters, more a man of the council-chamber than of the camp, he was succeeding a popular and fearless ruler, of exceptional energy, who having acquired a taste for innovations in Turkey had begun to introduce them, perhaps too eagerly, into Morocco. Designated as his successor by 'Abd al-Malik, and benefitting by the great reputation left by his father, Aḥmad al-Manšūr was rapidly able to overcome the difficulties which awaited him, as they did every sovereign of Morocco on his accession: mutinies of the troops, demands from allied tribes and the Zāwiyas, and agitations among the Berbers. While in Spain it was feared that the Christian garrison would be attacked and swept away, al-Manšūr had to hurry to Fās to put make himself recognised as ruler there, to put down unrest and behead a few notables. He edified the people by displaying the skin of Muḥammad al-Maṣlūkh stuffed with straw in the regions of al-Sūs and the Atlas, where the influence of the former sultān had survived for a brief space his tenure of the throne.

Aḥmad al-Manšūr very soon sought means of enriching himself. The booty taken in the field of al-Kaṣr, the work done by the prisoners reduced to slavery, the ransoms extorted from the gentlemen gave the sharif and his people enormous sums. The Sultān kept the nobles for himself. So were soon brought to him and he set about bargaining about them. In a little time, less than a year, the ransoms had been arranged.

The haste displayed by foreign courts to congratulate the Moor on his triumph was remarkable. Ambassadors thronged to Marrākush, those of Spain and Portugal bringing magnificent gifts. Aḥmad al-Manšūr had the sense to understand that these presents were the most he was likely to get from European action. For its neighbours, Morocco was a weak and troublesome state. The cupidity of its neighbours was its best protection. Many reasons urged the Turks to obtain a footing there: the cupidity of the beglerbegs of Algiers; ambitious of extending their powers to the west; the naval basis of Mazagan of al-Ma'mūn and of Larache; the formal promises that had been given by 'Abd al-Malik, when he was begging assistance, and there was always the troublesome question of spiritual supremacy, as the Turkish Sultān did not admit that the Moroccan sharif had an authority in religious matters as great as his. To extricate himself, al-Manšūr played the usual game, following the example of his brother, who had made advances to the kings of Spain, Portugal and France, to the Queen of England and to the Grand Duke of Tuscany; he turned without ceremony from the Grand Turk and threw himself into the arms of Philip II, overwhelming the Catholic King with demonstrations of friendship, of which the most significant was the return without ransom of the body of Sebastian; he was even promised Larache. The quarrel with Turkey was soon to come to a head. 'Alī, Beglerbeg of Algiers, exerted all his influence to get war declared. Aḥmad al-Manšūr

as a last resort had to send in 1581 an embassy laden with presents to Constantinople where the enemies of 'Euldj 'Alī were conducting an effective campaign against the Beglerbeg. The relations between the two Muslims resumed the appearance of cordiality which they usually had. In 1587, the death of 'Euldj 'Alī, the end of the régime of the Beglerbegs and the weakening of Turkish power in Algiers freed Morocco from a threat, which had long weighed heavy upon it. There were still periods of tension: when al-Manšūr ceased to send what he considered gracious gifts and what the Grand Turk received as tribute; when the conquest of the Sūdān seemed to be about to threaten Ottoman interests, spiritual and material; and lastly in the periods of friendship with Spain. But there was never again a real crisis; even in spite of the efforts of Ḥasān who had married 'Abd al-Malik's widow, the Turk did nothing really serious to sustain the claim of Ismā'il.

When al-Manšūr had peace on the Turkish side he showed Philip what negotiation meant: yielding nothing, breaking off nothing, playing enemies off one against the other. It was no longer a question of handing over Larache but of an exchange and the pourparlers dragged along for four years with a decreasing seriousness of purpose. The Duke of Medina-Sidonia, supported by Philip II, to deal with Moroccan affairs was played with by the Moor who was able to reap considerable advantage from his hesitation on several occasions. The Sharif seems to have summed up very skilfully the character of the Catholic king and the needs of his policy. Spain, faced with a crisis at home and abroad, could not think of risking anything important in Africa. It was her interest that Morocco should remain weak, that is to say Moroccan, and especially that it should not fall under the influence of the Turks or of the English. Corsairs sheltered in the Atlantic ports, on the route to India. The garrisons, weak and badly provisioned, were periodically blockaded sometimes threatened, by the natural movements of tribes around them rather than by deliberate hostilities on the part of the Sharif. The policy of the two Philips, one of distrust and fear, tried to limit the evil and to obtain by subtle means a neutrality as little malevolent as possible, by awaiting the favourable moment of the anarchy, which history showed to recur in Morocco with an inexorable regularity. The Spanish court did not attempt to make capital out of the presence in Spain of two pretenders, al-Nāṣir and al-Shaikh, the brother and the son of al-Matawakkil which disturbed al-Manšūr; in 1589, Arzila was evacuated without a quid pro quo. The fear of seeing Moors and Moroccans draw closer to one another kept Spain from unfolding a liberal economic policy, the only one capable of affecting the Sharif in a sensitive part.

The latter by nature very cautious and far-seeing was not inclined to take risks. He had also to reckon with a public opinion, already irritated by the influence wielded by Jews and renegades; anti-foreign feeling definitely increased in the course of the reign; the fact that he had compromised himself with the Christians weakened the prestige of the Sultān, while the wealth and power of the Marabouts and brotherhoods increased to a dangerous degree. The splendour-loving ruler of a covetous people, al-Manšūr did not think of concealing the sympathy he had for traders. With the Grand

Duke, who freely received Moors in Tuscany and did all he could to develop commerce between the two countries, with Elizabeth, with the English, French and Dutch traders, relations were close. Sugar was exported from the South and Morocco also supplied corn in good years, gold from the Sūdān, saltpetre, copper and hides. It imported principally cloth and for al-Manšūr himself, the materials for his buildings. From the Sharifian court there went undefinable envoys, at once ambassadors, spies, procurers of jewels and of women. But contraband especially interested the Sharif, contraband of war and the sale, advantageous for every one, of the cargoes and slaves brought in by the corsairs. The English were the most punctilious contrabandists and the trade with Morocco developed so well that in 1585 the Barbary Company was founded with a monopoly and a regular constitution. But Ahmad al-Manšūr was not too fond of regular traders. The many Christians settled in Morocco must be considered to have been adventurers. Quasi-prisoners of the Sharif and his people, they were able to realise precarious fortunes, always liable to extortion. In 1585 bankruptcies were numerous in Morocco and the loyal company could not survive. The caprices of the sovereign drove off many other foreign traders.

These economic relations gradually developed into political ones. It was to exercise pressure on Spain that Ahmad al-Manšūr pretended to submit to the wishes of a combination of Dutch and English. After the destruction of the Armada in 1588, he entered without hesitation into the English camp; he received at his court Don Christoph, son of the Portuguese pretender Don Antonio, and agreed to a loan to Elizabeth. Then he drew back again. The taking of Cadix in 1596 again influenced his feelings; he spoke of an alliance and made definite offers. Nothing resulted from these demonstrations, except a painful impression left after deception. So long as Elizabeth was alive, relations were friendly, for the two rulers had kindly feelings for one another, but James I, on his accession, at once showed a much less benevolent attitude towards the Sharifian court.

It was in the direction of the Sūdān that Ahmad al-Manšūr gave reign to his desire for glory and conquest. His troops had had some experience in the Sahara. In 1581, the oases of Tuat and Tigherrit, which had long been free from the Sharifian yoke had been conquered brilliantly. In 1584 an unsuccessful expedition had ended in the disappearance in the desert of a large army which had not even reached Tigherrit. In 1590, having sought a quarrel with the *azāla* Ishāk over the ownership of the salt mines of Tigherrit, al-Manšūr persuaded his Council to go to war; a little army under the Pasha Ḥawdhār crossed the desert and destroyed the Sūdānese empire. The occupation of the conquered country was nothing but systematic plunder and massacre. The Sharif collected great wealth there; he received the congratulations of the Powers and gained a prestige which still survives; his lieutenants also enriched themselves. With remarkable regularity, almost every year, reinforcements set out for Gago and very often reached it; caravans brought gold, wealth and slaves back to Marrākush. The most famous of the prisoners was the logist Ahmad Babā [q.v.] for whom Marrākush was a gilded prison where he taught quite freely. The

Sūdān was drained dry. In 1600 al-Manšūr saw the necessity of reorganising trade there but does not seem to have succeeded.

Morocco was, on the whole, prosperous during his reign. The first Sa'dians had done much for the development of commerce and agriculture. Sugar factories were built up and down the country which were the Sultān's private property but were farmed out by him to Jews and Christians. Trade was active at the ports. The profits from the sale of captives or their labour contributed to make the notables wealthy and through this to the peace of the country. Besides the industrial monopolies, the normal revenue came from the customs dues and the taxes established by Muḥammad al-Mahdī, which al-Manšūr heavily increased. The collection of these taxes provoked murmurs of discontent and served as an excuse for military demonstrations which maintained good order in the country. Al-Manšūr had also a considerable army (he never formed a fleet) composed of excellent troops, Moors from Spain and particularly renegades, a nursery for *ḥāshīs* and officers of ability and energy. He was rich enough to pay them well. All this contributed to make rebellions few and they were always quickly and harshly suppressed by the Sharif's lieutenants: the rising of the people of Saksāwa, stirred up by Mawliḍ Dāwūd, son of 'Abd al-Mu'min in 1581 and the rebellion of the Berbers of Amizut in 1597. The throne itself was never seriously threatened except in 1595—1596 when al-Nāṣir came from Spain and landed at Melilla. Starting without resources, for Philip II would do nothing for him, al-Nāṣir nevertheless proved a redoubtable enemy for he gathered round him all those who were dissatisfied with the rule of al-Manšūr and raised troops from the Barānis (Branes), always ready to rebel and who had until lately been vassals of the Turks. He took Tānz and tried to raise the Rif and the country around Fās. Defeated at al-Rukn on Aug. 3, 1595, he held out till May 1596. Decisively defeated at Taghāt, he was put to death.

Al-Manšūr had rarely need to leave Marrākush and he did not like to do so. His mother had acquired a great reputation for her pious foundations. He himself, six months after his accession, began the building of the palace of al-Badī' which was finished in 1602. Marble for it came from Italy and artists from Spain, and Marrākush became one great workshop. A splendid palace arose, sumptuous pavilions surrounded by beautiful gardens in which stood numerous fountains. Foreigners were fêted there and the Sharif displayed his generosity. Especially on the occasion of religious festivals he displayed great pomp and ceremony. His wealth earned him great fame abroad and it was no doubt to it that he owed most of his glory. At his court the principal posts were held by renegades: Jews who had charge of his finances, Christians who conducted his private trading for him, and the agents of foreign courts. Al-Manšūr was one of the richest and most courted rulers of his time. Spain kept a regular ambassador or a representative permanently at Marrākush; France had a consul there; there was a constant passage of embassies between the Sharif and the Sublime Porte.

The palace of al-Badī' was destroyed by Mawliḍ Ismā'īl. The mausoleum in it still remains, a very fine specimen of the art of a decadent period.

Towards the end of his life al-Manšūr was thinking of creating a new Marrākush on the model of Fās.

Aḥmad al-Manšūr at first ruled as an autocrat. His orders were clear, his decisions rapid and sometimes, as might be expected, drastic to cruelty. His intimates, the *ḥāshīs* Ruihe, a Jew, whom we only know from European sources and 'Azna, seem to have been his secretaries, like al-Fishālī, his biographer and poet-laureate whose works have not survived. The Pasha Riqwān, very powerful at the beginning of the reign, acquired such influence that the Sharif had him beheaded in 1581. In time the notables acquired a great deal of independence and the Sultān hardly dared check their abuse of their power; two factors caused him much anxiety, the anti-foreign and audacious 'Abd al-Karīm b. Tula and his own son Abū Farīs.

By a concubine, al-Khairmān, al-Manšūr had two sons, al-Shaikh and Abū Farīs, and by his wife Lalla 'Aṣṣha al-Shabbāniya, Zaidān. His favourite son Abū 'I-Ḥasan was killed in 1594. In 1579 he had designated as his heir al-Shaikh, called al-Ma'mūn who held the vice-royalty of Fās. The remainder of Morocco was divided into governorships under other princes. These were several times rearranged; Abū Farīs, having considered everything, remained at Marrākush near his father to be ready in case of his death. In Fās, al-Ma'mūn, supported by his favourite Muḥṣafa, conducted himself like an independent ruler. He had displayed his gifts of energy, leadership and bravery on the occasion of al-Nāṣir's escapade in 1595; living in great pomp, beloved by his troops, he was undoubtedly a cause of anxiety. His father allowed himself to be led by Abū Farīs. The conflict broke out in 1598. Forced to sacrifice his favourite, thrown into prison and then half pardoned, al-Ma'mūn had to renounce all hope of winning in the struggle against Zaidān who was supported by Abū Farīs. After 1600 he sought support from Spain and Algiers.

Under Aḥmad al-Manšūr, the dynasty attained its zenith. But it is hardly correct to say that the decline of the Sa'dians only dates from the death of the great Sultān. After the conquest of the Sūdān, the anarchy reigning in Algiers, the weakness of Spain in Europe, the death of al-Nāṣir, the conversion to Christianity of another pretender, al-Shaikh, Morocco was rich, seemed powerful and the Sharifian throne stable. Aḥmad al-Manšūr, by not being able to arrange for his own successor, nor even to keep his son in obedience, gave his country the chance to destroy itself. This process began under his own eyes. He had gone to Fās to try to reconcile his children and put through the appointment of Abū Farīs as heir apparent when the plague carried him off in 1603. Civil war broke out over his dead body. He had passed the last few years of his life wandering about living in a tent, shifting his camp every ten days, driven from Marrākush by the plague, which had begun to rage in Morocco in 1598.

Bibliography: The principal Arabic sources are: al-Isfānī, *Nuzhat al-Ḥadī*, ed. and transl. O. Houdas, Paris 1889; Sa'dī, *Ta'rikh al-Sūdān*, ed. and transl. Houdas and Benoist, Paris 1898—1900; Maḥmūd Ka't, *Ta'rikh al-Fatāsh*, ed. and transl. Houdas, Paris 1888—1889. For the other Arabic sources, cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chérifs*, Paris 1922.

European sources: H. de Castries, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, 1^{re} série;

dynastie saadienne, Paris, in course of publication; H. de Castries, *La conquête du Soudan par el-Manšūr*, in *Hispania*, 1923, p. 433-488; Cour, *L'établissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc et leur rivalité avec les Turcs de Régence d'Alger*, Paris 1904; Maasson, *Histoire des établissements et du commerce français dans l'Afrique barbaresque*, Paris 1903; Mercier, *Histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Paris 1888-1891; Alvarez, *Memoria sobre la batalla de El Kazar Quibir*, in *Rev. militar española*, x, 1884; Amel, *Le palais d'El-Bidi à Marrakech et le manoir des chérifs saadiens*, in *Archives Berbères*, iii, 1918, p. 53-63; *Histoire véritable des dernières guerres advenues en Barbarie*, trad. de l'espagnol [du fr. Luis Nieto], Paris 1579; Conestaggio, *Dell'anione del regno di Portogallo alla corona di Castiglia*, Genoa 1585; *Guadalajara y Xavier, Predición y destierro de los Moriscos de Castilla*, Pampeluna 1614; Fr. Juan Bautista, *Chronica de la vida y admirables hechos del muy alto y muy poderoso señor Muley Abd al-Melich*, s.l., 1577; Mendoga, *Tornada de Africa*, Lisbon 1607.

(C. FUNCK-BRENTANO)

AL-MANŠÜR IBN ABĪ 'AMIR, a famous ḥadīth of al-Andalus in the tenth century A.H., the Al-mansur of the Christian chroniclers of mediaeval Spain; his full name was Abū 'Amir Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ibn Abī Amir. He belonged to an Arab family which had settled in the Iberian peninsula at an early date: one of his ancestors, 'Abd al-Malik al-Ma'sūri, had landed there with Ṭārik [q.v.] and settled at Torrox in the province of Algeciras where he had founded a family. Al-Manšūr's father, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Abd Allāh, was a jurist noted for his knowledge and piety who died on his way back from the pilgrimage at Tripoli in Barbary at the end of the reign of the Caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāṣir (cf. Ibn al-'Abbās, *Tahmilat al-Šila*, B.A.H., v—vi, N° 1251, p. 437-438; al-Maḥḥārī, *Analectes*, i. 904).

While still quite a young man, Muḥammad Ibn Abī 'Amir conceived great political ambitions; they were to dominate his whole career. After studying in Cordova and holding a minor office with the ḥāḍi of the capital, Muḥammad b. al-Salim, he entered the service of the Omayyad court in 356 (967) as superintendent of the estates of a princess of Basque origin, Šubh, the wife of the Caliph al-Ḥakam II and her son 'Abd al-Rahmān, who had just been born. Ibn Abī 'Amir was not long, thanks to his tact and courtesy and ability, in making himself persona grata with this princess and it was without doubt on the intervention of the latter that the young superintendent found himself within two years the holder of the new offices of superintendent of the mint, treasurer and administrator of intestate estates. A few years later in 358 (969), he was appointed ḥāḍi of the district of Seville and Niebla. In 361 (972) the Caliph al-Ḥakam II gave him command of a section of his police corps (*shurfa*).

All these offices, combined in the person of Ibn Abī 'Amir assured him a considerable income and soon enabled him to lead a very luxurious life in Cordova. He built himself a palace in the aristocratic quarter of Ruṣṣafa and his generosity, courtly disposition and his splendour soon placed him in the forefront of the dignitaries of the Omayyad court. In a few years he had filled the

first part of his programme: to become popular and indispensable, to make numerous friends, ready to support him on the day on which he would begin his attempt on the throne of the caliph.

Ibn Abī 'Amir very soon realised that it was not sufficient to be popular in Cordova but that he had also to create reliable friends among the generals of the Caliph's armies. The circumstances of the time were peculiarly in his favour. Al-Ḥakam II, following the example of his predecessor 'Abd al-Rahmān III, had his North African policy and his armies were busy suppressing a Maghribi revolt which had broken out as a result of an expedition of reprisal sent against the petty Idrisid dynasty of Tangier, Ḥasan b. Gannūn. The Omayyad troops, under the orders of the general Ghālib, were sent to dethrone all the petty Idrisid rulers of Morocco who were more or less vassals of the Fīṭimids. This expedition was crowned with success and Ḥasan b. Gannūn was obliged to take refuge in a fortress of the Rif, Ḥadīrat al-Naṣr, in which Ghālib besieged him. But the Spanish army in Africa was a heavy burden on the treasury of the Caliph. Ghālib had distributed money recklessly among the chiefs of the Berber tribes of the North of Morocco in order to buy them over. Al-Ḥakam II decided to send over a controller-general of finance and he chose Ibn Abī 'Amir who set off with the title of chief ḥāḍi (*ḥāḍi 'l-ḥudūd*) and exact instructions. He carried out his very delicate task with unusual tact. He returned to Cordova at the same time as the army. When al-Ḥakam II died, leaving the throne to his young son Ḥishām in 366 (976), the new Caliph at the same time as he appointed ḥāḍi the favourite vizier of his father, Abū 'l-Ḥasan Dja'far b. 'Othmān al-Muḥṣafi, appointed Ibn Abī 'Amir as the latter's vizier. The ambitious minister now worked unceasingly to get rid of his chief, al-Muḥṣafi. In the first place he was able to reduce to nothing the considerable power which the Slavs (*Ṣaḥāliba*, q.v.) had in the Caliph's entourage. In Cordova they formed a body of mercenaries who guarded the royal palace, and at this time their leaders were two of their number, Fa'ik al-Nigāmi, grand master of the wardrobe, and Djawḥar, grand goldsmith and chief falconer. On the death of al-Ḥakam they had attempted to oppose the proclamation of Ḥishām who was still a child and to put on the throne of Cordova his uncle al-Muḥṣafi. The latter was slain at the instigation of al-Muḥṣafi and it seems likely that Ibn Abī 'Amir played an active part in the plot which ended in this murder. In any case very soon after the accession of Ḥishām II as a result of the rigorous measures taken against them, the Slavs lost all influence at the Omayyad court to the great satisfaction of the people of Cordova who had long suffered from their abuses. Ibn Abī 'Amir also gained in popularity, still further increased when he displayed for the first time the possession of military talents which had not been suspected.

A little later he succeeded in getting the command of an expedition against the Christians of the North who had taken up arms against Islām as soon as al-Ḥakam II had fallen ill. Setting out from Cordova in Rajab 366 (Feb. 977) he laid siege to the fortress of los Baños in Galicia and returned to the capital with considerable spoil. He then cultivated the friendship of the aged and

distinguished general Ghālib, governor of Madinat Salim (Medinaceli, q.v.), and obtained his help to bring about the fall of the ḥāḍijī al-Muḥaḥḥī. Ghālib on the intervention of Ibn 'Amir received the much coveted title of *ḥāḍijī al-wisāṭīn* and the command of the forces on the frontier in the expeditions against the Christians. This friendship was strengthened in a new campaign in which Ibn Abī 'Amir commanded the troops from the capital alongside of Ghālib. This expedition was again crowned with success and earned Ibn Abī 'Amir a new and honourable office, that of commandant of Cordova in place of the son of al-Muḥaḥḥī who was dismissed. Al-Muḥaḥḥī, conscious of the danger which threatened him, then tried to play off Ghālib against Ibn Abī 'Amir but this was labour lost. The young minister even became son-in-law of Ghālib who gave him the hand of his daughter Asmā'. A few months later, al-Muḥaḥḥī and the members of his family, who still held offices at the court, were dismissed and their property confiscated. On the same day Ibn Abī 'Amir was appointed ḥāḍijī. With his father-in-law, Ghālib, he was at the head of the administration of the empire.

It was not only the plots he had woven with success nor his personal ability that had enabled Ibn Abī 'Amir to advance so rapidly in his career. It seems very probable that the princess Ṣubḥ, widow of al-Ḥakam II and mother of the reigning Caliph, was the mistress of the former superintendent of her son's estates. This liaison was not unknown to the Cordovans and produced bitter criticisms of the princess and her lover. Public opinion, which had at first been so favourable to the ḥāḍijī, began to be hostile to him. A plot to overthrow Ḥishām II and put in his place another grandson of 'Abd al-Rahmān III was prepared but nipped in the bud. The Cordovan jurists then spread the rumour that Ibn Abī 'Amir was devoted to philosophy and that his orthodoxy therefore was quite nominal. He proved them wrong. Ibn Abī 'Amir did not hesitate to burn from the splendid library formed by the cultured al-Ḥakam II all the books dealing with branches of knowledge prohibited by the *Ulamā'*. He conciliated them by this act of vandalism the gravity of which can hardly have escaped him. But with his unparalleled ambition nothing which might prevent him attaining his object was allowed to deter him.

But the young Caliph Ḥishām II was now growing up. He had to be prevented from taking an active part in the conduct of affairs. Business was then conducted in the Caliph's palace in Cordova. In order to set aside the ruler finally, Ibn Abī 'Amir in 368 (978) decided to build near the capital a regular town for administrative purposes. This was al-Madīnat al-Zāhira (q.v.) which in a few years became an important city at the very gates of Cordova. As to Ḥishām, he then began the life of a recluse, either at Cordova or at Madīnat al-Zāhira, which was to last throughout his reign. At the same time as he settled the problem of the possible intervention of the ruling prince in the affairs of state in a manner as energetic as it was unscrupulous, Ibn Abī 'Amir was reorganising the army and inaugurating a new policy in the country. The Omayyad army, in the form in which it was then constituted, was recruited in the country itself and the permanent bodies of mercenaries were not large. Ibn Abī 'Amir required new ones; this is why from now

on till the end of his life, he appealed for Berber volunteers from the north of Morocco and Ifrīqiya. At the same time he realised that the occupation of certain parts of the Maghrib by the Omayyads was only a source of expense to the Caliph's treasury and that any plan of territorial expansion in that direction would be disastrous to the ruler of Cordova. He therefore abandoned all these possessions, retaining in Africa only one of the keys of the Strait of Gibraltar, the citadel of Ceuta. The administration of the rest of the country he handed over to petty local dynasties under the nominal suzerainty of Cordova. Along with the Berber troops in his pay, Ibn Abī 'Amir formed other corps by recruiting Christian mercenaries from the north of Spain, from Leon, Castille and Navarre. He was able by his generosity and attentions to secure the complete devotion of his new soldiers.

Having thus a strong and veteran army at his disposal, Ibn Abī 'Amir renewed with ardour the old feud against the Christians on the frontiers of the empire. He first of all got rid of his father-in-law Ghālib, whom he had displeased by the manner in which he had upset the old military organisation of the country; then he undertook in 371 (981) an expedition on a grand scale against the kingdom of Leon. He took and plundered Zamora, where he took 4,000 prisoners. The King of Leon, Ramiro III, then made an alliance with García Fernandez, Count of Castile, and the King of Navarre. But all three were defeated by the Muslim general at Rueda to the south-west of Simancas and this town itself was taken by him. Ibn Abī 'Amir continued his advance on the town of Leon and inflicted another defeat on Ramiro III. The return of the ḥāḍijī to Cordova was a regular triumph and it was on this occasion that he took the honourific *laqab* of al-Manšūr bi'llāh, 'the victorious in God'.

All powerful at Cordova and a successful general, al-Manšūr Ibn Abī 'Amir was to devote the rest of his life to an unceasing war on the Christian frontiers and to increasing considerably the territory ruled by the Muslims in the Peninsula. After his defeat, the nobles of Leon had deposed Ramiro III and proclaimed in his place Bermudo II. The latter finally found himself forced to seek al-Manšūr's help and to recognise him as suzerain. Al-Manšūr then decided to make an expedition into Catalonia in 374 (985): he defeated Count Borrel and stormed Barcelona, which he sacked. According to Ibn al-'Abbār, it was the 'Amirid's twenty-third campaign.

Ibn Gannūn, the petty Idrisid dynast in the north of Morocco having again rebelled against Cordova, al-Manšūr sent his cousin Ibn 'Askalādja to subdue him. Ibn Gannūn surrendered on being promised his life. But al-Manšūr had him executed along with Ibn 'Askalādja whom he accused of having plotted against him. This breach of faith and brutal execution having produced a reaction of feeling in the capital, al-Manšūr to rehabilitate himself undertook a pious work: in 377 (987) he extended the cathedral mosque of Cordova which had become too small. Eight new naves were built on the east and the western wall of the hall of prayer and of the *qibla* was moved out 150 feet. The Arab historians say that al-Manšūr made gangs of Christian prisoners do this work, for the greater glory of Islām.

In the same year the war against the kingdom of León had resumed. The Muslim troops, that al-Manšūr had sent there, had oppressed the country and Beraunda II had finally driven them out. Al-Manšūr punished his boldness with the greatest rigour. In two campaigns several months apart, he took Coimbra, which he laid waste, León which he left completely in ruins, and Zamora. The Counts of León had then to lay down their arms and submit to al-Manšūr and Beraunda II was only left possessions very much reduced in extent.

The campaigns that followed were again directed against the N.-W. of the Peninsula. The best known is that of St. Jago de Compostella in 387 (997). This famous sanctuary of western Christianity [cf. the article *MIANT YAGU*], was taken by the Muslim troops on the 2nd Ša'ban (10th August) and only the tomb of the apostle was spared, by orders of al-Manšūr.

The last expedition against the Christians dates from the year 1002. Its objective was Castilla. Al-Manšūr took Canales and destroyed the convent of San Millán de la Cogolla. But on his return from the expedition, he fell ill and died at Medinaceli on the 27th Ramaḍān 392 (Aug. 10, 1002). He was buried in this town.

The last years of the life of al-Manšūr in spite of his successful career and victorious expeditions had been marked by events which might have been fatal to him if he had not once again displayed an iron will and extreme violence in the suppression of plots hatched against him. The few attempts made on behalf of Hishām II to regain for him the power, which had been seized by his first minister were in vain. In 381 (991) al-Manšūr gave up his title of *Ḥaḍḍ* in favour of his son 'Abd al-Malik. Five years later he assumed with an audacity worthy of him the princely title of *malik ḥarīm* "noble king" and reserved for himself the title *ṣayyid* "lord". The only thing that he did not dare to do or could not do was to announce the overthrow of the Umayyad caliphate and the constitution of an 'Amirid caliphate in its stead. He arranged however for the power to pass to his heir after him, and it was his son 'Abd al-Malik al-Manšūr, who succeeded him on his death to control for a few more years the destinies of the Muslim empire in Spain.

Various judgments have been passed on al-Manšūr. His lack of scruples has been emphasised and the often criminal means which he used to attain his ends. His career is nevertheless an extraordinary one. This dictator was undoubtedly one of the greatest men of affairs that Islam has ever produced and under his "reign" Muslim Spain remained the great nation, which in the caliphate of 'Abd al-Rahmān III had shown itself one of the most remarkable centres of culture and civilisation in the medieval west.

Bibliography: The most important Arabic sources are: Ibn Ḥaṣṣam, *al-Dhakhira fi Ma'ālim Al al-Djazīra*, vol. iv., at the beginning (q.v. MS) and Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-maḥrīb*, ed. Dory, II, 267 at the end; transl. Fagnan, II, 414 at the end. Cf. also Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, ed. Tornberg, vol. viii. and ix.; transl. Fagnan (*Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*), index; Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, *al-Iḥṣā*, ed. in part, Cairo, II, 67—77; Ibn al-Abdār, *al-Ḥaṣṣat al-ṣayyid* (Dory, *Notices sur quelques manuscrits arabes*, Leyden 1851, p. 148—153); 'Abd al-Wahid al-

Manṣūrī, *al-Mu'jib*, ed. Dory, p. 17—26; transl. Fagnan, p. 21—32; Ibn Khallūn, *K. al-Iḥṣā*, Cairo, iv, 147—148; al-Nawairī, *Hisṣat al-Ḥispaniya*, ed. and transl. M. Goupar Rouina, Granada 1916, index; al-Maḥḥārī, *Naṣṣ al-ḥikm*, Amaluz, . . . index.

European sources: *España sagrada*, ed. Florez, indices; P. Rolarul, *Los Condes de Barcelona vindicados*, Barcelona 1836; R. Dory, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, III, 111—258; R. Dory, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne*, I, 173—202; F. Codera, *La batalla de Calatunay*, B. R. A. H., III, 1910, p. 197—200; E. Saavedra, *La batalla de Calatunay*, in *Milanges Hartwig Dronburg*, Paris 1909, p. 335; F. Colasche, *El casamiento de Almanzor con una hija de Beraunda II*, *España Moderna*, 1903; C. Haas, *Histoire des Arabes*, Paris 1913, II, 162—165; A. Gonzalez Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona-Buenos-Aires 1925, p. 45—51. (E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

MANŠŪR b. NUḤ, the name of two Sāmānid rulers:

1. **MANŠŪR b. NUḤ I** (Abū Saḥib), ruler of Khorāsān and Transoxania (350—363 = 961—976), succeeded his brother 'Abd al-Malik b. Nuḥ I (q.v.). Ibn Hawḥal is able to describe the internal conditions of the Sāmānid kingdom under Manšūr as an eye-witness; cf. especially *B. G. A.*, II, 341: *fi maṣṣana ḥaḍḍ*; p. 344 ff. on the character of Manšūr "the justest king among our contemporaries, in spite of his physical weakness and the slowness of his frame". On the vizier Baḥāmī, see *Kalām* where also information is given about the Persian version of Tabarī's history composed in 352 (963) by or by orders of this vizier. On the rebellion of the commander of the Sāmānid bodyguard, Alp-Tegin, and the independent kingdom founded by him in Ghazna and on the establishment of Sāmānid rule there in the reign of Manšūr and the son and successor of Alp-Tegin, Ishāk (or Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm) see *ALP-TEGIN* and *GHAZNA*; in Barthold, *Turkestan*, *G. M. S.*, New Series, I, p. 251, note 4. Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm should be read for Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm (this passage is misunderstood in the Russian original). In other directions also in this reign the Sāmānid kingdom prospered in its foreign affairs, the fighting with the Buyids (q.v.) and Ziyarids was a rare victorious.

2. **MANŠŪR b. NUḤ II** (Abū I-Ḥarith), ruler of Transoxania (387—389 = 997—999). His father Nuḥ b. Manšūr, to whom out of all the Sāmānid empire only a portion of Transoxania was left, died on Friday 14th Rabi'ab 387 (July 23, 997) but it was not till 14th Rabi'ab (November) that homage was paid to Manšūr as his successor. Baḥāmī (ed. Morley, p. 503) talks highly of his courage and eloquence; on the other hand he is said to have been feared by every one for his extraordinary severity. During his brief and impotent reign he was hardly able to install terror into any one. The last Sāmānids were quite helpless against the kings and generals who were quarrelling over the inheritance of the dying dynasty. One of these generals, Fā'ik, succeeded even in taking Baḥāmī at the head of only 3,000 horsemen. Manšūr had to fly to Amul (q.v.) but was called back by Fā'ik. The last months of his reign were devoted to fruitless efforts to settle peacefully the question of the governorship of Khorāsān, which

(244) End

was claimed by various parties; but before the problem had been settled by force of arms, Manšūr was dethroned on Wednesday, 12th Šafar 389 (Feb. 1, 999) by his generals Fā'iq and Begtūsh, blinded a week later and sent to Bulhāra.

Bibliography: cf. ISMĀ'IL, and add: W. Barthold, *Turkistan down to the Mongol Invasion*, Soc. Edition, London 1928 (G. M. S., New Series v.), p. 251 sqq., 264 sqq.

(W. BARTHOLD)

AL-MANŠŪR ISMĀ'IL, ABŪ TĀHĪR or ABŪ 'ĪSMĀ'IL, third Fā'imīd caliph, was 32 when he succeeded his father Abū 'Ī-Kā'im al-Kā'im in Shawwāl 334 (May 946) under particularly difficult conditions: Abū Yazīd, the Khāridjī agitator supported by many Berber tribes and by the people of Kairawān had failed before al-Mahdiya but was still besieging Sūs. Al-Manšūr concealed his father's death and did not alter the formulae of the *shamsa*, of the coin-legends or of the standards lest Abū Yazīd should profit by the weakening of authority which was a regular feature of change of ruler. Sūs was relieved by the efforts of the reinforcements sent by al-Manšūr by sea. Abū Yazīd had to beat a hurried retreat. Al-Manšūr, however, having returned to Kairawān and pardoned the inhabitants who had supported the agitator, had to prepare to meet a new attack. Abū Yazīd was not long in reappearing; repulsed he came again to the attack. Al-Manšūr tried to make terms with him and gave him back his women captured in Kairawān but Abū Yazīd, in spite of his promise, attacked him again and was completely defeated in a pitched battle (Aug. 946). He was then pursued to the west. After a delay caused by the illness of al-Manšūr, Abū Yazīd mortally wounded was taken prisoner at Djebel Kiyāna, north of Meila, in Muharram 336 (Aug. 947).

This success established al-Manšūr securely. A section of the tribes of the Central Maghrib who had embraced the cause of Abū Yazīd made their submission, like the Maghrawa under Muhammad b. al-Khair. Taking advantage of the difficulties of the Fā'imids, the Omayyads of Spain had entrenched themselves more securely in western Barbary. A former Fā'imīd officer, Hāmid b. Yawd, was ruling the Maghrib in the name of the caliph of Cordova and laid siege to Tāhert. Al-Manšūr relieved the town and appointed the Ifranid Yā'la b. Muḥammad to rule it. He invested with considerable authority the chief of the Sanhādja Ziri b. Manād, who had proved a loyal auxiliary during his days of trial.

Returning to Kairawān, al-Manšūr had again to take the field against the son of Abū Yazīd who was trying to stir up a rebellion again. Besides taking these vigorous steps in Barbary to put an end to the Khāridjī movement, al-Manšūr developed the naval power of Ifrīqiya. His freedman Farāq, supported by the governor of Sicily, won a striking victory over the Greeks in the south of Italy and came home laden with booty (340 = 951).

Lastly al-Manšūr holds a high place among the Fā'imids of Ifrīqiya for his buildings. The capital was no longer al-Mahdiya nor was it Kairawān whose recent treachery made it suspect. From 947 Sōdra, also called al-Manšūriya from its founder, was the capital. The town built at the gates of Kairawān was beautified by the palaces which he built and grew rich on the bazars which he removed from the old city.

Al-Manšūr was 39 and had reigned 7 years, when he died suddenly on a journey from a chill caught by taking a bath in cold weather (Shawwāl 39, 341 = March 953).

Bibliography: On the chronicles of the 10th–11th centuries used by later historians for the Ifrīqiya period of the Fā'imids cf. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter den Isma'iliern*, vol. I, p. 3, 8, 11; Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, II, appendix, p. 535–541; Ibn 'Idhārī, ed. Dozy, I, 226–229; transl. E. Fagnan (*Annales du Maghrib et de l'Espagne*), p. 340–357; Ibn Khallikān, transl. de Slane (*Biographical Dictionary*), I, 218–221; Ibn Hammūd, *Histoire des rois Omayyades*, ed. Vonderheyden, p. 22–39, transl. p. 39–61; Ibn Abī Dīnār, transl. Pellissier and Renaud (*Hist. de l'Afrique d'El-Kairouan*), p. 103–106; Wustefeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden Califen*, p. 86–98; Amari, *Storia dei Murzūmuni di Sicilia*, II, 201 sqq.; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman*, I, 100, 118–119.

(GEORGES MARÇAIS)

MANŠŪRA, founded by Manšūr b. Djamshūr al-Kalabi, was from 258 (871) the capital of Sind under the Arabs. Istakhri described it as more fertile and populous than Multān. Before the arrival of the Arabs, Brahmanābād (probably identical with the modern Haidarabad) was the capital of Sind, and its name was changed to Manšūra after the Arab conquest. For notices of Manšūra by early travellers to India, see *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, I, Part 1, p. 506, 507, 511, 525.

Bibliography: al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Bulān*, p. 439, 444, 445; Abū 'Ī-Fīdā, *Taḥwīn al-Bulān*, p. 62, 346, 350; and E. H. Atkin, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind* (Karachi 1907), p. 91, 96 and 508.

(M. HIRAYET HOSAIN)

AL-MANŠŪRA, large town in Lower Egypt, on the right bank of the Damietta branch of the Nile, capital of the province al-Dakahlīya. Another canal or branch of the Nile went from here to Ashmūn in a north-eastern direction. It was originally a camping place for the army, founded in 616 (1219) by al-Malik al-Kāmil, when he tried to recapture Dimyāt, then occupied by the Crusaders. In 1249 the Crusaders were defeated in the neighbourhood of al-Manšūra by al-Sulṭān al-Mu'izzam Tūḡlākh, on which occasion Lewis IX of France was taken prisoner. The town is now an important emporium for the cotton trade; in 1917 there were 49,238 inhabitants (Baudker). It possesses no remarkable buildings; a railway bridge crosses the Nile at this place.

There are still various other places in Egypt, called al-Manšūra.

Bibliography: Maspero and Wiet, *Matériel pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, Cairo 1909, p. 195 sqq. (where the geographical and historical sources are cited); 'Abū Faḥa Mubārak, *al-Khitāt al-Dyāliya*, xv, 88 sqq.; Baudker, *Egypten*, Leipzig 1928, p. 176 sqq.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-MANŠŪRA, the name of a town now in ruins built by the Sulṭān of Fās about 5 miles to the west of Tlemcen. The very precise account given by Ibn Khaldūn enables us to reconstruct with exactitude the history of this typical town-camp. In the year 698 (1299) the Marjanid Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf, who had come to lay siege to the capital of the Banū 'Abd al-Wād,

which he had closely surrounded with entrenchments, set up his camp on the plain which stretches to the west. As it was a long drawn out blockade he built a few dwellings for himself and the leaders of his army and laid the foundation of a mosque. In the year 702 (1302) the "Victorious Camp", *al-Maḥalla al-Manṣūra*, was given the form of a regular town by the construction of a rampart. Besides the mosque, the dwellings of the chiefs, the store-houses for munitions and the shelters for the army, there were baths and caravanserais. As Tlemcen was inaccessible to caravans, *al-Manṣūra* or New Tlemcen, as it was called, naturally attracted to itself the business of the invested town. After a siege of eight years and three months the Marinids withdrew from Tlemcen, and *al-Manṣūra* was methodically evacuated under the direction of Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Jalīl, the viceroy of the Sultān Abū Thābit. The people of Tlemcen were compelled, by the terms of the treaty made with the Marinids to respect the rival town for some time. Some time after, when the entente between the two empires had been broken, they demolished its buildings and rendered uninhabitable the entrenchments left at their gate by their hereditary enemy.

Thirty years later, in the year 735 (1335), the Moroccan army under Sultān Abū 'l-Ḥasan was once more at the gates of Tlemcen. On this occasion the 'Abd al-Wādī capital was forced to surrender (27th Ramaḍān 737 = 1st May 1337). *Al-Manṣūra* was rebuilt. It became the official capital of the Marinids during their occupation of the central Maghrib. It was in fact, during this time that the great mosque was built and that the "Palace of Victory" was erected (745).

After the retreat of the Marinids, *al-Manṣūra*, once more abandoned, fell little by little into ruins. At the present day the rampart of terre piécée flanked by square towers is still comparatively intact, but the interior is land under cultivation and contains a French village. There still exists there, however, the ruins of a palace no longer distinct, a section of a paved street, and probably the surrounding wall in terre piécée of the Mosque with half of the great minaret in stone, which arose above the principal entrance. Although the inlaid ceramic work has almost entirely disappeared, the facade of the square tower, which is 120 feet high, is one of the most perfect pieces of the Maghribi art of the 14th century that survives. The columns and the capitals in marble of the mosque are preserved in the Museums of Tlemcen and Algiers.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, II. 136, 522-523, 579-580; transl., III. 375; IV. 241-242, 221-222; Yahyā b. Khaldūn, *Diwān al-Rumūd*, ed. Bel, I. 123, 141; transl., I. 164, 189; Ibn Marāzī, *Muḥad*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, p. 25-35; al-Tunisi, *Hist. des Beni Zayyan* (transl. Barges), p. 53; Barges, *Tlemcen, ancienne capitale*, p. 249-250; Bressonard, *Inscriptions arabes de Tlemcen*, in *Rev. Africaine*, 1859, III. 323-340; W. and G. Marçais, *Monuments arabes de Tlemcen*, p. 192-222; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman*, II. 485-489, 349-350, 568-570, 625-629.

(GEORGES MARÇAIS)

MANTIK (A.), Logic. The logic of the Arab philosophers is that of Aristotle, here and there modified by the Stoic and Neo-Platonist tendencies

of the Greek commentators. The Arab philosophers did not develop this logic but they gave *résumés* of it, reproduced it and wrote commentaries on it, often with success; they understood it very well and it is in logic that they came nearest to the authentic Aristotelianism. As to the matter, it was easier for them to grasp the exact sense of the logical writings of Aristotle than of his other works since the translation of the *Logic* had been made and remade with great care (cf. e.g. the two versions of the beginning of the *Interpretation* in J. Pollak, *Die Hermeneutik des Aristoteles in d. arab. Übers. d. 1033-6. Huncin*, Leipzig 1913) while the translation of the *Metaphysics* for example was very defective and incomplete. The remark of the *Iḥwān al-Sa'ī* — who evidently did not care much for the subject of logic — at the beginning of their little treatise on logic "the ancient ages have dealt with these subjects and their work are in the hands of the reader, but they are very diffuse, for the translators did not understand the exact meaning" is then not justified.

To the six works of Aristotle, the *Categories*, *Hermeneutics*, the *Prior Analytics* and *Posterior Analytics*, the *Topics*, and the *Sophist*, the Arabs — like the latest Greek commentators — added the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics* (as to the *Rhetoric*, Aristotle himself had regarded it [*Rhet.*, I. 2, 1356 a 23] as a lateral branch of the *Dialectic* and *Poetics*). They explained the order of these works in the manner of the later Greek commentators (cf. Elias in *Aristotelis Categor. Comment.*, ed. Burnet, p. 116-117, etc.). The most important of these treatises was the fourth, the *Posterior Analytics*, to which the three preceding are only the preparation and introduction; in the *Posterior Analytics* Aristotle was thought to have treated of the absolutely True, in the *Poetics* of the absolutely False and in the intermediate treatises, according as they approach the *Poetics*, the element of improbability begins to preponderate. Then, still in the manner of the Greeks, they placed in front of these works the *logos* of Porphyry which as its name, *Ἐκλογὴ εἰς τὰς Ἀριστοτελεῖς κατηγορίας*, *Killaḥ Furṣūḥ al-Ma'rif li 'l-Muḥallil*, shows, is an introduction to the logic of Aristotle.

Among the Greeks there were two further kinds of introduction to philosophy or — since the study of philosophy began with logic — to the logic of Aristotle. In the one which preceded the *categories*, *Προλεγόμενα τὰς κατηγοριῶν*, ten questions were put (among them: Whence came the names of the different "philosophical schools"? What is the division of the works of Aristotle?) to which a brief reply was given. Among the Arabs, we still find an introduction of this kind in a little work by al-Fārābī, *Risāla fī ma' yunbaḥḥ al-yunbaḥḥ al-ḥikmī fī 'l-ḥikm al-Falāfi* (ed. Schmoeckers in his *Decem phil. arab.*). The other kind of introduction, the prototype *Προλεγόμενα τὰς ἐπιστημῶν* of which is given by the pupil of Proclus, Ammonius Hermiae, was introductory to the *logos*. In the first part definitions were dealt with, in the second divisions of philosophy. The Arabic treatises on the division of the sciences go back to this kind of introduction which they further developed. We still possess from the pen of the two of the greatest Arab philosophers, al-Fārābī and Avicenna, such treatises on the divisions of the sciences. Avicenna's entitled *Maḥallat fī Taḥḥīṣ al-ḥikm wa 'l-'Ulūm* was printed at Constantinople

among the *Tis' Rasid* *fi'l-'Ilm* wa *'l-Tashfi*. For the manuscripts, the publication — in a little review, *al-'Irfan*, in 1921 at Saida (Syria) — and the emendation of the text of al-Fārābī, *Kitāb Iqāṣ' al-'Ulūm*, cf. the excellent study by M. Bouyges S. J. in the *Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph*, vol. ix, fasc. 2, Beirut 1922. These two treatises were translated into Latin and that of al-Fārābī in particular, with the Latin title of *De Scientiis* since it was incorporated almost completely into the *De divisione philosophiae* of Gundessalimus, had a great influence on the European scholars of the middle ages.

There were three opinions among the Greek logicians as to the relationship of logic to the system of philosophy: 1. To the Peripatetics, logic was simply a methodology, an introduction to philosophy; 2. except for its integral realism the structure of reality is in conformity with the structure of the mind; the rules of logic therefore deal with realities themselves and logic would then be a true part of philosophy; this was the opinion of the Stoics and especially of Plotinus, *Enn.*, I, 5, 3; 3. the combination of these two views in several Neo-Platonists; logic was at the same time an introduction to and a part of philosophy. Among the Arabs these three points of view were also represented (cf. Kharrāzī, *Kitāb Mafāṭih al-'Ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, p. 132) but the Peripatetic view was in the majority. The third view is found, for example, in Avicenna (cf. *Logica*, f. 2a, Venice 1508).

Logic, according to the Arab logicians, leads to a knowledge of the unknown from the known (cf. Aristotle, *Post. Anal.*, at the beginning) but its supreme object, according to them and the later Greek commentators, is that, by making us distinguish good from evil, it can guide us to the greatest perfection of soul and the greatest happiness.

Although, on certain points in logic, there were differences among the Arab Aristotelians, they agreed on the main lines and even Averroes, who frequently attacks his predecessors with vigour, in other passages of his works often expresses his support of their views that have been disputed; further, the solutions of problems in the Aristotelians and perhaps in other philosophers also sometimes consist of formulae, the meaning of which on examination is not always quite clear. I may here note some general points which are connected with the great problems of Metaphysics.

As for Aristotle, knowledge for the Arab logicians is a representation, an image of reality; there are in the soul resemblances of things (*quadrata, angula*), concepts, which in judgment are put together. According to this conception — a contradictory conception since it at the same time affirms and denies the knowledge of reality — thought would never be in contact with reality. Naturally implicit or explicit, this contact is often affirmed by Aristotle. A curious example of the conception of knowledge as an image, but in which at the same time the contact with reality is openly affirmed, is found in the theory of the duality of existence, a theory which the Arabs took over from the Greek commentators. The ten categories have a double existence, according as they are found in the outer world or as images in the soul and the word existence has therefore two meanings: 1. reality or objective existence

and 2. subjective existence of the soul. The intelligence may direct itself in an *intentio prima* (*qawm sirq*) towards the exterior world of which the highest kinds are the ten categories, but it can turn inwards upon itself in an *intentio secunda* (*qawm idr*), upon its concepts, of which the highest kinds are the five "voices" of Porphyry. Everything has an existence, if not in the exterior world, at least in the soul. This theory gives rise to difficulties: in the first place the term "existence" becomes ambiguous; secondly, since the negation of each thing exists in the soul, "what is not in the soul" must exist in the soul. It is particularly in the *Kalām* [q. v.] notably among the Ash'aris and probably under the influence of Stoic discussions on the existence or non-existence of the "not things" (*corra*) that the existence of concepts like the impossible and the negative has been discussed. The Arab Aristotelians were very often content to admit a concept "thing" (*shay*), the *ei* of the Stoics) more general than being, without paying too much attention to the fact that by this they were contradicting the thesis that everything is. For the rest, in the Aristotelian philosophy the concept of existence or of being gives rise to grave difficulties; it was much discussed in Islām, not only among the philosophers but also for the metaphysical questions connected with it among the theologians and the mystics. Aristotle had already affirmed (e.g. 1040, b 18) that existence or being is neither kind nor substance and the Arab philosophers al-Fārābī, Avicenna, Ghazālī and Averroes supported this view with the stereotyped reasoning that existence cannot express the essence of things, since being man implies being animal, being a living body, being a body etc., but it does not at all imply that man is being. On the other hand being (*wāw*) and substance (*shay*) are synonyms in Aristotelian philosophy. How are these two views to be reconciled? Avicenna says, as the theologians had already done before him, that only in God substance (being) and existence coincide; for the other substances, existence must be added to them as an accident. For Averroes on the other hand, as before him for the Ash'aris, being is always substance and never accident and he says that in judgments, in which being is predicated and thus apparently an accident, as when one says "substance is", "is" is an *intentio secunda*.

As to the theory of ideas, the Arab logicians deny, with Aristotle and using his own arguments, the separate existence of the universals, but admit with Plato their *supra-sensible* existence. This is the theory very prevalent in the last period of philosophy (in the Middle-Platonism, Neo-Pythagoreanism and Neo-Platonism) according to which ideas or universal forms exist from eternity in God. The intelligibility of things comes from this, that their cause is an intelligence; as the idea of the statue in the soul of the sculptor is the cause of the existence and intelligibility of the statue, so the intelligence of the creator of the world is the cause of the intelligibility of natural things. Avicenna expressed this theory by the formula that the Universe is *ante multitudinem* (in multiplicitate) in things and *post multitudinem* (in our soul). It is the second element in this formula "in multiplicitate" that offers a difficulty (a difficulty already found in Aristotle): how to conceive of the existence of universals in things which are themselves individuals? Often a conceptualist or nomi-

malist tendency is seen in the Arab Aristotelians; it is explicitly stated that the universal is only found in the mind and following Aphrodisias the forms in matter, the *forma in materia*, are regarded as individuals. But since in the system of Aristotle, forms are universals by definition, contradiction cannot be avoided, and the theories of the universals among the Arab philosophers are often very complicated and very obscure. Another nominalist or subjectivist tendency is found in their conception of the relation, which they call — with the Stoics — "what the mind puts into things". But it is the theologians who under the influence of materialist, nominalist and sensualist Stoicism have developed a nominalist system which only admits atomic and individual facts without a connection, in which all relation is regarded as subjective or even non-existent.

The ambiguous manner in which he deals with the concepts "possible", "impossible" and "necessary" gives rise in Aristotle as well as in the Arab logicians, who follow their master faithfully, to grave difficulties. Aristotle (*Prior Analyt.*, 32a, 23–25) — like the Arab logicians (cf. Avicenna, *Ishārāt*, ed. Forget, p. 34) — distinguishes two aspects of the concept of the possible; the possible is the negation at once of the impossible and of the necessary, but he does not always observe these two aspects and thus the necessary and the actual are considered as possible since what happens is not impossible. On the other hand, the actual is considered as the necessary, since what happens, happens necessarily; and although the definition of the possible is "what may or may not happen", for Aristotle "possible" is also "what will happen" since what never happens is not possible. These contradictions are occasioned by the fact that the problem which is at the basis of all this, that is to say, the objectivity or subjectivity of the possible and of the necessary, is differently treated by Aristotle. Aristotle hesitates between determinism and indeterminism. Of two future events, he says in the *Hermetica* that one of two will be true, but which is not determined in advance. He says that necessity does not govern the celestial world and that the sublunar world is the reign of contingency; he also says that God alone is absolutely necessary, that all the rest is hypothetically necessary, that is to say, contains an element of contingency. On the other hand, everything is caused, and goes back necessarily to a first cause. All these contradictions are found among the Arab Aristotelians. The Mutakallimūn, who, like the Stoics, wish to exclude the possible from reality (but they sometimes regard, like certain Stoics, the "possible" and "necessary" as both subjective, thus affirming that everything is possible) have with justice declared that if there is a necessary cause, the effect of it must also be necessary and that there is therefore no contingency in the world. Averroes in his polemic against Ghazālī seems to admit the justice of this argument but elsewhere he repeats all the theories of his master.

Although Ghazālī confesses that theology, while opposed to the metaphysics of the philosophers cannot however deny the evidence of their logical technique, certain arguments of Greek scepticism against logic are sometimes repeated by the Mutakallimūn. Definition is, they say, not possible, because by the particular one cannot reach the

universal, and the syllogism is a *petitio principii* since the conclusion is already contained in the major premiss. These arguments are justified against Aristotelianism, regarded as an empirical theory which sets out from the particular fact. There is however a rationalist tendency in Aristotle and the Arab logicians; they admit that the intelligence can at once know first principles and that without induction from particular facts it can grasp relations between universals. But when the Mutakallimūn say that knowledge and the Universal cannot give the truth, since according to the definition of truth, agreement must exist between true knowledge and reality, and knowledge is universal and reality individual, they reveal by this argument one of the greatest contradictions in Aristotelianism. Averroes tried in vain to refute it.

Bibliography: The bibliography is given in Fr. Ueberweg, *Grundriss d. Gesch. d. Philosophie*, II, eleventh ed., Berlin 1928, p. 291–293 and 715–723; also: C. Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande*, II, Leipzig 1867, p. 297–396; Abusalt de Denia, *Rectificación de la mente, tratado de lógica, texto árabe, traducción y estudio previo* by C. Angel Gonzalez Palencia, Madrid 1915; Abderrahman el Akhdhari (Abd al-Rahmān al-Akhdhari), *Le Soullam, Traité de logique*, transl. from the Arabic by J. D. Luciani, Algiers 1921. (S. VAN DEN BERG)

MANUF, name of two towns, in the region between the two main Nile arms called al-Djizra, generally distinguished as Manūf al-'Ulyā and Manūf al-Sufīa. The latter was situated on the right bank of the western Nile arm, while the former lay more to the east on a smaller canal. Both are described by the geographers as large towns, surrounded by fertile districts and inhabited by wealthy people, especially Manūf al-'Ulyā, where, according to Ibn Hawkal (p. 92), there resided a governor. The *ḥara* of Manūf al-'Ulyā is often called the *ḥara* of Damsis and Manūf, while the *ḥara* of Manūf al-Sufīa is designated as Tawwa and Manūf (cf. e.g. al-Maqrī, ed. Wiet, I, 307). Both the ancient towns have decayed since the tenth century; Yāqūt only knows a village of that name. The name has survived, however, until our day, in the name of the province al-Manūfiya; the capital of the *mudiriya* of his name is now Shibū al-Kawm, and the modern Manūf is a provincial town, situated to its south-west.

Manūf al-'Ulyā is known in Greek sources as *Μανύφ* & *αἰμα*, the Coptic name being Panouf Rū; the other Manūf is not mentioned in Greek documents and is called in Coptic Panouf Dīst.

Bibliography: Maspero and Wiet, *Mémoires pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, Cairo 1909, p. 200–201. (where the Arabic geographical authors are quoted); Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, New Haven 1922, p. 141, 142; 'Alī Paṣha Mubārak, *al-Ḥiṣṣat al-Dīnīya*, xvi, 47–48; Baedeker, *Ägypten*, Leipzig 1928, p. 32.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MÄPILLAS (Moplahs), a group of Muham-madans, of mixed Arab and Hindu descent, on the west coast of Southern India, numbering 4,099,453 according to the Census of 1921. Their name is said to be derived from the Malayalam *mā* ("great") and *pilla* ("child"), an honorary title originally bestowed upon all foreigners and

first applied to Christians, Jews and Muslims, but now confined to the last; this derivation, however, is disputed (Thornton, p. 460-461). They owe their origin to Arab merchants, who were attracted to this coast by the trade in spices, ivory, etc.; settling in various commercial centres, they intermarried with the natives of the country and added to their numbers by proselytising; but fresh accessions of the Arab element having ceased long ago, the Mappillas now approximate to the aboriginal type and exhibit no signs of any admixture of foreign blood. The earliest date of their settlements is uncertain, and the legendary accounts given by the Mappillas themselves are of no historic value (Zain al-Din, p. 21-25). The foreign traders appear to have been encouraged by the Hindu rājās, who made use of them to man their fleets, and by the beginning of the xvth century the Mappillas were estimated to have formed one-fifth of the population of Malabar (Barbosa, p. 310), but the arrival of the Portuguese in this part of India checked the growth of Muslim power and ruined the Arab trade. The Mappillas are still successful traders, especially on the coast; inland, many of them are agriculturists. There are both Sunnis and Shī'is among them; the former belong to the Shāfi'ī school. Their religious leaders are called Tangal (an honorific plural of the personal pronoun, commonly used in addressing superiors) and are treated with profound respect; many of them receive their training in a college attached to the Dhamā'at mosque in Ponnāni, the chief centre of their religious organisation; the Tangal of Ponnāni is an Arab who claims descent from the Prophet; in accordance with local custom he inherits his sacred office in the female line, i.e. his nephew and not his son succeeds him.

The history of the Mappillas is full of incidents of fanaticism and turbulence. In 1524 they attacked the Jews in Cranganor and massacred them without mercy, so that in 1565 the remnant of them fled into Cochin, where they founded the Jewish settlement that survives to the present day (Zain al-Din, p. 50-51; Francis Day, p. 351-352). The Mappillas also persuaded the Zamorin of Calicut to expel the Syrian Christians from his dominions (Francis Day, p. 367). Even their co-religionists found them to be turbulent subjects; they joined the Hindus in fighting Haidar 'Alī (q. v.) after he had extended his power over the Malabar coast, and they rose in rebellion against Tipū Sultan (q. v.) in 1785, and frequently plundered his territories (Francis Day, p. 368). During the last hundred years as many as 51 fanatical outbreaks have taken place among them, especially in the Ernad sub-division of the district of Malabar. Some Mappillas generally begin by murdering a Hindu landlord and then seek martyrdom by slaying kinsmen; others join them, after divorcing their wives, and clad in the white robes of the martyr (*shahīd*, q. v.) go out to die fighting against the infidel, with a complete contempt for death. They desecrate and burn Hindu temples, and forcibly circumcise such Hindus as they do not murder. Some of these outbreaks appear to have been stimulated by agrarian discontent at the oppressive action of Hindu landlords, but the last (in 1921) was entirely political in character and was excited by the Khilāfat movement; it differed from all preceding ones in its wide ex-

tent and clear evidence of systematic preparation and organisation; the outrages committed upon Hindus were of a specially revolting character.

The Mappillas of South Malabar generally observe Muhammadan law; those of North Malabar follow the local Marumakkattayam system of inheritance, according to which the sons of a man's sister inherit his property, and his wife is not regarded as a member of the husband's family but resides in her mother's home, and only receives periodical visits from her husband. On the other hand, a man's self-acquisitions usually descend to his wife and family in accordance with Muhammadan law.

The Mappillas speak the Malayalam language, but use a modified form of the Arabian script in writing it. The majority of them are illiterate, and few only can read and write. Their literature is mainly composed of songs descriptive of religious war, and they are fond of singing them in order to stir up fanatical zeal. Their mosques are quite unlike those of other Muhammadans, having no minarets and often consisting of several stories, with two or more roofs; they often resemble Hindu temples in style, and in fact many Mappilla mosques were once Hindu temples.

Mappillas are also found in the Laccadive Islands, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements and Burma.

Bibliography: Zain al-Din, *Tuhfat al-Mu'jahidin: Historia dos Portuguezes no Malabar por Zainudin, publicada e tratada por David Lopes*, Lisbon 1808; *The Tuhfat al-Mu'jahidin*, translated by M. J. Rowlandson, London 1835; Odoardo Barbosa (who calls them Mapuleros) in Ramusio, *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, Venice 1563, I. 310 E; L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Madras 1912, II, chap. xvii; Kādir Hussain Khān, *South Indian Muhammadans*, Madras 1910; E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Madras 1909, IV. 455-499; C. A. Innes, *Malabar (Madras District Gazetteers)*, Madras 1908, p. 82-89, 189-199; L. Bourat, *Les Moplahs du Sud de l'Inde* (R. M. M., xviii. 65-109); P. Holland-Pryor, *Mappillaks or Moplahs*, Calcutta 1904; F. Fawcett, *A popular Moplah song* (*Indian Antiquary*, xxviii, p. 64-71), Bombay 1899; *War Songs of the Mappillas of Malabar* (*Ibid.*, xxx, p. 499-508), Bombay 1901; *Correspondence on Moplah Outrages in Malabar, for the years 1849-1853*, Madras 1863; *Parliamentary Papers, East India (Moplah Rebellion)*, London 1921; J. J. Banning, *The Moplah Rebellion of 1921* (*The Muslim World*, xiii. 379-407), New York 1923. (T. W. ARNOLD)

MARABUT. [See MURABUT.]

MARĀGHA, the old capital of Ādham-bā (q. v.).

Position. The town lies at a height of 5,500 feet above sea-level on the southern slope of Mount Sahand (11,800 feet high) which separates it from Tabriz (q. v.). This explains the very considerable difference in climate between the two towns which are only 50 miles apart as the crow flies (by the high road 80 miles). The climate of Marāgha is mild and rather moist (Hamed Allāh and Mocquenet, 1904). The plentiful water supply makes the vegetation rich. The fruit of Marāgha is celebrated in Persia and a good deal of it is exported to Russia via Astrakhan. The district is watered by the stream which comes down from the Sahand and then

turns west to Lake Urmiya which is 20 miles from Marāgha. The town is built on the left bank of the river Sāfi (Sof)-dai which then waters Bināb. A little distance to the east runs the parallel river Mardī-dai which waters the district to which Meequenem gives the name Pahindur (Bayandur?); on the left bank rise the heights of Mandilur (= with head bound). The next stream is the Lellān which flows into the Dīghān (cf. SAWD-J-BULK). The rivers farther east (Kasānghū and its sources which water the Haghtarūd district) belong to the system of the Safid-rūd [q. v.], i. e. the basin of the Caspian Sea.

From the geographical point of view, Marāgha is quite independent of Tabriz. It lies a little off the great road from Tabriz to Kirmānshūh which runs nearer Lake Urmiya (via Bināb). The direct bridle-path Tabriz—Marāgha by the passes of the Sahand is only practicable in summer. There is also a direct route along the Sahand on the south and southeast side, joining Marāgha to Ardabil and Zandjān. This road has always been of importance whenever Marāgha was the capital of Ādharbāidjān. The important place on the route was Kālarā (cf. below).

At the beginning of the 19th century, Marāgha had 6,000 families (*Bastin al-Siyūhāt*). In 1298 (1880) it had 13,259 inhabitants of whom 6,365 were men and 6,394 women (H. Schindler). Meequenem (1904) gives Marāgha 15—20,000 inhabitants.

At the present day the inhabitants speak Adharb. Turkish but in the 19th century they still spoke "arabised Pahlavi" (*Nawāst al-Fānuš*; *pahlavi-yi mū'arrāf*) which means an Iranian dialect of the northwestern group.

The walls of the town are in ruins. Its gates have the following names: Ahmadi, Kān-Khāna, Akdāsh, Pul-i Bināb (or Gilāshik) and Hādīsh-nīzā. The quarters are: Agha-beg, Meldān, Darwāza, Sālār-Khāna.

Prehistory. The valley of the Mardī-dai is famous for its deposits of fossil vertebrates discovered by Khanykov in 1852. Excavations have been conducted by Goebel (Russia), Straus, Rodler, Pohlig (Austria), Günther (England) and Meequenem (France). On the Mardī-dai have been found remains of the hippopotamus, of the rhinoceros etc. dating from the period before the eruption of the volcano of Sahand. Cf. J. F. Brandt, *Über die von A. Goebel . . . bei der Stadt Maragha gefundenen Säugethierreste, Denkschr. d. Naturforschender Vereins in Riga*, 1870, and the bibliography in Meequenem, *Contribution à l'étude du géomorphisme des vertébrés de Maragha*, Paris 1908; cf. another article of the same author and title in *Annales de paléontologie*, 1924, p. 133—160.

The name. According to Balādhuri, the town was at first called Akāf-rūd (Ibn al-Fakih, p. 234—Akāf-rūd; Yāqūt, iv. 476; Afrāsh-rūd). This name which means in Persian the "river of 'Abdūh" recalls very much the name of the town *ṛz* *ḥāḥāra* which Mark Antony besieged in this region on his campaign against the Parthians in 36 B.C. (Plutarch, *Vita Antonii*, ch. xxviii, Paris 1864, p. 1113 and Pseudo-Appian, *Parthica*, ed. Sweighamer, Leipzig 1785, iii. 77, 99). It has long been supposed that the names *ḥāḥāra* in Strabo xi, ch. xiii and Index, p. 935; *ḥāḥāra*, Ptolemy, vi, ch. ii, 105; *ḥāḥāra*, Dio Cass., xlix. 25 are variants of the same name which was probably

that of the ancient capital of Atropatene; cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, p. 770. If the identification of *ḥāḥāra* (summer capital, Strabo) with Takht-i Sulaimān suggested by Rawlinson has been accepted (cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten*, p. 252; Marquart, *Iranische*, p. 108; William Jackson, *Perse, Past and Present*, p. 136), the identification of *ḥāḥāra* is still uncertain. On general principles it is improbable that a town like Marāgha so advantageously situated by nature was not in existence in Roman times as the ancient name of Marāgha increases the probability of the identification *ḥāḥāra* = Marāgha (of course with a reservation as to the exact site of the ancient town).

A place-name Marāgha is mentioned in Arabia (Yāqūt) and a little town of the same name is in Egypt near Tanja. The etymology "place where an animal yells" (from *m-r-gh*) proposed itself to the Arabs here, but in Ādharbāidjān (cf. also the village of Marāgha near Abarkuh, *Nushat al-Kulūb*, p. 122) the name is rather a popular Arab etymology of some local name. It is to be observed that Ptolemy, vi, ch. 2, calls Lake Urmiya Margiane (*μαργα ῥε; Μαργαῖος; Μαρῆς*) and gives the same name to the country along the coast of Assyria. Lastly Marquart in *Iranische*, p. 143, 221, 313 retains the variant *Maprag* but *Maprag* seems also to be based on a good tradition (cf. Ptolemy, ed. Wilberg, 1838, p. 391).

The Arabs, Marāgha must have been among the towns of Ādharbāidjān conquered by Muḥammad b. Shu'ba al-Thakafi in the year 22 (Balādhuri, p. 325; Yāqūt, *Kilāb al-Bulāḥ*, p. 271). Muḥammad b. Muḥammad returning from his expedition to Māhān and Gilān in 123 (740) (cf. Yāqūt, *Historia*, ii. 365) stopped here. As the place was full of dung (*shirgin* < Pers. *shirgin*) the old village (*harya*) was given the name of Marāgha (cf. above). Marwān did some building there. The town later passed to the daughters of Harun al-Rashid. On the rebellion of Waḥid b. Rawwād, lord of Tabriz [q. v.], Khuzaima b. Khāzim who was appointed governor of Ādharbāidjān and Armenia (probably in 187; cf. Vassmer, *Chronologie armenischer Armenien*, *Zap. Kolleg. vostokovedov*, 1925, I. 397), built walls round Marāgha and put a garrison in it. When Bābak rebelled in 201 the people sought refuge in Marāgha. Ma'mūn sent men to restore the walls and the suburb (*rubad*) became inhabited again (Balādhuri, l. c.). In 221 Marāgha is mentioned as the winter-quarters of Aḥmad in his campaign against Bābak (Tabari, iii. 1186).

In 280 (893) the Saffid Muḥammad Aḥmad b. Diwād seized Marāgha from a certain 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥusain, who was killed (Tabari, iii. 2137; Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, viii. 145). In 296 (908) the caliph confirmed Yūsuf b. Diwād in possession of Marāgha and the whole of Ādharbāidjān. A dithem is known of this year struck by Yūsuf at Marāgha (Vassmer, *O monastikh Saffidov*, Baku 1927, p. 14). According to Ibn Hawqal, p. 338, there was at Marāgha a military camp (*ḥawāṣir*), a governor's palace (*dār al-imārā*), a treasury (*khazāna*) and government offices (*damman al-nahiya*) but Yūsuf razed the walls of Marāgha and transferred the capital to Ardabil (cf. Ḥakīmī, p. 181). Marāgha is only mentioned as the place where the last Saffid Abu Ḥ-Mas'ūd al-Fath was killed in 347 (929) (Arth, *Tabari continuatus*, ed. de Goeje, p. 145).

The Dailamīs. In 332 (943) (during the rule

of the Dailami Mustafarids) the Russians (*Kur*) had taken Bardha's [q. v.]. Ibn Miskawayh (*G.* *M.S.*, vi, 100) speaks of the diseases which decimated them because they ate too much fruit in Marāgha. This reference to Marāgha is quite unexpected in the text and Margolouth has rightly proposed to read *مراك* in place of *مراك*. A coin struck at Marāgha in 337 by Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Razzāk is a record of the brief conquest of Adharbāijān by the general of the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla (Vasmer, *Zur Chronologie d. Gestaften*, *Islamica*, iii/2, 1927, p. 170). Of 347 we also have dirhams of Marāgha in the names of the two sons of the Dailami Marzubān, Ibrahim and Iḥsān (*ibid.*, p. 172).

The Rawwādi and the Saldjūks. After the disappearance of the Dailamis we find in Tabriz the family of Rawwādi Kurds who seem to have been related with the Mustafarids by marriage only. On the other hand, it is very likely that the Rawwādi are the descendants of the Arab Rawwād al-Azdi, lord of Adharbāijān (Balādhuri, p. 331) who became assimilated by their neighbours in Adharbāijān. The best known of these Rawwādi is Wahsūdān b. Mamlān (= Muhammad; the change of *d* to *l* in Kurdish is common) who is mentioned between 420 and 446 (Ibn al-Athir, ix, 279, 351, 410) and who in addition to Tabriz possessed other strongholds in the mountains (Sahūd). When in 420 the Ghuzs reached Marāgha and executed there a great number of Hahhādī Kurds, the latter united under Wahsūdān and drove out the Ghuzs (Ibn al-Athir, ix, 270-272). This incident shows that the district of Marāgha was within the sphere of influence of Wahsūdān. In 446 Wahsūdān became a vassal of the Saldjūks, but Ibn al-Athir, *ibid.*, p. 410 says nothing about the extent of his possessions around Sahūd.

In 497 the peace between the sons of Malīk Shāh, Barkiyaruk and Muhammad was signed near Marāgha and in 498, Muhammad visited Marāgha.

The Ahmādī. In 505 we have for the first time mention of the Amir Ahmādī b. Ibrahim b. Wahsūdān al-Rawwādi al-Kurdī, lord of Marāgha and Kūral (Kūlāzar) (Ibn al-Athir, x, 361). He was the founder of a little local dynasty, which lasted till about 624. We know very little of the history of the Ahmādī which has never been closely studied.

Ahmādī was certainly the grandson of Wahsūdān b. Mamlān of Tabriz (cf. above) and this explains the insistence with which the atābegs of Marāgha tried to retake Tabriz. Only intransmissible hereditary rights can explain the strange fact of the presence of a Kurd among the amirs of the Saldjūks. The name Ahmādī is a peculiar formation; the name of Mahmādī, a village to the south of Marāgha, belongs to the same category of diminutives. The Ahmādī however very soon adopted Turkish names.

Ahmādī with a large army took part in the Anti-Crusade of 505. During the siege of Tell Hāshir, Joscelin came to terms with him (*infirmitas*) and he withdrew from the town (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Tārīkh Ḥalab*, *Rec. des hist. des croisades*, iii, 599). Ahmādī soon abandoned Syria entirely, for he coveted the lands of Sukmān Shāh: Arman who had just died. We know that Sukmān had extended his sway over Tabriz [q. v.] and the

reference is probably to this town. According to Sibṭ al-Jawzi, *ibid.*, p. 356, Ahmādī had 5,000 horsemen and the revenues from his fiefs amounted to 400,000 dinars a year. In 510 (or 508) Ahmādī was stabbed in Baghdad by the Isma'īlīs to whom he had done much injury (*ibid.*, p. 356; Ibn al-Athir, x, 361).

Aḳ-Sunḳur I. In 514 Malik Ma'sūd, governor of Mawālī and Adharbāijān, rebelled against his brother Mahmūd and gave Marāgha to his atābeg Kasīm al-Dawla al-Buzurjī but the rebellion collapsed and in 516 Aḳ-Sunḳur al-Ahmādī (client of Ahmādī?), lord of Marāgha, who was in Baghdad, was authorised by Sulṭān Mahmūd to return to his fief. As the amir Kun-toḡdī, atābeg of Malik Tughril (lord of Artān; Ibn al-Athir, x, 399), had died in 515, Aḳ-Sunḳur expected to get his place with Tughril. The latter ordered Aḳ-Sunḳur to raise 10,000 men in Marāgha and set out with him to conquer Ardabil in which they failed. In the meanwhile Marāgha was occupied by Dīyāsh Beg, sent by Sulṭān Mahmūd. The Georgian Chronicle (Brosset, i, 368) mentions under 516 (1123) the defeat of Aḳ-Sunḳur (whom he calls 'Aghsunthul, Atābeg of Ran' = Artān) during a demonstration against the Georgians carried out by Tughril from Shirwān. In 523 Aḳ-Sunḳur took a part but not a very active one in the suppression of the intrigues of the Mas'yūdī Dubais. In 524 he was one of the promoters of the election of Sulṭān Dāwūd, whose atābeg he was. In 526 Tughril, uncle of Dāwūd, defeated the latter and occupied Marāgha and Tabriz (al-Bundārī, cf. Houtma, p. 161). Dāwūd along with his uncle Ma'sūd and Aḳ-Sunḳur sought refuge in Baghdad. With the support of the Caliph and the assistance of Aḳ-Sunḳur, Ma'sūd reoccupied Adharbāijān. After the capture of Hamadān, Aḳ-Sunḳur was killed there by the Isma'īlīs (527) instigated by Tughril's vizier (al-Bundārī, p. 169).

Aḳ-Sunḳur II. The name of Aḳ-Sunḳur's son is transmitted in different forms. Ibn al-Athir, xi, 166 and 177, calls him Aḳ-Sunḳur (II); cf. also *Tārīkh Ḥalab*, p. 472. Al-Bundārī, p. 231, calls him al-Amīr al-Kābir Nuḡrat al-Dīn Khāshbek and, p. 243, Nuḡrat al-Dīn Arslān Aḥa (cf. al-Kāshghari, *Divān Luḡat al-Turk*, i, 80). The *Kūsh al-Sulṭān*, p. 241, 244, 262 gives him the name of Atābeg Arslān Aḥa. Al-Bundārī treats him as an equal of the great amir Ḥdīq [q. v.] whose family finally triumphed over the lords of Marāgha. Aḳ-Sunḳur II's adversary was the amir Khāshbek b. Būlūḡ-eri(?) who was the favourite of Sulṭān Ma'sūd and sought to establish himself in Artān and Adharbāijān. This Khāshbek had besieged Marāgha in 541 (al-Bundārī, p. 217). In 545 Sulṭān Ma'sūd took Marāgha and destroyed its walls (*ibid.*) but a reconciliation later took place between Khāshbek and Aḳ-Sunḳur II under the walls of Rūyto-dū (cf. below). The execution of Khāshbek in 547 (1153) by Sulṭān Muhammad alienated Ḥdīq and Aḳ-Sunḳur II and they installed Sulaimān on the throne of Hamadān. Muhammad on his return to power sent an embassy to restore good relations with the two lords of Adharbāijān (*ibid.*). Peace was concluded in 549 and the two great amirs shared Adharbāijān between them (al-Bundārī, p. 243). On his deathbed (554) Muhammad entrusted his young son (Malik Dāwūd, cf. the genealogical tree in the *Kūsh al-Sulṭān*) to Aḳ-Sunḳur. As Ḥdīq was furthering the interests

of his wurd Sultān Arslān, Pahlawān b. Ildiguz advanced against Ak-Sunqur II but the latter with the help of Sūb-i Arman defeated him on the Safid-rūd. In 556 Ak-Sunqur sent 5,000 men to the help of the governor of Ray, Inandj, who was fighting Ildiguz. The latter gained the upper hand and in 557 Ak-Sunqur II took part in the expedition of Ildiguz against the Georgians (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 189). In 563 however, Ak-Sunqur II obtained recognition for his ward from Baghdad. Pahlawān b. Ildiguz at once besieged Ak-Sunqur in Marāgha (*ibid.*, p. 218) but a peace put an end to hostilities.

In 564 the amir of Ray, Inandj, was killed (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 230). The *Ta'rikh-i Gūda*, p. 72, seems to suggest that the rebellion in Marāgha of Kutlagh (?), brother of Ak-Sunqur (II?), was due to Inandj's influence. He was punished by the Atābeg Pahlawān b. Ildiguz and Marāgha was given to his brothers 'Alā' al-Dīn and Rukn al-Dīn.

Under 570 Ibn al-Athīr (xi, 280) mentions at Marāgha Fakr al-Dīn, son of Ibn Ak-Sunqur (i.e. son of Ak-Sunqur II), to whom his father had bequeathed his estates. Pahlawān besieged the fortress of Rūym-diz and Marāgha. On this occasion peace was concluded on the cession of Tabriz to the family of Ildiguz. This important detail shows that down to 570 the hel of the Ahmadii comprised all the country round mount Sahand including Tabriz (q.v.).

In 602 the lord of Marāgha 'Alā' al-Dīn came to an agreement with the Atābeg of Arbil Muḥaffar al-Dīn Gök-būri to deprive the Ildiguzid Alā' Bākr of Āgharibūdjan on the pretext that he was incapable of ruling. From Marāgha they marched on Tabriz but Alā' Bākr called to his aid the former slave of his family Ay-doghūsh (cf. Delicoury, *Recherches sur 4 princes d'Hamaouan*, 7-8, 1847, i, 160). Gök-būri returned to his own lands and Alā' Bākr with Ay-doghūsh came to Marāgha. 'Alā' al-Dīn had to surrender the fortress which was the bone of contention but was given in compensation of the towns of Urmīya and Ushūl. In 604, 'Alā' al-Dīn whom Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 337, 382, here calls Kāza-Sunqur died and left one son, a minor. A brave servant of 'Alā' al-Dīn assumed the guardianship of the child but the latter died in 605. Alā' Bākr then took possession of all the lands of the Ahmadii except Rūym-diz where the servant already mentioned had entrenched himself with his late master's treasures.

It is not clear if 'Alā' al-Dīn Kāza-Sunqur is identical with the brother of Ak-Sunqur II mentioned in 564. For the date of his accession and his importance we have a hint. According to the preface of the *Haft-pānāh* of Nīshāpūr (q.v.), this poem (finished in 593) was composed at the request of 'Alā' al-Dīn Krb(?) Arslān (the Rūm and the Rūm paid him tribute [gharāḡ]); (the Georgians suffered reverses at his hands). This *minshūh* was definitely identified by Rieu, *Catalogue*, ii, 567 and Supplement, 1895, p. 154 with 'Alā' al-Dīn of Marāgha. Nīshāpūr mentions two sons of 'Alā' al-Dīn, Nūrat al-Dīn Maḥammad and Ahmad, but to reconcile this with Ibn al-Athīr we should have to suppose that both died before their father.

The family of the Ahmadii was continued for some time in the female line. In 618 the Mongols arrived before Marāgha and the town was stormed

on the 4th Šafar. The Mongols sacked and burned the town and massacred the inhabitants (*ibid.*, xii, 246, 263) but the lady of Marāgha (daughter of 'Alā' al-Dīn?), who lived in Rūym-diz escaped the catastrophe.

Djalāl al-Dīn. In 622, the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn came to Marāgha via Daḡaḡa. He entered it without difficulty for the inhabitants were complaining of all kinds of oppressions and raids by the Georgians (Nasawi, *Sirat Djalāl al-Dīn*, ed. Houdas, p. 110). Djalāl al-Dīn tried to restore the prosperity of Marāgha; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 280, 282.

In 624 (1227) while Djalāl al-Dīn was in the Persian 'Irāk, his vizier Sharaf al-Mulk was forced to reconquer Āgharibūdjan. In the course of his campaign he besieged Rūym-diz, the lady of which was a grand-daughter (*min kafaḡat*) of the Atābeg 'Alā' al-Dīn Karāba (?) (Nasawi, p. 129). This princess was married to the deaf-mute Khamūsh, only son of the Eldiguzid Özbek. The Atābeg Nūrat al-Dīn, son of Khamūsh, mentioned incidentally by Ġuwāint, *G.M.S.*, ii, 242, must have been his son. As a way out, she offered her hand to Sharaf al-Mulk. Djalāl al-Dīn suddenly arrived from the 'Irāk and married the princess himself. Rūym-diz was given to a certain Sa'd al-Dīn. The citadel contained some thousands of houses (*athn min dīn*) occupied by the former inhabitants of the town (*judanā*). Sa'd al-Dīn decided to evacuate them but as a result of his tactlessness the fortress closed its gates again (to Sa'd?) (Nasawi, p. 129, 157). Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 322 seems to deal with the course of these events. Under 627 he says that the troops of Djalāl al-Dīn besieged Rūym-diz for some time. The fortress was about to capitulate when some malcontents summoned the assistance of a Turkoman amir Sewindj (Sewij) of the tribe of Kaḡ-yawa. The domination of this chief and his relatives who succeeded him only lasted two years.

Rūym-diz. This fortress lay "near Marāgha" (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 322). According to Zakariya Kawālī who gives a very accurate description of Rūym-diz, it was 3 farsakhs from Marāgha. Its proverbially impregnable position (*dariba ḡ-ḡisnāṭiḡha al-muḡḡa*) suggests that it was built on the side of Sahand. The Russian map marks on the Sofi-dai 10 miles (c. 3 farsakhs) above Marāgha a place called Vay-shāhār (in Turkish = "summer-town") besides which two streams flow into the Sofi-dai (on the left bank) and between them is written the corrupted name "Res or Erlā". It is very probable that this is the site of the famous fortress on either side of which there was a stream (*nahr*); for Res one should read Diz i.e. Rūym-diz. The date of the final destruction of Rūym-diz is unknown. As late as 751 the Čobanid Aḡraf imprisoned his vizier there (v. Hammer, *Gesch. d. Islam*, ii, 337) but the *Nuḡat al-Kuḡūb*, in 740 (1340) only knows the other Rūym-diz, that of Sawālīn (there is still a Rūym-dizak 4 farsakhs N.E. of Ardabil).

Kāḡsara. Ibn al-Athīr, v, 340, calls Ahmadīl "lord of Marāgha and of Kūḡḡ". This last name (كوتب) seems to be a corruption of Kāḡsara (كولسرد) or Kūḡsara, a little town well known to the Arab geographers on the Marāgha-Ardabil road (10-12 farsakhs from Marāgha and 20-27 from Ardabil); cf. Ibn Khurdaḡbih, p. 120; Ku-

Annales, p. 213; *Iqbal*, p. 194; Ibn Hawqal, p. 252, in particular from his own experience talks of the importance of Kūlaara and its flourishing commerce. This place may correspond to the village of Kūlaṣpā "hill of cinders" (popular Turkish etymology) which lies on the Karanglu about 35 miles (c. 10 *farasakhs*) east of Marāgha. The fort of Kāf'a-yi-Zohāk notable ruins of which were discovered by Monteilh c. 15 miles below Kūlaṣpā (cf. Morier, *op. cit.*, p. 296), must have been a bulwark for Kūlaara and Marāgha against invasion from the northeast. Rawlinson, *J.R.G.S.*, 1841, p. 120 sees a Sassanian fortress in Kāf'a-yi-Zohāk.

The Mongols. Marāgha was definitely taken by the Mongols in 628 (Ibn al-Athir, xii. 324). After the taking of Baghdad in 656 (1258) Hūllāghū took up his quarters in Marāgha and ordered an observatory to be built there from the plans of Nāṣir al-Dīn Tūsī (who had as advisers four astronomers one of whom, Fakhr al-Dīn, was a native of Marāgha) (Rashid al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, p. 324). The observatory was built on a fortified hill to the west of the town where only traces of foundations of the walls are still to be seen. According to Schindler's plan (1883), the levelled area on the hill measures 137 × 347 metres. On the observatory cf. Jourdain, *Mémoires sur les instruments employés à l'observatoire de Maragah*, in the *Magasin encyclop. bibliog. par A. L. Millin*, Paris 1809, vol. vi, p. 43-101 (transl. of an Arabic *risāla* belonging to the *Bibl. Nationale* and attributed to Nāṣir al-Dīn's colleague Mu'ayyid al-Dīn al-Ardi) and Ritter, *Reichkunde*, ix., p. 839-843. To contain his treasures Hūllāghū built a castle on the island of Shāhī 1-2 days distant from the capital. Here he was buried. On the fortifications of Shāhī cf. Tabari, iii. 1171. The handsome sepulchral towers of which there are four at Marāgha (Mequmem 1908) date from Hūllāghū or his immediate successors: 1. the one at the entrance to the bridge of Sālī-dāi is built of red brick on a square foundation and has a vaulted cellar (*Gunbad-i Kirmis?*); 2. similar, situated in the gardens to the south of the town on the road from Khānāgā; 3 and 4 near the old cemetery in the interior of the town; the octagonal tower No. 3 is of red brick overlaid with blue enameled faience (*Gunbad-i Kāhūd*) and No. 4 is round, covered with plaster which is decorated with arabesques (*Kūl-burdī* "Tower of the Ram"). There is a photograph of No. 1 in de Morgan (1894), p. 337 and Sarre, *op. cit.*, text, p. 15-16; of No. 3 in Sarre, *ibid.* and of 4 in de Morgan, *ibid.*, p. 340. H. Schindler claimed to have read on the *Gunbad-i Chāfī* (No. 2?) the name of Abū Bakr-i Sa'd-i Zangī (atabeg of Fārs, 623-658?). According to Sarre, No. 4 is later than 1550. The monuments require to be again studied on the spot. Lehmann-Haupt says that inscriptions can still be seen in their interiors.

The early Mongol Ilkhāns led a semi-nomadic life which explains the absence from Marāgha of any other kind of memorial. It was only with Ghāzān that a regular capital was built at Tabriz [q.v.]. Marāgha continued to be of some importance on account of its pastures and was a station on the road between Adharbāidjān and Mesopotamia. Its name continually appears in the history of the Ilkhāns. In 703 (1304) Uldjaitū received at Marāgha the ambassadors from the

Kā'an of China and installed at the observatory the son of Nāṣir al-Dīn Tūsī.

In 712 (1312) Kars-Sunkur, *amir al-umara'* of Aleppo, fearing the wrath of the Sultan of Egypt, Nāṣir, sought an asylum in Persia with Uldjaitū who gave him Marāgha. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who tells this (l. 179) adds that this town was known as "Little Damascus" (*Dimichk al-saghira*). Kars-Sunkur died in 728 (1328) (d'Ohaon, *Hist. des Mongols*, iv. 699).

The Geographers of the Mongol period. Zakariyā Kāzwīnī (1275) seems to be personally acquainted with the town. According to him there were in the town memorials of the pre-Islamic period. He describes the mineral springs (near the village of Kiyāmat-ahūd) and a cave which must correspond to the *Chai-bāgh* visited by Morier, Lehmann-Haupt, Minorsky etc. Kāzwīnī also mentions the mountain of Zandjāhūn with a calcareous spring, the village of Dīnshāk (*Gundashak*) with a bottomless well (p. 350) and gives a description of Kūyān-dīr (p. 358).

The *Nashat al-Kullū* (written in 1340), G.M.S., p. 27 estimates the revenues of Marāgha paid to the treasury at 70,000 dinārs (Ardabil paid 85,000) and those of its wilāyat at 185,000 dinārs. The *tanah* of Marāgha comprised all the southern part of Adharbāidjān, in the north it was bounded by the *suman* of Tabriz, in the west by that of Khūi (Urmīya), in the south by the lands of Kurdistān (Urmīya) and in the east by 'Isk-i 'Adjam (Zandjān, Sadjān). All the lands now under the modern Sa'wī-būkhā [q.v.] were then ruled from Marāgha. As dependencies of Marāgha, Hamd Allāh gives the towns of Dih-i Khūshān (in popular Turkish Tashborghān) to the south of Tabriz, Lailān on the right bank tributary of the Dīghātū (cf. Rawlinson, 1841, p. 39; the ruins of Kāf'a-yi Bakhta) and Pasaw in Lāshidjān, in the valley of the Tigris (cf. SAWYR-DOUGLAS). The *suman* comprised six cantons (the names are much mutilated): Sarādjān (?), Niyādjān (?), Duzakhrūd (? of the mountain Duzakhrūd on the middle course of the Dīghātū), Gāwduḳ (at the confluence of the river of Lailān with the Dīghātū (the name is also read Gāwduḳ, Gāwduḳān. It is remarkable that Firdawsi (ed. Mohl, vii. 141, 151) mentions in these regions a Dagh-i Dūk and Kūba Dūk where Bahram Chāhin was defeated by Khurrawī), Bihistān (probably the district of Bāht on the Tawwā), Hasharūd (to the east of Sahand on the Karanglu). The district of Angurān on the Kizil-dān was also a dependency of Marāgha.

Christianity at Marāgha. In the Mongol period, Marāgha had become an important centre of Christianity. The celebrated Mār Bar Hebraeus (Jacobite *Maraphian*) lectured in 1268 on Euclid and in 1272 on Ptolemy in the "new monastery" of Marāgha; there he wrote the *Alfah al-Duwal*. When he died on July 30, 1286, 22 a sign of mourning the Greeks, Armenians and Nestorians closed their shops in the market-places (Assemani, *Bibl. Orientale*, ii. 266; Wright, *A Short History of Syrian Literature*, 1894, p. 267, 271, 276, 279). The history of Mār Yabballāh III (patriarch of the Nestorians [1281-1317], transl. Chabot, Paris 1895) contains valuable notes on Marāgha. Yabballāh rebuilds the already existing church of Mār Shalūt and built a house beside it. In 1289 Argūto had his son baptised in Marāgha. In 1294 the patriarch laid the foundations of the monastery

of John the Baptist $\frac{1}{2}$ of a farsakh north of Marāgha. After the accession of Ghāzān (1295) the persecution of the Christians began, instigated by the amir Nawrūz. The mob plundered the residence of the patriarch and the church of St. George built by the monk Rabban Šawmā (it had been furnished with articles from the portable church of Arghūn's camp). The patriarch sought refuge in the suite of the Armenian king Hātton. On his return to Marāgha, Ghāzān punished the fomenters of the troubles. In 1298 Yahbalāshā was confined in his rights. In Sept. 1301 he finished the monastery of St. John. His biographer and contemporary gives an account of the beautiful buildings, the numerous relics and riches of the monastery (Chabot, *op. cit.*, p. 133). The village of Dahli (?) to the east of Marāgha was purchased to serve as a *wāḡf* of the monastery (to the N.E. of the town there is still a village of Killa-kandi "village of the church"). Ghāzān and his successor Uldjaitū visited the monastery. Yahbalāshā died and was buried there in 1317.

On the south side of the hill of the observatory there are chambers carved out of the rock (3 rooms 12 feet high communicating with one another, and a corridor). Inside there are niches in the shape of altars. Local tradition sees a church in these (perhaps of the Sāsānian period); cf. Macdonald, Kinneir, H. Schindler, Lehmann-Haupt and Minsky, *Zap.*, xiv, 1947, p. 167.

After the Mongols. In 737 (1337) the Ilkhāyirid Šaiḡh Ḥasan inflicted a defeat on Tughl-Timūr [q.v.] near Marāgha (or at Hashtarūd). The pretender Muḥammad was buried at Marāgha in 738 (*Šarāf-nāma*, p. 315). Later the political struggles of the Turkmāns had their principal arena in the northern part of Ādharbāiḡān. In the same period the Kārdish elements of the districts south of Lake Urmia became consolidated and received reinforcements from the districts of Mawṣil (*Šarāf-nāma*, I, 288). The Mukri Kurd amirs extended their influence over Marāgha and even as far as Dih-Khwarāḡān. The Turks during their rule over Ādharbāiḡān included Marāgha with Talat and levied 15 *khawān* of gold per annum on it which caused its inhabitants to go away (*ibid.*, p. 294). In 1002 (1593) the name of the fortress of Saru-karḡān (demolished in 795 by Timūr; cf. *Zafar-nāma*, I, 628 and rebuilt by the Mukri) in the region of Marāgha often occurs in the *Šarāf-nāma*, p. 294—296; this name recalls that of the Sarū, the right bank tributary of the Diḡhātū.

During the second Ottoman occupation (1725) Marāgha was governed by 'Abd al-'Azīz Paṣhā; this administrative unit consisted of 5 *sandjaks*, of which 2 were hereditary and 3 granted by the government (v. Hammer, IV, 228; according to Celebi-zāde). In 1142 (1729) Nādir defeated the Ottomans at Miyanābād on the Diḡhātū and occupied Dimdū, Sawdī-būlāq, Marāgha and Dih-Khwarāḡān (Mandī-khān, *Ta'riḡ-i Nādir*, Tahriz 1284, p. 66; transl. Jones, I, 104). According to the recently discovered history of Nādir, the monarch transplanted 3,000 inhabitants from Marāgha to Kalāt (Berthold, in *Zap.*, xxv, p. 88).

The Mukaddam. As early as the time of Nādir the Turkish tribe of Mukaddam is mentioned as settled in the region of Marāgha (Macdonald, Kinneir: 15,000 men). Ahmad Khān Mukaddam played a considerable part in the affairs of Ādhar-

bāiḡān. Jaubert, *Voyage*, p. 160 knew him in 1805 as *beglarbegi* of Ādharbāiḡān under prince 'Abbās Mirza. In 1810 he exterminated the Bilbas chiefs whom he had invited to Marāgha [cf. Sawrū-muṣṣā]. According to Morier, *Second Journey*, p. 293, this patriarch was aged 90 in 1815 (cf. Brydges, *Dynasty of the Kajars*, p. 60). The governor of Marāgha Šamad-Khān, a partisan of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh who besieged Tabriz in 1809, was of the family of Ahmad-Khān. At the present day the Mukaddam are concentrated round Miyanābād.

In 1828 Marāgha was occupied by Russian troops. In 1881, the Kurd invasion by Šaiḡh 'Ubadallāh reached the gates of Marāgha. The town was not taken but the whole country round was in ruins when H. Schindler visited it in 1882. During the war of 1914—1918, Marāgha was within the zone of the Russo-Turkish operations [cf. Tansiz].

Bibliography. In addition to the native sources quoted in the text: Sam'ānī, *Kifāy al-Aṣṣḡ*, G.M.S., xv, fol. 519r (he also derives the *niska* Marāgh from the clan al-Marāgh of the tribe of al-Ard); Ḥājjī Khalfā, *Djāhān-nūma*, p. 389; Ewliyā-Celebi, *Siyāhat-nāma*, IV, 333 (confused and of doubtful value); Zaim al-'Abidin, *Rustūn al-Siyāḡa*, p. 355.

The European descriptions of Marāgha (only since the sixth century) are not very numerous and do not exhaust the subject: Macdonald, Kinneir, *Geogr. Memoir*, London 1813, p. 155—156; Morier, *A Second Journey*, London 1818, p. 281—297 (Tabriz—Marāgha—Gultape [Kul-tape?]—Sarakand); Ker Porter, *Travels*, 1822, II, 493; Monteith, *Journal of a Tour*, J.R.G.S., 1833, p. 4 (Saland—Sarakand—Kul-ai Zohāk); Rawlinson, *A march from Tabriz*, J.R.G.S., 1841, p. 39 (Miyan-da-ah); Ritter, *Erdkunde*, IX, p. 828—852; Hoffmann, *Aussage aus syrischen Akten*, Leipzig 1880, p. 248 etc. (important historical and geographical notes); Houtum-Schladler, *Reisen im n.-w. Persien*, *Zeitschr. d. Geogr. u. Erdkunde*, Berlin 1883, p. 334 (cf. the article Marāgha in the *Encycl. Britannica*, 11th ed., 1911); De Morgan, *Mission scientifique*, *Études géographiques*, I, Paris 1894, p. 337—340 (several views); Zagnayer, *Une Révis d'Yazdwan*, Berlin 1905, p. 123—128; S. G. Wilson, *Persian Life*, London 1890, p. 71—80; Le Strange, *The Lands of the East*, Caliphate, p. 164—165; de Moccquennet, *Le lac d'Ourmiah*, *Annales de Géogr.*, 1908, p. 128—129; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, I, 1910, p. 208—216; de Moccquennet, *Contribution à l'étude du gisement des vertébrés de Marāgha*, in *Ministère Instr. Publique, Délégation en Perse, Annales d'Histoire naturelle*, 1/2, 1908, p. 1—79 (with a geographical introduction).

Cartography. Khanykov, *A map of Azerbaijan*, *Zeitschr. f. Allg. Erdk.*, Berlin 1862, map N° xiv; de Morgan, *Carte de la partie centrale du Kurdistan*, *Mém. scient. en Perse*, Atlas, Paris 1895; de Moccquennet, *Vernum occidental du Sahel, Esquisse de la Délég. Franç. en Perse*, Paris 1904, 1:400,000 (published separately; Russian maps 5 versta to pouce).

(V. MIKOLSKY)

MARAND (r.), a town in the Persian province of Ādharbāiḡān.

Position. The town lies about 40 miles N. of Tabriz, halfway between it and the Araxes (it is 42 miles from Marand to Ujūf). The road

from Tabriz to Khoi also branches off at Marand. A shorter road from Tabriz to Khoi follows the north bank of Lake Urmia and crosses the Mishowdagh range by the pass between Tasandj (q.v.) and Diyā al-Dīn. Marand, which is surrounded by many gardens, occupies the eastern corner of a rather beautiful plain, about ten miles broad and sloping slightly to the west. To the south the Mishow range (western continuation of the Sawālū) separates it from the plain of Tabriz and from Lake Urmia. The pass to the south of Marand often mentioned by historians is called Yam (Mongol = post-station). The pass between the plain of Marand and Tasandj (q.v.) takes its name from the village of Wāldiyān. To the east of Marand lies the wild and mountainous region of Karadja-dagh (capital: Ahur). To the north, the plain of Marand is separated from the Araxes by a range, a continuation of the central heights of the Karadja-dagh which is crossed by the defile of the Dūrādīs. The plain of Marand is watered by the river of Zūnūr, the southern arm of which called Zilhar runs quite near Marand. The combined waters of Zūnūr and Zilhar flow into the Kotar-dā (an important right bank tributary of the Araxes) about 20 miles N.E. of Khoi. The length of the Zūnūr is about 40 miles (Hamd Allāh Muttawfī: 8 farsakhs).

History. A lofty tell which rises beside the town is evidence of the great antiquity of this as an inhabited site; it must have existed in the time of the Vennic (Khald) and Assyrian kings. Its Greek name *Μαρενδία* is perhaps connected with the people *Μαρενδαι* who, according to Ptolemy VI, 2, occupied the lands as far as Lake Urmia. A legend of Armenian origin based on the popular etymology *mar* and *mater* *rai* locates in Marand the tomb of Noah's wife (Hülshmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, 1904, p. 346 and 451; Ker Porter, *Travels*, I, 217). Moses of Choren places Marand in the district of Bakurakert. There was another Marand mentioned by the Armenian historian Orbelian (c. 1300) in the province of Simnīch (north of the Araxes) and a village of Marand still exists east of Tighnūt in the khānate of Māhū (q.v.).

Ibn Ba'th. After the Arab conquest a certain Halbas of the tribe of Rabi'a took Marand. His son Ba'th, a soldier of fortune (*ṣā'ib*) in the service of Ibn al-Rawwād, fortified Marand. Muhammad b. Ba'th erected castles there (*ḥuṣūr*) (Balādihur, p. 330). This chief had acquired considerable notoriety. In 300 (815) he had taken from the family of Rawwād, the strongholds of Shāhī and Tabriz (Tabriz, iii, 1171). (In another passage, Tabriz, iii, 1379, mentions Yakdar [?] in place of Tabriz). Ibn Ba'th lived at Shāhī which stood in the centre of Lake Urmia (the peninsula of Shāhī, where at a later date Hülāgū Khān kept his treasure and where he was buried). Ibn Ba'th was at first on good terms with the Khurramī Bābak, whose authority must have prevailed in the Karadja-dagh in particular, in the north-eastern corner of which was his residence al-Buḥūdī. Ibn Ba'th suddenly changed his tactics and seized by a ruse 'Igna, one of Bābak's generals whom he sent to the caliph al-Mu'tasim. In 221 Ibn Ba'th accompanied Bughā on his expedition against al-Buḥūdī (Tabriz, iii, 1190, 1193). Under the caliphate of Mutawakkil, Ibn Ba'th committed some crime (*dhulafa*) and was imprisoned in Sarraman-mā. On the intercession of Bughā al-Sha'fī,

30 people of repute became guarantors of Ibn al-Ba'th's good behaviour and he must have been allowed considerable liberty, for in 234 (848) he escaped to Marand. Ibn Khurdādhbih, who wrote in 234, mentions Marand as being Ibn Ba'th's fief. Tabriz, iii, 1379—1389, gives a very graphic account of the expedition sent against this town. The wall which enclosed Marand and its gardens was a *farsakha* in circumference. There were springs within it. The dense forest outside was a further protection to the town. Ibn Ba'th collected 2,200 adventurers who were reinforced by a number of non-Arabs (*ʿaḍāḍ*) armed with slings. He had ballistas constructed to repel the assailants. During the 8 months that the siege lasted, 100 individuals of note (*awḥyā al-ʿaṭfūn*) were killed and 400 wounded. When Bughā al-Sha'fī (Balādihur, p. 330; Bughā al-Saghir) arrived he succeeded in detaching the men of the Rabi'a tribe from Ibn Ba'th. Ibn Ba'th and his relatives were seized and his house and those of his partisans plundered. In Shawwāl of 235 Bughā arrived with 180 prisoners at the caliph's court. Mutawakkil ordered Ibn Ba'th to be beheaded but the latter recited verses in Arabic and the caliph was astonished by his poetic gifts (*inna waḥda la-ʿadab*) and gave him his life. Ibn Ba'th died in prison and his sons entered the corps of mercenaries (*al-ḥāḥiriya*). According to one of Tabriz's authorities (iii, 1388), the *ghalkha* of Marāgha who praised the bravery and literary ability (*adab*) of Ibn Ba'th also quoted his Persian verses (*bi 'l-fārisiya*). This important passage already quoted by Barthold, *Bull. School of Oriental Studies*, vol. II, Pt. IV, 1923, p. 836—838, is evidence of the existence of the cultivation of poetry in Persian in the N.W. of Iran at the beginning of the ninth century. Ibn Ba'th must have been uneducated to a considerable extent, and, as has been mentioned, he relied for support on the non-Arab element in his *rustāks* (*rustāks vaṣṭāḥīk*).

Later History. The Arab geographers of the tenth century (Iḥṣāḥ, p. 182; Ibn Hawqal, p. 239) mention Marand among the little towns of Adharbāydjān where the material called *ḥak* was manufactured. Muḥaddas, p. 51, 374, 377, puts Marand under Tabriz and notes its gardens, its flourishing suburb and a cathedral-mosque in the centre of the market. The same author, p. 382, mentions a direct road from Marand to Marāgha (via Nūm [?], somewhere west of Tabriz). Later, Marand must have shared the fate of Tabriz (q.v.). According to Yāqūt, iv, 503, the town had begun to decline after it was plundered by the Georgians (Kurdj) who carried off its inhabitants. This is valuable confirmation of the Georgian expedition to Persia, a detailed account of which is given in the Georgian Chronicle for 1208—1210 (605—607) [cf. TAVATZ and TITZEL].

Among the theologians, born in Marand, Yāqūt mentions one who died in 216 and another who had studied in Damascus in 433. In 624 (1226) Marand which had not sufficient defences, was occupied by the ḥāḥī *ʿAlī al-Aḥrafi* of Ahlūt. Sharaf al-Mulk, governor for the Khwārmashāh, retook the town and wrought great slaughter in it (Nawwī, ed. Houdon, p. 166).

The only historical monument in Marand is the old mosque now in ruins with a *mihrāb* in stucco bearing the date of rebuilding 731 (1331) (reign of the Ilkhān Abū Sa'īd). Cf. Sarra, *Denkmäler pers. Baukunst*, Berlin 1910, p. 24—25 and pl. xvii.

and the observations by Herfeld, *Die Gumbadzi-Alawiyen*, in the Volume... presented to E. G. Brown, 1922, p. 194—195. In the same period (1340) Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nushat al-Kutub*, G. M. S., xlii, p. 88, counted 60 villages in the district of Marand. The walls (*hārā*) of the town were 8,000 paces (*ḡam*) around but the town only occupied half the area.

Marand is several times mentioned in connection with the Turco-Persian wars. According to Ewliyā Celēbi (in 1647), *Seyḥat-nāma*, ii, 242, Marand was a hunting-resort of the Turanid Shāhrukh. In spite of the damage done by the invasion of Sulṭān Murād, the town looked prosperous and had 3,000 houses. Ewliyā enumerates a number of celebrated theologians buried north of Marand.

In the autumn of 1724 'Abd Allāh Pasha Koprūla sent the Kurd Khān of Bitlis Muḥammad 'Abid to occupy Marand the inhabitants of which had fled. Resistance centred round the town of Zūnūs (10 miles N. of Marand) which had 7,000 (?) houses and a castle called Dīza by the Persians. To dispose of the threat to their flank, the Janissaries before advancing on Tabriz, fought a battle here in May 1725 with the Persians of whom a large number were slain. Dīza was taken and dismantled (cf. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv, p. 226, following Celēbi-sūde).

Marand has often been mentioned by European travellers since Chardin (1811 edition, i, p. 318); cf. the notices by Ker Porter, Jaubert, Morier, Ouseley and Monteith of which a résumé is given in Ritter, *Erdbkunde*, ix, p. 907. Marand has recently gained in importance since it lies on the modern high road from Tabriz to Qulfa built by the Russians in 1906 and replaced by a railway in 1915.

(2.) A town in the district of Khutāil, to the north of the Oxus; cf. Muḥaddasī, p. 49, 290—291.

(V. MINORSKY)

MAR'ASH, a town in Syria near the Asia Minor frontier (*al-Thiḡār al-Shāmīya*). It lies about 2,000 feet above sea-level on the northern edge of the hollow ('Amk of Mar'ash; now Çakal Owa and south of it Şeker Owa or Mar'ash Owa) which lies east of the Dīhān and is watered by its tributary, the Nahr Hūrūth (Ak-Sū). As a result of its situation at the intersection of the roads which run to Antakya, to 'Ain Zarba and al-Maḡḡira, to Albiḥān (Abulustān) and Yarpūz, via Gökün (Kokussos) to Kinnasīya, via Behranī (Bahasnī) to Sumnāsī and via al-Hadith and Zihāra to Malatya, Mar'ash was from the earliest times one of the most important centres of traffic in the Syrian frontier region. It is repeatedly mentioned as early as Assyrian texts as Mar'asī, capital of the kingdom of Gurgum (cf. the article *IMAR'ASHMA*), and several Hittite monuments have been found there (cf. Unger, *Margalit*, in Ebert's *Kollektik. d. Vorderas.*, viii, 1927, p. 48).

In the Roman imperial period it was called Germanikeia in honour of Caligula (on the coins *Caesarea Germanike*; cf. Grégoire, *Rev. de l'inst. publ. en Belg.*, ii, 1908, p. 217 sq.). The identity of Germanikeia and Mar'ash is certain from numerous literary, especially Syriac, references. The Armenians probably knew, but probably from learned tradition only, the name *Germanik* (Germanig in Vahram; cf. Matha, of Edessa, ed. Dulaurier, p. 487 infra; St. Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arm.*, i, 200). The statement is a description of the district of Halah (Paris

MS. Arab., N^o. 4683, fol. 72a) that the Armenian name of the town was *Nahinik* (Blochet, *R.O.I.*, iii, p. 325 sq., note 6) is wrong; this is a mistake for *Gēlānik*, a name later given to the neighbouring al-Hadith (q.v.). The Emperor Heraclius passed the town in 626 (Theoph., *Chron.*, ed. de Boor, p. 313; Rammey, *Class. Review*, x, 140; Gerland, *Byz. Zeitchrift.*, iii, 1894, p. 362). The Emperor Leo III came from Mar'ash (Germanikeia); later authors (like Theoph., *op. cit.*, p. 391) wrongly called him the 'Isaurian' (a confusion with Germanikopolis; cf. K. Schenk, *Byz. Zeitschr.*, i, 1896, p. 296—298).

In the year 16 Abū 'Ubayda sent Khālīd b. al-Walīd from Mabbidj against Mar'ash and the Greek garrison surrendered the fortress on being granted permission to withdraw unmolested; Khālīd then destroyed it (Caetan, *Annali dell' Islam*, iii, 1910, p. 794, 806). Sufyān b. 'Awf al-Ghāmīdī in 30 (650—651) set out from Mar'ash against the Byzantines. Mu'āwiya rebuilt Mar'ash and settled soldiers in this 'Arah Cayenne' (as Lammens, *M. F. O. B.*, vi, 1913, p. 437 calls it). After Yazīd I's death the attacks of the Greeks on the town became so severe that the inhabitants abandoned it.

After Muḥammad b. Marwān in 74 (693—694) had broken the truce concluded by 'Abd al-Malik with the Greeks, in Djamāda I of the following year the Greeks set out from Mar'ash against al-'Amk (= 'Amk of Antakya; cf. Le Strange, *Palestine* etc., p. 391) but were again driven back in the 'Amk of Mar'ash. Mar'ash was restored by al-'Abbās, son of al-Walīd I, and fortified and repopulated; a large mosque was also built there. The people of Kinnasīn (i.e. probably of the *Djund* of Kinnasīn) had to send troops every year to Mar'ash. During Marwān II's fighting against Hims, the Emperor Constantine again besieged Mar'ash, which had finally capitulated (746) and was destroyed (al-Baladhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 189; Theophanes, *Chron.*, ed. de Boor, p. 422; Georg. Kedrenos, ed. Bonn, ii, 7). The inhabitants emigrated to Mesopotamia and the *Djund* of Kinnasīn. After the capture of Hims, Marwān sent troops to Mar'ash, who rebuilt the town in 130 (747); the castle in the centre of the town was henceforth called al-Marwānī after him (Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 498 sq.). But by 137 (754) the Greeks again sacked the town. Al-Manṣūr then had it rebuilt by Salīm b. 'Alī (d. 130 = 767) and gave it a garrison which al-Mahdī strengthened and supplied with ample munitions (al-Baladhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Theoph., *op. cit.*, p. 445; *é. d'Alex.*... *nécessaire* l'apparition de; *Palaeographie*). The Arabs in 769 (1080 Sel.) entered the 'Amk of Mar'ash and deported the inhabitants of the region who were accused of espionage on behalf of the Byzantines, to al-Ramla (Michael Syrus, *Chron.*, ed. Chabot, ii, 526). According to the Syriac inscription of 'Enash on the Euphrates, in 776—777 A.D. (1088 Sel.) the people of the hollow ('*amk*) of Mar'ash invaded Asia Minor (Beth Rhōmāya) to plunder (Chabot, *J. A.*, ser. ix, xvi, 1900, p. 286 sq.; Pognon, *Inschr. simil. de la Syrie et de la Mésop.*, p. 148—150, N^o. 84). A Greek army of 100,000 men in 161—162 (778—779) under Michael Lachanodrakon besieged Mar'ash which was defended by Is b. 'Alī (Ispahān) in Theoph., *op. cit.*, p. 451), grand-uncle of the Caliph al-Mahdī, destroyed al-Hadith and laid waste the Syrian frontier (Weil, *Geogr. d.*

Chalif., ii. 98). In 183 (799) Hārūn al-Rashīd built the town of al-Hārūniya near Mar'ash (al-Baladhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 171; Yāqūt, iv. 498, wrongly calls it a suburb of Mar'ash); he also raised the prosperity of Mar'ash and al-Maṣṣiḥ (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, viii. 295). The amir Abū Saīd Muḥammad b. Yūsuf in 841 invaded Asia Minor; the Greeks drove him back however and took al-Hadath, Mar'ash and the district of Malatya (Michael Syrus, iii. 102; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalif.*, ii. p. 315 *sq.*, note 4, considers this story unhistorical). The emperor Basil I in 877 passed via *Ramouds* (Gökün) and the Taurus passes (*ερεκνὰ καὶ Ταύρου*) against Mar'ash (*Ραμωδισσας*) but could not take it and had to be content with burning and plundering the suburbs; the same thing happened at al-Hadath ("Aḥara; Georg. Kedrenos [Bonn], ii. 214; Theophan. continuat., ed. Bonn, p. 280). According to the *ἱστορικὴ περιήγησις τοῦ ἑλληνισμοῦ* (ed. *collocationes bellica*, Migne, *Patrol. Graec.*, cxvii. 1000) shortly before the attack on Germanikeia he crossed the *ἡρακλῆους περάσεις* (cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, v. 93: one of the *intus flumina* of Cilicia, probably the Ak-Sū, Arabic: Nahr Džurth or Harth; the location by Tomaschek, *S. H. Ak. Wien*, cxiv. 1897, Abb. viii. 66, is therefore presumably wrong). The Byzantine Andronikos in 992 (904—905) invaded the region of Mar'ash, defeated the garrisons of Tarsus and Maṣṣiḥ and destroyed Kūrus (Ibn al-Athir, ed. Tornberg, vii. 378; al-Jahiz, iii. 2298; Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 533; Vasilev, *Visantiya i Arabi*, i. 1902, p. 154). The Armenian Mleh (Arab. Malih) plundered Mar'ash in 916; 50,000 prisoners were carried off from it and Tarsus (Weil, *op. cit.*, ii. 634; Vasilev, *op. cit.*, p. 203 *sq.*). In the fighting against Saif al-Dawla the Greeks under John Kurkuas took Mar'ash in the spring of 337 (949) (Kamal al-Din in Freytag, *Z. D. M. G.*, xi. 187; Weil, *op. cit.*, iii. 14, note 1; Vasilev, *op. cit.*, p. 268). In 341 (952) the Hamdanid defeated the Domestikos at Mar'ash and in June rebuilt the defences of the town (Freytag, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Vasilev, *op. cit.*, p. 291). When the Hamdanid Abu l-'Aḥḥār in 956 was taken a prisoner by the Byzantines, his father-in-law Abū Firas followed as far as Mar'ash in the attempt to rescue him but could not overtake his captors (Dvořák, *Abū Firas*, Leyden 1895, p. 31; Vasilev, *op. cit.*, p. 297). Nicephoros Phocas in Rabl I 351 (Aug. 962) occupied Mar'ash, Dulk and Raḥān (Freytag, *op. cit.*, p. 199; Rosen, *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk*, xlv. 152, note 100). Bandjūtakin in 382 (992) carried out a raid on Mar'ash and came back with prisoners and great booty (Freytag, p. 248; Rosen, p. 250, 263). The Armenian Philaretos Brachamios (Filardos al-Rum) who in the second half of the 11th century, as leader of a robber band and ally of the Byzantine emperor, conquered a little kingdom for himself on the Syrian frontier, belonged to the village of Shihān in the district of Mar'ash (Michael Syrus, iii. 173, 174 note 9).

After the Franks under Godfrey de Bouillon had taken Mar'ash in 490 (1097), they installed a bishop there (Michael Syrus, iii. 191). Bohemund of Antioch was taken prisoner in June 1100 in the *ῥαγὼς* of Mar'ash in the village of Gafinā (Michael Syrus, iii. 188) on his campaign against Malatya by Ghūshūstegīn b. Daūshband (*Recueil des hist. or. des crois.*, iii. 589; Röhrich, *Gesch. des Königs Jerusalem*, p. 9; Weil, *op. cit.*, iii. 179). The emperor

Alexius later sent the general Butumites against Mar'ash (*τὸ Μάρζαν*) who took the town, fortified the surrounding small towns and villages and gave them garrisons and left Monastria there as *ἐγγυράσιον* (Anna Comnena, *Ἀναστροφὴ*, ed. Reifferscheid, ii. 132, 133 *sq.*; F. Chalandon, *Les Comnènes*, i. Paris 1900, p. 234). The town of Mar'ash was placed under the Armenian prince Thathul, who had distinguished himself in its defence against Bohemund (Matthæus Uthayec'i, ed. Dulantier, ch. cixxi. p. 239 *sq.*; Chalandon, *Les Comnènes*, i. 102 *sq.*). But by 1104 he had to abandon it and surrender it to Joscelin de Courtenay, lord of Tell Bashir (Matthæus, *op. cit.*, p. 257, ch. cxxxi; Raoul of Caen, ch. 148; Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 49, note 8; p. 52, note 4). This Thathul is perhaps the same Armenian as had given his daughter in marriage to Godfrey's brother Baldwin (in William of Tyre, x. 1, he is called *Tafenc*; in Albert of Ais, iii. 31; v. 18: *Taphnus*; cf. Chalandon, *op. cit.*, p. 103). By 1105 Tancred of Antioch seems to have been in possession of Mar'ash (Röhrich, p. 56) to whom it was allotted in the treaty of Sept. 1108 (*ἡ Τερραμασια καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεις*; Anna Comnena, ed. Reifferscheid, ii. 217; Röhrich, p. 66). In 1114 the widow of the recently deceased Armenian prince Kogh Vasil (= "Basil the thief") of Mar'ash submitted to Ak Sonker of Mawṣil (Weil, *op. cit.*, iii. 199); on the 28th Džumādā (Nov. 27) of the same year, Mar'ash was devastated by a disastrous earthquake in which 40,000 lost their lives (Michael Syrus, transl. Chabot, iii. 200; *Recueil hist. or. arab.*, iii. 607; Matthæus Uthayec'i, p. 289, ch. ccxvii.). King Baldwin granted a monk named Godfrey (*Gulfridus Monachus*) a fief consisting of Mar'ash, Kaism and Raḥān (Michael Syrus, iii. 211; Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 161); in 1124 Godfrey was at the siege of Manbij in the train of Joscelin of Edessa. The Danishmandid Muḥammad b. Amīr Ghāsi in 1136—1137 laid waste the villages and monasteries near Mar'ash and Kaism (Matthæus, p. 320, ch. ccliii.). The Saljuq sultan Maṣ'ūd in 1138 advanced as far as Mar'ash, plundering the country as he went (Michael Syrus, iii. 246) as did Malik Muḥammad of Malatya in 1141 (Michael Syrus, iii. 249) and Kildj Arslān II in 1147 (Michael Syrus, iii. 275). The town then belonged to Raynald, son-in-law of Joscelin II of Edessa, who fell in 1149 at Innib (Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 260). On Sept. 11, 1149, Kildj Arslān and his father Maṣ'ūd set out from Albistān against Mar'ash, plundered the country around and besieged the town. The Frankish garrison capitulated on being promised a safe retreat to Antakya; but the sultan sent a body of Turks after them, who fell upon them on the road and slew them. On this occasion all the treasure of the churches of Mar'ash was lost, which the priests who had rebelled against the bishop had appropriated (Michael Syrus, iii. 290; Matthæus Uthayec'i, p. 330, ch. cclix.; Chalandon, *op. cit.*, p. 421; Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 263). After the capture of Joscelin, Nūr al-Dīn of Haleb in 546 (1151—1152) took a large part of the country of Edessa including the town of Mar'ash, Tell Bāḥir, 'Aināb, Dulk, Kārm etc. (*Recueil hist. or. arab.*, i. 29, 281; ii. 54; Weil, *op. cit.*, iii. 296; Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 265, note 5). The district was then divided: the Sultan received Mar'ash, Barrāmān, Raḥān, Kaism and Bahasā; the Urjuqid Kara Aslān of Hija Ziyād got Bābūla, Gargar, Kākhā

and Hün Manşur; Nūr al-Dīn kept the rest (Michael Syrus, iii, 297; Will. of Tyre, xvii, 16). When Maṣūd's son Kildj Arslān, lord of Mar'ash (Michael Syrus, iii, 318), attacked an Armenian village, the Armenians under Stephan, brother of the prince Thoros, in 1156 revenge themselves by setting Mar'ash on fire and carried off the whole population into captivity, during the absence of the Sultān and his Turks (Michael Syrus, iii, 314 [expanded from Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*]; differently in Abū Shāma, *Ris. hist. or. croit.*, iv, 92; F. Chalandon, *Les Communes*, ii, [1912], p. 434). Among those carried off was the bishop Dionysios bar Salibi, who escaped to the monastery of Kālīsūr (according to Chabot, *loc. cit.*, the *κλίσυρ* Καλίσυρος of Anna Comnena, ed. Reifferscheid, ii, 219) and wrote three *aiṁnē*s about the devastation of his former diocese of Mar'ash (Michael Syrus, *loc. cit.*; Baumstark, *Geich. d. syr. Litt.*, p. 298). Thoros of Little Armenia in 1165 plundered Mar'ash (Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 331; Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 319, note 8; Chalandon, *op. cit.*, ii, 531, note 1). Nūr al-Dīn again took Mar'ash from Kildj Arslān II when he was on a campaign against the Dānišmandid Dhu l-Nūn (Michael Syrus, iii, 350) in the beginning of Dhu l-Ka'da 568 (June 14, 1173) and Bahasā in Dhu l-Hijjā (R. hist. or. croit., i, 43, 592; iv, 158; Matthēos Iſthayec'i, ed. Dulaurier, p. 360; Abū l-Fidā', *Annal. Musl.*, ed. Reiske, iv, 4; Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 303, who is followed by Chalandon, *Les Communes*, ii, 463, wrongly puts these events as early as 1159).

Nūr al-Dīn perhaps handed Mar'ash over to his ally Mīch of Little Armenia. When the dynasty of Mar'ash raided the district of Raḥnā, al-Malik al-Zahir in 592 (1195-1196) took the field against him, whereupon the lord of Mar'ash sought forgiveness and recognised his suzerainty (Kumāl al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, *R. O. L.*, iv, 212). The Armenian ruler Rupen III took Bohemund III of Antakya prisoner in 1185 and forced him to cede the territory from the Dhiḥna up to Kaṣtūn (Michael Syrus, iii, 396 *sq.*; Röhrich, *op. cit.*, p. 403, note 7, 661). Ghāthi al-Dīn Kaikhosraw, son of Kildj Arslān II, in 605 (1208), when on a campaign against Little Armenia took Mar'ash (Abū l-Fidā', *Annal. Musl.*, ed. Reiske, iv, 232) and made Ḥasām al-Dīn Ḥusām governor of the town. He was succeeded in this office by his son Ibrahim, who in turn was succeeded by his son Najrat al-Dīn, who ruled Mar'ash for 50 years. The long reign of his son Muṣaffar al-Dīn was followed by that of his brother Imād al-Dīn who however in 656 (1258) abandoned the town which was much harassed by the Armenians and Georgians, after failing to find support either from 'Izz al-Dīn Kai-Kā'as of Rūm or al-Malik al-Salīh of Egypt. The town then surrendered to the Armenians (Hün al-Shayna, Boirūt 1909, p. 192).

Mar'ash did not escape during the great Mongol invasion of Asia Minor. Baibars I of Egypt in his campaign against them in 670 (1271) sent from Halab a division under Taibars al-Wazir and 'Isā b. Muḥin to Mar'ash, who drove all the Tatars from there and slew them (R. hist. or. croit., ii, 246; Makris, ed. Quatremère, *Hist. de Sult. Musl.*, i/ii, 101). In the wars with the rulers of Little Armenia troops from Halab went as far as Mar'ash in 673 and destroyed the gates of the outer town (Weil, *Geich. d. Chal.*, iv, 77). In the next few years Baibars negotiated with envoys

from Su, from whom he demanded the surrender of Mar'ash and Bahasā; but he was satisfied instead with a considerable sum of money (Makris, ed. Quatremère, *op. cit.*, i/ii, 125 [year 673 = 1274]; i/ii, 104 [688 = 1289]). It was not till 692 (1292) that Imād Khalīl by a treaty received Bahasā, Mar'ash and Tell Hamdān (Mufaddal b. Abi l-Fadā'il, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, ed. Blochet, in *Patrol. Orient.*, xiv, 557; Weil, *op. cit.*, iv, 186; S. Lane-Poole, *Hist. of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, London 1901, p. 287). But the Armenians must have retaken the two last named towns not long afterwards (Weil, iv, 213, note 1), for in 697 (1297) Mar'ash was again taken by the emir Bilban Tabakht, Na'ib of Halab, for Lūlū. A treaty was then concluded with the ruler of Little Armenia by which the Dhiḥna was to be the frontier between the two countries; Hamā, Tell Hamdān, Kūharā, al-Nukair (on its position cf. L. Allahan, *Sinwan*, p. 493-496), Hadjar Shaghlan, Sirfandakār and Mar'ash thus passed to Egypt (Makris, *op. cit.*, i/ii, 63; Abū l-Fidā', *Ann. Musl.*, v, 140).

In the second half of the viijth (sixth) century Zain al-Dīn Karadja and his son Khalīl, the founders of the house of the Dhu l-Kadr-oghlu, conquered the lands along the Egyptian Asi Minor frontier with Malatya, Albistān, Mar'ash, Bahasā and Kharḥit (cf. Dhu l-Kadr-oghlu). In the mosque of Mar'ash one of his successors, Malik Arslān, was murdered in 870 (1465-1466); his portrait with the inscription "Sultān Arslān" and that of his sister Sitti Khātūn with the legend *ḥayyān Kāra* are painted in the Codex Venetus 516 of the *Geography* of Ptolemy, which he apparently intended to dedicate to his father-in-law Mehmed II (Olshausen, in *Hermes*, xv, 1880, p. 417-424).

Conquered by Selīm I, Mar'ash became Ottoman; on his campaign against the Dhu l-Kadrīya in 1515 he encamped on his way back before Mar'ash and then returned via Kars Mar'ash (now Kars Bazar or Kars Dhu l-Kadrīya) and Göksun to Kaniş (cf. Taeschner, *Türk. Bibl.*, xxiii, p. 36, note 4).

From 1832 belonging to Egypt, Mar'ash passed finally in 1840 back to the Turks. The town was occupied by the French from 1918-1920; after its evacuation it was the scene of massacres of Armenians (F. Tournebise, in *Dict. d'Hist. et de géogr. eccl.*, iv, Paris 1925, col. 360-362).

Mar'ash is now the capital of a wilāyet which in 1928 had about 185,000 inhabitants; the town itself has about 50,000 inhabitants.

The extent of the territory belonging to Mar'ash was liable to vary considerably with the vicissitudes of the town in the middle ages. The following places are mentioned as belonging to the territory of the town.

Garbadisā (= *Gerbadāse*, *Itin. Anton.*, ed. Parthey, p. 85; Kieyn, *Tavbat. Garbadāse*, p. 191; corrupted in Michael Syrus, ii, 256 to 'Arbadis, in Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, p. 370 to Gerbid), 28 Roman miles from Nicopolis (Halabīya) and 15 from Doliche (Tell Dūlak near 'Aintib).

'Uṣay (Michael Syrus, ii, 447); cf. Ouph, Uplie near Allahan, *Sinwan*, p. 238? This place perhaps lay on the Nahr 'Aṣṣay (Assy. Aprē) which Barhebraeus (*Chron. Eccl.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i, 399 *sq.*) calls Nahr 'Uṣay.

Rebelin "which is now destroyed" was the

birthplace of Nestorius near Mar'ash (*Patrol. Orient.*, vii. 162 sq.).

Shūbar, the birthplace of Philaretos (see above).
The monastery of Mār Shōnā (Michael Syrus, iii. 148).

Kharāna, probably the Kharshema of the Syriac writers, is described by Matthaios Uthayecī (transl. Dulaurier, p. 259) as adjoining the territory of Mar'ash. Dulaurier (*op. cit.*, p. 445) locates it not far from the Euphrates; but in the *Marāzid al-Iḥḥid*, ed. Juyneholl, iii. 347, the reference is rather to Xapandō and in Babelmeuss (*Chron. Syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 319; cf. Michael Syrus, iii. 307), the correct reading is "Torghunt". We should rather identify it with Chabot (Michael Syrus, *index*, p. 43⁷) with Kamen on the Nahr 'Afrin (cf. M. Hartmann, *Zeitschr. Geschl. f. Erbd. Berlin*, xix. 1894, p. 522, No. 47; Lammons, *M. F. O. Beyruth*, ii., p. 383, note 2; in the *Saltānna* of Hulab of 1286 [1869—1870]: Karsen[ish]).

The modern wilāyat (formerly sandjak) of Mar'ash consists of four kaza:

Zaitūn, north of Mar'ash, scene of the Armenian rising against Turkey in 1894—1895, noted for its rich iron-mines (Aghassi, *Zaitoun*, Paris 1897; Anatolio Laitou, *Gli Armeni e Zaitun*, Florence 1897).

Albistān [q. v.], also north of Mar'ash;
Andarin, west of the town and the Djaḥān (not to be confused with Andarin in the Syrian steppes); the capital of the kaza is Koban (Arm. *Uhalan*), the capital of Leo of Little Armenia.

Pāzandjī, between Mar'ash and Alutāh; the capital is Baghdin.

Bibliography: al-Isakhri in *B. G. A.*, i. 55 sq., 62, 67 sq.; Ibn Hawkal in *B. G. A.*, ii. 108—110, 120, 127, 153; al-Makdisi in *B. G. A.*, iii. 154; Ibn Khurdādhbih in *B. G. A.*, vi. 97; Kādima in *B. G. A.*, vi. 216, 253; al-Idrisi, ed. Gildemeister in *Z. D. P. F.*, viii. 27; Ibn Rusta in *B. G. A.*, vii. 107; al-Mas'ūdi, *Tanbih*, in *B. G. A.*, viii. 58; do., *Murūj al-Dihab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, viii. 295; Abu 'l-Fida', *Taḥwīn al-Buldan*, transl. Guyard, ii. 2, 39; al-Dimishqī, ed. Mehrez, p. 206, 214; Yāqūt, *Muḥḥan*, ed. Wustenfeld, iv. 498; Saif al-Dīn, *Marāzid al-Iḥḥid*, ed. Juyneholl, iii. 81; al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldan*, ed. de Goeje, p. 150, 188 sq.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, *index*, ii., p. 806; al-Jabart, *Chron.*, *index*, p. 774; Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, ed. Le Strange, p. 268; Michael Syrus, *Chronik*, ed. Chabot, *index*, p. 48⁷; Matthaios Uthayecī, transl. Dulaurier, Paris 1858, p. 332; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 302 sq.; do., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 1905, p. 128 sq.; Tammachak in *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1897, Abh. viii., p. 86; V. Cuiet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii., Paris 1891, p. 240—247; H. Grothe, *Meine Vorderasienexpedition 1906 u. 1907*, ii., p. 312, *index*; Baum Alalā', *Mar'ash Tarikh wa-Iḥḥid*, *Stambul* 1339 (1921).—On the ancient town cf. my article *Germanika*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *K. E.*, suppl.-vol. iv., col. 686—689. (HONIGSMANN)

AL-MAR'ASHI. [See SHUSHYART].
MARĀTHĀ, commonly misspelt in Hindi and in Indian Persian Marhatta, is the name of a people of Western India inhabiting Mahābhāra, the country lying to the east of the Western Ghāts between the seventeenth and the

twenty-first parallels of north latitude and extending at one point as far east as the seventy-ninth degree of east longitude. The Marāthā caste is an agricultural caste, of common origin and nearly identical with the great Kuntī caste, but sometimes claiming a Kshatriya descent. The Marāthās served in the armies of the Muslim Kingdoms of Southern India, and there gained military experience, but their opportunity came with the decline of the power of the Mughal Empire in the seventeenth century, when their national hero, Shiwājī Bhonsla, converted the peasant population of Mahābhāra into a military nation. Shiwājī was born at Shiwner, near Džunnār, in 1627 and while his father was conquering a great part of the Carnatic for Bidjāpur obtained possession of many hill forts in the Western Ghāts. The Sahib of Bidjāpur was unable to subdue him, and in 1659 he slew Afzal Khan, commander of the army of Bidjāpur, at a friendly conference. In 1664 he sacked the city of Surat, and was obliged to contend with an imperial army sent by Aurangzeb to punish him. In 1666 he was induced to pay homage to the emperor at Dillī, but was so disgusted by his reception that he escaped, and, returning to the Deccan, extended his authority there until, in 1674, he assumed the title of Rājā, and was enthroned at Raygarh. He gained possession of the grants of lands in the Carnatic which his father had received from Bidjāpur, and died in 1680. His eldest son and successor, Sambhadr, fell into the hands of Aurangzeb, who put him to death, but preserved his infant son Shāhū, whom he retained at his court, and Rājā Rām, Shiwājī's younger son, became the ruler of the Marāthās, now a nation. On the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 Shāhū was liberated, and mounted the throne of his grandfather, but was never more than a puppet-king, and left all business of state to his Brahman minister, or Pishwa, Bāladji Wiswamāth, who reduced his sovereignty to the condition of a state prisoner and founded the dynasty of the Pishwas. He led an army to Dillī and extorted from an effusive government recognition of the Marāthā state and the right to levy *sauti*, or one quarter of the revenue, throughout the Deccan. In the time of his two successors, Bādjī Rāo I (1720—1740), and Bāladji Rāo (1740—1761), the Marāthās conquered Gujārat, Mālwa, Berār, Gondwāna, and Uṭṭar, and raided the Carnatic, Bengal, and the Panjāb. They seemed to be on the point of superseding the Mughal power in India when Ahmad Shāh Abdālī or Durrānī [q. v.] crushed them at the battle of Panipat in 1761. The Marāthā power survived, however, in the hands of the Pishwa's generals, Sindhya in Gwālīyar, Bhonsla in Nagpur, Holkar in Indūr, and Gāekwā in Gujārat. The dynasty of the Pishwas survived at Pūna, and a disputed succession in 1775 tempted the Bombay Government to intervene. In 1778 the Marāthās surrounded the Bombay army near Pūna and compelled its leader to sign a humiliating convention, but an army sent from Bengal by Warren Hastings humbled Gāekwā and the Pishwa, and another force defeated Sindhya and captured Gwālīyar. Peace was restored on terms favourable to the Marāthās, but their confederacy was much weakened. In 1802 Bādjī Rāo II, who had fled from Pūna, took refuge with the Government of Bombay and entered into a subsidiary alliance with the Government of India. He was reinstated in Pūna by

Major General Arthur Wellesley, but Sindhya, Bhosla and Holkar, resenting the Pishwā's subservience to the British, took up arms, and the third Marāṭhā War began. In the Deccan Arthur Wellesley captured Ahmadnagar, won the decisive victories of Assaye and Arghūn, and stormed the strong fortress of Gāwli. In Hindustān General Lake defeated Sindhya's army at Laswār, and occupied Dillī. Bhosla lost Urisa and Berār, Sindhya his possessions in the Deccan and his guardianship of the emperor, and Holkar was humbled, but after the peace the freebooters known as the Pindārīs, whom the Marāṭhās had employed, continued to ravage states under British protection, and even British territory, and when in 1817, the Marquess of Hastings concentrated troops to deal with these marauders, the Pishwā, Bhosla, and Holkar rose against the British Residents at their courts. The first was defeated at Khirki, and the second at Sitabaldī, and the army of the third was destroyed at Mahūdpur. The dominions of the Pishwā were forfeited and annexed to the Bombay Presidency, and Holkar and Bhosla lost much territory. Bhosla died in 1853, and his dominions lapsed, in default of male issue, to the British Government. The deposed Pishwā also lived until 1853, and his adopted son, Dhondī Pant, was the Nāṭh Śāhib of the Indian Mutiny. Three great Marāṭhā states remain to this day: those of Sindhya in Gwāliyar, Holkar in Indūr, and Gāekwār in Gujjarāt, but not one of them is in Mahārāṣṭra.

Bibliography: Khān Khān, *Muntakhab al-Jubab, Hāthirah India Series*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta 1869; James Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, 4th ed., Bombay 1878; Thomas Duer Broughton, *Letters written in a Mahratta Camp in 1809*, a new edition, Westminster 1892; C. A. Kincaid and D. B. Paterson, *A History of the Marāṭhā People*, Oxford 1918; Surendranath Sen, *Administrative System of the Marāṭhās*, University of Calcutta 1923.

MARDAITES. These are the Djarādīms [q.v.] singular Djarādīmī, of the Arabs: they are sometimes confused with the *Djarāmīḡa*, singular Djar-makānī, so called from the name of their town Djarādīm. They occupied the rugged regions of the Amanus and of the Taurus, separating Syria from Cilicia, as well as the marshy districts of Antiochene [see *ARḤA*]. They enjoyed a semi-independence nominally under the Byzantines to whom they furnished recruits and irregular troops. When the Arabs seized Antioch the Mardaites agreed to serve them as auxiliaries and scouts and in this capacity to watch the passes, the "Pulāi" of the Amanus. In the small forts built on the heights beside the defiles, commanding the entrance to or the exit from Syria, they, in conjunction with the Arabs, supplied the garrisons. Exempt from the poll-tax, they obtained the right to spoil on the field of battle. They were in every sense of the word irregulars, living by war and by raids and asking only to fight for whoever paid for their services; half-nomads, they came and went again like a dash. Very lukewarm Christian Monothelites or Monophysites—we do not know exactly—their loyalty either to the Byzantines or to the Muslims was quite intermittent. "Sometimes", says Baladhuri, "they obeyed our officials; at other times they betrayed us for the benefit of the

Greeks". The precarious nature of the Arab conquest in the North of Syria—a varying frontier region continually devastated by the Muslims and by the Byzantines—and the difficulty of gaining access to the land of the Mardaites, made it impossible to chastise such fickle allies.

Towards the year 46 (666) the Greek Emperor succeeded in sending them against Syria. This was not a raid of the type usual to the mountaineers of the Amanus, but a regular invasion supported by a few squadrons of cavalry and led by officers of the Imperial army; their bands penetrated into the heart of the Lebanon and occupied its chief strategical points as far as Palestine. The natives, discontented with Arab rule and also the thousands of slaves whom the Muslim conquerors on land and on sea had collected in Syria, hastened in a body to take refuge with the invaders. The highlanders of this country, who had kept their independence, also threw in their lot with the Mardaites. At all costs the Omayyad government had to put an end to this dangerous movement, limit the extent of the invasion and to make sure at once of the neutrality of Byzantium who had let loose this hurricane. Not for a moment did Mu'awiya hesitate to subscribe to the onerous terms of the Emperor—an annual tribute of 3,000 pieces of gold, the liberation of 8,000 prisoners, the delivery of 50 thorough-bred horses. In return the Emperor agreed to withdraw from the Mardaites his support in men, arms and money. There is, however, no evidence that these adventurers definitely evacuated from that time their strong positions in the heart of the Syrian mountains. The neutrality of the Empire, the partial checks sustained by them and finally the establishment on the border of the Mardaites territory of a strong colony of Zūṭi [q.v.] reduced for the moment to inaction the Djarādīms, abandoned by the Byzantines.

A quarter of a century later, they once more attracted attention. This was under 'Abd al-Malik, who was engaged in an interminable war with the anti-Caliph Ibn al-Zuhair and was taken by surprise by the sudden rising of the Omayyad Amr al-Ashdaq [q.v.] In the year 69—70 A.H. (688—689) the Emperor Justinian II took advantage of these difficulties to let the Mardaites once more loose against Syria. The result was a repetition of the movement in the reign of Mu'awiya I. Byzantium furnished them with subsidies and with arms. At the same time he sent the army of Anatolia to advance and support the irregulars. In the same manner as in the first invasion their ranks were swollen by the accession of thousands of slaves, fugitives and malcontents, amongst whom one could probably reckon the Maronites (cf. *LIBAN*). Taken unawares, 'Abd al-Malik at once followed the policy of Mu'awiya. The Emperor increased his demands. In addition to the conditions previously agreed to by the Sufyānid Caliph, the Arabs were forced to abandon to the Byzantines half the tribute of Cyprus, of Armenia and of Iberia. In return for this, Justinian agreed to withdraw the Mardaites. The majority of the invaders agreed to evacuate Syria. One of their chiefs, who persisted in continuing the war on his own account in the mountainous massif in the districts of Homs and of Damascus, perished, treacherously assassinated by a partisan of the Caliph. A few Mardaites bands remained in the country, where we find them again still feared

and handled carefully in the caliphate of Walid I.

Entrenched in the Amanus, protected by the great marshes and the lake region of 'Umk in Antiochene, the *Djurdjuma* lived in practical independence of the Empire and of the Caliphate. They chose their masters and their rulers at their own convenience. At the same time some of them were quite ready to put their swords at the service of the Arabs. Amongst these must be named a leader of a band called *Ma'isma* or *Maimin*. He with his contingent (about a thousand men, probably all Mardaites like himself) perished at the siege of Tyane. His compatriots in the Amanus seem to have wished to profit by the death of 'Abd al-Malik to renew their raids upon the Syrian provinces. Maslama, the son of the Caliph, resolved to put an end to these rebels. He penetrated into their country, laid siege to their capital *Djurdjuma*, and forced it to capitulate. Thousands of Mardaites perished in this campaign. To the remainder he granted the right to retain their Christian faith, to serve in the Muslim armies, in fact he gave them the same terms as were obtained by their ancestors at the beginning of the Arab conquest. After this severe lesson the Mardaites perished, which had been the cause of incessant trouble during the reign of the preceding caliphs, was practically at an end. The people of Antiochene saw emigration begin to thin their ranks, many of them having decided to emigrate to Anatolia or to enter the service of the Emperor. This resolution, however, did not prevent the Mardaites, who remained in Syria, from fighting under the flag of the Caliph. We still find them in the reign of Yazid II when they co-operated with the Syrian army in the suppression of the troubles in the Irak.

Bibliography: Mas'udi, *Muruj*, ed. B. de Meynard, v. 224, 225; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, ed. Cairo, iv. 128; Tabari, *Annales*, ii. 796; Baladhuri, *Futuh*, ed. de Goeje, p. 159-167; Suyuti, *Tarikh al-Khulafa'*, p. 87 (where *Djurdjuma* is to be read for *Djurdjuma*); Ibn al-Fakih, *B.G.A.*, p. 35; Agha, v. 158; xvi. 76; Michael Syrus, *Chronique*, ed. Chabot, ii. 479; Theophanes, *Chronography*, Bonn, A. M. 6469; Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich*, p. 116; and *Die Kämpfe mit den Römern in der Zeit der Umayyaden*, p. 16-18, 24; H. Lammens, *Études sur le régime du califat omayyade*, p. 14-22; Van Gelder, *Mohammed de valische geschied*, Leyden 1888, p. 98-99; Ibn al-Athir, *Nihaya fi Ghariib al-Hadith*, Bulaq, i. 153, 214.

(H. LAMMENS.)

MARDĀWIDJ b. ZIYĀR, ABU 'A-HAYDĀDĪJ, the founder of the Ziyārid dynasty, was descended on his father's side from the rulers of Gīlān and on his mother's side from the Isyakhids of Rūyān. He had taken service under the 'Alid rulers of Tabaristān and was a captain in the army under Asfār b. Shrawāhī in 316 (928). Mardāwīdj slew Saiyid Abū Muhammad Ḥasan al-Dā'i, and shortly after that rebelled against Asfār, made himself independent at Zandjān which he held in *ghāzī* and captured Kāzwin. He then defeated Asfār, forced him to fly to Tabas in Kūhistān and put him to death in 319 when he was attempting to reach the castle of Alamūt [q.v.].

Mardāwīdj thus became master of Ray and Tabaristān. He then defeated Mākan [q.v.] and annexed Tabaristān. Mākan attempted twice to capture Tabaristān, with the help of powerful

allies, but Mardāwīdj defeated him on each occasion and forced him to take refuge in Khurāsān. At this time (319-93) 'Alī, Ḥasan and Ahmad, the three sons of Buwāhī, who were commanders of the army of Mākan, deserted to Mardāwīdj who conferred on 'Alī the eldest the governorship of the province of Karādj.

Having consolidated his power over Tabaristān and Gurgān, Mardāwīdj next turned his attention to Djibāl, defeated Ḥārūn b. Ghārīb the governor, in the neighbourhood of Hamadān in 319 (931) and conquered the whole of Djibāl up to the confines of Hulwān. In the following year Maktadir, the Caliph, formally recognised him as ruler of the provinces which he had conquered on condition that he evacuated Isfahān, but as Maktadir was assassinated shortly after this Mardāwīdj evaded compliance. About this time 'Alī b. Buwāhī, the governor of Karādj, rebelled and took possession of Isfahān. Mardāwīdj sent his brother Washmīr against 'Alī who abandoned Isfahān and retired to Arrādjān. To deal more efficiently with 'Alī, Mardāwīdj made an alliance of friendship with Yāqūt, governor of Shīrāz, marched to Isfahān and threatened to take the field against 'Alī. 'Alī now offered submission and, as a guarantee of good faith, sent his brother Ḥasan as a hostage to Mardāwīdj.

In 322 (934) the Caliph Kābir confirmed Mardāwīdj in his government on the condition of his evacuating Isfahān. Mardāwīdj obeyed and sent instructions to his brother Washmīr, the governor of Isfahān, to deliver the province to the Caliph's agent, Muṣaffar b. Yāqūt, but as Kābir was deposed shortly after this in Djumādī I of the same year (April-May 934 A.D.) Mardāwīdj again evaded compliance.

In Safar 323 (Jan. 935) Mardāwīdj was assassinated by his Turkish slaves at Isfahān. He was loved by his soldiers, who, it is stated, carried his coffin on their shoulders all the way to Ray for burial. Mardāwīdj was a man of high ambition and had drawn up a plan for the conquest of Baghdad and the restoration of the Persian Empire in his own person, but he was murdered before he could carry out this scheme.

Bibliography: Ibn Maskawayh, *Ta'jārīd al-Umam*, ed. Margoliouth, i. 161-177; Ibn al-Athir, ed. Tornberg, xii. 142-229; Ibn Isfandiyyār, *G. M. S.*, vol. ii., p. 208-219; Saiyid Zahr al-Din, *Tārīkh-i Tabaristān*, ed. B. Dorn, p. 171-229; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, ed. Tihān, ii. p. 145-177.

(M. NAEIM.)

MARDIN (written Mardīn in Arabic, in Syriac Mardē), a town in upper Mesopotamia (Diyār Rāḥ'a).

Position. In Upper Mesopotamia, the watershed between the Tigris and Euphrates is formed by the heights which culminate in Karādj-dagh (5,000 feet) S.W. of Diyār-bakr. This basaltic mass is continued eastwards in the direction of Djesirat Ibn 'Omar by the limestone chain known in ancient times as Masius and later as Iula (Ḥalāḥ). The eastern part of this ridge forms the district of Djahāl-Tūr or Tūr 'Abdīn [q.v.] the capital of which is Miṣyā. From the southern slopes of the Masius descend numerous watercourses, the majority of which join one another before flowing between the mountains of 'Abd al-'Azīz (in the west) and Tell-Kawkab and Sindjā (in the east); their combined waters form the river Khābūr [q.v.].

Märdin lies near the point where there is an easy pass through the Masius from the lands south of the Tigris [the rivers Gök-su and Şaikhān] to the lands round the sources of the Khābūr [the stream called Zawīrak which rises north of Märdin], in other words Märdin commands the Diyār-bakr-Niṣbīn road (which then turns towards Hājira b. 'Omar and Mawṣil). On the other side towards the west several (Ritter, xi. 356, gives three) direct roads connect Märdin via Urfa with Biredjik (on the Euphrates); to the S.W. a road runs from Märdin to Ra's al-'Ain (there is now a railway) and to Harrān. The direct distances are as follows: Märdin-Diyār-bakr 55 miles; Märdin-Niṣbīn 30 miles; Märdin-Sawur-Midyāt 75 miles; Märdin-Biredjik 160 miles; Märdin-Adana (by rail) 450 miles.

The advantages of this position at the intersection of important roads are enhanced by the very strong natural situation of the town, built at a height of 4,000 feet on an isolated eminence on the top of which is a fort 300 feet above the town (cf. the sketch in Černik, pl. II, No. 17). Buckingham compares its position with that of Quito in South America. All travellers (cf. Ibn Hawqāl, p. 132) have been struck by the unique spectacle of the vast Mesopotamian plain which from the height of the town is seen to stretch southwards as far as the eye can see. Only a hundred years ago Märdin was still considered impregnable, but the difficulty of access sensibly affected its commerce. According to Černik loaded camels could not ascend right up to the town. A branch line 15 miles in length now connects Märdin with the station of Darbaziya on the "Baghdād" railway, but the station for Märdin is five miles from the town.

Ancient History. It is noteworthy that in spite of its remarkable situation Märdin does not seem to be mentioned in the cuneiform sources. Ammianus Marcellinus (xix. 9, 4) is the first to mention two fortresses, "Maride and Lorne" between which the road passed from Amīd (Diyār-bakr) to Niṣbīn. Theophanes Simokatta (ii. 2, 19) mentions τὸ Μάρδιον φρούριον and (v. 3, 17) τὸ Μάρδιον 3 passages from Dārā. Procopius, *De Aedificiis*, (ii. 4) mentions Σαρδηνίον (or Σαρδηνίον) and Αἰσώριον and Georgias Cyprina, ed. Gelzer, 1820, p. 46: Μάρδιον Αἰσώριον.

The name Μάρδιον in Ptolemy, vi. 2, however refers to another place in Assyria to the east of the Tigris.

Muslim Conquest. The Muslims under 'Iyād b. Ghānim occupied the fortress of Märdin along with Tūr 'Abdīn and Dārā in 19 (640) (Balādhuri, p. 176). In 133 Märdin is mentioned in connection with a rebellion in Upper Mesopotamia. The town formed part of the possessions of Buraika chief of the Rāhī'a who was defeated by the 'Abbāsid Abū Dja'far (Taḥarī, iii. 53). In 279, Aḥmad b. 'Isā took Märdin from Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Kandīdī (*ibid.*, iii. 2134). Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdān after his accession in 260 (873) seized Märdin. In 281 the caliph Mu'taṣid marched on the town. Ḥamdān fled and left Märdin to his son. The latter surrendered the fortress which was dismantled (*ibid.*, iii. 2142). The "grey fortress" (*al-dār al-ahmad*) was later restored, for Ibn Hawqāl (in 306) attributes its erection to the Ḥamdān b. al-Ḥasan Nāṣir al-Dawla b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamdān. On the death of his father in 358, Ḥamdān was

dispossessed by his brother Faḍl Allāh Abū Taghlīb. By the peace of 363, concluded between the Bayd Bakhtiyār and Abū Taghlīb, Ḥamdān recovered his possessions with the exception of Märdin (Ibn Miškawih, ed. Amedroz, ii. 254 and 319).

The Arab geographers give few details about Märdin but they emphasise its importance. According to Ibn al-Faḥih, p. 132, 136, the *ḥikmah* of Märdin was equal to that of Maiyāfāriḳin (865,000 dirhams). Iṣṭakhri, p. 76k, says that it is a large town on the summit of a peak the ascent of which is a farsakh in length; Dunaisar [q. v.] was one of its dependencies. Ibn Hawqāl, p. 143, gives the ascent at two farsakhs. The quarter of Märdin itself was flourishing, thickly populated with large markets. The water supply was brought by subterranean canals from the springs to the town. The rain-water was also collected in cisterns (*al-ḥirāḍi wa-shirak*). Yāqūt, iv. 390 (cf. al-Kazwini, p. 172), speaks of the splendour of the quarters outside Märdin (i. e. below the town itself) and its many *madrasas*, *ḥusnā'āt* etc.: as to the *ḥuṭa* there was nowhere in the world so strong a defence; its dwelling-houses rose in terraces one above the other.

The Marwānids and the Saldjuks. It is probable that Märdin was within the sphere of influence of the Marwānids, for according to their historian (cf. Amedroz, *J. R. A. S.*, 1904), their ancestor Bāgh (d. 380—990) had extended his power over Diyār-Rab'a (Niṣbīn, Tūr 'Abdīn). The Saldjuks ruled there next. After the death of Malikshāh, Tutuḡ b. Alp Arslān seized for a time all the lands as far as Niṣbīn. Under Barkiyarūḡ Märdin was given to his old bard (*mughannī*).

The Ortoḡids. At this time arose the dynasty whose fortunes are especially associated with Märdin. The son (or grandson?) of Ortoḡ called Yāqūt took by stratagem the fortress in which he had been imprisoned but it was taken from him by his brother Sakmān b. Ortoḡ who died in 498. In 502 we find at Märdin II-ghāzi b. Ortoḡ (Ibn al-Athir, x. 269, 321) whose line ruled there till 811 (1408) [cf. the art. *ortoḡids*]. On their coins struck at Märdin in 599, 600, 634, 637, 648, 655, 656 etc., cf. Ghālīb Edhem, *Catalogue des monnaies turcomanes*, Constantinople 1894 and S. Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol. III. and x. [Index, s. v. Märdin].

In 579 (1183) Saladin came to Ḥarrazm (6 miles S.W. of Märdin) but was unable to take the town. In 594 Malik 'Adil b. Aiyūb seized the outer suburb which was pillaged but the siege of the town itself was abandoned in the following year. In 599, 'Adil sent against Märdin his son al-Ashraf who appointed governors (*ḥāḡnas*) in its dependencies. The Aiyūbid of Aleppo al-Zāhir b. Ṣalāḡ al-Dīn offered his good offices and 'Adil was content with an indemnity of 150,000 dinars and the acknowledgment of his suzerainty by the Ortoḡid of Märdin (cf. Abū 'I-Faraj, ed. Pococke, p. 412, 425, 427).

The Mongols. In 657 the Mongol Hülāgū Khān demanded the homage of the prince of Märdin, Naḡm al-Dīn Ghāzi Sa'īd, who sent his son Muṣaffar to him but maintained a neutral attitude. In 658 the town was besieged for 8 months by the troops of Yashmut, son of Hülāgū. Famine and an epidemic raged in the town. Ac-

cording to Rashid al-Din (ed. Quatremère, p. 375), Muṣaffar killed his father in order to put an end to the sufferings of the inhabitants (Abu'l-Faraj and Waṣṣaf give different versions, cf. d'Ohason, iii. 308, 358). Muṣaffar was confirmed as lord of Mardin; his descendants also received from the Mongols the insignia of royalty (crown and parasol). In the reign of Salih b. Manṣur (769 = 1367) whose sister Dunya Khātūn was the wife of the Ilkhan Khudabanda, Ibn Battuta (ii. 142-145) visited Mardin.

Timūr. The Ortoḡid Sulṭān 'Isā (778-809) was king of Mardin at the invasion of Timūr in 796. Sulṭān 'Isā came to pay his homage to the conqueror but the citizens attacked those of Timūr's men who ventured into the town. Malik 'Isā was put in chains and taken to Sulṭāniya (Zafar-nāma, i. 663, 671-672). In April 1404, Timūr returned to the attack and the town was taken by storm. Then the siege of the upper fortress (*al-kal'at al-shahīd*) was begun but it was never taken. Timūr was content with presents and promises of *shirāzī* and returned to the plain (*ibid.*, i. 676-679). The people of Mardin obtained an amnesty on the birth of Ulugh-beg. Sulṭān Salih was appointed at Mardin in place of his brother, Sulṭān 'Isā (*ibid.*, i. 676-681), but three years afterwards the latter was pardoned and restored to his fief (*ibid.*, i. 787). When in 803 Timūr reappeared in Mesopotamia, Sulṭān 'Isā shut himself up in Mardin. As the siege would have taken some time and supplies were short, Timūr did not stop before the town but ordered Kara 'Othmān Aḡ-Ḳoyunlu to besiege Mardin (*ibid.*, ii. 354).

The Aḡ-Ḳoyunlu. This was the beginning of Aḡ-Ḳoyunlu interference in Mardin but Kara 'Othmān's forces were not yet equal to this task. In 805, Sulṭān 'Isā came of his own accord to Timūr and was pardoned (*ibid.*, ii. 312).

For a brief period the Kara-Ḳoyunlu tried to resist the extension of the power of the Aḡ-Ḳoyunlu to Mardin. When, after the death of Timūr, Kara Yūsuf left Egypt to re-enter into possession of his territory he joined Sulṭān 'Isā and advanced against Kara 'Othmān. The battle lasted 20 days and was settled by agreement. As soon as Kara Yūsuf had left for Adharbāydjān, Kara 'Othmān returned to the attack, defeated Sulṭān 'Isā near Djawak (there is a Djawak 10 miles W. of Mardin on the road from Derek) and besieged Mardin, but once more without success (Münedjilim-baḡī, ii. 685). It is not clear what connection these hostilities have with an expedition against Diyarbakir conducted by Djakim or Djakim (governor of Aleppo, a former Mamlūk of Barḳuk's) in which Malik 'Isā took part. In the battle which Muḥammad (?) son of Kara-İlik [= Kara 'Othmān] fought against the allies on the 15th Dhu'l-Ḳa'da 809, Sulṭān 'Isā was slain (cf. the Egyptian sources consulted by Rien for Howorth, iii. 685). Sulṭān Salih succeeded a second time to Sulṭān 'Isā, but the Aḡ-Ḳoyunlu continued to harass him and finally in 811 he ceded Mardin to the Kara-Ḳoyunlu who gave him Mawṣil in exchange.

We do not know the exact course of subsequent events but according to Münedjilim-baḡī, Kara 'Othmān's successor 'Alī Beg (832-842, cf. Ahmed Tewhid, *Musit Imp. Ottoman, Mon. musulm.*, part iv., Constantinople 1903) gave his brother Ḥanna the task of establishing the Turkomans

in the vicinity of Mardin. Djihāngir (848-857), son of 'Alī, was already master of the town. In the reign of Uzun Ḥasan, Josephat Barbaro visited Mardin and was lodged in the hostel (*ospedale*) built by Djihāngir Beg (Zhangir). We have coins struck at Mardin by Uzun Ḥasan (875) and by his son Ya'qūb. After the death of Ya'qūb 'Alī al-Dawla, prince of the Dhu'l-Ḳadar Turkomans, seized the land of Diyarbakir but, as the anonymous Venetian merchant shows, the Aḡ-Ḳoyunlu retained Mardin. In 903 (1498) Abu'l-Muṣaffar Ḳāsim b. Djihāngir dated his firman in the name of the prince of Eğil from his capital (*dār al-salṭana*) Mardin; cf. Balagī, *Der älteste Firman der Çengiz-begs*, *Wissenich. Mitt. aus Bosnien*, vi., Vienna 1899, p. 497. The coins of Ḳāsim come down to 908. The *takīya* of Ḳāsim-pādshāh which Niebuhr mentions must date from the same ruler.

Persian Conquest. In 913 (1507) all the lands as far as Malatya were conquered by Shāh Ismā'īl who appointed his general Ustādīlu Muḥammad to it. According to the Venetian merchant who travelled there in 1507 (*op. cit.*, p. 149), Mardin was occupied without bloodshed. The same traveller mentions the fine palaces and mosques of the town; there were more Armenians and Jews in Mardin than Muslims. The battle of Çaldiran (914) shook the power of the Persians. In place of Ustādīlu Muḥammad killed at Çaldiran, his brother Kara-Ḳhān was appointed and established his headquarters at Mardin. Soon the Ottomans occupied Diyarbakir and then the town of Mardin, but the Persians who never lost the fortress restored the status quo.

Ottoman conquest. Finally in 922 (1516) Kara-Ḳhān was defeated and slain in battle at Karghan-dede near the old town of Ḳoc-bisār, 10 miles S.W. of Mardin. Persian domination in Upper Mesopotamia thus collapsed, but the fortress of Mardin still remained in the hands of Salaimān Khān, brother of Kara-Ḳhān. The siege lasted a year and not till Bīyāzī Muḥammad Pīshā arrived from Syria with reinforcements was it stormed and its vallant defenders put to the sword (*Alam-arāḡ*, p. 24, 32; this Persian source mentions Olāng-i Fūrāk (?) in place of Ḳoc-bisār) (v. Hammer, *G. O. R. A.*, i. 7367-40, quoting Abu'l-Faḡl, son of Ḥakīm İdrīs and continuer of his *Ḥaḡḡ-Ḥaḡḡ*).

In the Baghdadī campaign of 941, Mardin was created a *sandjak* and included in the *eyālet* of Diyarbakir. Ewliyā Çelebi, iv. 59 gives Mardin 36 *ḡāmet* and 465 *timār*lotes; Mardin could put in the field 1,060 armed men (*ḡeḡet*). In the xviiith century Mardin became a dependency of the Pīshās of Baghdad; Otter (1737) found at Mardin a *reis* appointed by Ahmad Pīshā. As late as the time of Kinneir (1810), Mardin was the frontier town of the pīshāhlik of Baghdad and was governed by a *mütaḡallīm* sent from Baghdad.

The reforms of Mahmūd were badly received in Upper Mesopotamia. In 1832 (Ainaworth) Mardin rebelled. Power in Mardin had passed to the Kurd beys. Southgate (1836) speaks of a hereditary (?) family who ruled in Mardin. The two brothers of the "ruling bey" seized the power and refused to recognise the authority of the Porte. (It may be asked if these beys were not of the Milli tribe; on their chiefs cf. Buckingham, *op. cit.*, p. 156). Rashid Pīshā, the pacifier of Kurdistan, besieged the town and blew up the great mosque

(Ainsworth). Order was temporarily restored. Considerable works were undertaken to improve the road giving access to the town. Rashid Pasha died in January 1837 (Foujoulat). When the Egyptians invaded Syria, their partisan Timurti b. Ayyub of the Milli tribe seized Mardin (Sir Mark Sykes, *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, London 1915, p. 320) but was killed. The defeat of the Ottomans at Nizbi (June 1839) brought matters to a head. The Porte entrusted Mardin to Sa'ad Allah Pasha of Diyarbakir but the inhabitants preferred to submit to Ibrahim Pasha of Mawasil who was opposed to the *taninmül*. This Pasha appointed a governor to Mardin but the rebels still held the citadel (Ainsworth 1840) and the governor soon perished in a *riasing*.

By the "wilayet law" of 1287 (1870) Mardin became a sandjak of the wilayet of Diyarbakir. It had 5 *kadās*: Mardin, Nishin, Djastra, Midiyat and Arine. The area of the sandjak was 7,750 square miles and the number of towns and villages 1,063. The sandjak was mainly agricultural. The town of Mardin produced a small quantity of silk, wool and cotton, leather, shawls etc., but in spite of the excellence of the work these articles were mainly used for local consumption (Cuiet). By the reforms of 1921 Mardin formed a wilayet with 6 *kadās*, 1,018 towns and villages, and 125,809 inhabitants (*Türkiye İstatistikleri 1925-1926 Sânu'meni*). The *Sânu'meni* of 1926-1927 made a number of changes. There are now 8 *kadās*. The area is 6,000 square miles with 6½ million *dinm* of arable land.

Kadā	Number of towns and villages	Corresponding Nāhiyyas
Central	147	Koç-hisar
Sawur ('Awniya)	113	'Omerekān
Nishin	114	Hubāh
		Āliyan (Dīrān)
Midiyat	134	Kerbūran
		Ujeshmī
		Ba-ğjārīn
		Humān-keif
Ba's al-'Ala	9	
Dīrak	138	Mahall-i Matnān (Shamrakh)
Ujesh	211	Sūtu
Ker-djās	98	
	922	

The wilayet now marches with the zone of the French mandate.

Population. Niebuhr (1766) counted 3,000 houses in Mardin (of which 1,000 were Christian) with 60,000 inhabitants. Dupré (1808) estimated the population at 27,000 of whom 20,000 were Turks (i.e. Muslims), 3,200 Jacobites, 2,000 Armenians and 800 Shamsiya. The statements of other travellers are as follows: Kinneir (1814): 21,000 of whom 1,500 were Armenians; Southgate (1837): 3,000 of whom 1,700 were Muslims, 500 Armenians, 400 Catholics, 250 Syrian Catholics, 100 Chaldeans; Midlbach (1838): 12-15,000 inhabitants; Sachau (1879): 20,000; Cuiet (1891): 25,000 of whom 15,700 are Muslims.

According to Southgate, Arabic and Kurdish are the predominating languages in the town. The rural population of the Mardin speaks the "Torchin" dialect of Aramaic; cf. Frym and Socin, *Die neuaramäische Dialect des Tur Abdin*, Göttingen 1881;

on the Kurd dialect cf. Makas, *Kurdische Texte aus der Gegend Mardin*, Leningrad 1924.

Among the religion sects of Mardin the Shamsiya would merit a special study. In the time of Niebuhr (1766) there were about a hundred families in the town, and Buckingham (op. cit., p. 192) and Southgate (1837) also mention them. The Shamsiya probably represent the last survivors of a local pagan cult. Towards the middle of the xviiith century they were led to declare themselves Jacobite Christians but only formally (cf. Ritter, *al.*, p. 303-305).

Christianity at Mardin. The district of Mardin has played an exceptionally important part in the development of Eastern Christianity. A brilliant period of the Nestorian church which begins in 755 is closely associated with Mardin. Towards the end of the eighth century numerous monasteries were established round the town by the bishop John of Mardin. In 1171 the Jacobite patriarchate was transferred from Diyarbakir (Amid) to Mardin. In 1207 it was moved to Deir-Zafaran, an hour's journey from Mardin, to return to Mardin in 1555 (Assmann, *Bibl. Orient.*, ii. 110, 221, 470; Wright, *A Short Hist. of Syrian Literature*, 1891 [Index] On the position of the Christians before 1914 cf. the works of Southgate, Parry, Cuiet etc.).

Antiquities. According to Niebuhr, there are many Arabic inscriptions at Mardin. Those of the Ortokids have been studied by 'Ali Emiri Efendi who also examined the *wafq* documents relating to the principal buildings of this dynasty at Mardin (cf. Kātib Ferdī [944], *Mardin Mülak-ı Uretkiye Tarikhi*, ed. and annot. by 'Ali Emiri, Istanbul 1331). For the list of buildings cf. the article on Ortokids. The monuments of Mardin which must be of considerable artistic interest have never been described in detail. Buckingham (p. 191) gives a few details about the minaret of the "great mosque" (a cylinder decorated with carved arches, on a square base, etc.; a stone gallery with a pointed roof on the top) i.e. the Mosque of Nadim al-Din Alpi built in 568-572; but the buildings have never been studied. We do not know if the *madrasa* of Kāsim Padshah Ak-Koyunlu (Niebuhr) is still in existence. The domes of the mosques of Mardin are "ribbed and guttered", their vertical ribs radiating from the summit.

Bibliography: Idrisi, transl. Janbert, ii. 142 (Mardin a town of al-Djastra); Ibn Djubair, *G.* M. S., p. 241; Ibn Battuta, ii. 142-148; Abu 'l-Fida', *Geographie*, transl. Reinaud, Paris 1848, ii. 2, p. 55 = Arabic text, p. 279 (Mardin in Diyār Rāḥ'a); Ewliya Çelebi, *Siyahat-nāma*, iv. 57-60.

The Travels of Tanafā' Barbara (1431) and *The Travels of a merchant in Persia* (1517), in the vol. of the Hakluyt Society, publ. in 1873; P. della Valle, *Viaggi*, Brighton 1843, i. 515 (the traveller's wife was a native of Mardin); Tavernier (1644), *Les six voyages*, 1692, i. 187; Niebuhr (1766), *Reisebeschreibung*, Copenhagen 1778, iii. p. 391-398, and plate xviii; Olivier (1795), *Voyages*, Paris 12 (rep.), iv. 242; Dupré (1808), *Voyage*, i. 77-82; Kinneir, *A Geogr. Memoir of the Persian Empire*, 1813, p. 264-265; Kinneir (1814), *Journey through Asia Minor*, London 1818, p. 423; Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, London 1827, p. 188-194 (with a general view of the

town); Southgate (1837), *Narrative of a Tour through Armenia*, ii. 272—288; Ainsworth (1840), *Travels and Researches*, London 1842, ii. 114—116; Deffrémery, *Observations sur deux points de l'histoire des rois d'Abkhaz et de Mardin*, J. A., 1843; Southgate, *Narrative of a visit to the Syrian church of Mesopotamia* (1841), New York 1844, p. 215—242; Ritter, *Erdbunde*, xi. (1844), 150—153, 379—397 (very detailed résumé); Goldsmid, *An overland journey from Bagdad, Trans. Bombay Geogr. Soc.*, xvii., 1868, p. 29 (the population of Mardin is 22,000 half of whom are Christians); Černik, *Technische Studien-Expedition*, Peterm. Mitt., Ergänzungsheft, x., 1875—1876, Heft 45, p. 15—18; Howarth, *History of the Mongols*, iii., p. 682—686; Socin, *Zur Geogr. des Tur. Adin*, Z. D. M. G., 1881, xxiv., p. 237—269 (map), 327—415; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, p. 404—407, 428; Culmet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii. 494—519; Tomilov, *Orlet o puyedkh 1904*, St. Petersburg 1907, i. 263—267; Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate, de Pemphe à la conquête arabe*, Paris 1907, p. 312; Mark Sykes, *The Caliph's Last Heritage*, London 1915, index. (V. MINORSKY).

MARDJ DĀBIK, a battlefield near Dābiḳ [q.v.] on the Nahr al-Kuwaik in northern Syria. On the history of the town of Dābiḳ, which was known to the Assyrians as *Dablu* (Sachau, Z. A., xii. 47) and is called *Ḍāḇḇas* by Theophanes (*Chron.*, ed. de Boor, p. 431, 451 *sq.*) cf. above vol. I, DĀBIK.

For convenience in his campaigns against the Byzantines, Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik moved the headquarters of the Syrian troops from Djabhiya to Dābiḳ (Lammens, *supra* I, DĀBIYA). In 717 with an army under 'Ubayda he set out from Mardj Dābiḳ for Asia Minor and on his return died there in Safar of the same year (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, v. 397; *Chronica Minor*, ed. Guidi, in C.S.C.O., Ser. Syri., ser. iii., vol. iv., text, p. 234; transl., p. 177). Hārūn al-Rashid also encamped in 807 A. D. there (Syr. *Mardj Dābiḳ*) and composed the differences between the Syrian bishops (Michael Syrus, *Chron.*, ed. Chabot, iii. 19; Barthelmeau, *Chron. Eccles.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i. 339). The Mirdāsīd Mahmūd in Rajab 457 (1064—1065) defeated his uncle 'Aṭṭiya on the field of Dābiḳ and then took Haleb (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Zuhā*, transl. J. J. Müller, *Historia Mirdāsīd*, Bonn 1829, p. 59).

When in 491 (1098) the Franks conquered Antākiya, Kerbūgha of Mawṣil assembled a large army on Mardj Dābiḳ, with which he laid siege to Antākiya (Ibn al-Aṭṭar, ed. Tornberg, x. 188; Abu 'l-Fida', Kamāl al-Dīn etc., in *Rev. hist. or. croit.*, i. 3, 194; iii. 580). In the spring of 513 (1119) Ilghāz on his campaign against the Franks crossed the Euphrates at Baddiyā (now Beddai on Sachau's map) and Sandja and advanced via Tell Bāshir [q.v.], Tell Khaliḍ, Mardj Dābiḳ and Maslamiya against Kinnasra (Kamāl al-Dīn, in *Rev. hist. or. croit.*, iii. 616). In the beginning of September 1124 Dubais b. Ṣadaka was defeated by Husām al-Dīn Thaurīsh on the field of Dābiḳ (*Rev. hist. or. croit.*, v. 645). On his campaign against Leo II of Little Armenia, al-Malik al-Zāhir encamped in 602 (1305—1306) on Mardj Dābiḳ (*Rev. hist. or. croit.*, v. 155). On Saif al-Dīn Tuglar's campaign against the Tatars to Malatya

[q.v.] in which Abu 'l-Fida' of Hama took part, a halt was made on the way back on the field of Dābiḳ from the 30th Safar to the 2nd Rabi' II 715 (May 9—July 6, 1315) (Abu 'l-Fida', *Rev. hist. or. croit.*, i. 3).

On the 25th Rajab 922 (Aug. 24, 1516) was fought at Mardj Dābiḳ the battle which gave Selīm I a decisive victory by which Syria passed for the next four centuries under Ottoman rule (H. Jansky, *Mittell. u. oman. Geschichte*, ii., 1925—1926, p. 214—224).

Bibliography: Yāḡūtī, *Ma'ājam*, ed. Wustenfeld, ii. 513; Saḡī al-Dīn, *Murūj al-Iṭṭilā'*, ed. Jurnbul, i. 381; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, v. 397; Ibn al-Aṭṭar, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, ix. 160; s. 188 (index vol. ii. misprint: 168); Yahyā al-Anṭākī, ed. Rosen, p. 30; transl. Rosen, p. 32; Ibn Zāfir, *cod. Goth.*, i. 104^b, in Rosen, *Zapiski imp. Akad. Nauk*, xlv., p. 233, note 3; Ibn al-Shihna, *al-Durr al-muntakhab fi Tārīkh Haleb*, ed. Bairūt, p. 134; Le Strange, *Palatines under the Moslems*, p. 503; Dussaud, *Topographie de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, p. 474.

(K. HOSUMANN)

MARDJ RĀHĪT, the name of a plain near Damascus. On leaving Damascus in the direction of Hama, just before crossing the pass of the Eagle, al-'Uḡāb, one reaches the village of Mardj 'Aḍḥā. To the east of this place stretches the plain, Mardj Rāhī, which extends as far as the desert. It was here and not in the 'Hochebene von Qataife' (H. Moritz) that the fate of the Omniyads after the death of Mu'awiya II was settled. This decisive battle since it was fought in the neighbourhood of Mardj 'Aḍḥā was named by the poet al-Kaṭī after this place. With greater exactitude the contemporary poet al-Akḥḥāl, who was more cognizant with Omīyad history, places this battle 'between the 'Uḡāb and Rāhī', namely in 'the vast plain of Mardj' mentioned by the poets (*Aḡḥāl*, xvii. 112).

During the discussions of the congress of Djabhiya [q.v.] the concentration of the Kaist forces was taking place under the command of Dābiḳ b. Kaīs [q.v.] supported by the Yemen contingent and the Kaḡarī malcontents to the south-east of Damascus. Their total — which has probably been exaggerated — has been placed at 30,000. Marwān b. al-Hakam had at his command eight or ten thousand combatants, the majority of whom were Kalbi. The Kaists seem to have taken up their position first at Mardj al-Suffar [q.v.] to the north of Djabhiya. After an engagement in this place had ended to their disadvantage, they were forced to double back to the north. In the meantime a sudden attack launched against Damascus which was depleted of troops, had delivered into the hands of the Omīyad supporters the treasury and the arsenal of this town. The Kaists in order to avoid being caught between the capital and the Kalbi army advancing from Djabhiya retreated, while harassed at close quarters by their adversaries. These engagements occupied nearly twenty days. On arriving on the heights of Mardj Rāhī, trapped between the defiles of 'Uḡāb and the desert, they accepted battle. One must ask how the Kalbis succeeded in making up for their glaring inferiority in numbers. Mu'awīh, without explaining further, speaks of a stratagem devised by Marwān. This stratagem, which is mentioned by the author of

the *ʿIṣṣ al-farḥ*, should be described not as a cause of war but as a crime. After the advantage gained at Mardj al-Suffar, the Omayyads had had the time, and without doubt made use of it, to detach from the Kaissis their temporary allies, the Yemenis and the *Ḥaḥāʾis*. The treasure of the state seized at Damascus and the large amount of wealth brought from the *ʿIrāq* by the family of Ziyād b. Abihl may have been of assistance in doing this. The Syrian Arabs, not at their ease in the camp of Dabḥūk, no doubt understood how much the triumph of Ibn al-Zubair would be prejudicial to their hitherto privileged position and to the hegemony wielded since the days of the Sufyānids by the Syrian tribes. Their defection must, we think, have determined the issue of the engagement at Mardj Rāhīt and hastened the triumph of the Omayyad arms. Whatever was the cause this victory was decisive (the middle of July 684). 3,000 Kaissas are said to have been killed. The death of Dabḥūk seems to have been the signal of defeat, which became a regular disaster, in which the principal chiefs of Kaiss perished. Flight alone saved the most prominent among them, Zufar b. al-Ḥarith (q. v.).

The memory of Mardj Rāhīt was deeply impressed upon the Kaissas. It detached them *ex illo* from the Omayyad cause. Under the first two Marwānid caliphs, their battle-cry became "Vengeance for the victims of Rāhīt". From this time a smile is said never to have appeared on the countenances of the surviving chiefs. Between them and their ancient rivals of Kalb the split became much deeper. The latter's songs of victory answered the cries of rage of the Kaissas. In celebrating the battle of Rāhīt the Kalb poets give more emphasis to their triumph than to that of the Omayyads. Their compositions complacently develop this theme without regard to the Marwānids, their debtors rather than their sovereigns. This great victory afforded the aged Marwān the opportunity of proclaiming himself as Caliph of Damascus before beginning the conquest of the old Sufyānid lands now under the authority of Ibn al-Zubair. In the bosom of the Caliphate, it courbed the most dangerous rebellion; it inaugurated a savage war of extermination between Kalb and Kaiss. The tribes of *Ruḥla* first, then the Yemenis and lastly the Taghlibi saw themselves in turn fatally involved. These internal feuds in which the members of the Marwānid family had the imprudence to take part, to the satisfaction of their maternal connections, precipitated the fall of the Omayyad dynasty by destroying the agreement and the unity amongst the Arab tribes, which had been but imperfectly realized by the Sufyānid Caliphs.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, ed. Wustenfeld, li. 743; li. 400, 625; al-Akhtal, *Dirwān*, ed. Salhani, p. 23, 237, 224; Ibn Saʿd, *Tabaṭṭaʾi*, ed. Sachau, v. 29, Yaʿqūbī, ed. Houtama, li. 305; Masʿūdī, *Murūʾij*, Paris, v. 201; Ibn ʿAbd-rabbih, *ʿIṣṣ al-farḥ*, li. 320—321; *Aghāni*, xvii. 111; xx. 124, 126; Abū Tammām, *Hamāsa*, ed. Freytag, p. 658; Buḥārī, *Ḥamām*, ed. Chetkha, Nos. 375, 376, 377; al-Kuṭāmi, *Dirwān*, ed. J. Barth, *Introduction*, p. x—xi; Tabari, ed. de Goeje, li. 472—474, 477, 480, 482, 483, 485, 486, 643; Wellhausen, *Der arab. Reich*, p. 113—114; Noldeke, in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1901, p. 687; Lammens, *L'engagement des Marwānides et le califat de Marwān I^{er}*, *Rahit* 1927, p. 37—75.

(H. LAMMENS)

MARDJ AL-SUFFAR, a plain situated 20 miles south of Damascus near the modern Tell Shakhāb; a stream called the "Wādī 'Atrām" runs through it. The place plays a part in the military history of the first century A.H.; first in the accounts of the Arab conquest of Syria, and later at the beginning of the Marwānid dynasty. The name has been sometimes confused with that of Mardj Rāhīt (q. v.). For the history of Syria in the first century A.H. we are exclusively dependent upon the *ʿIrāq* annalists. Forgetting that the name "Mardj" abounds in the topography of the Damascus region, writers have confused two distinct battles and made them one and referred them to Mardj Rāhīt, a name which occurs frequently in the poets of the Marwānid period.

At the close of the year 13 A.H. the Arabs, victorious at Fihl, endeavoured to reach Damascus by cutting across the Djawlan. One of their bands, under the command of the Omayyad Khālīd b. Saʿd, encamped at Mardj al-Suffar and allowed themselves to be taken by surprise by the Byzantine troops. The Arab leader was killed and his contingent decimated. But the arrival of Muslim reinforcements enabled them to regain the advantage. The Greeks then proceeded to shut themselves in Damascus to which the Arabs at once laid siege.

In the month of May 684 (64), supporters of the Omayyads joined with Djabīya (q. v.) in order to elect a successor to Muʿawīya II. Dabḥūk b. Kaiss (q. v.), the leader of the rival section of the Zubairis and the governor of Damascus, was invited to the conference. He promised to come to the conclave and marched out of Damascus at the head of imposing forces. But, having gone about half way on the road to Djabīya, on the heights of Mardj al-Suffar, he determined to await events there. The presence of water and of forage made it suitable for the encampment of an army. An excellent point of observation, the site not only commanded the congress of Djabīya, but also commanded the road leading to Damascus. Dabḥūk brought about at this point the concentration of the Kaissas of Syria, who were in revolt against the Omayyads. At Djabīya after 40 days' deliberation, the Kalbs and the Omayyad partisans elected Marwān b. al-Ḥakam (q. v.) to be Caliph. Then in their advance upon Damascus, they attacked Dabḥūk and the Kaissas encamped at Mardj al-Suffar and succeeded in defeating them.

Of this campaign the *ʿIrāq* annalists and their copyists have only recorded and have only desired to record the decisive battle, namely that of Mardj Rāhīt, to the north of Damascus. For a quarter of a century no mention is made of any battle between the Kaissas and the Kalbs but Mardj Rāhīt. The extraordinary prominence given to this latter battle by the poets of both sides helped to throw into oblivion the preceding engagements commencing with that of Mardj al-Suffar. Certain texts have however preserved its memory. Yāqūt (*Muʿjam*, li. 400) locates in this place "a battle celebrated in the history and poetry of the Marwānid period". Otherwise there is no reference to Mardj al-Suffar in the military history of the younger branch of the Omayyads. As regards poetry it has kept for us the testimony of the Taghlibi poet al-Akhtal (*Dirwān*, ed. Salhani, p. 224, v. i.). This contemporary poet, who was a habitué of the Omayyad court while praising the glorious deeds of his

tribe, claims for it "many victories even before Mardj al-Suffar". As we know that the Taghlibis fought in the ranks of the Omayyads, for whom they showed themselves at all times strong partisans, the reference must be to this battle. Moreover the manner in which al-Akhtal praises this victory suggests that he was not dealing with a small skirmish.

In the meanwhile an Omayyad partisan residing at Damascus had seized the capital. The position became untenable at Mardj al-Suffar for the Khawāṣ. It was to avoid being caught between Damascus and the victorious Kalbīs that Dahhāk fell back precipitously to Mardj Rāhiṭ where he was defeated and killed. On the 22nd June 684, the election of Marwān b. al-Hakam was proclaimed at Dīshīyā. It is probable then that the battle of Mardj al-Suffar must be located in the early days of July.

Bibliography: Tabari, *Annales*, i. 2085, 2101, 2107, 2108, 2146; Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Bulḍān*, p. 118; Ibn Saʿd, *Kitaḥ al-Tabaʿāt*, iv/1. 71—72; Yaʿqūbī, *Historia*, ed. Houtsma, ii. 150; Yaʿqūbī, *Maʿāḍ al-Bulḍān*, ed. Whittenfeld, ii. 3, 183; iii. 400; iv. 488; Ibn al-Aṭṭar, *Uṣṭ al-Ḡhāḥ*, ii. 341; v. 577; H. Noldeke, *Z. D. M. G.*, xxix. 425; Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, iii. 310 199; H. Lammens, *L'avènement des Mémorables et le Califat de Marwān Ier*, Beirut 1927, p. 39—40, 42, 61—63 (repr. from *M. F. O. B.*, xii, fasc. 2); R. Dussaud-Maclet, *Mission dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie*, p. 43; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, p. 306, 314. (H. LAMMENS)

MAREJA [See MĀRYĀ.]

MARGHELAN, originally **MARGHINĀN**, a town in Farghāna [q. v.]; where also the minor importance of the town in the 19th (xix) century (*B. G. A.*, iii. 272, 42; *agāḥ*) and its rise in the centuries following are discussed (Samʿānī, *K. al-Ansāb*, G. M. S., xx, c. 522: *min maḥallāt al-Bīd*; Vākūfī, iv. 500; i: *min aḥḥāl al-Bīd*). The town does not seem to have been of political importance during this period, although raids were occasionally struck here under the dynasty of the Ilēk-Khāṇs [q. v.] (A. Markow, *Inventory of the Catalogue musulmans de la Bibliothèque Imp. d'Ermitage*, p. 260, 265 and 272). Hānūr (fasc. ed. Beveridge, c. 3^e 19.) gives a brief description of the town; the population at that time consisted of Sarts [q. v.] i. e., according to the linguistic usage of the time, of Tadjik [q. v.]; since then the Tadjik have been driven by the Oshegs here as everywhere out of the plain. The more recent, probably Osheg form Marghān is found for example in 'Abd al-Karīm Bukhārī (ed. Schuler, p. 94) whence the Russian Margelan; the river on which the town stands is called Margelan-Sai. In literature the old form Marghān or Marghīnān is still frequently used e.g. in the *Taʾrīkh Shāhrukhī*, ed. Pantusov, p. 195.

Marghelen was occupied without resistance by the Russians on the 8/20th Sept. 1875; New Margelan founded as the capital of Farghāna in 1877 by the Russians about 7 miles from Marghelen was called Skobelev from 1907 (since the Revolution: Fergana). The original Marghelen was mainly noted for its silk industry; according to the census of 1897, the population was 36,490, in 1911 46,780 of whom only 144 were Russians. A building which is certainly not ancient is called Iskandar

Pasha and said to be the tomb of Alexander the Great (W. Musul'skiy, *Turkistan'skiy Krai*, Petersburg 1913, p. 705 19.).

Bibliography: given in the text.

(W. BARTHOLO)

AL-MARGHINĀNĪ, the name of two families of Hanafī lawyers, *nishā* from their native town and the scene of their activities Marghān in Farghāna.

1. 1. The most important was BURNĀN AL-DĪN ABU 'L-HASAN 'ABD Z. ABU BAKR B. 'ABD AL-DĪAL AL-FARGHĀNĪ AL-MARGHINĀNĪ, the author of the celebrated *Hidāya*. He acquired his knowledge on his travels, then still the usual way of studying in Islām. His principal teachers were Naḍīm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ Umar b. Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Nasafī († 537 = 1142—1143), al-Sadr al-Shahīd Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Omar b. Mārāh († 536 = 1141—1142) and Abū 'Amr 'Othmān b. 'Alī al-Bakhandī († 552 = 1157), a pupil of al-Sarakhsī. He studied Tirmidhī's work on Tradition under Dīyā' al-ʿIm Abū Muḥammad Saʿīd b. Aṣad with the *imād* given in Kurāshī, l. 259, N^o. 679 and also with al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Marghīnānī (Kurāshī, l. 198, N^o. 487). He himself as was often done at this time, wrote a record of his studies but it does not appear to have survived. He far surpassed his teachers and won recognition in his native town also where he died in 593 (1197). Of his works the following are known, some surviving in manuscript and others only known from literary references: 1. *Najm al-Maḥḥab* (Kur., Lak., in *Madḥijī Khulfa*, N^o. 13790 probably wrongly: *al-Maḥḥab*); 2. *K. Maḥḥab al-Ḥaḥḥ* (Kur., Lak., H. Kh., N^o. 12943); 3. *K. 'L-Farā'id* (Kur., Lak.), also called *Farā'id al-'Othmānī* (H. Kh., N^o. 8089); 4. two collections of *fatāwā*: *K. al-Tafḥīm wa 'l-Mawā'id* (Kutl., Lak., H. Kh., N^o. 2467; MSS. in Brockelmann) and 5. *Muḥḥab al-Nawā'il* (Lak.; in Kutl. called: *K. Muḥḥab al-Mawā'id* and in H. Kh., N^o. 11586 called: *Muḥḥab al-Fatāwā*; MSS. in Brockelmann); 6. *Mawā'id fi Furu' al-Hanafīya* (H. Kh., N^o. 11538; identical with N^o. 47); 7. a commentary on al-Shahīd's *al-Djāmī al-Kaṭṭī* (H. Kh., li. 567); 8. his principal work is the legal compendium *K. Bidāyat al-Muḥḥab* (MSS. in Brockelmann), based on Ḥadīr's *Muḥḥab* and Shahīd's *al-Djāmī al-Sagḥī*. On this work he himself wrote a large commentary in 8 volumes: the *Kifāyat al-Muḥḥab*. But before he had completed it, he thought it was much too diffuse and decided to write a second commentary, the celebrated *Hidāya* which later writers repeatedly edited and annotated. The most important commentaries and synopses are given in the table on p. 280.

For the manuscripts and printed texts of these commentaries and synopses and many supercommentaries and glosses see Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 376; a printed edition of the *Hidāya* recently appeared in 4 vols., Cairo 1326.

Bibliography: al-Kurāshī, *al-Djāmī al-Kaṭṭī*, *Muḥḥab*, *al-Djāmī al-Sagḥī*, N^o. 1058; 'Abd al-Hayy al-Laknawī, *al-Fawā'id al-Bakhtīya*, Cairo 1324, p. 141 199. (synopsis of the *Tahkīk* of Kafawī); Ibn Kutlūbghāh, *Taḥḥ al-Tawḥīd*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1862, N^o. 124; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 376 and the literature there given. His sons and pupils were:

1. 'IMD AL-DĪN AL-FARGHĀNĪ; cf. Laknawī,

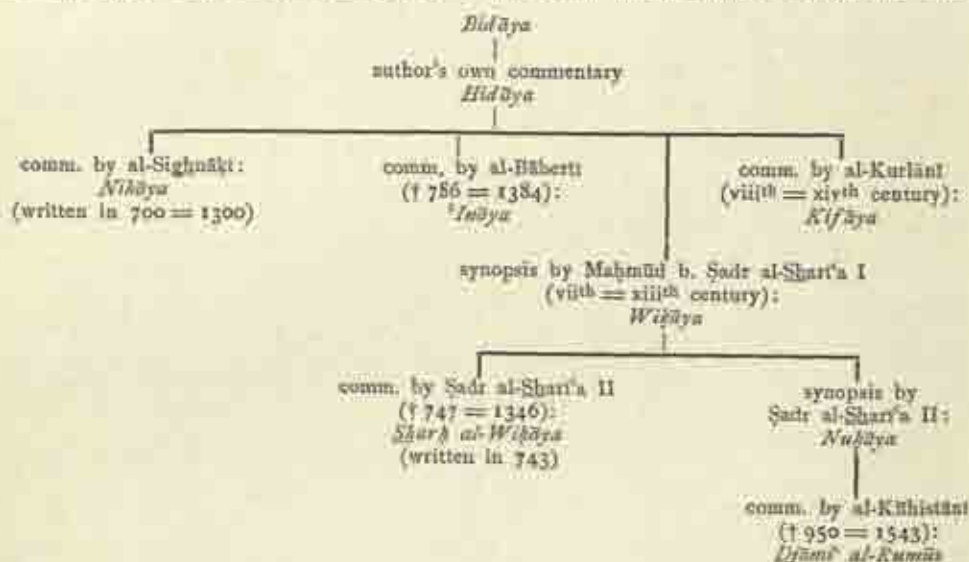
p. 146.

3. 'OMAR NIZĀM AL-DIN AL-FARĠĠĀNĪ. Two works by him are recorded: 1. *Farmā'id* (H. Kh., N^o. 9305); 2. *Djawā'id al-Filāh*, which he compiled from the *Muhtasar* of Ṭahāwī and other works (H. Kh., N^o. 4291; MSS. in Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 376, note 2, where the mark of interrogation should be deleted; cf. Kurashī, i. 394; Lahnawī, p. 149).

4. MUHAMMAD ABU 'L-FATH DIALĀL AL-DIN AL-FARĠĠĀNĪ; cf. Kullī, p. 137 and Lahnawī, p. 182; in Kurashī, ii. 99 apparently identical with N^o. 2.

5. A SON of 4 and grandson of 1: ABU 'L-FATH ZAIN AL-DIN 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ABĪ BAKK 'IMĀD AL-DIN B. 'ALĪ BURHĀN AL-DIN B. ABĪ BAKK B. 'ABD AL-DJALĪL AL-FARĠĠĀNĪ AL-MARGHĪNĀNĪ. He wrote the work on legal procedure in civil cases entitled *al-Fuḥūl al-'Imādīya*, which he completed in Sha'ban 651 (Oct. 1253) in Samarqand. Cf. H. Kh., N^o. 9094; Lak., p. 93; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 382, where the MSS. are given.

Th. J. Arnaud (1843), J. Halévy (1869) and E. Glaser (1888), is situated in the plateau of Saba, 3,900 feet above sea-level, which runs east of the Balāḥ range and is traversed by the Wādī Dhann (Adhana) which in the course of millennia has deposited a thick layer of silt and thus made a luxuriant vegetation possible. The modern village of the same name stands on a large mound of ancient rubble within the old city walls and is situated about exactly in 15° 26' N. Lat. and 45° 16' East Long., about 10 days' journey from the Red Sea and the same from the Gulf of 'Aden. This favourable situation predestined Mārīb to be the centre of the Sabaean kingdom, the heart of which was the southwestern corner of the Arabian Peninsula and which at times also included the eastern hinterland of the Gulf of 'Aden including Hadramūt and Mahra (E. Glaser, *Reise nach Mārīb*, p. 18, 185). Mārīb also lay on the important caravan-route which connects the lands which produced frankincense with the



II. Another family of Ḥanafī lawyers goes back to 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ B. 'ABD AL-KAZẒĀZ B. NAḤB B. DJA'VAR B. SULAYMĀN AL-MARGHĪNĀNĪ, who died in 477 (1084—1085) in Marghīnān at the age of 68. Of his six sons who attained fame as muftis we may mention ABU 'L-ḤASAN ZAHĪR AL-DIN 'ALĪ († 506 = 1112—1113). His son and pupil was ZAHĪR AL-DIN AL-ḤASAN B. 'ALĪ ABU 'L-MAHJĀN. Four works by him are recorded: *Akṣāya*, *Fatāwā*, *Farmā'id* and *Šurūf*, only the last of which survives in manuscript. He was the teacher of the famous Fakḥ al-Din Qādīkhān († 592 = 1196) and of Burhān al-Din al-Marghīnānī (q. v.).

Bibliography: Sam'ānī, *K. al-Ansāb*, fol. 522; Kurashī, N^o. 487, 850, 1010; Lahnawī, p. 62, 97, 121; Flügel, *Classen d. hanaf. Rechtsgelahrten*, Leipzig 1860, p. 309; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 379. (HERRMANN)

MA'RĪB (MĀRĪB), a town in the south-west of Arabia, formerly the capital of the Sabaean and now the capital of the amirate of the same name.

The ancient town of Mārīb, which so far has only been visited by three European travellers,

Mediterranean (Gaza-Gharze) and which run from Shabwat-Sahota via Thumna-Thumna near Dard Kohlān in the Wādī Bahān, through Wādī Ḥarb via Mārīb into the Minaeen Djawī, to Nadīrān and from there via Thirmāla, Abū al-Khaḍar, Hūhila, al-Djīf, Djebel Siru, Badr, Wādī 'l-Ḥāṣil, Wādī 'l-Zibair, Wādī 'l-Faif, Haradje, Koiba, Banāt Ḥarb, Djurash, Tehala, Karn al-Manāsil, Mekka, Yaḥrib (al-Medina), Fadak, Khaibar, al-'Ola', Taimā, Akra', Tabūk, al-Hijr, Maḥna, Madyan, al-Hakl, Arām, Aḥrah to Petra and thence to Gaza while Mārīb was also connected with al-Yemāma, the coast of the Persian Gulf and Babylonia, via Nedīrān by the route which followed the Wādī 'l-Dawāsir (cf. A. Grohmann, *Historisch-geographische Bemerkungen zu Gl. 418, 419, 1000 A. D.*, p. 116 sq.). It still forms an important junction and has good connections with Hadramūt, Redk', Yerin, Ša'it', al-Djawi, Sa'da, Nedīrān and the Wādī 'l-Dawāsir (E. Glaser, *Reise nach Mārīb*, p. 20).

The ancient city wall, 3 feet thick, enables us still to recognise with more or less certainty 8 gates — not only 2, as Th. Arnaud (*Plan de la digue et de la ville de Mārīb*, in *J. A.*, art. vii,

vol. iii. [1874], p. 12) thought — distinct gate-like breaks in the stone wall. They are now called Bab al-Akkr (W.), Bab al-Hadd (S.W.), then along the south wall to the east and from here to the north, Bab al-Nasr, Bab Aba l-Kar, Bab al-Mahram, Bab al-Darb, Bab al-Kibla, Bab al-Madjenah. The names Bab al-Nasr, Bab al-Darb and Bab al-Hadd are still borne by the gates of the modern village of Marib but the modern Bab al-Nasr corresponds to the Bab al-Akkr of the ancient town, since from the latter by traversing the whole of the old town the village is reached through the Bab al-Nasr.

The old town forms at the present day a considerable mound or rather a number of mounds of ruins, out of which project remains of walls and portions of columns. Excavations conducted here would, as Glaser pointed out, bring to light most unexpected things. Four distinct areas may be distinguished in the site: 1. The mound on which stands the modern village which stands in the eastern part, almost in the S.E. corner, of the old town and seems to consist entirely of refuse and rubble, beneath which at a considerable depth one comes upon old buildings. Glaser believed that these old buildings represent the oldest part of the town upon which in the later centuries of the Sabaean period rubbish was shot. It is also possible that the town of Marib or at least many of its buildings have been several times destroyed. The topmost stratum is of course of comparatively recent date if we exclude the many old stones with Sabaean inscriptions. The village, which, according to Glaser, can hardly have more than 600 inhabitants, consists of about 80 houses, usually in several stories on a rectangular plan narrowing a little as they ascend. Only the lower parts are of stone, the rest is of clay. Only the two fort-like houses of the amir are built entirely of hewn stone. The outer wall of the village consists simply of the walls of the outermost houses, which are built on to one another or linked up by connecting walls. The village has two gates of some size, one facing west and the other south, and several small doors. There is an old well outside the village between this and the eastern gate of the old town, and also the chief mosque (Masjid Sulaiman). 2. The Maidan Umm al-Kris identified by Glaser in his *Kartenbuch*, p. 8 with Umm Bilqis, in the S.E. corner with great mounds of ruins, which perhaps come from castles. 3. The S.W. area which apparently contained temples and castles. 4. A large round open space (Maidan) in the N.W. and western part of the town which does not seem to have been built on in ancient times either. It stretches almost to the modern village and particularly on the south side is surrounded by portions of columns and other ruins (E. Glaser, *Reise nach Marib*, p. 48 sq., 73). These faceted columns which still protrude 3—4 feet out of the ruins, one of which lying on the ground measured 12—15 feet, are also mentioned by Arnaud (p. 12). The place is probably identical with the "Champs de Mars" mentioned by the French traveller in his report to Fremont (*J.A.*, ser. iv., vol. v. [1845], p. 325). The place in any case was at one time surrounded by large buildings which are now in ruins and form great mounds, which are also dotted with fragments of columns and Glaser leaves the question open whether there were here the palaces

of the kings and notables or the temples of the ancient Sabaean. To the south of the Maidan in particular may still be seen the foundations of a colossal building which Glaser wanted to identify with the famous royal citadel of Salhu celebrated by later tradition.

The old town which occupied an area of about 1,000 yards square, a calculation by E. Glaser, which agrees with Th. Arnaud's plan of the town (*J.A.*, ser. vii., vol. iii. [1874], p. 11) [Glaser gives the distance between the two opposite gates as $\frac{1}{4}$ hour], is built entirely on the left bank of the Wadi Dhenne. It seems, to conclude from the remains of the 3 feet thick wall around it, which has only survived in places, to have practically formed an oblique angled parallelogram the longer sides of which follow the line of the Wadi Dhenne while the eastern and western sides (breadth) run practically due north and south. The southern wall which runs parallel to the river bank turns from north to east at an angle of 60° and runs almost E.N.E. This fact is clear not only from E. Glaser's description of his *Reise nach Marib* (p. 36 sq., 48) and the *Marib Tagebuch* but also from Glaser's *Skizzen* (Nº. 51) upon which is based the appended plan of Marib and vicinity. It is a striking contrast to Th. J. Arnaud's description and map (*J.A.*, ser. vii., vol. iii. [1874], p. 11) which makes the wall around Marib describe a circle and also to Glaser's earlier sketches in his large *Kartenbuch*, p. 8 sq. and the map drawn up after investigations in the year 1888, which forms fol. 4 of E. Glaser's collection 1. The foundation of the wall consists of cement blocks 5 feet long, 15 inches high and 2 feet thick. On the top of 8—10 layers of these blocks are placed regularly hewn blocks of marble of the same size. The wall which unfortunately is almost completely destroyed does not run in a straight line but at regular intervals there are rectangular projections, as is clearly shown in E. Glaser's already mentioned sketch Nº. 51 and in that of his *Tagebuch*, xi., p. 125, which moreover gives the plan of the town as a rectangle — Glaser notes here "the city wall was apparently built as a quadrilateral" — while Nº. 51 shows rather a trapezium the base of which lies away from the river while the shorter side parallel runs along the river. The rectangular projections found at regular intervals were probably towers, which strengthened the defences and stood out at regular intervals in the style we know from Assyrian fortifications (cf. the similar quadrangular plan of a fortress with gates near the corner and towers covered by stippled battlements in B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, i., *Kulturgesch. Bibliothek*, 1. 3, Heidelberg 1920). That the city walls of Marib had towers is also evident from the great inscription (Glaser 412—419) which is older than the great Sirwath inscription G1. 1000. In this we are told in line 4 that the unknown ruler built "the two gates of Marib (𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩬) and built towers for Marib of Balak stone" (cf. N. Rhodokanakis, *Altäthiopische Texte*, i. 6 sq.).

Rhodokanakis suggests, presumably rightly, that this king was continuing the work of the unnamed son of the Sabaean mukarrib Samhu'alaya Yana'f (𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩬 𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩬 𐩦𐩣𐩪𐩬) who, according to the inscriptions Glaser 412 = Arnaud 41, 415 = Arnaud 42, 414, 427, 445, 500, 510, 537, 580, 600, 614 and perhaps also 751, "built a wall around Marib

(1775) by command of and with the help of 'Aḥṣa'. Whether the son of Sumḥu-ʿalaya Yanāf was the builder of Marib seems uncertain; in any case he is the oldest builder of the town whom we know from the inscriptions.

Nor is it known who founded Marib. That it was Saba', son of Yaḥṣub, as the Arab genealogists think, is of course quite an unfounded supposition (cf. Yāqūt, *Muḥṭarib*, p. 239; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Historia antislamica*, p. 114 sq.; A. v. Kramer, *Über die südarabische Sage*, p. 26 sq.; E. Oslander, *Z.D.M.G.*, x. 68).

That the city wall was frequently restored is evident from the fact that inscribed blocks of the earliest period of Sabaean history were used as building material in any order without heeding the context of the inscription (cf. Glaser, *Reise nach Marib*, p. 48 sq., 51, 74) which is the case e.g. in the texts Glaser 699—707, and as there were no inscriptions of a later period in the lower strata the renovation must have begun after the reigns of the three Sabaean mukarribs Yid'i-lu-Bayin, Sumḥu-ʿalaya Yanāf and Yith'i-ʿamara Waṭar. To the same period as these inscriptions must belong the old Sabaean lunistropheion text, Glaser 926 = 1350 + 1351 = 1730, which comes from al-Mushājjah, not far east of Sirwāh, in the second line of which there is mentioned the building of a road up to the gate of Marib (مَرِيب) (cf. E. Glaser, *Allgemeine Nachrichten*, I. Munich 1908, p. 98 sq. and N. Rhodokanakis, *Natubäische Texte zur Bodenvirtschaft*, II. 49, and note 3, 54—56). Of the three Sabaean mukarribs mentioned here Yith'i-ʿamara, Yid'i-lu and Sumḥu-ʿalaya, the first, as N. Rhodokanakis has pointed out, is identical with Yith'i-ʿamara Waṭar, Yid'i-lu with Yid'i-lu Bayin, the conqueror of Nashq, while Sumḥu-ʿalaya is perhaps the same as Sumḥu-ʿalaya Yanāf, in whose reign the inscription Glaser 926 was set up. Glaser must also be right in assuming (*Skins*, I. 68) that the town of Marib is considerably older than the wall and a number of decades must have passed away before the town attained the extent indicated by the oldest remains of walls. This is also evident from the mention of independent kings of Marib in the inscription Glaser 302 which is older than Glaser 418—419. A memory of this earliest period in Sabaean history seems to be preserved by the poet 'Alḥama Dhī Ḥadān, who mentions kings of Marib along with kings of Sirwāh (cf. D. H. Müller, *Sabäische Denkmäler*, p. 99).

According to al-Ḥamdānī (*Ikhlāṭ*, viii., in D. H. Müller, *Burgen u. Schlösser*, II. 959 sq., 1038 sq.), there were in Marib the three citadels Saḥib, al-Ḳaṣīb and al-Ḥaḡḡar. For the former which is expressly stated to have been the royal capital and palace of Bilqis, cf. the article SAḤIB. The question where this castle is to be located in Marib has been very variously answered. D. H. Müller, *Burgen u. Schlösser*, II. 968 thinks that Saḥib was on the site of the modern village of Marib, which, as Arnold had already suggested, had been occupied by an old citadel (*J.A.*, ser. vii., vol. III. [1874], p. 12). Glaser (*Reise nach Marib*, p. 73) on the other hand identifies Saḥib with the colossal building the foundations of which lie south of the Maidān. In connection with Saḥib, al-Ḥamdānī also mentions the lower pillars of the throne (of Bilqis) — so D. H. Müller translates 'arīḥ — which became celebrated in the Muslim world

through Qurʾān xxvii. 23 and were still standing in his time and so firmly rooted in the ground that they could not be overthrown. Glaser, *Reise nach Marib*, p. 139 however assumes that the reference here is to the Haram of Bilqis with its pillars but admits the possibility that a citadel of the town proper is being described, since Saḥib is talked of immediately afterwards. Dhīḡal Zaidān, *Kitāb al-ʿArab ʿab al-Islām*, p. 143 also assumes that the palace of Saḥib is referred to. Sprenger, *Poet. u. Reiseurkunden*, p. 140 also tells of this throne of Bilqis that it stood on stone pillars 29 ells high which were still intact and the foundations were as deep as its height (this statement is erroneously attributed by Sprenger to Bakri but presumably comes from Ibn al-Muḡāwir). The *Dhīḡal-namā* also (cf. Jomard in F. Mengin, *Histoire de l'Égypte*, p. 344) says that the throne of Bilqis was built on columns 28 ells high in Saba' (= Marib). This sounds very improbable if we should really understand by 'arīḥ a throne, which according to Naḡwān al-Ḥimyarī, p. 50, stood in the palace of Bilqis in Marib. When however we are told by Naḡwān, p. 70, that 'arīḥ is a castle which was built on columns of stone and the verse of Aṣād Tabba' quoted gives the name 'arīḥ to the palace of Bilqis, we may then in the above passages take it to mean a citadel rather than a throne and with Glaser, *Reise nach Marib*, p. 73, look for it in the S.E. corner of the old town. Legend has associated the name 'Arḥ Bilqis with other localities also. According to Abu 'l-Raḥī Salāmīn b. al-Raḥīn in Yāqūt, *Muḡāḡam*, III. 640, it is the name of a place a day's journey from Ḍḡamār on which stand six great marble columns and the principal group of pillars of the old ruins of Sirwāh still bears this name (J. Halévy, *Rapport*, *J.A.*, ser. vi., xix. [1872], p. 67 sq.; Glaser, *Reise nach Marib*, p. 179). On the other hand, it is an open question where the two other citadels al-Ḳaṣīb and al-Ḥaḡḡar mentioned by al-Ḥamdānī and Bakri (*Muḡāḡam*, II. 302) are to be located. According to Yāqūt, *Muḡāḡam*, IV. 104, al-Ḳaṣīb was built by order of king Sharḥbīl b. Yaḥṣub, who put up on it a copper plate inscribed "They who built this castle are Ḍawḡal and Saḡar; its building was entrusted to them by Sharḥbīl b. Yaḥṣub, the king of Saba' and of the Tihāna and its Arabs". D. H. Müller in *Burgen u. Schlösser*, II. 1039, note 1 has already identified Sharḥbīl b. Yaḥṣub with king Ḥaḡḡarab Yaḥṣīb of the Sabaean inscriptions (Glaser, No. 424, 220; *Bibl. Nat.*, No. 2) and for Ḍawḡal compared the Sabaean Ḍḡwāl and for Saḡar (so to be read, not ساجر) the similar Sabaean name. If the inscription given by Yāqūt really goes back to a genuine *muḡāḡam* inscription, Ḳaṣīb must have been built about the first century A. D. If the Sabaean king here mentioned whose epithet in the *Ḥimyarī Sayyid* (verse 109) publ. by A. v. Kramer is to be read Yaḥṣīb, in the Sabaean inscription *Bibl. Nat.*, No. 2 [cf. article SAḤIB] speaks expressly of Saḥib, Ḥamḡān and Sirwāh only and does not mention al-Ḳaṣīb, this is not itself proof that Yāqūt's foundation inscription is not genuine. The building might easily be later than the inscription *Bibl. Nat.*, No. 2. A difficulty however is raised by the fact that al-Ḥamdānī (in Müller, *Burgen und Schlösser*, II. 1039) and Naḡwān al-

Himyar (quoted *ibid.*, note 1) give al-Kashib b. Dhi Hafar as the builder. Glaser, *Reise nach Märib*, p. 139, goes so far as to say that the name Kashib is derived from the verb *kāshā* or *kāshāb*, which frequently occurs in dedicatory inscriptions, and the form of the king's titles points to the last period of Himyar rule, and the king is to be identified with Shahrābil Ya'fur; indeed it must be conceded that the style and titles is quite unusual for a king of Saba' and Dhi Raiḍn and for this reason the *musnad* inscription must be regarded as a forgery. This does not mean that al-Hamdānī's note is to be rejected as worthless. V. Hommel (*Ethnologie u. Geographie d. alten Orients*, p. 666 and note 2) has shown the possibility that the castle of Ḥaḍjar (the name means "the town") was perhaps the principal castle, on the ruins of which the modern village of Märib was planted and the older and more celebrated Saliḥ was a smaller castle. If we remember the meaning "new" given in Yāqut, iv. 104 and Nashwan, p. 86 s. v. *ḥadīḥ*, al-Kashib might also be an epithet of the citadel as "the new" which came to be erroneously differentiated from al-Ḥaḍjar as the name of a third castle. Al-Bakri, *Muḥam*, ii. 502, 754 explains the difficulty by saying that al-Kashib was the last of the castles to be built in Märib and therefore called the "new".

The Masjid Sulaimān lies to the west, just below the village which is built on a great mound of rubble. This Masjid Sulaimān b. Dawūd, now the principal mosque of Märib, according to Arnaud (*J. A.*, ser. vii, vol. iii. [1874], p. 73), an obviously modern building, square with a flat roof and built of brown stones, is of interest because, according to E. Glaser (*Reise nach Märib*, p. 44, 73 sq.), its north side is built against 7 or 8 colossal columns (monoliths) which correspond exactly to those of the Haram Bilka and the 'Amūd to be discussed below. Glaser suggests that there was once a temple here similar to the Haram Bilka. F. Hommel, *Ethnologie u. Geographie d. alten Orients*, p. 664, 666 thinks the Masjid Sulaimān was the temple of the chief deity. This principal temple in his opinion formed a group with the second temple, which lay on the south side of the Mainān — according to Arnaud (plan of Märib) local tradition thinks this was the site of an ancient temple. The length (2,000 yards), suggested by F. Hommel (*op. cit.*, p. 666) for the distance of this second temple from the Masjid Sulaimān, is however too high, as both Glaser and Arnaud put the distance between the two opposite city walls at only 1,000 yards. J. Halévy's figure (*Rapport, J. A.*, ser. vi, xix. [1872], p. 96) which puts the diameter of the Märib ruins at about 500 yards would give a much shorter distance but the estimate is certainly a very casual one and hardly to be taken seriously.

In the south and west outside the old town walls lies an old cemetery with a number of tombs, some vertical and some horizontal, the latter of which have a small opening at the top. It is now called Medjennat (or Djabat) Gharrā. It is probably from here that have come a number of old Sabaean tombstones (Glaser, No. 436, 574, 575, 581, 582, 605, 662, 663, 665, 667, 685—686, 748, 769, 773, 792) with rectangular niches sometimes rounded below or peaked at the top, in which is placed the bust of the deceased with an inscription below. On two of these tombstones

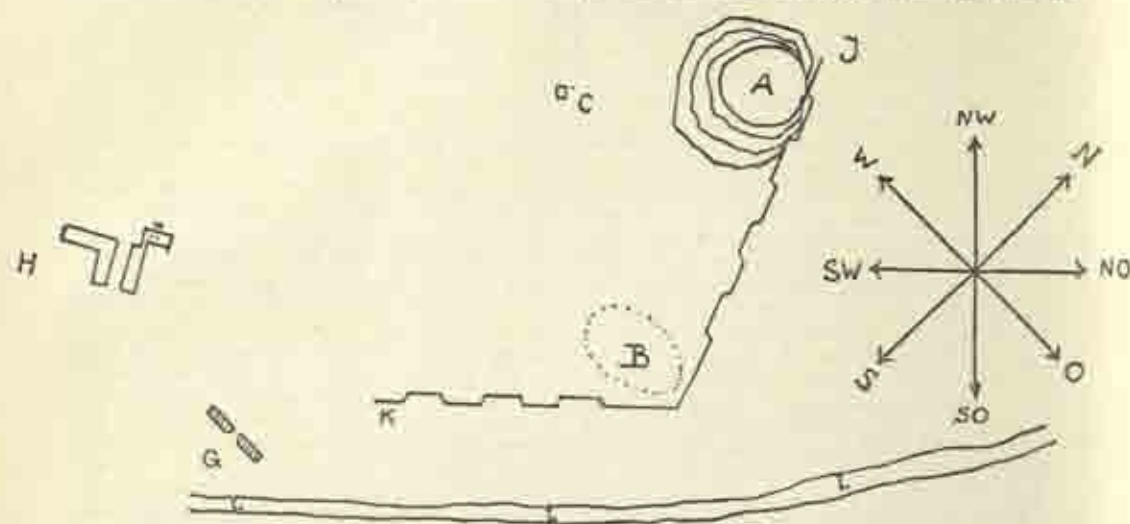
(Glaser No. 684, 745), Glaser found the bust let into the stone still in its place (cf. *Reise nach Märib*, p. 75, 92; *Tagebuch*, xi. 59). We may probably find the models for these tombstones in the steles of Assur. Stone sarcophagi are also sometimes found. One is still in use before the great well of Märib as a drinking-trough for animals (*Reise nach Märib*, p. 74).

In the southwest of the old town outside the city walls, Glaser found a remarkable building still partly preserved (G on the plan of the immediate vicinity of the old town of Märib) which was probably used for distributing the water and has on its north side the inscription Glaser 474 = 1671. It consists of two huge stretches of wall running due east and west in one line with a gap in the centre. The two corners of the northern entrance of this passage are angular while at the south side the two are rounded. The inscription, which is placed on the north side of the eastern wall states that Dimri-alaya Water, Makarrāb of Saba', son of Kariba'ila, built a פִּישׁ (*fish*) opposite (or in front of) the sanctuary of 'Aḥḥar. Glaser actually found some 300 paces N.W. or W.N.W. of this building, also outside of the old city walls but quite close to them, a ruin unfortunately reduced to a heap of rubble, which from its plan suggests a sanctuary, since on the N.E. side (the right stretch of wall) the niches for an idol can still be seen (*Reise nach Märib*, p. 405 *Tagebuch*, xi. 47; H on the plan of the immediate vicinity of the old town of Märib).

S.S.E. of the modern village of Märib (A) at a distance of about 3 miles between the Wādī Ḥamne and Wādī 'l-Felāḥ is the Haram Bilka (B) which was visited by Th. J. Arnaud on July 20, 1843 and by E. Glaser on March 23, 1888 (cf. *J. A.*, ser. vii, vol. iii. [1874], p. 142; Glaser, *Reise nach Märib*, p. 41, 44 sq., 73, 137, 141); the latter corrects Arnaud on a number of essential points. The Haram is a large building, elliptical in form, the longer axis of which 300 feet long runs from N.W. to S.E. The shorter axis runs N.E. to S.W. and is 250 feet in length. It is built of regularly hewn square blocks which are placed one above the other in 31 layers up to the frieze so that the height of the wall is 31 feet. This wall is finished off with a double cornice at the top which consists of two rows of blocks which follow one another at short intervals and look like dice on the top of the wall, the result being a mural crown-like frieze which recalls the relief found by Th. Bent in Jeddā in Abyssinia (cf. Th. Bent, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians*, London 1893, p. 141) and the top of the Sabaean relief in D. Nielsen, *Handbuch der altäthiopischen Altertumskunde* (p. 157, fig. 44). The row of blocks below the lower cornice form a simple and effective decoration by placing the blocks four to six inches apart so as to leave little gaps. A similar kind of mural decoration is known from the Sabaean temple of Jeddā (cf. *Deutsche Akro-Expedition*, ii. 80, fig. 163). The frieze is still quite intact in places, especially on the east side. There is no trace of a roof, but it cannot be asserted definitely that there never was one, as Glaser assumes; the windowless building could have been lit by sky-lights. There are two doors in the wall, the larger (a) at the northeast end of the shorter axis and the smaller (b) at the N.W. end of the building at the end of the larger axis.

Exactly N.E. of the centre of the building there are four other monolithic pillars in the wall itself. Originally there were a larger number here so that the main gateway (a) had a pillared way leading to it. N.E. of these at a distance of 32 paces are 8 columns which are also erected in a line running from S.E. to N.W. (E). They are rectangular prisms, smooth, 15 feet high without capitals and terminate in dice-shaped tops 4 inches long on which stood the architrave. On the S.S.E. side of the Haram just outside the

inside. He expressly states however that he could discover no chambers in the walls as he had expected. On the other hand, the fine inscriptions on the outside of the walls give us information as to the purpose of the building — it is a temple of the Sabaeen moon-god Almakah — as well as the history of its erection. Arnaud was only able to copy 3 of these inscriptions, two others whose existence he established were covered by sand, which has since made further progress, so that he could not copy them. The oldest in-



Plan of the immediate vicinity of the old town of Maryah.

A the modern village of Marib, B Umm al-Kh., C Masjid Salamin, D Haram Bilkis, E 'Amr'id, F Pillars E.S.E. of al-Merwath, G old Building not given a definite name, H Temple, I-K old city-wall of Maryah, L Wadi Dhenne.

wall, four small pillars form a little square the sides of which lie W. to E. and S. to N. (c). Perhaps we have here the pillars for the canopy of a throne which was probably similar in appearance to the Aksumite king's throne illustrated in *Deutscher Aksum-Expedition*, II. 65, fig. 139. The floor of the building never seems to have been levelled, as a natural rock rises almost in the middle. Unfortunately in the interior the walls are nowhere clear, so that Glaser could form no deductions as to what it must have looked like

scription Glaser 184 is on the 28th layer from above on the east side. It records that Yift'hu Dhuhi, son of Sumuhu-alaya, makarrub of Saba, built the wall of the temple of Almakah 'Amm (cf. the latest definitive edition of the text in N. Rhodokanakis, *Studia*, II. 7. 29.) Since the brilliant E. Oslunder had previously recognised (*Z. D. M. G.*, x. 70) that the Haram Bilkis was a temple of Almakah, Glaser (*Saba*, I. 68) was able to deduce rightly from this inscription that the sanctuary 'Amm frequently mentioned here

and in other Sabaeen inscriptions was this very temple. From it the god Almaḡah is called "lord of 'Awm" (ʿAwm ʿAwm). The completion of this temple which was begun by Yidʿ-ilu Ḥarib, by Ṭihariba, son of Sumuh-alaya Ḥarib, king of Saba², is recorded in the inscription Glaser 485 = Arnaud 55, which is on the west side of the Haram on the 14th layer of stones (cf. N. Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, II, 12 199.) Glaser 481 = Arnaud 56, which is on the 13th and 14th layer on the north side records the completion of the wall from the inscription to the top by Ṭabaʿkariba a prominent official and general of three Sabaeen kings (N. Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, II, 15 199.). Connected with this are two inscriptions of similar content, Glaser 482 = Arnaud 54 on the south side of the 13th layer and Glaser 483 = Arnaud 54 on the east side at the same height. They record the restoration of a ruined part of the wall (presumably of the part of the temple) under King Karibaʿilu Watar Ḥuhanʿim of Saba and Ḥu Raidū, the son of Ḥimri-alaya Bayin, and his son Ḥalik-amar. Whether this concludes the history of the building of the Haram seems doubtful since, according to Glaser, *Reise nach Märit*, p. 46, inscriptions may still be concealed under the sand on the north and west sides also.

The orientation of the building is of interest. The little door of the Haram (b) faces that temple of the old town of Märib on the site of which now stands the Masjid Sulaimān. On the prolongation of the shorter axis to the N.E. lies the ruin called al-Mikrah, and Glaser has, perhaps rightly, suggested from this arrangement of the two buildings that there was some connection between their purposes. Both buildings are moreover oriented by the course of the Wādī Ḥenne. On the south side of the old city wall may still be seen the remains of a bridge which was built almost exactly in the direction of the Haram and, according to the local tradition, once reached it. Even if this is an exaggeration it is nevertheless probable that a bridge was built over the river Ḥenne, as in the rainy season the water must certainly have inundated the fields; the continuation of this bridge to the Haram was probably only a dam of which no trace now remains.

However unusual the elliptical form for the plan of a temple may appear, this is certainly not an isolated example in Southern Arabia. F. Fresnel (*J. A.*, ser. iv., vol. vi., p. 223) mentions the great ruins of Khariba (Sirwāh) which cover an even greater area than those of the Haram Bilḡis and include a semi-ellipse and long rows of pillars still in position. According to Arnaud, this elliptical plan has also been found by Halévy (*J. A.*, ser. vi., vol. xix., p. 67 191; cf. also Glaser, *Reise nach Märit*, p. 110, 137; *Séjour*, I, 67 191). According to the inscription Glaser, N° 901-903, its builder was the Sabaeen mukarrib Yidʿ-ilu Ḥarib, who also built the temple of 'Awm and the round temple of al-Masāḡid.

F. Hommel (*Ethnologie*, p. 664 191) has endeavoured to show how this temple came to have its modern name of Haram Bilḡis. In analogy to the Assyrian and Babylonian temples extra muros which were always dedicated to the wife of the chief deity and in which in the month of the new year his wedding ceremony took place, Hommel sees in the Haram Bilḡis the wedding house of Almaḡah, the sanctuary of his wife

Harimat and seems to assume that the name is also connected with this. D. H. Müller (*Bergien und Schöller*, II, 972 191) has shown how the Arab archaeologists transformed the god Almaḡah into Valmaḡah and then gave this name to the legendary Bilḡis and also made a *ḥaram* (women's apartments) out of the *mashram* (sanctuary) of the god. F. Fresnel's reasoning moves on similar lines (*J. A.*, ser. ix., vol. vi., p. 226 191, 234 191). He assumed that Bilḡis was not the correct name of the queen of Saba but rather Balḡamah (so Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, in the *ʿIḍ al-Farid* and Ibn al-Jawzi in the *Mir'at al-Zamān*) which was formed from Almaḡah. The queen of Saba was in this way deified by the Sabaeans and became the Isis of the Arabs.

In the S. S. E. of Märib and according to Arnaud $\frac{1}{4}$ hour E. S. E. of the Haram Bilḡis — while the latter, according to Glaser, *Reise nach Märit*, p. 41 lies almost due east barely $\frac{1}{4}$ hour from the five pillars — there stand on the opposite bank of the Wādī Ḥenne, $\frac{1}{2}$ hour or $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles (according to Glaser, *Séjour*, N° 51) from the town, the pillars called 'Amā'id. Five are still upright; these are 25–30 feet high, 32 inches broad and 24 deep, prismatic, rectangular monoliths which were erected perpendicular to the direction of the Wādī Ḥenne. Two which have been overthrown lie beside them on the ground. The pillars had no capitals and were just like the other pillars (at the Haram Bilḡis and other ruins outside the town). On the fragments of the two fallen pillars Glaser discovered inscriptions on each (Glaser 479 and 480 = Arnaud 53) from which it appears that a sanctuary Bar'an (בראן) dedicated to the god Almaḡah or some such sanctuary stood here. This name occurs not only in this inscription but is mentioned in Ottom. Mus., N° 17 (*Z. D. M. G.*, xxxiii, 486, N° 1, 2) where J. H. Mordtmann reads ברואן אלמקת and the name of this place is also found in Halévy, N° 43, 48, 49, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

The numerous separate finds made by Glaser in the neighbourhood of Mārib, sacrificial altars, masons' workshops etc. cannot be discussed here. On the other hand, there is one erection which demands a rather thorough discussion as it surpasses all these already mentioned in magnitude and preserved the fame of Mārib down to the late Islamic period, namely the dam and works connected with it, known in Muslim tradition as *Sudd Mārib* or *Sudd al-'Arin*.

The Wādī Dhahne in the course of time had cut a way through the Balāk hills here and divided the rocks into two parts Balāk al-Kibīl and Balāk al-Awsat. The Sabaean had built a dam of earth across the gap some 770 paces long behind which the water was collected. The dam, which Glaser (*Reise nach Mārib*, p. 58 199, 273 sq.) describes minutely, rises some 20—25 feet above the present level of the Wādī and is simply a mound of earth the section of which is an isosceles triangle the angle at the top of which is quite sharp. The angle of inclination of the two surfaces to the base is about 45° and the breadth of the base about 30 feet. The proper time and the height of the dam cannot be accurately ascertained as the mud has accumulated to the depth of many feet. But it can be assumed that the dam rested on a foundation of rock as the narrow passage between the two Balāk hills has a rocky foundation which comes up very nearly to the surface. But for this firm foundation of rock it would have been impossible to build the dam at all. The side of the dam which met the water (the western) is covered with small sharp unhewn stones, held together so strongly by mortar that it is impossible to detach one of them. The dam, which is 1½ hours from Mārib, is flanked to the north and south by two great sluices, the southern one of which is known as Marbat al-Dimn. Here on the site of the dam a great rock (A) 95 paces long and 15 in width, at the narrow places only 8—10 has become detached from the Djebel Balāk al-Awsat; it runs to the N.E. with a slight tendency to E.N.E. The main body of the rock, the northern wall of which runs eastwards forms with this isolated rock a pair of lines converging towards the S.W. end of the latter. The two rocky walls do not meet here but are separated by a gap spanned by a wall six paces long and 12 feet high (C). In the opening of the angle but within the eastern ends of the two walls is another detached block of rock (B) the north side of which runs parallel to the first mentioned detached rock and the south side parallel to the main rock (C) but quite close to the latter. All three rocks, particularly the main body (C) and the loose block (B), have steep sides, not however over 12 feet high. On the north side the great isolated rock (A) is very irregular in shape. It almost looks as if we had an artificial cleavage here; but Glaser does not think this possible because an earthquake is quite sufficient to account for the remarkable cleavage of the rocks. In any case it looks as if human hands had worked a good deal on the natural lines of fracture. The great block of rock (A) rises 20—25 feet above the present level of the river bed and has two inscriptions engraved on its south side (Glaser, No. 513, 523).

On all three rocks there are or were great buildings of hewn stone. The large block of rock (A) seems to have supported the main building.

Its masonry consisting entirely of finely hewn blocks of stone, arranged in pairs one above the other and held together by melted lead poured into corresponding cavities; it follows closely, especially on the south side, the rock which forms the foundations so that it does not form a straight line, as Arnaud (*J. A.*, ser. vii., vol. iii, in p. 64, *Digue de Mārib*) has represented it. The whole length of this wall is about 200 feet, its average breadth 15 feet, the height at the S.W. end about 12 feet, rather more at the N.E. end, as the rock is not high enough here. In general the top is horizontal but with slight differences of level where it rises and falls. The S.W. corner of the masonry consists of round towers (a) facing S.W. which stands about 3 feet above the level of the rest of the walls. The whole building and the tower have perpendicular sides and do not slope at all. The dam which runs N.N.W. seems to have joined the wall 25 feet from the towers on the N.W. On the side facing the Wādī at the N.E. end of the rock, steps have been hewn out of the rock which led from the bottom of the river bed (in S.S.W. direction) to the walls. Almost exactly south of the already mentioned tower which has also very steep steps cut in a perpendicular passage hewn out of the rock, there stands on the main mass of rock (C) a second tower (d) of the same height, round on the west but flat on the other sides. Between the two towers, is the already mentioned wall linking up the two rocks. As already mentioned, the top of this wall is 20—25 feet above the level of the river so that the towers are 35 to 40 feet above it. The dam seems to have been not much higher than the connecting wall. The out-flow of the water must have taken place over the connecting wall as well as through openings under the wall, probably now filled up with rubble, into the Ḥalāhid canal, and under or rather through the rock on which this great piece of masonry stands, into the Raḥāb canal. Indeed one can still see quite clearly that the great isolated rock is connected deep down by a ridge of rock (e), only the rounded top of which is visible, with the smaller block, so that the two channels were separated from one another. It is also possible that in ancient times the outflow went below and only later, when the water-level was raised by silting, over the wall. Grooves for boards are still recognisable. The smaller block of rock, steep and high on the western side, slopes to the east down to the level and has steplike cavities in it everywhere with stones still perpendicular on it, as if it had had a balustrade, especially above the steep wall in the west. At its eastern end where it joins the level ground, it shows regularly hewn cavities of prismatic shape, which look like watering-troughs for the cattle or like stone graves. The main rock shows the same features. The step-like cavities were perhaps not only used for climbing, but also to measure the level of the water to regulate the outflow.

Both towers and the other buildings in connection with the sluices, except such walls or railings as may have existed of the smaller block, are preserved intact. The hewn stones are so arranged that long stones are every now and then laid crosswise which give the otherwise parallel layers great cohesion. This is particularly the case with the inner filling of the wall, as can be observed in all very large buildings a section of

which comes to be exposed. The square blocks in the dam are also held together by little blocks of lead about 10 cm. high and about 10 cm.² in the section. These little rods of lead were placed in holes specially made for them about 4-5 cm. deep and the next block above was placed over with the corresponding cavity filled with the top half of the little rod. The Sabaeans only used mortar in the stone work of the dam as a top covering to prevent damage being done by the rain-water.

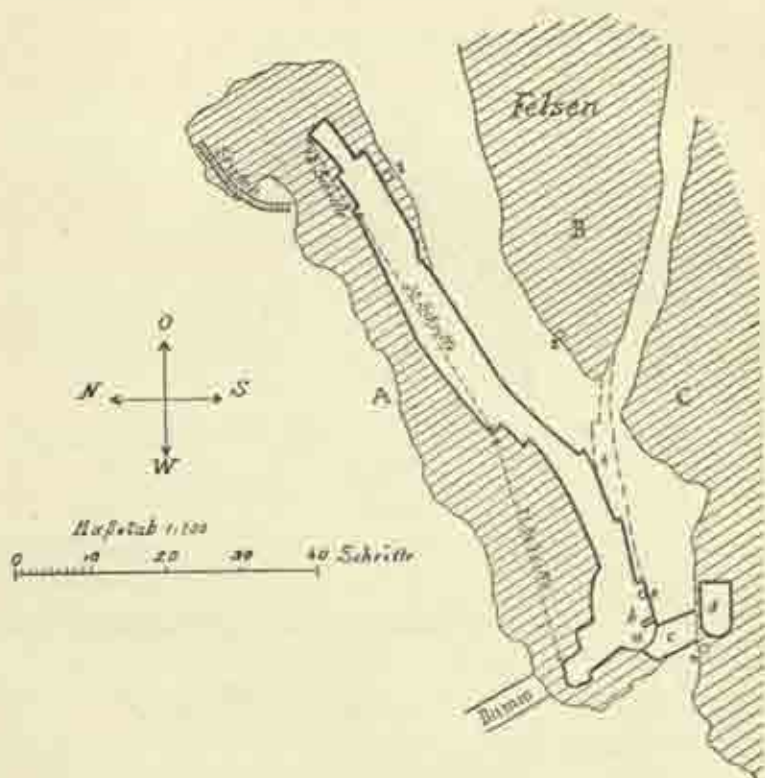
The northern system of sluices consists of three walls of which the northern and largest

is a kind of railing of masonry. The whole wall is coped with excellent cement.

Almost exactly S. E. about 11 paces from the S. W. end of the part, 114 paces long already described (2) runs to the S. E. a wall 38 paces long and 21 broad at its N. W. end, the S. E. end of which is narrow and rounded. This wall is exactly the height of the long wall. At the present there is on it a modern *ḥajra* (stone-house) built by the amir 'Abd al-Rahmān which probably existed in Arnaud's time and certainly in Halévy's.

Between the two walls, four paces from either,

Marbat el-Dimm



- Places where inscriptions are engraved on the rocks: 1 Gl. 513; 2 Gl. 514; 3 Gl. 523; 4 Gl. 525.
 a Tower with staircase, of the same height as d and the highest part of the whole building.
 b Staircase.
 c Barrier between the tower and southwestern rocks.
 d Tower exactly similar to a.

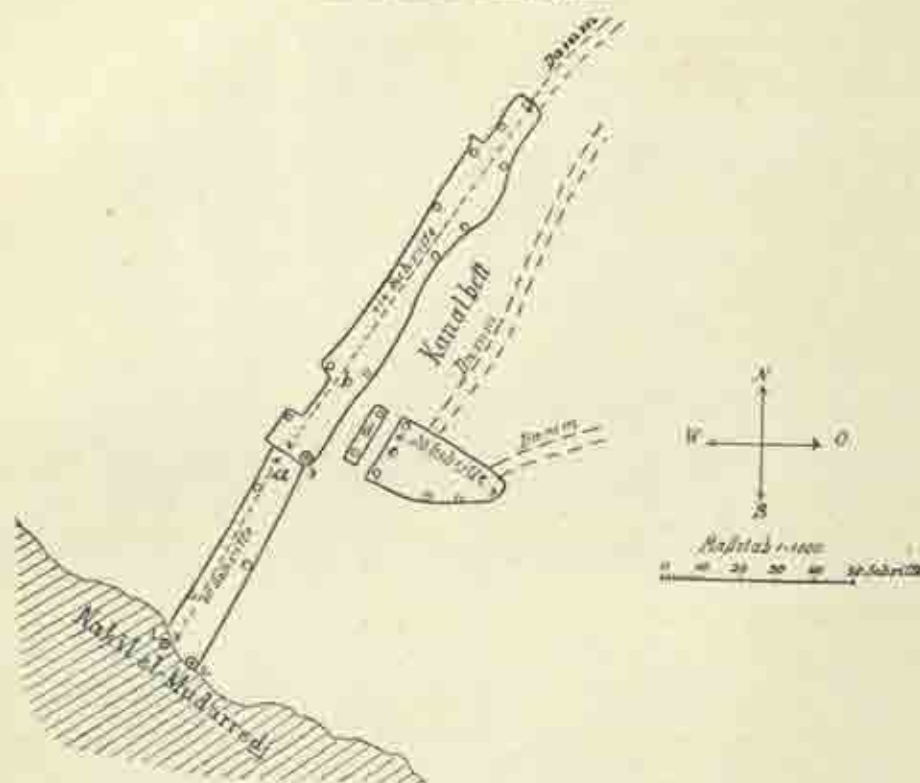
(a, d) with one end built against the rocks of Balak al-Kibbi runs northeast, a little towards E. N. E. This wall, which is in all 184 paces long and 15 thick at the broadest point, although the average is about 11 and 15-20 feet high consists of two parts: The southwestern part 70 paces long (a) is somewhat lower (quite low beside the Balak rocks, about 16 feet high at the point where it joins the N. E. part) and quite flat on the top. The N. E. part (d) 114 paces long and somewhat damaged towards its west end is not quite flat on the top and towards the south side the top shows

stands a north wall only 18 paces long, 3 broad and of the same height as the others, the base of which forms a perfect rectangle. This wall somewhat damaged on the north side and now joined to the S. E. wall by two modern slight walls, which the Beduins use as a stable, stands back a little at its S. W. end as compared with the two neighbouring walls and like the S. E. wall shows a prism-shaped cutting about a yard from the west end, now filled in about 2 feet broad and deep which was intended to take the boards. On the northern side this groove is no longer to be seen. The three

walls thus formed, like the three rocks on the south form two channels of exit, both of which however, it is worth noting, flow into one and the same main channel, which runs almost exactly east for about 1,000 yards to a large building for distributing water. This canal ran between two parallel dams of the same style and construction as the dam proper but the bed, which is paved with cemented stones, runs above the plain, especially on the south side some 20-25 feet. The dam proper, barely higher than the two walls of this canal, joins the east side of the most southern wall, 38 paces long.

Similar distributing works existed throughout the whole plain of Marib. Glaser saw traces of aqueducts (with double dams) at different places. In the bed of the Dheune not far below the dam he saw a remarkable erection of stone not unlike a weir. Unfortunately the inscription on it which might have given us definite information had been removed some years before. Canals seem to have led the water from the great distributing centres to the smaller ones (*manāṭṭā*) from which it was taken direct to the palm gardens and fields. The most of the *manāṭṭā* are in the form of cubes or shallow prisms and are rarely more than 6 feet

The Northern Sluice-system



⊙ Places with especially important inscriptions: 1 Gl. 554, 618; 2 Gl. 551; 3 Gl. 341.

○ Places with inscriptions.

a a little lower than b.

The canal, which led the water to the lower *ḥuṣn*, about 1,000 yards away, comes up to b and c.

d a large intervening wall standing by itself.

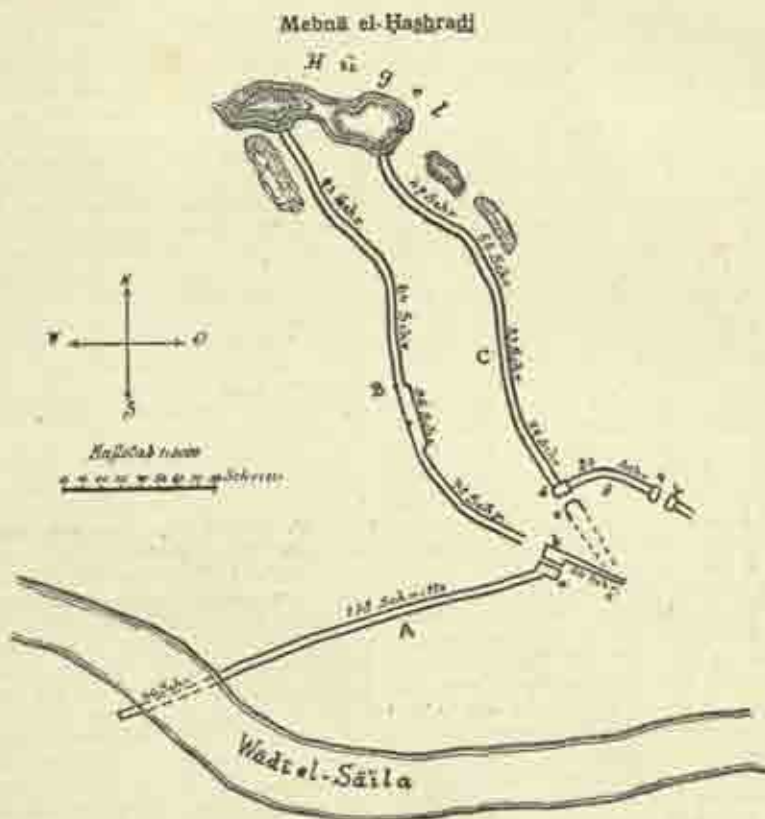
S.S.W. of Mabnā al-Ḥaṣṣadī (see below) lies *Ḥuṣn al-Aṣṣal*, a later building erected on the remains of old water-works, which formed the end of the main channel, already mentioned in connection with the northern sluices. It lies at about exactly the same level as the dam and several yards above the surrounding country. It consists of several walls, some of hewn stone and some of ordinary stones and cement, which sent the water out in eight different directions. The aqueduct runs practically westwards up to the northern sluices of the dam. Although perfectly preserved the bed of the canal has been in many places filled up with blown sand.

high and 12 to 15 feet long. As a rule a canal leads out of them from the centre, usually walled on one side. Nothing is left of the canals which connected the *manāṭṭā* with the larger distributing centres and on the other side with the fields. Deep furrows torn out of the ground by the periodic deluges of rain and, like the greater part of the plain, becoming gradually filled with desert sand are now the characteristic feature of the once flourishing plain of Saba'.

The great barrier of the dam between the two Raṣṣ mountains seems however not to have sufficed for the strain upon it. A second dam called Mabnā al-Ḥaṣṣadī was therefore built N.N.E.

of the dam and west of Mārib which seems to have been intended to regulate the water of the Wādī 'l-Sā'ila (cf. Glaser, *Reise nach Mārib*, p. 49 sq.), which carried the waters of the north Balāḥ hill, the Djabal Hailān and the Ḥaḥḥab hills into the plain of Mārib and joined the Wādī Ḥanne below the village of Mārib. This barrage consists of three walls of black porous stones, running very irregularly which are held together by mortar and arranged in 3 strata which perhaps point to 3 periods of building. The first of these walls (A) which dammed the river-bed begins just on the right bank of the Sā'ila and runs 240 paces E. N. E. where it joins a prism-shaped erection (a) 7 paces broad, 12 long and about 15 feet

two walls run: the one (third) wall (C) runs with many windings almost parallel to the second great wall (B) and like it runs up to the northern hills; it is 182 paces long. The other building (f) runs in a curve to the north, 50 paces in length, to a third outlet exactly opposite the second, which however consists of buildings (g, h) 8 paces from each other, with the ground between them covered by a layer of stone masonry. The outlet is to the N. E. On the S. E. is a wall 12 feet long now partly collapsed. Glaser copied 10 Sabaeen texts at al-Ḥaḥḥab which came from other ruins and show that these works belong to a later period, like the late tombstone built into the wall here (Glaser, N^o 509).



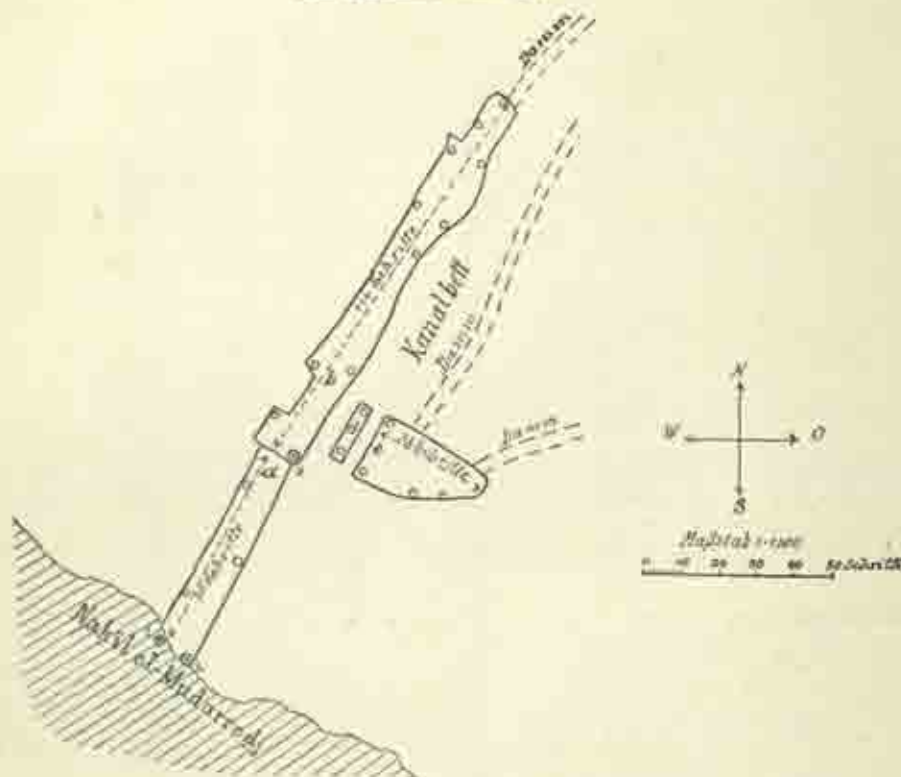
high, which lies N. W. to S. E. 7 feet N. E. stands a second similar building (b) parallel to the first and continued to the S. E. in a narrower wall (c) 36 paces in length. The space between these two buildings must have been an outlet. With a very small space between, the second mortared wall (B) runs N. W. from the second building (b) and with many windings turns N. and N. W. where it joins the rocks. Its length is 268 paces, the space between it and the second building 10 paces (b). 21 paces N. E. of the second building are two others (d, e) which give an outlet to the N. E. The southern of the two is only partly preserved. It points to the S. E. end of the 36 paces long wall (c); perhaps the two were once connected or there was a sluice between. From the building (d) which forms the northern boundary of the second outlet

The various constructions date, as we learn from the inscriptions, from different periods. The southern system of sluices was erected as early as the Mukarrab period. Samuḥu-'alaya Yaḥūf, son of Ḍhimri-'alaya, Mukarrab of Saba', according to the inscription Glaser, N^o 513-514, made here an outlet in the barrage at Raḥāb, which was extended two generations later by the unknown author of the inscription Glaser, N^o 418-419 (cf. N. Rhodokanakis, *Altäthiopische Texte*, I. 7; *Studien*, II. 97, 99 sq.; Glaser, *Skizze*, I. 70 sq.; *Reise nach Mārib*, p. 59 sq.; Hommel, *Ethnologie*, p. 666). Where the barrage at Raḥāb was is not certain. Perhaps we should assume with Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, II. 100 sq. that it was built on the rib of rock (e) between A and B. About a generation later than the Raḥāb barrage is the similar con-

walls thus formed, like the three rocks on the south form two channels of exit, both of which however, it is worth noting, flow into one and the same main channel, which runs almost exactly east for about 1,000 yards to a large building for distributing water. This canal ran between two parallel dams of the same style and construction as the dam proper but the bed, which is paved with cemented stones, runs above the plain, especially on the south side some 20-25 feet. The dam proper, barely higher than the two walls of this canal, joins the east side of the most southern wall, 38 paces long.

Similar distributing works existed throughout the whole plain of Mārib. Glaser saw traces of aqueducts (with double dams) at different places. In the bed of the Dhenne not far below the dam he saw a remarkable erection of stone not unlike a weir. Unfortunately the inscription on it which might have given us definite information had been removed some years before. Canals seem to have led the water from the great distributing centres to the smaller ones (*manāṣiḥ*) from which it was taken direct to the palm gardens and fields. The most of the *manāṣiḥ* are in the form of cubes or shallow prisms and are rarely more than 6 feet

The Northern Sluice-system



○ Places with especially important inscriptions: 1 GL. 554, 618; 2 GL. 551; 3 GL. 341.

○ Places with inscriptions.

a a little lower than b.

The canal, which led the water to the lower *ḥuṣn*, about 1,000 yards away, comes up to b and c.

d a large intervening wall standing by itself.

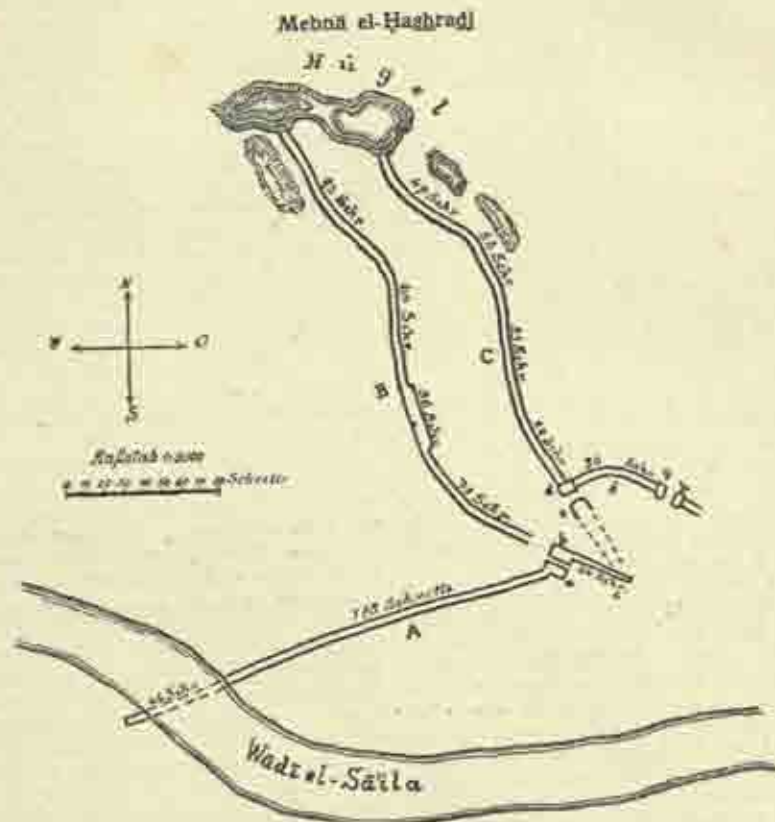
S. S. W. of Mabāṭ al-Ḥashradj (see below) lies Hūṣn al-Aṣḥal, a later building erected on the remains of old water-works, which formed the end of the main channel, already mentioned in connection with the northern sluices. It lies at about exactly the same level as the dam and several yards above the surrounding country. It consists of several walls, some of hewn stone and some of ordinary stones and cement, which sent the water out in eight different directions. The aqueduct runs practically westwards up to the northern sluices of the dam. Although perfectly preserved the bed of the canal has been in many places filled up with blown sand.

high and 12 to 15 feet long. As a rule a canal leads out of them from the centre, usually walled on one side. Nothing is left of the canals which connected the *manāṣiḥ* with the larger distributing centres and on the other side with the fields. Deep furrows torn out of the ground by the periodic deluges of rain and, like the greater part of the plain, becoming gradually filled with desert sand are now the characteristic feature of the once flourishing plain of Saba.

The great barrier of the dam between the two Balāḥ mountains seems however not to have sufficed for the strain upon it. A second dam called Mabāṭ al-Ḥashradj was therefore built N.N.E.

of the dam and west of Märib which seems to have been intended to regulate the water of the Wadi 'l-Sa'ila (cf. Glaser, *Reise nach Märib*, p. 49 sq.), which carried the waters of the north Balak hill, the Djabal Hallan and the Khaghab hills into the plain of Märib and joined the Wadi Qhame below the village of Märib. This barrage consists of three walls of black porous stones, running very irregularly which are held together by mortar and arranged in 3 strata which perhaps point to 3 periods of building. The first of these walls (A) which dammed the river-bed begins just on the right bank of the Sa'ila and runs 240 paces E. N. E. where it joins a prism-shaped erection (a) 7 paces broad, 12 long and about 15 feet

two walls run; the one (third) wall (C) runs with many windings almost parallel to the second great wall (B) and like it runs up to the northern hills; it is 182 paces long. The other building (F) runs in a curve to the north, 50 paces in length, to a third outlet exactly opposite the second, which however consists of buildings (G, H) 8 paces from each other, with the ground between them covered by a layer of stone masonry. The outlet is to the N. E. On the S. E. is a wall 12 feet long now partly collapsed. Glaser copied 10 Sabaeen texts at al-Hashradj which came from other ruins and show that these works belong to a later period, like the late tombstone built into the wall here (Glaser, N^o 509).



high, which lies N. W. to S. E. 7 feet N. E. stands a second similar building (b) parallel to the first and continued to the S. E. in a narrower wall (c) 36 paces in length. The space between these two buildings must have been an outlet. With a very small space between, the second mortared wall (B) runs N. W. from the second building (b) and with many windings turns N. and N. W. where it joins the rocks. Its length is 268 paces, the space between it and the second building 10 paces (d), 21 paces N. E. of the second building are two others (d, e) which give an outlet to the N. E. The southern of the two is only partly preserved. It points to the S. E. end of the 36 paces long wall (c); perhaps the two were once connected or there was a sluice between. From the building (d) which forms the northern boundary of the second outlet

The various constructions date, as we learn from the inscriptions, from different periods. The southern system of sluices was erected as early as the Mukarrib period. Sumuhu'alaya Yanafi, son of Lhimu'alaya, Mukarrib of Saba, according to the inscription Glaser, N^o 513-514, made here an outlet in the barrage at Rahab, which was extended two generations later by the unknown author of the inscription Glaser, N^o 418-419 (cf. N. Rhodokanakis, *Altäthiopische Texte*, I. 7; *Studien*, II. 97, 99 sq.; Glaser, *Säben*, I. 70 sq.; *Reise nach Märib*, p. 59 sq.; Hommel, *Ethnologie*, p. 666). Where the barrage at Rahab was is not certain. Perhaps we should assume with Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, II. 100 sq. that it was built on the rib of rock (e) between A and B. About a generation later than the Rahab barrage is the similar con-

struction at Hababid, which was probably built at the junction (c) of the Mar'ib al-Damm. The Mukarrif Yith'amara Bayin, son of Sumaha-'alaya Yana'il, built a water-course for it, as his father had done for the Ra'ib (according to Glaser, N^o. 523, 525 = Arnaud, N^o. 12, 13 = Halévy, N^o. 678; cf. Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, ii. 102 sq.; Glaser, *op. cit.*). The northern sluice-works are much later; according to Glaser (*Festschrift Mär'ib*, p. 66-68), they did not get their present form till the time of king Shannasa Vaharish (c. 300 A.D.) and may perhaps even be not older than the fifth century A.D. The oldest parts of the works are put by Glaser (p. 68) to the period 1000-700 B.C. which is probably rather too early.

The great system of dams did not long exist in this form. This we know from two great prismatic monoliths, which are inscribed on all four sides and tell us of the later history of the dam. The one with the inscription Glaser, N^o. 554 is 7 feet long, 30 inches broad, and a foot thick; the second, even larger, bears the inscription Glaser, N^o. 618. Both lay close beside the junction of the northern wall of the northern sluice with the rocks of the Djebel Bulak. According to Glaser, N^o. 554, king Sharahhil Ya'far in 449 A.D. had a thorough renovation of the works carried out. But these lasted barely a year, for in 450 A.D. the waters broke through the dam so that the works had again to be completely restored. But the collapse of the great system was not to be prevented. From Glaser, N^o. 618 we learn that under the rule of the Abyssinian viceroy Abraha (542 A.D.) another breach occurred in the dam. Once more restoration work on a large scale averted the threatened disaster, but the final catastrophe must have occurred not long afterwards, which transformed the fertile plain of Saba into a barren desert, alluded to in the Qur'an (Sura xxxiv, 14 sq.; cf. Glaser, *Zwei Inschriften über den Dammsbruch von Mär'ib*, p. 13 sqq.; *Festschrift Mär'ib*, p. 16, 64, 144 sqq.).

Its cause is seen by Glaser in the action of wind and rain which gradually wore down and weakened the east side. Another main cause of destruction must have been the silt which so filled the reservoir in course of decades that the water flowed over the dam. A mention of the bursting of the dam in the Qur'an (*al-'urim*) and the importance of this event for the town of Mär'ib and the country round it has resulted in Muslim tradition devoting attention to this catastrophe and its consequences, so that all sorts of scraps of information about the dam were collected. Nevertheless it is remarkable how little even authorities on South Arabia like al-Hamdani (*Sifa*, p. 80 and *Ikhl*, viii., in D. H. Müller, *Burgen und Schlösser*, ii. 958 sq., 1036, 1038; cf. N. Rhodokanakis, *Studien*, ii. 105 sq.; al-Bakri, *Mu'djam*, ii. 502) really know about the dam. Al-Hamdani only says that the dam was built against a wall which was built on to the side walls of the reservoir, of great blocks of stone linked together with iron. The arrangement for distributing the water from the farms were still there as if their builder had only finished yesterday. Al-Hamdani saw the building which had survived on one of the two sides (i.e. on one bank) namely the one which rose out of the water intact (i.e. the sluices). The breach had only affected the barrage but even of this a portion remained intact which was adjoined by the gardens on the left and was 15 ells in breadth at the base.

How we are to interpret these statements of al-Hamdani, we learn from the description of the reservoir of Kohaito in Abyssinia (*Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, ii. 150 and pl. 23). There a central wall is flanked by two side walls, one of which is at right angles to a third. That the stones were bound together by iron is evident from Glaser's description. When Yāqūt (*Mu'djam*, iv. 383), who pays very little attention to the dam itself, tells us that it lies among three hills, the reference is probably to the massif of the Djebel Balak split into the three hills of the Wādī Adhama and Ma'ala. He also mentions that the blocks are bound together with lead and says that the water accumulated behind the dam is led as required to the fields by strong sluices and cunningly contrived arrangements. According to al-Ma'sūdī (*Murūdj al-Dhahab*, iii. 368 sq.), the barrage was one parasang in length and breadth and contained 30 round openings, each of 1 ell in diameter through which the water was led to the fields.

Like many buildings in Arabia, the dam of Mär'ib is dated by later tradition to remote antiquity and attributed to Luqmān b. 'Ad (al-Bakri, *Mu'djam*, ii. 502; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iv. 383; al-Ma'sūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, iii. 366; cf. A. v. Kremer, *Sage*, p. 19 sq.; Dīrdjī Zaidān, p. 151) or Saba' b. Yashujub b. Ya'rib (Yāqūt, iv. 382; cf. E. Oriander, *Z. D. M. G.*, x. 68; E. Pococke, *Specimen hist. Arabum*, p. 498). Al-Hamdani (*Ikhl*, viii.) mentions, besides Luqmān, also the Himyar and al-'Ad b. al-Jawh as builders of the dam. Al-Ma'sūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, p. 369 sq., says that the dam was built by a wise king on the advice of learned men.

The importance of the dam for the prosperity of the country is evident from the descriptions of the Arab historians and geographers, who in this connection usually quote the reference in the Qur'an to the two gardens of the Sabaeans, while, according to al-Hamdani, this irrigated area included not only the plain of Saba' but stretched to the borders of the desert of Salihi; Glaser (*Festschrift Mär'ib*, p. 52) held the view that the water accumulated by the dam would suffice to irrigate amply all the land on the borders of the desert as far as Hadramūt, and transform it into a vast garden. It is therefore perhaps not to be regarded as an exaggeration when al-Ma'sūdī (*Murūdj al-Dhahab*, p. 366 sq.) describes the land of Saba' with its wealth of gardens and fields, broad meadows and extensive irrigation system as the most fertile part of Yemen, the beauty of which had become proverbial throughout the world. According to him, a man on horseback would take more than a month to cross the rich cultivated country and any one travelling on foot or on horse used not fear the sun from one end of the land to the other, as he could always travel in the shade, so rich was the vegetation (cf. A. v. Kremer, *Sage*, p. 10, note 1). According to Ibn Rosta, p. 114, who also waxes eloquent over the fertility of the land of Saba', a bucket on the head of a man walking between the fruit trees would very soon have filled itself with fruit without one pulling or gathering them.

Under such circumstances it was natural that the catastrophe of the bursting of the dam, known as *al-'urim* throughout the Muslim world, should have the most far-reaching effects. The migration of Himyar tribes to the north is con-

nected with the catastrophe and the Banū Ghassān took this event as the starting point of an era of their own (*Am al-sail*; al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitaḥ al-Tanbih*, p. 202). There is hardly any historical event of pre-Islamic history, that has become embellished with so much that is fanciful and related in so many different versions, as the history of the bursting of the dam. Al-Mas'ūdī alone (*Musādīq al-Dhahab*, li. 370 sq.) dared attribute it to natural causes; he thought that the water had worn away the foundations of the dam and in time undermined them without its being noticed. When the masonry of the dam and the barrage had become so weakened that they could no longer resist the force of the water, the waters when unusually big broke through and flooded the plain. But even al-Mas'ūdī sees in the catastrophe a punishment for the arrogance of the Sabaeans and gives a good deal of space in his history to the legendary version of this event (*op. cit.*, p. 373 sq.), which in the main agrees with that of Yāqūt, *Muḥjam*, iv. 483-485. Ibn al-Muḥāwir alone (according to Sprenger, *Post- und Reiseroute*, p. 153 sq.) tells the history of the destruction of the dam in quite a different way from the older historians. According to al-Mas'ūdī the story is briefly as follows: the king 'Amr b. 'Amir who lived in Mārib was warned of the imminent catastrophe by his brother 'Imrān, who was a soothsayer and by his wife Zarifa al-Khāir, also skilled in prophecy. 'Imrān foresaw that his people would be scattered in different directions and told this to his brother. Zarifa on the other hand dreamed of a great cloud which covered her country and sent forth thunder and lightning. It burst and burned up everything upon which it fell. All this pointed to a terrible inundation and Zarifa was confirmed in her idea by other signs that the catastrophe was imminent. She warned 'Amr and urged him to see to the dam. If he saw a mouse there tearing out holes with its forepaws and throwing out big stones with his hind feet, the misfortune was inevitable and imminent. 'Amr went to the dam and actually saw a mouse which turned over with its feet a stone which 50 men could not have moved from the position. 'Amr himself then dreamed of an inundation by the dam and now decided to realise his possessions and leave the country with his family which he was able to do surreptitiously without arousing suspicions. Soon afterwards the collapse came, which destroyed the whole country, even high lying fields and places a considerable distance off.

While there are considerable differences in detail in the different versions of the story — the collapse took place for example, according to Yāqūt not under 'Amr but under his brother 'Imrān —, there is still greater disagreement about the date. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, for example, puts it 400 years before Islām, i.e. in the third century A.D. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the catastrophe took place under Ḥasan b. Tibbān As'ad, who (with A. v. Kremer, *Sage*, p. 120 sq. and note 4) is to be identified with Abū Karib As'ad and according to Glaser (*Sitzb.*, ii. 542) reigned from 385-420. Among European scholars Gosselin goes furthest back in putting the date at 374 A.C. while Reiske thinks it took place 30-40 A.C. and Schultens puts it at 30-40 A.D., Perrot 553 years before Muḥammad and Silvestre de Sacy 210 or 170 A.D. Yāqūt, iv. 383 comes nearest the truth; he says

it took place in the period of Abyssinian rule. As the terminus post quem is 542 A.D., according to the inscription Glaser, N^o 618, we may put the last disastrous breach in the dam at occurring between 542 and 570 A.D. An exact date unfortunately cannot be obtained as the necessary data are lacking. Besides, the stories of the bursting of the dam in Mas'ūdī, p. 393 sqq. and Ibn Rosta, p. 114 sq. which speak of the land being twice devastated by the waters of the dam, may contain a memory of the actual course of events, and the final collapse of the dam may have taken place after the catastrophe of 542 A.D. when the dam was carried away for the first time.

The various attempts to explain the etymology of Mārib are not satisfactory. When, for example, Yāqūt, *Muḥjam*, iv. 382 sees in Mārib, a place-name from Arabic = *Ḥaḡḡar* or from *ariba* or *aruba*, this clearly shows what difficulties the explanation of this name gave the philologists. His further statement however that Mārib was the name of the Sabaean kings is worthy of note (cf. H. Fleischer, *Abulfedā hist. antitributa*, p. 114), especially as in Naḥḥāwī al-Himyari, a gloss is preserved according to which *Mārib* in Ḥimyarite means "lord" (cf. Blau in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxv. 591, note 7). Djurdj Zaidān, *Kitaḥ al-'Arab fah al-Islām*, p. 142 explains Mārib as a loan-word from the Aramaic, a compound of *mā* and *rib*. E. Oslander, *Z.D.M.G.*, xix. 162 takes Mārib to be connected with the root of the Sabaean proper name *Ṣāb* to which *Riyāb* and *Ri'āb* correspond in Arabic. J. H. Mordtmann, who deals in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxx. 322 sq. at length with the etymology of Mariaba, points to the *Ṣāb* and

Ṣāb of the inscriptions which he connects with the Arabic *ṣāb*, "dominus crassus, magnus gentis". D. H. Müller does not accept this derivation (*Burgen und Schlösser*, ii. 968 sq.). Al-Bakri, *Muḥjam*, li. 302 says, following al-Ḥamdānī, that Mārib was the name of a tribe of the 'Ad after whom the town is called and in fact al-Ḥamdānī in *Islām*, viii. (Müller, *Burgen und Schlösser*, ii. 960, 1040) says that Mārib and Marib are the names of two Arab tribes. In the older Sabaean inscriptions the town is called *Ṣāb* to which the Greeks added an *a* to give it a Greek form. Eratosthenes and Artemidoros (Strabo, xvi. 768, 778) call the town *Maḡarā*. The later inscriptions mention it under the name *Ṣāb* in which we have, with Rhodokanakis, to see a later contracted form, from which comes the Mārib of Muslim tradition. The Sabaean capital is however known to the classical authors and Arab geographers by another name, viz. *Ṣāb* (Agatharchides, p. 100 in *Geogr. Gr. min.*, l. 188 and in Steph. Byz. s. *Ṣāb* and *Ṣāb*; cf. *Ṣāb* in the *Art. Saba*, N^o 1, *R. E.*, ii. A, col. 1516) and *Saba*. *Tkad* (col. 1391 sq.) sees in contrast to J. H. Mordtmann (*Sabäische Denkmäler*, p. 3, note 1), E. Glaser (*Sitzb.*, ii. 15, *Sabäische Streitfragen*, p. 10) and A. Sprenger (*Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 159, 162) in this double name of the Sabaean capital not an error but believes that *Saba*, while not the usual, was not a wrong name for the capital.

Against this Glaser, *Sitzb.*, ii. 15, rightly emphasised that the capital of the Sabaean kingdom Maryab or Mārib was never known as *Saba*. *Saba* was — so far as the inscriptions are con-

cerned — never anything but the name of the land or kingdom and of the tribe which had the hegemony in this land, to which the name Saba' has remained attached to the present day. This is quite clear from the inscriptions. Thus, in the first lines of the old Sabaeen inscriptions Glaser, N^o. 418—419, 1000 A and 1000 B (cf. N. Rhodokanakis, *Altarabische Texte*, I, 20 ff., 79), Al-makāh (the principal deity of Saba') and Saba' is the formula by which the Sabaeen, first a theocratic and then monarchic, state is known. That the predominant tribe Saba' is however never described as a tribe in the older period is clear evidence of its hegemony as Rhodokanakis points out (*Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, I, 121). It was different in the later period; for example, in the inscription Glaser, N^o. 542, set up by king Shanmar Yuhar'ish, king of Saba' and Dhū Raidan, of the tribe of Saba', the reference is always to the "lords of the town of Mārib and its valleys" | שַׁבְּנָא | סַבְאָא | אַמְעַל | הַרְחַן | מַרְיָב |

ואסדרו (cf. N. Rhodokanakis, *Katabenische Texte zur Bodenvirtschaft*, II, 14), as a definite sphere of influence had been allotted to them in the government of Mārib and the administration of its territories. Deliberately contrasted with them as citizens of the town and the highly cultivated area round it are the "Beduins of Mārib" (| אַעֲרָב | מַרְיָב | in C. I. H., 353, 10 (cf. E. Glaser, *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Africa*, p. 128 199), who probably lived around the town (for references as regards Saba', cf. M. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, p. 385—389). The idea that Saba' was a town, which we find in the classical authors, which was criticised as early as C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, p. 279, is therefore to be put down to a misunderstanding rather than to be taken seriously. This is also true of the identification of Mārib with Saba' among the Arab geographers (cf. the references collected by Iomard in Mengin, *Histoire sommaire de l'Égypte*, p. 341—344). Yāqūt for example (*Muhtarik*, p. 239) identifies Mārib with Saba' as does Abū 'l-Fida' (*Geographie*, p. 130 and *Historia antislamica*, p. 114); but the latter expressly points out that Mārib was known as the town of Saba' and it was also said that Mārib was the name of the king's palace while the town was called Saba'. It is in keeping with this that we find al-Suhaili in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 382 referring to Mārib as the name of a castle of the Ard. In al-Kazwini and in the *Djāhān-nūma* the town is called Saba'. Ibn Rosta, who includes Mārib in Hadramūt and mentions it under the name Madiyat Saba' or Saba', mentions the ruins of a second large town with wonderful buildings, which was close to Saba' and which the people of Saba' considered to have been the town of Saba'. Saba', they said, was two towns, which lay opposite one another and were a day's journey in length. As there are a number of buildings which belonged to Mārib on the right bank of the Wādī Dhenné, it is intelligible why the mistake should have been made of imagining two towns running parallel to one another, especially as there are still considerable ruins adjoining the Haram Bilqis, the 'Ama'id and the "pillars of Bilqis" as we have seen. The alleged length of a day's journey is of course much exaggerated and indeed the description in Ibn Rosta generally shows how little was known in later times of the

ancient Mārib. The association of the origin of the town of Mārib with Saba' b. Yashdub probably led to the name of this legendary ruler being transferred to the town or Saba' as a tribe being identified with Mārib, as Agatharchides had already done. The varying form in which the name is handed down, sometimes town of Saba' and sometimes Saba' alone, makes this development very probable. Besides al-Hamdāni (*Šifā*, p. 7, 3) identifies the Saba' of Ptolemy with Mārib and always calls the town Mārib.

The earliest history of the town is unfortunately wrapped in obscurity. The mention of kings of Mārib in the comparatively late inscription, Glaser, N^o. 302, 7, shows, it is true, that the town was still independent in the time of the older Sabaeen Mukarribs — for these "kings of Mārib" are their contemporaries — but gives no clue to the date of its foundation. It probably arose about the same time as the old royal city of Širwāh. The great inscription Glaser, N^o. 418—419, shows Mārib already in possession of the Sabaeen Mukarriba and not long afterwards it became their capital; this at least seems evident from the inscription Glaser, N^o. 481, 3 where we are told that the founder of the inscription "brought as far as Maryab the peace between Saba' and Katabān". This we can only interpret with Rhodokanakis (*Studien*, II, 24) as meaning that the general (he is called Tuba'kariba, son of Dhamaryeda' of the clan of Madhmarum) returned to the capital of Saba' after the conclusion of peace. Not long after the foundation of the great Sabaeen kingdom, of which the inscription Glaser, N^o. 1000 A B relates, it must have replaced Širwāh, the oldest capital of the Sabaeen kingdom; indeed there seems to be evidence that this had already taken place in the reign of the king who set up the two great Širwāh inscriptions Glaser, N^o. 1000 A B, Kariba-llu Watar, founder of the great Sabaeen kingdom. For when we are told in Glaser, N^o. 1000 B, I, 5 (N. Rhodokanakis, *Altarabische Texte*, I, 82) that he had built the upper part of his palace Šlhu (| סַלְחָא |) which is probably identical with the famous citadel Šalḥin at Mārib, it may be assumed that this Mukarrib resided here. The great barrage which went back to the older generation of Sabaeen Mukarriba, must have then transformed Mārib and the country round it into the flourishing oasis which made the town the centre of a great kingdom. The Mukarriba Sumuhu-alaya Yanaf and his father Vid'i-llu Dharih as well as Yithi-amara Bayin also did much for the development of the town and the country around it.

We do not know exactly when Mārib ceased to be the capital of the Sabaeen kingdom. Glaser (*Zwei Inschriften über den Dammbruch von Mārib*, p. 29) supposes that the capital was removed to Zafar (near Yarim) at latest towards the end of the third century A.D., but probably as early as the first century A.D., since the *Periplus maris Erythraei*, § 23 already knows Zafar as the capital.

Indeed the evidence of the *Periplus* which is supplemented by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VI, 104, who knows Sapphar as a royal residence, can hardly be interpreted otherwise than meaning that Zafar was already the residence of the Sabaeen kings about 60 A.D. With the transfer of the capital to Zafar, the cause of which Glaser finds in the attacks of the Axamites on the independence of the Sabaeen kingdom, while M. Hartmann (*Die arabische Frage*,

p. 469) supposes the reason to have been the victory of the Hamdānids over Ḥimyar (cf. C.I.H., 347 and M. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 146 sq.). Mārib's glory had passed away; the decline probably did not set in at once but Glaser must be right in assuming that Mārib was now neglected and this is how the dam, so important for the cultivation of the land, fell into disrepair. Isolated references in Muslim sources show that the town had however not yet lost all its importance. Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, i. 308 (cf. A. v. Kremer, *Sage*, p. 138) knows Mārib as one of the treasuries of the Ḥimyars, and according to the Ḥimyar *ḥaṣida*, verse 56 (A. v. Kremer, *Sage*, p. xii, note 1 and p. 69), Shammar Yarīsh (c. 281 A.D.) kept his prisoners in Mārib. The two breaches in the dam which took place in 450 A.D. and under Abyssinian rule in 542 A.D., must have done grave injury to the prosperity of the town. In this last period of its brilliant history Mārib was for a short time (certainly in 542 A.D.) the capital of the governor of the Ethiopian king Ramḥis Zubaynān, Abrahā, and even had a Christian church (cf. Glaser, *Zwei Inschriften über den Dambruch von Mārib*, p. 47). The final catastrophe sealed the fate of the town. Its inhabitants left the sore tried town and migrated to the Ḥaḍira.

Mārib was resettled in the Muslim period. The favourable situation of the place and perhaps the rich deposits of salt in the neighbourhood (3 days' journey east of Mārib at Ṣāfir, mentioned in the time of the Prophet, who appointed Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī governor of Mārib; E. Glaser, *Reise nach Mārib*, p. 26; al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, ii. 502; al-Hamdānī, *Sifa*, p. 87, 102, 155, 201; A. Sprenger, *Post- und Reiserouten*, p. 139) also kept the place from being quite forgotten. Ibn Khurḍādhbih (*B.G.A.*, vi. 138) and al-Muqaddasī (*B.G.A.*, vi. 138) and al-Muqaddasī (*B.G.A.*, vi. 138) mention the village of Mārib; al-Hamdānī, *Sifa*, p. 199 says the sesame of Mārib is a speciality of the Yemen. Al-Idrīsī, *Geographie*, p. 149 calls Mārib a *ḥarḍī*; according to Ibn al-Maḍjāwī (in A. Sprenger, *Post- und Reiserouten*, p. 140), Mārib (c. 630 A.H.) had a market and a mosque and was of some importance as a resting-place for the night and fruit could be obtained there at any time of the year. Since Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, iv. 436, also says, the district of Mārib is rich in palms, it seems to have in part at least regained its old fertility.

The present little kingdom of Mārib owes its foundation to the sharif Ḥusain from al-Zahir in al-Djāwī, who took a vigorous part in the expulsion of the Turks from the Yemen in 1640. He was the first to assume the title of emir. His dominion extended over the whole land from Raghwan in the southern Djāwī to Baiḥān, which he divided among his four sons. Only one of these, Khalid, to whom Mārib fell, could exert effective authority; the others never gained possession of their inheritances although their descendants still play a certain part in Baiḥān al-Kasāb, Harḥ and Raghwan.

Bibliography: al-Muqaddasī, *B.G.A.*, iii. 89; Ibn Khurḍādhbih, *B.G.A.*, vi. 138; Ibn Rosteh, *B.G.A.*, vii. 63, 113—115; al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, *B.G.A.*, viii. 202; do., *Murūf al-Dhahab*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, ii. 55, 67 sq.; iii. 365—372, 393 sq.; Abu 'l-Fida', *Kitāb Taqwīm al-Bulḍān*, ed. Ch. Schler (Dresden 1846), p. 75; do., ed. Mac-Guckin de Slane and M. Reinaud (Paris 1840—1848), ii. 130; do., *Historia antislamica*, ed.

H. L. Fleischer, p. 114; al-Idrīsī, *Kitāb Nushat al-Mughāḥ*, transl. A. Joubert, i. 149; al-Hamdānī, *Sifa al-Djāwī al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, p. 7, 80, 87, 102, 155, 199, 201; do., *Iḥlīl*, viii. in D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens nach dem Iḥlīl des Hamdānī*, ii. S. B. A. Wien, xviii/3, 1881, p. 959 sq., 968 sq., 972 sq., 1036, 1038, 1039 and note 1, 1040; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 27, 640; iv. 104, 382 sq., 436; do., *Muḥṭarīḥ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 239; *Murūf al-Iḥlīl*, ed. T. G. Juynboll, iii. 28; al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 308; ii. 501 sq., 754; Azīm al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Naṭwān im Samā al-'Ulūm*, G. M. S., xxiv. 5, 50, 70, 86, 95; Djirdī Zaidān, *Kitāb al-'Arab kabīl al-Iṣṭām*, i. (Cairo 1908), p. 142, 143, 150—160; 'Abd al-Wāṣi' b. Yahyā al-Wāṣi' al-Yamānī, *Ta'riḥ al-Yaman* (Cairo 1346), p. 12, 322; Reiske, *De Arabum epocha vetustissima Scl. et Arim dicta*, Leipzig 1748; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 277—279; A. Sylvestre de Sacy, *Mémoire sur divers événements de l'histoire des Arabes avant Mahomet*, *Mém. Acad. d. Inscri. et Belles-Lettres*, xlviii. 484 sq.; E. Pococke, *Specimen historiae Arabum*, Oxford 1806, p. 498; F. Fresnel, *Lettres sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, *J. A.*, ser. iii, vol. vi. (1838), p. 208, 218 sq.; Jomard, *Études géographiques et historiques sur l'Arabie*, in F. Mengin, *Histoire Sommaire de l'Égypte sous le gouvernement de Mohammed-Aly* (Paris 1839), p. 336—345; Th. Arnaud, *Relation d'un voyage à Mareb (Saba) dans l'Arabie méridionale, interprété en 1843*, *J. A.*, ser. iv, vol. v, p. 325; vi. 202 sq., 223, 234 sq.; A. Sprenger, *Die Post- u. Reiserouten des Orients*, *Abh. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.*, iii/3, p. 139 sq.; do., *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 159, 162, 245; A. v. Kremer, *Über die südarabische Sage*, p. xii, note 1; p. 10 and note 1; p. 26 sq., 69, 120 sq. and note 4; p. 138; J. Halévy, *Rapport sur une mission archéologique dans le Yémen*, *J. A.*, ser. vi, vol. xix. (1872), p. 67 sq., 96; Th. J. Arnaud, *Plan de la digue et de la ville de Mareb*, *J. A.*, ser. vii, vol. iii. (1874), p. 11—15; J. H. Mordtmann and D. H. Müller, *Schäsische Denkmäler (Denkschr. d. K. Akad. d. Wissensch. in Wien)*, xxxiii. [1883], p. 3, 99; E. Glaser, *Südarabische Streifungen*, Prague 1887, p. 10; do., *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, i. (Munich 1899), p. 67—71; ii. (Berlin 1899), p. 15, 542; do., *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, Munich 1895, p. 128 sq.; do., *Zwei Inschriften über den Dambruch von Mārib*, *M. V. A. G.*, vi. (1897), p. 29, 47; do., *Sammlung Eduard Glaser I. Eduard Glaser's Reise nach Mārib*, ed. by D. H. Müller, and N. Rhodokanakis, Vienna 1913, p. 16, 18, 20, 26, 36 sq., 40 sq., 44—46, 48 sq., 51 sq., 58 sq., 64, 66—68, 73—75, 92, 110, 137, 139, 141, 144 sq., 173 sq., 179, 185; do., *Tagebuch*, xl. 47, 59; xvi. 8; M. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage (Der islamische Orient, Berichte und Forschungen)*, ii., Leipzig 1909, p. 146 sq., 385—389, 469; N. Rhodokanakis, *Studien zur Lexikographie und Grammatik des Südarabischen*, ii. (S. B. A. Wien, clxxxv/3, 1917), p. 7 sq., 12 sq., 24, 97, 99—103, 105 sq.; do., *Katabanische Texte zur Bodenvirtschaft*, ii. (S. B. A.

Wien, cxcviii/2 [1922]), p. 14, 49 and note 3, 54—56; do., *Altislavische Texte*, i. (S. B. Ak. Wien, cxcvi/2 [1927]), p. 6 sq., 20 sq. 79, 82, 116 sq.; V. Klač, article Saba and Sabai in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie*, ii. A, col. 1314, 1323 sq., 1354 sq., 1356 sq., 1359, 1365, 1380, 1391—1393, 1400—1402, 1430, 1432, 1442 sq., 1445, 1451, 1490, 1494, 1515—1520; F. Hommel, *Ethnologie und Geographie der alten Orient* (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, begründ. v. Iwan v. Müller, ser. iii., part i., vol. i., Munich 1926), p. 666 and note 2, 664; *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde*, ed. by Ditlef Nielsen, i., Copenhagen 1927, in cooperation with F. Hommel and N. Rhodokanakis, p. 105, 121, 157. (ADOLF GROHMANN)

AL-MĀRIDĪNĪ, the *nishā* of three mathematicians and astronomers, of whose lives very little is so far known.

1. 'AND ALLĀH b. KHALĪL b. YUSUF was mu'addhin in the mosque of the Omayyads in Damascus and died in the first decade of the ixth (xvth) century. As a result of careless transmission, his works are often mixed up with those of his grandson Sibṭ al-Māridī (3). Lists of his works are given in Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 169 and in Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, 1900, N^o. 421.

2. IMĀD b. IBRAHĪM b. GHĀZĪ, known as Ibn Fallūs, lived in the first half of the viith (xiiith) century and composed works on arithmetic which are listed in Brockelmann, i. 472 and in Suter, N^o. 359.

3. MUḤAMMAD b. MUḤAMMAD b. AḤMAD SIBṬ AL-MĀRIDĪNĪ is the best known of the three and more of his works have survived than of those of the others. He was the grandson of N^o. 1 and mu'addhin at the Azhar mosque in Cairo. The date of his birth is 826 (1423). He died about the end of the ninth century.

His works cover most branches of mathematics, algebra and astronomy, especially instruments for use in the latter and other technical matters. Lists of them are given in Brockelmann, ii. 167 and Suter, N^o. 445. (M. PLESSNER)

MĀRIYA, a Copt maiden, according to one statement, daughter of a man named Shām'ūn, who was sent with her sister Sīrīn by Muḥawwīs [q.v.] in the year 7 A.H. to Muḥammad as a gift of honour (according to another authority there were four of them). The Prophet made her his concubine, while he gave Sīrīn to Ḥassān b. Thābit. He was very devoted to her and gave her a house in the upper town of Medina, where he is said to have visited her by day and night; this house was called after her the *maḥrabā* of the mother of Ibrāhīm. To the great joy of the Prophet, she bore him a son whom he called Ibrāhīm, but he died in infancy. According to tradition, an eclipse of the sun took place on the day of his death, an interesting statement by which we can get the date exactly — if the story is true — the 27th Jan. 632, that is only a few months before Muḥammad's death. Māriya's beauty and Muḥammad's passionate love for her excited such jealousy among his other wives that, to pacify them, he promised to have nothing more to do with the Copt girl, a promise which he afterwards withdrew. Abū Bakr and 'Umar honoured her and gave her a pension which she enjoyed till her death in Muḥarram 16 A. H. There is no reason

to doubt the essential correctness of this story, as there is no particular bias in it and it contains all sorts of details which do not look the least like inventions, so that it is exaggerated scepticism when Lammens supposes that the "mother of Ibrāhīm", after whom the *maḥrabā* was called, was some Jewess. On the other hand, in view of the fact that all the marriages of Muḥammad after the Hījra were childless, it would have been surprising if evil-minded people had not cast suspicions on the paternity of Ibrāhīm, and that this actually happened is evident from some traditions the object of which is to defend Māriya from this suspicion.

On the other hand, it is not so easy to justify the part which Kur'anic exegesis makes Māriya play in the exposition of Sūra lxi. In this Sūra, the Prophet speaks in a very indignant tone against one of his wives, because she has betrayed a secret to another, which he had imparted to her under a promise of the strictest secrecy. At the same time Allāh blames him, because in order to please his wives, he has bound himself by oath to refrain from something which is not definitely stated and because he does not use the right granted him by Allāh to release himself from his oath. In addition, there is a word of warning to the two women who had disobeyed him and a threat to all his wives that he might divorce them in order to marry more pious ones (cf. xxxiii. 28 sq.). According to the usual explanation, the two wives are Ḥafsa and 'Ā'isha and the revelation is said to have been provoked by the fact that Ḥafsa, on returning unexpectedly to her house, found Māriya and the Prophet in an intimate tête-à-tête and that on a day which by rotation belonged to her (or 'Ā'isha). In his embarrassment he pledged himself by oath to have no more intercourse with the Copt girl. But after Ḥafsa's breach of faith, Allāh tells him to release himself from his oath. This explanation fits very well in some respects and that the promise of continence is connected with marital complications is illuminating. That there are *ḥadīths*, which explain his quarrel with his wives quite differently, does not mean very much, for they are no doubt invented to drive out of currency the popular, less edifying version. But, on closer examination, there is one flaw which makes the latter uncertain, for it does not answer the question how Muḥammad could call the situation in which Ḥafsa caught him and Māriya a secret that he trusted to her.

Bibliography: Tabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 1561, 1686, 1774 sqq., 1781 sq.; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, i/ii. 16 sq.; viii. 131—138, 153—156; the commentaries on Sūra lxi; Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur'ān*, i. 217; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, ii. 211 sq., 237, 311 sq.; Lammens, *Faṭima*, p. 2 sq. — On the eclipse of the sun: Rhodokanakis, *W. Z. K. M.*, xiv. 78 sqq.; Mahler, *ibid.*, p. 109 sqq. (Fr. Buhl.)

AL-MARKAB (the MARGAT, MERGHATUM of the Crusaders), a fortress near Bāniyas on the coast of Syria. According to the chronicle of Abū Ghālib Humam b. al-Faḥl al-Muḥaddhab al-Ma'arri (quoted in Yakūt, *Muḥjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 500) and the *Ta'rikh al-Kilā' wa'l-Huṣūn* of Usāma b. Munqidh (in Abu'l-Fida', ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 255), it was built by the Muslims in 454 (1062). Al-Dimashqī (ed. Mehren, p. 208) wrongly attributes its foundation to Ḥārūn al-

Rashid (van Berchem, *Voyage*, p. 304, note 7 where the reference to Rashid [rather Rāshid] al-Dīn in Le Strange, *Palästina* is shown to be wrong); his statement seems to be correct, however, that the citadel was built out of material from ancient ruins. The Byzantines occupied al-Marḥab and other fortresses in the vicinity under the general Kantakuzenos in 1104 (Anna Comnena, *Ἀλεξάνδρῃ*, ed. Reifferscheid, II, 138: τὴν τε Ἀργυροκαστρίαν [= Salfūḥā] τὴν καλούμενον Μαρχάβον [= al-Marḥab], τὰ Γάβαλα [Ḥabala] καὶ ἄλλα τινά). When in 511 (1117–1118) the Crusaders approached the fortress, its lord Ibn Muḥriz surrendered it on condition that he and his family were allowed to remain in it; but after a few days the Franks expelled him and allotted al-Mauḥka to him in exchange for al-Marḥab; Franks and Armenians were settled in the latter. The first recorded lord of the fortress was Rainald Mansuer, the constable of the prince of Antioch. After the earthquake of 1170, from which the fortress must have suffered damage, Bertrand of al-Marḥab, perhaps out of fear of Saladin's threats, handed it over on Feb. 1, 1186 to the Knights of St. John. In July 1186 Saladin passed below the watch tower (now Burj al-Sabī), which from ancient times had commanded the road along the coast (cf. Dussaud, *Topogr.*, p. 127, note 5) below the fortress and was connected with it by a wall which protected a subterranean passage, but did not dare to attack Marḥab any more than Ṭarḥūs [q.v.]. Prince Isaac of Cyprus, a descendant of the Comnenoi (not the Emperor Isaac Comnenos as van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 298 sq., note 5 says), was taken prisoner by Richard Coeur-de-Lion on May 31, 1191, and imprisoned in Marḥab till his death (Neophytos, in *Recueil hist. crois., hist. grecs*, I/ii, 562 with note, II, 489: ἐν καστρίῳ καλουμένῳ Μαρχάβῳ). Sulṭān al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī of Halab whose lands adjoined those of the Knights of St. John sent in 601 (1204–1205) troops against the fortress, who are said to have just succeeded in destroying the towers of the walls when their leader fell and they again retired without accomplishing their object. In 628 (1231) and 638 (1240–1241) the Knights were again at war with Yūsuf, Sulṭān of Halab. From this period (1212) dates the very full description of the strong fortress by Willbrand of Oldenburg. Built on a high hill and surrounded by a double wall and many towers, it was regarded in the period when the power of the Crusaders was beginning to decline, as *maximum totius terrae illae solacium*; the bishop of Valenia (Bāniyās) had moved into the fortress by 1212 out of fear of the Muslims. King Andrews of Hungary in 1217–1218 gave funds for the maintenance of the fortress which had given him an honourable reception (Röhrich, *Regesta Hierosolym.*, p. 243, No. 908). The straits to which the humiliating treaties with Baiḥars had reduced the Knightly Orders is lamented by the Grand Master Hugo Revel in 1268 in a letter in which he says that the possession of its last two fortresses, *Cratum* and *Margatum* (= Ḥiṣn al-Akrād and al-Marḥab), was only granted the Order on payment of oppressive taxes (Röhrich, *Regesta Hierosolym.*, *Additamentum*, Oesiponti 1924, p. 91, No. 1358a). After the loss of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, the Templars and the Knights of St. John in 669 (1271) by a treaty which they concluded in 'Arḥa with Saif al-Dīn Balabān al-Dawādār ('the secretary') al-Rūmī,

the Sulṭān's plenipotentiary, had to cede half of the coastland (ḡāḥil) of Anṭarūs, al-Marḥab and Bāniyās and bind themselves not to build any new defences (Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Faḍā'il, *Ghāḥ al-Mamlūkensultān*, ed. Blochet, in *Patrol. Orient.*, xii, 536). After a raid by the Franks (Oct. 1279) the Emir Saif al-Dīn Balabān al-Ṭabbāḥī, the governor of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād for Kālā'ūn, in the beginning of 1281 sent troops against al-Marḥab, but they were driven back with heavy losses (Mufaḍḍal, *op. cit.*, xiv, 484, and the sources quoted in van Berchem, *Voyage*, p. 301, note 5). In the treaty between Kālā'ūn and the Templars of 681 (1282) al-Marḥab is mentioned among the districts half of which were to be ceded (Mufaḍḍal, *op. cit.*, xiv, 445; van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 302, note 2). The pilgrim Burchardus de Monte Sion in 1283 mentions the "*Castrum Margath fratrum hospitalis sancti Johannis*"; it was still at this date the see of the bishop of Valenia (*Peregrinatores*, ed. Laurent, p. 30, 170).

On 10th Šafar 684 (April 17, 1285) Kālā'ūn appeared before al-Marḥab and began the attack as soon as the siege artillery arrived. On the 19th Rabi' I (May 25) the Emir Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥrī received the surrender of the fortress. On account of its strategic value for defence against possible attacks from the sea, it was not destroyed but included in the "royal province of the fortunate conquests", the capital of which till 688, when Ṭarabulus was taken, was the Castle of the Kurds, still governed by Saif al-Dīn Balabān al-Ṭabbāḥī al-Manṣūrī. Kālā'ūn in 684 ordered him to repair the defences of the citadel as an inscription found *in situ* shows (van Berchem, *Inscriptions de Syrie*, p. 71 sq.). Among those present at the capture of the fortress were the 12 years old Abū 'l-Fida', who was then on his first campaign with his father, and the historian Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm, the continuator of Ibn Wāḥil's chronicle. The best account of the taking of al-Marḥab is in Kālā'ūn's biography entitled *Taḥrīf al-Aḥyām wa 'l-Uḥūr bi-Sirat al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr* (Paris, MS. ar., No. 1704, fol. 149 sq., ed. and transl. in van Berchem, *Voyage*, p. 310–320).

In the viith (xvth) century al-Marḥab belonged to the province of Ṭarabulus ('Umari, *Ta'rif*, transl. by R. Hartmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxx, [1916], 36; Khali al-Zāhiri, *Zubdat Kāthf al-Mamālik*, ed. Ravaisse, p. 48; Kaikashandī, *Shukh al-Aḥḥā*, ed. Cairo, iv, 145 sq.); at this time it was used as a state prison (van Berchem, p. 305, note 2). Its harbour is mentioned in documents of 1193 and 1299 (van Berchem, p. 309, note 3); it was presumably at the mouth of the Wādī 'Ain al-Kharaibe (in Walpole: *al-Mina*). As al-Marḥab lies on the outer spurs of the Anṭariye range it has often wrongly been included among the fortresses of the Ismā'īlīs (*Ḥiṣā al-Dawā*) (so 'Umari, *op. cit.*, in the Berlin and Gotha MS. but not in the others; Hartmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, lxx, 36, note 7). So far as we can judge from the brief notes by visitors, it was not till about the middle of the xixth century that it began to fall into ruins. About 1885 at the request of the kaimmakām of the kaza of al-Marḥab the seat of the government was transferred from the ruined Kal'at al-Marḥab to Bāniyās (M. Hartmann, *Z. D. P. V.*, xxii, p. 163, No. 27).

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wustenfeld, iv, 500; Saif al-Dīn, *Marāḥid al-Iḥṣā'*,

ed. Juynboll, iii. 82; al-Dimashki, ed. Mehren, p. 114, 208; Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p. 255; Ibn Baṭṭūta, ed. Defrémery-Sanguinetti, i. 183; al-Idrīsī, ed. Gildemeister, in *Z. D. P. V.*, viii. 22; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 504 sq.; Gaudelroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'Époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. 114, 227; Jacob von Vitry, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, chap. 32—33, in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos sive Orientalis historia*, i., Hanover 1611, p. 1068 sq.; Marino Saunto, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, lib. iii., Pars xii., chap. 19; Pars xiv., chap. 2, in Bongars, *op. cit.*, ii., p. 229, 244; Amadi, *Chronique de Cypre*, ed. de Mas Latrie, Paris 1891, p. 216; Korte, *Reise naar Palestina*, Haarlem 1776, ii. 82; Pococke, *Description of the East*, i. 200; Lyde, *The Anasiriyeh and Imasiriyeh*, London 1853, p. 230; J. L. Burckhardt, *Reisen in Syrien, Palästina u. d. Gegend des Berges Sinai*, ed. by Gesenius, i., 1823, p. 269; Walpole, *Travels*, iii. 289 sq.; do., *The Anasiriyeh and the Anasiriyeh*, iii. 37, 385; W. M. Thomson, in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, v., New York 1848, p. 255; Eli Smith in Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii. 917; Rey, *Étude sur les monuments de l'architecture militaire des Croisés en Syrie*, Paris 1871, p. 19 sq., pl. ii. 29; do., *Les Colonies franques en Syrie au XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, 1883, p. 120 sq.; Chester, *P. E. F. Quarterly*, 1888, p. 75; Dussaud, *Voyage en Syrie*, in *Revue archéol.*, 1896, i. 318—325; 1897, i. 340; do., *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, 1927, p. 127, 147 and pass.; van Berchem, *Inscriptions arabes de Syrie*, Cairo 1897, p. 70—73; van Berchem-Patio, *Voyage de Syrie*, i., 1913 (= *M. I. F. A. O.*, xxxviii.), p. 94—96, 292—320; ii., 1914 (= *M. I. F. A. O.*, xxxviii.), pl. lxiii.—lxix. (E. HONIGMANN)

MARRAKESH (Ar. **MARRAKUŠH**, popular pronunciation **Merrākēš**), a town in Morocco, and one of the residences of the Sultān.

The form Marrakech, adopted by the administration of the protectorate, is of recent origin in French. Down to about 1890 the town was always known as Maroc (Morocco) in French. The kingdom of Morocco, distinct in origin from those of Fās and Sūs, finally gave its name to the whole empire. At one time it only consisted of the country south of the wādī Umm Rabi' as far as the range of the Great Atlas.

Marrakesh is situated in 31° 37' 35" N. Lat. and 7° 59' 42" East Long. (Greenw.). Its mean height above sea-level is about 1,510 feet. The town is 150 miles south of Casablanca. It is through the latter that almost all the traffic with the coast passes at the present day. It used to go via Safi which is the nearest port (100 miles). Sidi Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh in 1765 tried to supplant it by Mogador (115 miles), where he built a town and harbour through which at the end of the xviiith century most of the trade between Marrakesh and Europe passed.

Although Marrakesh is only 235 miles from Fās as the crow flies, it is over 330 by Casablanca-Rabat-Meknes which is the only road that has been used for over a century, the direct road by the Tādla having been rendered impracticable by the traditional insecurity of the country.

The temperature which is very mild in winter is very hot in summer. The average maxima of 39° 6 in the month of August 1927 have nothing

unusual and imply extreme temperatures reaching or passing 50° on certain days. Rainfall is low (284.5 mm. in 1927, against 706.5 in Rabat and 1,007.3 in Tangier). But water fed by the snows of the Atlas is found at no great depth. It is collected by a system of long subterranean galleries (*khaffāra*, plur. *khaffāra*) which bring it to the surface by taking advantage of the very slight slope of the surface. This method of obtaining water, which is described in the xiith century by Idrisi, has enabled the vast gardens which surround the town to be created. The Almohads and the dynasties which succeeded them also built aqueducts and reservoirs to supply the town with water from the springs and streams of the mountains.

Contrary to what was until quite recently believed, Marrakesh is by far the most thickly populated town of the empire. The census of March 7, 1926 gives 149,263 as the total population, 3,652 Europeans, 132,893 Muslims, 12,718 Jews. The probable growth of the population is not sufficient to explain the difference between the present day figures and the old estimates, almost all far below the truth and varying greatly among themselves: from 20,000 (given by Diego de Torres in 1585 and Hōst in 1768), 25,000 (Saint Olon, 1693), 30,000 (Ali Bey el-Abbassi, 1804), 40 to 50,000 (Gatell, 1864 and Eug. Aubin, 1902), 50,000 (Lambert, 1868), 60,000 (Beaumont, 1868), 80 to 100,000 (Washington, 1830) up to the obviously exaggerated figure of 270,000 given by Jackson in 1811.

About 40 miles N. of the Atlas, the vast silhouette of which, covered by snow for eight months of the year fills the background, Marrakesh is built in a vast plain called the Haws which slopes very gently towards the wādī Tānsift, which runs 3 miles north of the town. The extreme uniformity of the plain is broken only in the N. W. by two rocky hills called Gūllis (1,700 feet) and Kudyat al-'Abid. In 1912 at the time of the French occupation, there was built a fort which commands Marrakesh. The modern European town called the Guéllis lies between this hill and the walls of the old town.

The wādī Isfīl, a left bank tributary of the Tānsift, a stream often dried up but transformed into a raging torrent after storms, runs along the walls of the town on the east. To the north of Marrakesh as far as the Tānsift and to the east stretches a great forest of palm-trees, the only one in Morocco north of the Atlas. It covers an area of 13,000 hectares and possesses over 100,000 palm-trees but the dates there only ripen very imperfectly.

The town is very large. The walls which run all round it measure at least 7 miles in length. The town in the strict sense does not occupy the whole of this vast area. The part built upon forms a long strip which starting from the *al-Wiṣṣa* of Sidi bel 'Abbās in the north runs towards the *ḳayba* which stands at the southern end of the town. On the two sides lie great gardens and estates among which we find in the neighbourhood of the chief gates inside the walls, isolated quarters grouped like so many villages around their *ḥaḳ* and their mosque.

The town consists mainly of little low houses of reddish clay, often in ruins, among which are scattered huge and magnificent dwellings without particularly imposing exteriors built either by the viziers of the old *makhzen* (e.g. the *ḥāḥya*, now

the Résidence Générale, the old palace of the Bā Hammād, vizier of Mawlaī al-Hassan) or by the great *kādis*, chiefs of the tribes of the country round. The narrow and overhung streets in the central area broaden towards the outskirts into sunny and dusty squares and crossroads. The colour, the picturesque architecture, the palm-trees, the branches of which appear over the walls of the gardens, the presence of a large negro population, all combine to give the town the appearance of a Saharan *khar* of vast dimensions.

The centre of the life of the city is the Djāma' al-Fna', a vast, irregular, ill defined open space, surrounded until quite recently by wretched buildings and reed huts, overshadowed by the high minaret of the Kutubiya Mosque. Its name comes, according to the author of the *Ta'rikh al-Sūdān*, from the ruins of a mosque which Ahmad al-Manṣūr had undertaken to build there: "As he had planned it on a wonderful scale, it had been given the name of mosque of prosperity (*al-fana'*); but his plans being upset by a series of unfortunate events, the prince was unable to finish the building before his death and it was therefore given the name of mosque of the ruin (*djāma' al-fana'*". This origin having been forgotten, an attempt was later made to explain the name of the square from the fact that the heads of rebels used to be exposed there (mosque or place of assembly of ruin, of death). It was there also that executions took place. Lying on the western edge of the principal agglomeration of buildings at its most thickly populated part, close to the sūq, connected with the principal gates by direct and comparatively quiet roads, Djāma' al-Fna' is the point of convergence of the roads. At all hours swarming with people, it is occupied in the morning with a market of small traders: barbers, cobblers, vendors of fruit and vegetables, of medicines, of fried grasshoppers, of tea and of soup (*harira*); in the evening, it is filled with acrobats and jugglers (Awlad Sidi Ahmad u Mūsā of Tazerwālt), sorcerers, story-tellers, fire-eaters, snake-charmers and *ghh* dancers. The audience consists mainly of people from the country who have come into town on business and want to enjoy the distractions of the town for a few hours before going home. These visitors are always very numerous in Marrakesh. Besides the regular inhabitants there is a floating population the number of which has been put at 20,000 to 25,000. For Marrakesh is the great market for supplying not only the Haws but also the mountain country, the Sūs and especially the extreme south, Dādes, Dar'a (Dra') and the Anti-Atlas. A portion of this traffic will probably be diverted via Agadir when this port is opened to trade. Marrakesh used to be the starting-point for caravans going through the Sahara to trade with Timbuktu. They brought back chiefly Sudanese slaves for whom Marrakesh was an important market. The conquest of the Sudan by France has put an end to this traffic.

To the north of the Djāma' al-Fna' begin the sūqs which are very large. As in Fās and in the other large towns, the traders and artisans are grouped by trades under the authority of the *mukharrib*, a kind of provost of the merchants. The most important sūqs are those of the cloth merchants (*ḡisariya*), of the sellers of slippers, of pottery, of basket work, of the embroiderers of harness, of the dyers and of the smiths. An important Thursday sūq (*al-khamis*) is held outside

and inside the walls around the old gate of Fās which has taken the name of the market (Bāb al-Khamis). This sūq was already in existence in the xvth century.

There is no industry to speak of in Marrakesh. The most important is the making of leather (tanning). The manufacture of slippers occupies 1,500 workmen who produce over 2,000 pairs each working day. There are the only articles manufactured in the town that are exported. They are sold as far away as Egypt and West Africa. The war interrupted communications and did great damage to this industry. For the rest, Marrakesh is mainly an agricultural market. The whole town is a vast *fonda* in which are warehoused the products of the country, almonds, caraway seeds, goat-skins, oils, barley, wool, to be exchanged either for imported goods (sugar, tea, cloth) or for other agricultural produce (wheat, oil, which the tribes of the mountains and of the extreme south for example do not have).

The town is divided into 32 quarters: Zāwiya 'Abbāsiya, Sidi Ben Slimān, Aṣwal, Riyād al-'Arūs, Sidi Abi 'Amr, Bāb Dukkālā (divided into two quarters), Sidi 'Abd al-'Aziz, Rahbat Azbaat, Dabāshi, Kammāriya, Riyād al-Zitūn al-Jadid, Djan ben Shagra, Kāfir, Mwāsin, Riyād al-Zitūn al-Qadim, 'Arja Mawlaī Mūsā Kūtra, 'Arja Mawlaī Mūsā Shūra, Bāb Hallūn, Sidi Mtūn, Ben Sālah, Sidi Aiyūb, Bā Zakri, Kā'at ben Moḍar, Bāb al-Dabbāgh, Hārat al-Sūr, Mawḡif, Arbatin, the *ḡasha* containing the royal palaces (again subdivided into several sections: al-Badr', Kaṣbat al-aḥḡāa, Berrima, Bāb Aḡmār, Maḡinat Sidi 'Amara and the *mellāh* or Jewish quarter. We may further mention outside the walls near the Bāb Dukkālā, a quarter called al-Hāra where the lepers live. Until recent years the gates of the town were closed during the night. The superintendents of the quarters (*mukharribin*) have watchmen (*assāsa*) under their orders. The old custom still survives of firing a salvo at midnight on the Djāma' al-Fna' as a curfew.

Marrakesh being an imperial town, the sultān who only stays there at long intervals is represented in his absence by a *khalifa*, a prince of the imperial family (usually the son or brother of the sovereign). The role of this *khalifa* is purely representative. His main duty is to preside at the ceremonies during the ritual celebrations. The governor of the town is a *pasha*, assisted by a delegate (*nā'ib*) and several *khalifas*. One of the latter supervises the prisons and the administration of justice. Another has the title of *pasha* of the *ḡasha*. He governs the southern part of the town which includes the imperial palace and the Jewish quarter. Formerly the *pasha* of the *ḡasha* was independent of the *pasha* of the town and served to counter-balance the power of the latter. He commanded the *ḡish*, an armed contingent furnished by the warlike tribes (Udaya, Ait Immār etc.) settled in the vicinity of the town by the sultāns on the domain lands. At the present day the *ḡish* is under the control of the *pasha* of the town and the *pasha* of the *ḡasha* only retains of his former powers certain rights of precedence and honorary privileges.

Muslim law is administered in Marrakesh by three *kādis*: one is established at the mosque of Ibn Yūsuf; the other at the mosque of al-Mwāsin and the third at the mosque of the *ḡasha*. The latter's competence does not extend beyond the limits of

his quarter. That of the others extends over the whole town and even over the tribes of the area governed from it who have no local *kādi*.

Marrakesh is not numbered like Rabat and Tetuan among the *ḥaḍariya* towns, i.e. it has not, like them, an old established citizen population, not of rural origin, with a bourgeois whose tone is given by the descendants of the Moors driven from Spain. In the xvth century however, Marrakesh did receive a colony of Morescos large enough to give one quarter the name of *Orgiba*, a town of Andalusia from which they came. The foundation of the population consists of people of the tribes for the most part Berber or Arabs strongly mixed with Berber blood. *Shlūh* is much spoken in Marrakesh although the language of the tribes around the town (*Rhāmna*, *Uḍāya*) is Arabic. The movements of the tribes, the coming and going of caravans, the importation of slaves from the Sudan have resulted in a constant process of mixing in the population and the old Maḥmūdian race which must with Almoravids have been the primitive population of Marrakesh is only found in combination with amounts difficult to measure of Arab, Saharan and negro blood. Even to-day this process is going on: the newcomers come less from the valleys of the Atlas than from the Sūs, the Dra' and the Anti-Atlas, from the extreme south which is poor and overpopulated. The greater number of these immigrants soon become merged in the population of the town; but the *Enquête sur les corporations musulmanes*, conducted by L. Massignon in 1923—1924 (Paris 1925) yielded some very curious information about the survival in Marrakesh of vigorous groups of provincials, specialising in particular trades: the makers of silver jewellery (at least those who are not Jews) owe their name of *ṭaḡmūtiyyūn* to the fact that they originally came from *Ṭaḡmāt* in Sūs; the *Meṣfiwā* are charcoal-burners and greengrocers, the *Qhigḥāya*, salters; the people of the *Tedghā*, gatherers of dates and *ḥaḍafiriya*, i.e. diggers of wells, who specialise in water-channels (*ḥaḍafir*); those of *Tāfilāh*, porters and paviors; those of *Warḍānt*, water-carriers and of *Tatīa* (Anti-Atlas), restaurateurs; of the Dra', water-carriers and *ḥaḍafiriya*, etc. This division is not the result of specialisation in their original home nor of privileges granted by the civic authorities but arises from the fact that artisans once settled in Marrakesh have sent for their compatriots when they required assistance. Thus groups grew up, sometimes quite considerable. The list of the corporations of Marrakesh gives a total of about 10,000 artisans. These corporations have lost much of their power under the pressure of the *Makhzen*. Some of them however still retain a certain social importance: in the first place that of the shoemakers which is the largest (1,500 members); then come the tanners (439), the cloth (237) and silk (100) merchants; the *fāris* wholesalers, then some groups of skilled artisans, highly esteemed but of less influence, embroiderers of saddles, makers of mosaics, carpenters, sculptors of plaster etc.

Religious and intellectual life. Mosques are numerous in Marrakesh. Some of them will be the subjects of brief archaeological studies. Those which play the most important part in the religious life of the city are the mosque of al-Mwaṣn, the mosque of 'Alī b. Yūsuf, both close to the *sūqs*, that of Sidi bel 'Abbās and that of the *ḥaḍba*. Then come the *Kutubiya*, the mosque of the Bāb Duk-

kāla, of the Bāb Aīlān, of *Berrima*, and the *Djāma* 'Ibn Ṣālah. There are also many little mosques in the various *faubourgs*. But although it can claim illustrious men of learning, Marrakesh is not like Fās, a centre of learning and of teaching. The Almohads built schools and libraries there, brought the most illustrious scholars, philosophers and physicians from Spain, like Ibn Tufail, Abū Marwān Ibn Zuhr (Avenzoar) and Abū 'I-Walid Ibn Rushd (Averroes) who died at Marrakesh in 595 (1198). These great traditions did not survive the dynasty. In the beginning of the xvth century, in the time of Leo Africanus, the library of the Almohad palace was used as a poultry house and the madrasa built by the Marinids was in ruins. At the present day in the town of the *Kutubiya* there is not a single bookseller. A certain number of *ḥaḍba* still live in the madrasas (Ibn Yūsuf, Ibn Ṣālah, Sidi bel 'Abbās, *Berrima*, *Ḥaḍba*) but the teaching in Marrakesh has neither the prestige nor the traditions which still give some lustre to the teaching at al-Ḥarawiyūn in Fās, much decayed as it is. Although they attempt to imitate the customs of Fās (they celebrate notably the "festival of the sūltān of the *ḥaḍba*" [cf. *Fās*] every spring) the students are far from holding in Marrakesh the position their comrades enjoy in Fās.

The devotion of the people of Marrakesh expends itself particularly on the cult of saints, not at all orthodox but dear to the Berbers. Their town has always been famous for the great number of *ṣāḥbi* who are buried in its cemeteries and who justify the saying: "Marrakesh, tomb of the saints". But in the time of Mawlāi Ismā'īl, the Shaikh Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan al-Yūsuf, by order of the prince organised, in imitation of the old established cult of the *Sab'atū Rijāl* (the seven saints of the *Raḡraḡa*, around the *Djābal al-Ḥadīd*, among the *Shayāma*) a pilgrimage to the *Sab'atū Rijāl* of Marrakesh including visits to seven sanctuaries and various demonstrations of piety. The following are the names of the seven saints in the order in which they ought to be visited: 1) Sidi Yūsuf b. 'Alī al-Sanḥādī, a leper, d. 593 (1196—1197), buried outside the Bāb Aghmāt on the spot where he had lived; 2) the *kādi* 'Iyād, 476—544 (1083—1149), *kādi* of Ceuta, then of Granada, a learned theologian, author of the *Sūfiya*, a celebrated collection of traditions, buried beside the Bāb Aīlān; 3) Sidi bel 'Abbās al-Sabī, patron saint of Marrakesh and the most venerated of the saints of the region 524—601 (1130—1204). He came to Marrakesh when the town was being besieged by the Almohads and settled there, at first in a hermitage on the *Djābal Gīlliz* where a *ḥaḍba* dedicated to him can still be seen. But the principal pilgrimage is to his tomb at the northern end of the town over which Abū Fāris b. Aḥmad al-Manṣūrī built a *ṣūfiya* and an important mosque at the beginning of the xvth century; 4) Sidi Muḥammad b. Sīman al-Djāzūlī, d. in 870 (1465) at Afughal among the *Shayāma*, a celebrated Sūfi, founder of the *Djāzūlī* brotherhood. His body was brought to Marrakesh in 930 (1523) by Aḥmad al-A'raḍī the Sa'diān; 5) Sidi Abd al-'Azīz al-Ṭabbā, a pupil of al-Djāzūlī, d. in 914 (1508); 6) Sidi 'Abd Allāh al-Qharwānī, popularly called Mawlā 'I-Kūṣūr, d. in 935 (1528); 7) Sidi 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Suḥailī, called the Imām al-Suḥailī, a native of the district of Malaga, d. 581 (1185) and buried outside the Bāb al-Rabb.

It is quite an arbitrary choice that these seven individuals have been chosen as the *Sab'atn Ridjāl*. Others could equally well have been chosen, as the town of Marrakesh and the cemeteries which stretch before it, contain a very large number of other venerated tombs. The principal are mentioned in the article by H. de Castries, *Les Sept Patrons de Marrakech* (*Hesperis*, 1924). Legend of course plays a great part in the cults of the various saints. We may mention for example the sayings and songs which perpetuate the memory of Lalla 'Uda, mother of the Sultān Ahmad al-Manṣūr, a real personage much transformed by the popular imagination. The various trade corporations have chosen patron saints. Thus Sidi Ya'qub is the patron of the tanners, Sidi bei 'Abbās of the soap-makers and lacemakers, Sidi Mas'ūd "slave" of Sidi Muḥammad b. Sīmān is the patron of the masons, Sidi 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ṭabbā' of the dyers, etc. The majority of the artisans are also affiliated to the religious brotherhoods. In Massignou's investigation will be found details of the attraction which some of the latter have for certain trades.

The Jews. At the foundation of Marrakesh, the Jews had no permission to settle in the town. They came there to trade from Aghmāt Ailān where they lived. Al-Idrisi relates that under 'Alī b. Yūsuf they had not even the right to spend the night in Marrakesh and that those, who were caught within the walls after sunset, were in great danger of losing their lives and property. They settled there at a later date. At the beginning of the xvth century there was, according to Marmol, in Marrakesh a ghetto of over 3,000 houses. It lay near the sūq on the site now occupied by the mosque of al-Mwāṣin. When this mosque was built by Sultān 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb, the more scrupulous refused to pray there for some time on the pretext that it occupied the site of a Jewish cemetery. It was 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb who, about 1560, settled the Jews on the site they still occupy, along the wall of the *kaṣba* to the east, where the stables of the palace had been. In the beginning of the xvth century, there was here, according to the French traveller Mocquet, "like a separate town, surrounded by a good wall and having only one gate guarded by the Moors; here live the Jews who are over 4,000 in number and pay tribute". A century later, there were about 6,000 Jews and many synagogues. The Jewish quarter, called *mellāḥ* after the example of the Jewish quarter of Fās (the name *mellāḥ* is attested for Marrakesh as early as the end of the xvth century), has 12,000 inhabitants at the present day. As regards policing, it is under the authority of the pasha of the *kaṣba* but otherwise is administered by an elected Jewish committee. Questions of personal law are judged by a rabbinical tribunal of three members nominated and paid by the Makhzen. The Jews of Marrakesh are beginning to leave the bounds of the *mellāḥ*. For the most part they wear the ritual costume: gaberdine, skullcap and black slippers, but the younger generation shows a tendency to emancipate itself from this dress. They have little influence on the corporations of Marrakesh and are not allowed to settle in the sūqs. They are limited to certain trades (jewellers, tinmiths and embroiderers of slippers) and share with the people of Fās the wholesale trade. They trade particularly with the Shluḥ of the mountains. History. The Roman occupation never extended

so far as the region of Marrakesh. It is quite without probability that some writers, following the Spanish historian Marmol, have sought at Aghmāt or at Marrakesh the site of *Bocanum Emerum* (Βόκανον Ἐμπερουμα of Ptolemy), a town of Tingitana, the site of which is now unknown. The earliest historians agree that the place where Marrakesh was built by the Almohads was a bare marshy plain where only a few bushes grew. The name Marrakesh gives no clue to the origin of the town. The etymologies given by the Arab authors are quite fanciful: according to al-Marrākushi, it was the name of a negro slave who escaped and set up as a brigand there. Another writer explains it by a punning interpretation: "the meaning of the name in the language of the Maḡmūda is "go away quickly"! The place was actually a place of ambuscade for brigands". It was, it appears, in 449 (1057-1058) that the Almohads advanced from Sās north of the Atlas and took Aghmāt Warika. It was there that they settled at first. But after the campaign of 452 (1060) in the course of which they conquered the country of Fāzā, Meknes and of the Lawāta near Fās, they wanted to make their position more permanent and independent by creating a kind of camp, which could be used as a base for their further campaigns and would threaten the Maḡmūda of the mountains and could be used as a connecting link between the south from which they came and the kingdom of Fās. Yūsuf b. Ṭāḡhīn therefore purchased from its owner an estate on the frontier between two Maḡmūda tribes, the Hailāna and the Hāmrān, and pitched his camp there. So far was he from thinking of founding a great capital, a thing for which this Saharan nomad felt no need, that at first he lived in a tent here, beside which he built a mosque to pray in and a little *kaṣba* in which to keep his treasures and his weapons; but he did not build a surrounding wall. The native Maḡmūda built themselves dwellings surrounded by palisades of branches beside the Almoravid camp. The town grew rapidly to a considerable size, if it is true, that in the reign of 'Alī b. Yūsuf it had at least 100,000 hearths, but it did not lose its rural character until Ibn Tūmart appeared and the threat of the Almohad movement revived by him forced 'Alī b. Yūsuf to defend his town and surround it by a rampart which was built in eight months, probably in 520 (1126). Some historians give the date 526 (1132) but it is certain that the walls were already built in 524 (1130) when the Almohads attacked Marrakesh for the first time. Marrakesh, the creation and capital of the Almoravids, was to be the last of their strongholds to yield. When Ibn Tūmart had established his power over the tribes of the mountains he tried to attack Marrakesh; he then sent an Almohad army under the command of Shaikh al-Baḡhīr, who, after defeating the Almoravids in the vicinity of Aghmāt, pursued them to the gates of Marrakesh. The Almohads could not enter the town but established themselves before its walls. After 40 days' siege, 'Alī b. Yūsuf received reinforcements and made a successful sortie which forced the attackers to retreat. This was the battle of al-Buḡaira (524 = May 1130) from the name of a large garden, *Buḡairat al-Raḡā'iq*, near which it was fought. It lay to the east of the town before the Bab Dabbāḡh and the Bab Ailān. Al-Baḡhīr was slain and Marrakesh resplended for 17 years. Ibn Tūmart died a few months

later. It is hardly likely that 'Abd al-Mu'min should have made soon after his accession, as the *Kitāb al-Bayān* says, a new attempt to take Marrakesh. The memoirs of al-Balḥāq which give such full details of all the events of this period make no mention of it. They show on the contrary the Almohad armies based at first in conquering the country before occupying the capital, taking Tadmā, Salé, Taza, Oran, Tiemeen and Fās and only returning to lay siege to Marrakesh after the whole country had been occupied and the capital alone held out as the last stronghold of the doomed dynasty. It was in the summer of 1146 that 'Abd al-Mu'min laid siege to Marrakesh. He made his headquarters at Gilla and, seeing that the siege would be a long one, at once had houses built in which to instal himself and his army. The siege lasted eleven months. An unsuccessful sortie by the Almoravids seems to have hastened the fall of the town. Disgusted by lack of success and by famine, a number of chiefs of the besieged went over to the enemy. 'Abd al-Mu'min had scaling-ladders made and distributed them among the tribes. The assault was made and, according to Ibn al-Athīr, the defection of the Christian soldiery facilitated its success. The Almoravid Sultān, Ishāk, a young boy who had sought refuge in the fortress, was slain, along with a large number of the Almoravids. This event took place in 541 in the month of Shawwāl (March 6—April 3, 1147), according to the majority of the historians.

The Almohad dynasty which came from the south naturally took Marrakesh as its capital. It was here that 'Abd al-Mu'min and his successors usually resided when they were not in the country. The town prospered exceedingly under their rule. They gave it many important public buildings: the *ḥaṣba*, mosques, schools, a hospital, aqueducts and magnificent gardens. During this period of prosperity, there were very few events of particular interest in the history of Marrakesh. In 547 (1152—1153) according to Ibn Khaldūn, in 549 (1154—1156) according to al-Balḥāq and the *Kitāb al-Bayān*, the Banū Anghār, brothers of the Maliki Ibn Tūmart, entered the town and tried to rouse the inhabitants against 'Abd al-Mu'min who was away at Salé. The rising was speedily put down and ended in the massacre of the rebels and their accomplices. But on the decline of the dynasty, i.e. after the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) and the death of al-Nāṣir, son of al-Manṣūr, Marrakesh became the scene of the struggle between the royal family descended from 'Abd al-Mu'min and the Almohad *ḥaḥkha* descended from the companions of Ibn Tūmart who, quoting traditions of the latter, claimed the right to grant investiture to the sultāns and to keep them in tutelage. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wāhid, brother of al-Manṣūr, was strangled in Sept. 621 (1224). His successor al-'Adil was drowned in a bath in the palace (Oct. 624 = 1227) and the Almohad *ḥaḥkha* appointed as his successor the young Yahyā b. al-Nāṣir, while Abū 'l-'Ulā Idrīs al-Ma'mūn, brother of al-'Adil, was proclaimed in Spain. The whole country was soon in the throes of revolution. Yahyā, fearing the defection of the noble Almohads, fled to Tinnāl (April—May 626 = 1228). Disorder reigned in Marrakesh, where a governor named al-Ma'mūn was finally appointed. But four months later, Yahyā returned to Marrakesh with fresh troops, put al-Ma'mūn's governor to death and after staying seven days in the town

was forced to go to Gilla to fight a battle (Feb. 1230), for al-Ma'mūn had arrived from Spain to take possession of his kingdom. Ferdinand III, king of Castile, had given in return for various concessions, a body of 12,000 Christian horsemen with whose assistance al-Ma'mūn defeated Yahyā and his followers, entered Marrakesh and installed an anti-Almohad regime there, marked not only by a terrible massacre of the *ḥaḥkha* and their families but by a new orientation in religious matters quite opposed to that of the preceding reigns. On his arrival in Marrakesh, al-Ma'mūn mounted the pulpit of the mosque of the *ḥaṣba*, recited the *ḥaṣba*, solemnly cursed the memory of Ibn Tūmart and announced a whole series of measures, some of which are given by the *Kitāb al-Bayān* and Ibn Khaldūn and which show he intended to do everything on opposite lines to his predecessors. His innovations revived the discontent so that two years later (1232) while al-Ma'mūn and his militia were besieging Ceuta, Yahyā again occupied Marrakesh and plundered it. Al-Ma'mūn at once turned back to the rescue of his capital but died on the way (Oct. 17, 1232 = 629 A. H.). His widow, al-Ḥabāb, succeeded in getting her son al-Rashīd, aged 14, proclaimed by the leaders of the army, including the commander of the Christian mercenaries. In return she gave them Marrakesh to plunder if they could reconquer it. But the people of the town, learning of this clause in the bargain, made their own terms before opening their gates to the new sultān. The latter had to grant them the *amān* and pay the Christian general and his companions the sum they might have expected from the plunder of the capital—according to the *Kitāb al-Bayān*, 500,000 dinārs.

In 633 (1235—1236) a rebellion of the *Khilaf* drove al-Rashīd out of Marrakesh and he took refuge in Sijilmāsa while Yahyā recaptured Marrakesh. Al-Rashīd however succeeded in retaking it and Yahyā finally was assassinated. It was in the reign of the Almohad al-Sa'id (1242—1248) that the Marinids who had arrived in the east of the country in 1216, seized the greater part of the kingdom of Fās. His successor 'Umar al-Murtaḍā, proclaimed in 646 (1248), found himself in 658 (1260) reduced to the solitary kingdom of Marrakesh, to the south of the Umm Rabi'. In 660 (1261—1262) the Marinid Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm came to attack Marrakesh. He encamped on mount Gilla whence he threatened the town. Al-Murtaḍā sent his cousin, the *ṣayyid* Abū 'l-'Ulā Idrīs, surnamed Abū Dabbūs, to fight him. The emir 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Yūsuf was slain in the battle and his father lost heart, abandoned his plans on Marrakesh and returned to Fās at the end of Rabi' al-Thani 661 (beg. June 1262).

From this time one feels that the dynasty is lost although peace was made, which moreover showed the humiliation of the Almohads who consented to pay tribute; but they were to destroy themselves. Falling into disfavour with his cousin al-Murtaḍā, Abū Dabbūs, this great-grandson of 'Abd al-Mu'min, who in the preceding year had defended Marrakesh against the Marinid sultān, sought refuge with the latter and obtained from him the assistance necessary to overthrow al-Murtaḍā, on condition that he shared the spoils. Victorious and proclaimed sultān in October 1266, Abū Dabbūs forgot his promises. Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb came in person to remind him of them. He laid siege to Marrakesh in 1267 but Abū Dabbūs had a stroke of good fortune for

the Marinid had to raise the siege to go and defend the kingdom of Fās against an attack by the sultan of Tlemcen, Yaghmurān. The campaign being over, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb returned to Marrakesh. He entered it in Muharram 668 (Sept. 1269). The *Khifā* tells us that he gave the *amān* to the inhabitants and to the surrounding tribes, whom he overwhelmed with benefits and ruled with justice and remained seven months to pacify and organise the country. By accepting Marinid rule, however, Marrakesh lost for two and a half centuries its position as a capital. The new dynasty made Fās its capital.

Its sultans, however, did not neglect Marrakesh especially during this period (end of the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth century). The chronicles record many sojourns made by them there but its great days were over. The town began to lose its inhabitants. Abū 'I-Ḥasan 'Alī was the only Marinid to undertake buildings of any importance at Marrakesh (a mosque and a madrasa). In the absence of the sovereign, the government of the town and district was entrusted to powerful governors as befitted a large town remote from the central authority. For nearly 20 years, from 668 to 687 (1269-1288), this office was held by Muhammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥallī, a chief greatly devoted to the Marinids, says Ibn Khaldūn, and allied by marriage to the family of their ruler. But in February 1288, fearing treachery from Muhammad b. 'Alī, Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf threw him into prison and gave his office to Muhammad b. 'Atiq al-Djānātī, a client and confidant of the royal family, to whom the sultan further entrusted his son Abū 'Amir. Abū Ya'qūb had not left Marrakesh six months when the young prince Abū 'Amir rebelled there and proclaimed himself sovereign at the instigation of the governor Ibn 'Atiq (Nov. 1228). Abū Ya'qūb hastened to Marrakesh which he took after several days' siege. The young Abū 'Amir had time to escape and seek refuge in the mountains among the Maṣmūdī tribes, after plundering the treasury.

The custom of giving the governorship of Marrakesh to a prince of the ruling family was kept up. Towards the end of May 1307, under the walls of Tlemcen, sultan Abū Thabit gave his cousin Yūsuf, son of Muhammad b. Abī 'Iyāḍ b. b. 'Abd al-Hakkī, the governorship of Marrakesh and the provinces depending on it. By the end of the year, Yūsuf rebelled and proclaimed himself independent at Marrakesh after putting to death the governor of the town, al-Hādīdj Mas'ūd. Defeated by the imperial troops on the banks of the Umm Raba', the rebel fled to the mountains, plundering Marrakesh on his way (Jan. 1308). The punishment inflicted on the rebels was severe. Yūsuf b. Abī 'Iyāḍ, handed over by a *shaikh* with whom he had taken refuge, was put to death and the heads of 600 of his followers went to adorn the battlements of the town. Abū Sa'īd 'Uthmān stayed at Marrakesh on several occasions. He did much rebuilding in 720 (1320). Peace and comparative prosperity seem to have reigned there under the rule of Abū 'I-Ḥasan until this prince, as a result of reverses suffered in his struggle with the Hafsids, found his own son, the ambitious Abū 'Inān, rebelling against him. During the troubles which now broke out, Ibn Khaldūn tells us, the town was seriously threatened with being sacked by the Maṣmūdī of the mountains led by 'Abd al-Ilāh al-Saknawī. Abū 'Inān was able to consolidate his

power and avert this danger. The struggle between father and son ended in the region of Marrakesh. Abū 'I-Ḥasan, defeated at the end of Safar 757 (May 1350) near the town, sought refuge in the mountains with the emirs of the Hintata and died there just after becoming reconciled to his son and designating him his successor (June 1352).

During the course of the fourteenth century, the emirs of the Hintata played a very important part in the country. The position of this tribe on an almost inaccessible mountain, from which it commanded Marrakesh, gave its chiefs comparative independence and predominating influence among the other Maṣmūdī. Abū 'Inān took no steps against the emir 'Abd al-'Azīz who had given asylum to the fugitive Abū 'I-Ḥasan. He retained him in the command of his tribe, which he gave a few years later to his brother Amir. In 1353 the latter, becoming chief of all the Maṣmūdī tribes and sufficiently powerful to keep under his thumb the governor of Marrakesh al-Mu'tamid, son of Abū 'Inān, very soon succeeded in making himself completely independent. He received and for a time held as hostages two rebel Marinid princes Abū 'I-Faḍl, son of the Sultan Abū Salīm, and 'Abd al-Rahmān, son of Sultan Abū 'Alī. Quarrelling with his protégé Abū 'I-Faḍl whom he had made governor of Marrakesh, he retired into his mountains and for several years defied the armies of the sultan. He was in the end captured and put to death in 1370.

After the death of Sultan 'Abd al-'Azīz, the pretender Abū 'I-Abbās, son of Abū Salīm, had himself proclaimed in Fās with the help of his cousin 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū Hellāsen, himself a pretender to the throne. The latter as a reward for his services was given the independent governorship of Marrakesh and the country round it (June 1374). The empire was thus completely broken up. The two rulers soon began to quarrel but then signed a treaty of peace in 1378. There was a new rupture and a new truce two years later after Marrakesh had been besieged for two months without result. Abū 'I-Abbās in the end took Marrakesh in Djumādā 784 (July-Aug. 1382), and 'Abd al-Rahmān was slain. Abū 'I-Abbās, dispossessed in 1384 and exiled to Granada, succeeded in reconquering his kingdom in 1387 and sent to Marrakesh as governor his son al-Mustasir. This event is the last recorded by Ibn Khaldūn. From the time his record ceases and throughout the fourteenth century we are incredibly poor in information about the history of Marrakesh. The south appears to have continued to form a large governorship in the hands of princes of the royal family. The only information at all definite that we have comes from a Portuguese historian who records that during the three years which followed the capture of Ceuta by the Portuguese (1415-1418), Morocco was a prey to the struggles among the pretenders. While Abū Sa'īd 'Uthmān was ruling in Fās, Mawlay Bū 'Alī, king of Marrakesh, was fighting against another Marinid prince called Fāris. The "kingdom" or governorship of Marrakesh does not seem to have completely broken the links which bound it to the kingdom of Fās for the governors of Marrakesh supplied contingents to the army which tried to retake Ceuta. But they very soon ceased to take part in the holy war in the north of Morocco and their name is not found among the opponents of the Portuguese.

Marrakesh by 1430 seems to have become *de facto* if not *de jure* independent but we do not know within fifty years at what date the Hintāta emirs established their power; they were descended from a brother of 'Amir b. Muḥammad. They were "kings" of Marrakesh when in 1508 the Portuguese established themselves at Safi, taking advantage of the anarchy prevailing, for the power of the Hintāta emirs hardly extended beyond the environs of their capital and they could not effectively protect their tribes against the attacks of the Christians. By 1512 the Portuguese governors of Safi had succeeded in extending their power over the tribes near Marrakesh (Awlād Mīṣ) and the town lived in fear of the bold raids which on several occasions brought the Portuguese cavalry and their Arab allies into the district. The king of Marrakesh, overawed, entered into negotiations in 1514 but the terms were nothing less than his paying tribute as vassal and the building of a Portuguese fortress at Marrakesh. Agreement could not be reached. The occupation of Marrakesh remained the dream of the Portuguese soldiers. An attack on the town led by the governors of Safi and Azemmūr failed (April 23, 1515). This was the period when in reaction against the anarchy and foreign invasions the Sa'dian sharifs began to come to the front in Sūs. Ahmad al-A'rādī, who appeared in 1513 to the north of the Atlas, had himself recognised as leader of the holy war and accepted as such by the local chiefs, even by al-Nāṣir, king of Marrakesh. In the month of April 1514, it is recorded that he was in Marrakesh with the king. At the end of 1521, al-A'rādī established himself peacefully in Marrakesh which he found partly depopulated by famine and married the daughter of the king Muḥammad b. Nāṣir called Bū Shentūf. The latter in 1524 having tried to kick against the tutelage of his too powerful son-in-law, al-A'rādī and his brother Muḥammad al-Shaikh, seized the kasba, which seems till then to have been held by Bū Shentūf. They disposed of the latter by having him assassinated in the following year (1525). Marrakesh became the Sa'dian capital. The king of Fās, Ahmad al-Wattāsi, tried unsuccessfully to take it in June 1527. It remained in the hands of al-A'rādī till 1554, when it was seized by his brother Muḥammad al-Shaikh, up till then king of Sūs. After the assassination of Muḥammad al-Shaikh in 1557, al-A'rādī was put to death at Marrakesh with seven of his sons and grandsons, so as to secure the crown for Mawlay 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb. The whole of the latter part of the century was for Marrakesh a period of great prosperity. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb built a series of important public works: rearrangement of the palace and of the provision storerooms in the kasba; in the town, the madrasa Ibn Yūsuf and the al-Mawṣin mosque etc. Ahmad al-Manṣūr finished his brother's work by building in the kasba from 1578 to 1594 the famous al-Badr palace. The sultan, enriched by several years of peace and good government, and by the gold brought from the conquest of the Sūdān (1591-1592), lived almost continually in Marrakesh, to which he restored a splendour and a prosperity that it had not enjoyed since the end of the 13th century. But the death of al-Manṣūr opened a period of trouble and civil war "sufficient to turn white the hair of an infant at the breast" to use the expression of the historian al-Ifrānī. While Abū

Fāris, son of al-Manṣūr, was proclaimed at Marrakesh, another son, Zidān, was chosen sultan at Fās. A third brother, al-Shaikh, came and took Fās, then sent against Marrakesh an army led by his son 'Abd Allāh, who seized the town in Dec. 22, 1606. But Zidān, who sought refuge first in Tlemcen, then made his way to Sūs, via Tāfāfāt and coming suddenly to Marrakesh, had himself proclaimed there while 'Abd Allāh b. al-Shaikh while escaping with his troops was attacked in the midst of the gardens (*ḡāḍi Bekkār*) and completely defeated (Feb. 25, 1607). In October of the same year, 'Abd Allāh returned after defeating Zidān's troops on the Wādī Tifāfālī (Oct. 2, 1607), fought a second battle with them at Rās al-Ain (a spring in Tānsīf), regained possession of the town and revenged himself in a series of massacres and punishments so terrible that a portion of the population having sought refuge in the Gīllīr, proclaimed as sultan, Muḥammad, great-grandson of Ahmad al-A'rādī. 'Abd Allāh was forced to fly (Jan. 25, 1608). Zidān, recalled by a section of the populace, regained possession of his capital in a few days. The struggle between Zidān and his brother al-Shaikh, in the year following, centred round the possession of Fās. Zidān failed in his plans to retake it and henceforth Fās, given over completely to anarchy, remained separate from the kingdom of Marrakesh. On these happenings, a marabout from Tāfāfāt, named Abū Mahallī, attempted to intervene (1611) to put an end to the fighting among the pretenders, which was inflicting great suffering on the people. His intervention only made matters worse. He took Marrakesh on May 20, 1612. Zidān took refuge in Safi and succeeded in again gaining possession of his capital with the help of an influential marabout in Sūs, called Yahyā b. 'Abd Allāh. After a battle near Gīllīr, Zidān withdrew into Marrakesh on Nov. 30, 1613. But Yahyā, succumbing to ambition, rebelled himself at the end of 1618, against the ruler whose cause he had once so well sustained. Zidān had again to take refuge in Safi. He was soon able to return to Marrakesh, taking advantage of the discord that had broken out in the enemy ranks. 'Abd al-Malik (1627-1631), son and successor of Zidān, has left only the memory of his cruelty and debauchery. He was murdered in May 1631. The renegades, who killed him, also disposed of his brother and successor al-Walīd in 1636. A third brother, Muḥammad al-Shaikh al-Aṣghar, succeeded him but had only a semblance of power. He managed however to reign till 1655, but his son Ahmad al-'Abbās was completely in the hands of the Shabāna, an Arab tribe who assassinated him and gave the throne to 'Abd al-Karīm, called Kārūm al-Ḥādīdī, in 1659. "The latter", says al-Ifrānī, "united under his sway all the kingdom of Marrakesh and conducted himself in an admirable fashion with regard to his subjects". His son Abū Bakr succeeded him in 1668 but only reigned two months until the coming of the Filālī Sulṭān al-Raḥīm, already lord of Fās, who took Marrakesh on July 31, 1668. Called to Marrakesh by the rebellion of his nephew Ahmad b. Muḥriz, al-Raḥīm met his death there in the garden of al-Aḡḡāl, his head having been injured by a branch of an orange tree against which his horse threw him when it stumbled.

Mawlay Ismā'il had some difficulty in getting himself proclaimed at Marrakesh, which preferred

his nephew, Ahmad b. Muḥrit. Ismā'il forced his way in on the 9th Safar 1083 (June 4, 1672). In the following year, Marrakesh again welcomed Ahmad b. Muḥrit. After a siege of two years (March 1675—June 1677), Ismā'il reoccupied Marrakesh and plundered it. He passed through it again in 1094 (1683) on his way to Sūs to fight Ahmad b. Muḥrit who was still in rebellion. Marrakesh was no longer the capital. Mawlay Ismā'il took an interest in it and destroyed the palaces of the ḡasba to use the materials for his works in Meknes. In 1114 (Feb. 1703), a son of Mawlay Ismā'il, Muḥammad al-'Alim, rebelled against his father, seized Marrakesh and plundered it. Zidān, brother of the rebel, was given the task of suppressing the rising, which he did, plundering the town once more.

Anarchy again broke out after the death of Ismā'il. Its centre was Meknes. Mawlay al-Mustaḍī, proclaimed by the 'Abid in 1738, was disowned by them in 1740 and replaced by his brother 'Abd Allāh. He sought refuge in Marrakesh. His brother al-Naṣr remained his *ḡhalifa* in Marrakesh till 1745, while al-Mustaḍī tried in vain to reconquer his kingdom. Marrakesh finally submitted in 1746 to Mawlay 'Abd Allāh who sent his son Sidi Muḥammad there as *ḡhalifa*. The governorship and then the reign of the latter (1757—1790) formed one of the happiest periods in the history of Marrakesh. Sidi Muḥammad completely restored the town, made it his usual residence, received many European embassies there, including a French one led by the Comte de Bregnon in 1767, and developed its trade. Peace was not disturbed during his long reign except for a riot raised by a marabout pretender named 'Umar, who at the head of a few malcontents tried to attack the palace in order to plunder the public treasury. He was at once seized and put to death (between 1766 and 1772, according to the sources). On the death of Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, the situation remained very unsettled for several years. After taking the oath of allegiance to Mawlay Vazīd (May 3, 1790) the people of Marrakesh took in his brother Mawlay Hishām and proclaimed him. On hearing this, Vazīd abandoned the siege of Ceuta, returned to Marrakesh, plundered it and committed all kinds of atrocities (1792). Hishām, supported by the 'Abda and the Dukilla, marched on Marrakesh. Vazīd, wounded in the battle, died a few days later in the palace (Feb. 1792). Marrakesh remained faithful to the party of Mawlay Hishām, but very soon the Rḡamna abandoned him to proclaim Mawlay Ḥusain, brother of Hishām. He established himself in the ḡasba (1209 = 1794—1795). While the partisans of the two princes were exhausting themselves in fighting, Mawlay Sltman, sultān of Fās, avoided taking sides in the struggle. The plague rid him at one blow of both his rivals (July 1799) who had in any case to submit some time before. The last years of the reign of Mawlay Sltman were overcast by troubles in all parts of the empire. Defeated at the very gates of Marrakesh, he was taken prisoner by the rebel Shūrda. He died at Marrakesh on Nov. 28, 1822. Mawlay 'Abd al-Raḥmān (1824—1859) did much for the afforestation of Agdal and restored the religious buildings. His son Muḥammad completed his work by repairing tanks and aqueducts. These two reigns were a period of tranquillity of Marrakesh. In 1862 however, while Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was fighting the

Spaniards at Tetwan the Rḡamna rebelled, plundered the Sūḡ al-Khamis and closely blockaded the town, cutting off communications and supplies, until the Sultān, having made peace with Spain, came to relieve the town (June 1862). Mawlay al-Ḥasan hardly ever lived in Marrakesh but he stopped there on several occasions, notably in October 1875, to punish the Rḡamna and the Bil 'Isha', who had rebelled, and in 1880 and 1885, to prepare his expeditions into Sūs.

During the last years of the reign of Mawlay 'Abd al-'Aziz (1894—1908), it was at Marrakesh that the opposition to the European tastes and experiments of the Sultān made itself most strongly felt. The xenophobia culminated in the murder of a French doctor named Mauchamp (March 19, 1907), and the spirit of separatism in the proclamation as sultān of Mawlay 'Abd al-Ḥafiz, brother of 'Abd al-'Aziz and governor of the provinces of the south (Aug. 24, 1907). But 'Abd al-Ḥafiz becoming ruler of the whole empire (Aug. 24, 1907) and having signed the treaty of March 24, 1912 establishing the protectorate of France and of Spain over Morocco, the anti-foreign movement broke out again in the south. The Mauritanian marabout al-Ḥiba had himself proclaimed and established himself in Marrakesh. He only held out there for a brief period. His troops having been defeated at Sidi Ba 'Uḥmān on Sept. 6, 1912, the French troops occupied Marrakesh the next day.

Relations with Europe. Five minor friars sent by St. Francis were put to death at Marrakesh on Jan. 16, 1220, for having attempted to convert Muslims and having insulted the Prophet Muḥammad in their discourses. Their martyrdom attracted the attention of the Holy See to Marrakesh. A mission and a bishopric were established by Honorius III in 1225 to give the consolations of religion to the Christians domiciled in Morocco: merchants, slaves and mercenaries in the sultān's army. In the Almoravid period, the sultāns had Christian mercenaries recruited from prisoners reduced to slavery or from the Mozarab population of Spain whom they had from time to time deported to Morocco by entire villages. In 1227, Abu 'Uḥā Idrīs al-Ma'mūn having won his kingdom with the help of Christian troops lent by the king of Castile found himself bound to take up quite a new attitude to the Christians. He granted them various privileges, including permission to build a church in Marrakesh and worship openly there. This was called Notre Dame and stood in the ḡasba, probably opposite the mosque of al-Manṣūr: it was destroyed during a rising in 1232. But the Christian soldiery continued to enjoy the right to worship, at least privately, and the bishopric of Marrakesh filled by an episcopal board at Seville, existed so long as there was an organised Christian soldiery in Morocco, i.e. to the end of the xvth century. The title of Bishop of Marrakesh was borne till the end of the xvth century by the suffragans of Seville (cf. Father A. Lopez, *Los obispos de Marruecos desde el siglo XIII*, in *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, N° xlii., 1920). A Spanish Franciscan, the prior Juan de Prado, who came to re-establish the mission, was put to death in 1631 at Marrakesh. A few years later (1637), a monastery was re-established beside the prison for slaves in the ḡasba. It was destroyed in 1659 or 1660 after the death of the last Sa'dian. Henceforth the Franciscans were obliged to live in the *sultān*

where they had down to the end of the xviiith century a little chapel and a monastery. As to the Christian merchants, they had not much reason to go to Marrakesh in the middle ages. Trade with Europe was conducted at Ceuta from which the Muslim merchants carried European goods into the interior of the country. In the xvth century, 'Abd. Allāh al-Ghālīb had a *funduq* or "bonded warehouse" built in the *sūq* where the Christian merchants were allowed to live; but the majority of those who came to Marrakesh preferred to settle in the Jewish quarter. It was here also that foreign ambassadors usually lodged, at least when they were not made to encamp in one of the gardens of the palace.

Monuments. The present enceinte of Marrakesh is a wall of clay about 20 feet high, flanked with rectangular bastions at intervals of 250 to 300 feet. Bāb Aghmāt, Bāb Aīlān, Bāb Dabbāgh which still exist more or less rebuilt, are mentioned in the account of the attack on Marrakesh by the Almohads in 524 (1130). Bāb Yūṣuf, Bāb al-Makḥḥūn, mentioned at the same time, have disappeared. Bāb al-Sāliha (no longer in existence: it stood on the site of the *millāḥ*) and Bāb Dukkālā (still in existence) figure in the story of the capture of the town by the Almohads (1147). The plan of the wall has therefore never changed. It has been rebuilt in places from time to time, as the clay crumbled away, but it may be assumed that a number of pieces of the wall, especially on the west and south-west, are original, as well as at least three gates all now built up, to which they owe their survival, but have lost their name. According to Abu 'l-Fidā' (xvth century), there were in Marrakesh seventeen gates; twenty-four at the beginning of the xvth century according to Leo Africanus. It would be very difficult to draw up an accurate list, for some have been removed, others opened, since these dates or the names have been altered. Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari (beginning of the xvth century) adds to the names already mentioned those of Bāb Nfis, Bāb Muḥrīq, Bāb Mesnūf, Bāb al-Rahā all four of which have disappeared, Bāb Taghrūt, Bāb Fās (now Bāb al-Khamīs), Bāb al-Rabb which still exist. The only important changes, which have been made in the walls of Marrakesh since they were built, have been the building of the *ḥaḥḥa* in the south and in the north the creation of the quarter of Sidi bel 'Abbās. The *sūwayn*, which as late as the xvth century stood outside the walls beyond the Bāb Taghrūt, was taken into the town with all its dependencies.

The ḥaḥḥa. The little *ḥaḥḥa* and the palace of Dār al-'Umma built by Yūṣuf b. Tashfin, lay north of the present "Mosque of the Booksellers" or Kutubāya. 'Alī b. Yūṣuf added in the same quarter other palaces called Sū al-Hadjar, or Kaḥr al-Hadjar because they were built with stones from the Giliā, while all the other buildings in the town were of brick or clay. It was here that the first Almohads took up their quarters. According to a somewhat obscure passage of the *Tarīkh*, Abū Ya'qūb Yūṣuf seems to have begun the building of a "fort" in the south of the town but it was Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr who built the new *ḥaḥḥa* (1189-97); that is to say he joined to the south wall of the town a new walled area within which he built palaces, a mosque, and a regular town. Nothing remains of the Almohad palaces, but one can from pieces of wall and other vestiges follow

the old wall, at least on the north and the east side. There also the line of the wall has hardly changed. The magnificent gateway of carved stone by which the *ḥaḥḥa* is now entered, must be one of al-Manṣūr's building. Its modern name of Bāb Agnāw (the Negro's Gate) is not found in any old text. It probably corresponds to Bāb al-Kuhl (Gate of the Negroes), often mentioned by the historians.

Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umari, in the xvth century, Leo Africanus and Marmol in the xvth, have left us fairly detailed descriptions of the *ḥaḥḥa*, in spite of a few obscure passages. In the Almohad period, the *ḥaḥḥa* was divided into three quite distinct parts. One wall in the northwest, around the mosque of al-Manṣūr which still exists, contained the police offices, the headquarters of the Almohad tribes and the barracks of the Christian soldiery. From this one entered through the Bāb al-Tubūl, a second enclosure in which around a huge open space, the "Cereque" of Marmol (*asūrag*), were grouped the guardhouses, the offices of the minister of the army, a guest-house, a madrasa with its library and a large building called *al-saḥā'if* (the porticoes), the "Acequife" of Marmol, occupied by the principal members of the Almohad organisation, the "Ten", the "Fifty" and the *ḥalā*, the pages (*ahl al-dār*). The royal palace, sometimes called the Alhambra of Marrakesh, in imitation of that of Granada, was entered from the *asūrag* and occupied the whole area east of the *ḥaḥḥa*. The palaces of al-Manṣūr were still in existence at the beginning of the xvth century when the Sa'dians took possession. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb incorporated them in the new palaces which he was building. Ahmad al-Manṣūr added, in the gardens to the north, the famous al-Badī' palace celebrated for its size and splendour. Only a few almost shapeless ruins remain of it, but its plan is perfectly clear. Mawlay Ismā'il had it destroyed in order to use its materials. The *ḥaḥḥa* remained so completely in ruins that Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh when he became governor of Marrakesh in 1746, was obliged to live in a tent until his new buildings were finished. It is to him that we owe an important part of the present palace with its inner garden, Arḥat al-Nil. Other works were later undertaken by Mawlay Slimān and his successors. Some large unfinished buildings date only from Mawlay 'Abd al-Hafīz. A number of gates, in addition to the Bāb Agnāw give admittance to the *ḥaḥḥa*: these are Bāb Berrima and Bāb al-Aḥmar in the east, Bāb Ighl and Bāb Kṣiba in the west. The palace has vast gardens belonging to it: Dīnān al-Aḥya, Agdāl, Dīnān Ridwān, Ma'mūniya, Maḥra. The latter, two miles west of the town, contained in the xvth century a pleasure house of the sultān. The palace of Dār al-Balidā, situated in the Agdāl, took the place of a Sa'dian palace. It was rebuilt by Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh and has since been restored. As to the gardens of the Agdāl, they seem to have been created in the xivth century by 'Abd al-Mu'min.

Mosques. Nothing remains of the early Almoravid mosques, in the building of one of which Yūṣuf b. Tashfin himself worked along with the masons as a sign of humility. But the cathedral mosque of 'Alī b. Yūṣuf, where Ibn Tūmari had an interview with the sultān, although several times rebuilt, still retains its name. The Almohads, on taking possession of Marrakesh, destroyed all the mosques on the pretext that they were wrongly

oriented. The mosque of 'Alī b. Yūsuf was only partly destroyed and was rebuilt. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb restored it in the middle of the xvth century. The present buildings and the minaret date from Mawlay Shmān (1792—1822).

Kutubiya. When the Almohads entered Marrakesh, 'Abd al-Mu'min built the first Kutubiya of which some traces still remain and it has been possible to reconstruct its plan. As it was wrongly oriented he built a new mosque, the present Kutubiya, in prolongation of the first but with a slightly different orientation. It takes its name from the 'roo booksellers' shops which used to be around its entrance. It is a very large building with seventeen naves, which with its decoration in carved plaster, its stalactite cupolas, the moulding of its timberwork, its capitals and magnificent pulpit (*minbar*) of inlaid work, is the most important and the most perfectly preserved work of Almohad art. The minaret, begun by 'Abd al-Mu'min, was only finished in the reign of his grandson al-Manṣūr (1195). It is 230 feet high and its powerful silhouette dominates the whole town and the palm-groves. It is the prototype of the Giralda of Seville and of the tower of Hassan at Rabat. It is decorated with arcatures the effects of which were formerly heightened by paintings still visible in places, with a band of ceramic work around the top.

The mosque of the ḡaṣba or mosque of al-Manṣūr is the work of Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr. It was begun in 1189—95 and built in great splendour. It has been profoundly altered, first by 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb the Sa'dian, then in the middle of the xvth century by Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, then more recently by Mawlay 'Abd al-Rahmān (1822—1859). The minaret of brick is intact and magnificently ornamented with green ceramics. The lamp-holder supports a *ḡimūr* of three bowls of gilt copper, which occupy a considerable place in the legends of Marrakesh. They are said to be of pure gold and to be enchanted so that no one could take them away without bringing on himself the most terrible misfortunes. This legend is often wrongly connected with the *ḡimūr* of the Kutubiya.

Among the religious monuments of Marrakesh of archaeological interest, may also be mentioned the minarets of the mosque of Ibn Ṣalāh (dated 731 = 1331) and of the sanctuary of Mawla 'I-Kūr, built in the Marinid period in the Almohad tradition, and two Sa'dian mosques: the mosque of al-Mwāṣim or mosque of the Sharifs, which owes its origin to 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb, and that of Bāb Dukkālā, built in 965 (1557—1558) by Lalla Mas'ada, the mother of the Sulṭān Aḥmad al-Manṣūr.

Madrasas. An Almohad madrasa, built 'to teach the children of the king and others of his family in it', formed part of the buildings of Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr. This royal school was presumably different from what later were the Marinid madrasas. It stood on the great square in front of the palace and was still in existence in the time of Leo Africanus. The Marinid Abu 'l-Ḥasan in 1347 built another madrasa, also described by Leo. It lay north of the mosque of the ḡaṣba, where traces of it can still be seen. The madrasa of Ibn Yūsuf is not, as is usually said, a restoration of the Marinid madrasa. It was a new building by 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb, dated by an inscription of 972 (1564—1565), the only surviving example of a Sa'dian madrasa.

Sa'dian tombs. The two first founders of

the dynasty rest beside the tomb of Sidi Muḥammad b. Sītmān al-Djazzūlī in the Riyāḡ al-'Arīṣ quarter. Their successors from 1557 were buried to the south of the mosque of the ḡaṣba. There was a cemetery there, probably as early as the Almohad period, which still has tombs of the xvth century. The magnificent ḡabbas which cover the tombs of the Sa'dian dynasty must have been built at two different periods. The one on the east under which is the tomb of Muḥammad al-Shāikh seems to have been built by 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb. The other, with three chambers, seems to have been erected by Aḥmad al-Manṣūr (d. 1603) to hold his tomb.

Bibliography: Arab writers: cf. the indexes to the editions of al-Bakrī (transl. de Slane, 1859); al-Idrīsī (ed. and transl. Dozy and de Goeje, 1866); Ibn al-Aḥlī (transl. Fagnan, 1901); *Documents inédits d'Histoire almohade* (ed. and transl. E. Lévi-Provençal, 1928); *Chronique almohade anonyme* (ed. and transl. E. Lévi-Provençal, in *Mélanges René Basset*, vol. ii., 1925); Zerkashī (transl. Fagnan, 1895); al-Marrākushī (transl. Fagnan, 1893); Abu 'l-Fidā' (transl. Solvet, 1839); Ibn Faḡl Allāh al-'Umari, *Mawāṣil* (transl. Gaudesroy-Demombynes, 1927); Ibn Khaldūn, *Thār* (transl. de Slane, 1852); al-Ifrānī, *Nuḥat al-Ḥudā* (ed. and transl. Houdas, 1889); al-Zāyānī (ed. and transl. Houdas, 1886); al-Naṣṣirī, *Liṭāḡ* (part transl. in *A. M.*, vol. ix., x., xxx., xxxi.); *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghrib* (transl. Fagnan, 1924); cf. also: *Kitāb al-Liṭāḡ* (transl. Fagnan, 1899); *al-Ḥulal al-mawḡibiya*, Tunis 1329 A. H.; Ibn Abī Zar', *Rawḡ al-Kirfā* (ed. Tornberg, 1846, transl. Beaumier, 1860); Leo Africanus (ed. Scheler, vol. i., 1896); Ibn al-Mawḡkīṭ, *al-Sa'adat al-abadīya*, Fās 1336 A. H.; al-'Abbās b. Ibrāhīm al-Marrākushī, *Iḥār al-Kamāl*, Fās 1334.

European authors: Damião de Góis, *Crónica do felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, ed. D. Lopes, Coimbra 1926; Marmol Carvajal, *Description general de Africa*, vol. ii., Granada 1573; French transl., 1667; H. de Castries, *Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc, passim*, cf. the indexes to the French and Dutch series; Matias de S. Francisco, *Relacion del viaje... que hizo a Marruecos el Ven. P. Fr. Juan de Prado*, Madrid 1643; G. Host, *Nachrichten von Marokko und Fes*, Copenhagen 1781; L. de Chénier, *Recherches historiques sur les Maures*, vol. iii., 1787; Jackson, *Account of the Empire of Morocco*, 1809; Ali Bey el Abbassi, *Voyages*, vol. i., 1814; Paul Lambert, *Notice sur la ville de Maroc*, in *Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr.*, 1868; Gatell, *Viages por Marruecos*, Madrid 1869; Edm. Doutté, *Marrakech*, 1905; P. Champion, *Rabat et Marrakech, Les villes d'art célèbres*, 1926; H. de Castries, *Du nom d'Alhambra donné au palais du souverain à Marrakech et à Grenade*, *J. A.*, 1921; P. de Cénival, *L'Eglise chrétienne de Marrakech*, in *Hispérie*, 1927; H. Basset and H. Terrasse, *Sanctuaires et Forteresse almohades*, in *Hispérie*, 1925—1927; Galotti, *Le Lanterneau du minaret de la Koutoubia de Marrakech*, *ibid.*, 1923; G. Rousseau and F. Arin, *Le manuscrit des princes al-dīn à Marrakech*, 1925; H. de Castries, *Le Cimetière de Djama el-Manṣūr, in Hispérie*, 1927; G. Aimel, *Le Palais d'el-Bed' à Marrakech*, in *Archives Berbères*, 1918; Charles Terrasse, *Médiers du*

Marrakech, 1928; Cap. Begbédér, *Notes sur l'organisation administrative de la Région de Marrakech*, in *Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr. du Maroc*, 1921; Voinot, *Les tribus guich du Haouz de Marrakech*, in *Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr. et d'Archéologie d'Oran*, 1928; in *France-Maroc*, 1919—1921, a number of articles signed Aimel, Douthe, Guichard, etc.; Doctoresse Légey, *Contes et légendes populaires recueillis à Marrakech*, 1926.

(PIERRE DE CÉNUVAL)

AL-MARRAKUSHI. [See 'ARD AL-WAKID.]

MARŠAD (A.), from *rašada*, "to wait on the road, to watch, to lie in wait", originally any place where a watch was kept, for example, a custom-house, then (with or without *al-kawākib*) an observatory. *Al-rašad* is also used in the latter sense. "To consult the stars for any one" is *rašada li-fulan*, to take astronomical measurements with instruments in *šūra* (cf. *šayr* = ascertaining latitude and longitude and *mišyār* = gnomo).

The Arab observatories had their models and predecessors in the Persian, Indian, Greek and Babylonian observatories. Very little is known about the construction of the oldest observatories. It is obvious however that when the advance was made from the observation and recording of isolated phenomena in the heavens, which were regarded as omens of good or ill fortune, to the exact following of the movements of heavenly bodies, simple instruments to calculate time and measure areas and angles in the heavens would become necessary. Such must have existed in the towers of Babylonian temples which were used as observatories, in the form of sundials, sand- and water-clocks measuring rods, and graduated circles. In the time of Ptolemy sundials and water-clocks were certainly in use, a circle divided parallel to the equator of the heavens which was used to calculate the equinox and length of the year, a meridian circle, the armillary sphere and the astrolabe or planisphere. The Arab astronomers, however, received their knowledge from the Hindus and Persians, among whom astrology and practical astronomy had reached a high level. When the first astronomical observations were made under the 'Abbāsids at Djundi-Sābūr and the first astronomical works were translated out of the Sanskrit and Pahlavi, there is no doubt that the observatories erected in Baghdad were also modelled on Indian and Persian prototypes. In his astronomical work, al-Battānī describes the construction of the sundial (*al-ruḡḡama*), a globe of the heavens (*al-ḥayda*), a wall-quantum (*al-ruḡḡa* or *al-līḥa*) and a triquetrum (*al-ḥayda al-fawila* or *al-ḥayda al-fawila*). The instrument most used in the Arab period however was the astrolabe which was portable (cf. above I., p. 501). The number of makers of astrolabes, observers and compilers of astronomical tables from the beginning of the 'Abbāsid period is immense and the rivalry of princes to obtain more and more accuracy in the astronomical foundations of astrology also led to the improvement of instruments and the arrangements in observatories generally. It is sufficient to mention out of the many observatories that of Cairo where Ibn Yūnus (d. 400—401 = 1009) completed the Hākimī tables, the observatory of Nišāpūr where al-Khāzini (d. beginning of the 10th = 11th century) took observations, that of Marāgha which Naṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī erected

with many new instruments for the Mongol Khān Hūlāgū (1259) and the observatory of Samarkand, where Ulugh Beg employed the astronomers of his time. Following him in many points but also stimulated by European astronomy Džai Singh in India built the great observatories, the remains of which still arouse admiration in Delhi, Džai-pūr, Ujjain, Benares and Mathura.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given by C. A. Nallino in the articles *ASTROLOGY*, *ASTRONOMY* and *ASTROLABE*, cf. also E. Wiedemann, *Zur Trigonometrie, u. Geodäsie, Beitr. z. Gesch. der Naturw.*, xviii., S.B.P.M.S. Ergl., vol. xli., 1909, p. 31—46; G. R. Kaye, *The astronomical observations of Jai Singh, Archaeolog. Survey of India, New Imperial Series*, vol. xI., Calcutta 1918, p. 80—83; J. Frank, *Zur Geschichte des Astrolabs*, Erlangen 1920; Carra de Vaux, *Penseurs de l'Islam*, Paris 1921, II. 194—252; K. Schoy, *Die Gnomonik der Araber*, Berlin 1923; do., *Sonnenwuhren der spätmittelalterlichen Astronomie*, I. u. II., 1924, p. 332—360; E. Wiedemann, *Über ein von Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) hergestelltes Beobachtungsinstrument*, Z. f. Instrumentenkunde, 1925, xlv. 269—275; H. Seemann and Th. Mittelberger, *Das kugelförmige Astrolab*, Abh. z. G. d. Naturw., Heft viii., Erlangen 1925; J. Frank und M. Meyerhof, *Ein Astrolab aus dem indischen Mogulreich*, Heidelberg 1925; E. Wiedemann, *Naṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, Beitr. z. G. d. Naturw.*, lxxviii., S.B.P.M.S. Ergl., vol. lx., 1928, p. 289—316; P. Schmalz, *Zur Geschichte des Quadranten bei den Arabern*, Munich 1929.

(J. RUSKA)

MARTHIYA (A., plur. *marṭhiyāt*), translated variously by elegy or dirge, is a poem in Arabic (and other languages following Arabic tradition) in memory of a deceased person. The word elegy is hardly applicable in most cases as such poems differ somewhat from the style of Greek and Latin poems bearing this name; some notable exceptions exist and the finest example of a real elegy is perhaps the poem of a woman named Barra al-Kinānīya preserved in the *Kitāb al-ḥikāyat*, and still unpublished. It was the custom of the ancient Arabs after the usual *naḥḥ* or lamentation of women [q.v.] that a member of the family, gifted as a poet, should commemorate the noble qualities and deeds of the departed in a poem by enumerating them. These poems as a rule do not contain the *taḥḥib* or amatory introduction like ordinary *ḥayās* and in many cases have a peculiarity in their diction, the introduction of a kind of internal rhyme resembling *ṣarf*, called *ṭarf*. This has been fully discussed by Rhodokanakis in his analysis of the poetry of al-Khansā, but is found in many other *marṭhiyāt*. Many poets, remembering the widespread, nay universal, belief of the ancient Arabs in fatalism, embellish their poems with descriptions to show that nothing can escape inevitable fate. A typical example is the long poem by Abū Dhū'ayb (*Dihān*, N° 1; *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, N° 126) in which three vivid pictures are drawn of the impossibility of escaping death, both for man and beast. This tradition has been followed by Arabic poets from the times of paganism to the present date and the quantity of poems produced for example upon the death of the Egyptian statesman Zaghāl Pāshā proves that the taste for them has not abated. The collected poems of al-Zahāwī, the most prominent living poet of

the 'Irāk, contain several pages mourning Zaghāl. As regards the earlier period, poems have been preserved in considerable numbers and from the *Hamāsa* of Abū Tammām downwards nearly every anthology has a special chapter devoted to marāṭhī. Several early scholars in addition made special collections of this class of literature and one such collection has come down to us, made by the Kūfī grammarian Ibn al-A'arabi, and published from an incomplete manuscript by W. Wright. The poet *par excellence* in this class of poetry however was a woman, al-Khansa' [q. v.].

Bibliography: W. Wright, *Opuscula Arabica*, Leyden 1859, p. 97—136; Rhodokanakis, *al-Hansa' und ihre Trauerslieder*, Vienna 1904; Ibn Rashtik, *Umda*, Cairo, ii. 117—126; chapters on marāṭhī in the *Hamāsa* of Abū Tammām, al-Baḥārī and Ibn al-Shajrī.

(F. KERNOW)

MARTOLOSEN. Lexicons explain *martolos* and *martolos* as "Christian soldiers, volunteers in the Ottoman army". The word apparently is not to be found in Turkish authors, but is often met with in Western books and documents.

Leunclavius (*Annales*, p. 142) says that *martolos* means "robber"; Ricaut (Italian translation by C. Belli, *Storia dello stato presente dell' Impero ottomano*) relates that Buda was garrisoned by 300 *martoloi* "who are like infantry"; M. Sanudo (*Diarii*, xxxvi. 271) mentions one Šbolovach "a very brave man and great *martoloss*", who served the Turks and was killed in action near Zara in Dalmatia. According to Lazaro Soranzo (*L'Ottomanno*, 4th ed., Naples 1600, p. 110—111), *martolos* means spy and thief.

Sathas (*Monum. Historias Hellenicas*, iv. lvi., N^o. 4) derives the word (*martoloi*, *martaloi*, *marteloi*, *martelossi*, *armatoli*) from *ἀμάρτολος*, and says that they were soldiers of fortune serving the Turks, often opposed the "Stradioti", who fought for the Venetians.

Von Hammer (*G. O. R.*, iv. 211—212) observes that the *martoloi* were bands of brigands, armed by the Turks on the frontiers towards the Venetians and Dalmatians; while, quoting Pouqueville, who favours the etymology *ἀμάρτολος*, he inclines to an etymology from the Hungarian.

Pouqueville's and Sathas' explanations seem to be the most probable. The appellation was not limited to brigands on the western frontiers of the Ottoman empire, but was also given to armed bands of volunteers (xvth—xvith centuries) in the Danube region (Jorga, *Geschichte des osm. Reiches*, iii. 419; Hurmuzaki, *Documente etc.*, xii., p. 130).

MAR'UF AL-KARKHĪ, ABU MAHFUZ B. FIRUZ or FIRUZKAN, who died in 200 (815—816), was a celebrated ascetic and mystic of the Baghdad school. The *nisha* al-Karkhī probably refers to Karkh Bāḡjudda, a township in eastern 'Irāk (Sam'ani, *Ansāb*, p. 478^b, l. 10; cf. Yāqūt, *Muhtarik*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 369, l. 8 199), though some authorities connect him with the Karkh quarter of Baghdad. His parents are generally said to have been Christians; according to Ibn 'Ashtirdī (ed. Juynboll and Matthes, i. 575), they were Šībī'āna belonging to the district of Wāsiṭ. Bakr b. Khunais al-Kūfī and Farqad al-Sabakhi, also of Kūfa, are named as his teachers in Sūfism (Abū Ṭalīb al-Makkī, *Ḥāt al-Kutub*, i. 9; *Fihrist*, p. 183). Of those whom he taught or influenced the most

famous was Sari al-Sakati [q. v.], who in his turn became the master of Djanāid. The story that Ma'rūf was a client of the Šu'bi *Imām*, 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā, before whom he made profession of Islām and induced his parents to do the same, deserves no credence. Among the sayings attributed to him are the following: "Love is not to be learned from men; it is a gift of God and comes of His grace". "The saints are known by three signs: their cares are for God, their business is in God, and their flight is unto God". "Sūfism consists in grasping the realities (*ḥaqā'iq*) and renouncing that which is in the hands of created beings". Ma'rūf was venerated as a saint, and his tomb at Baghdād on the west bank of the Tigris is still a great resort for pilgrims. Kūshairī relates that the people used to go there in order to pray for rain, saying: "The tomb of Ma'rūf is an approved remedy (*tiryāb muḥḥarrah*)".

Bibliography: Kūshairī, *Riḍā*, Cairo 1318, p. 11; Ḥudayrī, *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, ed. Schakovski, Leningrad 1926, p. 141 = p. 113 in Nicholson's translation; 'Aṭār, *Tadhkirat al-Awliyā'*, ed. Nicholson, i. 269 199; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, N^o. 371; transl. de Slane, *Biographical Dictionary*, ii. 88; Djamī, *Nafahāt al-Uni*, ed. Lees, p. 42; Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, p. 207; Nicholson, *The origin and development of Sūfism*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 306. (R. A. NICHOLSON)

MAR'UF RUSAFI, one of the best of contemporary Arab poets, born in Baghdād of a Kurd father and a Beduin mother in 1292 (1875). His *ḥazides* have been collected into a *Diwān* and edited by Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Kharrāṭ, Bairūt 1910, following quite an original classification 1. *Kawmīyāt*, 2. *Iḍṭimā'iyāt*, 3. *Tarīḥīyāt*, 4. *Wafiyāt*. Ruṣāfi Buḥṭī has devoted an excellent study to him (in *al-Adab al-Arabi* p. 171 1922 *al-Arabi*, Cairo, Salafiya 1922, p. 67—96).

(L. MASSIGNON)

MAR'UT. [See HĀRUT and MĀRUT.]

MARW. [See MRW.]

AL-MARWA. [See AL-SĀFĀ.]

MARWÂN B. AL-HAKAM, the father of the Marwānid Caliphs, was born at Mecca or at Tā'if, probably several years before the Hijra. Tradition, by placing his birth 2, 4, or 5 years later than the beginning of this era, aims at depriving him of a right to the title of "Companion" by showing that he could not have effectively accompanied the Prophet, as he must have followed his father who was exiled to Tā'if. Further, it endeavours in its hostility to give him the epithet of *ṭarīf ibn al-ṭarīf*, "the banished son of the banished man". After becoming Caliph, his grand-uncle 'Uthmān adopted him as his secretary and under this title he is said to have governed in his name. Seriously wounded on the "day of al-Dār", at the siege of the palace of 'Uthmān, he took part later in the battle of the Camel in which he received fresh wounds. All his life his health suffered from these terrible shocks. Mu'awiya I used him alternately with Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ [q. v.], his cousin, to govern Medina and the Hijāz. He showed in this function a capacity and vigour, far above the ordinary.

Finally dismissed from office, he passed into obscurity during the latter years of Mu'awiya who dreaded his ambition. When Ḥusain b. 'Alī refused

to recognize the Caliph Yazid, Marwân advised Walid b. 'Utba, his successor at Medina, to employ force against the rebel. The revolt of the people of Medina caused him to be expelled with all his followers from this town. He returned to it in the train of Muslim b. 'Uqba [q. v.] whose military operations he was supporting. Put to flight once more after the death of Yazid I, he took up his residence in Syria and attended the court of the Caliph Mu'awiya II. After the disappearance of this prince, Marwân, despairing of the fortunes of the Omayyads, was disposed to recognize Ibn al-Zubair, when 'Ubadallah b. Ziyad persuaded him to set up himself as candidate. Acclaimed at the assembly of Djabiya, he defeated the Kais under Dabbak b. Kais [q. v.] at Mardj Râhit [q. v.]. The submission of the whole of Syria was the first result of this victory.

The reign of Marwân may be epitomized as an uninterrupted series of battles. Immediately after his official installation at Damascus he was forced to take up the gauntlet. He laid it down only to die in his capital. His chief task was the conquest of Egypt. A rapid campaign gave him possession of it, while his lieutenant repelled a raid into Palestine by Ibn al-Zubair. At Djabiya he was compelled to recognize as his eventual successors, Khalid the son of Yazid I and the Omayyad 'Amr al-Ashdaq [q. v.]. After laborious negotiations, he was able to end them to the advantage of his own sons 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abd al-'Aziz, the latter being nominated by him governor of Egypt. This was the last success of his adventurous career. Worn out, the septuagenarian caliph died at Damascus on the 27th Ramadan 65 (7th May 685). He is said to have been murdered by the wife of Yazid I, the mother of the Sufyanid Khalid, whom he had married after Mardj Râhit.

The estimates of the length of his reign vary between 3 and 11 months, according as they count the first recognition of him at Djabiya or the second — the exact date is not known — more ceremonious one at Damascus. We do not know his exact age any more definitely. The two extremes 61 and 81 years reveal the inconsistency of tradition. The 63 years sometimes given to Marwân are merely a lucky number which has been much abused to give the ages of the older caliphs. It has the advantage that it takes us back to the year 2, often said to be the year of his birth. Our texts describe him as an old man, *shaykh kâbir*, when he ascended the throne and contrast him with the *tsâb*, middle-aged man, i.e. Ibn al-Zubair who, however, was nearly sixty. There must therefore have been an appreciable difference of age between the two competitors. Marwân, therefore, seems to us to have been over seventy. The last five years of his life, filled with rebellions, his two exiles, his share in the campaign against Medina, and in those of Syria and Egypt to reconquer these provinces of his empire finally wore out the constitution of this vigorous old man, who had never been completely cured of the effects of his terrible wounds he received in his youth. This long lean wizened old man — these physical characteristics earned him the nickname *shaykh tsâb* — was destined to fall a victim to the great epidemic that swept over the East. In 65 B. the plague reached Syria from the 'Irâk; it had begun by carrying off Mu'awiya II, the

decrepit predecessor of Marwân, as well as Walid b. 'Utba, a relative of both; it ended by laying low the first of the Marwânid caliphs.

Marwân showed himself a statesman worthy of the highest rank. A contemporary of the great Mu'awiya, he had under the Sufyanids to accept — without ever resigning himself to it — the part of a brilliant second. He attained the caliphate, ever the object of his wishes, at the moment he had ceased to care about it. He allowed himself to be raised to the throne, rather than mounted it himself. But once at the top he regained that power of lucid decision and spirit of initiative which had earned Mu'awiya's appreciation, though he feared his ambition. The new ruler remained on the throne just long enough to save the Omayyad fortunes from an imminent collapse and to save the future of the younger branch of this dynasty which bears his name. The work was continued by his favourite son 'Abd al-Malik. He early recognised the merits of this, the elder, man, and with a brutality and absence of scruple which was thoroughly Arab, he put him in the place of the young Khalid b. Yazid I, who was less well fitted for the difficulties of the restoration. This is sufficient to characterize his place among the Syrian caliphs. It will explain the hatred of 'Abbasid and 'Alid historians, a hatred adopted by Muslim tradition. In energy and knowledge of the art of government, Marwân, recalled his illustrious relative Mu'awiya. He would have equalled him, if to these eminent qualities he had been able to add that variety of political knowledge, a mixture of cunning and bonhomie, so appreciated by the Arabs, which they call *hilm*. He became Caliph in most critical circumstances and had to display firmness above all things, to put down rebellions, and to defend himself against the ambition and resentment of his relatives, frustrated in their attempts on the throne, or spoiled by him of their rights to it. If it had been given to him to live longer, we may well believe that he would have rivalled the first of the Omayyad Caliphs in nobility of soul.

Bibliography: al-Kindi, *Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. R. Guest, p. 42—48; Ibn al-Athir, *Usd al-Ghâba*, ii. 34; iv. 348—349; Ibn 'Aldrabbihî, *al-Id al-farid*, ii. 321; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqât*, ed. Sachau, v. 24—28; *Aghânî*, ii. 81—84, 171, 172; x. 70—73; xii. 72—74; xiii. 150—154; xiv. 119—127; xvii. 68—69, 111; Tabari, ed. de Goeje, ii. 16, 28, 67, 70, 81, 85, 86, 107, 164, 165, 170, 172, 218—220, 224, 397—398, 405—411, 417, 419—420, 472—578, 592, 1182—1184; Ya'qûbî, ed. Houtama, ii. 304—6; Ibn Kutaiba, *Ma'srif* (ed. Cairo), p. 120—121; Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich*, p. 114; Noldeke, in *Z. D. M. G.*, p. 688; H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omayyade Mo'awia*, i. p. 28—29, 34—39, 41, 202, 240, 413, 416, 434; do., *Le Califat de Yazid Ier*, p. 62—63, 87, 89, 90, 95, 101, 104, 117; do., *Mo'awia II ou le dernier des Sufyanides*, extract from *R. S. O.*, vii. 37—40; do., *L'avènement des Marwânides et le califat de Marwân II*, *Bairût* 1927, p. 1—147 (extract from *M. F. O. B.*, xii, fasc. 2).

(H. LAMMENS)
MARWÂN II & MUHAMMAD, the last of the Omayyad caliphs in Damascus. He was the grandson of the caliph Marwân b. al-Hakam. As governor of Mesopotamia and Armenia his

father Muḥammad for several years directed the campaigns against the Byzantines. His mother was a Kurdish slave-girl. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik [q.v.] was one of those who followed Muḥammad b. Marwân to war; it is not till 115 (733—734) that we find Marwân coming to the front as governor of Armenia and Ḍarḥabīdījān. In this position, which he held for 12 years, he fought with success against the peoples of the Caucasus and thus acquired military experience which enabled him to reorganise the Muslim army. In place of divisions consisting of the different tribes he created regular, paid troops under professional commanders; the men levied for military service were divided up into smaller divisions (*ḥarāḍis*) which possessed much greater mobility and strength than the long Arab battle-lines. After the death in 126 (744) of Yazīd III the succession passed to his brother Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd; the latter however was only recognised in the southern part of Syria. Under the pretext of protecting the interests of the sons of the murdered Walīd II, Marwân crossed the Euphrates into Syria where the Kaṣīs at once joined him. At 'Ain al-Djarr between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon he encountered the Kalbīs under Sulaimān, a son of the caliph Hishām. In spite of his years of experience in war with the Byzantines the latter was no match for Marwân. He was defeated and fled to Damascus, where he put to death the two sons of Walīd II. He then went with his father, the nominal caliph Ibrāhīm to Palmyra, the capital of the Kalbīs, whereupon Marwân entered Damascus and received the homage of the people (Safat 26, 127 = Dec. 7, 744). After arranging matters in the capital he made his headquarters in Ḥarrān, where he could rely upon the support of the Kaṣīs who were devoted to him. The result was a raising of the Kalbīs in Syria. Marwân soon succeeded in restoring order but when in the following year he was preparing a campaign against the 'Irāk not yet subject to him, he made the mistake of levying Syrian troops also who were to join the rest of the army on the march. On reaching al-Ruṣāfa where Sulaimān b. Hishām lived, the Syrians deserted from Marwân and proclaimed Sulaimān commander of the faithful. When Sulaimān occupied Kinnasrīn, Marwân had to come back. A battle took place near the town, Sulaimān was defeated and fled first to Hims; and then to al-Kūfa. After a siege of several months Hims was forced to surrender; Marwân razed its walls to the ground and also those of Ba'albek, Damascus, Jerusalem and other large towns of Syria. In the summer of 128 (746) peace was finally restored in Syria.

In the eastern provinces however complete anarchy reigned. The governorship of the 'Irāk had been given by Yazīd III to a son of the caliph 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, named 'Abd Allāh [q.v.]. The latter of course did not recognise the claims of Marwân to the caliphate and the 'Alīd 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwīya [q.v.] also rebelled in al-Kūfa. Marwân appointed a new governor Naḍr b. Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī to restore peace and security; the latter however soon fell in battle with 'Abd Allāh b. 'Omar and only the approach of a danger that threatened both sides, the Khāridjī movement brought the two opponents to terms. The Khāridjīs a little later seized the town of al-Mawṣil: 'Abd Allāh, the son of the caliph, was defeated and had to retreat. In the late summer of 28 (746)

however the Khāridjī leader al-Jahhāk b. Kaṣ al-Shaibānī [q.v.] fell in battle with Marwân himself and in the following year the power of these dangerous rebels was finally broken after one of Marwân's generals Yazīd b. 'Omar b. Ḥabīb had taken the 'Irāk from them.

Soon afterwards however a cloud that boded evil appeared in another direction. Naḍr b. Sa'īd al-Lāḥī, governor of Khorāsān, had long before warned the caliph of the seditious activities of the 'Abbāsids and urgently appealed for assistance to render their cunning agitators harmless. Marwân however had his hands full and could devote no attention to the distant east. In Ramadān 129 (June 747) the long prepared rebellion broke out in Khorāsān. Apart from a few isolated successes, the government troops were defeated by the rebels and after the fall of al-Kūfa, Abū 'l-'Abbās who with his brother Abū Dja'far had taken command of the 'Abbāsīd party had himself proclaimed caliph on the 12th Rabī' II, 132 (Nov. 28, 749). In Djumādā II of the same year (Jan. 750) Marwân was defeated on the upper Zab. He then fled from one place to another till he was overtaken at Būṣrā in the district of Uḡmūnān in Upper Egypt. Here the last Damascus caliph of the Omayyad dynasty fell fighting bravely (end of 132 = Aug. 750).

Bibliography: Tabari, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, II, iii., see index; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, v., passim; Baladhuri, ed. de Goeje, see index; Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, II, 381 sq., 395, 403—417, 419—421, 428, 438; Mas'ūdi, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, see index; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Well, *Geich. d. Chalifen*, I, 635—637, 656, 667 sq., 680—702; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, I, 452—456; Muir, *The caliphate, its rise, decline, and fall*, p. 406, 413, 416, 418—434; Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien*, p. 49 sqq. (= *Abh. d. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1901), and do., *Das arabische Reich*, v. 231 sqq., 306 sqq. (K. V. ZETTERSTERN).

MARWÂNIDS, a Muḥammadan dynasty in Diyār Bakr, founded by the Kurd chief Bādh, who had begun his career as a shepherd and then took to brigandage. With the help of a body of men similarly inclined, he seized the town of Airdjish in Armenia with other strongholds on the Armenian frontier. After the death of the Būyid 'Adūl al-Dawla (372 = 983), he invaded the province of Diyār Bakr and captured Amid, Mayyāfāriqīn and Naysībīn. The armies, which Sa'mūn al-Dawla sent against him, were defeated and al-Mawṣil also passed into his hands. But when he tried to seize the capital, Baghdad (Safat 373 = July—Aug. 983), he suffered a complete defeat and had to abandon al-Mawṣil. After vain attempts to retake this town, he took the field again in 380 (990—991) but was defeated by the Hamdānids, the lords of al-Mawṣil, and fell in the battle. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Marwān, his sister's son, then married his widow and thus came into possession of the lands conquered by Bādh and continued the war against the Hamdānids whom he twice defeated. After the murder of Abū 'Alī in 387 (997—998) in Amid, his brother Muḥammad al-Dawla Abū 'l-Manāṣir succeeded him. The third brother Naḍr al-Dawla Abū Naḍr Aḥmad at first attempted to dispute his authority but without

success. In 402 (1011–1012) Abū 'l-Manṣūr was poisoned by one of his generals, whereupon Abū Naṣr was recognised as lord of Diyār Bakr. During his rule of fifty years, peace and quiet as a rule prevailed, and poets and learned men found a hospitable welcome at his court. In 433 (1041–1042) the Ghuzz [q.v.] who had invaded Mesopotamia in the previous year, raided Džazirat Ibn 'Omar; but Sulaimān, son of Abū Naṣr, succeeded in outwitting and capturing their leader whereupon the others dispersed; they soon returned however and continued their plundering, although Abū Naṣr released their chief and gave them a considerable sum to induce them to withdraw. They then occupied al-Mawṣil, which was completely sacked while the emir there, Karwāṣ b. al-Maḳallad [q.v.], saved himself by flight. In 435 (1044) he finally succeeded in driving out the Ghuzz whereupon they withdrew to Diyār Bakr and thence to Adhribādjan. When the Saljuḳ Sultān Toghrul Beg in 448 (1056–7) advanced against Džazirat Ibn 'Omar, Abū Naṣr gained him over by gifts and a friendly relationship was established between them. Abū Naṣr died in 453 (1061–1062) aged over 80. He was succeeded by his son Niḥām al-Dawla Naṣr, who had however to go through a hard struggle with his brother Sa'īd. The former was victorious in Malayfāriḳin, while the latter had to be satisfied with Amid. In 463 (1070–1071) Naṣr submitted to the Saljuḳ Sultān Alp Arslān. After Naṣr's death (472 = 1080) his son Manṣūr was recognised as his successor. Soon afterwards the Saljuḳs overthrew the Marwānid dynasty. In 478 (1085–1086) Ibn Džahit, Malik-Shāh's vizier, and his son Za'im al-Ru'asā' Abū 'l-Kāsim conquered the towns of Amid, Malayfāriḳin and Džazirat Ibn 'Omar and then brought the whole province of Diyār Bakr under the rule of the Saljuḳs. Manṣūr, the last Marwānid, died in Muḥarram 489 (Dec. 1095–Jan. 1096) in Džazirat Ibn 'Omar.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), ix. 25 sq., 49–52, 272–276, 416 sq.; x. 11, 86 sq., 93 sq., 151, 174 sq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, iv. 251–253, 259–261, 315–321; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 36, 106, 131; Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, p. 118.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

MĀRYĀ, a tribe in the Western zone of Eritrea. They are — for the most part — shepherds and inhabit the middle valley of the 'Anabā river in the district of Karān. Their tribe is formed by two sections of nobles: Māryā Kaylāh "the Red Māryā" and Māryā Šallim "the Black Māryā"; and the families of the vassals. The "Red" Māryā have been traditionally in a lower position than the "Black" and they were obliged to pay on certain occasions special gifts to the "Black" as, for instance, when the chief of the "Black" died. The vassals were practically divided between the Red and the Black as every family of them lived under the patronage of the chief of a noble family. Both the paramount chiefs of the noble sections had some particular rights over all the vassals of the noble families of their sections as they had, for instance, the power to order that every vassal may give to them the same gift as to his individual patron or to oblige the patrons to pay, as a duty to the highest representative of the tribe, the tenth part of every gift or duty of their vassals.

The Māryā claim to be descendants of a warrior, Māryā, born from Saho stock, who emigrated with seventeen soldiers to the borders of the 'Anabā and was received there as a guest by the natives. But, afterwards, the sons of Māryā had so greatly increased that they were able to occupy the whole land and to subdue the native tribes who became their vassals. These natives, who are called *tigrāy* on account of their origin, were really Abyssinians and Bedja. However, the Māryā and their vassals to-day speak only the Tigrē language; and the Saho, as the Bedja, has been wholly forgotten.

The Māryā were Christians but, about half a century ago, they were converted to Islām. Even their clans (as the 'Ad Te-mikā'el, a section of the "Red") and their ancestors till recent generations bore Christian names. In any case, Islām law has gradually gained great influence, among the Māryā; and this has been from many points of view a real profit to the population, as the laws of Islām may moderate in a good way the ancient rough customs which strongly assured the privileges of the nobles and their mastery on the vassals. As a matter of fact, in the hereditary law, the prevalent right of the first born son and the exclusion of the daughters from the succession of their father's estates became gradually disused on account of the Islām influences. In the same way, the custom of declaring slaves those vassals who could not pay their debts to the nobles and the great differences, in the penal law, as to the punishment of crimes perpetrated by the nobles or by the vassals, had already been diminished after the conversion of the Māryā to the Islām, when the occupation of Eritrea by Italy caused the complete abrogation of those rules.

Bibliography: W. Mensinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, Schaffhausen 1864; E. Littmann, *Lieder der Tigrē Stämme*, *Publications of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia*, vol. iii. and iv., Leyden 1913, 1915; C. Conti Rossini, *Principi di diritto consuetudinario dell'Eritrea*, Rome 1916. (ENRICO CERULLI)

MARYAM, Mary. The Arabic form of the name is identical with *مَرْيَمَ* and *μαριαμ* which are used in the Syriac and in the Greek Bible in the New as well as in the Old Testament. In the latter it corresponds to the Hebrew *מרים*. This

name, like other ones with the same suffix, such as 'Amram, Bil'am, points to the region between Palestine and Northwestern Arabia as its home. According to Muslim interpretation the name means "the pious" (*al-'ābida*; cf. the commentaries on sūra iii. 31). It occurs frequently in the Kur'ān in the combination [*'Isā*] Ibn Maryam "[Jesus] the son of Mary" (sūra ii. 81, 254; iii. 31 sq.; iv. 136, 169; v. 19, 50, 76, 82, 109, 112, 114, 116; ix. 31; xix. 35; xxiii. 52; xxxiii. 7; xliii. 57; lvii. 27; lxi. 6, 14), no father being mentioned, because, according to Muslim tradition also, 'Isā had no earthly father. In the majority of these passages 'Isā is clearly regarded as the higher of the two. Yet Maryam's place is important from a dogmatical as well as from a historical point of view.

Maryam is mentioned in the Kur'ān, from the oldest parts down to the later Madinese sūras. To the first Makkan period belongs sūra xxiii. 52: "And we made the son of Maryam and his

mother a sign; and we made them abide in an elevated place, full of quiet and watered with springs". Here is possibly the first allusion in the *Qur'an* to the virgin birth. This idea is accentuated in *sūra* xix. 20, where Maryam gives the spirit (i.e. the angel) who announces to her the birth of a male child, this reply: "How should I have a male child, no human man having touched me?" In *sūra* lxi. 12 the conception is ascribed to this divine spirit (cf. Luke i. 34-35). Then said Mary unto the angel, How shall this be, seeing I know not a man? And the angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee).

The virgin birth is also mentioned in *sūra* lxvi. 12 (Madinian): "And Maryam hint 'Imrān who kept her body pure. Then we breathed into it from our spirit. She acknowledged the truth of the words of her Lord and of his book and she belonged to the obedient".

A third mention of the annunciation and the virgin birth is in *sūra* iii. 37: "When the angels said, O Maryam, verily Allāh has elected and purified thee and elected thee above the women of all created beings. O Maryam, be obedient unto thy Lord and prostrate thyself and bow down with those who bow down" (cf. Luke i. 28). Maryam is indeed reckoned as one of the four best women that ever existed, together with Aṣṭya [q.v.], Khadija [q.v.] and Fāṭima [q.v.] (Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Muṣnad*, iii. 135), and the chief of the women of Paradise (Ibn Hanbal, iii. 64, 80).

According to tradition the annunciation took place in the following way: Djibril appeared to Mary in the shape of a beardless youth with a shining face and curling hair, announcing to her the birth of a male child. She expressed her amazement, but, on the angel's reassuring answer, she complied with the will of God.

Thereupon the angel blew his breath into the fold of her shirt, which she had put off. When the angel had withdrawn, she put on the shirt and became pregnant. The annunciation took place in the cavern of the well of Silwān, whither Maryam had gone, as usual, to fill her pitcher; she was then 10 or 13 years of age; and it was the longest day of the year. In Christian tradition also the voice of the angel was heard by Maryam for the first time when she had gone to fill her pitcher. According to a different tradition 'Isā's spirit entered Maryam through her mouth (Tabari, *Taḥṣīr*, vi. 22).

A second important dogmatical feature is that Maryam belongs to the Trinity according to the *Qur'an*. A glimpse of this conception is given in *sūra* v. 79: "al-Masīḥ, the son of Maryam, is an Apostle only, who was preceded by other Apostles, and his mother an upright woman; and both were wont to take food". This verse is apparently meant as a refutation of the Christians who venerated 'Isā and his mother as divine persons, elevated above human needs. With this verse may be compared *sūra* iv. 169: "O people of the book, beware of exaggeration in your religion and say of Allāh nothing but the truth. 'Isā b. Maryam is only the Apostle of Allāh and His word, which He conveyed unto Maryam, and a spirit that came forth from Him. Believe, therefore, on Allāh and his Apostles and say not 'three'. Beware of this, this will be better for you. Allāh is but one God" etc.

Clearer is *sūra* v. 116: "And when Allāh said, O 'Isā b. Maryam, hast thou said to the people, Take me and my mother as two Gods besides Allāh? He answered: Far be it, that I should say to what I am not entitled. If I should have said it, Thou wouldst know it" etc.

The commentaries also describe the Trinity as consisting of Allāh, 'Isā and Maryam. Al-Baidawī, however, admits that in *sūra* iv. 169 there could be an allusion to the Christian doctrine of one God in three hypostases: Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

The question how Muḥammad had come to conceive of Maryam as one of the persons of the Trinity, has often been asked. Maracci has made a reference to Epiphanius, *Adv. Haereticos*, Haeretic. lxxviii. § 23, where this author speaks of women in Arabia who venerated Mary as God, and offered to her cakes, from which the heresy is often called that of the Collyridians. Sale, in his *Preliminary Discourse*, p. 45, mentions the Mariamites, who worshipped a Trinity consisting of God, Christ and Mary, referring to a passage in the work of al-Makīn. It may, however, be that Muḥammad's conception was not influenced by any sect, but by the veneration of which Mary was the object in the Church itself. Or it may be an inference due to the identification of 'Isā with the Holy Ghost (cf. *sūra* iv. 169 as translated above), which made a vacant place in the Trinity, which Mary seemed entitled to occupy. A different explanation is attempted by Sayana, *l.c.*, p. 61 (see *Bibliography*).

A comparatively large place is occupied in the *Qur'an* by the story of Maryam and 'Isā. Many of the features narrated agree, partly or wholly, with narratives in the apocryphal Gospels. *Sūra* xxiii. 52 (see above) mentions the elevated place that was prepared for 'Isā and his mother. It is not clear which tradition is here alluded to. According to St. Luke i. 39, Mary went to the mountains to visit Elizabeth. In the *Protevangelium Jacobi* (chap. xxii; Syriac text, p. 20) it is Elizabeth who flees together with John to a mountain, which opens to protect them against their persecutors. The Muslim commentators mention Jerusalem, Damascus, Ramla, Egypt as being possibly meant by the "elevated place". Maracci thinks of Paradise.

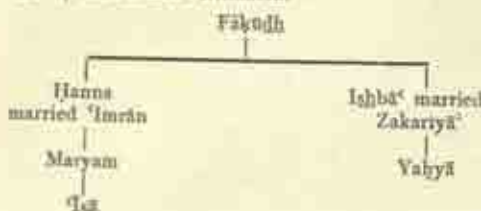
In two passages of the *Qur'an* there is a fuller narrative of 'Isā's birth and what is connected with it, viz. in *sūra* xix. (which bears the title of Maryam), vs. 1-35, and in *sūra* iii. 31-42.

Sūra xix. opens with the story of Zakariya and Yahyā (vs. 1-15); on this follows the story of Maryam and 'Isā (vs. 16-34). *Sūra* iii. 31-42 contains a. the birth of Maryam; b. the annunciation of Yahyā (vs. 33-36); c. the annunciation of 'Isā (vs. 37-41). The comparison of *sūra* xix. with *sūra* iii. makes it probable that Muḥammad became acquainted with the story of the birth of Maryam later than with those of Yahyā and 'Isā.

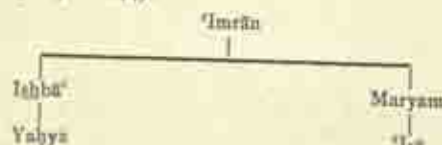
a. The birth of Maryam. This story goes back to a Christian tradition corresponding closely with that which is contained in the *Protevangelium Jacobi* and *De nativitate Mariae*. Mary's father is called 'Imrān in the *Qur'an*, Ioachim in Christian tradition; Ibn Khaldūn (*Moḥabbar*, ii. 144) is also acquainted with the name Ioachim. It has been supposed that the name of 'Imrān, which apparently corresponds with the Biblical 'Amram, the father of Moses, as well as the fact that Maryam is called

a sister of Hārūn (sūra xix. 29), is due to a confusion between the two Biblical Maryams. Sale, Geroch and others think such a confusion improbable. At any rate Muslim tradition assures us that there is a distance of 1,500 years between the Biblical 'Amram and the father of Mary.

'Imrān's wife, 'Isā's grandmother, is not mentioned by name in the Qur'ān. In Christian as well as in Muslim tradition she is called Hanna. It is only in Muslim tradition that her genealogy is worked out. She is a daughter of Fākhūdh and a sister of Ishbā', the Biblical Elisabeth.



According to a different genealogy Ishbā' and Maryam were sisters, daughters of 'Imrān and Hanna (Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, i. 120 27.; Tabari, *Ta'isr*, iii. 144):



'Imrān and Hanna were old and childless. One day the sight of a bird in a tree, which was feeding her young, aroused Hanna's desire for a child. She prays God to fulfil her desire and vows, if her prayer should be heard, the child to the temple. She had however forgotten that, according to the Jewish law, it would be impossible, to accomplish her vow, if she should give birth to a female child (cf. *Protev. Jacobi*, chapters iii., iv.; Syriac text, p. 4). Compare with this Sūra, iii. 31: "How the wife of 'Imrān said, O my Lord, I have vowed to Thee what is in my womb. Now accept [this vow] from me, Thou art the hearing, the knowing. And when she had given birth to the child, she said, O my Lord, I have given birth to a female child.... and I have called her Maryam".

Then the Qur'ān relates how she invoked on behalf of Maryam and her posterity Allah's protection from Satan. On this verse is based the well-known *hadith*: "Every child that is born, is touched (or stung) by Satan and this touch makes it cry, except Maryam and her son" (Bukhārī, *Abūyā*, lib. 44; *Ta'isr*, Sūra 3, b. 2; Muslim, *Fiṣṣil*, trad. 146, 147; Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, ii. 233, 274 275, 288, 292, 319, 368, 523). This tradition is used in support of the impeccability (*ʿiṣma*) of 'Isā, Maryam and the Prophets in general (cf. al-Nawawī *ad* Muslim, l.c. and al-Baiḥaqī *ad* sūra iii. 31).

The Qur'ān further relates (vs. 32) that the child grows up in a chamber in the temple (*miḥrāb*; cf. the *mirra* in *Protev. Jac.*, vi.; Syr. text, p. 5 27.) under the divine grace and under Zakariyā's care. According to Muslim tradition, 'Imrān had died before the birth of Maryam, and Zakariyā's claimed authority over her on account of his being her uncle; the rabbis did not recognise his claim; his right was proved by an ordeal,

consisting in the parties throwing their pens or arrows in a river; the only one that floated was that of Zakariyā'. Sūra iii. 39 refers to this. Christian tradition knows of an ordeal only in the case of Joseph, who, because a dove comes forth from his staff, is recognised as Maryam's guardian.

As often as Zakariyā' enters Maryam's *miḥrāb*, he finds her being provided with food in a miraculous way (vs. 32). This feature also belongs to Christian tradition (*Protev. Jacobi*, chap. viii.; Syr. text, p. 7). The person of Joseph is not mentioned in the Qur'ān. In Muslim tradition he takes care of Maryam, his cousin, because Zakariyā' is no longer able to do so, on account of old age. Maryam stays however in the temple, which she leaves during her monthly period only. According to Christian tradition, Joseph takes her into his house when she attains to womanhood, lest she should defile the temple.

6. The annunciation of Yahyā. See this art. and ZAKARIYĀ'.

7. The annunciation and birth of 'Isā. The more detailed narrative is that of sūra xix. 16 27. Maryam retires to "a place situated eastward", where she hides herself behind a curtain. The commentaries do not know whether a place to the east of Jerusalem is meant, or the eastern part of her house, to which she retires every month. It is said that this is the origin of the *fiṣṣil* of the Christians.

In vs. 17-21 the story of the annunciation is given (cf. above), followed by that of 'Isā's birth, which, according to some Muslim traditions, followed the conception either immediately or very soon. The pains of childbirth came upon Maryam when she was near the trunk of a palm. "She said, would to God I had died before this, and had become a thing forgotten, and lost in oblivion. And he who was beneath her [i.e. the child, or Djibril, or the palm] called to her, saying, Be not grieved; God has provided a rivulet under thee; and shake the trunk of the palm and it shall let fall ripe dates upon thee, ready gathered. And eat and drink and calm thy mind". This story may, perhaps, be considered as a parallel to the Christian tradition in which it is related that, during the flight to Egypt, the babe Jesus ordered a palm in the desert to bow down in order to refresh Mary by its dates; whereupon the palm obeyed and stayed with its head at Mary's feet, till the child ordered it to stand upright again and to open a vein between its roots in order to quench the thirst of the holy family (Apocryphal Gospel of Matthew, chap. xx.). The Qur'ān goes on (vs. 26): "And when thou seest any man, say, I have vowed a fast unto the Merciful; so I may not speak to any man to-day". The commentaries say, this was meant to avoid importunate questions. This feature is not in Christian tradition; yet in the *Protevangelium Jacobi* it is said (chap. xii.; Syr. text, p. 11) that Mary, who was then 16 years of age, hid herself from the Israelites. According to Muslim tradition, she stayed in a cavern during forty days. "Then she brought him", continues the Qur'ān (xix. 28), "to her people, carrying him. They said, O Maryam, now thou hast done a strange thing. O sister of Hārūn, thy father was not a bad man, neither was thy mother a harlot. Then she pointed to the child". Then the child begins to speak, one of the wellknown

miracles ascribed to 'Isā. The "very shameful calumny" which the Israelites brought forth against Maryam, is also mentioned in *sūra* iv. 155.

As to the words "O sister of Hārūn" (cf. above), it may be added that, according to the commentaries, this Hārūn was not Moses' brother, but one of Maryam's contemporaries, who was either a wicked man, with whom she is compared in this respect, or her pious brother.

A legend about loaves of bread which Maryam gave to the Magi, is mentioned by al-Mas'ūdī, iv. 79 sq.

The flight to Egypt is not mentioned in the *Kur'ān*, unless the "elevated place" (*sūra* xxiii. 52; cf. above) should be an allusion to it. According to Muslim tradition which is acquainted with it, the abode lasts 12 years. After the death of Herod the holy family returns to Nāṣira.

After his alleged death 'Isā consoles his mother from heaven. According to others it was Mary Magdalene. The stories of the *Transitus Mariæ* have not obtained a place in Muslim tradition. Instead of these, there is a narrative of how Maryam went to Rome in order to preach before Mārūt (Nero), accompanied by John (the disciple) and Shim'ūn, the coppersmith. When Shim'ūn and Tādāwūs (Thaddæus?) were crucified with their heads downward, Maryam fled with John. When they were persecuted the earth opened and withdrew them from their persecutors. This miracle was the cause of Mārūt's conversion.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 407; al-Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, 1st ser., p. 711 sqq.; do., *Tafsīr*, iii. 144 sqq.; v. 21, 179; vii. 82; xvi. 28 sqq.; xviii. 17; al-Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, i. 74 sqq.; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūū al-Dihād*, ed. Paris, i. 120 sqq.; ii. 145; iv. 79 sq.; al-Kisā'ī, *Ḳiṣṣ al-Anbiyā'*, ed. Eisenberg...; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, i. 211; al-Tha'labī, *Arā'is al-Majālis*, Cairo 1290, p. 326 sqq.; the commentaries on the *Kur'ān*; Maracci, *Prodromi*, Padua 1698, iv. 85—87, 104 sq., 178 sqq. and the notes to his translation of the *Kur'ān*; C. F. Gerock, *Versuch einer Darstellung der Christologie des Korān*, Hamburg and Gotha 1839, p. 22 sqq., 72 sqq.; G. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, Frankfurt 1845, p. 280 sqq.; E. Sayous, *Œuvre-Christ d'après Mahomet*, Paris-Leipzig 1880; G. Smit, *Bijbel en legenden bij den arab. schrijver Jaqubi*, Leyden 1907, p. 86 sqq.; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin and Leipzig 1926, p. 138 sqq.; A. Pieters, *Circumstantial Evidence of the Virgin Birth*, in *M. W.*, xiv. (1929), 350 sqq.; *Evangelia apocrypha*, rec. C. de Tschendorf, second ed., Leipzig 1876; *Apocrypha syriaca, the Protevangelium Jacobi and Transitus Mariæ*... ed. and transl. A. Smith Lewis, *Studia Sinaitica*, No. 21, London 1902.

MARZUBĀN, Arabic form of the title of provincial governors in the Sāsānian empire, especially of the "wardens of the marches", the "markgraves". The word is derived from *marz* which still means in Persian a frontier district (Horn, *Grundriss der neuersischen Etymologie*, p. 218) and is found in Pehlevi in the form *maršpān* (in the *Kār-nāmā*; cf. H. S. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, i. Upsala 1928, p. 54) which suggests a north Iranian origin (cf. Lentz, *Z. I. L.*, iv. 255, 293), as we find alongside of *marz* also *marz* in Persian (Horn, *loc. cit.*). The

title is not found, however, before the Sāsānian period and in the great inscription of Paikuli, the wardens are called *bitāhāh* (Arm. *bitahāh*), also a north Iranian title (Hersfeld, *Paikuli*, Berlin 1924, p. 155; cf. also Marquart, *Erānistān*, p. 165 sq.). In Syriac we find the forms *maršān* and *maršānā* (Payne-Smith) and the Armenian has *maršpān* and *maršapōn* (Hübichmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, p. 193). Persian finally has kept the word as *marzān*, *marzān* or *marzān* (cf. e.g. the *Burhān-i Kāfi*).

It is from Arab sources that we are more particularly informed of the duties of the *marzūbān*. Al-Ya'qūbī (*Tarīkh*, ed. Houtsma, i. 201) says that it was the title of the *ra'is al-balad*, while the four great divisions of the empire were governed by *paṭṭahāpān*. The historians al-Tabarī and al-Balādhuri tell us of the different *marzūbān* encountered by the Arabs in their conquests (cf. the list of provinces ruled by a *marzūbān*, drawn up by Balādhuri, and given by Noldeke in *Geogr. d. Perser und Araber*, Leyden 1879, p. 446). In this period we find these governors acting independently of any higher authority and concluding traces and treaties. They sometimes retained their offices after the Arab conquest. Under the Sāsānians the *marzūbān* were far from having such an independent position. We sometimes find them acting as generals under the command of the *spāhbad* (e.g. Joshua Stylites, ed. Wright, p. 61).

Although the title gradually fell into disuse, Muslim Persia still retained the word, used in its original sense of "warden of the marches". It is frequently found in literature (cf. Sa'di, *Bustān*, ed. Graf, p. 73). On the other hand after the Sāsānian period, *marzūbān* and its variants became a proper name (in Arabic sometimes *al-Marzūbān*) among Muslims and also among Persians (cf. the names of the copyists of Pahlavi manuscripts; cf. especially Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s. v. *Marzūbān*).

Bibliography: A. Christensen, *L'Empire des Sassanides*, Copenhagen 1907, p. 43 sq.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MARZUBĀN B. RUFĀM, a prince of the Bāwand dynasty of Tabaristān [q. v.] regarded as the original author of the *Marzūbān-nāma*, a work in Pehlevi prose containing a series of short stories and fables of a moral and didactic character. This book is known in two versions in elegant Persian of the 13th century, the author of one of which was Sa'd al-Dīn al-Warāwī; he dedicated it to Abū 'l-Kāsim Rabbī al-Dīn, vizier of Uzbek b. Muḥammad b. Ildegi, Atābeg of Adharbāidjān from 1210 to 1225. These dates give us probable limits for the composition of the book. The other version is the work of Muḥammad b. Ghāsi al-Malayawī, secretary and later vizier of Rukn al-Dīn Sulaimān-shāh, Saldjūq of Rūm, who reigned from 1192 to 1204. It is called *Rawḡat al-'Uṣūl* and differs a good deal in form and contents from the other, which is called the *Marzūbān-nāma*.

In the preface by Sa'd al-Dīn al-Warāwī we are told that the original work had been written in the language of Tabaristān and the ancient *Pārsi*, the popular language, but that thanks to him this valuable work had been given a new life after 400 years (p. 6 and 33 of Mirā' Muḥammad Ḳarwī's edition). In the first chapter Marzūbān b. Sharwīn, descendant of Kayūs, brother of the Sāsānian king Anushīrwan, is mentioned as *uṣṭāḍ*;

Kitāb. The Rawḡat al-'Uḡl on the contrary attributed the original book to a descendant of the Ziyārid Kābūs b. Waḡmīr and says simply that it is written in a coarse style. Apart from these, there are very few references to the book in Persian literature. The author of the *Kābūs-nāma* (composed in 1082) says that the grandmother of his mother was the daughter of the prince Marzubān b. Rustam b. Sharwīn, author of the *Marzubān-nāma*. Ibn Isfandiār in his *Ta'rikh-i Tābaristān* (written in 1216) speaks of the *Iṣḥāḥ Marzubān b. Rustam b. Sharwīn* Farīm as the author of the *Marzubān-nāma*, a work which is in every way better than the book of *Kallīl wa-Dinnā*. He adds that this same Marzubān composed a *diwān* in Tābari verse called the *Niki-nāma* (cf. *An abridged Translation of the History of Tābaristān*, by E. G. Browne, Leyden 1905, p. 86); finally the Persian bibliographer Rūfā Kūli Khān in the *Farhang-i Nāṣiri* speaks of the *Marzubān-nāma* as having been written by Marzubān b. Rustam and dedicated to (*mansūb be*) the emir Kābūs Shams al-Ma'ālī; in the *Madjma' al-Fuṣṣāḥ* the same author incidentally mentions the *Marzubān-nāma*.

These very incomplete and sometimes contradictory statements have caused Mirzā Muḥammad Ḳāẓwīnī to suggest that the individual who gave the book its name was Marzubān, son of the "king" of Tābaristān, Rustam b. Shahrīyār b. Sharwīn b. Rustam b. Sarghāt, a descendant of Bāw, son of Kayūs, brother of Anushīrwān. This genealogy is based on Ibn Isfandiār's work and seems more probable than that given by Schefer (*Chrest. pers.*, ii., p. 194), who thinks that Marzubān was the son of Rustam b. Sarghāt (d. 895). The date of Rustam b. Shahrīyār b. Sharwīn, who was in all probability the father of Marzubān, is only known from a coin of the year 355 (966) (H. L. Rabino, *Masandaran and Astardād*, London 1928, *G.M.S.*, N.S. vii., p. 135). Marzubān must have therefore flourished about 1000 A.D., i.e. during the period of the Persian renaissance.

In the first chapter of the *Marzubān-nāma* Marzubān is described as the brother of the reigning "king" (perhaps Dārā b. Rustam, who reigned for 8 years; cf. Rabino, *loc. cit.*) who begged to be allowed to live a life of seclusion and to compose a book containing "wise counsels and useful directions for the conduct of life in this world". In this connection he has a disputation with the king and his vizier in the course of which he relates several anecdotes. The other chapters continue in the same style. Several of the fables and anecdotes are found in other books just as we find similar stories in the book of *Kallīl wa-Dinnā* and in the *Arabian Nights*. The collection therefore belongs to an essentially Persian literary type, which has had considerable influence on Arabic literature. Since its contents have not been examined for comparison, it would be too hazardous to express an opinion on its relation to similar collections and popular Persian stories. It is very possible that a number of the stories are of Indian origin. On the other hand, we ought perhaps not to credit the statement that originally it was written in the Tābari dialect; for then we should have to believe that the two authors of the new recension knew this dialect, about which however, we only have the notes in the *Ta'rikh-i Tābaristān* of Ibn Isfandiār. Perhaps the reference is to a text in archaic Persian like the probable language

of the *Khudāi-nūmah* which Firdawsī used (cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Artachšir i Pāpāhān*, Göttingen 1879, p. 27) and the source of a poem like *Wīs u-Rūwān*, a text which no longer pleased the taste of the literary connoisseurs of the 12th century.

The *Marzubān-nāma* was published by Mirzā Muḥammad Ḳāẓwīnī in 1908 (*G.M.S.*, vii.) from a manuscript in the British Museum (Or. 6476) with the help of two other MSS. in the same collection, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale and another sent from Persia. The Paris manuscript had already been used for the publication of extracts from the *Marzubān-nāma* in Ch. Schefer's *Chrestomathie persane*, Paris 1885, p. 172—199. The *Rawḡat al-'Uḡl* is represented by a manuscript in Leyden (cf. M. Th. Houtama, *Eine unbekannte Bearbeitung des Marzubān-nāma*, *Z. D. M. G.*, lii, 359—392) and another in Paris. Mirzā Muḥammad has given extracts from it in the preface to his edition. There is also an Arabic version of the same work from the pen of Ibn 'Arabshāh, based on a Turkish version of Sa'd al-Warāwīnī's recension; this Arabic text was lithographed at Cairo in 1278.

Bibliography: The philological data have been collected by Mirzā Muḥammad Khān in the preface of his edition; Schefer's observations (p. 194—211) are to be utilised with caution. Cf. also: H. Ethé, *Neuere persische Literatur*, in *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, ii, 328 sqq. and E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii, 115, 489. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MASĀ'. [See SA'Y.]

MASAGAN. [See MAZAGHĀL.]

MASCARA, a town in Algeria (department of Oran), 30 miles S.W. of Mostaganem and 60 S.E. of Oran. Its position is 35° 26' N. Lat. and 8° E. of Greenwich. It lies on the southern slope of the Bent Shūgrun range, called by the Arabs Shā'ib al-Rūḥ and is built on the edge of a ravine at the bottom of which runs the Wād Sidi Tadjiman on the other side of which to the N.W. lies the native suburb of Bāb 'Alī. Mascara commands the plain of Eghris, which measures 25 to 30 miles from W. to E. and 10 to 12 miles from N. to S. and is one of the most fertile regions of Algeria. The natives have grown cereals here from the earliest times and the Europeans have introduced tobacco and created vineyards, the produce of which is celebrated. It is the market for a region, becoming more and more prosperous, and by the census of 1926 had 30,669 inhabitants of whom 16,630 were natives.

Mascara is of considerable antiquity. According to Bakrī (*Marāṭih*, transl. de Slane, rev. by Fagnan, p. 160), it included among its inhabitants people who came from Tihert (Tiaret) some of whom went and settled at Ifgan, a day's journey S.E., when this town was founded by Ya'la b. Muḥammad, son of Ṣāliḥ the Ifrānī, in 338 (949—950 A.D.). Ibn Hawḳal (*Description de l'Afrique*, transl. de Slane, *Journ. As.*, 1842) and Idrīsī (transl. de Goeje, p. 96) mention Mascara as a large well watered village rich in fruits. The Almohads seem to have built a fortress there. The Ziyānids of Tlemcen kept a governor and a garrison there. Leo Africanus (Bk. iv., ed. Schefer, vol. iii., p. 34) notes the importance of the market which was held at Mascara "one of the towns of the Beni Rasi" (Banī Rāshid) where one could buy, along with cereals in large quantities, cloth and articles of

hardness manufactured in the country. The rulers of Tlemcen drew considerable revenues from it: 40,000 pistoles, according to Marmol (*Africa*, vol. ii., p. 356).

The Turks established themselves at Mascara in the xvth century and placed a garrison there. In 1701 they made it the capital of the beylik of the west, which had hitherto been Mascara in Dahra. The beys lived there till Oran was reoccupied by the Algerians in 1792. During this period, Mascara, which had hitherto only been an insignificant place, began to look like a regular town. The beys built two mosques and a madrasa, a wall and a *kaşa* and brought in a water-supply. The manufacture of burnuses and *šāšis*, celebrated throughout the Regency, enriched the inhabitants. This prosperity began to decline after the beys left Mascara and especially after the risings, which broke out in the province of the west in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Darkāwi Ben Sherif seized the town in 1805 and held it for a time. In 1827 it was attacked by the marabout Muhammad al-Tidjāni. Supported by the Hāshim he gained possession of the faubourg of Bāh 'Alī but was killed by the Turks when preparing to storm the town itself. At the end of Turkish rule, 'Abd al-Qādir [q. v.] who had been proclaimed Sultan by the tribes of the plain of Eghris, established his seat of government at Mascara, but rarely lived there. An expedition, in the month of December 1836 led by Marshal Clausel, occupied Mascara which the French abandoned next day, after burning down part of it. The emir returned to the town and held it till May 30, 1841, when a column under Bugeaud occupied it finally for the French. Mascara, then half in ruins, had only a population of 2,840 inhabitants.

Bibliography: Cēs-Caupenne, *Mascara*, Paris 1856; Gorgues, *Notice sur Mohammed el Kabir*, Rev. Africaine, 1857; Lespinaisse, *Notice sur les Hachem de Mascara*, Rev. Africaine, 1877; *Correspondence du capitaine Danneberg*, Algiers 1912; *Tableau des Etablissements français dans l'Algérie*, year 1839. (G. VYER)

MASDJD (A.), Mosque.

I. (JOH. PEDERSEN)

- A. Origin.
- B. Foundation of mosques after Muhammad's death.
- C. The mosque as a religious centre.
- D. The building and its equipment.
- E. The mosque as a state institution.
- F. The mosque as a school.
- G. Administration.
- H. The staff.

II. (R. A. KERN)

The mosque in the Dutch Indies.

III. (E. DIEZ)

Architecture.

A. Origin of the Mosque.

The word **מסגד** is found in Aramaic, the earliest occurrence being in the Jewish *Elephantine Papyri* (ed. Sachau, pl. 32, ed. Ungnad, N^o 33; Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the fifth Cent. B. C.*, N^o 44), also frequently in Nabataean (*Corp. Inscr. Semit.*, ii. 161, 176, 185, 188, 190, 218; cf. Schwally, *Z.D.M.G.*, lii., 1898, p. 134; Lidzbarski, *Handbuch d. nordsem. Epigr.*, p. 152, 328; Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 238). The word

formed from **סגד** "to prostrate oneself" seems to mean in Nabataean a stele, a sacred pillar, although the meaning "place of worship" has also been suggested. In the *Elephantine Papyri* where it is sworn by **במסגד ובעניניהו** both meanings are possible. The Syriac **ܡܨܓܕܐ** and **ܡܨܓܕܐ**

(cf. the Lexica) is like the Amharic *masgid* derived from the Arabic, while the Ethiopic *māsgād* "temple, church" is perhaps a genuine formation from the verb (which is certainly borrowed from the Aramaic: cf. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge z. sem. Sprachw.*, p. 36). The Arabic *masjid* may have been formed independently from the corresponding verb, which also undoubtedly comes from the Aramaic; probably the above mentioned Aramaic substantive was simply taken over, although no links can be shown between the Nabataean inscriptions and the Qur'an.

The word in any case can hardly have been formed by Muhammad himself from its specific connection with divine service ("place where one *sajjada* or prostrates oneself").

1. The Meccan period.

The word is used in the Qur'an especially of the Meccan sanctuary (*al-Masjid al-haram*, Sūra ii. 139, 144, 145, 187, 192, 214; v. 3; viii. 34; ix. 7, 19, 28; xvii. 1; xxii. 25; xlviii. 25, 27); according to later sources, this was already the usage in the Meccan period (cf. Ya'qūt, ed. Houtsma, i. 285, 12). According to tradition the term *al-Masjid al-aqṣā* (Sūra xvii. 1) means the Jerusalem sanctuary (according to Schrieke, *Isl.*, vi. 1 199; cf. Horowitz, *ibid.*, ix. 159 199, the reference is rather to a place of prayer in heaven); and in the legend of the Seven Sleepers *masjid* means a tomb-sanctuary probably Christian, certainly pre-Muhammadan (Sūra xviii., 20). The word is also applied to pre-Islamic sanctuaries, which belong to God and where God is invoked, although Muhammad was not always able to recognise the particular cult associated with them. It is undoubtedly with this general meaning that the word is used in this verse of the Qur'an: "If God had not taken men under his protection, then monasteries, churches and places of prayer (*salāmāt*) and *masjids* would have been destroyed" (Sūra xxii. 41). The word is also used in a *ḥadīth* of an Abyssinian church (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 48, 54; Muslim, *Maṣāḥid*, Tr. 3) and in another of Jewish and Christian tomb-sanctuaries (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 55; Muslim, *Maṣāḥid*, Tr. 3). Even Ibn Khaldūn can still use the word in the general meaning of a temple or place of worship of any religion (*Muḥaddima*, *ṣaḥī* 4, 6 at the end). There is therefore no question of a word of specifically Muslim creation. This is in entire agreement with Muhammad's original attitude to earlier religions. Just as Abraham was a Muslim, so David had a *masjid* (Tabari, i. 2408, 7 199).

To the Prophet the Meccan sanctuary always remained the principal mosque, known as *Bait Allāh* even before the time of the Prophet. It was a grave charge brought against the Quraysh in the Meccan period that they drove the believers out of *al-Masjid al-haram* (Sūra ii. 214; v. 3; viii. 34; xxii. 25; xlviii. 25), which was considered all the more unjust as they worshipped the true lord of the sanctuary. To the true God belonged *al-masjid* (Sūra lxxii. 18, Meccan); it is therefore an absurdity for the godless to prevent the wor-

ship of God in "God's own mosque" (Sūra ii. 108). The result was that it was revealed in the year 9: "It is not right for polytheists to frequent the mosques of God" (Sūra ix. 17 sq.) and the opponents of the new religion were therefore excluded from the sanctuary. The Sūra agrees with the Qur'ān, that the sanctity of al-Masjid al-haram to which Muhammad had been used from childhood was always regarded by him as indisputable. Like other Meccans, he and his followers regularly made the *ḥajj* around the Ka'ba and kissed the Black Stone (e.g. Ibn Hishām, p. 183, 199, 239, 251, 251, 251); it is frequently stated that he used to sit in the masjid like his fellow-citizens, alone or with a follower or disputing with an opponent (Ibn Hishām, p. 233, 251, 252, 252, 259, 260, 294, 302 sq.). It is related that he used to perform the *ṣalāt* between the Yaman corner and the Black Stone, apparently from the narrator's context very frequently (Ibn Hishām, p. 190, 199). After his conversion, Umar is said to have arranged that believers performed the *ṣalāt* unmolested beside the Ka'ba (Ibn Hishām, p. 224, 252, 252, 252). How strongly Muhammad felt himself attached to the Arab sanctuary is evident from the fact that he took part in the traditional rites there before the Hijra (Sūra cviii. 2); in the year 1, one of his followers, Sa'd b. Mu'adh, took part in the pilgrimage ceremonies and in the year 2 he himself sacrificed on the 10th Dhu 'l-Hijja on the mujaḥḥa of the Bani Salima. He therefore, here as elsewhere, retained ancient customs where his new teaching did not directly exclude them. But when an independent religion developed out of his preaching, a new type of divine service had to be evolved.

In Mecca, the original Muslim community had no special place of worship. The Prophet used to perform the *ṣalāt* in secret in the narrow alleys of Mecca with his first male follower 'Alī and with the other earliest Companions also (Ibn Hishām, p. 159, 166, 199). The references are usually to the solitary *ṣalāt* of the Prophet, sometimes beside the Ka'ba (Ibn Hishām, p. 190, 199), sometimes in his own house (Ibn Hishām, p. 203, 204). That the believers often prayed together may be taken for granted; they would do so in a house (cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 202). Occasionally also Umar is said to have conducted the ritual prayer with others beside the Ka'ba (Ibn Hishām, p. 224) because Umar was able to defy the Quraysh. When the Prophet recited in the mosque the revelation, later abrogated, recognising al-Lāt, al-Uzza and Manāt, according to the legend, not only the believers but also the polytheists present took part in the *ṣalāt* (Tabari, i. 1192 sq.). Abū Bakr is said to have had a private place of prayer (masjid) in Mecca in his courtyard beside the gate; the Quraysh, we are told, objected to this because women and children could see it and might be led astray by the emotion aroused (Ibn Hishām, p. 246; Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B. 86; *Kaḥala*, B. 14 etc.; *Muḥallil*, B. 22).

In the dogma taught by Muhammad a sanctuary was not a fundamental necessity. Every place was the same to God and humility in the presence of God, of which the ritual prayer was the expression, could be shown anywhere; hence the saying of the Prophet that he had been given the whole world as a masjid, while earlier prophets could only pray in churches and synagogues

(Wakidi, transl. Wellhausen, p. 403; *Corpus juris di Zaid b. 'Alī*, ed. Griffini, p. 50 and clixix; Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B. 56; *Tayammum*, B. 1; Muslim, *Masājid*, Tr. 1) and also the saying: "Wherever the hour of prayer overtakes thee, thou shalt perform the *ṣalāt* and that is a masjid" (Muslim, *Masājid*, Tr. 1). That he nevertheless remained firmly attached to the traditional sanctuary of the Ka'ba, produced a confusion of thought which is very marked in Sūra ii. 136 sq. When in Medina he was able to do as he pleased, it must have been natural for him to create a place where he could be undisturbed with his followers and where they could perform the ritual *ṣalāt* together.

2. The Foundation of the Mosque in Medina.

According to one tradition the Prophet came riding into Medina on his camel with Abū Bakr as *ṣif* surrounded by the Banū Nadīdār. The camel stopped on Abū Ayyūb's *ḥimā*. Here (according to Anas) the Prophet performed the *ṣalāt*, and immediately afterwards ordered the mosque to be built and purchased the piece of land from two orphans, Saḥl and Suhail, who were under the guardianship of Mu'adh b. 'Afra', for 10 *ḍinārs*, after declining to accept it as a gift; he lived with Abū Ayyūb until the mosque and his houses were completed. During this period he performed the *ṣalāt* in courtyards or other open spaces (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B. 48; Muslim, *Masājid*, Tr. 1; Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Muḥallil*, iii. 212 above; Ibn Hishām, p. 336; Tabari, i. 1258 sq.; Mas'ūdi, *Murūḡ*, iv. 140 sq.). According to this tradition, the building of the mosque was intended by the Prophet from the first and the choice of the site was left to the whim of his mount. According to another tradition the Prophet took up his abode with Abū Ayyūb, but during the first period of his stay in Medina he conducted the *ṣalāt* in the house of Abū Umāma As'ad, who had a private masjid, in which he used to conduct *ṣalāts* with his neighbours. The Prophet later expressed the desire to purchase the adjoining piece of ground and he bought it from the two orphans, who, according to this tradition, were wards of As'ad (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B. 48; Muslim, *Masājid*, Tr. 1; Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Muḥallil*, iii. 212, 7, perhaps due to an old misreading) and palm-trees and was used as a place for keeping camels (and smaller domestic animals, Bukhārī, *Wuḍū'*, B. 66). The site was cleared, the palms cut down and the walls built. The building material was bricks baked in the sun (*ṭāḥin*) (Ibn Hishām, p. 337; Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B. 62, 65; according to one tradition they were baked at the well of Fāṭima, Wüstenfeld, *Stadt Medina*, p. 31); in places it was a courtyard surrounded by a brick wall on a stone foundation with three entrances: the gateposts were of stone. On the *ḥibla* side (i.e. the north wall) at first left open, the stems of the palm-trees which had been cut down were soon set up as columns and a roof was put over them of palm-leaves and clay. On the east side two butts of similar materials were built for the Prophet's wives Sawda' and 'A'isha; their entrances opened on to the court and were covered with carpets; they were later increased so that there were nine

little houses for the Prophet's wives. When the *kibla* was moved to the south, the arbour at the north wall remained; under this arbour called *juffa* or *zulla* the homeless Companions found shelter (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, B. 48, 62; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 60 sq., 66; Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rikh al-Khamsa*, Cairo 1302, i. 387 sqq.; on the *juffa*, p. 387 in the middle; 391 after the middle; cf. L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, i. 377 sq.). In seven months the work was completed (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 59), according to others in the month of Ṣafar of the year 2 (Ibn Hishām, p. 339, 18 sq.). The mosque was very simple. It was really only a courtyard with a wall round it; the *juffa* already mentioned supplied a shelter on the north side, while on the south side, later the *kibla* side, an arbour was probably built also, for the Prophet used to preach leaning against a palm-trunk and this must have been on the *kibla* side. How large the arbours were cannot be ascertained. The mosque was the courtyard of the Prophet's houses and at the same time the meeting-place for the believers and the place for common prayer.

According to the sources, it was the Prophet's intention from the very first to build a mosque at once in Medina; according to a later tradition Gabriel commanded him in the name of God to build a house for God (*Khamsa*, i. 387 infra); but this story is coloured by later conditions. It has been made quite clear, notably by L. Caetani (*Annali dell' Islam*, i. 432, 437 sqq.) and later by H. Lammens (*Medina*, p. 8, note 5, 62 etc.; do., *Zidd*, p. 39 sqq., 93 sqq.) that the earliest masjid had nothing of the character of a sacred edifice. Much can be quoted for this view from *Hadith* and *Sira* (cf. *Annali dell' Islam*, i. 440). The unconverted Thakifis were received by the Prophet in the mosque to conduct negotiations and he even put up three tents for them in the courtyard (Ibn Hishām, p. 916; Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p. 382); envoys from Tamim also went freely about in the mosque and called for the Prophet, who dealt with them after he had finished prayers (Ibn Hishām, p. 933 sq.; Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p. 386). Ibn Unais brought to the masjid the head of the Hudhaili Sufyān, threw it down before the Prophet and gave his report (Ibn Hishām, p. 981 sq.; Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p. 225). After the battle of Uhud the Medina chiefs spent the night in the mosque (Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p. 149). The Awsis tended their wounded here (*ibid.*, p. 215 sq.; Tabarī, i. 1491 sq.); a prisoner of war was tied to one of the pillars of the mosque (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, B. 76, 82; cf. 75). Many poor people used to live in the *juffa* (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, B. 58); tents and huts were put up in the mosque, one for example by converted and liberated prisoners, another by the Banū Ḥaṣar, in whose tent Sa'd b. Mu'adh died of his wounds (*ibid.*, B. 77; *Ud al-Ghāba*, ii. 297). People sat as they pleased in the mosque or took their ease lying on their backs (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, B. 6; *Ṣaḥīḥ*, B. 85; Ibn Sa'd, i. 124, 14); even so late as the reign of 'Umar it is recorded that he found strangers sleeping in a corner of the mosque (*Kāmil*, p. 118, 15 sqq.); the Prophet received gifts and distributed them among the Companions (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, B. 42); disputes took place over business (*ibid.*, B. 71, 83) and in general people conducted themselves as they pleased. Indeed, on one occasion some Sudanese or Abyssinians with the approval of the Prophet gave a display with

shield and lance on the occasion of a festival (do., *Ṣaḥīḥ*, B. 69; *Idam*, B. 2, 25; *Zifāḥ*, B. 81) and on another a stranger seeking the Prophet, rode into the mosque on his camel (do., *Ṣaḥīḥ*, B. 6). So little "consecrated" was this, the oldest mosque, that one of the *Munāḥḥūn*, ejected for scoffing at the believers, could call to Abū Ayyūb "Are you throwing me out of the *Mirbad* Bani *Tha'labā*?" (Ibn Hishām, p. 362, 10 sq.).

All this gives one the impression of the headquarters of an army, rather than of a sacred edifice. On the other hand the mosque was used from the very first for the general divine service and thus became something more than the Prophet's private courtyard. Whatever the Prophet's intentions had been from the first, the masjid with the increasing importance of Islam was bound to become very soon the political and religious centre of the new community. The two points of view cannot be distinguished in Islam, especially in the earlier period. The mosque was the place where believers assembled for prayer around the Prophet, where he delivered his addresses, which contained not only appeals for obedience to God but regulations affecting the social life of the community (cf. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, B. 70, 71); from here he controlled the religious and political community of Islam. Even at the real old sanctuaries of Arabia, there were no restrictions on what one could do; what distinguished the mosque from the Christian church or the Meccan temple was that in it there was no specially dedicated ritual object. At the Ka'ba also people used to gather to discuss everyday affairs and also for important assemblies, if we may believe the *Sira* (Ibn Hishām, p. 183 sq., 185, 1, 229, 2, 248, 257, 19). Here also the Prophet used to sit; strangers came to visit him; he talked and they disputed with him; people even came to blows and fought there (Ibn Hishām, 183 sq., 185 sq., 187 sq., 202, 19, 257, 259; *Chron. d. Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 223, 11). Beside the Ka'ba was the *Dār al-Nadwa*, where important matters were discussed and justice administered (*ibid.*, see index). From the Medina mosque was developed the general type of the Muslim mosque. It depended on circumstances whether the aspect of the mosque as a social centre or as a place of prayer was more or less emphasised.

3. Other Mosques in the time of the Prophet.

The mosque of the Prophet in Medina was not the only one founded by Muslims in his lifetime and according to tradition not even the first, which is said to have been the mosque of Ku'ba. In this village, which belonged to the territory of Medina (see Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, p. 126), the Prophet on his Hijra stopped with the family of 'Amr b. 'Awf; the length of his stay is variously given: 3, 5, 8, 14 or 22 days. According to one tradition, he found a mosque there on his arrival, which had been built by the first emigrants and the Anṣār and he performed the ṣalāt there with them (see Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldan*, p. 1; Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rikh al-Khamsa*, Cairo 1302, i. 380 sq.). According to another tradition, the Prophet himself founded the mosque on a site, which belonged to his host Kulthūm and was used as a *mirbad* for drying dates or according to others,

to a woman named Labba, who tethered her ass there (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 131; Ibn Hishām, p. 335; Tabari, I, 1260, 6; Ibn Sa'd, I, 1, 6; Mas'udi, *Murūj*, IV, 139; Diyārī, *Ḥamīz*, I, 381; *al-Sira al-Halabiya*, Cairo 1320, II, 58 sq.). Out of this tradition arose a legend based on the story of the foundation of the principal mosque in Medina: The Prophet makes (first Abū Bakr and 'Umar without success, then) 'Alī mount a camel and at the place to which it goes builds the mosque with stone brought from the Harra; he himself laid the first stone, and Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān the next ones (*Ḥamīz*, I, 381). The Prophet is said to have henceforth visited the mosque of Kūba every Saturday, either riding or walking and the pillar is still shown beside which he conducted the service (Bukhārī, *Faḥḥ al-Salāt fi Masjidi Makka wa 'l-Madina*, bāb 2, 4; Muslim, *Ḥaḍīḥ*, tr. 94; *Ḥamīz*, I, 381; Balādhurī, p. 5). We are occasionally told that he performed his ṣalāt on the Sabbath in the mosque at Kūba when he went to the Banū Naḍir in Rabī' I of the year 4 (Wāḥidī-Wellhausen, p. 161).

It is obvious that the customs and ideas of the later community have shaped the legend of this mosque. The only question is whether the old tradition that the mosque was founded either by the Prophet himself or even before his arrival by his followers is also a later invention. We thus come to the question whether the Prophet founded or recognised any other mosques at all than that of Medina. L. Caetani, in keeping with his view of the origin of the mosque, is inclined to deny it, pointing to the fact that there was later an obvious tendency to connect mosques everywhere with the Prophet and that Sūra ix. 108 strongly condemns the erection of an "opposition mosque" (*M. al-Dīrār*). The Qur'ān passage is as follows: "Those who have built themselves a masjid for opposition (*dīrār*) and unbelief and division among the believers and for a refuge for him who in the past fought against God and his Prophet; and they swear: we intended only good. God is witness that they are liars! Thou shalt not stand up in it, for verily a masjid which is founded on piety from the first day of its existence has more right than thou shouldst stand in it; in it are men who desire to purify themselves and God loveth those who purify themselves" (Sūra ix. 108—109). According to tradition this was revealed in the year 9; when the Prophet was on the march to Tabūk, the Banū Sālim said to him that they had built a mosque to make it easier for their feeble and elderly people, and they begged the Prophet to perform his ṣalāt in it and thus give it his approval. The Prophet postponed it till his return, but then this revelation was announced, because the mosque had been founded by *Masājīd* at the instigation of Abū 'Amir al-Rāḥib, who fought against the Prophet. According to one tradition (so Ibn 'Umar, Zaid) the "mosque founded on piety" was that of Medina from which the people wished to emancipate themselves; according to another (Ibn 'Abbās) the reference was to that of Kūba; Abū 'Amir and his followers were not comfortable among the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf and therefore built a new mosque. According to some traditions it was in Uḥā Awān. The Prophet however had it burned down (Tabari, I, 1704 sq.; Ibn Hishām, p. 357

sq., 906 sq.; Ibn Sa'd, I, 1, 6; Wāḥidī-Wellhausen, p. 410 sq.; Tabari, *Tafsīr*, XI, 17 sq.; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 131; *al-Sira al-Halabiya*, II, 60; Balādhurī, p. 1 sq.; Muslim, *Ḥaḍīḥ*, tr. 93). If the connection with the Tabūk campaign is correct, the *Masjid al-Dīrār* is to be sought north of Medina; the "mosque founded on piety" would then be the mosque of Medina rather than that of Kūba which lies to the south of it. There is in itself nothing impossible about the rejection in principle of any mosque other than that of Medina. We should then have to discard the whole tradition, for, according to it, the Prophet is at first not unfavourably disposed to the new mosque and his wrath, according to the tradition, arises from the fact that it had been founded by a refractory party. But as a matter of fact there are indications that a number of mosques already existed in the time of the Prophet; for example, the verse in the Qur'ān: "In houses, which God hath permitted to be built that His name might be praised in them, in them men praise Him morning and evening, whom neither business nor trade refrain from praising God and performing the ṣalāt and the giving of alms" etc. (Sūra xxiv. 36 sq.). If this revelation, like the rest of the Sūra, is of the Medina period, it is difficult to refer it to Jews and Christians, and this attestation is quite clear: "Observe a complete fast until the night and touch thou them (i.e. women) not while ye are in the mosques" (Sūra ii. 183). This shows that there were already in the time of the Prophet, several Muslim mosques which had a markedly religious character and were recognised by the Prophet. That there were really public places of prayer of the separate tribes at a very early date is evident from the tradition that the Prophet in the year 2 offered his sacrifice on the 10th Dhu 'l-Hijja on the Maṣallā of the Banū Salima. In addition there are constant references to private *masājīd* where a few believers, like Abū Bakr in Mecca, made a place for prayer in their houses and where others sometimes assembled (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 46, 82; *Tahāḍīḥ*, bāb 30; cf. also *Adhān*, bāb 50).

B. Origin of Mosques after the time of the Prophet.

1. Chief Mosques.

What importance the Medina mosque had attained at the centre of administration and worship of the Muslims is best seen from the fact that the first thought of the Muslim generals after their conquests was to found a mosque as a centre around which to gather.

Conditions differed somewhat according as it was a new foundation or an already existing town. Important examples of the first kind are Baṣra, Kūfa and al-Fustāt. Baṣra was founded by 'Uthā b. Nāṣ' as winter-quarters for the army in the year 14 (or 16 or 17). The mosque was placed in the centre with the *Dār al-Imāra*, the dwelling of the commander-in-chief with a prison and *Dimān* in front of it. Prayer was at first offered on the open space which was fenced round; later the whole was built of reeds and when the men went off to war the reeds were pulled up and laid away. Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, who later became 'Umar's Wālī, built the edifice of clay and bricks baked in the sun (*ḥabīb*) and used grass

for the roof (Balādhuri, p. 346 sq.; 350; B.G.A., v. 187 sq.; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, i. 642, 6-9; cf. Tabari, i. 2377, 14 sqq.). It was similar in Kūfa which was founded in 17 by Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās. In the centre was the mosque and beside it the *Dār al-Imāra* was laid out. The mosque at first was simply an open quadrangle, *ṣahn*, marked off by a trench round it. The space was large enough for 40,000 persons. It seems that reeds were also used for building the walls here and later Sa'd used *lāḥin*. On the south side (and only here) there was an arbour, *ḡilla*, built (cf. Balādhuri, p. 348, 1; *ṣuffa*). The *Dār al-Imāra* beside the mosque was later by 'Umar's orders combined with the mosque (Tabari, i. 2481, 12 sqq.; 2485, 16; 2487 sqq.; 2494, 14; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, iv. 323, 10 sqq.; Balādhuri, p. 375 sqq.; cf. *Annālī dell' Islām*, iii. 846 sqq.). The plan was therefore an exact reproduction of that of the mosque in Medina (as is expressly emphasised in Tabari, i. 2489, 4 sqq.); the importance of the mosque was also expressed in its position and the commander lived close beside it. There was no difference in al-Fustāt, which, although there was already an older town here, was laid out as an entirely new camp. In the year 21, after the conquest of Alexandria, the mosque was laid out in a garden where 'Amr had planted his standard. It was 50 *dīrā* long and 30 broad. Eighty men fixed its *kibla*, which however was turned too far to the east, and was therefore altered later by Qurra b. Sharik. The court was quite simple, surrounded by a wall and had trees growing on it; a simple roof is mentioned; it must be identical with the above mentioned *ḡilla* or *ṣuffa*. 'Amr b. al-'Asī lived just beside the mosque and around it the *Ahl al-Ra'ya*. Like the house of the Prophet, the general's house lay on the east side with only a road between them. There were two doors in each wall except the southern one (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, iii. 898 sq.; Makrīzī, *Khitāt*, iv., Cairo 1326, p. 4 sqq.; Ibn Duqmāq, *K. al-Intisār*, Cairo 1893, p. 59 sqq.; Suyūṭī, *Ḥum al-Muḥāḡara*, i. 63 sq.; ii. 135 sq.; cf. *Annālī dell' Islām*, iv. 554, 557, 563 sqq.). We find similar arrangements made in al-Mawṣil twenty years earlier (Balādhuri, p. 331 sq.).

In other cases the Muslims established themselves in old towns either conquered or surrendered by treaty; by the treaty they received a site for their mosque (e.g. Balādhuri, p. 116, 14; 147, 2). But the distinction between towns which were conquered and those which were surrendered soon disappeared and the position is as a rule not clear. Examples of old towns in which the Muslims established themselves are al-Madā'in, Damascus and Jerusalem. — In al-Madā'in Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās after the conquest in 16 distributed the houses among the Muslims and Kisrā's *ḥuṣn* was made into a mosque, after Sa'd had conducted the *Ṣalāt al-Faṭḥ* in it (Tabari, i. 2443, 13 sq.; 2451, 7 sqq.). In Damascus which was occupied in 14 or 15 by capitulation, according to tradition, the Church of St. John was divided so that the eastern half became Muslim from which Muslim tradition created the legend that the city was taken partly by conquest and partly by agreement (Balādhuri, p. 125; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, ii. 591; Ibn Duqmāq, *Riḡla*, p. 262; Y.A., ser. 9, vii. 376, 381, 404). As a matter of fact however, the Muslims seem to have laid out their own mosque here just beside the church

[cf. DAMASCUS]; and close beside it again was the *Ḥaḡḡā*, the commander-in-chief's palace, from which a direct entrance to the *maḡḡāra* was later made (B.G.A., iii. 159, 1). Conditions here were therefore once more the same as in Medina. But the possibility of an arrangement such as is recorded by tradition cannot be rejected, for there is good evidence of it elsewhere; in Hims for example, the Muslims and Christians shared a building in common as a mosque and church, and it is evident from al-Isṭakhrī and Ibn Hawkal that this was still the case in the time of their common authority, al-Balkhī (309 = 921) (B.G.A., i. 61, 7 sq.; ii. 117, 3; iii. 156, 12), and a similar arrangement is recorded for Dabīl in Armenia (B.G.A., i. 188, 2 sq.; ii. 244, 21; cf. iii. 377, 2 sq.).

There were special conditions in Jerusalem. The Muslims recognised the sanctuary there, as is evident from the earlier *Kibla* and from Sūra xvii. 1 (in the traditional interpretation). It must therefore have been natural for the conquerors, when the town capitulated, to seek out the recognised holy place. Indeed we are told that 'Umar in the year 17 built a mosque in Jerusalem on the site of the temple of Solomon (F. Baethgen, *Fragmente zur ar. arab. Hist.*, p. 17, 110, following Ishō'denah, metropolitan of Bagra after 700 A.D.; cf. for the viii century Theophanes quoted by Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 1890, p. 91 note). That the *Kubbat al-Sakhra* (q.v.) which the Mosque of 'Umar replaced, stands on the old site of the Temple is undoubted. How he found the site is variously recorded (cf. AL-KUDS). The building was, like other mosques of the time of 'Umar, very simple. Arculf who visited Jerusalem about 670 says: "The Saracens attend a quadrangular house of prayer (*domus orationis*, i.e. *maḡḡā*) which they have built with little art with boards and large beams on the remains of some ruins, on the famous site where the Temple was once built in all its splendour" (*Itinera Hierosolymitana*, ed. P. Geyer, 1898, p. 226 sq.; transl. by P. Mickleth, in *Das Land der Bibel*, ii/2, 1917, p. 19 sq.). It is of interest to note that this simple mosque, like the others, was in the form of a rectangle; in spite of its simple character it could hold 3,000 people, according to Arculf.

As late as the reign of Mu'āwīya we find a new town, Kairawīn, being laid out on the old plan as a military camp with a mosque and *Dār al-Imāra* in the centre (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, iv. 213, 10 sqq.). As Balādhuri, for example, shows, the Muslim conquerors even at a later date always built a mosque in the centre of a newly conquered town, at first a simple one in each town, and it was a direct reproduction of the simple mosque of the Prophet in Medina. It was the exception to adapt already existing buildings in towns. But soon many additional mosques were added.

2. Tribal mosques and Sectarian mosques.

There were mosques not only in the towns. When the tribes pledged themselves to the Prophet to adopt Islām, they had also to perform the *ṣalāt*. It is not clear how far they took part in Muslim worship, but if they concerned themselves with Islām at all, they must have had a Muslim place of meeting. Probably even before Islām they had, like the Meccans, their *maḡḡās* or *uḡdī* or *dār ḡḡā*, where they discussed matters of general importance (cf. Lammens, *Mo'āwīya*, p. 205; Zīd

b. Abhi, p. 30 sqq., 90 sq.; *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, p. 222 sqq.). As the mosque was only distinguished from such places by the fact that it was also used for the common *ṣalāt*, it was natural for tribal mosques to come into existence. Thus we are told that as early as the year 5 the tribe of Sa'd b. Bakr founded mosques and used *ṣalāt* (Ibn Sa'd, *l'il.* 44, 7, not mentioned in Ibn Hishām, p. 943 sq.; Tabari, i. 1722); it is also recorded of the Banū Djaḥlma who lived near Mecca, that they built mosques in the year 8 and introduced the *ṣalāt* (Wākidi-Wellhausen, p. 351). How far one can rely on such stories in a particular case is however uncertain. A late writer, like al-Diyārbaḥrī says of the Banū 'I-Muṣṭalik that they *aslamū wa-banaw masājid* (*Tārīkh Khawāṣṣ*, ii. 132, 30; cf. *Annāl delli 'Islam*, ii. 221); in the early sources this is not found. Nor is the story, told by Ibn Sa'd at all probable, that envoys from the Banū Ḥanṭa received orders to destroy their churches, sprinkle the ground with water and build a mosque (Ibn Sa'd, *l'il.* 56, 21 sqq., while Ibn Hishām, p. 945 sq.; Tabari, i. 1737 sqq. and Balādhuri, p. 86 sq. say nothing about it). But that there were tribal mosques at a very early date is nevertheless quite certain. The mosque at Kuba was the mosque of the tribe of 'Amr b. 'Awf (Ibn Sa'd, *l'il.* 6, 6 and cf. above) and according to one tradition, the Banū Qhann b. 'Awf were jealous of it and built an opposition mosque (Balādhuri, p. 3; Tabari, *Tafsīr*, i. 21 infra). A Companion, who had taken part in the battle of Badr, 'Ibān b. Malik, complained to the Prophet that he could not reach the masjid of his tribe in the rainy season and wanted to build a mosque for himself (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 46; Muslim, *Masājid*, bāb 47). The Prophet himself is said to have visited the masjid of the Banū Zurāik (Bukhārī, *Ḍiḥād*, bāb 56—58) and in the masjid of the Banū Salima during the prayer, there was revealed to him Sūra ii. 139, which ordered the new *qibla*, wherefore it was called *Masjid al-Qiblatayn* (Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p. 62).

The tribal mosque was a sign that the independence of the tribe was still retained under Islām. Indeed we hear everywhere of tribal mosques, for example around Medina that of the Banū ʿAraiza, of the Banū Ḥāritha, of the Banū Zafar, of the Banū Wa'il, of the Banū Ḥarām, of the Banū Zurāik, said to have been the first in which the Qur'an was publicly read, that of the Banū Salima etc. (see Wustenfeld, *Gesch. d. Stadt Medina*, p. 29, 37 sqq., 44, 50, 57, 136 sqq.); the "mosque of the two Kiblas" belonged to the Banū Sawād b. Ghann b. Ka'b b. Salima (Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p. 41). This then was the position in Medina: the tribes had usually their own mosques and one mosque was the chief mosque. This was probably the position within the Prophet's lifetime; for in the earliest campaigns of conquest, mosques were built on this principle. 'Umar is said to have written to Abū Mūsā in Baṣra telling him to build a mosque *li-l-ḥamā* and mosques for the tribes, and on Fridays the people were to come to the chief mosque. Similarly he wrote to Sa'd b. Abī Waḥḥā in Kufa and to 'Amr b. al-'As in Miṣr. On the other hand in Syria where they had settled in old towns, they were not to build tribal mosques (Makrīzī, *Ḍiḥād*, iv., Cairo 1326, p. 4 infra). It is actually recorded that the tribes in each *ḍiḥā* had their own mosques around the mosque of 'Amr in al-Fustāt (cf. Ibn Duqmīq,

p. 62 infra sq.) and even much later a tribal mosque like that of the Rāshida was still in existence (Makrīzī, *Ḍiḥād*, iv. 64, 4 sqq.). Even in the chief mosque, the tribes had their own places (*ibid.*, p. 9, 12 sq.). We have similar evidence from the *ḍiḥā*. In Baṣra for example there was a Masjid Banī 'Uḥād (Balādhuri, p. 356, 2), one of the Banū Rifa'a (B. G. A., vii. 201, 16), one of the Banū 'Adi (*ibid.*, v. 191, 4) and one of the Anṣār (cf. Goldziher, *Muhammadianische Studien*, i. 77, note 5); in Kufa we find quite a number such as that of the Anṣār (Tabari, ii. 284, 12 sq.), of the 'Abd al-Kāis (*ibid.*, ii. 657, 2, 9), of the Banū Duḥmān (*ibid.*, p. 670, 4), of the Banū Makhrūm (*ibid.*, p. 734, 19), of the Banū Hīlāl (*ibid.*, p. 1687, 8), of the Banū 'Adi (*ibid.*, p. 1703, 4), of the Banū Dhahl and Banū Hudr (*ibid.*, p. 532, 8 sq.), of the Djuhaina (*ibid.*, p. 533, 8), of the Banū Ḥarīm (*ibid.*, iii. 2509, 10) and the 'Abas even had several masājid (Balādhuri, p. 278, 12 sq., 2, also p. 285 and Goldziher, *loc. cit.*).

During the wars these tribal mosques were the natural rallying points for the various tribes; the mosque was a masjid, where councils were held (Tabari, ii. 532, 6 sqq.) and the people were taught from its minbar (*ibid.*, p. 284); battles often centred for this reason round these mosques (e.g. Tabari, ii. 130, 148, 6, 960). "The people of your mosque", *ahl masājidikum* (*ibid.*, p. 532, 10) became identical with "your party". Gradually as new sects arose, they naturally had mosques of their own, just as Musailima before them is said to have had his own mosque (Balādhuri, p. 90, 4 from below; Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, i. 404 infra). Thus we read later of the mosques of the Hanbalis in Baghdad, in which there was continual riot and confusion (Hīlāl al-Sabī, *Kitāb al-Wuṣṣā*, ed. Amedroz, p. 335). It sometimes happened that different parties in a town shared the chief mosque (B. G. A., iii. 102, 5 sqq.) but as a rule it was otherwise. In particular the Sunnis and Shī'is as a rule had separate mosques (cf. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, p. 63). It sometimes even happened that Hanafis and Shāfi'is had separate mosques (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, iv. 509, 2; cf. B. G. A., iii. 323, 11). These special mosques were a great source of disruption in Islām and we can understand that a time came when the learned discussed whether such mosques should be permitted at all. But the question whether one might talk of the *Masjid Banī Fulan* was answered by saying that in the time of the Prophet, the *Masjid Banī Zurāik* was recognised (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 41; cf. *Ḍiḥād*, bāb 56—58 and Tabari, *Tafsīr*, xi. 20 after the middle of the page).

3. Adaptation to Islām of Older Sanctuaries; Memorial Mosques.

According to the early historians, the towns, which made treaties with the Muslims, received permission to retain their churches (Balādhuri, p. 121, in the middle; Tabari, i. 2405, 2407) while in the conquered towns the churches fell to the Muslims without any preamble (cf. Balādhuri, p. 120 infra). Sometimes also it is recorded that a certain number of churches were received from the Christians, e.g. fifteen in Damascus according to one tradition (*ibid.*, p. 124, 8; otherwise p. 121; cf. J. A., 9 Ser., vii. 403). It is rather doubtful whether the process was such a regular one; in any case the Muslims in course of time appropriated

many churches to themselves. With the mass-conversions to Islam, this was a natural result. The churches taken over by the Muslims were occasionally used as dwellings (cf. Tabari, i. 2405, 2407); at a later date it also happened that they were used as government offices, as in Egypt in 146 (Maqrizi, iv. 35; cf. for Kufa, Baladhuri, p. 286). The obvious thing, however, was to transform the churches taken into mosques. It is related of 'Amr b. al-'As that he performed the *salat* in a church (Maqrizi, iv. 6) and Zaid b. 'Ali says regarding churches and synagogues, "Perform thy *salat* in them; it will not harm thee" (*Corpus iuris di Zaid b. 'Ali*, ed. Griffini, No. 364). It is not clear whether the reference in these cases is to conquered sanctuaries; it is evident, in any case, that the saying is intended to remove any misgivings about the use of captured churches and synagogues as mosques. The most important example of this kind was in Damascus where al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik in 86 (705) took the church of St. John from the Christians and had it rebuilt; he is said to have offered the Christians another church in its stead (see the references above, B. 1; and also *J. A.*, 9 Ser., vii. 369 sq.; Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii. 262 sq. and the article DAMASCUS). He is said to have transformed into mosques ten churches in all in Damascus. It must have been particularly in the villages, with the gradual conversion of the people to Islam, that the churches were turned into mosques. In the Egyptian village there were no mosques in the earlier generations of Islam (Maqrizi, iv. 28 sq., 30). But when al-Ma'mun was fighting the Copts, many churches were turned into mosques (*ibid.*, p. 30). It is also recorded of mosques in Cairo that they were converted churches. According to one tradition, the Rāshida mosque was an unfinished Jacobite church, which was surrounded by Jewish and Christian graves (Maqrizi, iv. 63, 64) and in the immediate vicinity al-Hakim turned a Jacobite and a Nestorian Church into mosques (*ibid.*, p. 65). When Djawhar built a palace in al-Kahira, a *dir* was taken in and transformed into a mosque (*ibid.*, p. 269); similar changes took place at later dates (*ibid.*, p. 240) and synagogues also were transformed in this way (Mas'udi, *Murūdj*, iv. 77; *B. G. A.*, iii. 444). In Isfahān itself there was a *djāmī*, which was a converted fire-temple (*ibid.*, p. 436). In Mas'udi, the ancient Mopshestia, al-Manṣūr in 140 built a mosque on the site of an ancient temple (Baladhuri, p. 165 sq.) and the chief mosque in Dihlī was originally a temple (Ibn Battuta, iii. 151); as to Tā'if cf. Abū Dawūd, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 10. Thus in Islam also the old rule holds that sacred places survive changes of religion. It was especially

easy in cases where Christian sanctuaries were associated with Biblical personalities who were also recognised by Islam: e.g., the Church of St. John in Damascus and many holy places in Palestine. One example is the mosque of Job in Shakh Sa'd, associated with Sūra xxi. 83, xxviii. 40; here in Silvia's time (fourth century) there was a church of Job (Mas'udi, i. 91; Baedeker, *Palest. u. Syrien*, 1910, p. 147).

But Islam itself had created historical associations which were bound soon to lead to the building of new mosques. Even in the lifetime of the Prophet, the Banū Sālim are said to have asked him to perform the *salat* in their masjid to give it his authority (see above A. 3). At the request of 'Ithān b. Malik the Prophet performed the *salat* along with Abū Bakr in his house and thereby consecrated it as a *muṣalla*, because he could not get to the tribal mosque in the rainy season (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 47; *Tahafidh*, bāb 36; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, tr. 46; a similar story in Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 47; *Tahafidh*, bāb 33 is perhaps identical in origin). After the death of the Prophet, his memory became so precious that the places where he had prayed obtained a special importance and his followers, who liked to imitate him in everything, preferred to perform their *salat* in such places. But this tendency was only an intensification of what had existed in his lifetime; and so it is not easy to decide how far the above stories reflect later conditions. Mosques very quickly arose on the road between Mecca and Medina at places where, according to the testimony of his Companions, the Prophet had prayed (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 89; Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p. 421 sq.); the same was the case with the road which the Prophet had taken to Tabūk in the year 9 (Ibn Hishām, p. 907; Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p. 394; there were 19 in all, which are listed in *Annāl dill' Islām*, ii. 246 sq.). Indeed wherever he had taken the field, mosques were built; for example on the road to Badr, where according to tradition Abū Bakr had built a mosque (Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p. 39; also Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 135). The mosque of al-Fadikī was built on the spot where the Prophet had prayed in a leather tent during the war with the Banū Naḍir in the year 4 (Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p. 163; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 132). He is said to have himself built a little mosque in Khaibar during the campaign of the year 7 (Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-Khams*, ii. 49 sq.; cf. *Annāl dill' Islām*, ii. 19). Outside Tā'if a mosque was built on a hillock, because the Prophet had performed the *salat* there during the siege in the year 8, between the tents of his two wives, Umm Salama and Zainab (Ibn Hishām, p. 872; Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p. 369); in Liyya the Prophet is said to have himself built a mosque while on the campaign against Tā'if (Ibn Hishām, p. 872; Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p. 368 sq.). Mosques arose in and around Medina, "because Muhammad prayed here" (Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. d. Stadt Medina*, p. 31, 38, 132 sq.). It is obvious that in most of these cases later conditions are put back to the time of the Prophet; in connection with the "war of the Ditch" we are told that: "he prayed everywhere where mosques now stand" (Wāḳidī-Wellhausen, p. 208). Since, for example, the Masjid al-Fadikī is also called Masjid al-Shama (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 132) we have perhaps here actually an ancient sanctuary.

Mosques became associated with the Prophet in many ways. In Medina, for example, there was the Masjid al-Baghla where footprints of the Prophet's mule were shown in a stone, the Masjid al-Ijjaba where the Prophet's appeal was answered, the Masjid al-Fatih which recalls the victory over the Meccans, etc. (see Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 136 *sqq.*). In Mecca there was naturally a large number of places sacred through associations with the Prophet and therefore used as places of prayer. The most honoured site, next to the chief mosque, is said to have been the house of Khadija, also called Mawlid al-Saiyida Fātima, because the daughter of the Prophet was born there. This house, in which the Prophet lived till the Hijra, was taken over by 'Ukail, 'Alī's brother, and bought by him through Mu'awiya and turned into a mosque (*Chronik d. Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 423; iii. 438, 440). Next comes the house in which the Prophet held his first secret meetings. This was bought by al-Khazirān, mother of Hārūn al-Rashid, on her pilgrimage in 171 and turned into a mosque (*Chron. Mekka*, iii. 112, 440). She also purchased the Prophet's birthplace, *Mawlid al-Nabi*, and made it into a mosque (*ibid.*, i. 422; iii. 439). If Mu'awiya really bought the Prophet's house from his cousin, it was probably the right one; but the demand for places associated with the Prophet became stronger and stronger and we therefore find more and more places referred not only to the Prophet, but also to his Companions. Such are the birthplaces of Hanzala, 'Umar and 'Alī (*Chron. Mekka*, iii. 445), the house of Māriya, the mother of the Prophet's son, Ibrāhīm (*ibid.*, i. 447, 466) who also had a mosque at Medina (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 133). There were also a Masjid Khadija (*ibid.*, i. 324) and a Masjid 'Aisha (*ibid.*, iii. 454), a Masjid of the "granted appeal" in a narrow valley near Mecca, where the Prophet performed the *ḡalāt* (*ibid.*, iii. 453), a Masjid al-Djinn, where the Djinn overheard his preaching (*ibid.*, i. 424; iii. 453), a Masjid al-Ra'ya, where he planted his standard at the conquest (*ibid.*, ii. 68 *infra* and 71 *supra*; iii. 13, 453), a Masjid al-Ba'a where the first homage of the Medinese was received (*ibid.*, i. 428; iii. 441). In the Masjid al-Khaif in Minā is shown the mark of the Prophet's head in a stone into which visitors also put their heads (*ibid.*, iii. 438). Persons in the Bible are also connected with mosques, Adam, Abraham and Ismā'īl with the Ka'ba, beside which the *Maḥām Ibrāhīm* is shown and in 'Arafa there is still a Masjid Ibrāhīm (*ibid.*, i. 415, 425) and another in al-Zāhir near Mecca (Ibn Džubair, *Riḥla*, 1907, p. 112). To these memorial mosques others were later added, e.g. the Masjid Abi Bakr, Masjid Bilal, the Mosque of the Splitting of the Moon (by the Prophet) etc. (a. Ibn Džubair, *Riḥla*, p. 114 *sqq.*; B.G.A., iii. 102 *sq.*; Snouck Hartgrouse, *Mekka*, II. 27; al-Batāwani, *al-Riḥla al-Hidjāsiya* 2, Cairo 1329, p. 52 *sqq.*).

In al-Hijra the Muslims thus acquired a series of mosques which became important from their association with the Prophet, his family and his Companions, and made Muslim history live. On the other hand, in lands formerly Christian, they took over sanctuaries which were associated with the Biblical history which they had assimilated (see Le Strange, *Palestine*, *passim*). Other mosques soon became associated with Biblical and

Muslim story. The mosque founded by 'Umar on the site of the Temple in Jerusalem was, as already pointed out, identified as *al-Masjid al-Aḡā* mentioned in Sūra xvii. 1 and therefore connected with the Prophet's night journey and the journey to Paradise. The rock is said to have greeted the Prophet on this occasion and marks in a stone covering a hole are explained as Muḥammad's footprints (sometimes also as those of Idris; cf. Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 136; al-Batāwani, *Riḥla*, p. 165; Baedeker, *Palestine*, 1910, p. 52 *sq.*; cf. Ya'qūbi, ed. Houtsma, ii. 311). The name *al-Masjid al-Aḡā* was used throughout the early period for the whole Ḥaram area in Jerusalem, later partly for it, and partly for the building in its southern part (B.G.A., v. 100; Sauvaire, *Hist. Jérus. Hébr.*, p. 95; 121; cf. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 96 *sq.*). Then there were the mosques which had specifically Muslim associations, like the Masjid of 'Umar on the Mount of Olives where he encamped at the conquest (B.G.A., iii. 172).

In Egypt not only was an old Christian sanctuary called Ma'bad Mūsā (Maḥriri, iv. 269), but we are also told, for example, that the Mosque of Ibn Tulūn was built where Mūsā talked with his Lord (Maḥriri, iv. 36); according to al-Kuḏā'i there were in Egypt four Masājid of Mūsā (Ibn Duḡmāq, ed. Vollers, p. 92); there was a Masjid Ya'qūb wa-Yūsuf (B.G.A., iii. 200) and a Joseph's prison, certainly dating from the Christian period (Maḥriri, iv. 315). There was also a Mosque of Abraham in Munyat Ibn al-Khaṣib (Ibn Džubair, p. 58). The chief mosque of San'a' was built by Shem, son of Noah (B.G.A., vii. 110). The old temple near Iṣṭakhr mentioned above was connected with Sulaimān (Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iv. 77; Yaḡūt, i. 299). In the mosque of Kūfa not only Ibrāhīm but one thousand other prophets and one thousand saints, described as *nuṣṣā*, are said to have uttered their prayers; here was the tree Yaḡṣīn (Sūra xxxvii. 146); here died Yaḡṣūth and Ya'qūb, etc. (Yaḡūt, iv. 325; also Ibn Džubair, p. 211 *sq.*) and in this mosque there was a chapel of Abraham, Noah and Idris (Ibn Džubair, p. 212); a large number of mosques were associated with Companions of the Prophet. What emphasis was laid on such an association is seen, for example, from the story according to which 'Umar declined to perform the *ḡalāt* in the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem, lest the church should afterwards be claimed as a mosque.

4. Tomb Mosques.

A special class of memorial mosques consisted of those which were associated with a tomb. The graves of ancestors and of saints had been sanctuaries from ancient times and they were gradually adopted into Islam. In addition there were the saints of Islam itself. The general tendency to distinguish places associated with the founders of Islam naturally concentrated itself round the graves in which they rested. In the Kur'an, a tomb-masjid is mentioned in connection with the Seven Sleepers (Sūra xviii. 20) but it is not clear if it was recognised. As early as the year 6, the companions of Abū Bakr are said to have built a mosque at the place where he died and was buried (Wāḡidī-Wellhausen, p. 262). The Prophet is also said to have visited regularly at al-Bakī in Medina the tombs of the martyrs who fell at Uhud and paid reverence to them (*ibid.*, p. 143).

Whatever the exact amount of truth in the story, there is no doubt that the story of the tomb-mosque of Abū Bakr is ante-dated. The accounts of the death of the Prophet and of the period immediately following reveal no special interest in his tomb. But very soon the general trend of development stimulated an interest in graves which led to the erection of sanctuaries at them. The progress of this tendency is more marked in al-Wakīdī, who died in 207 (823), than in Ibn Ishāq who died in 151 (768).

The collections of Ḥadīth made in the third century contain discussions on this fact which show that the problem was whether the tombs could be used as places of worship and in this connection whether mosques could be built over the tombs. The ḥadīths answer both questions in the negative, which certainly was in the spirit of the Prophet. It is said that "Ṣalāt at the graves (*ḥi 'l-makābir*) is *mahrūḥ*" (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 52); "sit not upon graves and perform not ṣalāt towards them" (Muslim, *Ḍjanāz*, tr. 33); "hold the ṣalāt in your houses, but do not use them as tombs" (Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Masājid*, tr. 28). On the other hand it is acknowledged that Anas performed the ṣalāt at the cemetery (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 48). We are also told that tombs cannot be used as *masājid* (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 48; *Ḍjanāz*, bāb 62). On his deathbed the Prophet is said to have cursed the Jews and the Christians because they used the tombs of their prophets as *masājid*. Ḥadīth explains this by saying that the tomb of the Prophet was not at first accessible (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 48, 55; *Ḍjanāz*, bāb 62; *ʿAḥḍ*, bāb 50; Muslim, *Masājid*, tr. 3); as a matter of fact its precise location was not exactly known (*Ḍjanāz*, bāb 96). The attacks in Ḥadīth insist that tomb-mosques are a reprehensible Jewish practice: "When a pious man dies, they build a *masjid* on his tomb" etc. (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 48, 54; Muslim, *Ḍjanāz*, bāb 71). Although this view of tomb-mosques is still held in certain limited circles (cf. Ibn Taimiyya, the *Wahhābiyya*), the old pre-Islamic custom soon also became a Muslim one. The expositors of Ḥadīth like al-Nawawī (on Muslim, *Masājid*, tr. 3, liḥ. Dihlī 1319, i, 201) and al-Aḥḥālī (Cairo 1329, i, 354) explain the above passages to mean that only an exaggerated *taḥīm* of the dead is forbidden so that tombs should not be used as a *kibla*; otherwise it is quite commendable to spend time in a mosque in proximity to a *deyūm* man.

The name given to a tomb-mosque is often *ḥabba*, a word which is used of a tent (Bukhārī, *Ḍjanāz*, bāb 62; *Ḥaḍḍ*, bāb 64; *Faṣṣ al-Khawṣ*, bāb 19; *al-Ḍjāz*, bāb 15; Tarafa, *Ḍwān*, vii, 1), but later came to mean the dome which usually covers tombs and thus became the general name for the sanctuary of a saint (cf. Ibn Djbair, *Riḥla*, p. 114, 115; cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v.). *Maḥḥim* also means a little chapel and a saint's tomb (v. Berchem, *Corpus Inscr. Arab.*, i, N^o 72, etc.; cf. index). The custom of making a *ḥabba* at the tomb of a saint was firmly rooted in Byzantine territory, where sepulchral churches always had a dome (Herzog-Haush, *Realencyclopädie*, 2, 784). The usual name however for a tomb-sanctuary was *maḥḥad*; this is applied to places where saints are worshipped, among Muslim tombs particularly to those of the friends and relations of the Prophet (v. Berchem, *Corpus Inscr. Arab.*,

i, N^o 32, 63, 417, 544; Maḥḥid, iv, p. 265, 309 *qq.*) but also to tombs of other recognised saints, e.g. Maḥḥad Ḍjurdīs in Mawṣil (Ibn Djbair, *Riḥla*, p. 236) etc.

The transformation of the tombs of the Prophet and his near relatives into sanctuaries seems to have been a gradual process. Muḥammad, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar are said to have been buried in the house of ʿĀṣha; Fāṭima and ʿAlī lived beside it. ʿĀṣha had a wall built between her room and the tombs to prevent visitors carrying off earth from the tomb of the Prophet. The houses of the Prophet's wives remained as they were until al-Walid rebuilt them. He thought it scandalous that Hasan b. Hasan b. ʿAlī should live in Fāṭima's house and ʿUmar's family close beside ʿĀṣha's home in the house of Hāṣa. He acquired the houses, had all the houses of the Prophet's wives torn down and erected new buildings. The tombs were enclosed by a pentagonal wall; the whole area was called *al-Rawḍa* "the garden"; it was not till later that a dome was built over it (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 66 *qq.*, 72 *qq.*, 78 *qq.*, 89). In the cemetery of Medina, *al-Baḥī*, a whole series of *Maḥḥad* came to be built where tombs of the family and of the Companions of the Prophet were located (*ibid.*, p. 140 *qq.*; Ibn Djbair, *Riḥla*, p. 195 *qq.*). It is often disputed whether a tomb belonged to one or the other (e.g. Tabari, iii, 2436, *qq.*). Such tomb-mosques were sacred (*muḥabbas*; Ibn Djbair, *Riḥla*, p. 114, 115, 19). They were visited *ḥi 'l-baraka*. The name *al-Rawḍa* of the Prophet's tomb became later applied to other sanctuaries (Ibn Djbair, *Riḥla*, p. 46, 10; 52, 11). Separate limbs were revered in some mosques, like the head of al-Ḥusain in Cairo, which was brought there in 491 from ʿAḥḥālī (ʿAlī Pashā Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Ḍjadida*, iv, 91 *qq.*; cf. Sauvaire, *Hist. Firsi. Hbr.*, p. 16); his head was also revered for some time in the *Maḥḥad al-Ra's* in Damascus (according to Ibn Shākir, *J. A.*, 9th ser., vii, 385).

Gradually a vast number of Muslim tombs of saints came into existence; and to these were added all the pre-Islamic sanctuaries which were adopted by Islam. No distinction can therefore be drawn between tomb-mosques and other memorial mosques. It was often impossible to prove that the tomb in question ever really existed. In the Maḥḥad ʿAlī for example, ʿAlī's tomb is honoured but Ibn Djbair leaves it in doubt whether he is really buried there (*Riḥla*, p. 212) and many located his grave in the mosque at Kufa and elsewhere (Maḥḥid, *Marwāf*, iv, 289; v, 68; *B. G. A.*, ii, 163). In ʿAin al-Bakr near ʿAkkā there was also a Maḥḥad ʿAlī (Yāqūt, iii, 759) and also in the Mosque of the Umayyads (Ibn Djbair, p. 267); on this question cf. *B. G. A.*, iii, 46. Names frequently became confused and transferred. In Mecca between Ṣafā and Marwa there was a *ḥabba*, which was associated with ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb but Ibn Djbair says that it should be connected with ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (*Riḥla*, p. 115, 11 *qq.*). In Ḍjizz there was a *Maḥḥad Abi Huraira*, where the memory of this Companion of the Prophet was honoured; it is said to have been originally the grave of another Abū Huraira (Maḥḥid, i, 335, 19). Wherever Shiʿites ruled, there arose numerous tomb-mosques of the *Ahl al-Bait*. In Egypt Ibn Djbair gives a list of 14 men and five women of the Prophet's

family, who were honoured there (*Rihla*, p. 46 *sq.*). Islam was always creating new tombs of saints who had been distinguished for learning or asceticism or miracle-working, e.g. the tomb of al-Shayfi'i in Cairo and Ahmad al-Badawi in Tanis. There were mosques, chiefly old established sanctuaries, of Biblical and semi-Biblical personages like Ribbi (Reuben) and Asiya the wife of Pharaoh (*ibid.*, p. 46). In and around Damascus were a number of mosques, which were built on the tombs of prophets and unnamed saints (Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p. 273 *sqq.*). In Palestine could be seen a vast number of tombs of Biblical personages (cf. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, Index and Condit in *Palestine Explor. Fund. Quarterly Statement*, 1871, p. 89 *sqq.*), usually mosques with a *qubba*.

After the sanctuaries of persons mentioned in the Bible came those of people mentioned in the *Qur'an*. For example, outside the *Djami'* in 'Akka was shown the tomb-mosque of the prophet Salih (Nasir-i Khusrav, *Sefer-Nameh*, ed. Schefer, p. 15, 1 = 49), and in Syria that of his son (Ibn Djubair, p. 46); that of Hud was also shown near 'Akka (*Sefer-Nameh*, p. 16, 3 = 52), further east that of Shu'ail and of his daughter (*ibid.*, p. 16, 12 = 55); the tomb of Hud was also pointed out in Damascus and in Hadramawt (Yakut, ii. 596, 18); then we have peculiarly Muslim saints like Dhu 'l-Kifl, the son of Job (*ibid.*, p. 16, 4 = 52). Then there are the sanctuaries of saints who are only superficially Muslim but really have their origins in old popular superstitions, like al-Khazir who had a *maḥbad* in Damascus (Yakut, ii. 596, 4), or a saint like 'Akk, founder of the town of 'Akka, whose tomb Nasir-i Khusrav visited outside the town (*Sefer-Nameh*, p. 15, 8 from below = 51). Such tombs were much visited by pious travellers and are therefore frequently mentioned in literature (on *Mashhad* of the kinds mentioned here in the *Irak*, see B.G.A., iii. 130; for *Mawil* etc., *ibid.*, p. 146). In this way ancient sanctuaries were turned into mosques and it is often quite a matter of chance under what names they are adopted by Islam (cf. Goldziher, *Mus. Studien*, ii. 325 *sqq.*). It therefore sometimes happens that the same saint is honoured in several mosques. Abū Hurayra, who is buried in Medina, is honoured not only in the above-mentioned tomb-mosque in Djira but also at various places in Palestine, in al-Ramia and in Yuhna south of Tabariya (Khalil ed-Dihry, *Zubdat Kuchf al-Mamluk*, ed. P. Ravaine, p. 42, 1 from below; *Sefer-Nameh* of Nasir-i Khusrav, ed. by Ch. Schefer, p. 17, 1 from below = 59; Yakut, iii. 512, 10; iv. 1007, 11; cf. *Symbatse Orlentse Fars. Supplet.*, ii. [1928], 31). The tomb of the Prophet Jonah is revered not only in the ancient Nineveh but also in Palestine.

Just as the *qubba* under which the saint lay and the mosque adjoining it were sanctified by him so vice-versa a *qubba* and a mosque could cause a deceased person to become considered a saint. It was therefore the custom for the mighty not only to give this distinction to their fathers but also to prepare such buildings for themselves even in their own lifetime. This was particularly the custom of the Mamluk sultans, perhaps stimulated by the fact that they did not found dynasties in which power passed from father to son. Such buildings are called *qubba* (var. *berchem*, C.I.A., i. 30, 82 *sqq.*, 95, 96, 126, 138 etc.), exceptionally

shayfa (*ibid.*, N^o 98), frequently *turba* (*ibid.*, N^o 58, 66, 88, 106, 107, 116 etc.); the formula is also found: "this *qubba* is a *turba*" (N^o 67); the latter word acquired the same meaning as *masjid*, partly saint's grave and partly sacred site (cf. Ibn Djubair, *Rihla*, p. 114, 196); but this word does not seem to be used of ordinary tomb-mosques, although the distinction between these and mosques in honour of saints often disappeared. In these *qubbas* the regular recitation of the *Qur'an* was often arranged and the tomb was provided with a *hizwa*. The mausoleum might be built in connection with a great mosque and be separated from it by a grille (Yakut, iv. 509, 1 *sqq.*).

5. Mosques deliberately founded.

In the early period the building of mosques was a social obligation of the ruler as representative of the community and the tribes. Very soon a number of mosques came into existence, provided by individuals. In addition to tribal mosques, as already mentioned, there were also sectarian mosques and prominent leaders built mosques which were the centres of their activity, for example the Masjid 'Adi b. Hatim (Tabari, ii. 130), the Masjid Simak in Kufa (*ibid.*, i. 2653), the Masjid al-Ash'ath etc. As old sanctuaries entered Islam, the mosque received more of the character of a sanctuary and the building of a mosque became a pious work; there arose a *hadith*, according to which the Prophet said: "for him who builds a mosque, God will build a home in Paradise"; some add "if he desires to see the face of God" (*Corpus juris di Zaid b. 'Ali*, ed. Griffini, N^o 276; Buhārī, *Salāt*, bab 65; Muslim, *Masājid*, tr. 4; Zuhd, tr. 3; Makrizi, iv. 36). Like other sanctuaries, mosques were sometimes built as a result of a revelation in a dream. A story of this kind of the year 557 is given by al-Samhūdī for Medina (Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p. 91 *sq.*); and a similar one of a mosque in Damascus (*J. A.*, Ser. 9, vii. 384); a mosque was also built out of gratitude for seeing the Prophet (*al-Madrasa al-Sharifiya*, Makrizi, iv. 209). It was of course particularly an obligation on the mighty to build mosques. Even in the earliest period, the governors took care that new mosques were built to keep pace with the spread of Islam (cf. Baladhuri, p. 178 *sq.*). About the year 1000 the governor of Media, Badr b. Hasaruwashi, is said to have built 3,000 mosques and hostels (Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, 1922, p. 24). The collections of inscriptions, as well as the geographical and topographical works, reveal how the number of mosques increased in this way.

In Egypt, al-Hakim in the year 403 had a census taken of the mosques of Cairo and there were eight hundred (Makrizi, iv. 264); al-Kud'at (d. 454 = 1062) also counted the mosques and his figure is put at 30,000 or 36,000 (Yakut, iii. 901; Ibn Duqmaḳ, ed. Vollers, p. 92; Makrizi, iv. 264) which seems quite a fantastic figure (there is probably a *wa* lacking before *alif* i.e. 1,036). Ibn al-Mutawwadj (d. 730) according to al-Makrizi counted 480, and Ibn Duqmaḳ (about 800) gives in addition to the incomplete list of *djami'*s a list of 472 mosques, not including *madaris*, *khanakāhs* etc.; the figure given by Makrizi is smaller. The fantastic figure of 30,000 for Baghdad is found as early as Yā'qūt (*B.G.A.*, vii. 250). It is also an exaggeration when Ibn Djubair was told in

Alexandria that there were 12,000 or 8,000 mosques there (p. 43). In Baṣra where Ziyād built 7 mosques (*B.G.A.*, v. 191), the number also increased rapidly, but here again an exaggerated figure (7,000) is given (*B.G.A.*, vii. 361). In Damascus, Ibn 'Askir (d. 571=1176) counted 241 within and 148 outside the city (*J.A.*, Ser. 9, vii. 383). In Palermo Ibn Hawkal counted over 300 and in a village above it 200 mosques. In some streets there were as many as 20 mosques within a bowshot of one another; this multiplicity is condemned: everyone wanted to build a mosque for himself (Yāqūt, i. 729; iii. 409, 410). As a matter of fact, one can almost say that things tended this way; Ya'qūb mentions in Baghdad a mosque for the Anbari officials of the tax-office (*B.G.A.*, vii. 245) and several distinguished scholars practically had their own mosques. It occasionally happened that devout private individuals founded mosques. In 672 Tādī al-Dīn built a mosque and a separate chamber in which he performed the ṣalāt alone and meditated (Maḳrīzī, iv. 90). The mosques thus founded were very often called after their founders, and memorial and tomb-mosques after the person to be commemorated. Sometimes a mosque is called after some devout man who lived in it (Maḳrīzī, iv. 97, 265 *sqq.*) and a madrasa might be called after its head or a teacher (*ibid.*, iv. 235; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vii. 82). Lastly a mosque might take its name from its situation or from some feature of the building.

6. Al-Muṣallā.

In addition to the mosques proper, al-Maḳrīzī mentions for Cairo 8 places for prayer (*muṣallā*) mainly at the cemetery (iv. 334 *sq.*). The word *muṣallā* may mean any place of prayer, therefore also mosque (cf. Sūra, ii. 119; cf. Maḳrīzī, *Ḥiṣṣat*, iv. 25, 16; do., *Ittiḥāz*, ed. Bunz, p. 91, 17; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, iv. 326, 35) or a particular place of prayer within a mosque (Tabarī, i. 2408, 16; Bukhārī, *Ḥiṣṣat*, bāb 17; *Ṣalāt*, bāb 91). In Palestine, there were many open places of prayer, provided only with a mihrāb and marked off, but quite in the open (cf. for Tiberias, *Sefer-Namek*, transl. Schefer, p. 36). It is recorded of the Prophet that he used to go out at the two festivals (*al-Fiṭr* and *al-Aḥḥā*) to the place of prayer (*al-muṣallā*) of the Banū Salīmā. A lance which the Negus had presented to al-Zuhair was carried in front of him and planted before the Prophet as *imra*. Standing in front of it, he conducted the ṣalāt, and then preached a khutba without a minbar to the rows in front of him (Tabarī, i. 1281, 14 *sqq.*; Bukhārī, *Ḥiṣṣat*, bāb 6; *Ṣalāt*, bāb 90; *Idām*, bāb 6). He also went out to the *muṣallā* for the *ṣalāt al-istisḥā* (Muslim, *Ittiḥāz*, tr. 1). This *Muṣallā* was an open space and Muḥammad is even said to have forbidden a building on it (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 127 *sqq.*). This custom of performing the ṣalāt on a *muṣallā* outside the town on the two festivals became *sunna*. There is evidence of the custom for several towns. In Medina however, a mosque was later built on the *muṣallā* (*ibid.*, p. 128 *sq.*) which also happened in other places. An early innovation was the introduction of a minbar by Marwān (*ibid.*, p. 128; Bukhārī, *Idām*, bāb 6). When Sa'd b. Abī Waḳḳās built a mosque in Kīra's Iwān in al-Mada'in, at the festival in the year 16 it was expressly stated that

it was *sunna* to go out to it; Sa'd, however, thought it was a matter of indifference (Tabarī, i. 2451). Shortly after 300 a *muṣallā* outside of Hamadīn is mentioned (Maḳrīzī, *Murūj*, ix. 23). There was al-Muṣallā al-'Atīk in Baghdad; here a dakka was erected for the execution of the Ḳarmatian prisoners (Tabarī, iii. 2244 *sq.*; cf. 1659, 18); in Kūfa, several are mentioned (*ibid.*, ii. 628, 16; 1704, 8; iii. 367, 8 *sq.*), two in Meṣw (*ibid.*, ii. 1931, 1; 1964, 19; cf. *Sefer-Namek*, transl. Schefer, p. 274); one in Farḡāna (*B.G.A.*, ii. 393, 11). In Tirmidh, the *muṣallā* was within the walls (*B.G.A.*, ii. 349, 18) which also happened elsewhere (*ibid.*, 378, 4 *sq.*). In Cairo the two festivals were celebrated on the *Muṣallā Khawlān* (a Yemen tribe) with the *Khawlān* of the Mosque of 'Amr as leader: according to al-Ḳaḍā'ī the festivals were to be celebrated on a *muṣallā* opposite the hill Waḥmūm, then on al-Muṣallā al-Ḳadīm where Ahmad b. Tulūn erected a building in 256. The site was several times changed (Maḳrīzī, iv. 334 *sq.*; cf. *B.G.A.*, iii. 200, 14 *sq.*). In 302, 306 and 308 the *ṣalāt al-'id* was performed for the first time in the Mosque of 'Amr (Maḳrīzī, iv. 20, 8 *sqq.*; *Ḥum al-Muḥādara*, ii. 137 *infra*; Ibn Taghribirdī, ii. 194, 9 *sqq.*). Ibn Battūta notes the custom in Spain (i. 20) and Tunisia (i. 22) and also in India (iii. 154). Ibn al-Ḥadādī (d. 737) says that in his time the ceremonies still took place on the *muṣallā* but condemns the *bid'a*s associated with them (*K. al-Madīnat*, ii., Cairo 1320, p. 82 *sqq.*). It is also laid down in Muslim law, although not always definitely (see Juynboll, *Handbuch d. Islām. Ges.*, 1910, p. 127; I. Guidi, *Il Muḥtaṣar*, i. 1919, p. 130). The custom seems in time to have become generally abandoned. In the ninth century the Masḳid Aḳṣonḳor was expressly built for the khutba at the Friday services and at festivals (Maḳrīzī, iv. 107, 17).

C. The Mosque as the Centre for Divine Service.

1. Sanctity of the Mosque.

The history of the mosque in the early centuries of Islām shows an increase in its sanctity which was intensified by the adoption of the traditions of the church and especially by the permeation of the cult of saints. The sanctity already associated with tombs taken over by Islām was naturally very soon transferred to the larger and more imposing mosques. The expression *Bait Allāh* "house of God", which at first was only used of the Ka'ba came now to be applied to any mosque (*K. Corpus inris di Zaid b. 'Alli*, N^o. 48, cf. 156, 983; *Chren. Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 164; v. Berchem, *Corpus Inscr. Arab.*, i. N^o. 10, l. 18; Ibn al-Ḥadādī, *K. al-Madīnat*, i. 20, 23; ii. 64, 68; cf. *Bait Rabīḥī*, *ibid.*, i. 23, 73; ii. 36). The alteration in the original conception is illustrated by the fact that the Mamūk al-Malik al-Zāhir Balbars declined to build a mosque on a place for tethering camels because it was unseemly, while the mosque of the Prophet had actually been built on such a place (Maḳrīzī, iv. 91; Abū Dawūd, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 22). In the house of God the Mihrāb and the Minbar (see below) enjoyed particular sanctity, as did the tomb, especially in Medina (Bukhārī, *Faḍl al-Ṣalāt fī Masḳid Makka wa 'l-Madīna*, bāb 5). The visitors sought *baraka*, partly by touching the tomb or the railing round it, partly by praying

in its vicinity; at such places "prayer is heard" (*Chron. Mekka*, iii. 441, 442). In the Masjid al-Khail in Minā the visitor laid his head on the print of the Prophet's head and thus obtained *baraka* (*ibid.*, iii. 438). A mosque could be built on a site, the sanctity of which had been shown by the finding of hidden treasure (Maḥṣn, v. 75). There were often places of particular sanctity in mosques. In the mosques at Kūba and Medina, the spots where the Prophet used to stand at prayer were held to be particularly blessed (Balādhurī, p. 5; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 91; Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p. 65, cf. 82, 109). In other mosques, places where a saint had sat or where a divine phenomenon had taken place e.g. in the Mosque of 'Amr and in the Aḥmar Mosque (Maḥṣn, iii. 19, 52) or the Mosque in Jerusalem (Maḥṣn, B. G. A., iii. 170) were specially visited. Pious visitors made *ṭawāṭif* [q. v.] between such places in the mosque (Maḥṣn, iv. 20). Just as in other religions we find parents dedicating their children to the service of a sanctuary, so we find a Muslim woman vowing her child or child yet unborn to the mosque (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 74; Maḥṣn, iv. 20). The fact that mosques, like other sanctuaries, were sometimes founded after a revelation received in a dream has already been mentioned (B. 5).

This increase in sanctity had as a natural result that one could no longer enter a mosque at random as had been the case in the time of the Prophet. In the early Umayyad period, Christians were still allowed to enter the mosque without molestation (cf. Lammens, *Mémoires*, p. 13 sq.; Goldsiher, in *W. Z. K. M.*, vi. 100 sq.). Mu'āwīya used to sit with his Christian physician, Ibn Uthāl, in the mosque of Damascus (Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a, i. 117). According to Ahmad b. Hanbal, the *Ahl al-Kutub* (or *Ahl al-Ḍar*) and their servants, but not polytheists, were allowed to enter the mosque of Medina (*Musnad*, iii. 339, 392). At a later date entrance was forbidden to Christians and this regulation is credited to 'Umar (Lammens, *op. cit.*, p. 13, note 6). A strict teacher of morality like Ibn al-Hajj thought it unseemly that the monks who wore the mats for the mosque should be allowed to lay them in the mosque (*Madkhal*, ii. 57). Conditions were not always the same. In Hebron, Jews and Christians were admitted on payment to the sanctuary of Abraham until in 664 (1265) Balhām forbade it (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/ii. 27).

According to some traditions, a person in a state of ritual impurity could not enter the mosque (Abū Dawūd, *Tahara*, bāb 92; Ibn Māǧja, *Tahara*, bāb 123) and in any case only the pure could acquire merit by visiting the mosque (Muslim, *Musnad*, tr. 49; *Corpus iuris di Zaid b. 'Alī*, No. 48), and in a later period it is specially mentioned that the *wuḡū* cannot be undertaken in the mosque itself (*Madkhal*, ii. 47 *infra*) nor could shaving (*ibid.*, p. 58 sq.).

It is always necessary to be careful not to spit in a mosque, although some traditions which are obviously closer to the old state of affairs say, "not in the direction of the kībla, only to the left" (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 33 sq.). The custom of taking off one's sandals in the mosque is found as early as the time of Abū 'Uhaida (second century) (Yāqūt, *Udaba'* v. 272, 273 sq.) and according to *al-Madkhal* (see below) is also mentioned by Abū Dawūd. Al-Ṭabarī puts the custom back to

the time of 'Umar (i. 2408). That it is based on an old custom observed in sanctuaries is obvious (cf. on the history of the custom, F. Cumont, *Feuilles de Douce-Europe*, 1926, p. 60 sq.). The custom however seems not to have been always observed. In the viiith century in the Mosque of the Umayyads the shoes were taken off only in the *maḥṣn*, because the floor was covered with mats; but in 827 an Egyptian superintendent ordered that the mosque should only be entered with bare feet (*J. A.*, ser. 9, vii. 211, 217). The visitor on entering should place his right foot first and utter certain prayers with blessings on the Prophet and his family (which Muḥammad is said to have done!) and when he is inside perform two *ṣalā's* (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 47; *Tahāfud*, bāb 25; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Muṣṣir*, tr. 12 sq.; Tabarī, iii. 2464, 2532). Certain regulations for decent conduct came into being, the object of which was to preserve the dignity of the house of divine service. Public announcements about strayed animals were not to be made, as the Beduins did in their houses of assembly, and one should not call out aloud and thereby disturb the meditations of the worshippers (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 83; Muslim, *Musnad*, tr. 18; more fully in *Madkhal*, i. 19 sq.). One should put on fine clothes for the Friday service, rub oneself with oil and perfume oneself (Bukhārī, *Ḍum'a*, bāb 3, 6, 7, 19) as was also done with *ṣūb* for the Ḥajj (Bukhārī, *Ḥajj*, bāb 143).

A question which interested the teachers of morality was that of the admission of women to the mosques. That many did not desire their presence is evident from the ḥadīth that one cannot prevent them as there is no *ḥimā* connected with it, but they must not be perfumed (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 29; Bukhārī, *Ḍum'a*, bāb 13; cf. *Chron. Mekka*, iv. 168). Other ḥadīths say they should leave the mosques before the men (al-Nasā'i, *Saḥīḥ*, bāb 77; cf. Abū Dawūd, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 14, 48). Sometimes a special part of the mosque was called off for them; for example, the governor of Mecca in 256 had ropes tied between the columns to make a separate place for women (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 197 *infra*). According to some, women must not enter the mosque during their menstruation (Abū Dawūd, *Tahara*, bāb 92, 103; Ibn Māǧja, *Tahara*, bāb 117, 123). In Medina at the present day, a wooden grille shuts off a place for women (al-Batānūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥijāziyya*, p. 240). At one time the women stood at the back of the mosque here (Yāqūt, *Udaba'*, vi. 400). In Jerusalem there were special *maḥṣnas* for them (B. G. A., v. 100). Ibn al-Hajj would prefer to exclude them altogether and gives 'A'isha as his authority for this.

Although the mosque became sacred it could not quite cast off its old character as a place of public assembly and in consequence the mosque was visited for many other purposes than that of divine service. Not only in the time of the Umayyads was considerable business done in the mosques (Tabarī, ii. 1118; cf. Lammens, *Ziād*, p. 98) which is quite in keeping with the ḥadīth (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 70 sq.) which, actually, found it necessary to forbid the sale of wine in the mosque (*ibid.*, bāb 73), but a writer in the viiith century, Ibn al-Hajj, records with disapproval that business was done in the mosques: women sit in the mosques and sell thread, in Mecca hawkers even call their wares in the mosque. The list given by

this author gives one the impression of a regular market-place (*Maṭṭhal*, ii. 54). Strangers could always sit down in a mosque and talk with one another (see *B.G.A.*, iii. 205); they had the right to spend the night in the mosque; according to some, however, only if there was no other shelter available (*Madḥḥal*, ii. 43 *infra*, 49 *supra*; see below D. 1b). It naturally came about that people also ate in the mosque; this was quite common, and regular banquets were even given in them (e.g. Maḥṣiri, iv. 67, 121 *sq.*; cf. in Ḥadīth: Ibn Maḍja, *Aḥṣan*, bāb 24, 29; Ahmad b. Ḥabbal, ii. 106, 10 from below). Ibn al-Ḥādīj laments that in al-Aḥṣā people even threw the remains of their repast down in the mosque; animals were brought in, and beggars and water-carriers called aloud in them etc. (*Maṭṭhal*, ii. 53 *sq.*). It is even mentioned as a sign of the special piety of al-Shirāzī (d. 476 = 1083) that he often brought food into the mosque and consumed it there with his pupils (Wüstenfeld, *Die Imām Schāfiʿī*, iii. 298). Gradually the mosques acquired greater numbers of residents (see D. 2b). In the Azhar Mosque it was the custom with many to spend the summer nights there because it was cool and pleasant (Maḥṣiri, iv. 54). This was the state of affairs about 800 A.D. Similar conditions still prevail in the mosques.

2. The Mosque as a Place of Prayer. Friday Mosques.

As places for divine service, the mosques are primarily "houses of which God has permitted that they be erected and that His name be mentioned in them" (*Sūra*, xxiv. 36), i.e. for His service demanded by the law, for ceremonies of worship (*manāṣik*), for assemblies for prayer (*ḡhamāʿāt*) and other religious duties (cf. *Chron. Mekka*, iv. 104). The mosques were *maʿābid* (Maḥṣiri, iv. 117, 140). In Medina after a journey, the Prophet went at once to the mosque and performed two rakʿas, a custom which was imitated by others and became the rule (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 59 *sq.*; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Muṣṣaḥḥ*, ix. 11; Wāḥidī-Wellhausen, p. 412, 436). In this respect the mosque played a part in public worship similar to that of the Kaʿba in Mecca at an earlier date and the Rabba sanctuary in Tāʾif. The daily ṣalāts, which in themselves could be performed anywhere, became especially meritorious when they were performed in mosques, because they expressed adherence to the community. A *ṣalāt al-ḡhamāʿa*, we are told, is twenty or twenty-five times as meritorious as the ṣalāt of an individual at home or in his shop (Muslim, *Maṣāʾid*, tr. 42; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 87; *Buyūʿ*, bāb 49). There are even ḥadīths which condemn private ṣalāts: "Those who perform the ṣalāt in their houses abandon the sunna of their Prophet" (Muslim, *Maṣāʾid*, tr. 44; but cf. 48 and Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 52). If much rain falls, the believers may, however, worship in their houses (Bukhārī, *Ḍuʿmʿa*, bāb 14). In this connection a blind man was given a special *rukʿa*: It is particularly bad to leave the mosque after the *aḥḥān* (Muslim, *Maṣāʾid*, tr. 45). It is therefore very meritorious to go to the mosque; for every step one advances into the mosque, he receives forgiveness of sins; God protects him at the last judgment and the angels also assist him (Muslim, *Maṣāʾid*, bāb 49-51; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 87; *Aḥḥān*, bāb 36, 37; *Ḍuʿmʿa*, bāb 4, 18, 31; *Corpus juris & Zaid b. ʿAlī*, No. 48, 156, 983).

This holds especially of the Friday ṣalāt (*ṣalāt al-ḡhamāʿa*), which can only be performed in the mosque and is obligatory upon every free male Muslim who has reached years of discretion (cf. Juynboll, *Handbuch*, p. 86; Goldi, *Sommario del Diritto Malickita*, i. 125 *sq.*). According to Ibn Hishām (p. 290) this ṣalāt, which is distinguished by the *khutba*, was observed in Medina even before the Hijra. This is hardly probable and besides is not in agreement with other ḥadīths (see Bukhārī, *Ḍuʿmʿa*, bāb 11) but the origin of this divine service, referred to in *Sūra* lxix. 9, is obscure. The assemblies of the Jews and Christians on a particular day must have formed the model (cf. Bukhārī, *Ḍuʿmʿa*, bāb 1). Its importance in the earlier period lay in the fact that all elements of the Muslim camp, who usually went to the tribal and particular mosques, assembled for it in the chief mosque under the leadership of the general. The chief mosque, which for this reason was particularly large, was given a significant name. They talk of *al-Masjid al-aḡṣam* (Tabarī, i. 2494; ii. 734, 1701, 1702; Kufa; Balāḥūri, p. 5; Tabarī, *Taʾrīḥ*, xi. 21, *centro*; *ibid.* also *al-Masjid al-aḥḥar*, Medina; cf. *al-Masjid al-aḥḥar*, *B.G.A.*, vii. 245) or *Masjid al-ḡhamāʿa* (Yāqūt, iii. 896, al-Fuṣṣṭāṭ; also Tabarī, ii. 1119; Ibn Kūtaiba, *Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 106); *Masjid al-ʿl-ḡhamāʿa* (Maḥṣiri, iv. 4); *Masjid Ḍūmʿa* (Balāḥūri, p. 289, Madāʾin; Yāqūt, i. 643, 647, Bagdād); then *Masjid al-Ḍūmʿa* (Yāqūt, iii. 899; iv. 885; *B.G.A.*, ii. 298, 315, 387; vii. 110 etc.). As an abbreviation we find also *al-ḡhamāʿa* (Yāqūt, i. 400; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv. 343; cf. *Masjid al-ḡhamāʿa*, Balāḥūri, p. 348) and especially *Ḍūmʿa*. As the *khutba* was the distinguishing feature, we also find *Masjid al-khutba* (Maḥṣiri, iv. 44, 64, 87), *Ḍūmʿa al-khutba* (*ibid.*, iv. 55) or *Masjid al-Minbar* (*B.G.A.*, iii. 316 for *Ḍūmʿa*, i. 8).

Linguistic usage varied somewhat in course of time with conditions. In the time of ʿUmar there was properly in every town only one Masjid Ḍūmʿa for the Friday service. But when the community became no longer a military camp and Islām replaced the previous religion of the people, a need for a number of mosques for the Friday service was bound to arise. This demanded mosques for the Friday service in the country, in the villages on the one hand and several Friday mosques in the towns on the other. This meant in both cases an innovation, compared with old conditions, and thus there arose some degree of uncertainty. The Friday service had to be conducted by the ruler of the community, but there was only one governor in each province; on the other hand, the demands of the time could hardly be resisted and, besides, the Christian converts to Islām had been used to a solemn weekly service.

As to the villages (*al-burā*), ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in Egypt forbade their inhabitants to celebrate the Friday service for the reason just mentioned (Maḥṣiri, iv. 7). At a later period then the *khutba* was delivered exceptionally, without minbar and only with staff, until Marwān in 132 introduced the minbar into the Egyptian *burā* also (*ibid.*, p. 8). Of a mosque in which a minbar had been placed, we are told *ḡmāʿa masjid al-ʿl-ʿaḡṣam* (Tabarī, i. 2451) and a village with a minbar is called *ḡmāʿa* (Bukhārī, *Ḍuʿmʿa*, bāb 15; cf. *Madāʾin Ḍūmʿa*, *B.G.A.*, ii. 321), an idea which was regarded by Bukhārī (d. 256 = 870)

as quite obvious. In introducing minbars into the Egyptian villages, Marwān was apparently following the example of other regions. In the fourth century, Ibn Hawkal mentions a number of *masājid* in the district of Iṣṭakh̄r (*B. G. A.*, ii. 182 *sqq.*) and a few in the vicinity of Marw (*ibid.*, p. 316) and in Transoxania (*ibid.*, p. 378; cf. p. 384), and al-Makdīsi does the same for other districts of Persia (*B. G. A.*, iii. 309, 317) and he definitely says that the *ḡurā* of Palestine are *ḡurāt manāḡīr* (*ibid.*, p. 176; cf. i. 58); Balādhuri (p. 331) also uses the name minbar for a village mosque built in 239; in general, when speaking of the *ḡurā*, one talks of *manāḡīr* and not of *ḡawāmiḡ* (cf. *B. G. A.*, i. 63). Later however the term Masdīd *ḡāmiḡ* is used for a Friday mosque (Ibn Dūbair, p. 217). The conditions of primitive Islām are reflected in the teaching of the Ḥanafis, who only permit the Friday service in large towns (cf. al-Mawānī, *al-Aḡlām al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. Enger, p. 177).

As to the towns, the Shāfiʿis on the other hand have retained the original conditions, since they permit the Friday service in only one mosque in each town (cf. *ḡUMʿA* and *cf. dz.*, p. 178 *sq.*), but with the reservation that the mosque is able to hold the community. The distinction between the two rites was of importance in Egypt. When in 569 Ḥalaf al-Dīn became supreme in Egypt, he appointed a Shāfiʿi chief *ḡādī* and the Friday service was therefore held only in the Ḥakīm mosque, as the largest; but in 665 (1266) al-Malik al-Zāhir Bahār gave the Ḥanafis preference and many mosques were therefore used as Friday mosques (Maḡrīzī, iv. 52 *sq.*; al-Suyūṭī, *ḡarn al-Maḡḡīr*, ii. 140; Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/ii. 39 *sqq.*). During the Umayyad period and to some extent in the ʿAbbāsid period, the number of *ḡawāmiḡ* in the towns were still very small. The geographers of the third and fourth centuries in their descriptions of towns as a rule mention only "the *ḡāmiḡ*". Ibn al-Faḡh, c. 290 (903), sometimes says *masdīd ḡāmiḡ wa-minbar*, *B. G. A.*, v. 304-306, also *minbar* simply, p. 305. In keeping with the oldest scheme of town planning, it was very often in the middle of the town surrounded by the business quarters (*B. G. A.*, ii. 298, 325; iii. 274 *sq.*, 278, 289, 314, 316, 375, 376, 413, 426, 427 etc.; Nāṣir-i Khuraw, ed. Schefer, p. 35, 41, 56) and the *ḡar al-imāra* was still frequently in the immediate vicinity of the chief mosque (*B. G. A.*, ii. 298, 314; iii. 426).

Iṣṭakh̄rī mentions as an innovation in Islām that al-Ḥudḡādī built a *ḡāmiḡ* in al-Wāsiḡ on the west bank, although there was already one on the east bank (*B. G. A.*, i. 82 *sq.*; cf. iii. 118; vii. 322). Ibn Dūbair (*Riḡla*, p. 211 *sq.*) mentions only one *ḡāmiḡ* in Kūfa, called *Masdīd al-Kūfa* by Ibn al-Faḡh, although he also mentions other mosques (*B. G. A.*, v. 173; cf. 174, 183 and iii. 116). In Baṡra where Yaḡlāḡ (278 = 891) already mentions 7,000 mosques (*B. G. A.*, vii. 361), al-Makdīsi (375 = 985) gives 3 *ḡawāmiḡ* (*B. G. A.*, iii. 117). In Sāmarrā, among many mosques, there was one *ḡāmiḡ* (*B. G. A.*, vii. 258, 259), which was later replaced by another (*ibid.*, p. 260 *sq.*); al-Mutawakkil also built one outside the original town (*ibid.*, p. 263; see also P. Schwarz, *Die Arabischen-Residenzen Sāmarrā*, 1909, p. 32). In Baḡdād, Yaḡlāḡ (278 = 891) mentions only one *ḡāmiḡ* for the eastern town and one for the western (*B. G. A.*, vii. 240, 245, 251, 253; the

almost contemporary Ibn Rosta just mentions the old western town and its *ḡāmiḡ*, *ibid.*, p. 109) although he gives the fantastic figures of 15,000 mosques in the east town (*ibid.*, p. 254) and 30,000 in the west (or in the whole town; *ibid.*, p. 250). After 280 there was added the *ḡāmiḡ* of the eastern palace of the caliph (Mez, *Renaissance*, p. 388 quoting al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡhdādī, *Taʿrīḡ Baḡhdād*; a private *ḡāmiḡ* of Ḥārūn al-Raḡhīd in the *Bustān Unw Mūdī* is mentioned by Ibn al-Kaṭī, *Taʿrīḡ al-ḡurāmā*, ed. Lippert, p. 433 *infra*). These 3 *ḡawāmiḡ* are mentioned about 340 (951) by Iṣṭakh̄rī (*B. G. A.*, i. 84), who also mentions one in the suburb of Kalwādīḡ. Ibn Hawkal in 367 (977) mentions the latter and also the *ḡāmiḡ* al-Barīṭhā (*B. G. A.*, i. 164 *sq.*, of 329; Mez, *loc. cit.*), a fifth was added in 379, a sixth in 383 (Mez, p. 389); thus al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡhdādī in 460 (1058) gives 4 for West Baḡhdād, 2 for the east town (cf. Le Strange, *Baḡhdād*, p. 324). Ibn Dūbair in 581 (1185) gives in the east town 3, and 11 *ḡawāmiḡ* (*Riḡla*, p. 228 *sq.*) for the whole of Baḡhdād. For Cairo, Iṣṭakh̄rī gives two *ḡāmiḡ*: the 'Amr and Ṭūlūn Mosques (*B. G. A.*, i. 49) besides that in al-Karāfa, which was regarded as a separate town (cf. Ibn Rosta [c. 290 = 903], *B. G. A.*, vii. 116 *sq.*). Al-Makdīsi, who writes (375 = 985) shortly after the Fāṭimid conquest, mentions the 'Amr and Ṭūlūn mosques, the new mosque in al-Kāḡira (al-Aḡhar), also one in al-Djazīra, in ḡīm and in al-Karāfa (*B. G. A.*, iii. 198-200, 209; the *ḡāmiḡ* in al-Djazīra, also *ḡāmiḡ* Miḡyās [cf. Maḡrīzī, iv. 75], is mentioned in an inscription of the year 485; see van Berchem, *Corpus*, i, N^o 39). As these places were all originally separate towns, the principle was not abandoned that each town had only one *ḡāmiḡ*. The Fāṭimids however extended the use of Friday mosques and, in addition to those already mentioned, used the *ḡāmiḡ* al-Ḥakīm, al-Maḡa and Rāḡhida (Maḡrīzī, iv. 2 *sq.*). Nāṣir-i Khuraw in 439 (1047) mentions in one passage the *ḡawāmiḡ* of Cairo, in another seven for Mir and fifteen in all (ed. Schefer, p. 134 *sq.*, 147). This was altered in 569 by Ḥalaf al-Dīn (see above) but the quarters, being still regarded as separate towns, retained their own Friday mosques (cf. for the year 607 in al-Karāfa; Maḡrīzī, iv. 86).

After the Friday service in Egypt and Syria was freed from restriction, the number of *ḡawāmiḡ* increased very much. Ibn Dūḡmāḡ (about 800) gives a list of only eight *ḡawāmiḡ* in Cairo (ed. Vollers, p. 59-78), but this list is apparently only a fragment (in all he mentions something over twenty in the part of his book that has survived); al-Maḡrīzī (d. 845 = 1442) gives 130 *ḡawāmiḡ* (iv. 2 *sqq.*). In Damascus, where Ibn Dūbair still spoke of "the *ḡāmiḡ*", al-Nāʿimī (d. 927 = 1521) gives twenty *ḡawāmiḡ* (*J. A.*, ser. 9, vii. 231 *sqq.*), and according to Ibn Battūṭa, there were in all the villages in the region of Damascus *masāḡīd ḡāmiḡ* (i. 236). The word *ḡāmiḡ* in Maḡrīzī always means a mosque in which the Friday service was held (vi. 76, 115 *sqq.*) but by his time this meant any mosque of some size. He himself criticises the fact that since 799 the *ḡāmiḡ* al-ḡurāmā was performed in al-Aḡmar, although another *ḡāmiḡ* stood close beside it (iv. 76; cf. also 86).

The great spread of Friday mosques was reflected in the language. While inscriptions of the viiith century still call quite large mosques *masdīd*, in

the ninth most of them are called *djāmi* (cf. on the whole question, van Berchem, *Corpus*, i. 173 sq.); and while now the madrasa begins to predominate and is occasionally also called *djāmi* (see below, F. 4), the use of the word *masjid* becomes limited. While, generally speaking, it can mean any mosque (e.g. Makrizi, iv. 137, of the Mu'ayyad mosque), it is more especially used of the smaller unimportant mosques. While Ibn Duqmāṣ gives 472 *masjids* in addition to the *djāmi*, *madaris*, etc., al-Makrizi only gives nineteen, not counting al-Karafa, which probably only means that they were of little interest to him. *Djāmi* is now on the way to become the regular name for a mosque of any size as is now the usage, in Egypt at least. In Ibn al-Hādīdī (d. 737) *al-djāmi* is occasionally used in this general meaning in place of *al-masjid* (*Madkhal*, ii. 50). Among the many Friday mosques one was usually distinguished as the chief mosque; we therefore find the expression *al-djāmi al-a'zam* (Ibn Battuta, ii. 54, 94; cf. the older *al-masjid al-a'zam*, *ibid.*, p. 53). The principal *djāmi* decided in such questions as the beginning and ending of the Fast of Ramaḥān (*Madkhal*, ii. 68).

3. Other religious activities in the Mosque.

The mentioning of the name of God in the mosques, was not confined only to the official ritual ceremonies. Even in the time of the Prophet, we are told that he lodged Thaqifi delegates in the mosque so that they could see the rows of worshippers and hear the nightly recitation (Wakidi-Welhausen, p. 382). Although this story (which is not given in Ibn Hishām, p. 916) may simply be a reflection of later conditions, the recitation of the Qur'an must have come to be considered an edifying and pious work at quite an early date. In the time of al-Makdisi the *ḥurra* of Nābūr used to assemble on Fridays in the *djāmi* in the early morning and recite till the *ḥuḥ* (B.G.A., iii. 328), and the same author tells us that in the Mosque of 'Amr in Egypt the *ḥimmat al-ḥurra* sat in circles every evening and recited (*ibid.*, p. 205). In the time of Ibn Djabair, there were recitations of the Qur'an in the Umayyad mosque after the *Ṣalāt al-Ṣubḥ* and every afternoon after the *Ṣalāt al-ʿAṣr* (Rihla, p. 271 sq.). Besides the recitation of the Qur'an there were praises of God etc., all that is classed as *dhikr*, and which was particularly cultivated by Sūfism. This form of worship also took place in the mosque. The *Ahl al-Tawhid wa 'l-Ma'rifa* formed *madajāt al-dhikr*, who assembled in the mosques (al-Makki, *Kut al-Kulūb*, i. 152). In the Mosque of the Umayyads and other mosques of Damascus, *dhikr* was held during the morning on Friday (Makrizi, iv. 49). In the *Masjid al-Aḥḥ* the Hanafis held *dhikr*, and recited at the same time from a book (B.G.A., iii. 182). In Egypt, Ahmad b. Tūlūn and Khumrawāh allowed twelve men quarters in a chamber near the minaret to praise God, and during the night four of them took turns to praise God with recitations of the Qur'an and with pious *ḥafāḍas*. From the time of Ṣalāh al-Dīn an orthodox *ḥafāḍa* was recited by the mu'adhdhins in the night (*ibid.*, v. 48). Ibn al-Hādīdī demands that the recitation of the Qur'an should take place in a mosque for the special purpose (*masjid masjūn*) as otherwise pious visitors

are disturbed (*Madkhal*, ii. 53, 67). Mosques and particularly mausoleums had as a rule regularly appointed reciters of the Qur'an. In addition there was, e.g. in Hebron and in a mosque in Damascus, a *ṣākh* who had to read Bukhārī (or also Muslim) for three months (Sauvalre, *Hist. Jérus. Hébr.*, p. 17; F.A., ser. 9, iii. 261). In Tanis, al-Bukhārī was read daily in a hospital (Zarkashī, transl. Fagnan, *Rec. Soc. Arch. Constantin.*, 1894, p. 188).

Sermons were not only delivered at the *palāt al-djāmi*. In the 'Irāk, even in al-Makdisi's time, one was preached every morning, according to the *sunna* of Ibn 'Abbās (B.G.A., iii. 130), it was said. Ibn Djabair, in the Niḥāmiya in Baghdad, heard the *Shāfi'ī* *ra'is* preach on Friday after the *ʿaṣr* on the minbar. His sermon was accompanied by the skilled recitation of the *ḥurra* who sat on chairs; they were over twenty in number (Ibn Djabair, p. 219-222). In the same way, the calls of the mu'adhdhins to prayer to the Friday *ḥuḥ* were delivered to a musical accompaniment (see below, II. 4). The unofficial sermons, which moreover were not delivered in mosques alone, were usually delivered by a special class, the *ḥuḥ* (plur. of *ḥuḥ*) (on these cf. Goldziher, *Mus. Stud.*, ii. 161 sq.; Mez, *Die Renaissance der Islām*, p. 314 sq.; and the article *ḥuḥ*). The *ḥuḥ*, who delivered edifying addresses and told popular stories, were early admitted to the mosques.

Tamim al-Dārī is said to have been the first of these; in Medina in the caliphate of 'Umar before the latter's decease, he used to deliver his orations at the Friday *ṣalāt* and under 'Umar he was allowed to talk twice a week in the mosque; in the reign of 'Alī and of Mu'āwīya the *ḥuḥ* were employed to curse the other side (Makrizi, iv. 16 sq.). In the Mosque of 'Amr in Cairo by the year 38 or 39, a *ḥuḥ* was appointed, named Sulaim b. 'Itr al-Tuḥḥīl, who was also *ḥuḥ* (*ibid.*, iv. 17 wrongly: Sulaimān; Kindt, *Governors and Judges*, ed. Guest, p. 303 sq.). There are other occurrences of the combination of the two offices (Ibn Ḥudjara [d. 83], Kindt, p. 317; Khair b. Nu'aim in the year 120, *ibid.*, p. 348; cf. *Ḥuḥ al-Muḥaddara*, i. 131, Djabair, according to Thawba b. Nūm, *Ḥuḥ*, i. 130 infra; Ibrahim b. Ishāq al-Kānī [d. 204], Kindt, p. 427; see also Makrizi, iv. 18) which shows that the office of *ḥuḥ* was quite an official one. There is also evidence of the employment of *ḥuḥ* in the mosque of the 'Irāk in the 'Abbāsid period (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, iv. 268; v. 446). The *ḥuḥ* read from the Qur'an standing and then delivered an explanatory and edifying discourse, the object of which was to instil the fear of God into the people (Makrizi, iv. 18). Under the Fātimids also, *ḥuḥ* were appointed to the mosques; for example, in 403 the imām undertook the office in the Mosque of 'Amr (Makrizi, iv. 18 infra) and the rulers had also a *ḥuḥ* in the palace. The *ḥuḥ* were called *ḥuḥ al-karāḥi*, because they delivered their discourses on the *ḥurra* (al-Makki, *Kut al-Kulūb*, i. 152; Ibn al-Hādīdī, *Madkhal*, i. 159; cf. Makrizi, iv. 121). Their discourse was called *dhikr* or *waḥ* or *manḥaḥ*, whence the *ḥuḥ* was also called *mu-dhakkir* (B.G.A., iii. 205) or *manḥaḥ*. Specimens of their discourses are given by Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī (*al-Iḥḍ al-farid*, Cairo 1321, i. p. 294 sq.). It was not only the appointed officials who delivered such discourses in the mosque. Ascetics made

public appearances in various mosques and collected interested hearers around them (cf. e.g. Makrizi, iv. 135). In the Djamī al-Karāfa, a whole society, the Banī Djabhart, delivered wa's discourses on a kura for three months on end; their servant collected money in a begging-bowl during the discourse and the shāikh distributed some of it among the poor (*ibid.*, iv. 121).

The *ḥaṣaṣ* was completely taken over by popular Sūfism and later writers would hardly reckon, as al-Makrizi does, the "story-tellers" among the *mutakallimūn* (*Kut al-Filāḥ*, i. 152). The whole system degenerated to trickery and charlatanism of all kinds, as may be seen in the Maḥṣan literature (cf. thereon Vākūt, *Udabī*, vi. 167 sq. and see also Mez and Goldziher, *op. cit.*). Al-Makrizi therefore distinguishes between *al-ḥaṣaṣ al-khāṣṣa*, the regular and seemingly edifying discourse in the mosque, and *al-ḥaṣaṣ al-ʿamma*, which consisted in the people gathering round all kinds of speakers, which is *makrūh* (Makrizi, iv. 17). Others also have recorded their objections to the *ḥaṣaṣ*. Ibn al-Hādīdj utters a warning against them and wants to forbid their activities in the mosque completely, because they deliver "weak" narratives (*Mudḥḥal*, i. 158 sq.; ii. 13 sq., 50). He says Ibn 'Umar, Mālik and Abū Dawūd rejected them and 'Alī ejected them from the maṣḥab of Baṣra. It is of little significance that al-Mu'taḍid in 284 forbade them to sit in the mosques and forbade people to gather round them, for he issued a similar interdiction against the *ḥaṣaṣ* and the reasons were evidently political (Tabari, iii. 2165); it was for political reasons also, but with a very different motive, that 'Aḍud al-Dawla forbade their appearing publicly in Baghdad shortly before 400, because they increased the tension between Sunnis and Shī'is (Mez, *op. cit.*, p. 319). As late as 580 the *ḥaṣaṣ* still flourished in the mosques of Baghdad, as is evident from the *Nikla* of Ibn Djabair (p. 219 sq., 224), and in the ninth century there was in the Azhar mosque a *maḥallat al-ḥaṣaṣ* as well as a *ḥaṣaṣ al-dhikr* (Makrizi, iv. 54).

When Ibn al-Hādīdj denounces speaking aloud in the mosque, it is in the interest of the pious visitors who are engaged in religious works and meditation. *ʿIṭikāf* [q. v.], retirement to a mosque for a period, was adopted into Islam from the older religions.

The word *ʿakf* means in the Qur'an the ceremonial worship of the object of the cult (Sūra vii. 134; xi. 93, 97; xli. 53; xvi. 71; cf. *Hāshimiyāt*, ed. Horowitz, p. 86, 13) and also the ritual stay in the sanctuary, which was done for example in the Meccan temple (Sūra ii. 119; xli. 25). In this connection it is laid down in the Qur'an that in the month of Ramaḍān believers must not touch their wives "while ye pass the time in the mosques" (*ʿakifūn fi l-masājid*, Sūra ii. 183), an expression which shows, firstly that there were already a number of mosques in the lifetime of the Prophet and secondly that these had already to some extent taken over the character of the temple. The connection with the early period is evident from a ḥadīth, according to which the Prophet decides that 'Umar must carry out a vow of *ʿiṭikāf* for one night in the *Maṣḥab al-Haram* made in the Djabiliya (Bukhārī, *ʿIṭikāf*, bāb 5, 15 sq.; *Faṣṣ al-Khums*, bāb 19; *Maḥṣan*, bāb 54; *Alimūn wa l-Nuḥūr*, bāb 29). It is completely in keeping with this that the Prophet,

according to the ḥadīth, used to spend ten days of the month of Ramaḍān in *ʿiṭikāf* in the mosque of Medina (Bukhārī, *ʿIṭikāf*, bāb 1; *Faṣṣ al-Khums*, bāb 3), and in the year in which he died as many as twenty days (*ibid.*, *ʿIṭikāf*, bāb 17). During this period the mosque was full of booths of palm branches and leaves in which the *ʿakifūn* lived (*ibid.*, bāb 13; cf. 6, 7). The Prophet only went to his house for some very special reason (*ibid.*, bāb 3). This custom was associated with the asceticism of the monks. The faithful were vexed, when on one occasion he received Saṭiya in his booth and chatted for an hour with her (Bukhārī, *Faṣṣ al-Khums*, bāb 4; *ʿIṭikāf*, bāb 8, 11, 12). According to another tradition, his *ʿiṭikāf* was broken on another occasion by his wives putting up their tents beside him and he postponed his *ʿiṭikāf* till Shawwāl (Bukhārī, *ʿIṭikāf*, bāb 6, 7, 14, 18). According to Zaid b. 'Alī, the *ʿiṭikāf* can only be observed in a chief mosque (*ʿIṭikāf*) (*Corpus juris di Zaid b. 'Alī*, No. 447). During the early period, it was one of the initiatory rites for new converts. In the year 14, 'Umar ordered the retreat (*al-ḥiṣm*) in the mosques during the month of Ramaḍān for the people of Medina and the provinces (Tabari, i. 2377). The custom persisted and has always been an important one among ascetics. "The man who retires for a time to the mosque devotes himself in turn to ṣalāt, recitation of the Qur'an, meditation, *dhikr* etc." says Ibn al-Hādīdj (*Mudḥḥal*, ii. 50). There were pious people, who spent their whole time in a mosque (*akāmū fihī*; Makrizi, iv. 87, 97); of one we were told that he spent his time in the *manūra* of the Mosque of 'Amr (*ʿIṭikāf*, *ibid.*, p. 44). Al-Samhūdī says that during the month of Ramaḍān, he spent day and night in the mosque (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 95). Sa'd al-Dīn (d. 644) spent the month of Ramaḍān in the Mosque of the Umayyads without speaking (Ibn Abī Ṭālib, ii. 192). Nocturnal vigils in the mosque very early became an established practice in Islam. According to ḥadīth, the Prophet frequently held nocturnal ṣalāts in the mosque with the believers (Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, bāb 29) and by his orders 'Abd Allāh b. Unais al-Anṣārī came from the desert for twenty-three successive nights to pass the night in his mosque in rites of worship (Ibn Kutaiba, *Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 142 sq.). Out of this developed the *ṭahaddūd* [q. v.] ṣalāt, particularly recommended in the law and notably the *ṭarāwīḥ* ṣalāts [q. v.]. In Dīhlī on these occasions women singers actually took part (Ibn Baṭṭa, iii. 155).

During the nights of the month of Ramaḍān there were festivals in the mosques and on other occasions also, such as the New Year, sometimes at the new moon, and in the middle of the month. The mosque on these occasions was illuminated; there was eating and drinking; incense was burned and *dhikr* and *ḥir'a* performed.

The Friday Ṣalāt was particularly solemn in Ramaḍān, and in the Fātimid period, the caliph himself delivered the *khutba* (see Makrizi, ii. 345 sq.; Ibn Taghribirdī, ii/1, ed. Juynboll, p. 482—486 and ii/1, ed. Popper, p. 331—333). The mosques associated with a saint had and still have their special festivals on his *marṭid* [q. v.]; they also are celebrated with *dhikr*, *ḥir'a* etc. (cf. Lane, *Manners and Customs*, ch. xxiv, sqq.). The saint's festivals are usually local and there

are generally differences in the local customs. In the Maghrib for example in certain places the month of Ramiadan is opened with a blast of trumpets from the manabir (*Madkhal*, ii. 69).

The mosque thus on the whole took over the role of the temple. The rulers from 'Umat onwards dedicated gifts to the Ka'ba (*B. G. A.*, v. 20 sq. and *GL*, s.v. *Shamra*), and as in other sanctuaries we find women vowing children to the service of the mosque (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 74; Makrīzī, iv. 20). *Tawāl* was performed, as at the Ka'ba, in mosques with saints' tombs as is still done, e.g. in Hebron; Muḥṣī al-Dīn sees a pre-Islamic custom in this (Sauvage, *Hist. Jérus. et Hébron*, p. 5). Especially important business was done here. In times of trouble the people go to the mosque to pray for help, for example during drought, for which there is a special *ṣalāt* (which however usually takes place on the *muṣallā*), in misfortunes of all kinds (e.g. Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 19—20; Makrīzī, iv. 57); in time of plague and pestilence, processions, weeping and praying with *Kur'ān* uplifted, were held in the mosques or on the *muṣallā*, in which even Jews and Christians sometimes took part (Ibn Taghribirdī, ii/l, ed. Popper, p. 67; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 243 sq.; cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/l. 35, 40; ii/l. 199) or for a period a sacred book like Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* was recited (Quatremère, *op. cit.*, ii/l. 35; al-Djabbārī, *Merveilles Biographiques*, French transl., vi. 13). In the courtyards of the mosques in Jerusalem and Damascus in the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa solemn penance was done on the day of 'Arafa (i. 243 sq.), an ancient custom which had already been introduced into Egypt in the year 27 by 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān (*ḥa'ūd* after the *ʿAqr*; cf. Kindī, *Wuḥūṭ*, p. 50). Certain mosques were visited by barren women (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 133). An oath is particularly binding if it is taken in a mosque (cf. Joh. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, p. 144); this is particularly true of the Ka'ba, where written covenants were also drawn up to make them more binding (*ibid.*, p. 143 sq.; *Chron. Mekka*, i. 160 sq.). It is in keeping with this idea of an oath that Jews who had adopted Islam in Cairo had to take oaths in a synagogue which had become a mosque (Makrīzī, iv. 265). The contract of matrimony (*aqd al-nikāḥ*) also is often concluded in a mosque (Santillana, *II Muḥṭaṣar*, ii. 548; *Madḥḥat*, ii. 72 infra; Sanu'ek Hurgromje, *Mekka*, ii. 163 sq.), and the particular form of divorce which is completed by the *if'ān* [q.v.] takes place in the mosque (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 44; cf. Joh. Pedersen, *Der Eid* etc., p. 114).

It is disputed whether a corpse may be brought into the mosque and the *salat al-ʿajina* performed there. According to one ḥadīth, the bier of Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās was taken into the mosque at the request of the Prophet's widow and the *salat* held there. Many disapproved of this, but 'Alīsha pointed out that the Prophet had done this with the body of Suhail b. Baḥrā' (Muslim, *Ḍiyyāʾ*, tr. 34; cf. also Ibn Sa'd, *l. i. 14 sq.*). The discussion on this point is not unconnected with the discussions regarding the worship of tombs. In theory this is permitted by al-Shāfiʿī, while the others forbid it (see Jaynoll, *Handbook*, p. 170; I. Goldi, *Il Muḥtaṣar*, i. 151). The matter does not seem to be quite clear, for Ḥaṣḥ al-Dīn says that only Abū Ḥanīfa forbids it, but he himself thought that

it might be allowable on the authority of a statement by Abū Yūsuf (*Chron. Mecca*, iii. 208—210). In any case, it was a very general practice to allow it, as Kuṭb al-Dīn also points out. 'Umar conducted the funeral ṣalāt for Abū Bakr in the Mosque of the Prophet and 'Umar's own dead body was brought there; later it became a general custom to perform the ceremony in Medina close to the Prophet's tomb and in Mecca at the door of the Ka'ba; some even made a sevenfold *ṭawāf* with the corpse around the Ka'ba. This was for a time forbidden by Marwān b. 'Abd al-Hakam and later by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (Kuṭb al-Dīn, *loc. cit.*; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 77). The custom was very early introduced into the Mosque of 'Amr (Maqrīṣī, iv. 7, s. 199.). That later scholars often went wrong about the prohibition is not at all remarkable; for it is not at all in keeping with the ever increasing tendency to found mosques at tombs. Even Ibn al-Haṣṣidī, who was anxious to maintain the prohibition, is not quite sure and really only forbids the loud calling of the *ḥurra*, *ḥākira*, *mukabbir* and *muridin* on such occasions (*Masābil*, ii. 50 sq., 64, 81). When a son of Sulṭān al-Mu'ayyad died and was buried in the eastern ḡubba of the Mu'ayyad mosque, the *khaṭib* delivered a *khutba* and conducted the ṣalāt thereafter and the *ḥurra* recited for a week at the grave, while the amirs paid their visits to the grave (Maqrīṣī, iv. 240, s. 299.). In Persia, it was the custom for the family of the deceased to sit in the mosque for three days after the death and receive visits of condolence (*B. G. A.*, iii. 440 *infra*).

4. Mosques as Objects of Pilgrimage.

As soon as the mosque became a regular sanctuary it became the object of pious visits. This holds especially of the memorial mosques associated with the Prophet and other saints. Among them three soon became special objects of pilgrimage. In a *hadith* the Prophet says "One should only mount into the saddle to visit three mosques: al-Masjid al-Haram, the Mosque of the Prophet and al-Masjid al-Aqsa" (Bukhari, *Faḥṣ al-Saḥīḥ fi Masājid Makka wa l-Madīna*, bāb 16; *Dīḥ*, *al-Saḥīḥ*, bāb 26; *Sawm*, bāb 67; Muslim, *Ḥaḍīḥ*, tr. 93; *Chron. Mekka*, i. 303). This *hadith* reflects a practice which only became established at the end of the 'Umayyad period. The pilgrimage to Mecca had been made a duty by the prescription of the *Ḥajj* in the *Kur'ān*. The pilgrimage to Jerusalem was a Christian custom which could very easily be continued, on account of the significance of al-Masjid al-Aqsa in the *Kur'ān*. This custom became particularly important when 'Abd al-Malik made it a substitute for the pilgrimage to Mecca (Ya'qūḥi, ed. Houtama, ii. 311). Although this competition did not last long, the significance of Jerusalem was thereby greatly increased. Pilgrimage to Medina developed out of the increasing veneration for the Prophet. In the year 140 Abū Dī'far Mansūr on his *ḥajj* visited the three sanctuaries (Tabari, iii. 129) and this became a very usual custom. Mecca and Medina however still held the preference. Although those of Mecca and Jerusalem were recognised as the two oldest (the one is said to be 40 years older than the other; Muslim, *Maṣājid*, tr. 1; *Chron. Mekka*, i. 301), the Prophet however is reputed to have said "A saint in this

mosque is more meritorious than 1,000 *ṣalāts* in others, even the *al-Masjid al-Haram* (Bukhārī, *Faḥṣ al-Ṣalāt fī Masajid Makka wa l-Madīna*, bāb 1; Muslim, *Ḥaḍīḍ*, tr. 89; *Chron. Mekka*, i. 303). The ḥadīth is aimed directly against Jerusalem and therefore probably dates from the Omayyad period. According to some, it was pronounced because someone had commended performing the *ṣalāt* in Jerusalem, which the Prophet was against (Muslim, *loc. cit.*; Wāḥidī-Wellhausen, p. 349). The three mosques however retained their pride of place (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḥaddima*, *ṣaḥ* 4, 6; Ibn al-Ḥajjāj, *Madkhal*, ii. 35), and as late as 662 (1264) we find Baibars founding *ḥaḍīḍ* for pilgrims who wished to go on foot to Jerusalem (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i. 1, 248).

Although these three mosques officially hold a special position, others also are highly recommended, e.g. the mosque in Kūfa (see *AL-MALĪNA*). A *ṣalāt* in this mosque is said to be as valuable as an *ʿumra* or two visits to the mosque in Jerusalem (Diyārbakrī, *Khawāṣṣ*, i. 381 *sq.*). Attempts were also made to raise the mosque of Kūfa to the level of the three. 'Alī is said to have told some one who wanted to make a pilgrimage from Kūfa to Jerusalem that he should stick by the mosque of his native town, it was "one of the four mosques" and two *ṣalāts* in it were equal to ten in others (B. G. A., v. 173 *sq.*; Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, iv. 325); in another tradition, *ṣalāts* in the provincial mosques are said to be generally worth as much as the pilgrimage (Maḥṣal, iv. 4), and traditions arose about the special blessings associated at definite times with different holy places of Islām (B. G. A., iii. 183) and especially about their superior merits (B. G. A., v. 174). The Meccan sanctuary, however, always retained first place, which was marked by the Ḥajjāj. It was imitated by al-Mutawakkil in Samarra: he built a Ka'ba as well as a Minā and an 'Arafa there and made his anṣar perform their ḥajjāj there (B. G. A., iii. 122).

D. Equipment of the Mosque.

1. The Development of the Edifice.

Except in the case of Mecca the earliest mosques as described above (B. 1) were at first simply open spaces marked off by a *qulla*. The space was sometimes, as in al-Fustāt, planted with trees and usually covered with pebbles; e.g. in Medina (Muslim, *Ḥaḍīḍ*, tr. 95; Balādhuri, p. 6) and al-Fustāt (Maḥṣal, iv. 8; Ibn Duḥmāk, iv. 62; Ibn Taghribirdī, i. 77) which was later introduced in Bagra and Kūfa the courtyards of which were otherwise dusty (Balādhuri, p. 277, 348). These conditions could only last so long as the Arabs retained their ancient customs as a closed corporation in their simple camps. The utilisation of churches was the first sign of a change and was rapidly followed by a mingling with the rest of the population and the resulting assimilation with older cultures.

'Umar made alterations in the mosques in Medina and in Mecca also. He extended the Mosque of the Prophet by taking in the house of 'Abbas; but like the Prophet, he still built of *lāḥim*, palm-trunks and leaves and extended the booths (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 62; Balādhuri, p. 6). In Mecca also his work was confined to extending the area occupied by the mosque. He bought the surrounding

houses and took them down and then surrounded the area with a wall to the height of a man; the Ka'ba was thus given its *ḥaḍ* like the mosque in Medina (Balādhuri, p. 46; *Chron. Mekka*, i. 306 *sq.*; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 68 *sq.*). 'Othmān also extended these two mosques but introduced an important innovation in using hewn stone and plaster (*ḡaff*) for the walls and pillars. For the roof he used teak (*sāff*). The booths, which had been extended by 'Umar, were replaced by him by pillared halls (*arwiḥa*, sing. *riwāḥ*) and the walls were covered with plaster (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 62; Balādhuri, p. 46; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 70 *sq.*). Sa'd b. Abi Waḥḥas is said to have already taken similar steps to relieve the old simplicity of the barely equipped mosque in Kūfa. The *qulla* consisted of pillars of marble adorned in the style of Byzantine churches (Tabarī, i. 2489; Yāqūt, iv. 324).

This was little in keeping with the simple architecture of the original town, for Bagra and Kūfa had originally been built of reeds and only after several great fires were they built of *lāḥim* (see above bāb 1; cf. Ibn Kutaiba, *Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 279). As to Kūfa, Sa'd b. 'Umar's orders extended the mosque so that it became joined up with the *Dār al-Imāra*. A Persian named Rurbeh b. Buzurdmīhr was the architect for this. He used bricks (*ḡijurr*) for the building, which he brought from Persian buildings and in the mosque he used pillars which had been taken from churches in the region of Hira belonging to the Persian kings; these columns were not erected at the sides but only against the Kibla wall. The original plan of the mosque was therefore still retained although the pillared hall, which is identical with the *qulla* already mentioned (200 *ḡhirā'* broad), replaced the simple booth and the materials were better in every way (Tabarī, i. 2491 *sq.*, 2494). Already under the early Caliphs we can therefore note the beginnings of the adoption of a more advanced architecture.

These tendencies were very much developed under the Omayyads. Even as early as the reign of Mu'awiya, the mosque of Kūfa was rebuilt by his governor Ziyād. He commissioned a pagan architect, who had worked for Kīrā, to do the work. The latter had pillars brought from al-Ahwāz, bound them together with lead and iron clamps to a height of 30 *ḡhirā'* and put a roof on them. Similar halls, built of columns (here like the old booth in Medina called *ḡuffa*: Tabarī, i. 2492, 24; but also *qulla*, plur. *qullāt*: Tabarī, ii. 259 *sq.*) were added by him on the north, east and western wall. Each pillar cost him 18,000 dirhams. The mosque could now hold 60,000 instead of 40,000 (Tabarī, i. 2492, 6 *sq.*, cf. 2494, 2; Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, iv. 324, 1 *sq.*; Balādhuri, p. 276). Al-Ḥajjāj also added to the mosque (Yāqūt, iv. 325 *sq.*). Ziyād did similar work in Bagra. Here also he extended the mosque and built it of stone (or brick) and plaster and with pillars from al-Ahwāz, which were roofed with teak. We are told that he made *al-quffa al-muḥaddima*, i. e. the *qibla* hall, with 5 columns. This seems to show that the other sides also — as in Kūfa — had pillared halls. He erected the *Dār al-Imāra* close to the kībla side. This was taken down by al-Ḥajjāj, rebuilt by others, and finally taken into the mosque by Hārūn al-Rashīd (Balādhuri, p. 347, 348 *supra*, 349; Yāqūt, i. 642, 643). In Mecca also in the same period

similar buildings were erected. Ibn al-Zuhair and al-Ḥadīdī both extended the mosque, and Ibn al-Zuhair was the first to put a roof on the walls; the columns were gilt by 'Abd al-Malik and he made a roof of teak (*Chron. Mekka*, i. 307, 309). The Mosque of 'Amr was extended in 53 with Mu'awiya's permission by his governor Maslama b. Mukhallad to the east and north; the walls were covered with plaster (*mīra*) and the roofs decorated; it is evident from this that here also the original booth of the south side was altered to a covered hall during the early Omayyad period. A further extension was made in 79 in the reign of 'Abd al-Malik (Makrizi, iv. 7, 8; Ibn Dūmāy, iv. 62). Thus we find that during the early Omayyad period and in part even earlier the original simple and primitive mosques were some extended, some altered. The alteration consisted in the old simple booth of the Mosque of the Prophet being gradually enlarged and transformed into a pillared hall with the assistance of the arts of countries possessing a higher degree of civilisation. In this way what had originally been an open place of assembly developed imperceptibly into a court, surrounded by pillared halls. Very soon a fountain was put in the centre of the court and we now have the usual type of mosque. The same plan is found in the peristyle of the houses and in the interior of a basilica like that of Tyre (Herzog-Hauch, *Realencyclopädie*, x. 780).

The great builders of the Omayyads, 'Abd al-Malik and his son al-Walid I, made even more radical progress. The former entirely removed the original mosque in Jerusalem and his Byzantine architects erected the Dome of the Rock as a Byzantine building (cf. Sauvage, *Jérusalem et Hébron*, p. 48 sqq.). Al-Walid likewise paid equally little attention to the oldest form of mosque, when, in Damascus, he had the church of St. John transformed by Byzantine architects into the Mosque of the Omayyads. As al-Makdīst distinctly states, they wanted to rival the splendours of the Christian churches (*B. G. A.*, iii. 159). The new mosques, which were founded in this period, were therefore not only no longer simple, but they were built with the help of Christians and other trained craftsmen with the use of material already existing in older buildings. Al-Ḥadīdī, for example, used materials from the surrounding towns when building his foundation of Wasit (Tabari, iii. 321; Balādhuri, p. 290). Columns from churches were now used quite regularly (e.g. in Damascus: Mas'ūdi, *Murūf*, iii. 408; Ramla: *B. G. A.*, iii. 165; cf. Balādhuri, p. 143 sqq.; for Egypt see Makrizi, iv. 36, 124 sq.). Sometimes remains of the older style remained alongside of the new. In Irānshāh, al-Makdīst found in the chief mosque wooden columns of the time of Abū Muslim along with round columns of brick of the time of 'Amr b. al-Laith (*B. G. A.*, iii. 316). The building activities of al-Walid extended to al-Fustāt, Mecca and Medina (cf. *B. G. A.*, v. 106 sq.) where no fundamental alterations were made, but complete renovations were carried out. With these rulers, the building of mosques reaches the level of the older architecture and gains a place in the history of art. There is also literary evidence for the transfer of a style from one region to another. In Isfahān, for example, there was a *djāmi'* in the style of the Syrian mosques with round columns, on which was a *kāḡura* (*B. G. A.*, iii. 436 sq.; cf. for Shirāz,

p. 430). Al-Walid also rebuilt the Mosque of the Prophet, in part in the Damascus style (*B. G. A.*, iii. 80; Kazwini, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 71).

This revolution naturally did not take place without opposition any more than the other innovations, which Islam adopted in the countries with a higher culture which it conquered. After the Mosque of the Prophet had been beautified by Christian architects with marble, mosaics, shells, gold etc. and al-Walid in 93 was inspecting the work, an old man said: "We used to build in the style of Mosques; you build in the style of Churches" (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 74). The discussions on this point are reflected in ḥadīths. When 'Umar enlarged the Mosque of the Prophet, he is reported to have said: "Give the people shelter from the rain, but take care to make them red or yellow lest you lead the people astray", while Ibn 'Abbās said: "You shall adorn them with gold as the Jews and Christians do" (Bukhārī, *Saḥīḥ*, bāb 62). Ibn 'Abbās here takes up the Omayyad attitude and 'Umar that of old-fashioned people, according to whom any extension or improvement of the *qulla* was only permissible for strictly practical reasons. The conservative point of view is predominant in Ḥadīth. It is said that extravagant adornment of the mosques is a sign of the end of the world; the works of al-Walid were only tolerated from fear of the *fitna* (Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, iii. 134, 145, 152, 230, 283; al-Nasā'ī, *Masāḥid*, bāb 2; Ibn Mājā, *Masāḥid*, bāb 2). The lack of confidence of pious conservatives in the great mosques finds expression in a ḥadīth, according to which the Prophet (according to Anas) said: "A time will come over my *umma* when they will vie with one another in the beauty of their mosques; then they will visit them but little" (al-Aḥkāmī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, i. 362). In the Fiqh, we even find divergence from the oldest quadrangular form of the mosque condemned (Gulī, *Il Muḥṭaṭar*, i. 71). Among the types which arose later was the "suspended" (*mu'allaf*) i.e. a mosque situated in an upper storey (e.g. in Damascus, *J. A.*, ser. ix., vol. v. 409, 415, 422, 424, 427, 430).

2. Details of the Equipment of the Mosque.

a. The Minaret (see also MANĀRA).

The earliest primitive mosques had no minaret. When the *aghān* call was introduced, Bilāl is said to have summoned the faithful in Medina to the early *ṣalat* from the roof of the highest house in the vicinity of the mosque (Ibn Hishām, p. 348; Wüstenfeld, p. 75); on the day of the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet instructed Bilāl to utter the call to prayer from the Ka'ba, according to al-Azraqī, from the roof (*Chron. Mekka*, i. 192; cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 822). During the early days of Islam, the *mu'adhdhin* did not however utter his summons from an elevated position (cf. below G 2 d). It is doubtful in the first place when the minaret was introduced, and in the second whether it was adopted into Islam, expressly for the call to prayer.

The Omayyad caliph al-Walid (86-96) undoubtedly had considerable importance for the history of the minaret, although even earlier in 84 (703) Sūfī 'Ukba in Kairawān had been built by Ḥassan b. Nu'mān with a minaret (so according to Bakrī: H. Salādin, *La Mosquée de Sūfī Okba*, 1899, p. 7, 19). There was also a minaret in the

Omayyad mosque in Damascus. At the present day, the mosque has 3 minarets as was the case in the time of Ibn Djbair, who mentions two on the west and one in the north (*Rihla*, p. 266), while Ibn Battūta also says there were three and adds that one was in the west, another in the east and another in the north (i. 203), which agrees with present day conditions. One of the earliest authorities, Ibn al-Fakih (d. 289 = 902), however mentions only one minaret (*mi'dhāna*) and says that in the days of the Greeks it had been a watch-tower (*nāḥiya*), which belonged to the church of St. John and was left standing by al-Walid (B. G. A., v. 108, 3). Al-Maḥdī (d. 375 = 985) mentions only one minaret, which was above the Bāb al-Farāḥ; when he calls it a *manāra muḥditha* (B. G. A., iii. 159) he may perhaps mean a renovated minaret (cf. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 229) and besides, his description does not exclude the existence of other minarets. The tradition that the minaret of the Omayyad mosque was taken over from the predecessors of the Moslems long survived; for Yāqūt, who mentions the east and west minarets, says that the western belonged to a fire-temple and a flame used to be visible on it (*Mu'djam*, ii. 596) and according to Ibn Battūta, the east and west minarets had been built by the Byzantines while only the north one was built by the Moslems (i. 203 sq.; a story also given by al-Bograwī [d. 1003 = 1594] quoting Ibn 'Asākir [d. 571 = 1176], see J. A., ser. 9, vii. 423; Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Mam.*, ii. 273). In Mecca also, al-Walid built towers (*ghurūfat*; *Chron. Mekka*, i. 310), sometimes minarets (as is evident from *ibid.*, p. 310, 311). They were later increased so that Kūṭb al-Dīn mentions 7 minarets (*ibid.*, iii. 424 = 426). According to al-Samhūdī, he also built in Medina 4 towers but Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik, in the year 97 had the southwestern tower taken down, because the shadow of the *mu'adhdhin* from it fell upon him, when he was in the house of Marwān b. al-Hakam. While al-Samhūdī says that there were no minarets in Medina before al-Walid, he asserts on the other hand that 'Omar had already built towers in the four corners of the mosque (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 75; cf. Ibn Battūta, i. 472). In the time of Ibn Djbair (in 580) there were still only 3 minarets there (*Rihla*, p. 195). It was not until 706 that Muḥammad b. Kaṣīn rebuilt the fourth minaret (Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 76). After the time of al-Walid, minarets became more and more numerous. In Ramla his brother Hishām built a beautiful minaret (B. G. A., iii. 165, 4). For the mosque in Jerusalem Ibn 'Abd Rabbihū about 400 mentions 4 minarets (*Ibid.*, Cairo 1331, iv. 274 sq.) which Maḥdī al-Dīn claims to go back to the time of al-Malik (Saavairo, *Hist. Jerus. et Hiberon*, p. 125). Ibn Hawkal (367 = 977) expressly notes of the Dīmi' in Fārayab in Khurāsān that it did not have a minaret (B. G. A., ii. 321) and he seems to consider it *bid'a* to build two minarets (*ibid.*, p. 13 sqq.). Apart from the isolated reference by al-Samhūdī to 'Omar's building activities, to which very little importance can be attached, it is probable from this evidence that al-Walid was the first to introduce the minaret into Islām itself, is however not certain. According to Balādhuri (d. 279 = 892), Ziyād in Basra, where he was governor in 45, built the minaret of stone, when he built the mosque of brick (p. 348). This

seems to suggest that there was already a minaret there. According to the Egyptian historians, Maslama b. Mukhallad in al-Fustāt by Mu'āwīya's orders in 33 built a tower at each corner of the mosque of 'Amr (*ḥammā'a*), which had not been done before (Makrīzī, iv. 7 sq., 44; Ibn Taghribirdī, i. 77). The staircase leading up to the minaret was originally outside the mosque, but was later put inside it. Maslama is said to have introduced the minaret into other mosques in al-Fustāt (i.e. in all except those of Tudjib and Khawlan; cf. Makrīzī, iv. 44; Ibn Taghribirdī, *loc. cit.*). How old this story is, cannot be ascertained, but the view often put forward that al-Walid was the first to introduce the minaret (cf. Schwally, in Z. D. M. G., liii. 1898, p. 143—146), is in any case not certain.

There are three names in common use for the minaret. *Mi'dhāna* or *mi'dhāna*, "place of the *adḥān* call", which is in general use in Egypt and Syria at the present day, is frequently found in literature and inscriptions (B. G. A., iii. 225, 23; v. 108, 3; Makrīzī, iv. 13, 10; 20, 4, 8, and pass.; Ibn A. Usalbi'a, ii. 204, 2 from below; v. Berchem, *Corpus*, i. No. 25, 63, 88, 89, 90 and others from the viii century onwards). *Ḥammā'a*, especially used in North Africa (Marçais, *Les Monuments arabes de Tlemcen*, 1903, p. 45), is frequently found (Ibn Djbair, *Rihla*, p. 91, 100, 145, 195, 266; Ibn Battūta, i. 203, 272; ii. 2, 12, 13; Makrīzī, iv. 7 sq.; Ibn Taghribirdī, i. 77). This word means also cloister or cell and in the older literature is used as the equivalent of *dar* (Sūra xxii. 41; Ibn Hishām, p. 115; Bakhārī, *al-Annal fī 'l-Salāt*, bāb 7; *Maḥallim*, bāb 35; *Amlyās*, bāb 48; B. G. A., ii. 154; Makrīzī, iv. 389; Ibn al-Farid, *Ta'liya* v. 561). *Manāra* is the most usual word in literature (Makrīzī, iv. 7; *manār*; cf. v. Berchem, *Corpus*, i. No. 63; K. *al-Mudhal*, ii. 63, 67). This word has the same meaning as Syr. *manāria* but is probably an analogous, independent formation. The word means light, position in which a light is put (*Imru'ulqais*, *Diwān*, 148, 37; *Abū Dhā'ib*, *Diwān*, ed. Bell, i. 60; B. G. A., vii. 132); also lighthouse (B. G. A., iii. 177; Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 64; Ibn Djbair, *Rihla*, p. 41). *Manār(a)* also means a boundary stone or a signpost (*alam*; *Liṣān*, vii. 99, 1 from below; Kaṣīn al-Rukayyāt, p. 37, 70, 2; Ibn Sa'd, ii/1, 135; *Frugm. Hist. Arab.*, ii. 12 and 62) or a watch tower (Tabari, i. 864, 878); the boundary stones of the *ḥaram* area, for example, are called *Manār al-Ḥaram* (B. G. A., ii. 25) and Abrahā was called *Ḍhu 'l-Manār*, because he put up signposts (*Liṣān*, vii. 105, 2; *Djāwharī*, *Ṣaḥāḥ*, i. 410); obelisks are also called *manāra* (B. G. A., vii. 117, 118, 2). The derivation of the last named *manār* from *miliari* (Fraenkel, *Fremdwörter*, p. 283) is little likely and still less probable is a derivation from a Persian building for fire-worship (v. Berchem in E. Dietz, *Chiratsenische Baudenkmäler*, i. (1908), 113 sq. who distinguishes rather ingeniously between *manāra* "light" from *nār* and *manār* "fire-tower" from *nār*). Probably there is only a single word in question and the signposts received their name from the watch-tower (note that *alam* also is used of the minaret: Ibn 'Arabshāh, *Vita Timurī*, ed. Manger, 1767, iii. 704). There are a number of references to the existence on the coasts of a series of *manā'ir* and each *manāra* gave warning by light-signals of the movements of the enemy (B. G. A., iii. 177). According to al-Balādhuri

(*Chron. Mekka*, i. 307; Ibn Hisham, p. 822; cf. *Finā' Zamam*: Yāknū, *Ubadī* vi. 376). *Finā'* is also the name given to the open space around the mosque (Makrizi, iv. 6). Trees were often planted in the courtyard, e.g. in the mosque of 'Amr (see B 1; when we read in Makrizi, iv. 6 that it had no *ṣaḥa*, this probably means that this space, planted with trees, between the covered halls was very narrow). In Medina, at the present day, there are still trees in the *Ramḍa* (Batanūnī, *Riḥla*, p. 240); in Ibn Djbair's time there were 15 palms there (*Riḥla*, p. 194). Other mosques in Cairo had trees growing in them (Makrizi, iv. 54, 64, 65, 120; in al-Masūdī al-Kāfirī, there were as many as 516 trees: *ibid.*, p. 266) as is still the case to-day. In other cases the court was covered with pebbles (see above D 1); but this was altered with a more refined style of architecture. Al-Maḥdī mentions that this was only found in Thierias, out of all the mosques in Palestine (*B. G. A.*, iii. 182). Frequently, as in Ramla, the halls were covered with marble and the courtyard with flat stone (*ibid.*, p. 165). In the halls also the ground was originally bare or covered with little stones; for example in the mosques of 'Amr until Maslama b. Mukhallad covered it with mats (see below). The floor of the Mosque of 'Amr was entirely covered with marble in the Mamlūk period (Makrizi, iv. 13 sq.; cf. in Shu'ar: Ibn Battūṭa, ii. 53). But in the mosque of Mecca, the *ṣaḥa* is still covered with little stones (Batanūnī, *Riḥla*, p. 99 below); 400 dinārs used to be spent annually on this (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 10 sq.). In Medina also little pebbles were used (Ibn Djbair, *Riḥla*, p. 190; Ibn Battūṭa, i. 263).

There were not at first enclosed chambers in the halls. A change in this respect came with the introduction of the *maḥṣūra* [q.v.] (on this word cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/i, p. 164, note 46). This was a box or compartment for the ruler built near the mihrāb. Al-Samhūdī gives the history of the *maḥṣūra* in Medina (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 71 sq., 89 sq.). The traditions all agree that the *maḥṣūra* was introduced to protect the ruler from hostile attacks. According to some men, 'Othmān built a *maḥṣūra* of *lāḥin* with windows, so that the people could see the imām of the community (*ibid.* and Makrizi, iv. 7). According to another tradition, Marwān b. 'Abd al-Hakam, governor of Medina, after an attempt had been made on him by a Yamani in the year 44, was the first to build a *maḥṣūra* of dressed stone with a window (Balādhuri, p. 6 below; Tabari, ii. 70). Mu'āwiya is then said to have followed his example. Others again say that Mu'āwiya was the first to introduce this innovation. He is said to have introduced the *maḥṣūra* with the accompanying guard as early as the year 40 or not till 44 after the Khirīdī attempt (Tabari, i. 3463, 5; *B. G. A.*, v. 109, 3; Makrizi, iv. 12, 11 sq.); according to one story because he had seen a dog on the mihrab (Balhāḳī, ed. Schwally, p. 393 below; cf. on the whole question: H. Lammens, *Mu'āwiya*, p. 202 sq.). This much seems to be certain, that the *maḥṣūra* was at any rate introduced at the beginning of the Umayyad period and it was an arrangement so much in keeping with the increasing dignity of the ruler that, as Ibn Khaldūn says, it spread throughout all the lands of Islām (*Muḥadditha*, Cairo 1322, p. 212 sq., *faḥl* 37). The governors built themselves compartments in the principal mosques

of the provinces, e.g. Ziyād in Kūfa and Bagra (Balādhuri, p. 277, 348) and probably Kurra b. Sharik in al-Fustāṭ (Makrizi, iv. 12). In Medina, we are told that 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz as governor (86—93) raised the *maḥṣūra* and built it of teak, but al-Mahdī had it taken down in 160 and a new one built on the level of the ground (*ibid.*, p. 7; Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*: Balādhuri, p. 7 centre). We are further told that in 161, al-Mahdī prohibited the *maḥṣūra* of the provinces and al-Ma'mūn even wanted to clear all the boxes out of the *masājid al-jāmi'a*, because their use was a *sunna* introduced by Mu'āwiya (Makrizi, iv. 12; Yā'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 571). But this attempt did not succeed. On the contrary, their numbers rapidly increased. In Cairo, for example, the *Djāmi'* al-'Askar built in 169 had a *maḥṣūra* (Makrizi, iv. 33 sq.) and the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn had a *maḥṣūra* beside the mihrab which was accessible from the Dār al-Imāra (*ibid.*, p. 36, 37, 42; Ibn Taghribirdī, ii. 8, 14). The *maḥṣūra* was found in the larger mosques. In the *Djāmi'* al-Kalā, Muḥammad b. Kalān in 718 built a *maḥṣūra* of iron for the Sultān's *ṣalāt* (Makrizi, iv. 132). According to Ibn Khaldūn, the *maḥṣūra* was an innovation of Islām's own. The question must however be left open, whether in its introduction and development there may not be some connection with the boxes of the Byzantine court, at least, for example, when the Turks in the *Yeshil Djāmi'* in Brussa put the Sultān's box over the door (R. Hartmann, *Im neuen Anatolien*, p. 27).

Although the *maḥṣūra* was introduced with the object of segregating the ruler and was therefore condemned by the strict as contrary to the spirit of Islām (e.g. *Muḥadditha*, ii. 43 sq.), *maḥṣūra* were probably introduced for other purposes. Ibn Djbair mentions three in the Mosque of the Omayyads: the old one built by Mu'āwiya in the eastern part of the mosque, one in the centre, which contained the minbar, and one in the west where the Hanafis taught and performed the *ṣalāt*. There were also other small rooms shut off by wooden lattices, which could be sometimes called *maḥṣūra* and sometimes *ṣawāya*. As a rule, there were quite a number of *ṣawāya* connected with the mosque which were used by students (*Riḥla*, p. 265 sq.). We find the same state of affairs in other mosques.

While the groups of the *ḥurra*, the students, the lawyers etc. had originally to sit together in a common room, gradually the attempt was made to introduce separate rooms for some of them. Small compartments were either cut off in the main chamber or new rooms were built in subsidiary buildings. In the former case we get the already mentioned *maḥṣūra* or *ṣawāya*. Ibn al-Hādīd says that a madrasa was often made by the simple process of cutting off a part of a mosque by a balustrade (*darbata*) (*Muḥadditha*, ii. 44). Thus in the halls of the Mosque of 'Amr there were several compartments for teaching, which are called *maḥṣūra* and *ṣawāya*, in which studies were prosecuted (Makrizi, iv. 20, 16, 15). In the Aḥzar Mosque a *Maḥṣūra Fāḥima* was made in the time of the Fāṭimids, where she had appeared, and the emirs in the following period made a large number of such *maḥṣūra* (*ibid.*, p. 52, 53). In the Aḥza Mosque about 300 A.H., there were three *maḥṣūra*s for women (*B. G. A.*, v. 100). These divisions might be a nuisance at the great Friday assemblies and this is why al-Mahdī wanted to remove them in 161 from the *masājid al-jāmi'a* (Tabari, iii. 486),

and Ibn al-Hādīd condemned them as works of the *malik* and numbered them like other embellishments with the *asḥraf al-ʿaṣā* (*Madhāḥ*, ii. 43 sq.).

The muʾadhdhins not only lived in the minarets, where, at any rate in the Tūlūnid period, they held vigils (*Maḳṣīd*, iv. 48). They had rooms (*ḡuraf*, sg. *ḡurf*) on the roof and these rooms in time came to be numerous (*ibid.*, p. 13, 14). All kinds of rooms were put in subsidiary buildings, for the *khatib* (*ibid.*, p. 13), for judges, for studies, etc. In addition there were dwelling-houses, not only for the staff but also for others. As already mentioned, devout men used to take up their residence in the mosque for a considerable period for *ʿitikāf* and any one at any time could take up his quarters in the mosque; he could sleep there and make himself at home. It therefore came quite natural to the devout to reside permanently in the mosque. Ascetics often lived in the minaret (see above), a *ṣāhid* lived on the roof of the Azhar mosque, others made themselves cells in the mosque, as a *ṣāḥib* in Nāṣib did (Ibn Djabair, *Riḥla*, p. 240; cf. in Harrān, p. 245) and as happened in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's time in the mosque of the Omayyads (Ibn Abi ʿUsāibā, ii. 182). It was however very usual for people to live in the side rooms of the mosque, as was the case for example, in the Mosque of the Omayyads (Ibn Djabair, p. 269; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 206). In particularly holy mosques like that in Hebron, houses for *al-muʾtaḥḥifūn* were built around the sacred place (Sauvage, *Hist. Jérus. et Hébron*, p. 11 sq.) and also beside the *Maḥḥid Yānis* at the ancient Ninveh (*B. G. A.*, iii. 146). Kitchens were therefore erected with the necessary mills and ovens and cooked food (*ḡuḥḥa*) and 14-15,000 loaves (*ruḡḥif*) were daily distributed to those who stayed there and to visitors (Sauvage, p. 20 sq.; cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/1, 231). Bread was also baked in the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn (Quatremère, *op. cit.*, i/1, 233) and kitchens were often found in the mosques (for al-Azhar, see Djabarti, *Merveilles*, iii. 238 sq.; Salāmān Rasād, *Kanz al-Djāwhar fī Taʾrīḫ al-Azhar*, p. 71 sq., 107 sq.). Those who lived in and beside the mosque were called *muḡḡawirūn* (cf. *B. G. A.*, iii. 146; for Jerusalem, Nāṣir-i Khosraw, p. 82, 91; for Mecca, Ibn Djabair, p. 149; for Medina, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 279, where we learn that they were organised under a *ḥaddim*, like the North Africans under an *amīn* in Damascus; Ibn Djabair, p. 277 sq.). They were pious ascetics, students, and sometimes travellers. The students generally found accommodation in the madāris but large mosques like that of the Omayyads or al-Azhar had always many students who lived in them. The name of the halla *riwāḡ*, plur. *arwāḡ*, was later used for these students' lodgings (cf. v. Berchem, *Corpus*, i. 43, note 1; perhaps Maḳṣīd, iv. 54, 55). Strangers always found accommodation in the mosques (cf. C 1). In smaller towns it was the natural thing for the traveller to spend the night in the mosque and to get food there (Yāḳūt, iii. 385; al-Kifī, *Taʾrīḫ al-Hukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, p. 252). Travellers like Nāṣir-i Khosraw, Ibn Djabair, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, al-ʿAbdārī (*J. A.*, ser. 5, iv. 1854, p. 174) were able to travel throughout the whole Muslim world from one mosque to the other (or *madras* or *ribāḡ*). The traveller could even leave his money for safe keeping in a mosque (*Safar-nāma*, p. 51). Large endowments were bequeathed for those who

lived in the mosque (Ibn Djabair, *op. cit.*; Ibn Taghribirdi, ii/1, 105 sq.).

In later times the rulers often built a lodge or pavilion (*manṣara*) in or near the mosque (Maḳṣīd, ii. 345; iv. 13; cf. on the word: Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/1, 15).

There was often a special room with a clock in the mosques; this also is probably an inheritance from the church, for Ibn Rosta (290 = 903) talks of similar arrangements in Constantinople (*B. G. A.*, vii. 126 supra). Ibn Djabair (p. 270) describes very fully the clock in the Mosque of the Omayyads (cf. *J. A.*, ser. 9, vii. 205 sq.). It was made in the reign of Nūr al-Dīn by Fakhr al-Dīn b. al-Saʿīdī (Ibn Abi ʿUsāibā, ii. 183 sq.; an expert was kept to look after it: *ibid.*, p. 191). There was a clock in the Mustanṣiriya in Baghdad (Sarré and Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*, ii. 170) and the Mosque of ʿAmr also had a *ḡurfat al-sāʿat* (Maḳṣīd, iv. 13, 15). In the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn is still kept a sundial of the year 696 (1296-1297; cf. v. Berchem, *Corpus*, i. N° 514) but the clocks were usually mechanical (see also Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. *minḡḡana* and on the clock generally E. Wiedemann, in *Nova Acta der A. Leop. Carol. Acad.*, vol. C, Halle 1915). In the Maghrib also we find mosque-clocks, e.g. in the Buʿānīya (*J. A.*, ser. 11, xii. 357 sq.).

The very varied uses to which the mosques were put resulted in their becoming storehouses for all sorts of things. In 668, the Mosque of the Omayyads was cleared of all such things; in the courtyard there were for example stores for machines of war and the *ṣāwīya* of Zayn al-ʿAbidin was a regular *khān* (*J. A.*, ser. 9, vol. vii. 225 sq.).

c. Miḥrāb [q.v.].

Whether the Prophet considered it necessary to erect an indicator of the direction of prayer in Medina may be considered doubtful. According to Tradition, when the revelation of the alteration of the *qibla* came to him, he turned round in the middle of the prayer without further investigation (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 41, 62; Tabari, *Taʾrīḫ*, xi. 25 centre; Muslim, *Maṣāḥid*, tr. 2). On the *masalla* however and on journeys he used a spear, which was stuck in the ground right in front of him, but this *ṣawra* [q.v.] was not intended so much to give the direction as to be a substitute for the wall, to mark off the area of the worshipper; it could therefore also be an animal or some living thing (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B. 18, 80, 90-92; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, tr. 46; Zuhārī on *Muwaffāq*, i. 283; Abū Dāwūd, i. 69; Aḥmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, ii. 106). At the present day the miḥrāb is often called *qibla* (and as early as Ibn Taghribirdi, i. 351; Yāḳūt, i. 642).

In al-Fusṭāṭ ʿAmr is said to have ascertained the *qibla* very carefully with the help of many others (Maḳṣīd, iv. 6 supra; *B. G. A.*, viii. 359; Ibn Taghribirdi, i. 75 sq.). But we are not told how it was indicated, probably by a pole or something of the kind. The *qibla* was however too far to the east, so that during the prayer the worshippers turned more to the south. At first they were probably content with the direction, roughly correct, in keeping with a ḥadīth of Abū Huraira, according to which the *qibla* in general lies between east and west (Tirmidhī, *Mawāḥiḥ al-Ṣalāt*, p. 139; Maḳṣīd, iv. 24). The first mosque in Iṣfahān was built where Abū Mūsā had performed the *ṣalāt*, and a brick placed in position

by him was taken as the *qibla* (B. G. A., vii. 200). But later the problem was tackled seriously. Makrizi mentions the different solutions of it in Egypt (iv. 21—33). Al-Azhar had the *qibla* accurate; the *maḥarib al-qubba*, i.e. that of the Mosque of 'Amr and those of the mosques in Djaiza, Bilbis, Alexandria, Kūs and Assuān were too far to the east, that of the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn was found by a committee to be 14 daradī too far west, those of the villages too far west. The direction was ascertained from the stars. Many however followed the *qibla* of Syria. In the transformation of churches into mosques, frequent under al-Ma'mūn, their orientation from east to west was decisive. The door on the east side as a rule was made the *miḥrāb* (Makrizi, iv. 39).

The word *miḥrāb* before and after the beginning of Islām meant in the first place a palace or a part of one (Imrū'nakūs, p. 52, 33; South Ar.; *Mufaḍḍalliyāt*, p. 21, 13; Persian; Buḥturī, *Ḥamānā*, p. 404, 4; Kais al-Ruḡayyāt, p. 2, 49, 8), also women's apartment (Omar b. Rabi'a, p. 136, 9; 247, 2; Makrizi, iv. 378, 24), secondly a niche where a bust stood; e.g. before Islām (Ibn Kutaiba, *Uyūn al-Akhbār*, p. 356) and for the Muslim period (*Ḥudūd al-Ḥudūd*, p. 90, 14; Buḥturī, *Ḥamānā*, p. 692), especially of a niche with an image of a Christian saint (Omar b. Rabi'a, p. 262, 9). Perhaps the part of the palace, called *miḥrāb* in the above examples, is simply a niche with a throne in it (cf. esp. *Mufaḍḍalliyāt*, p. 21, 13). The same use of the word is found in the Qur'an. In Sūra xxxviii. 20, it means the part of the palace where the king is; xxxiv. 12, most probably a place where images are put, and iii. 32 sq.; xix. 12, a temple or rather a cell in a temple where one prays. At a still later date we find expressions like *miḥrāb al-madḥabah*, apparently a name for the apse in the church behind the altar (J. A., ser. 9, vii. 189). *Miḥrāb* has been derived from *ḥarṭa* "spear" and from South Arabic *mikrāb*, Ethiop. *mekrāb* "temple" but the etymology is not certain (see on the whole question: Fraenkel, *Fremdwörter*, p. 274; Rhodokanakis, in *W. Z. K. M.*, xix. 1905, p. 296—298; Pratorius, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxi. 1907, p. 621 sq.; Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge z. sem. Sprachw.*, p. 52, note 2; Lammens, in *J. A.*, ser. xi, vi. 247; Becker, *Islamismus*, i. 492 sq.; J. Horowitz, in *Isl.*, xvi. 1927, p. 260 sq.).

If the word *miḥrāb* means the niche placed in the mosque in the direction of prayer, this connects quite well with the usual usage of the word. All are agreed that the *miḥrāb* did not originally belong to the mosque and that it was taken over from the church finds confirmation in Muslim literature (see Lammens, *Ziād*, p. 33, note 7; 94, note 1) and it is evident that the innovation found its way into the mosque by a purely architectural way. The *miḥrāb* became the place where the imām stood during the *ṣalāt*. It may therefore be assumed that it was one of the principal niches in the church, which was taken over into the mosque; it may have contained the bishop's throne or the image or picture of an important saint.

There is no unanimity as to the date when the *miḥrāb* was introduced into the mosque. Mu'awiya is occasionally mentioned (B. G. A., v. 109, 2) as a rule, however, and probably with greater right, al-Walid. His governor 'Omar b.

'Abd al-'Aziz is said to have introduced it into Medina (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 74; B. G. A., iii. 80, 37; however takes it for granted that 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz only revived it); similarly his governor Kurra b. Sharik (90—96) is recorded to have introduced the prayer niche (*miḥrāb muḥajjawīf*) into Egypt (Makrizi, iv. 6, 14, 9, 9; Ibn Duḳmāq, iv. 62, 12 sq.; Ibn Taghribirdi, i. 76; Suyūṭī, *Ḥamānā-Muḥaddara*, ii. 135 sq.). Only occasionally is Mu'awiya's governor Maslama b. Mukhallad (47—62) or 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Marwān (65—84) mentioned as having introduced this innovation (Makrizi, iv. 6). It therefore seems not to be wrong when one of the *maḥarib* in the Mosque of the Omayyads is described as the oldest in Islām. But it is an anachronism to call it *miḥrāb al-qubba* and attribute it to Mu'awiya (Ibn Djaḥbir, p. 265; Ibn Baṭṭa, i. 203). The *miḥrāb* is however said not yet to have come into general use in the second century (see Lammens, *Ziād*, p. 94, note 1); on the other hand, Tabari presupposes a *miḥrāb* in the Muslim sense as early as David (Tabari, i. 2408, 7, 11; B. G. A., ii. 112, 20 sq.; other prophets also had their *miḥarbs* in Jerusalem, *ibid.*).

In the larger mosques there were usually several *miḥarbs*, used by the different *madḥarib*; in the mosque of 'Amr, for example (according to Ibn Taghribirdi, i. 79), in Hebron (Sauvage, *Hist. Jérus. et Hébron*, p. 17), in the mosque of the Omayyads (J. A., ser. 9, vii. 213 sq.; Ibn Djaḥbir and Ibn Baṭṭa as above). They might be of wood, but as a rule they were built of masonry or put on pillars. They were often highly ornamented. In the *miḥrāb* of al-Walid, a looking-glass that had belonged to 'Alī is said to have been placed (Kazwini, ii. 71). A Fātimid adorned a *miḥrāb* in the mosque of 'Amr and one in the Azhar mosque with a silver girdle which weighed 5,000 dirhams (Makrizi, iv. 52).

The general objections to adorning mosques were also applied to the *miḥrāb*. A ḥadīth is said to have forbidden this as an inheritance from the churches; it is compared with the altars (see Lammens, *Ziād*, p. 33, note 7), but even a puritan like Ibn al-Ḥaḍḍad does not reject the *miḥrāb* in principle; he only condemns its adornment (*Madḥal*, ii. 48). In fact the *miḥrāb* was held in special respect as the most important part of the mosque which found expression in the erection of a *qubba* over it (e.g. Makrizi, iv. 91; cf. v. Berchem, *Corpus*, i. N° 79). The special importance of the *miḥrāb* is shown from the fact that its position was occasionally revealed in dreams, e.g. in Kairawān (Yāqūt, iv. 213) and in the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn; here the Prophet appeared to Ahmad b. Tūlūn and showed him the *miḥrāb* and the spot was surrounded by ants (Makrizi, iv. 39). In the principal mosque of Šan's there was a prophet's tomb under the *miḥrāb* (B. G. A., vii. 110), which recalls Christian altars. As the most sacred part of the mosque, the *miḥrāb* is compared not only with Christian altars, but the word is used of the sacred place of prayer in any sanctuary, e.g. in the pre-Christian temple, which stood on the site of the later mosque of the Omayyads (J. A., ser. 9, vii. 371). In Palestine, in keeping with this idea, very many *miḥarbs* are said to have been the *miḥarbs* of Biblical personalities (see Sauvage, *Hist. Jér. et Hébr.*, p. 42, 76, 96 sq., 102; Le Strange, *Palestine*, Index).

d. Minbar [q.v.].

In contrast to the mihrāb, the *minbar* was introduced in the time of the Prophet himself. The word, often pronounced *mimbar* (cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, I. 161), comes from the root *m-b-r* "high"; it could be derived from the Arabic quite easily with the meaning "elevation, stand", but is more probably a loanword from the Ethiopic (Schwally, *Z.D.M.G.*, III, 1898, p. 146—148; Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge z. sem. Sprachw.*, 1910, p. 49). Its case is therefore somewhat similar to that of *masdīd*. It means "seat, chair" (e.g. *Chron. Mekka*, II, 8; *Aghāni*², Cairo, xiv. 75) and is used, for example, for saddle (Tabari, *Glaz.*) and of a litter (*Aghāni*, xiii. 158; cf. Schwally). It is therefore identical with *maḍfīl* (Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, B. 23), with *suric* (*Kāmil*, p. 20; *Aghāni*, III, 3), *tubāt* or *kurā* (*Uṣd*, I. 214; cf. also Becker, *Kāmil*, p. 8). The use of the word for the pulpit is in keeping with its history.

When the *khutba* [q.v.] spoke among the Arabs, he usually did so standing (cf. *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, ed. Lyall, xci. 23; *Djāhiz*, *Bayān*, Cairo 1332, I. 129; II. 143) frequently beating the ground with bow and lance (*ibid.*, I. 198; *Tabiḍ*, 7, 13, 9, 45); or he sat on his mount as did e.g. Kaṣṣ b. Sa'ida (*Bayān*, I. 25, 31; II. 141). The Prophet did both of these things. In 'Arafa he sat on his camel during his *khutba* and on other occasions, when addressing the community during the early period, even as late as the day of the capture of Mecca, he stood (cf. *Sīra* LXII. 11). The people sat on the ground around him (Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, B. 28; *Idain*, B. 6). In the mosque in Medina he had a particular place, as is mentioned in the stories of the introduction of the minbar. Sometimes, we are told, he stood beside a tree or a palm-tree (Bukhārī, *Manāḥib*, B. 25; ed. Krehl, II. 400); as a rule however, beside a palm-trunk (*Idain*², so Ibn Sa'd, I. 9, 10, 11, 12) and on a few occasions beside one of the pillars (Bukhārī, *Manāḥib*, B. 25; ed. Krehl, II. 401; *Diyaḥakri*, *Ḥamīs*, II. 75). This is undoubtedly the original tradition: the Prophet stood beside one of the palm-tree trunks used as pillars in the mosque. For "beside" (usually *ḥama ilā*; Bukhārī, *Bayān*, B. 32; *Idain*² "up" (*ḥama 'alā*; already in Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, B. 26) is sometimes found later and for the column or trunk, we find a stump on which he sat.

Various passages record how the minbar was introduced, notably the following: Ibn Sa'd, II. 9—13; Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B. 18, 64, 91; *Djum'a*, B. 26; *Bayān*, B. 32; *Hiba*, B. 3; *Manāḥib*, B. 25; Muslim, *Maṣāḥid*, tr. 10; s. also Wensinck, *Handbook*, s. v. *Pulpit*; *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, I. 43 infra, 214; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 62 sq.; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, I. 275 sq.; the whole material is in *Diyaḥakri*, *Ḥamīs*, I. 129; II. 75 sq. and *Ṣirat al-Ḥalabī*, II. 146 sqq. The details are variously given. The minbar, we are told, was built of parā wood or tamarisk from the woods near Medina; the builder was a Byzantine or a Copt and was called Bāḥlīm or Bāḥlū, but the names Ibrāhīm (*Uṣd*, I. 43), Maimūn, Ṣaḥāb, Kulāb, Mīnā [see *ḤAMIS*] are also given. He was a carpenter, but a slave of the wife of one of the Ansār or (Bukhārī, *Hiba*, B. 3) of the Muḥājirīn. Others say he belonged to al-'Abbās. The suggestion is sometimes credited to the Prophet and sometimes to others. The palm-trunk is said to have whined like a camel

or a child when the Prophet mounted his new seat but was calmed by stroking and kind words from the Prophet. Most stories take it for granted that the minbar was primarily intended for the *khutba*; in some it is added that the object was to enable the large assembly to hear him (Ibn Sa'd, I. 10, 11). We are told also that the Prophet performed the *ṣalāt* on it and, during the *suḥr*, he came down from it. He also took care that the people could see his *ṣalāt* and follow him (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B. 18; *Djum'a*, B. 26). This last tradition however presupposes the later custom of standing upon the minbar (note that the same idea of the palm-stump occurs in *Djum'a*, B. 26).

In this connection it is interesting to note a tradition in Ibn al-Athīr, according to which the Companions asked the Prophet to take up a raised position as many *muḥṣid* were coming (*Uṣd al-Ghāba*, I. 43). Another tradition is in keeping with this, according to which the Prophet, when he was visited by a man named Tamīm, stood on a *kurā* and addressed him from it (*ibid.*, p. 214; cf. Lammens, *Moslems*, p. 204, note 5). Here we have a seat of honour on which the ruler sits. This is undoubtedly in keeping with the character of the minbar; while the raised seat was in general use among the northern Semites the Arabs usually sat on the ground, often leaning against a saddle. The raised seat was the special mark of the ruler or, what is the same thing, of the judge. We are told that Rabi'a b. Muḥṣahin was the first to sit on a minbar or *suric* when acting as judge (*Aghāni*, 2nd Cairo ed., III. 3; *Maḥṣīl*, IV. 6 sq.). Al-Ḥadīdī, for example, when he addressed the people (hardly in the mosque) sat on a chair which belonged to him (*kurā labu*; Tabari, II. 959) and when he tried and condemned his enemies, a *suric* was erected for him (*ibid.*, p. 1109); in the same way a *kurā* was placed for Yazīd when he issued his orders for a battle (*ibid.*, p. 1107; see also Becker, *Kāmil*, p. 8).

If tradition usually suggests that the minbar was introduced exclusively for the *khutba*, this seems to be a somewhat one-sided view. The minbar was primarily, as Becker was the first to point out, the throne of the mighty Prophet in his capacity as a ruler. In keeping with this is the tradition that it was introduced in the year 7, 8 or 9 (Tabari, I. 1591; *Ḥamīs*, II. 75; *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, I. 23). The Prophet used it for the publication of important announcements, for example, the prohibition of wine. That he should also make his public speeches to the community from the new seat was only natural. His *khutbas* however were not confined to the Friday service and he could still deliver a *khutba* without a minbar, e.g. at the festival on the *muṣalla*, where Muḥṣahin was the first to put up a minbar (Bukhārī, *Idain*, B. 6) and beside the Ka'ba after the capture of Mecca (Ibn Hishām, p. 823).

The Prophet's minbar is often called *a'mūd* from its material (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, B. 64; *Djum'a*, B. 26). It consisted of two steps and a seat (*maḍfīl*; *Ḥamīs*, II. 75; Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, B. 23; *maḥṣad*; Tabari, I. 1591). After the time of the Prophet, it was used in the same way by Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthman (see below). Its significance as a throne is seen from the fact that in the year 50 Mu'āwīya wanted to take it to Syria with him; he was not allowed to do so but he raised it by 6 steps. At a later date, 'Abd al-

Malik and al-Walid are said to have wanted to take the Prophet's minbar to Damascus (Tabari, ii. 92 sq.; *Khawāṣṣ*, ii. 75; Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 283; *B. G. A.*, v. 23 sq.; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 63). In the time of the Prophet, it stood against the wall so that a sheep could just get past (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, p. 91). In the time of al-Ma'ādī, in the centre of the Maghāṣa there was pointed out the position of the old minbar, above which Mu'āwiya was said to have built his new one (*B. G. A.*, iii. 82; cf. ii. 26 and Kazwini, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 71). According to some ḥadīth, it was over the *ḥawṣ* of the Prophet (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* fī *Makka*, B. 5; *Faḍl al-Madīna*, B. 5, 12 and *pass.*). At a later date, new minbars were erected in the mosque (see Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 64, 96).

That the Omayyads should have a minbar of their own was natural; they sat on it, just as their predecessors had done (cf. Goldziher, *Mus. Stud.*, ii. 42). Mu'āwiya took it with him on his journey to Mecca (*Chron. Mekka*, i. 333); he also had it taken to the festivals on the muṣallā (Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 265), just as Marwān used to do in Medina (see above); it was therefore still portable and indispensable for the sovereign, when he wished to make a public appearance as such. In Ibn Dūbair's time, the minbar al-khuṭba in Damascus was in the central maṣūra (*Riḥla*, p. 265). According to Ibn Khaldūn, Mu'āwiya was the first in Islām to use the throne (*tarir*, minbar, *ṭabīṭ*, *kurṣī*) but he is clearly not referring to the minbar of the mosque (*Muḥadditha*, Cairo 1322, p. 205 sq., *faṣl*, 3, N° 37).

The minbar taken to Mecca by Mu'āwiya remained there till the time of al-Rashīd; when the latter visited Mecca on his ḥajj in the year 170 or 174 a minbar *manḥūṭ* with 9 steps was presented to him by the emir of Egypt and the old one was put up in 'Arafa. At a later date, al-Wāṣṭik made minbars for Mecca, 'Arafa and Minā (*Chron. Mekka*, i. 333; iii. 114). The Meccan minbar was a portable one. It usually stood beside the *maḥām* but was put beside the Ka'ba during the *khuṭba* (Ibn Dūbair, p. 95, 97; cf. *Chron. Mekka*, iii. 429). According to al-Batānī, this custom was kept up until Sulṭān Salaimān Ḳānūnī (926—974) built a marble minbar, north of the *maḥām* (*al-Riḥla al-Hijāziyya*, p. 100).

It seems at first to have been doubtful whether *manḥūr* should be put up in the provinces or not. According to al-Kuḍā'ī, 'Amr had a minbar made in al-Fusṭāṭ but 'Omar ordered him to take it away; he was not to raise himself above the Muslims so that they would have to sit below his heels (Maḳrīzī, iv. 6 sq.; Ibn Taghribirdī, i. 76; Suyūṭī, *Ḥuṣn al-Muhādḍara*, i. 63; ii. 135). The idea obviously was that the throne belonged to the caliph alone. After 'Omar's death however, 'Amr is said to have used a minbar (Maḳrīzī, iv. 8, 27). It stood there till Ḳurra b. Sharrīk rebuilt the mosque. During the rebuilding it was put in the Ka'asariya, which was used as a mosque; only when the mosque was completed in the year 92, did Ḳurra put up a new minbar. Tradition however is uncertain. The minbar removed by Ḳurra perhaps dated from 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān, who had taken it from a church or had been presented with it by the Nubian King (Maḳrīzī, iv. 8; Ibn Taghribirdī, i. 78). Ḳurra's minbar remained till 379 when the Fāṭimid vizier Ya'qūb b. Killis replaced it by a gilded one. A large new minbar

was placed in the mosque of 'Amr in 405 by al-Hākim (Maḳrīzī, iv. 8; Ibn Taghribirdī, i. 78 sq.).

We hear of no objections in other places to the *manḥūr* in the amāṣir. In al-Ma'ādī in as early as the year 16 Sa'd erected a minbar in the mosque improvised in the Iwān of Kisra (Tabari, i. 2451, 9). In Baṣra, Abū Mūsā put up a minbar in the middle of the mosque. This was however found inconvenient because the Imām had to cross from the minbar to the kibla "over the necks" of the (seated) believers. Ziyād then placed the minbar against the south wall (Ya'qūbī, i. 642). On the other hand, we are told that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās (governor of Baṣra 36—40) was the first to mount the minbar in Baṣra (Djābir, *Bayān*, i. 179). When Ziyād had to fly from Baṣra he saved the minbar which he put up in his Maḳḳad al-Huddān (Tabari, i. 3414 sq.). The minbar was the symbol of the ruler and the governor sat upon it, as representative of the ruler. It therefore formed a feature of the Maḳḳad al-Djāma'a, where the community was officially addressed. In the year 64 therefore, there were minbars in all the provinces. In this year homage was paid to Marwān b. al-Hakam not only in the capital but in the other *manḥūr* in the Hijāz, Mīṣr, Sha'm, Djazīra, 'Irāq, Khurāsān, and other amāṣir (*B. G. A.*, viii. 307). Special mention is made of the fact that Ṭabariya had no minbar.

In the first century and beginning of the second, we find the wali in the smaller towns, delivering the *khuṭba* standing, with the staff only. But in 132 the governor 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān had *manḥūr* put up in the *ḳurṣ* of Egypt (Maḳrīzī, iv. 8, 17 sq.; Ibn Taghribirdī, i. 350 sq.). When the *khuṭba* became purely a divine service and the ruler was no longer the *khatīb* [q. v.], the minbar became the pulpit of the spiritual preacher and every mosque in which the Friday service was celebrated was given a minbar. At the same time, i.e. after al-Rashīd, the change was gradually completed and the preacher spoke, standing on the pulpit. Ḥadīth therefore came into existence, according to which the Prophet used to deliver two *khuṭbas* on Friday, standing "just as is done to-day" (Bukhārī, *Ḍu'ma*, p. 27, 30 and 'Omar, *ibid.*, p. 2).

The minbar was thus now quite analogous to the Christian pulpit. It is very probable that this latter also influenced its form. We have already noted above, of a minbar in the mosque of 'Amr, that it was said to be of Christian origin. The same thing came to be said of the Prophet's minbar (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 63). Mu'āwiya made the Medina minbar larger, while the one brought by him to Mecca had only 3 steps and was of course portable. We again hear of portable minbars later, which did not exclude their being large (cf. above on the minbar of Mecca). Thus the *manḥūr* in al-Maghrib are said to have been portable. Ibn al-Hādīd regards this (the oldest) custom as *bid'a* and therefore ascribes it to al-Hādīdīdī (*Maḳḳal*, ii. 47, 21 sq.). The oldest minbars were all of wood. There is however one ḥadīth which says that the Prophet had a *kurṣī* of wood with iron legs made for the reception of Tamīm (Uṣṭ, i. 214, 2 from below; cf. Lammens, *Mo'awia*, p. 273, note 3); it is however uncertain what relation this had to the minbar. A minbar of iron was as early as the Omayyad period (Ibn Taghribirdī, i. 78, 1: *al-minbar al-ḥadīd* probably correct in

spita of Becker, *Kamel*, p. 10, note; cf. 79, 4, see below); and also of stone (Goldziher, *Mus. Stud.*, ii. 42, note 3 with a reference to Ibn Hajar); later they were also built of bricks (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 64, 96). As a rule the minbars stood against the kibla wall beside the mihrāb. Al-Mahdi had tried to reduce the *manābir* to their original small size (Tabari, iii. 486, 12; Maqrizi, iv. 12, 13 sq.), but he could not arrest the development. In the larger mosques several *manābir* were even built. Ibn al-Faḥḥ about 300 A.H. already mentions 3 minbars in the mosque in Jerusalem (*B.G.A.*, v. 100, 1 sq.). In the Sultān Ḥasan mosque in Cairo 4 were planned and 3 erected when a minaret fell down in 762 and diverted attention to other work (Maqrizi, iv. 117, 13 sq.).

The importance, which the minbar already had in the time of the Prophet, caused special reverence to be paid to it and the sanctity of the mosque was concentrated round this and around the mihrāb. The governor of Kūfa Ḥalīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kāfi (105—120) received a letter of censure from the caliph because he had prayed for water on the minbar (*Kāmil*, p. 20, 13 sq.). A false oath taken on or beside the minbar of the Prophet led to hell absolutely (Ibn Sa'd, *lfi*, 10, 3 sq., 12, 19 sq.; Ibn Hajar, *Munad*, ii. 329; cf. Johs. Pedersen, *Der Eid*, p. 144, 147). Legends grew up which represented the Prophet seeing into the future from the minbar (Bukhārī, *Ḍu'wā*, bāb 29) and being able to follow the battle of Mu'ta from it (cf. Wāḥidī—Wellhausen, p. 311; Ibn Hishām, p. 796) and also telling how his prayers on the minbar were specially efficacious.

Just as the Ka'ba was covered (*ḥasā*) so was the same thing done to the minbar. 'Othmān is said to have been the first to cover the minbar of the Prophet with a *ḥasā* (*Kāmil*, ii. 75, 1 from below). Ma'āwiya did the same thing when he had to give up his attempt to abolish it (*ibid.*, p. 76, 4; Tabari, ii. 92, 4). It was not quite the same thing when al-Ḥākim rediscovered the already mentioned iron minbar and covered it with gilt leather because it was covered with dirt (read: *ḥaḍhar*) i.e. rust (Ibn Taghribirdi, i. 79, 3 sq.). Under the 'Abbāsids a new *ḥasā* was sent every year for the minbar of the Prophet from Baghdad; the Sultān later did not renew it so frequently (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 64). We find other references to the covering of the minbar on special occasions (Ibn Dīnair, p. 149, 16). Ibn al-Ḥāḍij (*Madkhal*, ii. 74) demands that the imām should put a stop to the custom of putting carpets on the minbar. — (On the question of the minbar see: C. H. Becker, *Die Kamel im Kultus des alten Islām*, *Nöteborg-Festschrift*, I. 331—351 = *Islāmstudien*, i. 450—471; Coetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i. 533, 739; ii. 68 sq., 87, 213 sq.; H. Lammens, *Mémoires*, p. 63, 204—208, 273; J. Horowitz, in *lfi*, xvi., 1927, p. 257—260).

e. Dakka.

In the larger mosques there is usually found near the minbar a platform to which a staircase leads up. This platform (*dakka*, popularly often *ḍakka*) is used as a seat for the mu'adhdhin when pronouncing the call to prayer in the mosque at the Friday service. This part of the equipment of a mosque is connected with the development of the service (cf. below under H 4 and C. H. Becker, *Zur Geschichte des islamischen Kultus*, iii., 1912, p. 374—399 = *Islāmstudien*, i. 472—500; E.

Mittwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus*, *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1913, Phil.-Hist. Cl., N° 2). The first *adḥān*-call is pronounced from the minaret, the second (when the *ḥaḍhar* mounts the minbar) and the third (before the *ḥaḍhar*, *iḡāma*) in the mosque itself. These calls were at first pronounced by the mu'adhdhin standing in the mosque. At a later date raised seats were made for him.

Al-Halabi records that Maalama, Ma'āwiya's governor in Egypt, was the first to build platforms (here called *manābir*) for the calls to prayer in the mosques (*Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii. 111 below). This story however, given without any reference to older authorities, is not at all reliable. It seems that a uniform practice did not come into existence at once. In Mecca the mu'adhdhins for a time uttered the second call (when the preacher mounted the minbar) from the roof. As the sun in summer was too strong for them, the emir of Mecca, in the reign of Ḥarūn al-Rashid, made a little hut (*ḡalla*) for them on the roof. This was enlarged and more strongly built by al-Mutawakkil in 240, as his contemporary al-Azrakī relates (*Chron. Mekka*, i. 332 sq.). The position in the mosque of 'Amr in Cairo was similar. Here also the *adḥān* was uttered in a chamber (*ḡhurfa*) on the roof and in 336 there is a reference to its enlargement (Maqrizi, iv. 11). As late as the time of Baibars, when the many chambers were removed from the roof of the Mosque of 'Amr, the old *ḡhurfa* of the mu'adhdhin was left intact (*ibid.*, p. 14; cf. al-Kindi, *Wuḍ'at*, ed. Guest, p. 469, note 2). In the Mosque of Ibn Tulūn the *adḥān* was pronounced from the cupola in the centre of the *ḡhurfa* (Maqrizi, iv. 40). Al-Maqrizi records in the fourth century as a notable thing about Khurāsān that the mu'adhdhins there pronounced the *adḥān* on a *ḡsur* placed in front of the minbar (*B.G.A.*, iii. 327). The *dakka* "platform" in front of the minbar in the mosques of Shahrastān must have had the same purpose (*ibid.*, p. 357).

In the viiith century, Ibn al-Ḥāḍij mentions the *dakka* as a *ḥiḍ'a* in general use, which should be condemned as it unnecessarily prevents freedom of movement within the mosque (*Madkhal*, ii. 45 above). In the year 827 a *dakka* in the mosque of al-Ḥākim is mentioned (Maqrizi, iv. 61); the *dakkas* mentioned in inscriptions from Cairo all date from the period before and after 900 A.H. Ibn al-Ḥāḍij mentions that in addition to the large *dakka* used for the Friday service there was sometimes a lower one for ordinary *ḡalāt* (*Madkhal*, ii. 46 sq.) and says that in the larger mosques there were several *dakkas* on which mu'adhdhins pronounced the *adḥān* in succession so that the whole community could hear it (*ṭabīq*; *ibid.*, p. 45 sq.). Lane also mentions several *ḡadḥān* in the Azhar Mosque (*Manners and Customs*, Everyman's Library, p. 87, note 2).

f. Kursi, Kur'āns and Relics.

In the mosques there is usually a *kursi*, that is a wooden stand with a seat and a desk. The desk is for the Kur'ān, the seat for the *ḡaff*, or reader, *ḡarī*. Ibn Dīnair attended a divine service in Baghdad at which a celebrated preacher spoke from the minbar, but only after the *ḡurra*, sitting on *ḡarī* had recited portions of the Kur'ān (*Rihla*, p. 219, 222). The *ḡaff*, often identical with the *ḡarī* sat on a *ḡursi* made of teak (Ibn Dīnair, p. 200; Vākū, *Uḍaba*, ii. 319; Maqrizi, iv. 121);

sometimes he spoke from the minbar to which the *wa'iz* often had access (cf. Ibn Djubair; see Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, p. 320). The *kussay* are called by al-Makki *ashab al-kurasi* which is in keeping with this (*Kut al-Kutub*, i. 152, quoting *K. al-Madhal*, i. 159). Several *kurasi* are often mentioned in one mosque (cf. for the Mosque of 'Amr, Makrizi, iv. 19). Whether the *kurasi* mentioned for the earlier period always had a desk cannot be definitely ascertained. The *kurasi* with dated inscriptions given by van Berchem in his *Corpus* all belong to the 12th (15th) century (N^o. 264, 302, 338, 359bis, 491). According to Lane, at the Friday service while the people are assembling, a *kari* on the *kursi* recites the 18th *Sura* up to the *aghân* (*Manners and Customs*, p. 86). The same custom is recorded by Ibn al-Hajjaj and condemned because it has a disturbing effect (*K. al-Madhal*, ii. 44, middle).

The *Kur'an* very soon received its definite place in the mosque like the Bible in the church (cf. Bukhari, *Salat*, bab 91: they prayed at a pillar beside *al-mushaf*). According to one tradition, 'Othman had several copies of his *Kur'an* sent to the provinces (e.g. Noldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qur.*, ii. 112 sq.); al-Hajjaj, a little later, is said to have done the same thing (Makrizi, iv. 17). The mosques had many other copies beside the one kept on the *kurasi*. Al-Hakim put 814 *mayshif* in the Mosque of Ibn Tulun, where the founder had already put boxes of *Kur'ans* (Makrizi, iv. 36, 40; cf. *Hum al-Muhadara*, ii. 138) and in 403 he presented 1,289 copies to the Mosque of 'Amr, some of which were written in letters of gold (Makrizi, iv. 12; *Hum al-Muhadara*, ii. 136). Even earlier than this there were so many that the *khafi al-Harith* b. Miskin (337-245) appointed a special *amin* to look after them (al-Kindi, *Wulat*, p. 469); there are still a very large number in the Mosque of the Prophet (see Batanini, *Rihla*, p. 241 above). Of particular value was the *Mushaf Arsal*, belonging to the Mosque of 'Amr, prepared by 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Marwan, later bought by his son and afterwards by his daughter Asma'; her brother left it in 128 to the mosque and it was used for public readings (see its whole history in Makrizi, iv. 17 sq.). Besides it, another copy was for some time also used for reading, which was said to have lain beside 'Othman, when he was killed and to have been stained with his blood, but this one was removed by the Fatimids (*Ibid.*, p. 19). In the time of Ibn Battuta, a *Kur'an* for which the same claims were made was kept in Bayra (ii. 10). On New Year's Day when the Fatimid caliphs used to go in procession through the town, the Caliph at the entrance to the Mosque of 'Amr took up in his hands a *mushaf* said to have been written by 'Ali and kissed it (Ibn Taghribirdi, ii/1, p. 472 middle); it was perhaps the *Mushaf Arsal*. In Syria, Egypt, and the Hijaz, in the fourth century, there were *Kur'ans* which were traced back to 'Othman (*B. G. A.*, iii. 143; cf. ii. 117). One of the *Kur'ans* made for 'Othman was shown in the Mosque of the Omayyads in Damascus in the time of Ibn Djubair. It was produced after the daily *salats* and the people touched and kissed it (*Rihla*, p. 268). It was brought there in the year 507 from Tiberias (Ibn al-Hajjaj, *Tharikh*, Haidarabad, 1337, ii. 25). Other *Kur'ans* of 'Othman were shown in Baghdad and Cordova (see Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, p. 327)

and Ibn Djubair saw another in the Mosque of the Prophet; it lay in a desk on a large stand, here called *mishal* (*Rihla*, p. 193; cf. thereon Dory, *Supplément*, s. v.). The Fajiliya Madrasa also had a *Mushaf 'Uthman*, bought by the *Kadi* al-Fadil for 30,000 dinars (Makrizi, iv. 197) and there is one in Fes (*Archives Marocaines*, xviii, 1922, p. 361). Valuable *Kur'ans* like these had the character of relics and belonged to the *shayna* of the mosque. They were often kept in a chest (*qandak*) (Ibn Djubair, *op. cit.*; for *al-mushaf*, Bukhari, *Salat*, bab 95, Muslim has *al-qandak*; see al-'Azhali, *Fath al-Bari*, i. 385), also called *shar* (Ibn Djubair, p. 104). In the Ka'ba, Ibn Djubair saw two chests with *Kur'ans* (p. 84, 3). Ibn al-Fakih mentions 16 chests with *Kur'ans* in the Jerusalem mosque (*B. G. A.*, v. 100). In the mosques there were also *mayshif* for other things, such as lamps (Makrizi, iv. 53; Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p. 82 = Ibn Djubair, p. 194), a *tabut* for alms (*K. al-Madhal*, ii. 44, *infra*), for the *hail al-mal* or the property of the mosque (see below). There were also chests for rose-wreaths (*Madhal*, ii. 50) which were in charge of a special officer. In the Mosque of 'Amr there was a whole series of *mayshif* (Makrizi, iv. 9).

The *Kur'ans* were not the only relics to be kept in the mosques. Bodies or parts of the bodies of saints (cf. B. 4, C 1) and other *shayna* were kept and revered in mosques: the rod of Moses, (in Kufa, Yagut, iv. 325; previously in Mecca, see Goldziher, *Mus. Stud.*, ii. 361), the Prophet's sandals (in Hebron, *B. G. A.*, v. 101, also in Damascus, where the Ashrafiya Madrasa had his left and the Dammaghiya his right sandal; *J. A.* ser. 9, iii. 271 sq., 402), his cloak (in Adhruh, *B. G. A.*, iii. 178), hair from his beard (in Jerusalem among other places, Batanini, *Rihla*, p. 165) and many other things (see Goldziher, *Mus. Stud.*, ii. 358 sq.; Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, p. 325 sq.). These relics were often kept in valuable reliquaries. The head of Humayn was buried in a *shar* in his mosque in Cairo (Ibn Djubair, p. 45). There was a black stone like that in the Ka'ba in a mosque in Shahrastan (*B. G. A.*, iii. 433).

On the other hand, pictures and images were excluded from the mosques, in deliberate contrast to the crucifixes and images of saints in churches, as is evident from Hadith (Bukhari, *Salat*, bab 48, 54; *Umdat*, bab 71; Muslim, *Masabid*, tr. 3; cf. on the question Becker, *Christliche Polemik und islamische Dogmenbildung*, *Z. A.*, xxvi = *Islamstudien*, i. 445 sq.). It is of interest to note that in the earliest period, Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas had no scruples about leaving the wall-paintings in the Iwan of Kira at Mada'in standing, when it was turned into a mosque (Tabari, i. 2443, 2451). The case was somewhat different, when, before the chief mosque in Delhi which had been a Hindu temple, two old copper idols formed a kind of threshold (Ibn Battuta, iii. 152) although even this is remarkable (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschieden*, ii. 451 sq. = *Z. D. M. G.*, lxi, 1907, p. 186 sq.). In some circles the opposition to pictures extended to other relics also. Ibn Taimiya condemned the reverence paid to the Prophet's footprint, which was shown, as in Jerusalem, in a Damascus mosque also (Quatremère, *Hist. Salt. Maml.*, ii/ii. 246).

g. Carpets

Carpets were used to improve the appearance of the mosques. The custom of performing the

salāt upon a carpet is ascribed by Ḥadīth to the Prophet himself. Anas b. Mālik performed the salāt with him in his grandmother's house and the Prophet used a cloth or mat (*ḥaṣṣ*), which had become black through wear; as a rule, he used a mat woven of palm leaves, *ḥumra* (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 19, 20, 21; *Ḥaṣṣ*, bāb 30; Muslim, *Musūḥid*, tr. 47; Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, iii. 145). In any case, it is clear from Balādhuri that the salāt was at first performed in the mosque simply in the dust and then on pebbles (Balādhuri, p. 277, 348; cf. al-Zurkāni, *Sharḥ 'ala 'l-Musūḥid*, i. 283 sq.). Later, when the halls were extended, the ground, or the paving, was covered with matting.

The first to cover the ground in the Mosque of 'Amr with *ḥuṣar* instead of *ḥaṣṣ* was Mu'āwiyā's governor Maslama b. Mukhallad (Makrizi, iv. 8; *Ḥuṣn al-Muḥājara*, ii. 136; Ibn Taghribirdi, i. 77). The different groups which frequented the mosque (cf. above) had their places on particular mats: when a *ḥaḍī* (middle of the third century) ejected the Shāfi'is and Hanafis from the mosque, he had their *ḥuṣar* torn up (al-Kinādi, *Wuṭāt*, p. 469). Ibn Tulūn covered his mosque floor with 'Abbadīan and Sāmānīan mats (Makrizi, iv. 36, 38). For the mosque of al-Ḥākim in the year 403, al-Ḥākim bought 1,036 *ḥiṣr* of carpeting for 5,000 dinārs (Makrizi, iv. 56; cf. for al-Azhar, *ibid.*, p. 50). In the year 439 in the Mosque of 'Amr, there were ten layers of coloured carpets one above the other (Nāṣir-i Khosraw, ed. Schefer, p. 31 [text], p. 149 [trans.]). In the Mosque at Jerusalem 800,000 *ḥiṣr* of carpets were used every year (B. G. A., v. 100). In the Mosque in Mecca they were renewed every Ramaḍān (B. G. A., v. 100). On ceremonial occasions the minbar was also draped with a carpet (*ṣaḥḥ*, q.v.); in Medina, the minbar and the sacred tomb was always covered like the Ka'ba in Mecca (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 83; cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii. 91) and some, especially the teachers, had their skins (*farwa*), in some cases also a cushion to lean upon. The doors were also covered with some material (Makrizi, iv. 56). On feast-days, the mosques were adorned with carpets in a particularly luxurious fashion (see Ibn Taghribirdi, ii. 483). The Puritans rejected all this as *bid'a* and preferred the bare ground (*Madhhal*, ii. 46, 49, 72, 74, 76) as the Wahhābīs still do.

A. Lighting

Where evening meetings and vigils were of regular occurrence, artificial lighting became necessary. Al-Azraqi gives the history of the lighting of the Meccan Mosque. The first to illuminate the Ka'ba was 'Uḡba b. al-Azraq, whose house was next to the Mosque, just on the *Maḥām*; here he placed a large lamp (*miṣbāḥ*). 'Omar, however, is said previously to have placed lamps upon the wall, which was the height of a man, with which he surrounded the mosque (Balādhuri, p. 46). The first to use oil and lamps (*ṭanān*) in the mosque itself was Mu'āwiyā (cf. B. G. A., v. 20). In the time of 'Abd al-Malik, Khalid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kasri placed a lamp on a pillar of the Zamar beside the Black Stone, and the lamp of the Azraq family disappeared. In the reign of al-Ma'mūn in 216 a new lamp-post was put up on the other side of the Ka'ba and a little later two new lanterns were put up around the Ka'ba. Hārūn al-Rashid (268—271) placed ten large lamps around

the Ka'ba and hung two lanterns on each of the walls of the mosque (*ṭhūnān*; cf. Ibn Djabair, *Riḥla*, p. 149, 150, 155, 271; v. Berchem, *Corp. Inscr. Arab.*, I, N° 306). Khalid al-Kasri had the *ma'āz* also illuminated during the pilgrimage and in 219 the torches called *naṣān* were placed here and 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz ordered the people, who lived in the streets of Mecca, to put up lamps on the 1st Muharram for the convenience of those visiting the Ka'ba (*Chron. Mekka*, i. 200—202, cf. 458 sq.). In 253 Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Manṣuri erected a wooden pole in the centre of the *ṣahn* and *ḥanādil* on ropes were hung from it. This was however very soon removed (*ibid.*, ii. 196 sq.). About 100 years later, al-Makdisi saw around the Tawāf wooden poles on which hung lanterns (*ḥanādil*) in which were placed candles for the kings of Egypt, Yemen, etc. (B. G. A., iii. 74). Ibn Djabair describes the glass *ḥanādil*, which hung from books in the Meccan Haram (*Riḥla*, p. 105) and lamps (*maḥāḥil*) which were lit in iron vessels (*ibid.*, p. 105; cf. p. 143). Similar silver and gold *ḥanādil* were seen by him in Medina (*ibid.*, p. 192 at the top; see also Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 83 sq.). According to al-Fakih (before 300), 1,000 lamps were lit every evening in Jerusalem (B. G. A., v. 100) and in the next century al-Makdisi says that the people of Palestine always burn *ḥanādil* in their mosques, which were hung from chains as in Mecca (B. G. A., iii. 182). The illumination was thus very greatly increased. In the year 60, when Ibn Ziyad was searching for his enemies in the mosque of Kufa, the lamps were not sufficient, and large torches had to be used in searching the pillared halls (*Tahiri*, ii. 259 sq.). This, like what has already been said about Mecca, shows out of what modest beginnings this part of the mosque's equipment developed.

In the time of the 'Abbāsids, lamps and lanterns were part of the regular furniture of the mosque. Al-Ma'mūn is said to have taken a special interest in this. He ordered lamps to be put in all the mosques, partly to assist those who wanted to read and partly to prevent crime (Baihaqi, ed. Schwally, p. 473). For this purpose, the *ḥanādil*, already mentioned, hung on chains were used, as at the building of the mosque of Ibn Tulūn (Makrizi, iv. 36, 38), in the Azhar Mosque and elsewhere; they were often of silver (*ibid.*, p. 56, 63). Golden *ḥanādil* were also used and were of course condemned by Ibn al-Ḥajjaj (*Madhhal*, ii. 54) as ostentatious. At the same time, candles (*ṭham* or *ṭhamā*) were used in large numbers, the candlesticks (*atṭār*, sing. *ṭawr*) often being of silver (Ibn Djabair, *Riḥla*, p. 45, 151, 194; cf. Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 95, 100). About 400, large candle-labres were made in Egypt, which from their shapes were called *tanān*, stoves. Al-Ḥākim presented the Mosque of 'Amr with a *tanān* made out of 100,000 dirhams of silver; the mosque doors had to be widened to admit it. He also gave it two other lamps (Sayūf, *Ḥuṣn al-Muḥājara*, ii. 136 infra; cf. Nāṣir-i Khosraw, ed. Schefer, p. 51 [text]; p. 148 [trans.]; Ibn Taghribirdi, ed. Popper, ii. 105). In the Mosque of al-Ḥākim, in addition to lamps and candle-lanterns, he also put 4 silver *tanān* and he made similar gifts to the Azhar and other mosques: the lamps were of gold or silver (Makrizi, iv. 51, 56, 63; cf. Ibn Taghribirdi, ii. 105). The *tanān* and other lanterns could also be made of copper (see v. Berchem,

Corpus, I, No. 502, 503, 506, 507, 511, as, for example, the celebrated candelabrum of the Mosque of Mu'ayyad (Makrizi, iv. 137) which was made for the mosque of Hasan but sold by it (*ibid.*, p. 118).

This great interest in the lighting of the mosque was not entirely based on practical considerations. Light had a significance in the divine service and Islām here, as elsewhere, was taking over something from the Church. When, in 227, the caliph was on his deathbed, he asked that the *ṣalāt* should be performed over him with candles and incense (*bi 'l-sham' wa 'l-buḥūr*) exactly after the fashion of the Christians (Ibn Abi Uṣayb'a, i. 165; cf. ii. 89). The dependence of Islām on Christianity is also seen in the story that 'Uthmān, when he was going to the evening *ṣalāt* in Medina, had a candle carried in front of him, which his enemies condemned as *bid'a* (Ya'qūbi, ed. Houtsma, ii. 187). The Shī'a bias does not affect the significance of this story. A light was used particularly in the mihrāb, because it represented the holy cell, to which light belongs (cf. Sūra xiv. 35). Then, in Mecca, lamps were placed before the imāms in the mihrābs and there were considerable endowments for such mihrāb lamps (Ibn Dūbair, *Rihla*, p. 103, 144). Light, as was everywhere the custom in ancient times, was necessary in mausoleums and the documents of endowment show that a large number of oil-lamps were used in this way (cf. e.g. the document for al-Malik al-Ashraf's mausoleum, v. Berchem, *Corpus*, I, No. 252). But in the mosque generally the use of lights had a devotional significance and lamps might be endowed for particular individuals (cf. B. G. A., iii. 74, quoted above). The lamps so given by al-Hakim were therefore placed in the mosques with great ceremony, with blasts of trumpets and beating of drums (Ibn Taghribirdi, ii/ii. 105).

On ceremonial occasions a great illumination was therefore absolutely necessary. In the month of Ramaḍān, says Ibn Dūbair, the carpets were renewed and the candles and lamps increased in number, so that the whole mosque was a blaze of light (*Rihla*, p. 143); on certain evenings trees of light were made with vast numbers of lamps and candles and the minarets were illuminated (*ibid.*, p. 149-151, 154, 155). In the Mosque of the Prophet in the time of Saḥbūdī, forty wax candles burned around the sacred tomb, and three to four hundred lights in the whole mosque (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 100). On the *maulūd al-nabi*, says Kuth al-Dīn, a procession went from the Ka'ba in Mecca to the birthplace of the Prophet with camels, lanterns (*fawānis*) and lamps (*maḥā'il*), see *Chron. Mekka*, iii. 439). In the Haram of Jerusalem, according to Maḥmūd al-Dīn, 750 lamps were lit by night and over 20,000 at festivals (Sauvage, *Hist. Jérus. et Hébron*, p. 138). In the dome of the Ṣakhra in 452 a chandelier and 500 lamps fell down (*ibid.*, p. 69); at the taking of the town in 492 (1099) the Franks carried off 42 silver lamps, each of 3,600 dirhams, 23 lamps of gold and a *tannūr* of 40 *riḥl* of silver (*ibid.*, p. 71). It was similar and still is in Cairo and elsewhere in the Muslim world. For the *taḥlāt al-awḥād* in the Mosque of 'Amr, 18,000 candles were made for the Mosque of 'Amr and every night eleven and a half *ḥiṭṭ* of good oil were used (Maḥmūd al-Dīn, iv. 21 and more fully ii. 345 sq.). The four "nights of illumination" fell in the months of Rajab and Sha'bān, especially Nuṣf

Sha'bān (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/ii. 131; cf. also Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 77). Quite recently (1908) electric light has been introduced into the Mosque of the Prophet (al-Batānī, *Rihla*, p. 245 sq.).

[On the question in general see Clermont-Ganneau, *La lampe et l'olivier dans le Coran*, in *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, viii, 1924, p. 183-228; on the copper candelabra see A. Wingham, *Report on the Analysis of various examples of Oriental Metal-Work etc. in the South Kensington Museum etc.*, London 1892; F. R. Martin, *Altäre Kupferarbeiten aus dem Orient*, Stockholm 1902; on glass lamps see G. Schmoranz, *Altorientalische Glas-Gefässe*, Vienna 1898; v. Berchem, *C. I. A.*, i. 678 sq.; Max Herz Bey, *La Mosquée du Sultan Husan* (Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe), 1899, p. 8 sq.; see also the Bibliography in *Jal.*, xvii, 1928, p. 217 sq.).

i. Incense.

According to some traditions, even the Prophet had incense burned in the mosque (Tirmidhi, i. 116; see Lammens, *Mo'awia*, p. 367, note 8) and in the time of 'Omar, his client 'Abd Allāh is said to have perfumed the mosque by burning incense while he sat on the minbar. The same client is said to have carried the censer (*midḥmar*; cf. Lammens, *loc. cit.*) brought by 'Omar from Syria before 'Omar when he went to the *ṣalāt* in the month of Ramaḍān (A. Fischer, *Biographie von Großherzögen etc.*, p. 55, note). According to this tradition, the use of incense was adopted into Islām very early as a palpable imitation of the custom of the Church. In keeping with this is the tradition that in al-Fustāt as early as the governorship of 'Amr, the *mu'adhdhin* used to burn incense in the mosque ('Abd al-Hakam, p. 132; cf. *Annāl dill' Islām*, iv. 565). The Ṣakhra Mosque had incense burned in it during the consecration ceremony (Sauvage, *Hist. Jérus. et Hébron*, p. 53).

Under the Omayyads, incense was one of the regular requirements of the mosque (*al-mar'ifid*: Tabari, ii. 1234, 10). *Mo'awia* is named as the first to perfume the Ka'ba with perfume (*ḥalūf*) and censer (*ḥalaba*; B. G. A., v. 20, 12). It became the custom to anoint the sacred tombs with musk and *ḥal* (*Chron. Mekka*, i. 150, 10; Ibn Dūbair, *Rihla*, p. 191, 9). Baiḥars washed the Ka'ba with rose-water (Maḥmūd al-Dīn, iv. 96, 14). Incense, as well as candles, was used at burials (cf. de Goeje, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1905, p. 403 sq.; Lammens, *Mo'awia*, p. 436, note 9). Al-Mu'tasim's desire to be buried with candles and incense (*ḥalūf*) exactly like the Christians (Ibn Uṣayb'a, i. 165, 12 sq., cf. above) shows that they were aware that the custom bore much the same relation to the Christian usage, as the mosque building did to the church. The consumption of incense in the mosques gradually became very large, especially at festivals (see for the Fātimids: Ibn Taghribirdi, ii/i. 484, 12; ii/ii. ed. Popper, p. 106, 2; Maḥmūd al-Dīn, iv. 51; on vessels for holding incense see the Bibliography in *Jal.*, xvii, 1928, p. 217 sq.).

f. Water-Supply.

Nothing is said of a water-supply in connection with the oldest mosques. The Mosque of Mecca occupied a special position on account of the Zemzem well. In the early days of Islām, two basins (*ḥawq*) are said to have been supplied by it, one behind the well, i.e. just at the side of the mosque for *wuḍū'* and one between the well

and the *rukā* for drinking purposes; the latter was moved nearer the well by Ibn al-Zubair. In the time of Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik, a grandson of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās for the first time built a *ḡubba* in connection with the Zemzem (*Chron. Mekka*, i. 299). At the same time, the governor Khālid al-Kaṣrī laid down lead-piping to bring water from the well of al-Thābir to the mosque, to a marble basin (*ḡubba*) with a running fountain (*ḡawwāra*) between the Zemzem and the *rukā*, probably on the site of the earlier *ḡawwā*. It was intended to supply drinking-water in place of the saltish water of Zemzem, but a branch was led on to a *ḡirka* at the Bāb al-Safā, which was used for ritual ablutions. The people, however, would not give up the Zemzem water and immediately after the coming to power of the 'Abbāsids, the provision for drinking-water was cut off, only the pipe leading to the *ḡirka* being retained (*ibid.*, i. 339 sq.). In Ibn Dhubair's time, there was, in addition to the Zemzem, a supply of water in vessels and a bench for performing the *wuḡū* (*Riḡla*, p. 89). Khālid's plan, arrangements for ablutions at the entrance and a running fountain in the ṣahn, seems to have been a typically Omayyad one and to have been introduced from the north. Such fountains were usual in the north, not only in private houses, but also for example in the *atrium* (surrounded by pillars, which, from Eusebius's description, formed part of the church of Tyre (see Hauch in Herzog-Hauch, *Realencyclop. f. prot. Theol. u. Kirche*?, x. 782).

The usual name for the basin, *ḡubba* (in Egypt now *ḡubbiya*) is *piscina*, which in the *Mishna* and in Syriac takes the form *ḡisḡin* (see Levy, *Neuhebr. u. ehald. Wörterbuch*, iv. 810; Fraenkel, *Fremdwörter*, p. 124; *ḡisḡin*, found in al-Azraqī, *Chron. Mekka*, i. 340 is probably due to a slip). At the same time, however, *ḡirka* or *ḡirḡā* or *ḡirḡi* which probably comes from the Persian (cf. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, p. 287) or the old Arabic *ḡawwā* are also used. The arrangements for ablutions were called *maḡḡīr* or *maḡḡīn*, sing. *maḡḡā* (now usually *maḡḡā*), "place for *wuḡū*". The accommodation in Mecca just mentioned was later extended. Ibn Dhubair mentions a building at al-Zāḡir, 1 *mil* north of Mecca which contained *maḡḡīr* and *ḡubba* for those performing the minor *umra* (*Riḡla*, p. 111).

In Medina, Ibn Dhubair mentions rooms for *wuḡū* at the western entrance to the mosque (*Riḡla*, p. 197, 13 sq.; cf. the plan in al-Batānī, *Riḡla*, facing p. 244). At the same time Ibn Zabāla mentions seventeen receptacles for water in the ṣahn in the year 199, probably for drinking-water; later (VIIIth century) a large basin surrounded by a railing is mentioned in the centre of the court. It was intended for drinking purposes, but became used for bathing and was therefore removed. Baths and latrines were built anew by al-Nāṣir's mother (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 99 sq.).

In Damascus, where every house, as is still the case, was amply supplied with water, Yāḡūt (d. 626 = 1229) found no mosque, madrasa or *khānḡāh* which did not have water flowing into a *ḡirka* in the ṣahn (Yāḡūt, ii. 590). Ibn Dhubair describes the arrangements in the Mosque of the Omayyads. In the ṣahn, as is still the case, there were three *ḡubbas*. The centre one rested on four marble columns, and below it was a basin with a spring of drinking-water surrounded by an iron grille. This was called *ḡawwā al-mā* "water-cage".

North of the ṣahn was a Masjid al-Kallāsa in the ṣahn of which there was again a *ḡirḡi* of marble with a spring (Ibn Dhubair, *Riḡla*, p. 267). There was also running water in an adjoining *maḡḡā* (p. 269), in the *khānḡāh* and madrasa (p. 271), and in a hall beside the living apartments there was again a *ḡubba* with a basin (*ḡawwā*) and spring water (p. 269). There were also *ḡubbas* against the four outer walls of the mosque, whole houses fitted up with lavatories and closets (p. 273); a century earlier, we are told that at each entrance to the mosque there was a *maḡḡā* (*B. G. A.*, iii. 159). The whole arrangements correspond exactly to those made by Khālid al-Kaṣrī in Mecca in the Omayyad period and must therefore date from the Omayyads.

It was the same in other Syrian and Mesopotamian towns. In Samarra, al-Matawakkil built in his new *ḡāmi* a *ḡawwāra* with constant running water (*B. G. A.*, vii. 265). In Naḡḡin, the river was led through the ṣahn of the mosque into a *ḡirḡi*; there was also a *ḡirḡi* at the eastern entrance with two *ḡubbas* in front of the mosque (Ibn Dhubair, *Riḡla*, p. 339). In Mawṣil in the mosque, which dated from the Omayyad period, there was a spring with a marble cupola over it (*ibid.*, p. 235). In Ḥarrān, there were in the ṣahn three marble *ḡubbas* with *ḡir* and drinking-water (*ibid.*, p. 246), in Ḥaleb two (*ibid.*, p. 253). In Kūfa there were three *ḡawwā* with Euphrates water in front of the *ḡāmi* (*ibid.*, p. 212) but in the mosque in a *ḡubba* a domed building with running water (Yāḡūt, iv. 325, 326, here called *ḡannār*; cf. *B. G. A.*, v. 173; Ibn Dhubair, p. 89, 267). It was the same in Āmid (Nāṣir-i Khosraw, ed. Schefer, p. 28) and in Zaranḡ in Sijḡistān (*B. G. A.*, ii. 298 sq.). The principal mosques of the 'Irāḡ had *maḡḡīn* at the entrances, for which, according to a remarkable note by Maḡḡīst, rents were paid (*B. G. A.*, iii. 129, read *ḡarḡī*; cf. *maḡḡīst*: Ibn Dhubair, p. 89). In Palestine also, in al-Maḡḡīst's time, there were conveniences for ablutions at the entrances to the *ḡāwḡī* (*maḡḡīst*; *B. G. A.*, iii. 182; *Maḡḡīst*: *ibid.*, i. 58) and in Ṣan'a' in the fourth century, beside each mosque, there was water for drinking and for *wuḡū* (*B. G. A.*, vii. 111). In Persia also, it was the custom to have a *ḡawwā* in front of the mosque (*B. G. A.*, iii. 318) and there was drinking-water in the mosque itself on a bench (*ḡarḡī*) in iron jars into which ice was put on Fridays (*ibid.*, p. 327). Not only at the Zemzem well but also in the mosques of the 'Irāḡ, men were appointed whose duty it was to distribute drinking-water (Tabarī, iii. 2165). — The regular custom, therefore, was to have at the entrance to, or in front of the mosque, conveniences for *wuḡū*, in the court of the mosque itself a fountain as the traditional ornament for drinking water. It was the exception for the *maḡḡī* to take place in the mosque itself.

In Egypt at first the Mosque of Ibn Tulūn was arranged similarly to the Syrian mosques. In the centre of the ṣahn there was a gilt dome, supported by sixteen marble columns and surrounded by a railing. This upper storey was supported by nineteen marble columns and below was a marble basin (*ḡawwā*) with a running fountain (*ḡawwāra*); the *ḡubba* was called from the dome (Maḡḡīst, iv. 37; the description is not quite clear). People complained that there were no arrangements for washing (*maḡḡā*) there. Ibn Tulūn replied that

sp.) and when Ibn Tulūn built his mosque, a building called the *Dār al-Imāra* was erected on its south side, where the ruler, who now lived in another new palace, had rooms for changing his dress, etc., from which he could go straight into the maṣṣūra (*ibid.*, p. 42).

The 'Abbāsids at the foundation of Baghdad introduced a characteristic innovation, when they made the palace the centre of the city; the case was similar with Fāṭimid Cairo; but Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik in Ramla had already built the palace in front of the mosque (Balādhuri, p. 143). Later rulers who no longer lived just beside the mosque, had special balconies or something similar built for themselves in or beside the mosque. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn built for himself a *manṣara* under the great minaret of the mosque of 'Amr (Maḳṣṣi, iv. 13; *Iḥṣān al-Muḥḥḍara*, ii. 137) and just to the south of the Azhar mosque the Fāṭimids had a *manṣara* from which they could overlook the mosque (Maḳṣṣi, ii. 345).

The caliph was the appointed leader of the ṣalāt and the khutb of the Muslim community. The significance of the mosque for the state is therefore embodied in the minbar. The installation of the caliph consisted in his seating himself upon this, the seat of the Prophet in his sovereign capacity. When homage was first paid to Abū Bakr by those who had decided the choice of the Prophet's successor, he sat on the minbar. 'Umar delivered an address, the people paid homage to him and he delivered a khutba, by which he assumed the leadership (Ibn Hishām, p. 1017; Tabari, i. 1828 sq.; *K. al-Khamsa*, ii. 75; Ya'qūbī, ii. 142); it was the same with 'Omar and 'Othmān (*ibid.*, p. 157, 187).

The khutba, after the glorification of God and the Prophet, contained a reference to the caliph's predecessor and a kind of formal introduction of himself by the new caliph. It was the same in the period of the Omayyads and 'Abbāsids (see for al-Walid: Tabari, ii. 1177 sq.; al-Amin: *ibid.*, iii. 764; al-Mahdi: *ibid.*, iii. 389, 451, 457; cf. on this question also Bukhārī, *Aḥḥām*, bab 43). The minbar and the khutba associated with it was still more important than the imāma at the ṣalāt, it was *minbar al-mulḥ* (*Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, p. 656, v. 4). According to a ḥadīth, the Prophet carried the little Ḥassan up to the minbar and said, "This my son is a chieftain" etc. (Bukhārī, *Manāḥib*, bab 25). This reflects the later custom by which the ruler saw that homage was paid to his successor-designate; this also was done from the minbar (cf. *Khutba yawm al-ḥujra* li 'l-Mu'awwid bi-wilāyat al-'alā, Tabari, iii. 2731). The Fāṭimid caliph showed honour to a distinguished officer by allowing him to sit beside him on the minbar (*Ḥuṣn al-Muḥḥḍara*, ii. 91); in the same way Mu'awiya allowed Ibn 'Abbās to sit beside him *'alā sarīḥi* (Ibn Abī 'Uṣayb'a, i. 119) but whether the reference is to the minbar is perhaps doubtful. The *ḥa's* could also be received by another on behalf of the caliph but it must be accepted on the minbar. Thus the governor of Mecca in 196 accepted on the minbar homage to 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'mūn and the deposition of Muhammad b. Hārūn (Tabari, iii. 861 sq.; cf. for al-Mahdi: *ibid.*, p. 389). There are other cases in which the solemn deposition of a ruler took place on or beside the minbar (*Aḥḥām*, 2nd ed. Cairo, i. 12; Wüstenfeld, *Meccā*, p. 15). Even at a much later

date, when spontaneous acclamation by the populace was no longer of any importance, the ceremonial installation on the minbar was still of importance (Maḳṣṣi, iv. 94). It had become only a formality but still an important one. Homage was paid to the 'Abbāsīd caliphs in Egypt in the great *ḥa's* of the palace or in a tent in which a minbar had been put up, and similarly to the sultāns whose investiture was read out from the minbar (cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/i. 117, 149 sqq., 183 sqq.). If one dreamt that he was sitting on the minbar, it meant that he would become sultān (*ibid.*, ii/i. 103). — The 'Abbāsīd caliph had however long had his own throne after the old Persian fashion in his palace (*al-Taḥḥi fī Aḥḥāl al-Mulḥ*, ed. Ahmad Zaki, Cairo 1914, p. 7 sqq.) and so had the Fāṭimids (Ibn Taghribirdi, ii/i. 457) and the Mamlūks (Quatremère, *op. cit.*, i/i. 87; cf. 147). When later we find mention of the *kurṣi 'l-khilaḥa* (v. Berchem, *Corpus*, i. N^o 35), *kurṣi al-mulḥ* (*Chron. Mekka*, iii. 113), *kurṣi al-sultāna* (Maḳṣṣi, ii. 157; cf. *al-sarī*, royal throne: *B. G. A.*, ii. 282, 285; *kurṣi* similarly cf.: Ibn 'Arabshāh, *Viṣṣa Timuri*, ed. Manger, ii. 486) or *mansabat al-mulḥ* (Quatremère, *op. cit.*, i/i. 61), the reference is no longer to the minbar. This does not mean that the ruler could no longer make public appearances in the mosques: thus in 648 Mu'awwiz Albak regularly gave audiences in *al-madūris al-jāhiliya* (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/i. 17) and memorial services for Bahār were held a year after his death in several mosques, mudarris and khawāṣṣ in Cairo (677 = 1278; *ibid.*, i/i. 164 sq.).

The caliph spoke chiefly from the minbar of the capital, but when he made the pilgrimage he also spoke from the *manḥir* in Mecca and Medina (cf. e.g. Tabari, ii. 1234; Ya'qūbī, ii. 341, 391; *Chron. Mekka*, i. 160). Otherwise in the provinces, the governor stood in the same relation to the mosques as the caliph in the capital. He was appointed "over ṣalāt and sword" or he administered "justice among the people" and the ṣalāt (Tabari, iii. 860), he had "province and minbar" under him (*ibid.*, ii. 611), *al-wilāyat wa 'l-khūḥa* (*B. G. A.*, iii. 337). Speaking from the minbar was a right which the caliph had delegated to him and it was done in the name of the caliph. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ therefore refused to allow people in the country to hold *ḥujra* except under the direction of the commander (Maḳṣṣi, iv. 7). This point of view was never quite abandoned. The khutba was delivered "in the name of" the caliph (*ibid.*, p. 94) or "for" him (*ibid.*, p. 66, 74, 198; Ibn Taghribirdi, ii/i. 85 *infra*; *B. G. A.*, iii. 485 *infra*) and in the same way an emir delivered a khutba "for" a sultān (Maḳṣṣi, iv. 213, 214). The sultān did not have the "secular" and the caliph the "spiritual" power, but the sultān exercised as a Muslim ruler the actual power which the caliph possessed as the legitimate sovereign and had formally entrusted to him. During the struggles between the different pretenders, there was thus a confession of one's politics if one performed the ṣalāt with the one or the other governor (Tabari, ii. 228, 234, 258; *Chron. Mekka*, ii. 168). The pretenders disputed as to whether the one or the other could put up his standard beside the minbar (Tabari, iii. 2009).

Like the caliph, the governor also made his formal entry into office by ascending the minbar

and delivering a *khutba*; this was the symbol of his authority (e.g. Tabari, ii. 91, 238, 242; *Chron. Mekka*, ii. 173; cf. *Hamza*, p. 660, v. 2-3; *Jahle, liyan*, iii. 135). After glorifying God and the Prophet, he announced his appointment or read the letter from the caliph and the remainder of his address, if there was a war going on, was exclusively political and often consisted of crude threats. The *khutba* was not inseparably connected with the Friday service. The commander-in-chief could at any time issue a summons to the *salat* and deliver his *khutba* with admonitions and orders (see Tabari, ii. as above and p. 260, 297 *sq.*, 298, 300, 863, 1179) and it was the same when he left a province (*ibid.*, p. 241); a governor, who could not preserve his authority with the *khutba*, was dismissed (*ibid.*, p. 592).

Since war was inseparably associated with early Islam and the mosque was the public meeting-place of ruler and people, it often became the scene of warlike incidents. While the governor in his *khutba* was issuing orders and admonitions relating to the fighting, cheers and counter-cheers could be uttered (*ibid.*, p. 238) and councils of war were held in the mosque (Tabari, i. 3415; ii. 284; Baladhuri, p. 267). Soon after his election 'Abd al-Malik asked from the minbar who would take the field against Ibn al-Zuhair and al-Hajjaj, he shouted that he was ready to go (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 20). After the battle of the Camel, 'Ali sent the booty to the mosque of Bayra and 'A'isha looked for another mosque (Tabari, i. 3178, 3223). Rowdy scenes occasionally took place in mosques (Kindi, *Wu'at*, p. 18); Ziyad was stoned on the minbar (Tabari, ii. 88); one could ride right into the mosque and about to the governor sitting on the minbar (*ibid.*, p. 682); fighting often took place in and beside the mosque (*ibid.*, p. 960, 1701 *sq.*; Wustenfeld, *Medina*, p. 13 *sq.*). Sometimes for this reason, the governor was surrounded by his bodyguard during the *salat* or on the minbar or even clothed in full armour (al-Walid: Tabari, ii. 1234; Ya'qubi, ii. 341; al-Hajjaj: Tabari, ii. 254). *Salat* and sword were thus closely associated in reality.

It thus came to be the custom for the enemies of the ruler and his party to be cursed in the mosques. This custom continued the old Arab custom of regular campaigns of objurcation between two tribes but can also be paralleled by the Byzantine ecclesiastical anathematization of heretics (cf. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i. 485; *Geogr. d. Islams*, *Antiquar.*).

The first to introduce the official cursing of the 'Alids from the minbar of the Ka'ba is said to have been Khalid al-Qasri (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 36). The reciprocal cursing of Omayyads and 'Alids became general (cf. Tabari, ii. 12, 14; *Agthos*, 2nd edition, Cairo, x. 102; Ibn Taghribirdi, i. 248; see also Jarmann, *Medina*, p. 180 *sq.*). Like the blessing upon the ruler, it was uttered by the *qaddi* (Maqrizi, iv. 167); it was even recorded in inscriptions in the mosque (Ibn Taghribirdi, ii. 11, ed. Popper, p. 63, 64; cf. also Mez, *Konstantin*, p. 61). As late as 284, al-Mu'tadid wanted to restore the anathematization of Mu'awiya from the minbar but abandoned the idea (Tabari, iii. 2164). Anathemas were also pronounced on other occasions, for example, Salama had al-Hajjaj (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 37) and al-Mu'tamid Ibn Tulun solemnly cursed from the minbar (Tabari, iii. 2048, 1 *sq.*)

and other rulers had Mu'tazili heretics cursed from the pulpits (see Mez, *op. cit.*, p. 198; cf. against Ibn Taimiya: Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii. 256). Ibn Baqfa describes the tumultuous scene with thousands of armed men uttering threats in a mosque in Baghdad when a Shi'i *khutba* was on the minbar (ii. 58).

It was very natural to mention with a blessing upon him the ruler in whose name the Friday *khutba* was delivered. Ibn 'Abbas, when governor of Bayra, is said to have been the first to pronounce such a *du'a* over 'Ali (Ibn Khaldun, *Muqaddima*, *fat* 37, end); it is not improbable that the custom arose out of the reciprocal objurcations of 'Alids and Omayyads; the *qaddi*, who had to curse the 'Alids in the mosques, used to pray for the Omayyads (Maqrizi, iv. 17). Under the 'Abbasids, the custom became the usual form of expressing loyalty to the ruler (Ibn Taghribirdi, ii. 151). After the caliph, the name of the local ruler or governor was mentioned (*ibid.*, p. 156, 161); even in Baghdad in 369 by order of the caliph al-Ta'i, the actual ruler 'Adud al-Dawla was mentioned in the *du'a* (Ibn Miskawayh, vi. 499; Cairo 1915, p. 396) and the Buyids, according to al-Maqrizi, were generally mentioned in the *khutba* even in the remotest parts of the kingdom (this is evident from the above-mentioned expression *khutba lahu*, for which we also find *al-shah*; see B. G. A., ii. 20; iii. 337, 338, 400, 472, 485; cf. Glossary, s.v.). There is also evidence that prayers used to be uttered for the heir-apparent (Maqrizi, iv. 37; *Kutub al-Wazara*, ed. Amedroz, p. 420). Under the Mamluks also, the sultan's heir was mentioned (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii. 101; ii. 3). Under the Fatimids, it was even the custom to call *salat* upon the ruler from the minaret after the *adhan al-fajr* (Maqrizi, iv. 45); this also took place under the Mamluks (e.g. in 696 = 1297, when Izz al-Din was elected: Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii. 45). The prayer for the sovereign in the *khutba* did not find unanimous approval among the learned (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii. 214 *sq.*).

In general, the mosque, and particularly the minbar, was the place where official proclamations were made, of course as early as the time of the Prophet (Maqrizi, *Sultat*, bab 70, 71). 'Othman's bloodstained shirt was hung upon the minbar (Tabari, i. 3455); messages from the caliph were read from it (*ibid.*, iii. 2084). Al-Walid announced from the minbar the deaths of two distinguished governors (Ibn Taghribirdi, i. 242); the results of battles were announced in *khutbas* (Yakut, i. 647; *al-Iqd al-farid*, ii. Cairo 1321, p. 149 *sq.*). In the Fatimid and 'Abbasid periods also proclamations, orders, edicts about taxation etc. by the ruler were announced in the principal mosque (Tabari, ii. 40; iii. 2165; Ibn Taghribirdi, ii. 68; Maqrizi, *fat* 29, ed. Benz, p. 87 *supra*; Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i. 39; ii. 44, 151); documents appointing the more important officers were also read upon the minbar (Kindi, *Wu'at*, p. 589, 599, 603, 604, etc. *passim*; Maqrizi, ii. 246; iv. 43, 88; frequently the people trooped into the mosque to hear an official announcement (Kindi, *Wu'at*, p. 14; cf. Dozy, *Geogr. d. Mauren in Spanien*, ii. 170).

After the position of the caliph had changed, tradition was so far retained that he still delivered the *khutba* in the principal mosque on special occasions,

particularly at festivals. Thus the Fatimid al-ʿAziz preached in the mosque of al-Ḥākim on its completion (Maḡribī, iv, 55) and in the month of Ramaḍān he preached in the three chief mosques of Cairo, one after the other (*ibid.*, p. 53; cf. 61 *sq.*; Ibn Taghribirdī, *ii*, 482 *sq.*; exceptionally also in al-Rāshīda: Maḡribī, iv, 63). The Abbāsid caliph also used to preach at festivals (e.g. al-Rāḍī: Yāqūt, *Udhāʿ*, ii, 349 *sq.*); it was the exception when a zealot like al-Muḥtash (255) followed the old custom and preached every Friday (Masʿūdī, *Murūʿij*, viii, 2). Even the caliph *faṣīḥ* in Egypt preached occasionally (Maḡribī, iv, 94; Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii, 138 *sq.*). Although the mosque lost its old political importance in its later history, it has never quite lost its character as the place of assembly on occasions of public importance. This is evident from al-Djāḥiz's history and even quite recently large meetings have been held in the mosques of Egypt on questions of nationalist politics.

2. The Mosque and public administration.

The actual work of government was very early transferred from the mosque into a special *diwān* or *maḡlis* (see Tabari, *GI.*, s.v.) and negotiations were carried on and business frequently done in the *ḥaṭṭ al-miṣra* (cf. Tabari, ii, 230 *sq.*). But when financial business had to be transacted at public meetings, the mosque was used; of this there is particular evidence from Egypt. Here the director of finance used to sit in the Mosque of ʿAmr and auction the farming out of the domains, with a crier and several financial officers to assist him. Later the *Diwān* was transferred to the *Ḥimī* Ahmad b. Tullū but even after 300 A.H. we find Abū Bakr al-Maḡharāʾī sitting on such occasions in the Mosque of ʿAmr. Under the Fatimids the vizier Yaʿqūb b. Killīs used first the *ḥaṭṭ al-miṣra* of the Mosque of Ibn Tullū (see above), later his own palace and afterwards the caliph's *ḥaṭṭ* was used (Maḡribī, i, 131 *sq.*). In the same way, in the reign of Muʿāwiyā, the Coptic churches were used and the taxation commission took up their offices in them (Papyrus *Ersterzug Kainer, Führer durch die Ausstellung*, No. 577); and Ibn Rosta (c. 290 = 903) says that the officials in charge of the measurement of the Nile, when they noticed the rising of the river, went at once to the chief mosque and announced it at one *ḥaṭṭ* after another, at the same time scattering flowers on those seated there (*B. G. A.*, vii, 116).

The connection with administration was also seen in the fact that the treasure-chest, the *ḥaṭṭ al-māl* (identical with the *ḥaṭṭ*: Kindī, *Wuṣṭā*, p. 70, 117) was kept in the mosque. In al-Fuṣṭāṭ: Uṣāma b. Zaid, the director of finance, in 97 and 99 built in the Mosque of ʿAmr a *ḥaṭṭ* on pillars in front of the minbar for the *ḥaṭṭ al-māl* of Egypt. A drawbridge was placed between it and the roof. In the time of Ibn Rosta (c. 300) it was still possible to move about freely below the *ḥaṭṭ* but in 378–379 al-ʿAziz put up a running fountain below it (*B. G. A.*, vii, 116; Maḡribī, iv, 9, 11, 13; *Ḥaṭṭ al-Maḡharāʾi*, ii, 136; Yāqūt, iii, 899). Al-Kindī records an attempt to steal the chest in 145 (*Wuṣṭā*, p. 112 *sq.*). In the disturbed years about 300, the wali al-Nūḡharī closed the mosque between the times of *ṣalāt* for the safety of the chest, which was also done in Ibn Rosta's time

(Kindī, *Wuṣṭā*, p. 266; *B. G. A.*, vii, 116). New approaches to the *ḥaṭṭ al-māl* were made in 422 from the *ḥaṭṭ* of the mosque and from the *Diwān* (Maḡribī, iv, 13).

In Kūfa, the *ḥaṭṭ al-māl*, at least during the early period, were in the *Ḍār al-miṣra* (Tabari, i, 2489, 2491 *sq.*); in the year 38 during the fighting, it was saved from Bagra and taken with the minbar to the Mosque of al-Ḥuddān (*ibid.*, p. 3414 *sq.*). In Palestine, in the chief mosque of each town, there was a similar arrangement to that in the Mosque of ʿAmr (*B. G. A.*, iii, 182). In Damascus the *ḥaṭṭ al-māl* was in the most western of the three *ḥaṭṭ*'s in the court of the Mosque of the Omayyads; it was of lead and rested on 8 columns (*B. G. A.*, iii, 157; Ibn Dūḡair, p. 264, 267; Ibn Bāṭuta, i, 200 *sq.*); it is still called *ḥaṭṭ al-ḥayāt* ("treasure-cupola", earlier *ḥaṭṭ al-ʿAḥḍā*) (cf. Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien*). In the time of the two travellers mentioned, the *ḥaṭṭ* only contained property of the mosque. Ibn Dūḡair saw a similar *ḥaṭṭ* in the chief mosque of Harrān and says that it came from the Byzantines (p. 246). In Adharbāidjān also by the time of Isḡakhrī, the Syrian custom had been everywhere introduced (*B. G. A.*, i, 184); in Isḡahār in the centre of the court, there was a building with marble columns and doors (*B. G. A.*, iii, 316) which perhaps points to a similar statement of affairs and in Armenia it is recorded that the *ḥaṭṭ al-māl* was kept in the *Ḥimī* in the time of the Omayyads as in Mīr and elsewhere (*B. G. A.*, ii, 241). The *ḥaṭṭ* was usually of lead and had an iron door. Ibn al-Ḥaḍḍī considers it highly illegal to shut off a *ḥaṭṭ* in a mosque, which is the same as forbidding entrance to it. This shows that the custom still survived in his time.

Ibn Dūḡair's remark about Harrān suggests that here again we have an inheritance from Byzantium. It was probably the building belonging to the *ḥaṭṭ* (cf. above) that the Muslims put to a practical use in this way. For the Byzantines had the treasury (*thesauri*) in the palace and it is doubtful if the treasury-chambers of the church (*iconophylakion*) were built in this way (cf. Franz Dölger, in *Byzantinische Archiv*, Heft 9, 1927, p. 26, 34).

3. The Mosque as a court of justice.

That the Prophet used to settle legal questions in his mosque was natural (see Bukhārī, *Abḥām*, bāb 19, 29 *etc.*; cf. *Saḥīḥ*, bāb 71; *Ḥaṭṭ al-māl*, bāb 4); but he could also deliver judgments in other places (*ibid.*, *pass.*). In Haddīṭ, it is recorded that some *ḥaḍīṭ* of the earlier period (Shurāḥ, al-Shaʿbī, Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmar, Marwān) sat in judgment beside the minbar, others (al-Ḥasan, Zuhra b. Aʿīn) on the open square beside the mosque (Bukhārī, *Abḥām*, bāb 18). The custom had all the better chance of survival, as churches were used in the same way (Joshua Stylites, ed. Wright, ch. 29; cf. Met, *Renaissance*, p. 223). Sitting in judgment was primarily the business of the ruler but he had to have assistants and Abū Bakr's *ḥaḍīṭ* is mentioned as assisting ʿUmar (Tabari, i, 2135) and a number of judges appointed by ʿUmar are mentioned (*B. G. A.*, vii, 227). In the reign of ʿOthmān, ʿAbd Allāh b. Marʿūd is said to have been judge and financial administrator of Kūfa (Ibn Kutāiba, *Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 128). On the other hand, we are told that ʿAbd Allāh

b. Nawfal, appointed by Marwan in 42, was the first *kaḍī* in Islam (Tabari, iii. 2477); it is recalled that in the year 132 the *kaḍī* of Medina administered justice in the mosque (*ibid.*, p. 2505). In Raqqa, we are told that al-Aswad b. Sarī al-Tamīm immediately after the building of the mosque (i.e. in the year 14) worked in it as *kaḍī* (Balādhuri, p. 346). In the early period 'Omar wanted to choose a *kaḍī*, who had been already acting as a judge before Islam (Kindi, *Wuḍ'at*, p. 301 sq.; *Ḥuṣn al-Muhājara*, ii. 86). Even the Christian poet al-Akḥḥāl was allowed to act as arbiter in the mosque of Kufa (see Lammens, *Muḥawwa*, p. 435 sq.).

In al-Fustāt, as early as 23 or 24 A.H. by command of 'Omar, 'Amr b. al-'Asī appointed a *kaḍī* named Kaīs (*Ḥuṣn al-Muhājara*, ii. 86; Kindi, *Wuḍ'at*, p. 300 sq.). The *kaḍī* held his sessions in the Mosque of 'Amr but not exclusively there. The *kaḍī* Khair b. Nu'aim (120—127) held his sessions sometimes before his house, sometimes in the mosque and for Christians on the steps leading up to the mosque (Kindi, *Wuḍ'at*, p. 351 sq.). A successor of his (177—184) invited Christians who had lawsuits into the mosque to be heard (*ibid.*, p. 391); of another judge (205—211) it is recorded that he was not allowed to sit in the mosque (*ibid.*, p. 428). It seems that the *kaḍī* could himself choose where he would sit. A judge, officiating in the year 217, sat in winter in the great pillared hall turning his back towards the kibla-wall and in summer in the *ṣaḥn* near the western wall (*ibid.*, p. 443 sq.). During the Fāṭimid period, the subsidiary building on the north east of the Mosque of 'Amr was reserved for the judge. This judge, called from the year 376 onwards *kaḍī 'l-ḥuḍūt* (cf. *Ḥuṣn al-Muhājara*, ii. 91; Kindi, *Wuḍ'at*, p. 590), sat on Tuesday and Saturday in the mosque and laid down the law (Maḥṣin, ii. 246; iv. 16, 22; cf. Kindi, *Wuḍ'at*, p. 587, 589; cf. *Sefer-Nāmī*, transl. Schefer, p. 149).

In Ya'qūb's time in Baghdad, the judge of the east city used to sit in its chief mosque (*B.G.A.*, vii. 245). In Damascus the vice-*kaḍī* in the fourth century had a special *riwāḥ* in the Mosque of the Omayyads (*B.G.A.*, iii. 158), and the notaries (*al-shurūṭyān*) also sat in the Mosque of the Omayyads at the *ḥab al-sa'at* (*ibid.*, p. 17). In Nisābūr, every Monday and Thursday, the *maḍlīs al-ḥukm* was held in a special mosque (*ibid.*, p. 328). In course of time the judge was given a *maḍlīs al-ḥukm* of his own (cf. *Ḥuṣn*, ii. 96) and in 279 al-Mu'tadid wanted to forbid the *kaḍī* to hold sessions in the mosques (Ibn Taghribirdī, ii. 37 *supra*; perhaps however we should read *ḥaḍḥ*: see Goldziher, *Mus. Stud.*, ii. 164, note 4). Justice was also administered in the *ḥab al-sa'at* (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii. 79). But the administration of justice did not at once lose all connection with the mosque. Under the Fāṭimids, the custom had been introduced that the *kaḍī* should hold sittings in his house, but Ibn al-'Awwām, appointed just after 400 A.H., held them either in the *ḥab* at the *ḥab al-sa'at* or in a side-room (Kindi, *Wuḍ'at*, p. 612; cf. Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Popper, ii. 69; Kāḥṣanī, *Subḥ al-ḥaḍḥ*, iii. 487; for 439—1046, see Nagīb Khosraw, ed. Schefer, p. 51, text, p. 149, transl.). In Mecca, the *ḥab al-ḥaḍḥ* was in direct connection with the mosque (Ibn Ḍubair, p. 104). In the eighth century Ibn Baṭṭāṭa attended a court presided over by an eminent jurist in a mosque (madrasa) in Shirāz (ii. 55, 63; cf. also al-Mad-

ḥaḍḥ, ii. 54 *infra*), and in Damascus the Shāfi'ī chief *kaḍī* held his sessions in the 'Adiliya Madrasa (so Ibn Khallikān, Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii. 22; cf. also for Egypt: *ibid.*, p. 87, ii. 253), the vice-*kaḍī* sat in the Zahirīya Madrasa (Ibn Baṭṭāṭa, i. 218). The judgment might even be put into execution in the madrasa (*ibid.*, p. 220). During the Mamlūk period in Egypt, we occasionally find a small mosque being used as a *maḍlīs* for judges (Maḥṣin, iv. 270; Ibn Duḥmāḥ, p. 98 *supra*); Ibn Khaldūn held legal sittings in the Madrasa al-Salihiya (*ibid.*, vii. 453).

A *mufti*, especially in the large mosques, was also frequently appointed; he sat at definite times in a *ḥaḍḥ* or *l-fatwā*, e.g. in Cairo (al-Kaswini, *Ḥuṣn al-Muhājara*, i. 182; Ḍjālāl al-Dīn, *ibid.*, p. 187), in Tunis (Zarkashi, *Chronique*, transl. Fagnan, *Rev. Mém. Soc. Arch. Constantin.*, vol. xxi, 1895, p. 197, 202, 218, 248). In Baghdad Abū Bakr al-Dinawari (d. 405) was the last to give *fatwās* in the Mosque of al-Manḡūr according to the madhhab of Sufyān al-Thawri (Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Popper, ii. 120).

F. The Mosque as an Educational Centre.

1. Islamic studies in the Mosque to the end of the Fāṭimid period.

The new studies stimulated by Islam were from their nature associated with the mosque. The learning by heart and the understanding of the Qur'ān formed the starting-point and next came the study of Hadīth, by which the proper conduct for a Muslim had to be ascertained. The Prophet was often questioned on matters of belief and conduct, in or outside the mosque (Rukhārī, *Ilm*, bāb 6, 52; 23, 24, 26, 46). After the death of the Prophet, his Companions were consulted in the same way and scientific study began with the collection and arrangements of hadīths, as has been shown, notably by Goldziher. This process is reflected in the hadīths themselves. According to them, even the Prophet in his lifetime was asked about hadīths (*ibid.*, bāb 4, 14, 33; tr. 9, 51, 53); the Prophet sits in a mosque surrounded by a *ḥaḍḥ* and instructs his hearers; the latter repeat the hadīths three times until they have learned them (*ibid.*, bāb 8, 30, 35, 42). The necessity of 'ilm is strongly emphasised and the *ṣalāh al-'ilm* is recommended; a man is held up as a model because he undertook a month's journey for the sake of a single hadīth (*ibid.*, bāb 19—22; cf. Goldziher, *Mus. Stud.*, ii. 32 sq., 175 sq.). Jewish influence is perhaps to be recognised when learning is compared with the drinking of water (Rukhārī, *Ilm*, bāb 20; cf. *Proverbs*, xviii. 4; *Pirke Aboth*, i. 4, 11) and the teachers are called *rabbānīyān* (Rukhārī, *Ilm*, bāb 10). A special class of students, *Ahl al-'ilm*, was formed who spread the knowledge of traditions throughout Muslim lands (*ibid.*, bāb 7). They collected people around them to instruct them in the most necessary principles of the demands of Islam; 'Abd Allāh held one of these *maḍlīs* every Thursday, only once a week, in order not to tire the people (*ibid.*, bāb 12). In this simple form of instruction which was indistinguishable from edifying admonitions lay the germ of Islamic studies. The teacher *shakhera* his hearers; elsewhere it is called *ṣaḍḥa* or *allama* and the knowledge imparted is

'ilm or *hikma* (*ibid.*, bāb 15). Such knowledge was imparted to the tribes by the Prophet (*ibid.*, bāb 25) or by teachers sent to them. In the year 17, 'Umar sent teachers of the Qur'ān in all directions and ordered the people to appear every Friday in the mosque. The complicated nature of the subjects of study resulted at the principal centres of Islam in the formation not only of a guild of teachers but of a regular system of instruction. The typical scholar, in addition to the *ḥurūf*, was the *muhaddith* (*ibid.*, bāb 29) although new branches of study were soon added as a result of contact with lands with older cultures, notably linguistic studies and in this connection the study of the old poetry, philosophical and speculative studies, logic, etc. The learned man of the old period was also called *fakih* (*Ḥuṣn al-Muhaddara*, i. 131; Tabari, ii. 1183, 1266; *Aghāni*, viii. 89; Ibn Sa'd, v. 167 etc.). Even after the new branches of learning were added to the older studies, the mosque remained the chief centre of instruction. This may have been facilitated by the fact that in the old Christian countries it had been the custom for studies to be prosecuted in connection with monasteries and churches (on the university connected with the Church of the Apostles in Constantinople cf. A. Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, ii., 1908, p. 17 sq.).

We hear of a madīsa for educational purposes in the Medina mosque in the first century A. H. (*Aghāni*, i. 48; iv. 162 sq.). Yazid b. Abi Habib sent by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz as mufti to Egypt (d. 128), is said to have been the first to teach in Egypt (*Ḥuṣn al-Muhaddara*, i. 131); he is mentioned along with another as teacher of al-Laith (Kindi, *Wulat*, p. 89) and the latter, upon whose pronouncements *fatwā's* were issued had his *halka* in the mosque (*Ḥuṣn*, i. 134). 'Umar II had before this sent al-Nāfi, the Mawla of Ibn 'Umar, to Egypt to bring them the *sunan* (*ibid.*, p. 130). He also sent an able reciter of the Qur'ān to the Maghrib as *kādi* to teach the people *ḥir'a* (*ibid.*, p. 131). Education was arranged for by the government by allowing suitable people to give instruction in addition to their regular office. From the very first, education in Egypt was closely connected with admonition to right living. The first teachers in the mosques were the *ḥuffāz*, as a rule *kādīs*, whose discourses dealt with the interpretation of the Qur'ān and the proper conduct of divine service (cf. C 3). Their *muw'iza* was the direct continuation of the moral instruction given by the old Companions (cf. Bukhārī, 'ilm, bāb 12). The instruction started in the mosque of 'Amr was continued for centuries. In the third century A. H., al-Shāfi taught various subjects here every morning till his death (240) (*Ḥuṣn al-Muhaddara*, i. 134; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vi. 383). It was after his time that the study of *fiqh* came markedly to the front and the great teachers used at the same time to give *fatwā's* (cf. *Ḥuṣn*, i. 182: 'Abd Allāh al-Kāẓimī, d. 315; i. 183; 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Rāzi, d. 339). In the year 326 (938), the Shāfi'is and Mālikis had each 15, the Hanafis 3 groups in the mosque of 'Amr (Ibn Sa'd, ed. Tallquist, p. 24). The Mālikī Muhammad al-Na'āli (d. 380) had so many hearers that the class occupied the area which 17 pillars included (*Ḥuṣn*, i. 207). In the fourth century, al-Makdīsī mentions the groups (*ḥalāq*) of *ḥuffāz*, *ḥir'a* and *ahl al-ada' wa 'l-hikma*, who sat in the mosque (*B. G. A.*, iii. 205; cf. for the fifth

century—Nāṣir-i Khosraw, ed. Schefer, p. 50 [text], p. 148 [transl.]). He also mentions that the followers of Abū Ḥanīfa held meetings in the Masjd al-Aḥḍ with *ḥuffāz*, which here must mean something like lectures, where they read out of a volume and the *ḥuffāz* used to sit in the mosques of Palestine generally, to teach between the *ḥalāq*s (*B. G. A.*, iii. 182). In the third century, Ibn al-Fakih tells how the *ḥuffāz* sit in the mosques of Sidjātān, Balḥ and Herāt, while the people crowd around them (*ibid.*, ii. 317). The *madhāhib* which later lost their importance had also their study-circles in the mosques. For example al-Makdīsī says that the Dāwūdīya had study-groups in Fārs (iii. 439) and the Awra'īya had even a madīsa in the mosque of the Omayyads (*ibid.*, p. 179).

Arabic philological studies were ardently prosecuted in the mosques. The interest of the early Arabs in rhetoric survived under Islam; the *fakih* Sa'id b. al-Musayyab (d. 95) (cf. Tabari, ii. 1266) discussed Arabic poetry in his madīsa in the mosque in Medina; but it was still thought remarkable that poems should be dealt with in a mosque (*Aghāni*, i. 48; iv. 162 sq.). In the year 256, al-Ṭabari by request dictated the poems of al-Tirmidhī beside the Bait al-Māl in the Mosque of 'Amr (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vi. 432 *infra*). In the chief mosque of Bagra, the *Aḥbāb al-'Arabiya* sat together and were visited by Ḥamad b. Salama (d. 167 or 169) while he made Ḥasan al-Baṣrī give lessons (*ibid.*, iv. 135). In Granada we hear of a *naḥw* who gathered many pupils around him in the *djāmi'* (Maḥḥari, ii. 254). In Tunis in the viiith century, the Makāmas of al-Ḥarīrī were actually read in the *djāmi'* Zaitūna (Zarkaghi, transl. Fagnan, *Rec. Soc. Arch. Constantine*, 1894, p. 111). In Baghdad al-Klā'i gave his lectures in the mosque, which bears his name and the pupils used to take their places in front of him after the morning *ṣalāt* (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, iv. 243 sq.). About 300 A. H. we hear of lectures on *tafsir* in the principal mosque of the same town (*ibid.*, vii. 105). At the same time, the study of Hadīth still retained its importance (Wüstenfeld, *Schö'n*, iii. 362). The Mosque of al-Manṣūr remained the most distinguished school, the goal of all the learned (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, i. 246 sq.). When a traveller came to a new town, he could go to the *djāmi'* in the confidence that he could attend lectures on Hadīth there (*B. G. A.*, iii. 415, in Sas). In Mecca, for example, al-Shāfi' lectured (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vi. 391), in Medina Ibn Ishāq, who died in 234 (*ibid.*, p. 400, 401). In Damascus we hear of some one who lectured on *ḥir'a* (*Ḥuṣn*, i. 182) and of another, Abū Ṭāhir al-Ikandārī (d. 359) who lectured on Hadīth in the same place (*ibid.*, i. 183). Teachers went from one town to another. Māfi b. Abi Ṭālib came from Kairawān to Mīṣr, Mecca and Kūṭuba; in the last named place he put up in two *riwāḥ*s the chief mosque, where he lectured on *ḥir'a*, afterwards in another mosque, and he was much sought after on account of his 'ilm (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vii. 174). At quite an early date we read of special apartments (which were certainly also lecture-rooms) for authorities on the Qur'ān, for, according to al-Wāḥidī, 'Abd Allāh b. Umm Maktūm lived in Medina in the *Dār al-Kur'ān* (*Ḥuṣn al-Muhaddara*, ii. 142).

As is evident from the examples quoted, studies were not only prosecuted in the chief mosques but also in other mosques. In Egypt, not only

the Mosque of 'Amr but also the chief mosques of later date were important centres of study. As soon as the Mosque of Ibn Tallin was founded, a pupil of al-Shāfi'i began to lecture in it on Hadith (*Ḥuṣn al-Muhāsara*, ii, 139). During the Fātimid period this was continued. In the year 361 (972), the Ashar Mosque was finished. Soon afterwards, the new Shī'i Ḳāḍī, 'Alī b. al-Nu'mān, lectured in it on Fiqh according to his school; in 378 al-Aṭṭ and his vizier Ya'qūb b. Killis founded 35 lectureships and in addition to their salaries, the lecturers were given quarters in a large house built beside the mosque (Makrizi, iv, 49; Sulaimān Rāṣid al-Hanṣī, *Kamāl al-Djāmi' fi Ta'rikh al-Ashar*, p. 32 sqq.). Immediately after the foundation of the Mosque of al-Hakim, the *ṣufahā* gave lectures (*ṭaḥallafat*: Makrizi, iv, 53) in it. In the Fātimid Mosque of al-Akmar, also founded in 319, teaching was carried on from the very first (*ibid.*, p. 77).

We can therefore say definitely that mosques were from the beginning through the centuries educational institutions, that learned men occasionally used to live in mosques and that under the Fātimids and probably much earlier, there were special houses for the learned teachers. The mosque therefore corresponded to church, town hall and school and sometimes hostel. It was, then, a public place of assembly for the town. Nāṣir-i Khosraw in 439 (1047) gives a vivid picture of the activity in the Mosque of 'Amr which was visited by 5,000 people daily, teachers, Ḳur'ān-reciters, students, strangers, *ṣufahā*, who drew up bill of exchanges and contracts etc. (ed. Schefer, text, p. 50 and transl., p. 148). It was therefore an exception when the Sakhra Mosque was open only on Mondays and Fridays (Savvaire, *Hist. Jérus. et Hébr.*, p. 54) which happened with very few other sanctuaries, and also unusual for the mosque only to be opened for prayer, as sometimes happened out of consideration for the safety of the *ḥait al-mā*. The people demanded unrestricted access to the mosque at all times (cf. Makrizi, iv, 54).

2. Special Educational Institutions.

In the descriptions of the larger mosques the libraries are often mentioned. These collections were gradually brought together from gifts and bequests, and it was a common thing for a scholar to give his books for the use of the *Muslimin* or *Ahl al-Ilm* (e.g. al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡdādī: Yāqūt, *Ḥadā*, i, 252; cf. iv, 287). Many other libraries were semi-public. These often supplemented the libraries of the mosques, because they contained books in which the mosques were not much interested, notably on logic, falsafa, geometry, astronomy, music, medicine and alchemy; the latter were called *al-ulum al-ḥadītha* (Ibn Abi Ushāibi'a, i, 113, uses this already for the pre-Islamic period) or *ulum al-awā'il* (on them see Goldziher, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1915, Phil.-Hist. Kl., N. 8, Berlin 1916). The academy, *Bait al-Hikma*, founded by al-Ma'mūn (198—202) in Baghdad, deserves first mention. It recalls the older academy founded in Gundishapur, to which Manṣūr had invited Gorgias b. Gabri'el as head of the hospital; he also translated works from the Greek (Ibn Abi Ushāibi'a, i, 123 sq.). In the new academy there was a large library, and it was extended by the translations which were made by men qualified in the above-mentioned fields; there was also an

astronomical observatory attached to the institution in which there were also apartments for the scholars attached to it (*Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 243; cf. Ibn al-Kifā, *Ta'rikh al-Hukamā'*, p. 98). When the caliph al-Ma'tadid (279—289) built himself a new palace, he had apartments and lecture-rooms in an adjoining building for men learned in every science, who received salaries to teach others (Makrizi, iv, 192, sqq.; *Ḥuṣn al-Muhāsara*, ii, 142).

Private individuals of wealth continued benefactions on these lines. 'Alī b. Yahya, who died in 275 and was known as al-Manadjdjim, had a palace with a library, which was visited by those in search of knowledge from all lands; they were able to study all branches of learning in this institution, called *Ḥisnat al-Hikma*, without fee; astronomy was especially cultivated (Yāqūt, *Udaba'*, v, 467). Al-Manadjdjim also presented a whole library to Fath b. Khakān (*ibid.*, p. 459, *infra*; on al-Ḥālī's library, see *ibid.*, vii, 136, sqq.). In Mawṣil, Dja'far b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣili (d. 323) founded a *dār al-ilm* with a library in which students worked daily at all branches of knowledge and were even supplied with free paper. The founder lectured on poetry in it (*ibid.*, ii, 420). In the fourth century al-Makdisi visited in Shirāz a large library founded by 'Aḍad al-Dawla (367—372) to which people of standing had access. The books were arranged in cases and listed in catalogues, and the library (*Ḥisnat al-kutub*) was administered by a director (*wakil*), an assistant (*ḥāzin*) and an inspector (*mushrif*) (B. G. A., iii, 449; cf. a little later: Yāqūt, *Udaba'*, v, 446, sq.). In the fourth century, a certain Ibn Sawwār founded both in Bagra and in Rām-Hurmuz a large *dār al-kutub* with stipends for the scholars who worked in it; in Bagra a *shāikh* used to hold classes (*muḍarris*) on Mu'tasili *ḥikām* (B. G. A., iii, 413, sq.). In al-Rai, there was at the same time, a *bait al-kutub* with over four hundred camel-loads of books, which were catalogued in a ten volume *fihrist* and included many Shī'i works (Yāqūt, *Udaba'*, ii, 315, sq.). In the year 383, the vizier Ṣāḥib b. Ardashir founded a *dār al-ilm* in Karkh with a large library for scholars (Ibn Taghribirdi, ed. Popper, p. 51, sq. 77; Ibn al-Athīr, ix., Cairo edition, p. 35, 7).

Many of the libraries had a strongly, but by no means exclusively, Shī'a character. As to the *ulum al-awā'il*, the 'Abbāsids, as already mentioned, were interested in them and the Omayyad Khalid b. Yazid b. Mu'awiya studied alchemy and medicine along with Hadith (Ibn Taghribirdi, i, 246, 5; Yāqūt, *Udaba'*, iv, 165). But the connection between the Shī'a systems and Hellenistic science of which we have evidence, for example in the *Ikhwān al-Safā*, perhaps caused a greater interest to be taken in this branch of knowledge among the Shī'as than among the Sunnis. In Cairo, the Fātimids founded similar institutions in the interests of the Shī'a. In their palace, they had a library which was said to be the largest in Islām. It had about 40 rooms full of books and all branches of knowledge were represented; they had for example 1,200 copies of al-Tabarī's History and 18,000 books on the "old learning" (Makrizi, ii, 253—255). The vizier Ya'qūb b. Killis founded an academy with stipends for scholars and spent 1,000 dinars a month on it (Yahya b. Sa'id, ed. Tallquist, fol. 108r; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1310, ii, 334; cf. Makrizi, iv, 192, sq.). It was

and one built by Abū Sa'īd Ismā'il al-Astarābādī and another built for the teacher Abū Ishāq al-Isfahānī. A Niẓāmiya was also built here by Niẓām al-Mulk for the Imam al-Haramain al-Djauwainī (Maḳrīzī, iv. 192; *Ḥuṣn al-Muḥādara*, ii. 141 sq.). It was an event of great importance when Niẓām al-Mulk (456—485, vizier of the Saljuq sultāns Alp Arslān and Malik Shāh) founded the celebrated Niẓāmiya Madrasa in Baghdad; the building was begun in 457 and on the 10th Dhu 'l-Ka'da 459 (Sept. 1067) it was consecrated. It was founded for the Shāfi'ī teacher Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī; but he at first refused to accept the call, because the ground on which it was built was said to have been acquired illegally, and Abū Naṣr Ibn al-Sabbāgh therefore held the office for the first twenty days (*ibid.*; and Wüstenfeld, *Schöpfung*, iii. 297; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo, i. 143 sq.).

The Muslim historians are in some doubt about the history of the madrasa. Niẓām al-Mulk is given the credit of having founded it, but al-Maḳrīzī and al-Suyūṭī point out that *madāris* were already in existence before him and mention the four above-named, but, as we have seen, even they were not innovations. Al-Subbki thinks (says al-Suyūṭī) the new feature was that Niẓām al-Mulk endowed scholarships for the students. But this again was nothing new as we have already seen. But the enthusiasm and energy of Niẓām al-Mulk meant the beginning of a new period of brilliance for the Madrasa. The sultān and men of high rank were now interested in it and the type evolved by Niẓām al-Mulk, a school in which the students were boarded, became the prevailing one after his time. We may presume that the older schools also had a place for prayer in them, i.e. they resembled mosques. The type of school known to us is built as a complete mosque. Since even the older mosques containing living-rooms which were frequently used by students, there is no difference in principle between the school and the ordinary mosque; only the schools were especially arranged for study and the maintenance of students. This character is expressed by the name *madrasa*, plural *madāris*; it is a genuine Arabic formation from the word *darasa*, "to read", "to study", taken from Hebrew or Aramaic (Sūra lxviii. 37 and elsewhere; *Hāshimīyāt*, ed. Horowitz, p. 53, 18; *Aghāni*, xiv., 2nd Cairo ed., p. 78; cf. *darasa* "to teach"; Bukhārī, *Baḍ' al-Waḥy*, bāb 5 and elsewhere; "to study"; *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 171), where *Bait Midrās* is used of a Jewish school (Ibn Khallikān, *Djizya*, bāb 6; Ibn Hishām, p. 383, 388); it is therefore an analogous formation to Masjid (cf. also Fleischer, *Klein. Schriften*, ii. 122 sq.; Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge z. sem. Sprachen*, p. 38).

In the time of Niẓām al-Mulk and immediately afterwards, the madrasas spread in the 'Irāq, Khurāsān, al-Djazīra etc. He was not content with the two he founded in Nisābūr and Baghdad. There was also a *Madrasa Niẓāmiya* in Balkh (Wüstenfeld, *Schöpfung*, iii. 240), in Mawṣil (*ibid.*, p. 319), in Herāt to which al-Shāshī (d. 485 = 1092) was called from Ghazna and in Merw (Wāḥidī, iv. 509). Ibn al-Sabbāgh, who had to give up his position in favour of al-Shīrāzī, received a promise from Niẓām al-Mulk that he would build a madrasa for him in Baghdad, but the death of this scholar prevented this being done (in 477; *ibid.*, p. 304). The great vizier's rival Tāj al-Mulk (d. 486 =

1093) in Baghdad founded a *Madrasa Tājīya* (*ibid.*, p. 311). In Nisābūr, other madrasas were founded at the same time, for example one by al-Manī'ī who died in 463 (*ibid.*, p. 277) and a Shāfi'iya (*ibid.*, p. 327). In Marw, al-Sam'ānī who died in 484 taught in a Shāfi'ī madrasa (*ibid.*, p. 321; cf. above). In Marw al-Rudhī, Ahmad al-Manī'ī (d. 512) built a madrasa (*ibid.*, p. 326).

The prosperity of the madāris stimulated by Niẓām al-Mulk in the fifth century survived for a long time in the east. In the sixth century Ibn Djuhair (580 = 1184) mentions some thirty madāris, all in the eastern part of the town, the most notable being the Niẓāmiya, renovated in 504 (*Riḍā*, p. 229). In 631 (1234), the caliph al-Mustansir founded the magnificent Mustansiriya as a school for the four rites, each with a teacher and seventy-five students and a teacher for Qur'ān and one for Hadīth, as well as a physician. Attached to it were a library, baths, hospital and kitchens; there was a clock at the entrance; beside it was a garden where the caliph had a pavilion (*manṣara*) from which he could survey the whole building (cf. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 266 sq.; Wüstenfeld, *Akademien der Araber*, p. iv. and 29).

The Niẓāmiya and the Mustansiriya survived the destruction of Baghdad by Hülāgū and both are mentioned at the beginning of the viiith century by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii. 103 sq.) and the building of the latter still exists. Ten others are known of the viiith—ixth century including the Madrasat 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djilānī (688 = 1286), Madrasat Abū Ḥanīfa (of about the same date) and al-Mirdjāniya (758 = 1357), all still in existence, which were founded for Shāfi'is, Ḥanafis and for the study of Qur'ān and Hadīth. Besides these three there still exist seven madrasas founded in Baghdad in the xviith and xviiith centuries (L. Massignon, *Les Madrasas de Bagdad*, B.I.F.A.O., vii., 1909, p. 77–86; the inscriptions, do., in M.I.F.A.O., xxxi., 1912). Although the Tatars in 699 (1300) destroyed many madāris (Quatremère, *Hist. des Sult. Maml.*, ii. 163 sq.), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa shows that in the eighth century there were still flourishing schools in the east. In Wāḥit there was a madrasa which specialised in *tafṣīd al-Qur'ān*; it had three hundred rooms for foreign students (ii. 3). In Tusar, the sultān expended one-third of the revenues on madrasas and monasteries (ii. 31) and in Shīrāz and other Persian towns he also found madrasas (ii. 62 and pass.). For Nisābūr, he mentions four madāris beside the chief mosque (iii. 80); according to Hāṣṣ al-Bīrūnī (c. 820 = 1417), this town still had eight madāris under the Abbāsids and he mentions seventeen in which Shāfi'ī fiqh was taught (*Sefer Nameh*, ed. Scheler, p. 281). For Marw, Yāḥyā about 600 mentions, in addition to the Niẓāmiya, the school founded by Abū Sa'īd Muḥ. b. Maṣṣūr al-Mustawfi (d. 494), also the 'Anidiya and the Khātuniya (iv. 509). Large madāris were still being built in Persia in the xviiith century and they are still to be found there in modern times (E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, 1916, p. 104, 217 sq.). Although the institution had for long a Sunni tendency, it could of course be taken over by the Shī'is without any difficulty. In 728 (1328) in Mashhad 'Alī Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found a large Shī'ī madrasa (i. 415). The Mongols also built madāris, e.g. Karaka Khān, the descendant of Čingis Khān (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii. 56). Hülāgū's mother built two madrasas in Rukhātā

where 1,000 students studied daily in each (*J.A.*, ser. 4, xx, 389). The period of greatest prosperity of the madaris in Central Asia was under the Timurids, notably in Samarkand, where Timur built a *ijami* 'in the Indian style', and his wife a madrasa (Ibn 'Arabshah, *Vita Timuri*, ed. Manger, 1767, p. 444 sq.; see also Dies, *Kunst der islam. Völker*, p. 99 sq.).

In the towns of Mesopotamia and Syria the movement spread from the fifth century onwards. Nur al-Din b. Zangi founded madaris for Shafi'is in Damascus, Halab, Hamā, Hims, Ba'albek (*J.A.*, ser. 9, iii, p. 428; cf. 488; Makrizi, iv, 192). Kamāl al-Dīn (d. 572) founded a madrasa in Mawṣil, two in Nayṣab and one in Damascus (Wāstenfeld, *Schicksal*, p. 317). Takī al-Dīn, the nephew of Salāḥ al-Dīn, built a madrasa in al-Ruhā (Makrizi, iv, 195, 24). Ibn Djuhair who travelled from 578 (1183) to 587 (1191) mentions two in Nayṣab (p. 240), one in Harrān (p. 247) and a large Hanafi madrasa in Halab and four or five others (p. 253), three in Hamā (p. 257), one in Hims (p. 258), about twenty in Damascus notably the great al-Nuriya (p. 283, 284, 4) and six or more in Mawṣil (p. 236, 237); a madrasa in the last-named town was built in two stories with a Dar al-Hadith on the ground floor (Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, ii, 204, in the year 585).

The development in Damascus was of particular importance. Information about this is contained in the *Tanbih al-Qālib wa Irshād al-Darīs* of Muḥyi'l-Dīn al-Nu'aimi (d. 927 = 1521), the synopsis of which by 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ilmawī (d. 1059 = 1549) has been published by Sauvaire (*J.A.*, ser. 9, iii, —vii), the substance had already been given by Fleischer from Mikḥā'il Meshāka (*Kl. Schriften*, iii, 306 sq. = *Z.D.M.G.*, viii, 1854, p. 346 sq.; cf. iii, 1849, p. 123; there are a few differences in points of detail between Fleischer's and Sauvaire's publications). A *Dār al-Kur'ān*, the *Rishā'iya*, was founded here about 400 (*J.A.*, ser. 9, iii, 262) and the first madrasa for ḡikh studies was the Hanafi *Ṣādiriya*, which was founded beside the Mosque of the Omayyads by Shudjā' al-Dawla Ṣādir in 491 (1097) (*ibid.*, iv, 266); next came, sometime before 520, the likewise Hanafi *Tarkhūniya* (*ibid.*) and in 514 the Shafi'i *Aminiya* founded by the Atābeg Amin al-Dawla (*ibid.*, iii, 395), then the Hanbali *Sharifiya* founded by a scholar who died in 536 (iv, 467), the Hanafi *Khātūniya* built *extra muros* by a princess in 526 (*ibid.*, p. 254), the Hanbali 'Omariya founded by a shāikh who died in 528 (*ibid.*, p. 473; cf. Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.*, iii, 328). The two rulers Nur al-Din b. Zangi (541–569 = 1146–1163) and Salāḥ al-Dīn (570–589 = 1174–1193) displayed a munificent activity in this direction as did their emirs and relatives. Nur al-Din founded a *dār al-ḥadīth*, the *Nuriya* (*ibid.*, iii, 280), and the following Shafi'i madaris: al-*Salāhiya* (*ibid.*, p. 414), al-*Uṣṭūniya* (*ibid.*, p. 428), al-*Imādiya* (*ibid.*, p. 430), al-*Kallāsa* (*ibid.*, p. 439), and he began the building of the *Adiliya* (completed by al-*Salāḥ*; *ibid.*, p. 423), and as a Hanafi madrasa, the large and small *Nuriya* (*ibid.*, iv, 388, 291). In his reign an emir also built the *Asadiya* for Shafi'is and Hanafis (*ibid.*, iii, 387), another emir a Shafi'i *Mudjāhidīya* inside and another outside the town (*ibid.*, p. 440); of Hanafi madaris, an emir al-Duḡakkī built two, al-*Balkhiya* and al-*Nashīya* (*ibid.*, iv, 245 sq.), a slave of Nur al-Din's, the *Raiḥāniya* in 565 (*ibid.*, p. 259), an

emir the *Mu'iniya* in 555 (*ibid.*, p. 281); a lady built a Hanbali madrasa with a *dār al-ḥadīth*, the *'Alima* (*ibid.*, p. 477), a Hanbali Shāikh, who died in 596, the *Muāmiriya* (Fleischer, *op. cit.*, p. 329). Salāḥ al-Dīn rebuilt the Shafi'i *Kallāsa*, which had been burned down (*J.A.*, ser. 9, iii, 439) and himself founded the *Maliki Salāhiya* and a *Maliki ṣāwīya* in the Mosque of the Omayyads (*ibid.*, iv, 460 sq.). There were also built in his reign a *dār al-ḥadīth* by the *Kādī al-Faḍl* (*ibid.*, iii, 277), a madrasa for Shafi'is and Hanafis, the *'Adhrawiya*, by his daughter or brother's daughter in 580 (*ibid.*, p. 425), six Shafi'i madaris (*ibid.*, p. 391, 399 sq., 403, 435, 442), some five Hanafi including one founded by his (previously Nur al-Din's) wife (*ibid.*, iv, 256, 266, 277, 284 sq.). This building activity was continued into the seventh to ninth centuries so that al-Nu'aimi can give the following totals: seven *dār al-Kur'ān*, sixteen *dār al-ḥadīth* (one, the *Kūsiya*, is not given in Fleischer), three for both *Kur'ān* and *Hadīth*, sixty Shafi'i (two of them also for Hanafis; in Fleischer, Nos. 16 and 30 are not given), fifty-two Hanafi (two of them also for Shafi'is; in Fleischer, one of them, the *Dammāghīya*, is not given; it appears among the Shafi'is as *Dabbāghīya*), four *Maliki* and ten *Hanbali* madaris (in Fleischer, one of the two *Ḍiḡā'iya* is not given; on the other hand he has the *Muāmiriya*), also three *madaris al-fikh*, all of which belong to the seventh century. The founders were mainly rulers and emirs, but also included merchants and quite a number of men of learning, and a few women also. As in the east, especially in earlier times, a madrasa was often founded for a particular scholar (*ibid.*, iii, 400, 488) and one sometimes finds a learned man handing over his house to be a madrasa (al-Dawla'iya, *ibid.*, p. 403, cf. 439; iv, 470). According to Mikḥā'il Meshāka, in his time (1848) these madaris had practically all disappeared or were used as dwelling-houses, because their endowments had disappeared and there were only five left in his time (Fleischer, *op. cit.*, p. 307–311).

Salāḥ al-Dīn introduced the madrasa into Jerusalem. In 585 (1189) he endowed the *Khanakāh Salāhiya*, in 587 the *Zāwiya Khutāniya* south of al-Aḳṣā for a particular scholar and in 588 he turned the Church of St. Anna into the *Salāhiya Madrasa*; in 589, 583 and 598 emirs built similar institutions and in the seventh–ninth centuries a whole series of them came into existence. According to Mudjir al-Dīn (d. 927 = 1521), there were thirty-one madaris and monasteries (which were in part used in the same way as madaris) in direct connection with the *Haram Ṣāra* or near it, and sixteen at some distance. Of these some forty are especially called *madrasa*, one a *dār al-Kur'ān* and one a *dār al-ḥadīth* (Sauvaire, *Hist. Jérus. et Hébr.*, 1876, p. 139 sq.; v. Berchem, *Corpus*, ii, 1; cf. for Salāḥ al-Dīn: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii, Cairo 1310, p. 402 sq.). In Hebron there was also a madrasa, that of al-Malik al-Nāḡir (Sauvaire, *op. cit.*, p. 23).

Next to Niḡm al-Mulk, Salāḥ al-Dīn has the greatest reputation as a builder of madrasas. He owes this mainly to the fact that his great activity as a builder lay in countries, which became of great importance in the Muslim world, Syria with Palestine, and Egypt. Even before the fall of the Fātimids he had founded in the year 566 in the vicinity of the Mosque of 'Amr, the *Nāṣiriya*

overshadowed by the "House of Knowledge" (*dār al-ilm* or *dār al-hikma*) founded by al-Hakim in 395 (1005). It was at the northern end of the west palace and contained a library and reading-room as well as rooms for meetings and for classes. Librarians, assistants, with their servants administered it and scholars were given allowances to study there; all branches of learning were represented — astronomy, medicine etc. in addition to the specifically Islamic subjects. Al-Hakim built similar institutions in al-Fustāt (Maqrīṣī, ii. 334 *sqq.*; according to Ibn Duqmāq, ed. Vollers, p. 80, *infra*, there still existed in his time [about 800] a building called the *Dār al-ilm* in al-Fustāt). In the year 435, al-Sanḥādī saw in Cairo a library with 6,500 books on astronomy, handcraft and falsafa (Ibn al-Kifī, p. 440, *sq.*). We do not learn very much of the subjects taught there but occasionally hear of someone who lectured on Arabic philology in it (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 610, *sq.*). But the whole institution was closely associated with Shī'a propaganda, which is obvious from the fact that it was administered by the *Dā'i 'l-Du'at* who held conferences with the learned men there every Monday and Thursday (Maqrīṣī, iv. 226; Kalkashandī, *Ṣuḥb al-A'ebād*, iii. 487); occasionally he was a *kāfi* (Kindī, *Wulāt*, p. 600, *sq.*). A similar missionary institute (*dār 'l-dā'wa*) was built in Ḥalab in 507 by the emir Fakhr al-Mulk (Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Popper, p. 360, *sq.*). We may assume that these buildings were also arranged for the performance of the *ṣalāt*.

With the *dār al-hikma*, Islam was undoubtedly continuing Hellenistic traditions. Al-Maqrīṣī mentions a *dār al-hikma* of the pre-Islamic period, where the learned men of Egypt used to work (iv. 377, 4); Ibn Abi Uqābi'a, also mentions pre-Islamic seminaries in Egypt where Hellenistic learning was cultivated (*dār al-ilm*, i. 104, *sq.*). Athens is also called *dār hikmat al-Yūnāniyyin* (B. G. A., ii. 135, 14) and the similarity with the Alexandrine *Musion*, which was imitated in Pergamon and Antioch, for example, is apparent (John W. H. Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, New York 1919, p. 48—50). Al-Hakim's institution was closed by the vizier al-Aḥḍal on account of political and religious disputes, but shortly afterwards (517 = 1123) reopened by the vizier al-Ma'mūn in another building, south of the east palace (Maqrīṣī, ii. 313, 337, *sqq.*). But it was now considerably smaller. During the famine in the reign of al-Mu'taḥir, the library was plundered. In 461 (1068) an eye-witness saw twenty-five camels carrying books from the palace library (Maqrīṣī, ii. 254; cf. Wüstenfeld, *Fätimidenachleben*, p. 261). The institute was finally closed with the end of the Fātimid dynasty (567 = 1171). Salḥ al-Dīn had all the treasures of the palace, including the books, sold over a period of ten years. Many were burned, thrown into the Nile, or thrown into a great heap, which was covered with sand so that a regular "hill of books" was formed and the soldiers used to sole their shoes with the fine bindings. The number of books said to have disposed of varies from 120,000 to 2,000,000 but many were saved for new libraries. The *Kāfi* al-Fāḍil is said to have procured 120,000 volumes (Maqrīṣī, ii. 253—255; Abū Shīma, *Kitaḥ al-Rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1287, i. 200, 268). Salḥ al-Dīn also allowed anyone interested to take what he liked from the *khizmat al-kutub* in Ḥalab for

example (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vii. 20). These attacks on libraries did not mean they were tired of books as Yāqūt (*Udabā'*, v. 389) suggests, but was only one expression of the reaction against the Shī'a.

3. Origin and spread of the Madrasa.

While the institutions called the *Dār al-ilm* developed in Fātimid countries into centres of Shī'a propaganda, the madrasa grew up in the east out of similar Sunni institutions. It is interesting to note that in 400, al-Hakim built a Sunni *dār al-ilm* in Cairo. In it lived two Maliki scholars, who gave instruction and gathered round them men learned in ḥadīth and fiqh (Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Popper, ii/ii, p. 64, 105, 106; al-Dhahabī, *Dumal al-Islām*, Haidarābād, 1337, i. 186). As the instruction (see the first reference) was given in the *Djāmi'*, the institute must have been connected with a mosque, probably that of 'Amr. It owed its existence however only to a passing fancy and after three years, the institution was abolished and the two learned teachers executed. With the growing strength of the Sunna, especially in the Shāfi'i and Hanafi form, many educational institutions arose in the east which had a pronounced Sunni character; the Sunna in the fourth century wanted to have influence with the other schools (B. G. A., iii. 323, 365, 415). Many teachers built houses of their own, where they dictated ḥadīths and held lectures on fiqh, e.g. a teacher who died in Merw in 420 (Wüstenfeld, *Imām Schāfi'i*, ii. 232). Abū Ḥātim al-Bustī born in 277 (890) founded in his native town a school with a library with apartments and allowances for the maintenance of foreign students (*ibid.*, p. 163). In Ḍamīl al-Rūyānī (d. 502) built a school; he himself taught in the mosque, also in al-Raiy (iii. 245). In Ṭabarān a school was built for al-Ḥātimī (d. 393 = 1003) (*ibid.*, ii. 202). In Baghdad, al-Isma'īlī (d. 396 = 1006) founded two lecture-ships in fiqh studies, one of which was filled by al-Isfara'īnī, who otherwise lectured in the Mosque of Ibn al-Muhārak, and the other by al-Bīḥī (*ibid.*, p. 204, cf. p. 217). The philologist and ḥikmī-poet al-Zawzānī who died in 463 lived with other learned men in a madrasat al-Sayūfī (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vi. 409).

In Nisābūr especially, where studies were vigorously prosecuted in the mosque (e.g. Wüstenfeld, *Schāfi'i*, iii. 236) many such institutions arose. Thus a special school was built for the Shāfi'i fiqh-scholar al-Sā'igh al-Nisābūrī (349 = 960; *ibid.*, ii. 156; cf. 160). Abū 'Alī al-Husainī (d. 393) himself founded a school in which to teach Ḥadīth and it was attended by 1,000 scholars (*ibid.*, p. 203). Ibn Fūrak (d. 406; *ibid.*, p. 216) did the same and in the year 437 Abū 'Iḥsām al-Kūshairī (*ibid.*, iii. 284) and for Rukn al-Dīn al-Isfara'īnī (d. 418 = 1027) a school was built which surpassed all others (*ibid.*, ii. 229). As early as the fourth century, we thus find al-Maqrīṣī praising the very fine *madāris* of Irānshāh (B. G. A., iii. 315). In the first half of the fifth century, there were four especially famous *madāris* in Nisābūr: al-Madrasa al-Balḥakīya, founded by al-Balḥakī (d. 384), when he became a teacher in Nisābūr in 441 (Wüstenfeld, *Schāfi'i*, iii. 270; al-Sayūfī is therefore wrong in ascribing its foundation to before the birth of Niḥām al-Mulk [in 408]; see *Ḥusn*, ii. 141), al-Sa'īdiyya founded by the emir Naḥr b. Subuktakīn (governor of Nisābūr in 389)

for Shāfi'is and the Kāshīya for Mālikis; for Shāfi'is also the Shurfiyya (called after its head also Madrasa Zain al-Tudjār) and notably the great Shāfi'ya or Nāṣiriyya (for the identity of the two cf. Makrīzī, iv, 251, with *Ḥuṣn al-Muhādara*, ii, 142 sq.) beside al-Shāfi'i's mausoleum; he also built a madrasa beside the Maḥall al-Huṣn and in 572 a Hanafī madrasa, the Suyūfiyya, and he turned the house of an emir named Sa'd al-Su'adā into a ḥanāfiyyah (*Ḥuṣn al-Muhādara*, ii, 141 sq.; Makrīzī, iv, 192 sq.; Ibn Khallikān, ii, 402 sq.). Those around him emulated this activity. His vizier the Kādī 'I-Faḍl in 580 built the Faḍliyya for Shāfi'is, Mālikis and for *ibād* (Makrīzī, iv, 197), a brother the Saifiyya (*ibid.*, p. 199), another, al-Malik al-'Adil, the Madrasat al-'Adil (*ibid.*, p. 195), his nephew Taḥī al-Dīn built in Cairo the Manṣūr al-'Izz or Taḥawīyya for Shāfi'is (*ibid.*, p. 194; Ibn Duqmāḥ, p. 93) and two others in the Faiyūm (Makrīzī, iv, 195). Other emirs and their relatives followed his example (*ibid.*, p. 196, 199 sq.) and even a merchant, al-Arsūfī, founded a madrasa in 570 (*ibid.*, p. 194). Ibn Dūbair, who travelled through Egypt in the time of Salāḥ al-Dīn, speaks of several madrasas in Alexandria (*Riḥla*, p. 42) and particularly of one beside al-Shāfi'i's tomb, which looked like a whole town (*ibid.*, p. 48).

During the period of the Aiyubids and Mamluks the number of madāris increased to an extraordinary degree. In the street called Bain al-Kāṣṭain there were two long rows of madāris on the site of the old Fātimid palace in Cairo (cf. P. Ravaisse, in *M. M. A. F.*, i, 1889, p. 409 sq., pl. 3). As a rule, the madrasa was in the street in line with the houses. Ibn Duqmāḥ mentions that in Cairo only two stood isolated (p. 98). Al-Nu'aimi and Ibn Duqmāḥ describe several madāris (and maṣājid) as *ma'allāḥa* i. e. above the ground-floor. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who travelled at the beginning of the eighth century, found madāris even in quite small towns, e.g. in Dimyāt, Muntat b. Khashib, Kinā, Kūṣ, Asnā (i, 65, 96, 106, 108). Ibn Duqmāḥ (p. 92-99) about 800 gives a list of twenty-four madāris; this is obviously very incomplete; on the other hand, it contains nine names, not given by al-Makrīzī. This author (d. 845 = 1442) mentions 73 madāris, fourteen for Shāfi'is, four for Mālikis, ten for Hanafis, three for Shāfi'is and Mālikis, six for Shāfi'is and Hanafis, one for Mālikis and Hanafis, four for all four rites, two exclusively used as *dār al-ḥadīth*, while the rite of twenty-five is not mentioned and four remained unfinished. Of these madāris, according to him, about thirteen were founded before 600, twenty in the seventh century, twenty-nine in the eighth century and two after 800. To the two schools of Ḥadīth (al-Kāmilīyya of the year 622 and al-Kharūbiyya of about 780, see iv, 201, 211 sq.) is to be added the Marāḥṭhiyya mentioned by Ibn Duqmāḥ (p. 99). A notable feature is the decline of the Hanbalis and in contrast to Damascus the large number of schools which included all four rites. The first Egyptian madrasa to include all four rites was the Sūfiyya, founded in 640-641 by al-Malik al-Sūfi (Makrīzī, iv, 209 sq.) probably on the model of the Mustanṣiriyya.

In Salāḥ al-Dīn's time, the madrasa was also introduced into the Hijāz. In the year 579, the governor of 'Aden built in Mecca a madrasa for the Hanafis and in the following year a Shāfi'i madrasa was also founded there (*Chron. Mekka*,

ii, 104). Up to the beginning of the ninth century, eleven madāris are mentioned (*ibid.*, p. 104-107) but others were added (*ibid.*, iii, 177 sq., 211 sq., 225 sq., 351 sq., 417). In the xviiith century they ceased entirely to be used for their original purpose (see Saonck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 229 sq.). Madāris were also built in Medina (Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 58, 98, 112).

In Asia Minor, madrasas spread under the Saljuks; the oldest known date from the seventh century. In Konya for example there were the Sirḥali Madrasa of the year 640 (1242-1243), Karatai Madrasa 649 (1251-1252) and İndjemināreli Madrasa 674 (1274-1276) (Cl. Huart, *Konia*, 1897, p. 156, 160, 178; Fr. Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, 1896, p. 48 sq., 51 sq.; R. Hartmann, *Im neunten Anatolien*, 1928, p. 106 sq.). In Siwā three madāris date from the year 670 (1271-1272) namely the Shābiyya or Gök-Madrasa, founded by Fakhr al-Dīn, that of Maḥallār Barḡūdī and that of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad. The first mentioned is probably identical with the *Dār al-Tudris* described by Ewliya, which contained eighty rooms in two stories (see v, Berchem, *Corpus*, III, i, p. 18 sq., 26 sq., 31 sq.). In Diwrigi, a madrasa has been built in the Djami' Ahmad Shāh erected in 626 (1228-1229) (*ibid.*, p. 71 sq., 80). About 753 (1333) Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found madāris all over Asia Minor, even in quite small towns (ii, 260, 267, 269, 283, 296 sq., 340, 343, etc.). Building activity was continued under the Ottomans (cf. Huart, *Konia*, p. 59, 92, 109; Sarre, *Reise in Kleinasien*, index; R. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 24 sq.).

According to the *Kirfā*, the madrasa was brought to North Africa as early as the time of Salāḥ al-Dīn, for we are there told that the Almohad Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf (580-595 = 1184-1199) built mosques, hospitals and madrasas in Ifriqiyya, the Maghrib and al-Andalus (Tornberg, *Annales Regum Mauritaniorum*, Upsala 1843, i, 143); but no exact details are given to corroborate this statement. The Maghribi madrasas were exclusively Mālikī. In Tunisia, many madāris were erected under the Hafjids (625-941 = 1228-1534), the oldest being the Madrasat al-Ma'raḥ about 650. In the Chronicle of Tunis (Zarkashi, in *Chronique des Almohades et des Hafjides*, transl. E. Fagnan, in *Rev. Net. et Mem. Soc. Arch. Const.*, xxi, 1895, see index) eleven are mentioned including the Madrasat 'Unḥ al-Djama' of 742 (1344), the Madrasat Ibn Tāḥradjīn, founded by a learned man in 766 (1364), the Madrasa Shammā'īyya (before 734 = 1333; see *op. cit.*, p. 105, 106, 221), Madrasat Belhāfawīn in 796 (1393) (*ibid.*, p. 183), and six of the ninth century (see *op. cit.*, index; cf. also Marçais, *Manuel d'Art Musulman*, ii, 500, N^o 2). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions at the beginning of the eighth century the Madrasat al-Kutubiyyin (i, 20). There is no trace of madrasas of the Almohads and the statement in the *Kirfā* regarding them does not agree with the other sources. The first madrasa in the Maghrib was, according to Ibn Marāzī, *Masmūd*, the Madrasa al-Saffarīn built by the Marinid Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Hakk (656-685 = 1258-1286) in Fās in 684 [also called al-Halfā'iyyin, see the edition by Lévi-Provençal, in *Beirut*, v, 1925, p. 34 (Arabic) = p. 44 (French)]. In Fās, we are told by the same source, Abū Sa'īd (720-731) and his son Abū 'I-Hazān (731-749) built several madrasas: the M. al-Madina al-Baida' (= M. Dār al-Maghribin in Fās Djadid) in 721 (1321), the M.

al-Sihri in 723 (1321), the M. al-'Attār in 725 (1325) later called M. al-Wādī and in 747 (1346-1347) M. Miṣṣāf after the teacher; the next Marīd Abū 'Inān (749-759) built in 756 (1385) the Ba'nāfiya (Tornberg, *Annales Reg. Maur.*, i. 280 *infra*; Ibn Marzūq, in *Hesperis*, v. 34 and 68; Ed. Pauty, *ibid.*, iii, 1923, p. 315 *supra*; Bel, *Inscriptions de Fās*, in *J. A.*, ser. 11, x, 1917; xii, 1918; Margais, *Manuel d'Art Musulman*, ii, 1927, p. 465 *supra*). These Marīd madāris are all still in existence. No longer in existence is the M. al-Lebbādīn (Bel, *J. A.*, ser. 11, x, 148); the M. al-Sihri consisted of a larger and a smaller madrasa; the latter is now the M. al-Shā'iyyin (*ibid.*, p. 215 *supra*). Others were built under the Sharifs, notably the M. al-Sharrīfīn in the xth (xvth) century, now the largest in Fās (*ibid.*, p. 114; Bel writes *Shaghgharīn*). In other towns also Abū 'l-Ḥasan built madāris: in Tāz Miknās, Salā (742 = 1340), Tāndja, Sabta, Ānfa, Āzammūr, Asfā, Aghmāt, Marrākash, al-Qayr al-Kabrī, al-'Ubbād near Tilimsān (747 = 1346-1347), Tilimsān and al-Djāzīr (Ibn Marzūq, *Hesperis*, v. 35 and p. 69). That of Miknās was completed by the son of Abū 'l-Ḥasan, Abū 'Inān, who was a great builder of schools (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 84). In Tilimsān, the Zīyānīd Abū Ḥammū Mūsā I had already built a mosque in 710 (1310) and before 737 Abū Tāshīfīn founded the similar institute, which bore his name (Margais, *Monuments arabes de Tlemcen*; *ibid.*, *Manuel d'Art Musulman*, 1927, ii. 483, 515).

In Spain according to Ibn Sa'īd (viith = xiith century), there were no madrasas; instruction was given in the mosques (al-Maḥḥari, ed. Dozy, i. 136); but in the following year, however, a large madrasa was founded in Granada by the Naṣrīd Yūsuf Abū 'l-Ḥadīdīdī in 750 (1349) (Almagro Cardenas, in *Revue de la Real Acad. de la Hist.*, xxvii. 490; Margais, *op. cit.*, p. 517).

According to Ibn Sa'īd, men of learning were held in high esteem in al-Andalus; the Marīdīn in the Maghrib also built madrasas in their enthusiasm to further learning. The traveller al-'Abdārī (688 = 1289), however, found no interest in learning in Tilimsān, al-Djāzīr or Constantine (with one exception); it was only in Tunis that he found any enthusiasm (*J. A.*, ser. 5, iv, 1854, p. 154, 157, 158, 161, 169). This is certainly connected with the fact that the madrasa had just then been introduced into Tunis. But not even the madrasas brought about any deepening of interest in study in the west. Ibn Khaldūn (808 = 1406) testifies to the spread of madrasas in Tunis and the Maghrib but laments the decline in education. In al-Andalus, Muslim culture was dying out and after the decline of Kūrtula and Kairwān, education in the Maghrib was on a low level; while the old schools in the 'Irāq were no longer of importance, Cairo was a centre of learning to which all made their way and studies also flourished in Persia (*Mubādāma*, Cairo 1322, p. 342-344, *faṣl* 6, No. 2). This decline in interest in learning soon became general. The learning of the time lacked vitality and international scholarship was affected by political conditions. In 1517 A.D., Leo Africanus says that the lecture-rooms in Cairo were large and pleasant but the numbers who attended them were small. Some still studied fiqh, but very few the arts (*Descr. de l'Afr.*, iii. 372, in *Rec. de Voy. et de Doc.*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1896-1898). In Egypt,

interest in the specialised madrasa decreased considerably and the great builder of the xiith (xviith) century, the emir Kaikhudā, still built madrasas, but his real interest was in the mosque (see below). Lane only mentions the Azhar Mosque as an important centre of study in Cairo. The development in Mecca was similar, where in modern times studies are only prosecuted in the mosque (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 17, and cf. above). On education and the madrasa in general cf. also F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Akademie der Araber und ihre Lehrer*, Göttingen 1837; Kriemer, *Kulturgeschichte*, 1877, ii. 479 *supra*; Haneberg, *Abhandlung über das Schul- und Lehrwesen der Mohammedaner im Mittelalter*, 1850; v. Berchem, *Corpus Inscr. Arab.*, i. 252-269; G. Gabrieli, *Manuale di Bibliografia Musulmana*, i, 1916, p. 109 *supra*.

4. Development of the Madrasa and similar Institutions.

a. Madrasa, Masjid and Djāmi'.

There was, as already mentioned, no difference in principle between the madrasa and other mosques. Even after the introduction of madāris the regular mosques remained schools as before. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who travelled in the eighth century, in the period when madāris flourished most, attended lectures on Ḥadīth not only in the Djāmi' of Shūra but also in the Djāmi' Maṣār in Baghdad (ii. 83, 110). In Damascus in 580, Ibn Djabir refers to rooms in the Mosque of the Omayyads, which were used for Shāfi' and Mālikī students, who received considerable stipends (*isfrā', ma'tan*) and among them were many *Maḥārība*; the mosque had large endowments (*marāṭī*) for strangers and *ahl al-falak* (*Rihla*, p. 266 *supra*, 272 *supra*); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also speaks of the *ḥalāḥūl al-tadris* of this mosque in the different sciences (i. 212). In Egypt in the time of al-Makrīzī (ninth century), there were 8 rooms for fiqh studies in the Mosque of 'Amr and before 749 there were over 40 *ḥalāḥūl* in it (Makrīzī, iv. 20, 21). In the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn after its renovation in the reign of Lādīn (696-708) courses of fiqh, according to the four madhāhib, and other studies were arranged (*ibid.*, p. 41; cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/ii. 47 *supra*) and in 767 an emir appointed 7 teachers in Hanafī fiqh there (Makrīzī, iv. 42). In al-Azhar in the seventh century and later after the earthquake of 702 many lecture-rooms with paid teachers were built (*ibid.*, p. 52), likewise in the Mosque of Ḥakīm, where, after the earthquake, lecture-ships in fiqh for each madhāhib and for Ḥadīth were founded with salaries for the teachers and scholarships for the students (*ibid.*, p. 57). In Fātimid mosques, like the Djāmi' al-Zāfir and the Djāmi' Maḥs built by al-Ḥakīm, Mamlūk emirs founded new lectureships (*ibid.*, p. 66, 81) and not only in the Maḥḥad al-Ḥusaini but also in the Maḥḥad al-Nāfi were studies carried on in the eighth century (*Ḥusn al-Mubādāra*, i. 195; Maḥyi 'l-Dīn).

When a particular room was set apart for teaching purposes in a mosque, this was often called a madrasa; for example 6 of the Damascus madāris were in the Mosque of the Omayyads: the Shāfi'iya, Ghazālīya, Kāfiya, 'Isāfiya, Sāfi'iya, Mawḥḥāfiya, of which the first and third were also known simply as *ḥalāḥ* (*J. A.*, ser. 9, iii. 410, 432, 437; iv. 262, 270, 481; others: vii. 230); al-Ḥakīm's Ma'ḥki madrasa was

in the Mosque of 'Amr (see above) and Ibn Duqmāq (p. 100 *sq.*) mentions 8 zawāyā in this mosque, which were endowed for *ṭalab*. The madrasas were often also built close beside the large mosques so that they practically belonged to them. This was the case in Mecca (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 104 *sqq.*; cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 324), in Damascus where there was a Shāfi' madrasa beside the western gate, Bāḥ al-Bard (Ibn Djuḥair, p. 271), in Nisābūr (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii. 80) and in Cairo where al-Madrasa al-Taibarsiya in 709 and al-Ākbughawīya about 730 were built so close to the Azhar Mosque that they had common walls and windows in them, which was specially permitted by a *fatwā*; they were afterwards completely incorporated in the Mosque (Maḥrisī, iv. 223 *sq.*). In Fās, the chief madrasas are arranged round the great mosque al-Karawīyūn and the same arrangement is found in Marrākush (Pauty, in *Hesperis*, 1923, p. 515 *sqq.*, 523).

If the madrasa, as a building, had little independence, its character as a home for students and place of instruction was very marked. But even where it was quite an independent institution, the distinction between madrasa and ordinary mosque was very slight, all the less as sermons were also preached in the madrasa. In the fifth century the minbar had already been introduced into a large number of mosques. In the Niṣāmiya in Nisābūr, services were held as soon as it was finished (by 'Abd al-Rahmān: Wüstenfeld, *Schähz.*, iii. 285) and the Niṣāmiya in Baghdād had a minbar (Ibn Djuḥair, p. 219). A problem was however raised by the fact that these madāris were Shāfi' and this school held that only one mosque in a town could celebrate the Friday service, unless the town was of very considerable size and we are definitely told that al-Djūwainī conducted the Friday service in the madrasa in Nisābūr although he was also khatib at the Mamli mosque (Wüstenfeld, *Schähz.*, iii. 251). In Egypt from 569 to 665 there was only one Friday khatba, but after this time there was usually a minbar in the larger madrasa. The caliph actually preached in the madrasa built by Kaḥḥān (678-689; Maḥrisī, iv. 221). The minbar for the dju'm'a in many mosques is expressly mentioned, e.g. the Hidjāziya 761 (*ibid.*, p. 222 *sq.*), the Bakriya 776 (*ibid.*, p. 236), the Zamāniya 797 (*ibid.*, p. 241), the Djāfi (*ibid.*, p. 249). The Sāhibiya, which had not a minbar at first, was given one in 758 and was henceforth used for the Friday service (*ibid.*, p. 205). In Fās the mixed type of djamī and madrasa was found in the Bu'ānāniya (Bel, *J.A.*, ser. 11, xii. 339).

It was only natural that the madrasa should also be called *masdīd* (cf. Ibn Djuḥair, p. 48, 11 with line 19, 20). Ibn al-Hādīd in the eighth century still wants to distinguish between *masdīd* and *madrasa* and to give more importance to the former (*Madhḥat*, ii. 3, 48). The distinction remained however quite an artificial one and this is also true of the distinction between *madrasa* and *djamī*. The name madrasa was decided by the main object of the institution and the special style of the building. The name *djamī* was only given if the Friday service was held in it. Thus, as late as 772, we find the emir Buhārī building a madrasa and opposite it a *djamī*; but in the year 815, the madrasa was given a minbar and used as a *djamī* (Maḥrisī, iv. 235 *sq.*). If these two uses of the building are equal either name may be used

(cf. the double name in an inscription of the emir Muḥbil: van Berchem, *Corpus*, i, N^o. 201). In some cases a Friday mosque can be said to be in the madrasa (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 39). The great Djāmi' Ḥasan begun in 757 was also one of the largest madāris in Cairo (Maḥrisī, iv. 117 *sq.*) and on the other hand, the Djāmi' Khattāri in Bulāq built in 737 and the Djāmi' Aṣlam founded in 746 were educational institutions (*ibid.*, p. 106, 111; *Hum al-Muḥḥadara*, i. 192). In the ninth century the Djāmi' al-Mu'ayyadī was the most important new madrasa in Cairo (Maḥrisī, iv. 139). The same variation in nomenclature is often found in this century (cf. v. Berchem, *Corpus*, i, N^o. 235, 248, 253, 262). On the other hand Maḥrisī, in the ninth century, only uses *masdīd* as a name for quite insignificant mosques (iv. 263 *sqq.*, where 19 *masdīd* are mentioned). In the thirteenth century the emir Kathkhudā built 18 large mosques and many smaller ones and his interest in the furtherance of learning was specially displayed in his buildings at the Azhar mosque, which had developed at the expense of the specialist madāris (al-Djabarti, *Merveilles Biographiques*, iii. 230 *sqq.*; Sulaimān Raṣad, *Kanz al-Djawhar fī Tārīkh al-Azhar*, p. 74 *sq.*); for the similar situation in Mecca cf. above.

The connection between mausoleum and mosque was also found with the madrasa. The tomb of the founder was placed in Nūr al-Dīn's madrasa in Damascus (Ibn Djuḥair, p. 284, 1 *sq.*) and during the Mamliḥ period it was the regular custom for the founder of a madrasa to be buried under a *ḥubba* in it.

3. Monasteries.

A close connection arose between the monastery and the madrasa. As already mentioned, it was quite a common thing for devout men to live permanently in the mosque e.g. in the minaret or somewhere else on the roof or in subsidiary buildings or in a cell in the mosque. Such a cell which can be used for teaching or for meditation is called *ṣūfiya*, lit. corner (Ibn Djuḥair, p. 240, 245, 266; Maḥrisī iv. 20; cf. Greek *ῥαυλα*; see Dory, *Supplément*, s.v.). Pious ascetics however had retained from the older religion the custom of living in special monasteries e.g. in Djawlan in the fourth century (*B. G. A.*, i. 188); Muslim historians trace these back to the time of the Companions (Maḥrisī, iv. 272 *sq.*). In the fourth century ascetics and Sūfis, especially the Karrāmiya (q.v.) or Kirrāmiya (cf. Mez, *Renaissance*, p. 273), had quite a number of monasteries (*ḥawāṣiḥ*, also *ḥawāṣiḥ*, sing. *ḥawāṣiḥ*) in Farḡāna, Marv al-Rūdh, Samarḳand, Djurdjān, Tāharistān etc. (*B. G. A.*, iii. 323, 365); in Jerusalem and in Egypt also the Kirrāmiya had their monasteries in which they held *dhikr* (*ibid.*, p. 179, 182, 202).

The distinction between *ḥawāṣiḥ* and *ribāṭ* (plur. *rubūṭ*) is one of origin rather than fact. Ribāṭ was simply a dwelling for men who waged the *ghihād* on the frontier but the word was also used by the Sūfis who waged a spiritual *ghihād* (cf. Maḥrisī, iv. 292 *sq.*). There was a *ribāṭ* in the Maghrib in the fourth century in the Wāḥi Salā (*B. G. A.*, ii. 56). When Ibn Marzūḥ says that they had only two *rubūṭ* of the eastern kind (in Sāfi and Salā, *Hesperis*, v. 36, 71), it is doubtful whether he means an establishment of Sūfis or of *ghāzīs*. In the vith (xith) century there were several military *rubūṭ* on the river Niger, from

which the Almoravids originated. From the xvth century onwards many were built in Morocco against the Spaniards and Portuguese. *Maḥris* is the usual word for *ribāṭ* (see Bel, *J. A.*, ser. 11, ix, 1917, p. 325, N° 1). In the east in the fourth century, *rubāṭ* are frequently mentioned, which probably had a military character (*B. G. A.*, iii, 303, 354, 415). The original distinction between *khānaḳāh* and *ribāṭ* is never quite forgotten; as late as the beginning of the eighth century we find *ribāṭ* used of a barracks (Maḥris, iv, 276). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa says that the word *khānaḳāh* had not reached the west; here the old Arabic term *ṣunayya* was used (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, l. 71; *khānaḳāh* however in Ibn Maṣrūk, *Hispania*, v, 35 sq.). Usually we find the three terms used without any definite distinction being made between them (*ṣunayya* also seems to be used in the *Kiṭāb* of a Muslim monastery, see Tornberg, *Annales*, p. 143; cf. p. 18); for all three names are applied to Sūfī monasteries, which also take in strangers, i.e. are used as hospices.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions many monasteries in the *Irāq* and Persia. Beside the tomb of al-Riḳāʿī, not far from Wāsiṭ was a *ribāṭ*, which he calls *riwāḳ*, where "thousand of poor men", i.e. Sūfis, lived (ii, 4). In al-Liṣ especially, he found a vast number of monasteries; the sultān there built 460 *ṣunayyā* and spent 1/2 of his revenues on them and the madrasa (ii, 31).

For Syria, Ibn Djubair testifies to the flourishing monasteries which were often regular palaces and he says that the names *khānaḳāh* and *ribāṭ* are used indiscriminately (p. 243, 271, 284); the word *khānaḳāh* sounded strange to him as a westerner, as to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (p. 284). Nevertheless al-Nuʿairi distinguishes the three terms and mentions 29 *khawānīk*, 23 *rubāṭ* and 26 *ṣunayyā*. The oldest *khānaḳāh* mentioned by him (Duwaira) was founded for a learned man who died in 401 (Sauvage, in *J. A.*, ser. 9, v, 269, 377, 387 sq.).

It was similar with Egypt. The first *khānaḳāh* was built by Salāḥ al-Dīn in 569 in Cairo (al-Salḥiyya, originally called Dār Saʿīd al-Suʿādā: Maḥris, iv, 273), the next in the seventh century by Baibars al-Bunduqdārī, who also founded new monasteries in Syria (*ibid.*, p. 282, 298). Of *khawānīk*, al-Maḥris mentions 22 (Ibn Duḥmāḳ only one), of the sixth century: one, seventh: one, eighth: 18, ninth: one. Of *rubāṭ* 12 (Ibn Duḥmāḳ 8), of the seventh century: 9, of the eighth: one, besides 5 on al-Qarāfa. Of *ṣunayyā* 26 (Ibn Duḥmāḳ, 9); these were mainly outside the town and were obviously quite small, often being simply the house, later the tomb of some devout man. The oldest dated from the sixth century. In Jerusalem also Salāḥ al-Dīn built a *khānaḳāh* (v. Berchem, *Corpus*, ii, p. 87 sq.). Among the *khawānīk*, *ṣunayyā* and *rubāṭ* in this city the last named seems to have been specially intended as hostels for pilgrims (*ibid.*, p. 197 sq.; see also Sauvage, *Jérus. et Hébron*, index). In Mecca 50 *rubāṭ* are mentioned; the oldest dated from 400 (*Chron. Mekka*, ii, 108—115). At places of pilgrimage, the monasteries played an important part as hostels but even in other places they also gave accommodation to strangers. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa on his travels usually stayed in them (he calls them *ṣunayyā*) but he also lodged in madrasa, which were generally used as hospices (cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/ii, 35, note). Some of these

institutions were convents for single women (Maḥris, iv, 293 sq.).

The main object of monasteries, however, was to afford Sūfis a home and place for their devotional exercises. In the *khānaḳāh* of Baibars founded in 706, 400 Sūfis were maintained (Maḥris, iv, 276 *infra*) and in the *khānaḳāh* Siryāḳūs 100 (*ibid.*, p. 285). They were given lodging, food, clothing and money; there were often baths attached to them. The building was arranged for *dhikr* exercises, and also for *ṣalāṭ* so that it was a kind of mosque. Ibn Djubair mentions a *ribāṭ* on the summit of Abū Kūbais in which there was a mosque (p. 108). A *ribāṭ* may be actually called a *masjid* (Maḥris, iv, 294; cf. *khānaḳāh* and *masjid*, p. 282 and the term *masjid al-ribāṭ*: Ibn ʿArabshāh, *Vita Timuri*, ed. Manger, iii, 880). The monastery founded by Salāḥ al-Dīn was actually given a minaret in 780 (*miḥnāḥ*) and it is recorded that people used to wear sandals to walk in the *ṣalāṭ* (Maḥris, iv, 275 *infra*). Sometimes only the occupants of the monastery are admitted to the *ṣalāṭ* (*ibid.*, p. 277: *Khānaḳāh* Baibars). There was therefore an imām on the staff of the *khānaḳāh* (*ibid.*, p. 287). Like other sanctuaries the monasteries sometimes preserved relics; the *Ribāṭ al-ʿAḥr*, for example, preserved a piece of iron and wood which had belonged to the Prophet (*ibid.*, p. 295). We sometimes find a *khānaḳāh* built close to a large mosque like the *khānaḳāh* of Ḍabūghā beside the Azhar Mosque (*ibid.*, p. 293; cf. p. 289: Kūṣṭān) or the founder built a *masjid* for the Friday *ṣalāṭ* beside the monastery (Siryāḳūs, *ibid.*, p. 285). The occupants of the *Salḥiyya Khānaḳāh* took a prominent part in the Friday service in the mosque of Ḥākim (*ibid.*, p. 274). At a later date, we find the monasteries themselves arranged for the Friday *ṣalāṭ*. This was the case with the *Ribāṭ al-Aḥr*, which in 663 was given a minbar for the Friday and festival *khutbas* (*ibid.*, p. 297) and al-Muʿayyad made a house, that had been begun before he came to the throne, into a *ḍiḥān* *wa-ḥhānaḳāh* (*ibid.*, p. 134 *infra*) just as *vice versa* a *ḍiḥān* could be built with living-rooms for Sūfis, e.g. the *ḍiḥān* al-Ḍānī (beginning of the 12th century, like the preceding, *ibid.*, p. 140 *infra*) and in the viith century, the *ḍiḥān* Shaikhū (before the building of his *khānaḳāh*, *ibid.*, p. 113). Baibars al-Bunduqdārī was buried in his *khānaḳāh* and the monasteries had as a rule tombs, either of the founder, or of devout men who had lived in them.

The development of the monastery is therefore quite analogous to that of the madrasa; the one institution merges into the other, because learning and manifestation of piety are inseparable in Islam. Learning was also cultivated in the monasteries; at the present day, we find students living in a monastery and attending lectures in a madrasa. Some scholars lectured on Hadīth in their rooms in a monastery (*ibid.*, p. 294, 295, 303) but instruction was also arranged for in some monasteries just as in the madrasa. ʿAbd al-Latif (d. 629 = 1231) lectured in a *ribāṭ* in Baghdad on *uṣūl*, *ḥadīth*, etc. (Ibn Abī Uṣaybʿa, ii, 203) and a *Ribāṭ al-Khānūn* is mentioned here, which had a library (Ibn al-Killī, ed. Lippert, p. 269). There are other references to libraries in monasteries (see for Marw: Yāqūt, iv, 509). In *Khānaḳāh* Shaikhū founded in 756, an extensive course of lectures, *Fikḥ* according to all four *Madhāhib*, *Hadīth* and

Ibrāhīm (Maḡribī, iv. 283), was given. In the Ribāṭ al-ʿAṭṭār in the eighth century, instruction was given in Ṣūfī Fiqh (*ibid.*, p. 296) and in the Dīwān al-Fakhrī built in 821, arrangements were made for students as well as for Ṣūfīs (*ibid.*, p. 236); the Ḥanafī madrasa al-Djamāliya (730) was also a khānqāh (*ibid.*, p. 238 *supra*); they had a common director.

In the eighth and ninth century this combination of the two institutions became quite frequent, for example in the Niḡmīya in Cairo of the year 757 (v. Berchem, *Corpus*, i. 242 *sqq.*), in the mausoleum of Barṣabī 835 (*ibid.*, p. 365 *sq.*; cf. Ibn Iyās, ii. 21, 22, 47), of al-Malik al-Aṣṣaf Ināl, 855–860 (*ibid.*, No. 271 *sqq.*) and of Kaṭī Bī 879 (*ibid.*, p. 431 *sqq.*). The same institution thus came to be given different names (cf. *ibid.*, p. 172 *sqq.*) and al-Suyūṭī deals with the khawānīk under the madāris. In the east, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found the same relationship, for example in Shirāz and in Kerbelā (*ii.* 78 *sq.*, 88, 99) and this is what he means when he says the Persians call the zāwiya madrasa (*ii.* 30, 32). In the west, he lauds his own sovereign, who had built a splendid zāwiya in Fās (*i.* 84); here also learning and Ṣūfism were associated (see the quotation in Dozy, *Supplément*, v. *zāwiya*) and the zāwiya still plays an important part in North Africa (see Depont and Coppolani, *Les Confréries Religieuses Musulmanes*, Algiers 1897; El-Hachachi, *Voyages au Pays des Senoussia*, transl. Serres and Lasserre, Paris 1912). Cf. on the monasteries: v. Berchem, *C. I. A.*, i. 163 *sqq.*, 174 *sq.* c. Hospitals.

We commonly find, e.g. in Ibn Dīubair and al-Maḡribī, the hospital, *ḥimāristān*, *māristān*, *mīristān*, mentioned in close connection with the madrasa, probably because it was administered by learned men and as a rule also contained a medical school. Al-Walīd is said to have been the first in Islām to build a hospital, in the year 88 (Maḡribī, iv. 258 *sq.*; *B. G. A.*, v. 106). In Cairo in 259 or 261 (i.e. before the mosque) Ibn Ṭūlūn built a hospital for the poor. At the same time he installed a dispensary behind the mosque and a physician used to sit here to be consulted every Friday. According to al-Maḡribī, his māristān (called in Ibn Duḡmāḡ, p. 99 the "upper") was the first in Egypt; this probably means the first free public hospital; it is improbable that this Hellenistic institution did not already exist in Egypt (Maḡribī, iv. 38, 39, 258; *Huṣn*, ii. 139). Al-Maḡribī (iv. 259 *sqq.*) mentions in addition to this hospital in Cairo the *Māristān Kaṣūr* (in 346, perhaps identical with that called the "lower" by Ibn Duḡmāḡ, p. 99), al-Maḡhāfir (232–247), al-Manṣūrī (682), al-Muʿayyadī (821). To these must be added the two which Salāḡ al-Dīn maintained in Mīr and Kāhira (Ibn Dīubair, p. 51, 52; cf. Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1302, ii. 402 *sq.*). In Damascus Ibn Dīubair found two hospitals, one of them the *Ḥimāristān al-Nūrī* (p. 283, 284; cf. Ibn Khallikān, ii. 403). He also mentioned one in Naṣībīn (p. 240), in Ḥarrān 2 (p. 247), in Hulab 1 (p. 253), in Ḥamṣ 1 (p. 257); in Baghdad he refers to a number without particularising them but we know of hospitals here from the third century and in 304 Sinān b. Thābit was director of the hospitals of Baghdad; he was responsible for the foundation of three more (Ibn al-Kifī, ed. Lippert, p. 193; cf. *Kitāb al-Wuṣṣāʾ*, ed. Amedroz, p. 21 and on the whole question: Mez, *Renaissance*, p. 326 *sq.*). There was

a hospital attached to the great Mustanṣiriya madrasa (Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 268).

As regards the teaching of medicine, Ibn Abī Uṣāibʿa shows (*i.* 103 *sqq.*) that it was continued without interruption in Islām: for example, he mentions ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abḍar, who was in charge of the medical school in Alexandria, and after the conquest adopted Islām. At a later date, the chief medical schools were in Anṣākīya and Ḥarrān, among other places (*i.* 116 *infra*). For a long period most of the physicians were Christians (cf. also *B. G. A.*, iii. 183). Teaching was usually given in connection with the hospitals. The head physician collected the students around him whom he trained (*ḡharraḍa*) and they assisted him (e.g. the Georgios, summoned from Gundēshāpūr to Baghdad by Mansūr: Ibn Abī Uṣāibʿa, i. 124). Kālāʾūn had a lecture-room installed in his hospital, the Mansūrī, where the *raʾīs al-ṭibb* lectured on medical science (Maḡribī, iv. 260); instruction was also given in the great al-Ḥimāristān al-Nūrī in Damascus (Ibn Abī Uṣāibʿa, ii. 192). Lectures on medicine (*ṭibb*) were sometimes also given in the mosques but in this case it was for the most part a theoretical science closely connected with philosophy. Ibn al-Haitham (d. c. 430) lectured on *ṭibb* in the reign of al-Ḥakīm (*ibid.*, ii. 90) and when Iādīn restored the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn he also endowed lectureships on this subject (Maḡribī, iv. 41; which shows that *ṭibb* should be read in Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii. 47). *Ṭibb* could also be studied in a madrasa; for example, al-Dīlī, who died in 641 lectured on it in the ʿAdhrawīya in Damascus (Ibn Abī Uṣāibʿa, ii. 171). At the same time there were special *madāris al-ṭibb*; thus in the seventh century three were built in Damascus (*J. A.*, ser. 9, iv. 497–499; Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.*, iii. 329). The teachers in them could also be physicians at the hospitals (Ibn Abī Uṣāibʿa, ii. 266).

d. Children's Schools.

These were older than Islāmic science, since at the very beginning of Islām, reading and writing were taught in Arabia. In Medina the teachers were often Jews (see Balādhurī, p. 473 *infra*; cf. the name *raḥḥānī* for the teacher: Sūra, iii. 73; v. 48, 68; Bukhārī, *ʿIlm*, bāb 10; Yaʿqūbī, ed. Houtma, ii. 243); but ability to write was not so common here as in Mecca (cf. on the question Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qorān*, i. 15 *sq.*; Goldziher, *Mus. Stud.*, i. 110 *sq.*). After the battle of Badr, several captured Meccans were released to teach writing in Medina (Kāmil, ed. Wright, p. 171; cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Sprenger, *Leben Muh.*, iii. 131). After the capture of Kaṣāriya, the prisoners were settled in al-Djurf and some were employed in the school (*ḡuttāb*) (Balādhurī, p. 142). Another contemporary of ʿOmar's, Dīubair b. Haiya, who was later an official and governor, was a teacher (*muʿallim ḡuttāb*) in a school in Ṭāʾif (Ibn Ḥaḍḍar, *Ḥikā*, Cairo 1323, i. 235). Muʿawīya, who had acted as the Prophet's amanensis took a great interest in the education of the young. They learned reading, writing, counting, swimming and a little of the Qurʾān and the necessary observances of religion. Famous men like al-Ḥaḍḍāḍ and the poets Kusaī and Ṭarīmāḡ are said to have been schoolmasters (Lammeus, *Muʿawīya*, p. 329 *sqq.*, 360 *sqq.*). The main subject taught was *adab*, so that the schools of the children were called *madāris al-adab* (*Aḡḡāl*, xviii, 2nd Cairo ed., p. 101), and the teacher was called

mu'adib (e.g. Maqrīzī, iv. 223; cf. Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, iv. 272; vii. 105), also *mu'allim* (Bukhārī, *Diya'*, bāb 27; Yāqūt, iii. 410; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 213), in modern times *fiṭh* (s. Lane, *Manners and Customs, Everyman's Library*, p. 61). The teacher was as a rule held in little esteem, perhaps a relic of the times when he was a slave, but we also find distinguished scholars teaching in schools; thus Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzaḥim who died in 105 or 106, the equestrian, traditionist and grammarian, had a school in Kūfa, said to have been attended by 3,000 children, where he used to ride up and down among his pupils on an ass (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, iv. 272 sq.). As language was of the utmost importance, we find a Beduin being appointed and paid as a teacher of the youth in Bayra (*ibid.*, ii. 239). Schools spread during the Omayyad period. They were found in Khurāsān and instruction was also given at home in the houses (see Haneberg, *Schul- und Lehrwesen*, p. 4 sq.). Under the Fāṭimids, there was a boys' school in the palace where the youth of the upper classes was prepared for the Caliph's service (Maqrīzī, ii. 209—211). It is natural to find a children's school also attached to the mosque; but education became probably more and more centred round the Qur'ān. In the Mosque of the Omayyads children were taught (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 213; Ibn Djuḥair, p. 272) and the teachers had special rooms at the north door of the mosque (Ibn Djuḥair, p. 271). In Palermo most of the numerous mosques were also used for teaching the Qur'ān (*ibid.*, p. 332); according to Yāqūt (iii. 410), there were no less than 300 teachers here, but, he adds, because they were exempt from military service; but in the fourth century Ibn Hawṣal counted 300 *kaṭāib* in Palermo, the teachers of which were held in high esteem (*B.G.A.*, ii. 87).

To this day children are taught in the ṣaḥn of the Azhar Mosque. In the sixth century there were also many independent schools. In Cairo, Ibn Djuḥair found a large number of schools mainly for orphans and poor children and the teachers and pupils were maintained by the Sultān (p. 52) and in Damascus he saw a similar large institution (p. 272). In Jerusalem Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn built a school (v. Berchem, *Corpus*, iii/i, 108 sq.). Ibn Djuḥair says that in these eastern countries, the Qur'ān was only taught orally (by *ṭalḥa*) while writing was practised with poems etc., out of respect for the Qur'ān (*Riḥla*, p. 272). This did not hold generally however. At a later date (xiith century) we are told that a pipe was led from a school in the Azhar Mosque to the tomb of the founder so that his grave could be watered by the water in which the dates, on which sentences from the Qur'ān had been written, were washed (Sulaimān Rūsā, *Kana al-Djāzihar fī Ta'rikh al-Azhar*, Cairo 1320, p. 73). As a rule the school was placed close to the mosque and beside a drinking fountain. During the Mamlūk period, nearly every founder of a madrasa built in connection with it a similar institution for orphans and poor children, who received free instruction and sometimes also maintenance in it (see Maqrīzī, s. v. *madāris*, *passim*). The object of one such school beside the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn is thus defined by Lādīn as "to teach the orphans of the Muslims to recite the Book of God, the Exalted and also for other works pleasing to God and the various kinds of piety" (Maqrīzī, iv. 41). Elsewhere it is

often said to be "to teach them the Qur'ān". In the Maghrib also, the children only learned the Qur'ān, i.e. to recite it, while in Andalus they also learned reading and writing (*ṣirāḥ*), poems and a little grammar. In Ifrīqiya they learned, beside the Qur'ān, some Hadith and a little of other sciences (Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima*, p. 447 sq.; *faṣl*, vi. 32).

The children's school is called *maktab* (e.g. Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, iv. 272; Maqrīzī, iv. 41, 201) or *kuttab* (Bukhārī, *Diya'*, bāb 27; Balādhuri, p. 142; Maqrīzī, iv. 197, 240); those founded for poor children *kuttab ṣabil* or *maktab ṣabil* (cf. e.g. Maqrīzī, iv. 53, 117, 199, 201). The word *ṣabil* characterises the school as a public benevolent institution; cf. the expression: "she made a *maktab li-l-ṣabil*" (*ibid.*, p. 223; of Kālān's hospital, *ibid.*, p. 260; s. also Dory, *Supplément*, s. v.; Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/i, 229 note and *B.G.A.*, iv. 211, 258). — Cf. on elementary education: Goldziher, *Art. Education*, in Hastings, *Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics*; Mex, *Renaissance*, p. 177 sq.; Lane, *Manners and Customs*; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 144 sqq.

5. Libraries.

In Mecca, as well as in Medina, there were large collections of books in the mosques (Ibn Djuḥair, p. 89, 193; on modern conditions in Medina, see Batanūnī, *Riḥla*, p. 254 sq.). The Dīwānī Zāitūn in Tunis had a large library (*Rec. Soc. Arch. Constantine*, 1894, p. 287). The Nigāsiya in Baghdad had a library of which al-lafarī'at (d. 488) was librarian (Wüstenfeld, *Sāḥib*, iii. 314). The Mustansiriya was better supplied in this respect than any other madrasa (*Chron. Mekka*, iii. 174). In Marw there were in the sixth century 10 public endowed libraries in the mosques and madāris, two of them in the chief mosque, one of the latter containing about 12,000 volumes (Yāqūt, iv. 509). Among the madāris in Cairo, the Fāṭimiya was particularly well endowed in this respect; it contained 100,000 volumes (Maqrīzī, iv. 197); these were acquired by al-Kādī al-Fāṭilī from the Fāṭimid Academy (Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Shāma, *K. al-Rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1287, i. 200, 268; Maqrīzī, ii. 253 sqq.) and in Kālān's hospital there were according to Ibn Taghribirdī (ii/i. 482), 100,000 volumes from the same library. These libraries were often broken up and portions put in other madāris. During the famine of 694, the students of the Fāṭimiya sold the valuable books for a loaf of a volume (Maqrīzī, iv. 197; cf. also p. 252). In Syria, Asia Minor (v. Berchem, *Corpus*, iii/i. 26 sqq.) and in the Maghrib also (*J.A.*, ser. 11, x. 109 sqq.; *Hispania*, v. 35) and elsewhere, libraries formed part of the endowments of the madāris. With the decline in interest in learning many of these libraries became neglected. What survived has often been collected and placed in new libraries, as for example in Cairo in the Royal Library since 1891; for Damascus see Ḥalīb al-Zayāl, *Ḥawāṣir al-Kutub fī Dimashq wa-Dawwāḥiḥā* (Cairo 1902).

6. The subjects taught and the methods of instruction.

As already explained, in the earliest period the principal subjects studied in the mosque were Qur'ān and Hadith to which was added the study of the Arabic language. In Bukhārī (*K. al-'Ilm*)

'ilm still means Ḥadīth but, with the development of the systems of law and theology, these were also taught in the mosques. In the mosque of al-Manṣūr in Baṣra, al-Aḥḥārī heard al-Djubbārī expound the Mu'tasila kalām (Wustenfeld, *Schöpfung*, p. 131); closely connected with this was methodology (*al-Muḥḥakka wa 'l-Nuḥḥar*, cf. Yāqūt, *Udāt*, vi, 383). But many different subjects could also be taught. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baḥdādī, who taught in Manṣūr's Dīmīl in Baghdad, lectured on his history of Baghdad (Yāqūt, *Udāt*, i, 246 sq.). Philosophy proper however disappeared from the mosques. In Spain, we are told, *falsafa* and *tanqīḥ* were only cultivated in secret, as those who studied them were branded as zindīk, even stoned or burned (Maḥḥārī, ed. Dozy, i, 136). The madāris were mainly established to teach the established systems of fiqh and originally each school was intended to represent only one madhāb. Where the four madhāb are represented in one school, one can talk of four madāris, e.g. *al-Madāris al-Sūfiyya* (Maḥḥārī, iv, 209, 282; also *al-Madrasatūni*, because it was divided by the street, p. 209; cf. v. Berchem, *C.I.A.*, i, 104, note 1). The custom, often occurring before Niḡām al-Mulk's time of founding a *Dār al-Ḥadīth* was also continued after him. Al-Maḥḥārī mentions two of them in Cairo: al-Kāmiliyya, founded in 622 by al-Malik al-Kāmil (iv, 211 sq.) and al-Kharūbiyya, founded in 785 (*ibid.*, p. 201). The former was restored in 1166 again as a ḥadīth school (v. Berchem, *C.I.A.*, i, No. 61). Before al-Malik al-Kāmil, Nūr al-Dīn (d. 599) had founded the Nūriyya in Damascus as a *Dār al-Ḥadīth* (Maḥḥārī, iv, 211; cf. *J.A.*, ser. 9, iii, 280); when al-Maḥḥārī says this was the first built on the earth he must be corrected. In Damascus many similar schools were built: 16 are mentioned, and 3 Ḳur'ān and Ḥadīth schools besides (*J.A.*, ser. 9, iii, 271 sq.; Fleischer, *Kl. Schriften*, iii, 318 sq., 329 differs slightly).

The ordinary madāris however included other subjects beside the study of fiqh alone. Special mention is made of *naḥw* (al-Sāhibiyya, Maḥḥārī, iv, 205). In the Niḡamiyya in Baghdad and in other madāris in the east, philological studies were prosecuted (cf. Yāqūt, *Udāt*, vi, 409; v, 423 sq. and iv, 253, but it must be an anachronism when Sulaimān b. 'Abd Allāh is said to have taught philology in 403 in the Niḡamiyya in Baghdad). In 604 (1207) al-Malik al-Ma'azzam built beside the Ṣāḥḥra mosque a *Madrasa naḥwiyya*, exclusively for Arabic linguistic studies (Sauvage, *Hist. Tir. et Hiber.*, p. 86, 140) and schools for special subjects were not rare (cf. Subki, *Mu'ad*, ed. Myhrmann, p. 153). In addition to those in Maḥḥārī, there are frequent references to *ḥirā'a* (often *al-ḥirā'a al-ṣābi'a*), *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr* and *mā'id* (devotional exercises; cf. thereon Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Mam.*, ii/iii, 47). Al-Suhkī mentions, in addition to the special Ḥadīth schools, also *Madāris al-Tafsīr* and *Madāris al-Naḥw* (*Mu'ad al-Ni'am*, ed. Myhrmann, p. 153).

In his *Muhaddima* (faṣl 6, No. 4 sq.), Ibn Khaldūn gives a survey of the divisions of Islamic studies. They are divided into 'ulūm *ḥadīthiyya* and *naḥwiyya*. The former are based on observation by the senses and deduction and are therefore also called *falsafiyya* or 'aḥliyya, the latter are dependent on revelation by the "legitimate determiner" (*al-Waḥīd al-Shar'i*), are therefore based on special communication. The 'ulūm *naḥwiyya* therefore com-

prise all branches of knowledge which owe their existence to Islām, namely *Ḳur'ān*, i.e. *tafsīr* and the seven *ḥirā'a* (No. 5), *ḥadīth* with the sciences auxiliary to it, including *al-naḥw* and *al-manṣūkh*, *muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth* (No. 6), *al-fiqh* with special emphasis on *al-far'īd*, the law of inheritance (No. 7—8), *uṣūl al-fiqh* with the principles of law including methods of deduction on the differences between the madhāb (No. 9), *al-kalām*, theology, which is *naḥliyya* in as much as it is really a further development of *imān* which comes under the head of religious duties, but is 'aḥliyya in its nature since it is entirely based on abstract proofs (No. 10), *al-ta'awwuf*, something like practical theology (No. 11), *ta'bir al-ru'yā*, interpretations of visions (No. 12).

Linguistic sciences come next to the study of Ḳur'ān and Ḥadīth (cf. No. 4, 37 beginning), which are divided into 4 parts: *al-naḥw*, *al-lughā*, *al-bayān*, *al-ʿadab* (No. 37), and in the last named category comes the whole study of Arabic literature.

The 'ulūm 'aḥliyya are variously classified, usually into 7 main sections (No. 13) and are *al-manṣūkh*, logic, which is the foundation of all others (No. 17), *al-arithmāṭikā*, arithmetic, including *ḥisāb* etc. (No. 14), *al-handasa*, geometry (No. 15), *al-ḥakā'a*, astronomy (No. 16), *al-mūsīqā*, the theory of tones and their definition by number etc. (see No. 13); then there is *al-falāhiyya*, the theory of bodies at rest and in motion, — heavenly, human, animal, plant and mineral; among its subdivisions, special mention is made of *al-ṭibb*, medicine, and *al-falāḥa*, agriculture (No. 18—20; cf. No. 29). The seventh main head is 'ilm *al-ilāhiyyāt*, metaphysics (No. 21). Magic, talismans, mysterious properties of numbers etc. also form branches of Muslim learning (No. 22 sq.).

As above remarked, medicine was not only taught in special schools but also in the mosques; about 600 A.H., 'Abd al-Latif lectured in the Azhar Mosque but it is not quite clear whether his instruction in *ṭibb* was also given there (Ibn Abi 'Uyaybi'a, ii, 207) and in any case the "philosophical sciences" in particular were cultivated in the mosques. Another division which still prevails, developed, that into principal sciences, those having a definite aim (*maḥḥūd*) and instrumental sciences (*āḥl* or *wasā'il*). To the former belong *kalām*, *al-ḥikm*, *al-dīniyya* (ethics, practically the same as *ta'awwuf*), *fiqh*, *uṣūl al-fiqh*, *Ḳur'ān* (*tafsīr* and *tafsīr*), *ḥadīth*. The latter comprise linguistics, (*ṣarf*, *uṣūl al-bayān*, *ḥakā'a*) and in addition metrics and prosody (*arūd*, *ḥakā'a*), logic (*manṭiq*) including the theory of proof (*ḥadīth al-baḥṭh*), probably the same as the older *muḥḥakka* and *nuḥḥar*, mathematics (*ḥisāb* and *ḥisāb*), *muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth* (cf. Muṣṭafā Baitam, *Risāla*, Cairo 1902, p. 20; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mecca*, ii, 200 sq.). There are no hard and fast lines drawn. When in 1162 Aḥmad Paṣha came to Cairo as governor, no shaykh in the Azhar could give answers to simple questions on mathematics and astronomy, because they only knew as much arithmetic as sufficed to deal with questions raised by the law of inheritance; a very few studied these subjects privately. The Paṣha pointed out that astronomy was necessary for the study of religious duties, to settle the times and seasons (al-Djabbārī, *Merveilles Biographiques*, ii, 110 sq.; cf. also A. Sprenger, *Die Schulfächer und die Schulart der Muslime*, Z.D.M.G. xxiii, 1878, p. 1—20).

The method of teaching was by lectures which had to be learned by heart afterwards (*taḥfīṣ*). The first task was to learn the Qur'an by heart and then acquire as many traditions as possible. The ḥadīth was repeated three times so that the student could remember it (Bukhārī, *ʿilm*, p. 30). Lecturing soon became dictation (*imlāʾ*), when the student wrote down what was said, except in the case of the Qur'an (approved: Bukhārī, *ʿilm*, bāb 34, 36). The method was the same for linguistic or literary subjects as for Ḥadīth, Tafsīr, etc. The philologists not only used to dictate their grammatical works, as for example Ibn Duraid (Wüstenfeld, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, p. 127) or Amr b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid (d. 344) who dictated from memory 30,000 folios on *luḡa* (Yāqūt, *ʿUdabaʾ*, vii. 26) but also the text of the poets, like al-Ṭabarī, who lectured on *al-ʿIrīm-māʾ* in the Mosque of ʿAmr in 256 (*ibid.*, vi. 432). Abū Bakr b. al-Anbārī (d. 327 or 328), who dictated in one part of the mosque and his father in another, knew by heart 300,000 *ṣawāʾid* for the Qur'an and 120 commentaries on verses of the Qur'an with their *isnāds* (*ibid.*, vii. 73). Dictation was specially important in the case of Ḥadīth, as the exact establishment of the text was the first necessity. It is therefore always said "he dictated Ḥadīth" (*Ḥuṣn al-Muḥaddara*, ii. 139; Wüstenfeld, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, p. 210, 224, 248, 257, 287 etc.; Ibn Kullūbughā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanafīya*, ed. Flügel, p. 51; Yāqūt, *ʿUdabaʾ*, i. 246). The position of a teacher is therefore *maʿallim al-ʿimlāʾ* (*ibid.*, ii. 243; vii. 74), and his *famulus* among the students is *al-muʿtamil* (cf. *ibid.*, vi. 282; vii. 74). Problems of *fiqh* were also dictated (so Abū Yūsuf, Ibn Kullūbughā, ed. Flügel, No. 249).

Instruction frequently began immediately after the *ṣalāt* and the students performed the *ṣalāt* along with the teacher. The class (*ḍarf*) began with the recitation of the Qur'an by a *ḥafīẓ*, with blessings on the Prophet, and other religious formulae (*Madkhal*, i. 56; cf. *Mez. Renaissance des Islams*, p. 172 sq.). At the present day, the teacher as a rule simply pronounces the *basmala* himself. Dictation alone was not everywhere the custom. In time, there came to be so many copies of the chief texts that the students were able to get copies for themselves. The text was in this case read aloud and the teacher gave his comments and emendations on the text (Yāqūt, *ʿUdabaʾ*, i. 255). It was only natural that the dictation of texts was first abandoned in philology; it is said to have been dropped as early as the fourth (tenth) century (*Mez. Renaissance*, p. 171 with a reference to Subki, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiya*, iii. 259; Sayyid, *Mushir*, i. 30). This does not mean that dictation was completely abandoned for the teacher still made his pupils write down his comments; for example Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān (d. 584) dictated a commentary on Ḥarīrī (Yāqūt, *ʿUdabaʾ*, vii. 20), and the method of having a text read aloud, while the lecturer explained any remarkable phrases was used as early as by the teacher of Ḥadīth, Ibn Kaṣān (d. 299; *ibid.*, vi. 282). At the present day, either the teacher or his *famulus* reads the text to be expounded from printed copy.

Cooperation between teachers and taught by questioning one another has always been an important feature of method. Ibn Khaldūn laments that so few teachers in his time understand the correct methods of teaching (*ṭurūq al-taʿlīm*).

They put difficult questions at once to the pupil instead of which the *taḥfīṣ* must be arranged systematically, so that it is always combined with exposition and it is a fundamental principle that the pupil should not mix the different subjects. In Spain and North Africa in particular in his time, the instruction was not particularly good, and they laid too much stress on learning by heart (*ḥifẓ*) (*Muḥaddara*, p. 342, 443 sq., 445 = *fat* 6, No. 2, p. 30; cf. Subki, *Muʿlāḥ al-Nīlām*, ed. Myhrmann, p. 151 sq.). Mechanical learning by heart is recognised for the Qur'an. It is therefore regularly said "he dictated and expounded" (e.g. Wüstenfeld, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, p. 220, 326). When the above mentioned Ibn Kaṣān expounded ḥadīth, he also asked his hearers about their meaning (Yāqūt, *ʿUdabaʾ*, vi. 282). Vice versa, the class was at liberty to catechise the teacher. Al-Shāfiʿī used to sit in his great *ḥalqa* in Mecca and say: "Ask me what you want and I will then give you information on the Qur'an and *sunna*" (*ibid.*, vi. 391; cf. B. G. A., iii. 379). The teacher was sometimes overwhelmed with questions (Yāqūt, *ʿUdabaʾ*, v. 272). Ibn Duhair saw written questions being handed to a teacher in the Nizamiya in Baghdad (p. 219 sq.). Both practices are still in vogue and even in large classes the student may interrupt with questions. Ibn al-Hādīdj condemns irregular interruptions of the lecture (*Madkhal*, i. 57).

7. The Teachers.

The name for a teacher is *muḥarrir* (also used in the pre-Muḥammadan period: Ibn Abi Ujaibīra, i. 104); *ustādh* is a kind of honorary title (see Yāqūt, *ʿUdabaʾ*, i. 113, 209; ii. 271; v. 353, 354, 358, 448) and is still in use and applied also to students. There were a very large number of teachers in the great mosques. In the madrasa at first only one was appointed, for example in the Nizamiya in Baghdad (see above), in the first of those founded by Salāḥ al-Dīn in Cairo (al-Nāṣiriya: Makrizi, iv. 193) and in many others. A madrasa frequently took its name from a distinguished teacher (e.g. the Gharnawiya in Cairo: Makrizi, iv. 235; the Shāfiʿiya, originally the Nāṣiriya: *ibid.*, p. 193; M. Ibn Rashīq: *ibid.*, p. 195; cf. *Madkhal al-Kisāʾ* in Baghdad). In the larger madāris, however, several teachers were appointed; Salāḥ al-Dīn appointed 4 lectures to the Ḥanafiya in Cairo (*ibid.*, p. 193 sq.); in this case a definite number (20) of students was allotted to each teacher (cf. *Chron. Mikhā*, ii. 105 sq.).

It is easily understood that the conditions in the older mosques, where every one could come and go, were freer than in the madāris, which were built for particular teachers and students. There was certainly no official recognition of the teachers in the earliest period. After text-books had come into use, the certificate of qualification was the *ijāza*, and so it has remained to modern times. Any one who had studied with a teacher could get permission from him to teach from the book, which he had copied out and studied from his dictation; the teacher wrote this permission (*ijāza*) in the book (e.g. Yāqūt, *ʿUdabaʾ*, i. 253; ii. 272). A teacher could also give an *ijāza ʿamma*, which permitted the individual concerned to teach from all his works (Ibn Ḥaṭṭāb, i. 251). In Damascus, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was given quite a number of these "diplomas" (i. 251—253). It was the usual thing for a travelling scholar to collect numerous *ijāzāt*;

thus 'Abd al-Latif had certificates of this kind from teachers in Baghdad, Khurāsān, Egypt and Syria (Ibn Abi Usāib'a, ii. 202). As late as about 1700 we find al-Nābulusī acquiring *ijāzāt* on his travels (Z. D. M. G., xvi. 690). There were special formulae for the *ijāza* for *taḥrīr* and *fatwā* (al-Kalāshandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'ḥḥ*, xiv. 322 sq.). Some scholars only gave occasional lectures. 'Abd al-Wāhid (d. 494) lectured on Ḥadīth every Friday in the Nizāmiya (Wüstenfeld, *Schäff*, p. 287) and originally this was the case in the Azhar Mosque (see above).

The caliph al-Kādir, in his earlier days, used to lecture every Friday in a mosque in Baghdad (*ibid.*, p. 233). Some scholars only dealt with a very limited subject; thus one was appointed to the Nizāmiya to lecture on Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* because he had attended lectures on this from a celebrated teacher (*ibid.*, p. 288). There were however many learned men who devoted themselves mainly to teaching and taught several subjects. Thus al-Shāfi' began his *ḥalqa* immediately after the *ṣalāt al-maghrib* and taught students of the *Ḥarān*, as surprise the students of Ḥadīth came to him and heard his comments; later in the day he lectured on method (*muṣṭahkara wa 'l-naṣar*); at the *ḡuḡā* the *ahl al-'Arabiya* came to him and he lectured on *'arūd*, *naḥw* and *ṭarf*. He went off at midday (Yāqūt, *Udaba'*, vi. 383). About 300 A.H. we find Ibn Kaṣīn lecturing for the best part of the day on a number of subjects in somewhat the same order (*ibid.*, vi. 282); others lectured from early morning till late in the evening (*ibid.*, vii. 176; Ibn Abi Usāib'a, ii. 207 *supra*) and pious teachers even spent the night in the mosque in prayer (Wüstenfeld, *Schäff*, p. 258). Sometimes a young teacher began by dictating ḥadīth and later received a post with a wider scope in a mosque (*ibid.*, p. 239).

The distinction between teacher and taught was not absolute; any one could have an *ijāza* in one subject, while he was still a student in others and even men of ripe scholarship attended the lectures of notable teachers. This led students to travel from one seat of learning to another, just as they used to travel in early days to collect ḥadīth (Bukhārī, *Ṭm*, p. 7, 19, 26). All the biographies of learned men give examples of this; the old Hellenistic custom was thus continued (cf. J. W. H. Warden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, New York 1910) and royal courts still played the same part; at them learned guests received donations, which enabled them to appear as teachers in the mosques (e.g. Ibn Ishaq, ii. 75 *supra*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kirāb al-'Iḥar*, Bulāq 1284, vii. 452; Ibn Abi Usāib'a, ii. 205; cf. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. 589). Distinguished scholars were of course much visited by lovers of learning; of one of the latter, it is said: *raḥila ilaihi or ilaihi khat al-riḥla* "they used to travel to him" (Yāqūt, *Udaba'*, vii. 174; *Ḥuṣn al-Muḥāḍara*, i. 207; cf. p. 141). 4—600 *ḡuḡā*s had gathered round a teacher in the Maghrib in the time of Ibn al-Ḥajjī (Madrās, ii. 5). Sometimes a scholar attended another's class to try him with questions (see e.g. for al-Bukhārī; Bräunow-Fischer, *Christen-mathie*, p. 103) and disputations often took place in which the pupils used to support their teacher very vigorously. If the stranger was recognised, the teacher might receive him with marks of honour (al-Akhṣar at al-Kūfā: Yāqūt, *Udaba'*,

iv. 243 sq.). As in the Christian universities of Europe, public disputations were held in the mosques, in which considerable feeling might be displayed, e.g. in the disputations in the Rasāfa mosque in Baghdad between Ibn Surāidj (d. 306 = 918) and the son of Dāwūd al-Zāhir in which the former was victorious (Wüstenfeld, *Schäff*, p. 110 sq.). The teachers of the Nizāmiya also used to hold disputations (*ibid.*, p. 309). Celebrated teachers were not only visited by other scholars. When (about 300) Ibn Kaṣīn was lecturing, about 100 horses etc. used to stand outside the mosque because prominent men were listening to him (Yāqūt, *Udaba'*, vi. 282). The teachers made up the class of "the turban-wearers" (*mu'ammam, muta'annim, arḥāb al-'imāma, aḥāb al-'imāma*; see Makrīzī, ii. 246; Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/i, 244 sq.; ii/i, 266; Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. 169); in eastern Andalus, they did not wear the *'imāma*, but this was exceptional (Makrīzī, i. 137). The Kaḍī Abū Yūsuf (d. 82) is said to have settled the dress worn by learned men (Ibn Kaṣīboghā, ed. Flügel, No. 249).

In spite of all this flexibility a certain stability developed in the teaching staff of the mosques. This was connected with the question of pay. It was for long in dispute whether it was permitted to accept payment for giving instruction. In the collections of Ḥadīth, the practice is both supported and condemned and it is said that the teacher may accept money, but not demand it, and avaricious teachers are strongly condemned. There are continual references to people who gave lectures without payment (Bukhārī, *Iḡāza*, bāb 16; Abū Dāwūd, *Buyū'*, bāb 36; Ibn Maḍja, *Tijfūrāt*, bāb 8; cf. Goldziher, *Mus. Stud.*, ii. 181 sq.; Art. Education, No. 3-4 in Hastings, *Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics*; Lammens, *Moslems*, p. 360 sq.; J.A., 1901, p. 143; Wüstenfeld, *Schäff*, p. 295; Mez, *Renaissance*, p. 176). The custom of the older Jewish scholars of exercising a handicraft was not common among the Muslims but was found occasionally. Among men of learning we find shoemakers, locksmiths, sandal-makers (Wüstenfeld, *Schäff*, p. 227, 231, 267; cf. also Mez, *Renaissance des Islam*, p. 179). It was the rule however for the teacher to be paid for his work. This might be quite a personal donation from a prince or other rich man, for example al-Ṭabarī was given a sum of money when he taught in the Mosque of 'Amr (Yāqūt, *Udaba'*, vi. 428; cf. the remarks above on wandering scholars); it was as a rule however a regular salary which was paid out of endowment, so that the position was a regular professorial chair (see under G); this was especially the case in the madāris. The salaries of the teachers (*ma'ālīm*, also *ḡawāmiḥ*, eg. *ḡamaḡtiya*; see Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v.) varied considerably, according to the endowment. The lecturer in the Suyūfiya received 11 *ḡinārs* a month (Makrīzī, iv. 196) but in another of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's schools, the *Ṣalāhiya* or *Nāṣiriya*, the pay was much higher; the principal teacher received 40 *ḡinārs* (of 13¹/₃ *ḡināms*) a month and 10 *ḡinārs* as principal, along with 60 *riḡl* of bread and two beasts of burden, to bring water from the Nile (*ibid.*, p. 251). In the Ḥamāl al-Dīn madrasa, each teachers got 300 *ḡināms* a month (*ibid.*, p. 253). The teachers also received donations in kind on special occasions; in the other Nāṣiriya school they received sugar and meat every month at the festivals (*ibid.*, p. 222),

in the *Ḥijāziya* on 'Id al-Fitr different kinds of bread and biscuit (*ta'ā* and *ḥuṣṣiyyūnūnik*), at the feast of sacrifice meat and in Ramaḍān food was prepared for them (p. 223). According to al-Makrizi, learned men might have 50 dinars a month in all in addition to allowances in kind (iii. 364). On ceremonial occasions, they often were given special marks of distinction, such as gifts in money and robes of honour.

The men of learning were organised in a gild. How the organisation worked in detail is not known. At the end of the third century we find the institution of the *ri'āsa* established in Egypt. While Yazid b. Ḥabīb (d. 128) is called *ṣaḥīḥ Miṣr wa-ḥaḥkūkhā* and *sayyidunā wa-'alimūnā* and 'Ubadallāh b. Abī Dī'far (d. c. 135) *ṣaḥīḥ zamānīhi* (*Ḥuṣn*, i. 131), it is said of a series of scholars beginning with 'Abd al-Kaḥmān b. al-Kāsim (d. 191), Ashhab b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 204), 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 214 or 215) that they had *al-ri'āsa* in Egypt (*Ḥuṣn*, i. 133 sq.) which seems to mean that they belonged to an organisation. The position is also called *ri'āsat al-ḥm*, as, for example, with reference to Yūnus (d. 264) (*ibid.*, i. 156). When the *madhāhib* arose, each school had its own *ra'is* in the district. The formulae for this was *intakāt ilāhi 'l-ri'āsa fī madhāb mūlik*; e.g. of Ibn al-Mawāz (d. 281), and others (*Ḥuṣn*, i. 136; Ibn Taghribirdī, ii/ii. 116); for the Shāfi'is e.g. Isfār'īnī, died 406 (Ibn Taghribirdī, ii/ii. 121 sq.; cf. *Ḥuṣn*, i. 196; Ibn Dīnabair, p. 219, 220); for the Hanafis e.g. al-Karkhī, died 340 (Ibn Kuṭūbughā, No. 115; cf. No. 11, 13; Ibn Taghribirdī, ii/ii. 116); for the Hanbalis al-Barbahārī (d. 349) (Ibn Maṣkawayh, i, Cairo 1905, p. 260). Besides *ra'is* we find other names like *Imām al-Hanafīya bi-Baghād* or *bi-Khūṣān* or *Shāikh Aḥmād bi-mā warā' al-Nahr* (Ibn Kuṭūbughā, No. 67, 96, 196; cf. *Shāikh al-Hanafīya*: Ibn Taghribirdī, ii/ii. 116; *Shāikh al-Mālikīya fī Waḥshī*: *Ḥuṣn*, i. 209). With such names it is not always clear whether they are simply epithets like *Imām Waḥshī*, *Imām 'Aṣriki* (Ibn Kuṭūbughā, No. 206, 217), *Uṣūlīh Zamānīhi* (*Ḥuṣn*, i. 141), *Ra'is fī 'Ḥm al-Kāṣim* (*ibid.*, No. 192), *Sayyidunā* (*ibid.*, No. 50), 'the teacher of the Hanbalis and their Faḥshī' (Ibn Taghribirdī, ii/ii. 114). There is also evidence of the *Ri'āsa* within the special subjects, e.g. *Shāikh al-Ḥurrā' bi-Miṣr* (*Ḥuṣn*, i. 230), *Ri'āsat al-Ḥadīth bi-Miṣr* (*ibid.*, i. 163; al-Raḥīd), *Ri'āsat al-Fatwā* (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, ii/ii. 27), *Ri'āsat al-Ḥurūf wa 'l-Ḥifz* in Alexandria (*Ḥuṣn* i. 210). The physicians of a district had their *Ra'is al-Ḥiḍā* (Makrizi, iv. 237; Ibn Abī Usāibi'a, ii. 86, 247); a *Qaḍī* was appointed in 684 (1285) chief of the physicians (Quatremère, *op. cit.*, ii/ii. 81). There was also a *Ra'is al-Muhandirūn* (Makrizi, iv. 224). *Shāikh al-Ḥilāl* is found as a title of honour for a scholar, e.g. in the viith, viiith, ixth century (*Ḥuṣn*, i. 143, 205; Quatremère, *op. cit.*, ii/ii. 68, note; ii/ii. 270, 280; Ibn Taimīya), probably also used earlier (Mex. *Renaissance*, p. 179), while *Shāikh al-Shaykh* means the most distinguished leader of the Sūfis (Makrizi, iv. 285).

It is not clear what real importance the organisation of teachers had in the earlier period. In different districts there was a principal director of the organisations, a *ra'is al-'ulamā'*, in Medina (Ibn Dīnabair, p. 200, 1), in Baghād (*ibid.*, p. 220, 1), in Cairo and Upper Egypt (*Ḥuṣn*, i. 141, 143,

191), also called *ra'is al-'ulamā'* (Ibn Abī Usāibi'a, ii. 204; Yāqūt, *Uḍabā'*, i. 248). Every *madhāb* had its *ra'is* for the district (*Ḥuṣn*, i. 148, 1; Yāqūt, iv. 512). The chief *ra'is* could interfere in the activities, for example, of the teachers of Ḥadīth (Yāqūt, *Uḍabā'*, *loc. cit.*). He is probably identical with the *naḥḥ al-nuḥabā'*, without whose permission the caliph would not admit a teacher to the Mosque of al-Manṣūr in 451 (*ibid.*, i. 246 sq.). This shows that the head of the gild of learned men even then could exert influence on the appointment of new teachers. Whether appointments were made after an examination we do not know. The right of lecturing was in any case limited in this way in practice, but a systematic set of regulations hardly existed. 'Abd al-Latif lectured in the Masdjid al-Ḥadīth in 'Lā', being paid by the *Qaḍī al-Faḍl* and afterwards in the Azhar, paid out of the *ḥait al-Mā'* (Ibn Abī Usāibi'a, ii. 205, 207); but what his relation to the gild of teachers was is not known. In later times the chief of the learned men in Cairo and Mecca had great influence, because he decided who should be admitted into the gild of teachers and also controlled salaries (see G. 24).

The teacher had his particular place in the mosque, often beside a pillar: this was his *madhāb*, which was inherited by his successors; al-Buwayṭī was *ḥallifatu 'l-Shāfi' fī ḥalḥat* (*Ḥuṣn al-Muḥaddara*, i. 135; cf. 181 *infra*, 182; Makrizi, iv. 5; Yāqūt, *Uḍabā'*, iv. 135; Wüstenfeld, *Schöfi*, p. 239). The outward appearance of the class did not alter through the centuries. His hearers sit in a circle (*ḥalḥa*: the listeners *ṣaḥābiyyūn*: Makrizi, iv. 49, 17 sq.; cf. on the word Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/ii. 197 sqq.) on the ground before the lecturer. The teacher sits on a carpet (*ṣaḥīḥ*, cf. Yāqūt, *Uḍabā'*, i. 254) or skin (*farṣa*). This was described as a symbol of his dignity in his *waḥṣya* (al-'Umari, *Turūf*, p. 134). It is quite irregular for any one to teach standing (Yāqūt, *Uḍabā'*, v. 424, 1; for the other view see Bukhārī, *Ḥm*, bāb 45). On the other hand, we often find in large audiences that the teacher has a raised seat (for the older period see Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 212). Ibn al-Ḥadīdī condemns this because the teacher must not raise himself out of the circle of his hearers; he even wants to reject the use of the skin and carpet as effeminate (*Madhāb*, i. 96 sq.).

It was not the custom for teachers to live in the mosque. Of course a teacher, like any other pious individual, could stay in the mosque and even have a room there; al-Ḥisānī for example lived in the mosque of the Umayyada, where Ibn Dīnabair saw his room and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions a teacher, al-Karmānī, who lived on the roof of the Azhar Mosque (i. 92; cf. also Ibn Abī Usāibi'a, ii. 204). But there were exceptions; al-'Azīz built a dwellinghouse for the teacher in the Azhar near the mosque (Makrizi, iv. 49). The earlier madāris founded by Nīḡam al-Mulk had often lodgings for the teacher, especially as the teacher sometimes made his lodging his classroom and this is also found later. Thus al-Ḥadīdī, who died in 543 (1149) lived in the Baḥāḥiya (Wüstenfeld, *Schöfi*, p. 307) and in the *Ṣalāhiya* the head of the college had his home within the buildings (Ibn Dīnabair, p. 48). Shams al-Dīn (d. 637) lived in Damascus in the *Adīliya* where he taught fiqh (Ibn Abī Usāibi'a, ii. 171; cf. also p. 260). This must also have been the case in other madāris. But in any

somewhat modernised, was still given. The education in the madrasas is linked up with the new universities in Calcutta and elsewhere (*Calcutta University Commission, 1917-1919, Report*, Calcutta 1919, v/l. 143-187; v/ii. 60-70). In 1922 there were already 14 universities of which five were founded after 1919 (*Oriente Moderno*, ii., 1922, p. 60; on earlier discussions on the foundation of a university see *R. M. M.*, xxi. 1912, p. 268 *sqq.*). The older universities, founded on the model of that of London, are those of Calcutta 1857, Madras and Bombay 1857, Lahore 1882, Allāhābād 1887 (*R. M. M.*, vi. 4; on Chiefs' Colleges, *ibid.*, p. 1-31; ix. 44-81). The essential feature of the reforms is the new method of instruction, the systematic organisation of the courses, which are concluded by examinations, and the creation of a qualified body of competent teachers.

Inspired by the same spirit, if not so thorough, were the reforms which were carried through at the capital of Islāmic studies, the Azhar in Cairo without the assistance of a European power. In 1872 an examination for those beginning teaching was instituted and the ordinance expanded by new regulations in 1885, 1888 and 1895. The principal could however appoint teachers without examination. The students had to be registered so that unworthy persons should not share the stipend. On June 4, 1895, a council of five members was appointed to prepare reforms. They dealt with the finance and organisation. In 1896 the mosque-schools in Tanja, Damietta, and Dussūk and in 1903 those of Alexandria were put under the Azhar. On July 1, 1896 (supplemented in 1897 and 1898) examinations for students were arranged; history, geography and mathematics were introduced as voluntary subjects and it was forbidden to read glosses and super-commentaries in the first four years. The driving power in the council was one of its members, Muhammad 'Abduh, but he retired in 1905. The Khedive 'Abbas II Hilmi in 1908 and in 1911, after several commissions had been working at the subject, promulgated a new law which is still (1928) practically in force. The administration of the Azhar Mosque and the institutions connected with it (particularly other mosques and the Kādī School) were reorganised. The organisation is based on the old organisation of the staff with the principal as head of the 'ulama' and the heads of the madhāhib as members of the committee of management. New subjects were instituted, such as *akhlāq* in combination with the *shara*, history, especially Muslim, geography, natural history, chemistry, mathematics, drawing, hygiene, education. Instruction is given in three divisions, each of which is estimated to cover 3 to 7 years. To obtain admission a student must be 10-17 years of age, be able to read and write and know the *Qur'ān* by heart (by the law of 1911 he was allowed to learn half of it in his first six months in the Mosque, but this was abolished in 1921). Each year ends with the examination in the month of April; the final examination of the first section enables the successful candidate to teach in elementary schools, that of the second to obtain an appointment in certain offices or as *imām* or *khāṭib* in the mosques; by the examination, the candidate obtains the highest degree of *'alim*, and can become a teacher in the Azhar, or judge or council in the *Shari'a* courts. By new laws of 1921, 1923 and 1924, the examinations were reformed and the relationship to the Kādī School,

Dār al-'Ulūm and other educational institutions reorganised so that in the Azhar, a *ḥisn al-tahḥiq* for *Fiqh*, *Tafsīr*, *Hadīth*, *Tawḥīd*, *Manṭiq*, *Waqf*, *Bayān*, *Akhḍāḍ*, Islāmic history and practical courses in teaching and court practice were instituted. When by the law of Aug. 26, 1927, a university was founded with faculties of arts, law, science, and medicine (cf. *Oriente Moderno*, v., 1925, p. 110 *sq.*, 434-436; vii., 1927, p. 627 *sqq.*), the question of education in the mosque again came up and a new commission on Nov. 27, 1927 was charged to consider new proposals (for the reforms of Egyptian institutions see P. Arminjon, *L'enseignement, la doctrine et la vie dans les universités musulmanes d'Égypte*, 1907; Mustafā Bairam, *Risāla*, 1902; Sulaimān Rayad al-Zayyālī, *Qiyāḥ al-Tārīkh al-Azhar*, 1320, p. 147 *sqq.*; *A'māl Madjīlī Idārat al-Azhar*, Cairo 1323; anonymous, but by 'Abd al-Karīm Salīmān, cf. *al-Manār*, xxv., 1324, p. 703; *Commission de la Réforme de l'Université d'El Azhar, Projet de Réforme présenté par Muḥ. Pacha Saïd*, Cairo 1911, and the official regulations; John Pedersen, *al-Azhar*, Copenhagen 1922, p. 65 *sqq.*; A. Sékaly, in *Revue des Études Islamiques*, i., 1927, p. 95 *sqq.*, 465 *sq.*; ii., 1928, p. 47 *sqq.* etc.; *Oriente Moderno*, v., 1925, p. 113 *sq.*; vii., 1927, p. 634). In Morocco the ruler in 1844 introduced European subjects into the Madrasa in Fās Ḥjadīd (whence its name *Madrasat al-Muḥandisīn*); these innovations did not become permanent but in 1916 the madāris in Fās and Rabat were reformed (Bell, in *J.A.*, ser. 11, x. 152; Péretié, in *Arch. Maroc.*, xviii., 1912, p. 257 *sqq.*; see for Tunis: *R. M. M.*, lii. 385).

Since the World War, throughout the world of Islām, particularly in Turkey, very far reaching reforms in education have been introduced the results of which cannot yet be surveyed.

G. The Administration of the Mosque.

1. Finances.

The earliest mosques were built by the rulers of the various communities and the members of the community did all the work necessary in connection with the primitive mosques. The later mosques as a rule were erected by rulers, emirs, high officials or other rich men in their private capacity and maintained by them. The erection of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn cost its builder 120,000 dinārs, the Mosque of Mu'ayyad 110,000 (Makrīzī, iv. 32, 137, 138). The upkeep of the mosque was provided for by estates made over as endowments (*wakf*, *habs*) (cf. thereon besides the *Fiqh*-books: I. Kresmārik, *Das Wahlfrecht*, *Z.D.M.G.*, xlv., 1891, p. 511-576; E. Marclet, *Le code du habs ou wakf selon la législation musulmane*, 1899). In the third century we thus hear of houses which belonged to the mosques and were let by them (*Papyrus Erythraeus Rainer, Führer*, N^o 773, 837) and Ibn Ṭūlūn handed over a large number of houses as an endowment for his mosque and hospital (Makrīzī, iv. 83). This custom was taken over from the Christians by the Muslims (see Becker, in *Isl.*, ii. 404). According to Makrīzī, estates were not given as *wakf* endowments until Muḥammad Abū Bakr al-Madharī (read thus) bequeathed *Birkat al-Ḥabash* and *Suyūf* as endowments (about 300 A.H.); this was however cancelled by the Fatimids again (*ibid.*). Al-Ḥākim made large endowments not only for his own,

but also for mosques previously in existence, such as the Aḥḥar, al-Ḥakīmī, Dār al-Ilm and Dīmi' al-Maḥ and Dīmi' al-Rāḥidā; the endowments consisted of dwelling-houses, shops, mills, *ḥaḍiriya* and *ḥawārit*, and the document (*ibid.*, p. 50 sq.) specifies how and for what purposes the revenues are to be distributed. Baths were also given as endowments for mosques (*ibid.*, p. 76 for 529; cf. 81 of the year 543). Salāḥ al-Dīn granted lands to his maḍāris: in 566, for example, a *ḥaḍiriya* to the Kūmīya and a *ḡar'a* in al-Fayyūm and the teachers received wheat from al-Fayyūm and in the same year he endowed the Nāḥiriya with goldsmiths' shops and a village (*ibid.*, p. 193 sq.; cf. another document: p. 196 sq.). During the Mamlūk period also, estates were given as endowments (for documents of this period see van Berchem, *C.I.A.*, i, N^o. 247, 252, 528; Moberg, in *M.O.*, xii, 1918, p. 1 sq.; *J.A.*, ser. 9, iii, 264–266; ser. 11, x, 158 sq.; 222 sq.; xii, 195 sq.; 256 sq.; 363 sq.). They were often a considerable distance apart: the mosques in Egypt often had estates in Syria (v. Berchem, *C.I.A.*, i, N^o. 247; Makrizi, vi, 107, 137). Not only were mosques built and endowed but already existing ones were given new rooms for teachers, minbars, stipends for Qur'ān reciters, teachers etc. There were often special endowments for the salaries of the imām and the mu'adhdhims, for the support of visitors, for blankets, food etc. (see Ibn Djabair, p. 277 with reference to the Mosque of the Umayyads). The endowments and the purpose for which they might be used was precisely laid down in the grant and the document attested in the court of justice by the *ḡaḍī* and the witnesses (cf. Makrizi, iv, 50, 196 *infra*). The text was also often inscribed on the wall of the mosque (cf. *ibid.*, p. 76; the above mentioned inscriptions amongst others. Documents from Tashkent see *R.M.M.*, xiii, 1911, p. 278 sq.). Certain conditions might be laid down, e.g. in a madrasa that no Persian should be appointed there (Makrizi, iv, 202 *infra*) or that the teacher could not be dismissed or some such condition (v. Berchem, *C.I.A.*, i, N^o. 201), that no women could enter (*J.A.*, ser. 9, iii, 389), that no Christian, Jew or Hanbalī could enter the building (*ibid.*, p. 405), etc. Endowments were often made with stipulations for the family of the founder or other purposes. That mosques could also be burdened with expenses is evident from an inscription in Edfū of the year 797 (1395) (v. Berchem, *C.I.A.*, N^o. 539). If a mosque was founded without sufficient endowment, it decayed (e.g. Makrizi, iv, 115, 201, 203) or the stipends were reduced (*ibid.*, p. 251), but in the larger mosques as a rule the rulers provided new endowments. According to al-Māwardī, there were also special 'Sulṭān-mosques' which were directly under the patronage of the caliph and their officials paid from the Bait al-Māl (al-Aḥḥam al-Sulṭāniya, ed. Enger, p. 172 *supra*, 176 *supra*).

Just as the Bait al-Māl of the state was kept in the mosque, so was the mosque's own property kept in it: e.g. the *ḡar* or *ḡāḍir* al-Kaḍa, which is mentioned in 'Omar's time and may be presumed to have existed under his predecessors (Balādhuri, p. 43 *supra*; *C.M.*, i, 307; ii, 14). The Bait Māl al-Dīmi' in Damascus was in a *ḡar* in the yahn (*S.G.A.*, iii, 157; Ibn Djabair, p. 267; Ibn Baṭṭūta, i, 201; cf. for Medina: Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, p. 86). Rich men also had their

private treasure-chambers in the mosque (see E 2) as used to be the case with the Temple (see E. Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*, ii, 1907, p. 322–328; F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Douara-Europas*, 1926, p. 405 sq.).

2. Administration.

As Imām of the Muslim community, the caliph had the mosques under his charge. This was also the case with the sulṭān, governor or other ruler who represented the caliph in every respect. The administration of the mosques could however not be directly controlled by the usual government offices. By its endowment the mosque became an object *sui generis* and was withdrawn from the usual state or private purposes. Their particular association with religion gave the *ḡar* special influence and on the other hand the will of the testator continued to prevail. These three factors decided the administration of the mosque but the relation between them was not always clear.

a. Administration of the separate mosques.

The mosque was usually in charge of a *nāḥir* or *waḍī* who looked after its affairs. The founder was often himself the *nāḥir* or he chose another and after his death, his descendants took charge or whoever was appointed by him in the foundation charter. In the older period the former was the rule and is said to have applied especially in the case of chief mosques, if we may believe Nāḥir-i Khosraw, according to whom al-Ḥakīm paid the descendants of Ibn Tūlūn 30,000 dinārs for the mosque and 5,000 for the minaret and similarly to the descendants of 'Amr b. al-'Aṣ 100,000 dinārs for the Mosque of 'Amr (*Sefer Nāma*, ed. Schefer, p. 39 and 146, 40 and 148). In 378 we read of an administrator (*mutawallī*) of the mosque in Jerusalem (Makrizi, iv, 11). In the case of mosques and madāris founded during the Mamlūk period, it is often expressly mentioned that the administration is to remain in the hands of the descendants of the founder: e.g. in the case of a mosque founded by Baiḥars (Makrizi, iv, 89), in the Dīmi' Maḥ when the vizier al-Maḥḥ renovated it (*ibid.*, p. 66), the Ḥaḍiriya (*ibid.*, p. 205), and the Kaḍiḥkuriya (*ibid.*, p. 232) etc.; so also in the Ḥaḍiriya in Jerusalem ('to the best of the descendants', cf. v. Berchem, *C.I.A.*, ii, 129). Other cases are also found. Sometimes an emir or official was administrator e.g. in the Mu'ayyad (Makrizi, iv, 140), the Taiḥuriya (*ibid.*, p. 224), the Aḥḥar, (*ibid.*, p. 54 sq.) or the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn (Kalkashandī, *Subḥ al-Aḥḥar*, xi, 159–162). In Dīmi' al-Dīn's madrasa, it was always the *ḡar* al-*ḡar* (Makrizi, iv, 256), in the Ḥanaḡāḡ of Baiḥars the *ḡar* and his successors (v. Berchem, *C.I.A.*, i, N^o. 252); but it was more frequently a *ḡar*; for example in the mosque of Baiḥars just mentioned, the Ḥanaḡī *ḡar* was to take charge after the descendants (Makrizi, iv, 89); in the Aḡḡahawiya, the Ḥanaḡī *ḡar* was appointed; but his descendants were expressly excluded (*ibid.*, p. 225). In the Mosque of the Umayyads during the Mamlūk period, the Ḥanaḡī chief *ḡar* was as a rule the *nāḥir* (Kalkashandī, iv, 191) and in the Nāḥir mosque in Cairo (*ibid.*, xi, 262–264). In this city we find during the Mamlūk period that emirs and *ḡars* alternately acted as *nāḥirs* in the large mosques (e.g. the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn:

Maḥriz, iv. 42). Cases are also found however in which descendants of the founder unsuccessfully claimed the office of nāṣir (Maḥriz, iv. 218, 253). This was the result of the increasing power of the *ḫāḍis* (see below). In the madāris the nāṣir was often also the headmaster; the two offices were hereditary (*ibid.*, p. 204: the Ṣāḥibiya al-Baḥā'iyya, p. 238 *supra*; the Ḍamāliyya). In Tustar a descendant of Saḥl as nāṣir and teacher conducted a madrasa with the help of four slaves (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii. 25 *sq.*).

The Nāṣir managed the finances and other business of the mosque. Sometimes he had a fixed salary (in Baḥars' Khānāṣāh 500 dirhams a month: v. Berchem, *C. I. A.*, i. No. 252; in the Ḍulāmiya in Damascus in 847 only 60 dirhams a month: *Ḍ. A.*, ser. 9, iii. 261), but the revenues of the mosque were often applied to his personal use. His control of the funds of the mosque was however often limited by the central commission for endowments (see below). The nāṣir might also see to any necessary increase of the endowments. He appointed the staff and he fixed their pay (cf. e.g. Maḥriz, iv. 41). He could also interfere in questions not arising out of the business side of administration: for example the *ṣulṭ* Sawdūb, the nāṣir of the Aḥzar in 818 ejected about 750 poor people from the mosque. He was however thrown into prison for this by the Ṣulṭān (*ibid.*, p. 54). Generally speaking the nāṣir's powers were considerable. In 784 a nāṣir in the Aḥzar decided that the property of a madjūwir, who had died without heirs, should be distributed among the other students (*ibid.*, p. 54). In Mecca, according to Kūṭb al-Dīn, the Nāṣir al-Ḥarām was in charge of the great festival of the mawlid of the Prophet (12th Rabī' I) and distributed robes of honour in the mosque on this occasion (*C. M.*, iii. 439). In the Aḥzar, no nāṣir was appointed after about 1100 but a learned man was appointed Shaikh al-Aḥzar, principal and administrator of the mosque (Sulaimān Raṣād al-Zaylāḥ, *Kann al-Djāwhar fī Tawḥīd al-Aḥzar*, p. 123 *sqq.*). Conditions are similar in Mecca (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mecca*, ii. 235 *sqq.*, 252 *sq.*).

As we have seen, *ḫāḍis* were often nāṣirs of mosques. This was especially the case in the madāris, where the *ḫāḍis* were often teachers (cf. Maḥriz, iv. 209, 219, 222, 238, etc.); the *ḫāḍis* were particularly anxious to get the principal offices in the large schools (cf. Ḳalkaṣhandī, xi. 235). Their influence was however further increased by the fact that, if a nāṣir qualified by the terms of the founder's will no longer existed, the *ḫāḍi* of the madhhab in question stepped into his place (cf. *Z. D. M. G.*, xlv., 1897, p. 332). By this rule, which often gave rise to quarrels between the different *ḫāḍis* (e.g. Maḥriz, iv. 218: the Ṣāḥibiyya), a *ḫāḍi* could accumulate a large number of offices and "milk the endowments" (*ibid.*, iii. 364). Sometimes their management was so ruthless, that the schools soon declined (e.g. the Ṣāḥibiyya and the Ḍamāliyya: Maḥriz, iv. 204 *sq.*, 253). They also exercised influence through the committee of management of the mosque.

A Centralisation in the Management of the Mosques

The large mosques occupied a special position in the Muslim empire, because the caliph had to interest himself particularly in them; especially those of Mecca and Medina where the rulers and

their governors built extensions and executed renovations (cf. *C. M.*, i. 145; iii. 83 *sqq.*). During the 'Abbasid period, the *ḫāḍi* occasionally plays a certain part in this connection; for example al-Mahdi (158—169) presented the *ḫāḍi* with the necessary money to extend and repair the Meccan mosque (*C. M.*, i. 312; ii. 43). In 263, al-Muwaffaq ordered the governor of Mecca to undertake repairs at the Ka'ba (*ibid.*, ii. 200 *sq.*). In 271 the governor and the *ḫāḍi* of Mecca co-operated to get money from al-Muwaffaq for repairs and they saw the work through (*ibid.*, iii. 136 *sq.*). In 281, the *ḫāḍi* of Mecca wrote to the vizier of al-Mu'tasid about the Dār al-Nadwa and backed up his request by sending a deputation of the staff there (*ṣadana*). The caliph then ordered the vizier to arrange the matter through the *ḫāḍi* of Baghdad and a man was sent to Mecca to take charge of the work (*C. M.*, iii. 144 *sqq.*).

The importance of the *ḫāḍi* was based primarily on his special knowledge in the field of religion. A zealous *ḫāḍi* like al-Ḥarith b. Miskin in Cairo (237—245) forbade the *ḫurra* of a mosque to recite the Qur'ān melodiously; he also had the *mayshif* in the mosque of 'Amr inspected and appointed an *amin* to take charge of them (Kindi, *Wuḍ'at*, p. 469). After the building of the Tulunid mosque, a commission was appointed under the *ḫāḍi* 'I-Ḳudāt to settle the *ḫilla* of the mosque (Maḥriz, iv. 21 *sq.*). But at a quite early date they also obtained a say in the management of the funds. The first *ḫāḍi* to lay his hands on the *ḫilla* was Tawba b. Namis al-Ḥadrami; while hitherto every endowment had been administered by itself by the children of the testator or some one appointed by him, in 118 Tawba brought about the centralisation of all endowments and a large *ḫilla* was created for the purpose (Kindi, *Wuḍ'at*, p. 346). How this system of centralisation worked is not clear at first, but it was carried through under the Fātimids.

Al-Mu'izz created a special *ḫilla* *al-ḫilla* and made the chief *ḫāḍi* head of it as well as of the *ḫilla* *al-ḫilla* (Maḥriz, iv. 83 and 75; cf. Kindi, *Wuḍ'at*, p. 585, 587, 589, according to whom al-'Aziz specially appointed the chief *ḫāḍi* over the two *ḫilla*'s), and a special *ḫilla* *al-ḫilla* was instituted for it in 363; a yearly revenue of 150,000 dirhams was guaranteed; anything left over went to form a capital fund. All payments were made through this office after being certified by the administration of the mosques (Maḥriz, iv. 83 *sq.*). The mosques were thus administered by the *ḫāḍis*, directly under the caliph. The *ḫilla* *al-ḫilla* was *al-ḫilla* in Baghdad (Nec, *Renaissance*, p. 72) perhaps served similar purposes.

Al-Ḥākim reformed the administration of the mosques. In 405 he had an investigation made and when it proved that 800 (or 850) had no income (*ghalla*), he made provision for them by a payment of 9,220 dirhams monthly from the Bait al-Mal; he also made 405 new endowments (of estates) for the officials of the mosque (Maḥriz, iv. 84, 264). Under the Fātimids, the *ḫāḍis* used to inspect all the mosques and madhabs in and around Cairo at the end of Ramaḍān and compare them with their inventories (*ibid.*, p. 84). The viziers of the Fātimids, who also had the title *ḫāḍi* did much for the mosques (Djawhar, Ya'qūb b. Killis, Badr al-Ḍamālī: cf. v. Berchem, *C. I. A.*, i. No. 11, 576, p. 631).

Under the Ayyūbids, conditions were the same as under the Fātimids. The *diwān al-ahbās* was under the *qāḍī* (Maḳrīzī, iv. 84). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn gave a great deal to the mosques, especially the madāris (cf. above); 20,000 dirhams a day is a figure given (*ibid.*, p. 117). When Ibn Dujayr says that the sultān paid the salaries of the officials of the mosques and schools of Alexandria, Cairo and Damascus (p. 43, 52, 275), he must really mean the *Diwān* already mentioned.

The same conditions continued for a time under the Mamlūks. In the time of Balbars, for example, the chief *qāḍī* Tāj al-Dīn was *nāṣir al-ahbās*. He caused the Mosque of 'Amr to be renovated and when the funds from the endowments were exhausted, the Sultān helped him from the Bait al-Māl (Maḳrīzī, iv. 14); after conferring with experts, the chief *qāḍī* forbade a water-supply brought by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn into the mosque (*ibid.*, p. 14; Sayyid, *Ḥayn al-Muḥḍara*, ii. 137). In 687 the chief *qāḍī* Taḥī al-Dīn complained to Kālān that the 'Amr and Azhar mosques were falling into ruins, while the *ahbās* were much reduced. The Sultān would not however permit their restoration but entrusted the repairs of the mosques to certain emirs, one to each (Maḳrīzī, iv. 14, 15). This principle was several times applied in later times and the emirs frequently gained influence at the expense of the *qāḍīs*. Thus after the earthquake of 707 (1303) (cf. thereon Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/i, 214 *sqq.*), the mosques were allotted to emirs, who had to see that they were rebuilt (Maḳrīzī, iv., 15, 53). From the middle of the seventh century, we often find emirs as administrators of the chief mosques. The *qāḍī* had however obtained so much authority that he was conceded "a general supervision of all matters affecting the endowments of his madhhab" (al-'Umari, *Tarīf li 'l-Muḥḍalaḥ al-Sharīf*, p. 117; cf. Z. D. M. G., xlv., p. 559); according to this theory the *qāḍī* could intervene to stop abuses. In Syria in 660 (1262) Ibn Khallikān became *qāḍī* over the whole area between al-'Arish and the Euphrates and superintendent of wakfs, mosques, madrasas etc. (Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/i, 170).

Sultān Balbars reformed these endowments and restored the office of *nāṣir al-awḥāf* or *nāṣir al-ahbās al-mabrūra* or *n. 'ijhāt al-bir* (Ḳalqashandī, iv. 34, 38; v. 465; ls. 256; xi. 252, 257 *sqq.*; cf. Khallikān al-Zāhiri, *Zuhdat Naḥf al-Mamlūk*, ed. Ravaisse, p. 109). According to al-Maḳrīzī, the endowments were distributed among the Mamlūks in three departments (*ijhāt*): 1. *ijhāt al-ahbās*, managed by an emir, the Dawādār; this looked after the lands of the mosques, in 740 in all 130,000 faddān; 2. *ijhāt al-awḥāf al-bukriyya li-Mīr wa 'l-Kāhira*, which administered dwelling-houses; it was managed by the *ahbās* 'l-*qāḍī* 'l-*Ḳudāt*, with the title *Nāṣir al-Awḥāf*. This department came to an end in the time of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Faraj because an emir supported by the opinion of the Hanafī chief *qāḍī*, spent a great deal and misused the funds; 3. *ijhāt al-awḥāf al-akhiyya*, comprised all the endowments which still had particular *nāṣirs*, either descendants of the testator or officials of the Sultān and the *qāḍī*. The emirs seized their lands and Barḳūk, before he became Sultān, sought in vain to remedy the evil by appointing a commission. The endowments in general disappeared somewhat later because the ruling emirs seized them (Maḳrīzī, iv. 83-86). In modern times, as a rule, endow-

ments in Muslim lands have been combined under a special ministry.

To be distinguished from the administrators of the mosque is the *nāṣir* who is only concerned with the supervision of the erection of mosques. Any one could be entrusted with the building of a mosque (e.g. Maḳrīzī, iv. 92). Under the Mamlūks there was also a clerk of works, *mutawallī 'ahd al-awḥāf* or *nāṣir al-imāra*; he was the overseer of the builders (*ibid.*, p. 102; see *Zuhdat Naḥf al-Mamlūk*, ed. Ravaisse, p. 115, cf. p. 109; v. Berchem, *C. I. A.*, i. 742 *sq.*, 751).

The caliph or the ruler of the country was in this, as in other matters, supreme. As we have seen, he intervened in the administration and directed it as he wished. He was also able to interfere in the internal affairs of the mosque, if necessary through his usual officers. In 253 (867) after the rising in the Faiyūm, the chief of police issued strict orders by which it was forbidden to say the *hamaḥ* aloud in the mosque: the number of prayers in the month of Ramaḍān was cut down, the *adḥān* from the minaret forbidden etc. (*Papyrus Erziehung Ruiner, Führer*, N^o 788). In the year 294, the governor 'Isā al-Nūsharī had the mosque of 'Amr closed except at the *salāt* because the Bait al-Māl was kept in it, which however produced protests from the people (Maḳrīzī, iv. 11; Kindt, *Waldt*, p. 266; *B. G. A.*, vii. 116). Many similar examples could be mentioned, especially during periods of unrest. In 821 the *salāt* in conjunction with the *qāḍīs* revised the budget of the Mosque of the Omayyads and made financial reforms (*J. A.*, ser. 9, vii. 220). The *adḥān* formulae were laid down in edicts by the ruler (Maḳrīzī, iv. 44, 45). In the year 323, the vizier in Baghdad had a man whipped who had recited a variant text of the *Kur'ān* in the mihrāb, after he had been heard in his defence in the presence of the *qāḍīs* and learned men (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, vi. 300). The importance of the sovereign in connection with the mosque depended on his personality. As a rule he recognised the authority of the regular officials. When for example al-Khāṣṣ al-Baghḍādī asked the Caliph al-Kā'im for authority to read *Ḥadīth* in the mosque of al-Manṣūr, the latter referred the question to the *nāṣir al-awḥāf* (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i. 246 *sq.*; cf. Wartenfeld, *Schöpfung*, iii. 280).

The consecration of the mosque was attended by certain ceremonies. When for example the midday service was conducted for the first time in the Djamī' al-Ṣalīh in Cairo, a representative from Baghdad was present (Maḳrīzī, iv. 81). At the consecration of the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn, the builder gave al-Kabī' b. Sulaimān, a pupil of al-Shāfi'i, who lectured on *Ḥadīth* there, a purse of 1,000 *dirhams* (Sayyid, *Ḥayn al-Muḥḍara*, ii. 139). Al-Maḳrīzī describes the consecration ceremony at several mosques. In the M. al-Ma'alyad the Sultān was present seated on a throne surrounded by his officers; the basin of the *ghayn* was filled with sugar and *halwa*, the people ate and drank, lectures were given, then the *salāt* was read and *khutba* delivered and the Sultān distributed robes of honour among the officials of the Mosque and *Sūfis* (Maḳrīzī, iv. 139); similarly at the Zāhiriyya (p. 662, were poems were also recited: cf. Quatremère, *Hist. Sult. Maml.*, i/i, p. 228 *sq.*), Madrasat Dhamāl al-Dīn, p. 811; al-Sarḥimīshīyya, p. 757 (Maḳrīzī, iv. p. 217 *sq.*, 253, 256).

H. The Personnel of the Mosque.

1. The Imām.

From the earliest days of Islām, the ruler was the leader of the *ṣalāt*; he was *imām* as leader in war, head of the government and leader of the common *ṣalāt*. The governors of provinces thus became leaders of the *ṣalāt* and heads of the *khawāṣṣ* and when a special financial official took over the fiscal side, the governor was appointed '*al-ṣalāt wa l-ḥarb*'. He had to conduct ritual prayer, especially the Friday *ṣalāt* on which occasion he also delivered the *khutba*. If he was prevented, the chief of police, *ṣāhib al-ḥarṣa*, was his *khālifa* (cf. Maḳrīzī, iv. 83). 'Amr b. al-'Aṣī permitted the people of the villages to celebrate the two festivals, while the Friday divine service could only take place under those qualified to conduct it (who could punish and impose duties; *ibid.*, p. 7). This was altered under the 'Abbāsids. The caliph no longer regularly conducted the *ṣalāts* (after the conquest of the Persians: Maḳrīzī, iv. 45), and 'Anbasa b. Ishāq, the last Arab governor of Egypt (238-242), was also the last emir to conduct the *ṣalāt* in the *ḡāmi*. An *imām*, paid out of the *ḥaṭt al-mill*, was now appointed (*ibid.*, p. 83), but the governor still continued to be formally appointed '*al-ṣalāt*'. Henceforth the ruler only exceptionally conducted the service, for example the Fātimids on ceremonial occasions, especially in the month of Ramaḍān (Ibn Taḡhribirdī, ed. Juynboll, ii. 482-499; Kalkashandī, *Ṣaḥb al-'Aḥd*, iii. 509-511); in many individual mosques probably the most prominent man conducted the service; according to the Ḥadīth, the one with the best knowledge of the *Qur'ān* and, failing him, the eldest should officiate (Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 46, 49).

The *imām* appointed was chosen from among those learned in religious matters; he was often a Hāshimīd (Mes. *Revue*, p. 147); he might at the same time be a *kāḍī* or his *nā'ib* (see Kindī, *Wuḍ'at*, p. 575, 589; Ibn Djūbair, i. 276-277). During the *ṣalāt* he stood beside the *mihrāb*; al-Maḳḍalī mentions the anomaly, that in Syria one performed one's *ṣalāt* "in front of the *imām*" (B.G.A., iii. 102); he could also stand on an elevated position; on one occasion Abū Ḥarām conducted the *ṣalāt* in the Meccan mosque from the roof (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 17). In Mecca, in Ibn Djūbair's time, each of the four recognised *madhāhib* (with the Zaidīs in addition) had an *imām*; they conducted the *ṣalāt*, one after the other each in his place, in the following order: Shāfi'is, Mālikīs, Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs; they only performed the *ṣalāt* al-maḡrib together; in Ramaḍān they held the *arḍayās* in different places in the mosque, which was also often conducted by the *kura'* (*Riḥla*, p. 101, 102, 143-144). This is still the case; very frequently one performs the *ṣalāt*, not after the *imām* of his own *madhāb* (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 79-80). In Jerusalem according to Muḡīb al-Dīn the order was: Mālikīs, Shāfi'is, Ḥanafīs, Ḥanbalīs, who prayed each in their own part of the Ḥaram; in Hebron the order was the same (Sauvairo, *Hist. Jiv. et Hébron*, p. 136-137). In Ramaḍān extraordinary *imāms* were appointed (*ibid.*, p. 138).

When the *imām* no longer represented a political office, each mosque regularly had one. He had to maintain order and was in general in charge

of the divine services in the mosque. In al-Maḳḍalī's time the *imām* of the Mosque of 'Amr read a *ḡur'ā* of the *Qur'ān* every morning after the *ṣalāt* (B.G.A., iii. 205). It was his duty to conduct every *ṣalāt*, which is only valid *fi ḡamā'a*. He must conform to the standards laid down in the law; but it is disputed whether the *ṣalāt* is invalid in the opposite case. According to some, the leader of the Friday *ṣalāt* should be a different man from the leader of the five daily *ṣalāts* (Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-Sultāniya*, ed. Enger, p. 171-172; Ibn al-Hādīdī, *K. al-Maḍḥab*, ii. 41, 43-44, 50, 73-74; al-Subkī, *Muḥd al-N'ām*, ed. Myhrman, p. 163-164; for ḥadīths s. Wensinck, *Handbook*, p. 109-110). Many cherished misgivings against payment being made for religious services and quoted in support of their view a saying of Abū Ḥanīfa (B.G.A., iii. 127).

2. The Khāṭib.

The development of this office is analogous to that of *imām*. When the 'Abbāsīd caliph no longer delivered *khutbas* regularly, a man learned in religious matters was appointed to the office of *khāṭib* [see D: and the article *ḲHATIB*]. It could be pointed out that the Prophet himself had a *khāṭib* namely 'Uṭāir b. Ḥādīb (Djābir, *Bayān*, i. 178) and sermons outside the Friday service had in any case become quite usual. Thus Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was already a noted preacher (*ibid.*, p. 190). Later it sometimes happened that a general like Djawhar himself acted as *imām* at the *ṣalāt*, while the *khutba* was left to a learned man (Maḳrīzī, iv. 44). As the *khāṭib* in theory represented the ruler, he uttered a blessing upon him; to this extent the office had a political significance. The caliph was blessed and the heir-apparent and the king of the country (cf. above D 1). When the caliph himself preached, he also pronounced a prayer for himself (Yāqūt, *Udāt*, ii. 349-350) and the Fātimids mentioned their fathers. The sermons gradually became quite stereotyped; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (i. 348) praises the *khāṭib* in Mecca, because he gave a new sermon every Friday. A *kāḍī* was frequently chosen as *khāṭib* and a chief *kāḍī* could sometimes preach in a large mosque (Kindī, *Wuḍ'at*, p. 589; Maḳrīzī, iv. 132; Ibn Djūbair, p. 156); according to Quatremère, *Hist. Salt. Maml.*, ii. 25, a *kāḍī* was for the first time appointed *khāṭib* in 694 [1925] in Damascus. The *khāṭib* could also be a "witness" (Hilāl al-Sābi, *K. al-Wasārā'*, ed. Amnirōz, p. 421 *infra*) or hold another office like that of *ḳāṭib al-sirr* (Maḳrīzī, iv. 137, 138, 139, 140); in the last mentioned case the office was hereditary, which we also find elsewhere (*ibid.*, p. 9, 98; Suyūṭī, *Ḥum al-Mukādara*, i. 185; al-'Irāqī). The *khāṭib* had frequently a *khālifa*. In the Rāshidīda mosque, where in 414 two *khāṭibs* were deliberately appointed, they both preached at the same time on the *minbar* (Maḳrīzī, p. 63-64). Later we find in the larger mosques a number of *khutabā'* being appointed who relieve one another.

In Mecca the *khāṭib* was a particularly imposing figure. In his black robe, trimmed with gold, and turban with *ṭailān*, he went up to the *minbar* between two black banners carried by *mu'alladhins*, while a servant walked in front of him cracking a whip; after he had kissed the Black Stone, the chief *mu'alladhīn* went quickly in front of him with the sword with which he girded him on the *minbar* (Ibn Djūbair, p. 95-96; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i. 376-377).

The whip (*farṣa'a*: Ibn Djabair, p. 96, 97, 144, 156; Ibn Baṭṭa, i. 376, 379, 390, 394; see B. G. A., iv., s. v.) is also used as he goes out and on other occasions. The black was the colour of the 'Abbāsids; it was also used in Egypt (Ibn Djabair, p. 50). The Fāṭimid *khayṭ* wore a cap (*balawatna*: Maḥriz, iv. 44, 22 sq.). The dress of the *khayṭ* varied with time and country (cf. *ibid.*, p. 90; B. G. A., iii. 129, 416; Ibn al-Hādīdj, *Maḥḥal*, ii. 73). In Mecca there were celebrations when a young man became a *khayṭ* (Ibn Djabair, p. 149).

Very frequently the *khayṭ* and the imām were one individual, especially in the smaller mosques, but sometimes also in larger ones (Yāqūt, *Uḍḍah*, vii. 174, 179; Maḥriz, iv. 124). Ibn al-Hādīdj even regards this as the normal thing (K. *al-Madḥal*, ii. 59, 60, 73, 74); s. also al-Sukki, *Mu'ad*, p. 160 sq. and the article *KHAYṬ*.

3. *Kāṣṣ* and *Kāri'*.

On these see C 3. Sometimes, in the later usage *mu'ad* is used of the official speaker, very like *khayṭ* (cf. Ibn Baṭṭa, iii. 9), while *al-kāṣṣ* is only applied to the street story-teller (al-Sukki, *Mu'ad al-Nāṣ*, p. 161 sq.). The *ḥurūd* are also frequently appointed to madrasas and particularly to mausoleums (Maḥriz, iv. 223; Yāqūt, iv. 509; Sukki, *Mu'ad*, p. 162; v. Berchem, C. I. A., i. N. 252).

4. The *Mu'adḥḥin*.

According to most traditions, the office of *mu'adḥḥin* was instituted in the year 1, according to others only after the *irṣā'*, in the year 2, according to some weak traditions while Muhammad was still in Mecca. At first the people came to the ṣalāt without being summoned. Trumpets (*ḥūf*) were blown and rattles (*nāḥas*) used or fires lit after the custom of Jews, Christians and Māḍīn. 'Abd Allāh b. Zaid learned the *adḥān* formula in a dream; it was approved by the Prophet and when Bilāl proclaimed it, it was found that 'Omar had also learned the same procedure in a dream (Ibn Hishām, p. 357 sq.; *Khamsa*, i. 404 sq.; Bukhārī, *Adḥān*, bāb 1; Zurkāni, i. 121 sq.). There are also variants of the story, e.g. that the Prophet and 'Omar had the vision, or Abū Bakr or seven or fourteen Ansār; according to some, the Prophet learned it at the *mi'raḥ* from Gabriel, wherefore the introduction of the *adḥān* is dated after the *irṣā'*; among the suggestions made, the hoisting of a flag is mentioned (*Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii. 100 sq.). Noteworthy is a tradition which goes back to Ibn Sa'd, according to which 'Omar's suggestion at first a *munāḍi*, Bilāl, was sent out who called in the streets: *al-ṣalātū ḡāmi'atan*. Only later were other possibilities discussed, but the method already in use was confirmed by the dream, only with another formula, the one later used (*Khamsa*, i. 404; *Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii. 100 sq.). According to this account, the consideration of other methods would be a secondary episode and probably the tradition in general represents a later attitude to the practices of other religions. But in Islam other methods were certainly used. In Fās, a flag was hung out in the minarets and a lamp at night (J. A., ser. 11, xii. 341). The flag is also found in the legend of the origin of the practice.

The public crier was a well-known institution

among the Arabs. Among the tribes and in the towns important proclamations and invitations to general assemblies were made by criers. This crier was called *Munāḍi* or *Mu'adḥḥin* (*Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii. 170; Lammens, *La Mecque*, p. 62 sqq., 146; do., *Berchem*, i. 229 note; do., *Meḍīna*, p. 150). *Adḥān* therefore means proclamation, *Sūra* ix. 3, and *adḥān*, *mu'adḥḥin*, *Sūra* vii. 70 "to proclaim" and "crier". *Munāḍi* (Bukhārī, *Faṣṣ al-Khamsa*, bāb 15) and *Mu'adḥḥin* (*ibid.*, *Ṣawm*, bāb 69; *Ṣalāt*, bāb 10 = *Ḍḥiya*, bāb 16; *Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii. 270) are names given to a crier used by the Prophet or Abū Bakr for such purposes. Official proclamations were regularly made by criers (cf. Tabari, iii. 2131, 3). Saḍḍī and Musallima used a *mu'adḥḥin* to summon the people to their prayers (Tabari, i. 1919, 1932; cf. *Annali dell' Islam*, i. 410 sq.; 638 sq.). It therefore was a very natural thing for Muhammad to assemble the believers to common prayer through a crier (*nāḍi* B' or *ila' l-ṣalāt*, *Sūra* v. 63; lxii. 9); the summons is called *Nidā'* and *Adḥān*, the crier *Munāḍi* (Bukhārī, *Wuḍū'*, bāb 5; *Adḥān*, bāb 7) and *Mu'adḥḥin*; the two names are used quite indiscriminately (e.g. *ibid.*, *Wuḍū'*, bāb 5; Tabari, ii. 297 sq.). *Munāḍi* 'l-Ṣalāt, B. G. A., iii. 182, is also *Ṣāḥib 'al-ṣalāt* is used (Tabari, iii. 861; *Chron. Mekka*, i. 340).

In these conditions, it was very natural for the crier in the earliest period to be regarded as the assistant and servant of the ruler; he is his *mu'adḥḥin* (Ibn Sa'd, i. 7; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, tr. 4; Maḥriz, iv. 43, etc.; cf. Tabari, ii. 1120). 'Umar sent to Kūfa 'Ammār b. Yūsuf as emir and 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd "as *mu'adḥḥin* and *wasir*" (B. G. A., v. 165); he is thus the right hand of the ruler. Al-Ḥusain had his *munāḍi* with him and the latter summoned to the ṣalāt on al-Ḥusain's instructions (Tabari, ii. 297, 298; cf. Ibn Ziyād, *ibid.*, p. 260 and in the year 196 the 'amil in Mecca, *ibid.*, iii. 861, 12; also *Chron. Mekka*, i. 340). During the earliest period, the *mu'adḥḥin* probably issued his summons in the streets and the call was very short: *al-ṣalātū ḡāmi'atan* (Ibn Sa'd, i. 7, 7; *Chron. Mekka*, i. 340; Tabari, iii. 861; cf. also in the year 196, *Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii. 101; *Khamsa*, i. 404 sq.). This brief summons was, according to Ibn Sa'd, also used later on irregular occasions (i. 7 sqq.; cf. the passage in Tabari). Perhaps also the summons was issued from a particular place even at a quite early date (see D 2a). After the public summons the *mu'adḥḥin* went to the Prophet, greeted him and called him to prayer; the same procedure was later used with his successor; when he had come, the *mu'adḥḥin* announced the beginning of the ṣalāt (*aḥḥān* 'l-ṣalāt: cf. Bukhārī, *Wuḍū'*, bāb 5; *Adḥān*, bāb 48; *Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii. 104 sq.; Maḥriz, iv. 45). The activity of the *mu'adḥḥin* thus fell into three sections: the assembling of the community, the summoning of the imām and the announcement of the beginning of the ṣalāt. With time changes were made in all three stages.

The assembling of the community by crying aloud was not yet at all regular in the older period. During the fighting, Ibn Ziyād in the year 60 called his *munāḍi* with threats to the evening ṣalāt in the mosque and when after an hour the mosque was full he had the *iqāma* announced (Tabari, ii. 260). When a large number of mosques had come into existence, the public call to prayer had to be organised lest confusion arose, and the custom

of calling from a raised position became general after the introduction of the minaret. While previously the call to prayer had only been preparatory and the *iḥāma* was the final summons, the public call (*adḥān*) and the *iḥāma* now formed two distinct phases of the call to prayer. Tradition has retained a memory of the summoning in the streets, now completely fallen into disuse, when it tells us that 'Othmān introduced a third *adḥān*, a call in al-Zawra', which was made before the call from the minaret: this call however was transferred by Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik to the minaret (Bukhārī, *Ḍuḥn'a*, bāb 22, 25; *Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii, 110; Ibn al-Hadīd, *Madḥhal*, ii, 45). This may be evidence of the gradual cessation of the custom of summoning the community by going through the streets. Ibn Baṭṭūta, but this is exceptional, tells us that the mu'adhdhins in Khawārim still fetched the people from their houses and those who did not come were whipped (iii, 4 *sq.*), which recalls Wahhābī measures. When exactly the Sunni and in distinction to it the Shī'ī formula, finally developed can hardly be ascertained [see *ADḤĀN*]. The call *ḥaiya 'ala 'l-ṣalāt* is known from the time of 'Abd al-Malik (65-85) (Akhṭal, ed. Ṣalḥānī, p. 254; see Horowitz, in *Isl.*, xvi, 1927, p. 154; on *takbīr* see *ibid.*; on *adḥān* formulae see further *Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii, 105 *sq.*). At first the call was only made at the chief mosque, as was the case in Medina and Meṣr (Maḡrībī, iv, 43 *infra*) but very quickly other mosques were also given mu'adhdhins; their calls were sufficiently audible in the whole town. The chief mosque retained this privilege, that its mu'adhdhin called first and the others followed together (Maḡrībī, iv, 43 *infra*, 44).

The summoning by the imām in Medina was therefore quite a natural thing. The custom, at first associated with the ruler's mosque, was not observed in Medina only (see for 'Othmān and 'Alī: Tabarī, i, 3059 *sq.*) but was also usual under the Omayyads. The formula was: *al-Salām 'alaika ayyuha 'l-Amīr wa-Raḥmatu 'llāh wa-Barakātuhu, ḥaiya 'ala 'l-ṣalāt, ḥaiya 'ala 'l-ṣalāt al-ṣalāt, yarḥamuka 'llāh* (Maḡrībī, iv, 45; *Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii, 105). After the alteration in the *adḥān* and the greater distance of the ruler from the mosque, to summon him was no longer the natural conclusion to the assembling of the community. In the 'Abbasid period and under the Fātimids there was a survival of the old custom, in as much as the mu'adhdhins ended the *adḥān* call before the *ṣalāt al-fajr* on the minarets with a *salām* upon the caliph. This part of the mu'adhdhin's work was thus associated with the first *adḥān* call. When Ṣalḥ al-Dīn came to power, he did not wish to be mentioned in the call to prayer, but instead he ordered a blessing upon the Prophet to be uttered before the *adḥān* to the *ṣalāt al-fajr*, which after 761 only took place before the Friday service. A muḥtāsib ordered that after 791 in Egypt and Syria at each *adḥān* a *salām* was to be uttered over the Prophet (Maḡrībī, iv, 46; *Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii, 110). Ibn Djuḥair relates that in Mecca after each *ṣalāt al-maghrib*, the foremost mu'adhdhin pronounced a *du'a* upon the 'Abbasid Imām and on Ṣalḥ al-Dīn from the Zamzam roof, in which those present joined with enthusiasm (p. 103) and according to Maḡrībī, after each *ṣalāt* prayers for the Sultān were uttered by the mu'adhdhins (iv, 53 *sq.*). Another relic of the old custom was that

the trumpet was sounded at the door of the ruler at times of prayer; this honour was also shown to 'Adud al-Dawla in 368 by order of the caliph (Ibn Maskawayh, vi, 499; Cairo 1315, p. 396).

The *iḥāma* always remained the real prelude to the service and is therefore regarded as the original *adḥān* (Bukhārī, *Ḍuḥn'a*, bāb 24 *sq.*). In the earliest period it was fixed by the arrival of the ruler and it might happen that a considerable interval elapsed between the summoning of the people and the *iḥāma* (cf. Tabarī, ii, 260, 297 *sq.*). The times were later more accurately defined; one should be able to perform 1-3 *ṣalāts* between the two calls (Bukhārī, *Adḥān*, bāb 14, 16). Some are said to have introduced the practice of the mu'adhdhin calling *ḥaiya 'ala 'l-ṣalāt* at the door of the mosque between the two calls (*Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii, 105). From the nature of the case the *iḥāma* was always called in the mosque; at the Friday service, it was done when the imām mounted the minbar (Bukhārī, *Ḍuḥn'a*, bāb 22, 25; *Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii, 110; Maḡrībī, iv, 43) while the mu'adhdhin stood in front of him. This mu'adhdhin, according to some, ought to be the one who called the *adḥān* upon the minaret (*Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii, 109), while Ibn al-Hadīd ignoring the historical facts only permits the call from the minaret (*Madḥhal*, ii, 45). In Tunis, the *iḥāma* was announced by ringing a bell as in the churches (Zarkashī, transl. Faguan, in *Rec. Soc. Arch. Constantin*, 1894, p. 111 *sq.*). A similarity to the responses in the Christian service is found in the fact that the call of the mu'adhdhin, which contains a confession of faith, is to be repeated or at least answered by every one who hears it (Bukhārī, *Ḍuḥn'a*, bāb 23); this is an action which confers religious merit (Ibn Kullūbghā, *Ṭabaḥāt al-Ḥanafīya*, ed. Flügel, p. 30). It is possible that we should recognise in this as well as in the development of the formulae the influence of Christians converted to Islam (cf. Becker, *Zur Gesch. d. islam. Kult.*, in *Isl.*, iii, 1912, p. 374 *sq.* and *Islamstudien*, i, 472 *sq.* who sees an imitation of the Christian custom in the *iḥāma* in general; on the possibility of Jewish influence see Mittwoch, in *Abh. Pr. A. W.*, 1913, Phil.-Hist. Cl. 2).

The mu'adhdhin thus obtained a new importance. His work was not only to summon the people to divine service, but was in itself a kind of religious service. His sphere of activity was further developed. In Egypt we are told that Maslama b. Mukhallad (47-62) introduced the *takbīr*. This consisted in praises of God which were uttered by the mu'adhdhins all through the night until *fajr*. This is explained as a polemical imitation of the Christians, for the governor was troubled by the use of the *namāz* at night and forbade it during the *adḥān* (Maḡrībī, iv, 48). In the time of Ahmad b. Tulūn and Khamrawāsh, the mu'adhdhins recited religious texts throughout the night in a special room. Ṣalḥ al-Dīn ordered them to recite an *'aḥida* in the night *adḥān* and after 700 *dhikr* was performed on Friday morning on the minarets (*ibid.*, p. 48 *sq.*; *Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii, 111). In Mecca also the mu'adhdhins performed *dhikr* throughout the night of the first Shawwāl on the roof of the kabba of the Zamzam well (Ibn Djuḥair, p. 155, 156; cf. for Damascus: Maḡrībī, iv, 49). Similar litanies are kept up in modern times as well as a special call about an hour before dawn (*Eḥed, Tarḥīm*: see Lane, *Manners and Customs* [Everyman's Library],

p. 75 sq.; cf. p. 86; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 84 sqq.).

The original call of the mu'adhdhin thus developed into a melodious chant like the recitation of the Qur'ān. Al-Makḍisī tells us that in the fourth century in Egypt during the last third of the night, the adhān was recited like a dirge (*B. G. A.*, iii. 205). The solemn effect was increased by the large number of voices. In large mosques, like that of Mecca, the chief mu'adhdhin called first from a minaret, then the others came in turn (*Chron. Mekka*, iii. 424 sq.; Ibn Džubair, p. 145 sqq.; cf. *B. G. A.*, vii. 111, 1 sqq., et supra). But in the mosque itself the iqāma was pronounced by the mu'adhdhins in chorus on the dakka (see D 26) erected for this purpose, which is also traced to Maslama. In the third and fourth centuries we hear of these melodious recitations (*taṭrīb*) of the mu'adhdhins on a raised podium in widely separated parts of the Muslim world (Sana', Egypt, Khurāsān: *B. G. A.*, iii. 327; vii. 111; the expression *al-mutallā'ihin*, "the musicians", if correct, probably refers to the mu'adhdhins: *B. G. A.*, iii. 205; cf. also Kindī, *Wuṣūl*, p. 469; for Fāris we are expressly told that the mu'adhdhins call without *taṭrīb*: *B. G. A.*, iii. 439, 17). Sometimes in large mosques they were stationed in different parts of the mosque to make the imām's words clear to the community (*taḥlīq*). The singing, especially in chorus, like the *ṭabāghā*, was regarded by many as *bid'a* (Kindī, *op. cit.*; *K. al-Madkhal*, ii. 45 sq., 61 sq.; *Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii. 111). In other ways also the mu'adhdhins could be compared to deacons at the service. The khaṭib on his progress to the minbar in Mecca was accompanied by mu'adhdhins and the chief mu'adhdhin girded him with a sword on the minbar (Ibn Džubair, p. 96 sq.).

The new demands made on the mu'adhdhins necessitated an increase in their number, especially in the large mosques. The Prophet in Medina had two mu'adhdhins, Bilāl b. Rihāb, Abū Bakr's *muawā* and Ibn Umm Maklūm, who worked in rotation. 'Othmān also is said occasionally to have called the adhān in front of the minbar (i.e. the iqāma) (Makrizī, iv. 43). It is therefore regarded as commendable to have two mu'adhdhins at a mosque (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, tr. 4; cf. Suhkt, *Mu'id*, p. 165). Abū Maḥdūra was also the Prophet's mu'adhdhin in Mecca. Under 'Omar, Bilāl's successor as mu'adhdhin was Sa'd al-Karāṣ, who is said to have called to prayer for the Prophet in *Kubā'* (Makrizī, *op. cit.*; cf. *Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii. 107 sqq.). In Egypt under 'Amr, the first mu'adhdhin in al-Faṣṣāṭ was Abū Muslim; he was soon joined by nine others. The mu'adhdhins of the different mosques formed an organisation, the head (*arif*) of which, after Abū Muslim, was his brother Shurāḥbīl b. 'Amir (d. 65); during his time Maslama b. Mukhallad built minarets (Makrizī, iv. 44).

The office of mu'adhdhin was sometime hereditary. The descendants of Bilāl were for example mu'adhdhins of the Medina Mosque in al-Rawḍa (Ibn Džubair, p. 194); we also find in Medina the sons of Sa'd al-Karāṣ officiating (Ibn Kūṭaliba, *Ḥand. d. Gsch.*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 132, 279), in Mecca the sons of Abū Maḥdūra (ibid., p. 278; *Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii. 106), in Basra, the sons of al-Mundhir b. Ḥassān al-'Abdī, mu'adhdhins of 'Uḥaidlīh b. Ziyād (Ibn Kūṭaliba, p. 279); it is however possible that this was really the result of a system of guilds of mu'adhdhins. In the *djawmī*

of the Maghrib in the eighth century each had regularly four mu'adhdhins who were stationed in different parts of the mosque during the *ṣalāt* (*K. al-Madkhal*, ii. 47 supra); but there were often quite a large number. In the Azhar mosque in the time of al-Ḥākim there were fifteen, each of whom was paid two dinārs a month (Makrizī, iv. 51). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found seventy mu'adhdhins in the Mosque of the Omayyads (i. 204). About 1900, in Medina there were in the Mosque of the Prophet fifty mu'adhdhins and twenty-six assistants (Batantūn, *Niḥla*, p. 242). Blind men were often chosen for this office; Ibn Umm Maklūm for example was blind (Bukhārī, *Aḥḥādīṭ*, bāb 11; *Sira Ḥalabiya*, ii. 104; cf. Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 75). The Prophet is said to have forbidden the Thakīf to pay a mu'adhdhin (Wahidī-Wellhausen, p. 383). 'Othmān is said to have been the first to give payment to the mu'adhdhins (Makrizī, iv. 44) and Ahmad b. Tulūn gave them large sums (*ibid.*, p. 48). They regularly received their share in the endowments, often by special provisions in the documents establishing the foundations.

The mu'adhdhins were organised under chiefs (*ru'asā'*: Makrizī, iv. 14). In Mecca the *ru'as al-mu'adhdhinin* was identical with the *mu'adhdhin al-Zamzami* who had charge of the singing in the upper story of the Zenrem building (*Chron. Mekka*, iii. 424 sq.; Ibn Džubair, p. 145; cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 322). The *ru'as* was next to the imām but subordinate to him; in certain districts, it was the custom for him to mount the pulpit during the sermon with the imām (when the latter acted as khaṭib) (*K. al-Madkhal*, ii. 74; correct above p. 928, l. 31 sq. in keeping with this). The position which they originally occupied can still be seen from the part which they play in public processions of officials, e.g. of the *Ḳaḍī 'l-Kuṣṣāt*, when they walk in front and lead the ruler and his vizier (Makrizī, ii. 246).

Closely associated with the mu'adhdhin is the *munawwif*, the astronomer, whose task it was to ascertain the qibla and the times of prayer (Suhkt, *Mu'id*, p. 165 sq.); sometimes the chief mu'adhdhin did this (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 322).

5. Servants.

According to Abū Huraira, the Mosque of the Prophet was swept by a negro (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, bāb 72, cf. 74). The larger mosques gradually acquired a large staff of servants (*khudām*), notably *ḥawṣalā*, *farrāḥ*, and water-carriers (cf. e.g. v. Berchem, *C. I. A.*, I, N^o 252). In Mecca there have always been special appointments, such as supervisor of the Zenrem and guardian of the Ka'ba (*ṣāḥib*, pl. *ṣadma*, also used of the officials of the mosque: Makrizī, iv. 76; cf. Ibn Džubair, p. 278). In Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's time the servants (*khudām*) of the Mosque of the Prophet were eunuchs, particularly Abyssinian; their chief (*ṣāḥib al-khudām*) was like a great emir and paid by the Egyptian-Syrian government (i. 278, 328); cf. the title of an emir of the year 798: *ṣāḥib maḥālik al-ṣāda al-khudām bi-l-Basra al-sharif al-nabawī* (v. Berchem, *C. I. A.*, I, N^o 201). In the Mosque of Jerusalem about 300 A. H., there were no less than 140 servants (*khudām*: *B. G. A.*, v. 100); others give the figure 230 (Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 163) and according to Muḍḍir al-Dīn, 'Abd al-Malik appointed a guard of three hundred black slaves here, while the actual menial work was done by

certain Jewish and Christian families (Sauvare, *Hist. Jav. et Indr.*, p. 56 sq.).

In other mosques superintendents (*haiyim*, pl. *hawama*) are mentioned, a vague title which covered a multitude of duties: thus the Madrasa al-Madidiya had a *haiyim* who looked after the cleaning, the staff, the lighting and water-supply (Makrizi, iv. 251), the Azhar Mosque had one for the *mi'da'a*, who was paid twelve dinars (*ibid.*, p. 51) and also 4 *kawama*, who were paid like *mu'adhdhims* (two dinars a month) and are mentioned between them and the *imams*, probably supervisors of the staff (*ibid.*, p. 51). In other cases a *haiyim al-ghamsi*, sometimes a *kadi*, is mentioned, who is apparently the same as the *imam*, the *khatib* or some similar individual of standing (*ibid.*, p. 75, 121, cf. 122; cf. Ibn Djabair, p. 51). A *muhtarif*, inspector, is also mentioned, e.g. in the Azhar (Makrizi, iv. 51).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(JOHN PEDERSEN)

II.

The Mosque in the Dutch East Indies.

In the Dutch East Indies, two kinds of mosque have to be distinguished, the mosque for the Friday service — these alone are called mosques (*masjid*, also *mesjid*) — and simple houses of prayer. This second category is found all over the country, especially in smaller villages and owes its origin, partly to private initiative and partly to public efforts; they have native names (*lahgar* [Javan.], *tajug* [Sum.], *surau* [Malay]). The *lahgar*, or whatever it may be called, of the village is a centre at which the *salat* can be performed, but it also serves other purposes of general interest. The upkeep of the building is the affair of the community and in particular one of the tasks of the religious official of the village. The upkeep of the other *lahgars*, erected by private individuals, is left to them. The building stands on its own site and is maintained by the founder or his descendants. The owner cannot however refuse admission to strangers who desire to use it for the *salat* or as shelter the night. Such private chapels are always found beside the Muhammadan seminaries (Jav. *pausantran*). We sometimes find that these *lahgar* are endowed as *wakaf* (Jav. Mal. *wakaf*). The village *lahgar* on the other hand has a more public character.

The mosques, i.e. the *masjid ghamsi*, are found in larger places usually in those which are also centres of administration. Their erection and maintenance is regarded as a duty of the Muslim community; every one contributes his share in materials, work or money, according as he is requested and is able to do. When a new mosque is to be built, not only is the site necessary for the building railed off, but also that for the dwellings of the staff and other people, whose piety induces them to seek a dwelling-place near the mosque; here they find the spot, where in their opinion they can be best benefited by the atmosphere of their faith, spiritually and socially. This mosque area, at least the mosque itself and its immediate neighbourhood, is popularly regarded as *wakaf* although the conditions necessary to make it an endowment in the sense of the *shari'a* are not fulfilled. In *wakaf* affairs, the *shari'a* is regarded as authoritative and not affected by common law.

Each mosque has its own staff, of the size it

requires; in the large mosques there may be 40 or more. In Java and Madura, they form a regular hierarchy; this holds also for the relation of the larger and smaller mosques to each other. A mosque serves the requirements of a definite area; the staff of the mosque at the chief place in a smaller district is subordinate to that of a larger one and so on up to the capital of a regency (which is the highest native administrative unit). At each mosque a superintendent is appointed and the head of the mosque at the capital of the regency is regarded as head of all the mosque officials in the whole district. On the other islands the native, political organisation is less developed, the hierarchy of the secular power therefore less influenced by it. Generally speaking the personnel of the mosque is the same everywhere; the more the secular hierarchy is graded, the more noticeable is the classification of the personnel of the different mosques into various ranks; but we always find one recognised as the head of the staff.

The superintendent of a mosque in Java and Madura bears the general name *pañ(h)ulu*. His main duty is to see that the Friday service is held; he can act as *imam* at it himself but usually he leaves this to someone else. Besides him there are a large number of other officials, whose names usually are taken from the Arabic and whose duties are very varied; among them however we find the *attid* (Jav. Ar. *khatib*). He delivers the sermon; but this also can be done by some one else. The maintenance of the building is also the duty of the superintendent. The expenses have to be met from the money collected by the staff, of which he has control (see below).

In Java and Madura generally, and very often elsewhere, the superintendent of a mosque is also an official, i.e. he is the legal authority who is present at the marriage ceremony; sometimes he acts as *wakil* of the *wali*. He is also authorised to give in marriage women who have no blood-relative to act as *wali*; in this capacity he is called *wali hakim*. Marriages are concluded in the mosque; it is exceptional for the *pañ(h)ulu* to perform the marriage ceremony in person; he usually leaves this to one of his subordinates. People of high rank marry in the house; on these occasions the *pañ(h)ulu* himself acts. The same holds *mutatis mutandis* of *fatāh* and *rudjān*; these also are reported to the *pañ(h)ulu* and recorded by him along with marriages in a register.

In smaller centres, where there are only *lahgar* (chapels) there is an official, who assists the villagers in matters of Muhammadan law; he belongs to the village administration and may be regarded as the lowest rank of the mosque hierarchy; people desirous of matrimony apply to him; he accompanies them to the mosque of the district to which his village belongs; he also acts for the *pañ(h)ulu* as *amil* of the *ghakat* (*wakaf*) and *pitru* (*wakaf al-hir*) (see below). From this capacity comes the name he bears in some parts of the country: *amil*.

The appointment of the mosque officials (as distinct from the village officials in whose cases the local customary law is followed) is not done everywhere in the same way. In Java and Madura, it is in the hands of the native chiefs who are also the highest state officials; on the other islands of the East Indian Archipelago, in so far as Islam prevails on them, the wishes of

the Muslim community are more or less respected; the secular authorities however exert a great influence.

The revenues of mosque officials come from various sources: donations, freewill offerings, in cases where their services are required: — at religious festivals, burials, etc. — need only be mentioned. The chief source of revenue is the so-called marriage fees, less from *djakat* and *pitra*; these are administered and distributed by the superintendent of the mosque. As already mentioned the mosque and its accessories have to be maintained out of the income. Neglect of this duty has induced the chiefs in Java and Madura to intervene and form a special fund, the so-called mosque fund for this purpose. This was arranged as follows: a certain percentage of marriage fees and of the *djakat* and *pitra* was set aside; the chiefs took charge of these funds. The revenues of the mosque officials earmarked in this way were however only a small fraction of the total; the greater part, perhaps $\frac{4}{5}$ or more, remained at the disposal of the officials. This same procedure is found here and there on other islands but is not general.

The Dutch government maintains a neutral attitude to Islam, in all business matters of the mosque also. It takes no part in the building or restoration of mosques; only very exceptionally does it give a contribution in money for such purposes. This was done for example in Kuta Raja (Atjeh), where the chief mosque, which had been destroyed during fighting, was rebuilt from government funds in 1881. But this act of the authorities was not appreciated by the Muslim population; in general, the government officials only see that no compulsion is used to procure materials or funds for the building or maintenance of mosques.

With the end of the sixteenth century the Colonial administration began to pay some attention to the regular organisation of the staffs of the mosques, primarily in Java and Madura. Their measures aimed at maintaining things as they were and at getting rid only of abuses and such customs as had proved to be a burden on the people.

Djakat and *pitra* are regarded as "freewill offerings" by the colonial authorities; the native chiefs and village authorities were therefore forbidden to interfere with them. It is left to the individual to give them or not; he is also free to give his gifts to whom he pleases. The giving of *djakat* varies very much with places and persons and is smallest in Central Java. It is concerned almost entirely with agricultural produce, especially with the staple product and even then it rarely happens that the legal quantity is given. In practice the *djakat*, where it is levied, is collected by the village mosque officials and handed over to the *pañhulu*; he then distributes it in a certain proportion among his subordinates. The proceeds go almost entirely to the staff of the mosque and the village officials, firstly because they are *amil* and secondly because they consider themselves *fajir* and *marbutin*; they have, as they say, no means of livelihood like other people.

Pitra is paid regularly; it happens very frequently with this "donation" that it is paid direct to those entitled to it and not through the officials. Nevertheless a considerable portion goes the same way as the *djakat*.

The government confined itself to seeing that

the *djakat* and *pitra* collected by the *Pañhulu*, was distributed as it ought to be according to custom but this was not always done.

Marriage, *talāq* and *ruḍjū* have been regulated by a colonial law. The *pañhulu* or his deputy was confirmed in his already mentioned functions as an official with legal standing. At the same time, others than the appointed *pañhulu* were forbidden by the secular authority to perform marriages. The registration of marriages, *talāq* and *ruḍjū* was improved. The fees and their distribution among the staff were fixed according to local custom. Every effort is made to keep these as low as possible. Similar regulations were later promulgated for the other islands.

As to the funds of the mosques, it was ascertained that there was more money in them than was required for the maintenance of the building and that they were being used for other purposes than the traditional ones. This caused the government to place the funds of the mosques under the joint control of European and native authorities. This holds particularly of Java and Madura; but wherever else the mosque had funds, these were retained.

The regulations promulgated for Java and Madura have recently been attacked by Muslims; they wanted as far as possible to withdraw everything relating to marriage from government interference. The intervention of the government is now (since 1929) limited to the fact that parties who wish to enter into matrimony have to report themselves to a registrar. *Talāq* and *ruḍjū* have also to be reported to him. The marriage ceremony may be performed by others, but they are under the control of the registrar; this last method is now the exception; the majority continue to go to the district officer.

In one other respect the mosque has come under the control of government regulations. In Muslim districts of the East Indian Archipelago hardly a mosque is built without the consent of the local secular authority. Although it does not have to give its approval expressly, no work will be begun until the plan is approved. In Java and Madura the chiefs have long held themselves entitled to decide on the question whether a new mosque should be erected, though they justified this claim by saying among other things that a new mosque, if not desired by the entire community, may easily lead to jealousy and disputes about the validity of the Friday service etc., which might result in general unrest.

The custom of making the site of a mosque *wakaf* — or at least regarding it as such, — results in it being impossible to use such pieces of ground for public purposes, even if it is long since the mosque buildings had been removed from them.

These and other difficulties induced the government to require the approval of the chiefs for the building of new mosques on Java and Madura and also that the sites should become *wakaf*. It was however expressly laid down that there can be no possible question of interfering with the religious requirements of the Muslims; the chief can only refuse his consent in the public interest.

The law of the Dutch Indies demands the presence of the *pañhulu* or some one with similar functions, at the courts for Muslim natives and also when a native appears as accused or plaintiff

in a court, to assist the court as adviser. An endeavour is made to get the most suitable people as advisers: they are officially appointed. It was found to be desirable to combine this office and that of the administrator of the mosque in the one individual; and this is now the usual practice. The influence of the government on the appointment of the personnel of the mosque, which otherwise is reserved for the chief, has thus been increased, especially as in the appointment of the assistant[s] of the *pašā* (the *pašā*), the ability of acting as adviser is also taken into account.

The bonds which connect the personnel of the mosque and the secular authority are thus fairly close; — in the opinion of some too close. In recent years the effort has been made in nationalist Muslim circles, to loosen or even break all secular connections in the fulfilment of religious duties. One way of doing this is to get private individuals to found mosques with the help of similar-minded people. This is quite possible in the conditions described and is still done.

Bibliography: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Nederland en de Islam*, 2nd ed., Leyden 1915 [French transl., in *R. M. M.*, xiv. (1911) = *Verspr. Geschiedenis*, Bonn 1924, iv/2, p. 221 sqq.]; Th. W. Juyaboll, *Handleiding der Mohammedaanische wet*, 3rd ed., Leyden 1925, p. 71, 85, 194 sqq., 283; *Adatrechtbundel*, vii. 297 sqq.; x. 309 sqq.; xii. 287, where other works are given.

(R. A. KERN)

III. Architecture.

The mosque with an open quadrangle was the natural form for the hot southern lands of Islam, and is simply a continuation of the many types of pillared halls and chambers which were to be found all over the near east, beginning with the Egyptian temples and coming down to the apadanas of the Persians and the stoas of the Greeks, of which of course only the latter influenced the development of the early Muslim mosque. This consists of a courtyard or quadrangle (*ṣaḥn*) usually very large which is surrounded by cloisters (*riwāḥ*) which are either connected by flat beams, or more usually by arches and covered by a flat roof. At the kibla side the *riwāḥ*s were deeper so that the rows of worshippers could find shelter from the sun. The supports were at first very often columns taken from ancient buildings and where these were not obtainable, were of wood or brick. The pillared hall at the kibla side was called *al-ḥaḍra al-ḥabibī* or *ḥaḍra*. A portion of the *ḥaḍra* was shut off by a railing and reserved for princes and priests. On the quadrangle side of the *ḥaḍra* is a podium (*ḍikka*) supported by pillars and reached by a staircase or ladder; this is for the officials of the mosque, who repeat the words of the imām during the service to make them audible on all sides. At the end of the *ḥaḍra* the *miḥrāb* is set into the middle of the wall and beside it is the *miḥrab*. In the centre of the court is a well, originally intended for ritual ablutions but these were as a rule performed in rooms specially set apart for the purpose.

These mosques with open quadrangle were built in the first century A. H. on a large scale, as they were primarily intended to be mosques for the troops, whence they were called 'askar mosques.

The *Djāmi' Ibn Tulūn* in al-Kāṭal, Cairo is a comparatively well preserved specimen of one of these 'askar mosques. It was built in 264—267 (876—879) and measures 466 × 383 feet and its court is 300 feet square. The principal *ḥaḍra* had originally five rows of pillars but has now only four since the first one fell down, the others had two rows each, which are connected by pointed arches, parallel to the walls, thus still following the type of the Hellenistic agora. The piers are built of brick and into the corners are let small columns. Between the pillars are pointed arches and ornamental windows with little pillars at the sides. Similar windows with stucco gratings pierce the outer walls. The roof, most of which is now modern, was made of palm trunks with sycamore planks nailed over them. In front of the *miḥrāb* was a *maḥḥara* for the ruler. This *maḥḥara* was as here usually distinguished by its cupola. In the later mosques of this kind an aisle of some width led through the pillars up to the *maḥḥara*, usually through the naves of the *ḥaḍra* so that an aisle was created for a ceremonial procession by the ruler into the mosque. In the *Djāmi' Ibn Tulūn* as in the 'askar mosques of the third (ninth) century in general there are no transepts as yet so that the succession of pillars is quite uniform. The *miḥrāb* projects out as the wall juts out a little here and the niche has two steps cut into the wall and then projects in a semi-circle. Two marble pillars are built into the angles formed by the projection of the niche, which have been taken from older Christian buildings. The white stuccoed surfaces of the walls are ornamented along the upper margins and archivolts with decorative strips of carving, which were originally painted. The interiors of the arches were also originally decorated but are now for the most part whitewashed. Immediately below the roof on a wooden frieze runs a Kūfic inscription two miles long with *shāhs* from the Qur'ān, the letters of which are cut out of wood and nailed on to the boards. The mosque has a battlemented wall, which again was surrounded on three sides by a second outer wall so that the whole area was square in shape and the outer courtyards put some distance between the quadrangle of the mosque and the surrounding streets. The outer walls of these early army mosques were turreted like a fortress with round projecting towers even though not intended for defence. This was not the case with the Mosque of Ibn Tulūn. On the minaret, which stood outside the mosque among the outer buildings on the north side and like the mosque itself was restored under the Mamlūk Sulṭān Lādīn, cf. the article MANḤRA. Similar mosques for the troops were built in all the garrison towns of the young empire, like Baṣra, Kūfa, Baghdad, Samarra, Raḡḡa, in Cairo, Kairawān and elsewhere.

The type of mosque with quadrangle and piers or columns was however by no means limited to the mosques for the troops but was general in the early centuries of Islam and survived much longer than this, just as the early Christian basilica had done. Many pillared mosques, the foundation of which dates back to the early centuries A. H. are still in use, like the mosque of the Umayyads in Damascus, the great mosque of Sīdī Uḡba in Kairawān, many mosques in the Maghrib, where they have frequently remained faithful to this type down to the present day, the *Djāmi' al-Aṣḥar* and others in Cairo. In towns that are cold in winter, the

harām was shut off by doors and windows from the quadrangle as in the pillared mosques in Konya, Siwa and Turkish towns, but also in Damascus and Córdoba.

The Domed Mosque. The great mosques built on piers — in so far as they were not simply army mosques — were primarily used for the Friday service in the larger cities. In addition to these, there were in every town several smaller mosques either for the use of the separate quarters or for special purposes. For these also in Egypt and the lands of the Maghrib the type of pierced mosque with open quadrangle persisted while in Mesopotamia, the lands of the Caucasus and Persia, suiting the ruder climate and undoubtedly stimulated by the influence of the Christian churches the closed domed mosque became the type. Some of these mosques (e.g. in Werāmin) reveal with their combination of a long building and a dome such a striking similarity to the older, mainly Nestorian, churches that M. Dieulafoy and van Berchem comprised them under a type to which they gave the name "mosquée-église". Typical mosques of this kind with a central domed chamber and internal piers are to be found in Tabriz, Eriwān, Diyār Bakr etc. It was only under the Ottomans in Asia Minor that the domed mosque attained the next stage in its development and it reached its zenith — not by chance — where the similar Christian style of church architecture had reached its final development, namely in Constantinople.

Madrasa. The foundation for the further development of the mosque with a great open quadrangle, as perfected under the Saljūqs in the east, was the type of madrasa which had in the meanwhile been evolved (cf. the articles MADRASA and ARCHITECTURE). The ideal plan of a madrasa is an open court with vaulted cloisters opening on a central quadrangle in the centre of the four façades, i.e. at the intersection of the axes. This plan however only became regular in Persia and we only find a few specimens exceptionally in Cairo. On both sides of these four *ṭawāz* are the cells and dwelling apartments of the teachers and pupils usually in two stories. In contrast to the pillared mosque with an open court, which arose out of a Hellenistic Mediterranean type of building, the model for the development of the eastern madrasa, which combined both school and monastery, was on the one hand the Indian Buddhist monastery and on the other the Khurāsān *iṭwān*, while the madrasa of Syria, Egypt and the Maghrib was influenced by native types of mosque and house. The Turkish peoples, as representatives of the Sunna and its propaganda through the madrasa, before they invaded Persia and became Muslims, were mainly under the influence of Buddhism and Nestorian Christianity, which survived much longer in Turkestan and the Tarmi basin than in Persia and still was very important as late as the thirteenth century A.D., as is evident from the narrative of William of Rubruck. The Turks before they adopted Islām had, among the Buddhists and Nestorians, become acquainted with the missionary side of religion. This seems to explain the prominent part later played by them as propagandists of Islām in Persia and Asia Minor. It must have seemed to them that the most suitable centre of propaganda was the same type of building as that used by the Nestorians and Buddhists, namely the monastery. The Buddhist monasteries which were courtyards with cells built round them, numbered hundreds

in Central Asia. They are as a rule oblong quadrangles with cells built round them and a stūpa in the centre and several large rooms for meetings. In Persia, under the influence of these buildings, the type of quadrangle and cells with 4 *iṭwān*s in the form of a cross became established as the ideal scheme of a madrasa. That this plan which was architectonic in origin was also the practical ideal for the fourfold doctrine of the Sunna, was a fortunate combination, which in some large state madrasas became of practical significance.

The Persian Mosque-Madrasa. The quadrangle surrounded by cells with four *iṭwān*s of the Persian Madrasa was now combined with the old pierced mosque and the result was a very happy combination: the mosque-madrasa (as we Europeans call it). The important result of this combination was from the architectonic point of view the monumental quadrangle with cells, which now replaced the old courtyard with pillars or piers which was no longer architectonically satisfactory and was also foreign to the spirit of Persian architecture. But with this transformation of the quadrangle a change was brought about in the spiritual aspect of the mosque. It symbolised the transformation which had meanwhile taken place internally and externally in Islām from a combative, conquering religion organised on military lines into a spiritual attitude to life, controlled by theologians and men of learning. The fighting, however, which was still conducted by military forces, and the conquests had now become more or less the private business of the secular rulers, above whom was the religious propaganda of the Muslim clergy. The most instructive example of this penetration of the older type of mosque by the Persian quadrangle surrounded with cells is the Masjid-i Džum'a in Isfahān. This mosque, like all the Friday mosques in Persia was originally built as a pillared mosque and had been frequently enlarged. At the present day, as the plan shows, it consists of colonnades which have in course of centuries been added to one another from time to time. A great deal of wood must have been built into its framework, since Vāqūt tells us that during the siege of Isfahān by the Saljūq Tughril Beg (442—1050/1051) the mosque was destroyed to obtain wood. From the contemporary accounts that have been handed down, we further learn that the Saljūq Sultan Malik Shāh when the mosque was completely restored by his orders began with roofing the walls of the courtyard. He is credited with building the southern *iṭwān*. The other three *iṭwān*s are over their present form of later origin. By covering over this huge quadrangle, the courtyard, the only characteristic architectural feature of the mosque, received the necessary unity and importance. (Around it, this mosque, like most Friday mosques, was completely surrounded by bazaars which made any external development impossible: the quadrangle was therefore all the more important). The rows of cells had here no longer any practical significance as dwellings but became an architectural feature. Behind the southern *iṭwān*, directed towards Mecca, a large domed hall was built as a sanctuary, in the south wall of which were the mihrāb and pulpit. Here the solemn Friday service was held. Thus the Friday mosque was created of the type which became general in Irān and Turkestan. Mosques and madrasas were frequently combined with mausoleums (cf. the article ARCHITECTURE).

The Mosque building in the early period. Muhammad left no instructions as to how future mosques were to be built so that the earliest mosques varied considerably and we can hardly talk of a fully developed type before the third (ninth) century. The Prophet's house in Medina, where he performed the *ṣalāt* with his faithful followers and instructed them, was a *ḍar* of the usual local type quite unsuitable as a model for the future mosque. It consisted of a courtyard surrounded by a brick wall with living rooms and outhouses along the inner wall. As was usual and still is in every house of this kind in Arabia and other tropical lands, palm trunks were put up in the courtyard and a flat roof of palmleaves put over them and covered with a layer of clay. This is how the earliest accounts would lead us to picture the Prophet's house. In the courtyard was a reception tent furnished with fine carpets and materials, for Muhammad did not despise the nomadic luxuries and comforts of his people (cf. H. Lammens, *Fatima et les filles de Mahomet* and *ibid.*, in *J. A.*, 1915, p. 238 *seqq.*). Around this establishment of the Prophet, his wife and daughters, lay the court in which his friends and followers used to assemble for the daily prayer and which thus became the first quadrangle of the first mosque. The use of a typical Arabian courtyard arranged in this way as a masjid however gives us no idea of the future imposing building. For half a century, it is true, they were content with this primitive mosque, during the patriarchal period of the first four caliphs, out of respect for the Prophet's mosque; but the first Omayyad caliph Walid I who in transforming the church of St. John in Damascus into the Mosque of the Omayyads had acquired experience "in matters of building" and connections with builders, on the occasion of his pilgrimage to Medina in 90 (709) ordered the primitive mosque which had served the purpose so far, to be removed so that an entirely new building could be erected on its site, which was extended. For this purpose, as Samihhi tells us, he asked the Byzantine emperor for skilled workmen and shells for the ornamentation, which were sent to him. "The walls and columns of the new mosque were built of large hewn stones of equal size and bound with plaster, ornamentation in shell and marble was carried out and the roof built of palm wood and covered with gold paint". Instead of the early primitive mosque, Walid had thus given the Medinese a substantial pillared mosque, like the first mosque which he had built in Syria with the help of Byzantine artisans from pillars plundered from Hellenistic colonnades and Christian churches. It was only in this Hellenicised form that the mosque of Medina could have influenced the further development of the mosque in so far as we can speak of such influence at all. (It was given its present form by the Mamlūk Sulṭān Ka'it Bey in 888 = 1483). The ordinary Arab village mosque is different in appearance. It has retained the form of the Arab pre-Islamic *ṣaḥḥa*. This "place of *ṣalāt*" was and still is a long hall supported by pillars, open on one side without a courtyard and having no *mihrāb* and *minbar*.

The lack of any generally binding or recognised rules or tradition is shown by the varying form of the mosque in the early centuries A.H. The earliest mosque of the general 'Amr in Fuaḥ[ī]

of 21 (642) was an enclosed rectangular hall without a courtyard, with a *ḥalla* which was not yet marked by a *mihrāb*. The first mosque in Bayra was, like the whole city of encampments, built of reeds so that it could be taken down with the camp. In the year 16 or 17 A.H. Abū Mūsā, the newly appointed governor of Bayra, built a mosque of unhaked brick and clay with a roof of grass. It was only under the Omayyad governor Ziyād that a mosque was built of brick and plaster with a roof of teak and pillars, which came from the quarries of Ahwār on the Kārm river. The first mosque in Kūfa on the other hand of 17 A.H. was "a covered hall... which had no side wings nor buildings behind it" (Tahari); before it was an open square "and so, confirms Tahari, were all the mosques except the *Masjid al-Ḥarām* (i.e. Mecca); out of respect for the sanctity of the latter, it was not copied in the other mosques". This mosque also was rebuilt by Ziyād, governor for the first Omayyad Mu'awiyā I (41-62 = 661-680). For it he had plans drawn up by Madaean architects: "Uno degli architetti gli fece un disegno sul modello degli edifici eretti dai rei sassanidi, ossia un vasto colonnato con tetto e chiuso ai lati" (cf. *Annali dell'Islām*, III, § 47, p. 857). When, on the other hand, the conquerors found buildings in towns which were suitable for masjids from the point of view of space, they utilised them. In al-Madīna, for example, the old twin-city of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, the *ḥalla* of the white palace was used as a place of assembly for the Friday *ṣalāt*, and the pictures of men and animals in it were not destroyed. In Syria, however, the churches were turned into mosques by changing the orientation from east to south and placing a quadrangle in front of them. In this way the building of the mosque of any place in the early centuries A.H. was adapted to the traditions in existence and where there were no buildings, as in the newly founded camp-cities, it was on every occasion a problem for the governor requiring much consideration. In spite of this uncertainty, as one can deduce from the descriptions, they were more inclined, even as early as the first century A.H., to the type of pierced mosque with a quadrangle, to which all the prototypes as well as the climate pointed.

Development of the Masjid and the Madrasa in the different countries.

Syria. As the place of residence of the first dynasty of the young Muslim empire and a land of ancient culture, Syria was naturally destined to build the first substantial mosques and to influence early developments. This influence it exercised on the one hand indirectly through the Syrian mosque built by Walid in Medina, next to Mecca the most sacred and most visited city of Islām; on the other hand, the Mosque of the Omayyads in Damascus, as we know from Arabic sources, was taken as a model as far away as Córdoba. The earliest centre of Muslim building was Jerusalem, which the Omayyads endeavoured to play off against Mecca. Beside the ruins of the *Kubbat al-Sakhra* or the *Ḥarām al-Sharif*, the sacred rock of which was to supplant the Ka'ba, 'Abd al-Malik used the parts still standing of Justinian's Church of the Virgin to build the *Ḍiḥr al-Ḍiḥr* (finished in 83 = 702). According to de Vogüé's plan, this building, later often restored or rebuilt, was a pil-

lared hall with three naves, of necessity oriented to the south with the mihrāb in the long axis. At a later date the transept with the dome and four side naves was added. The Mosque of the Omayyads in Damascus arose out of the rebuilding of the Church of St. John, which had been built on this site by Theodosius out of the pillars and other stones of the Antonine temple of Jupiter. We must assume that Walid had the pillars of the basilica moved so that three equal naves were built. These were crossed in the centre by a transept, which led up to the mihrāb and had a dome over its centre. The rich decoration with mosaics was a suggestion from Syria and was probably done by Syrian workmen (plan and history of these buildings in *Diez, Die Kunst d. Islam, Völker*, p. 14 199 of the first and p. 32 29 of the second edition; with references to the literature). The mosque of Damascus was the first to have a transept, the prototype of which Thiersch no doubt rightly finds in the chancel of Byzantium (*Pharos*, p. 214), which frequently appears again in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia. The great mosque of Aleppo was also built after the plan of the Omayyads with a transept, as the latter can hardly have been added until the rebuilding of 365 (976) (pictures in Saladin, *Mansur*, p. 85). The mosque of 'Isa in Ephesus, finished in 777 (1375), and the mosque of Diyār Bakī are northern outposts of this type, the influence of which can also be often traced in Cairo and the Maghrib.

Alongside of these principal mosques in Syria a series of smaller mosques arose, partly out of ancient temples (Aleppo, Hamā, Homs, Ba'albekk, Tripolis, al-Umīyā), partly built out of material available from Christian buildings (Ramla, Kuṣair, al-Hallāb, Bosra). Some of these mosques may have been pre-Omayyad foundations, certainly the Mosque of 'Umar in Bosra. All these mosques, except Kuṣair al-Hallāb, have the same type of quadrangle with halls around it, two or more being on the kibla side, without transept. The development of these halls varies however, as a result of local tradition or the material available (e.g. the naves of Christian churches). They are as a rule vaulted with pointed arches but sometimes have gable roofs and thus, along with their closed façades, in front of which we exceptionally have a bowered corridor, bear a western or northern stamp in keeping with the under climate. The later Syrian mosques under the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks differ very much in their plans. The Mosque of Firdaws in Aleppo, for example, has a small pillared court and a broad nave, with a row of five small domes, as the ḥarām besides various side-rooms; cf. M. v. Berchem and E. Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie* (M. I. F. A. O., Cairo 1914, 2 vols.).

Madrasas in Syria. A very complete study of the madrasa in Syria and Egypt by K. A. C. Creswell (*The Origin of the Cruciform Plan of the Cairene Madrasa*, B. I. F. A. O., 1920) has brought some clearness into the question of its typical form etc. After an examination of eight madrasas built before 1270 A. D., the plans of which can still be traced in Aleppo, Damascus and Hamā, Creswell shows that the symmetrical plan was unknown in Syria and that there was no regular scheme in the arrangement of the rooms, but it depended on the site available. A typical specimen is the always correctly oriented mosque: a nave of three vaulted rooms with three pointed arched

doors to the court; a *ḥamā* on the court, rows of cells in the rest of the court and usually two tomb-cupolas usually flanking the mosque; the rest of the area is occupied by rooms. Madrasas used by two rites had two *ḥamās*. Of the 80 madrasas counted by al-Ḥimawī in Damascus in the 15th century (*J. A.*, ser. 9, vol. iii-iv, 33 were Hanafī, 31 Shāfi'i, 9 Hanbalī, 1 Mālikī, 6 used by Shāfi'i and Hanafī). Creswell's investigation shows that in Syria there was not one madrasa of all four rites nor a cruciform one, a result, which suggests new deductions for the Egyptian madrasas.

Arabia. The indigenous form of the masjid in Arabia is a large hall formed of chambers with pillars and arches. The author found such oratories, more correctly to be described as musallās, in Manāma on Bahraia (picture in *Diez, K. d. Isl. V.*, p. 46). These praying chambers, open to the street without a courtyard, have no furniture, not even a mihrāb or mihrāb. The latter was foreign to Arabia and in the larger masjids its place was taken simply by a slab of stone with some adornment. But these pillared halls were only a more substantial form of the local native masjid of palm-trunks, which could probably often be found in the simple villages of the interior and whose sanctified precursor was the Masjid al-Nabawī in Medina built in this fashion. Alongside of this type of mosque which was indigenous to Arabia we find imported forms, like the masjid in Medina (see above), of slight importance from the archaeological point of view. Mention may be made of the ruins of a mosque near Manāma of 740 (1339/1340) described in an inscription as *masjid al-sharif al-ḥaṭṭ al-miḥrabiyya*, with old pillars of teak of the fourth (tenth) century; the Shī'a form of the creed on this as well as the inscriptions on the kibla stones of the 14th century mark it as a Shī'a edifice (cf. *Diez, Eine schiitische Moschee auf der Insel Bahrayn*, in *Festsch. d. asiat. Kunst*, II, 1925).

Irak and Mesopotamia. The earliest settlements of the conquering Arabs in the Irak were primitive camps built of reeds; equally primitive were the earliest mosques. Sassanian buildings were used for the purpose in conquered cities, like Ctesiphon. A pillared mosque was early built in Kufa (17 A.H.) which Tabari describes and which was rebuilt as early as the beginning of the Omayyad period by "Persian builders" in the form of a completely enclosed pillared hall (see above). In the capital of the caliphs also, as a result of its complete destruction by Tīmūr nothing worthy of note has survived. We know however that the Friday Mosque of al-Manṣūr (149 = 766) was built of pillars of teak with capitals of wood and a flat roof. A wooden dome over the *maḥḥara* is probable. It was rebuilt under Harūn in 192-193 (808). Al-Muṭaḥḥid began to enlarge it after the return of the troops from Samarra (280 = 893) (cf. Sarre-Hersfeld, *Arch. Zeit.*, II, 134 199. with plan). Outside of Baghdad the unlimited space available permitted great mosques for the soldiers to be systematically planned, as in Raḡḡa and Samarra; these were the great pined mosques of the third (ninth) century, which were copied in the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn in Cairo. Of the three large old mosques in Mōṣul, that of the Omayyads has completely disappeared; according to Yāqūt's description it was "completely vaulted, with alabaster slabs". This seems to be the origin of that type of pined mosque

with vaulted arches which was later further developed by the Seldjûks and Ottomans (see below). The Mosque of Nûr al-Dîn (542—569 = 1146—1173) or Dîwânî al-Kahîr was also vaulted from the first (with cross-vaulting) on piers (543 = 1148) and on its rebuilding in 566—568 (1170—1172) was not given cupolas. The third Mosque of al-Mudjshid, Khidr Ilyâs, has been completely modernised. Smaller mosques of the 10th (11th) century like the Dîwânî Nâhî, Djirdîs have single domed chambers as praying-rooms.

In Baghdâd the following madrasas were built under the 'Abbâsids; the Shâhî Nîḡāniya in 459 (1066), the Tâḡiyya in 482 (1089), the Ḥanafî Tutuḡiyya in 508 (1114), the Nâḡiyya, c. 600 A. H. and the Muṭanḡiyya about 610 A. H. Only the latter is still in existence and is used as a customs warehouse (sketch-plan in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Arch. Reiss.* II, 161). Of remarkable oblong shape (86 × 210 feet) it has six iwâns, a large vaulted hall, rows of cells and side-rooms. Besides the four rites this, the first state madrasa, also accommodated a *dâr al-ḥadîth* and a *dâr al-ḡur'ân*. If the Muṭanḡiyya was not planned in a strictly symmetrical way with four iwâns at the intersection of the axes, it nevertheless incorporated the same idea and may therefore have stimulated the development of the next type. In Mîṣr there were several Ḥanafî madrasas.

Egypt. The type of pillared mosque imported from the 'Irâq under Ibn Tūlūn prevailed in Cairo along with the pillared mosque down to the Mamlûk period. It is the regular rule that the large military and Friday mosques always have piers; the smaller mosques intended for the people of the quarter have pillars. Some of the latter however were on occasion also used as Friday mosques. The rows of piers were always parallel to the Kibla wall and connected by arches, a natural result of the rectangular form of the piers, which had to run parallel to the rows of worshippers. In the pillared mosques the naves might also be perpendicular to the Kibla wall, without inconveniencing the worshippers. The Cairo mosques of this group are:

The Mosque of Amr Ibn al-'Âs in Fustât, which received its present form as a result of repeated rebuilding and additions to the above mentioned hall of the year 21 (642) (cf. E. K. Corbett, *The History of the Mosques of Amr at Old Cairo*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1890).

The Mosque of Ahmad Ibn Tulûn of 263—265 (876—879; for a description see above; cf. E. K. Corbett, *The Life and Works of Ahmad Ibn Tulûn*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1891, p. 527—562).

The Mosque of al-Aḡar of 359—361 (970—972) on pillars: the first Mosque of Fâtimid Cairo, remarkable for the central nave, broader than usual with two domes (*miḡḡas*) probably borrowed from the Maghrib and unusual here; also for its stilted pointed arches which henceforth became frequent in Cairo; finally for the rich decoration of the plaster in the arches, which were recently cleaned. (They will be published by S. Elury in Creswell's great work on the architecture of Cairo). The Aḡar has long been used as a *Dâr al-ḡur'ân* (state madrasa).

The Mosque of Ḥâkim, a piers mosque of the year 380—403 (990—1012), with valuable decorations on the plaster and inscriptions and two unvaulted, historically important madrasas [q. v.] (cf. M. v. Berchem, *Notes d'Archéologie Arabe, Mem.*

et Insur. Fatimites, *J. A.*, 1891, reprint, p. 23).

The Mosque of al-Aḡmar, a small pillared mosque historically important for its façade built by Abû 'Alî al-Maḡḡir al-'Amîr (495—524), finished 519 (1125); restored by Barkûk in 799 (1396—1397) and given a *miḡḡra* which was removed in 815 (1412) (cf. M. v. Berchem, *Lez. J. A.*, 1891, reprint, p. 81).

The Mosque of al-Faḡḡhânî, built by the Fâtimid caliph al-Zâfir in 543 (1148—1149); completely restored in the Ottoman period.

The Mosque of al-Ṣâliḡ Tâḡiyya outside the Bâb el-Zawâzî, built about 550 (1160). A smaller pillared mosque of the usual type, which was sometimes used as a Friday Mosque (cf. M. v. Berchem, *Lez.*, reprint, p. 3199; pictures in R. L. Devonshire, *Some Cairo Mosques and their Founders*, London 1921, p. 1—10).

The Mosque of al-Zuhîr Bâḡiyya of the year 665—667 (1266—1269), a mosque with piers of brick, built for the troops with a very strong stone wall and three portals jutting out like the Mosque of al-Ḥâkim. The six rows of columns in the ḡarîm are crossed by a transept with a dome of three naves breadth in diameter before the miḡḡra. Porticoes with double naves surrounded the court.

The Mosque of Salḡān Muḡammad al-Nâṣir on the citadel, of the year 718—735 (1318—1335) on pillars.

The Mosque of Amr al-Mâs (Shâhî Hîḡniyya) of 730 (1329—1330).

The Mosque al-Maḡḡûṭ of 739—740 (1338—1340) on pillars.

The Mosque of Amîr Akṡunḡur of 747—748 (1346—1348) on pillars.

The Mosque al-Mu'ayyad of 819—823 (1416—1420).

Of pillared mosques in Egypt outside Cairo we may mention the Mosque of "St. Athanasius" and the Mosque of the "Thousand Pillars" in Alexandria: the plans of which were recorded by the French expedition (*Description de l'Égypte, Antiquités*, v., reproduced in Thiersch, *op. cit.*, p. 224). Shortly before the arrival of the French, Alexandria still had 88 mosques, 45 of which were large. Practically nothing of these is left at the present day. The two above mentioned were pillared mosques and particularly the second, also called the "Mosque of the Seventy", with its iwâns of equal depth on all sides (only the northeastern one has 4 instead of 5 rows of pillars) the arches of which always run parallel to the outer walls, i.e. palm-like, continue the type of the Hellenistic pillared agora or the gymnasium as Thiersch has pointed out. The same type predominated in the towns of the Delta. The second, later type of mosque in Egypt was decisively influenced by the madrasa, to which we may now turn our attention. As Creswell has shown, the Egyptian madrasa was by no means always cruciform, as was usually supposed previously. It is also distinguished from the Syrian type and cannot be at once said to have been introduced from Syria. It is true that the first madrasa for all four rites in Cairo was built by Ṣâḡḡ Nâḡim al-Dîn Aiyûb, but this Ṣâḡḡiyya was a building divided into two halves and cannot be considered as the original of the later type (641 = 1243—1244). The first cruciform madrasas with 4 iwâns in Cairo was the Zâḡiriyya which was built on the site of a part of the old Fâtimid palace which was cleared for this purpose and consecrated in

600 (1263). The south Iwān belonged to the *Shāfiʿī*, the north to the *Hanafī*; lectures on *Ḥadīth* were given in the east Iwān and in the west Iwān the seven ways of reading the *Kurʿān* were taught (*Maḥriz, Khitāṭ*, II). While the *Shāfiʿīya* held all four rites but was not cruciform, the *Zāhirīya* was cruciform but did not accommodate all four rites. The *Nāṣiriya* of 695 (1295-1296) was the first madrasa of the rare type which, cruciform and accommodating all four rites, allotted a Iwān to each. *Maḥriz* also mentions a large number of other madrasas of one or two rites which have completely disappeared but probably were of different forms, as the existing madrasas and ruins show. One great difference in principle between the Syrian and Cairene madrasas was the installation of the mosque. In Syria this was always a broad chamber with a central dome and two tunnel vaults but in Cairo one of the Iwāns was always used as a mosque and with this object was furnished with a mihrāb. The Egyptian madrasas also always had minarets, which was the exception in Syria. Creswell's assertion that the cruciform mosque is of Cairene origin, although it remained the exception, therefore will hardly find acceptance. *Timūr* and his successors certainly did not get the design for their numerous cruciform madrasas from Cairo but followed the old *Kharrāsimīya* tradition. It remains to be seen whether future excavations in *Niḥāḥūr*, *Tūn* and other towns of *Kharrāsān* will supply further information on this point. Creswell gives a chronological list of the madrasas of Cairo mentioned by *Maḥriz* and others, which were built between 366-811 (1170-1408); these number 55, 26 of which are still in existence. Two of these are devoted to all four maḥabbas, the Madrasas of *Sulṭān Ḥasan* 757-764 (1356-1365) and of *Djāmī al-Dīn* of 811 (1408) (*Creswell, loc. cit.*, p. 44). Further details of these madrasas will be found in *Creswell, op. cit.* and in *Diez, Kunst d. Isl.* P. 3, p. 118-125. Here we shall just mention the most celebrated building of this kind in Cairo, the tomb-mosque-madrasa of *Sulṭān Ḥasan*. It belongs to the group of buildings which contain several places of worship and are devoted to all four rites; the school Iwāns of which were however outside the central court at the four corners of the building, quite separate from one another. The four Iwāns had therefore only an architectural significance. In keeping with the Cairo tradition, the *Kibla* Iwān was made much larger and arranged as a masjid.

With this adaptation of the madrasa for use as a mosque, the foundations were laid for the further development of the mosque during the period of the Circassian Mamlūks when it may be described as a transformed and roofed madrasa. As a rule we can distinguish in it three compartments, the *Kibla* Iwān, a central chamber sunk a step lower occupying the place of the former open courtyard and a room at the back, as a rule a smaller one. Of little importance from the architectural point of view, these small mosques were elaborately decorated and formed fine specimens of the decorative art of Cairo. The tomb mosque of *Kāʾit Bey* of 880 (1475), the mosque of *Kishmī al-Ishāki* of 885-886 (1480-1481), of the *Amir Akhūr* of the year 908 (1503) and of *al-Ghūrī* of the year 908-910 (1503-1504) are buildings of this group. The Ottoman domed mosque from 935 (1528) follow the Turkish tradition.

The Maghrib (North Africa and Spain).

The typical mosque of the Muslim west is the mosque with courtyard, on pillars or columns. It was only under Turkish rule that the domed mosque became established in those parts of North Africa affected by it. The rows of pillars run, as a rule, perpendicular to the *Kibla* wall from which however they are separated by a transept. The axis of the latter is a continuation of the axis of the central nave which is always broader. Of the rows of pillars in the axis the two or three outermost ones are continued over the court and form the arcades, of which the inner entrance side of the court has as a rule only one. The beginning and end of the central nave are as a rule marked by a dome. The western mosques are given their characteristic features by the horseshoe and bulbous arch (a mixture of the horseshoe and the pointed arch). The mihrāb of the western mosques is as a rule a pentagonal niche considerably deeper than the eastern semi-circular one. The oldest surviving large mosques in the west are in *Kairawān*, *Tunis* and *Córdoba* (since the expulsion of the Church).

The foundation of the Great Mosque of *Kairawān* like that of *Aḥm* in Cairo goes back to the first century A.H. but like that in Cairo also retains nothing from its founder 'Ikba b. Nāḥ' except the name. By 76 (695) the original masjid was rebuilt, and later enlarged but in 221 (836) it was completely taken down by the Aghlabid *Ziyād al-Allāh* and rebuilt and in the third (ninth) century again enlarged on two occasions. In spite of many later restorations, the mosque has retained the form it was given in the third (ninth) century. Seventeen naves on pillars run perpendicular to the *Kibla* wall from which however they are separated by the transept. The central nave is broader and flanked by double columns and marked externally by two domes. It may be noted as a special feature that the first two travées of the *ḥarām* seem to be one with the court arcades while the part behind was shut off by doors. The arcades of the court rest on pillars with double columns in front of them, which with their bulbous arches give the court its special charm. The *Djāmī Zaytūna* in *Tunis* was built as early as 114 (732) by the Omayyad governor *Ibn al-Habhab* but entirely rebuilt in 250 (864); in spite of many internal restorations, it has in the main retained to the present day its old form of the end of the ninth century. In Spain we have from the Omayyad period the (former) Mosque of *Córdoba*. It was built by 'Abd al-Rahmān I (138-172 = 756-788) and several times extended by his successors until the *ḥarām* contained 19 naves each with 35 pillars. The special feature of this mosque is the double storied arrangement of its rows of arches, a bold innovation, which does not seem to have been imitated elsewhere. Recent investigations have revealed the original floor of the mosque at a much lower level, which is decorated with mosaic. This would alter the proportions. The horseshoe arch taken over from the Visigoths was varied in the clover leaf and indented arch and these arches were imitated in the Maghrib (mosques of *Algiers*, *Tlemcen* etc.). The domes swelling into various shapes were frequently imitated in *Kairawān* and *Córdoba*. The mosques of *Sūs* (236 = 850) and *Sfax* (235 = 849) were founded in the Aghlabid period but the latter was completely restored in the tenth century. The rise of

the Fatimid empire in North Africa (297=909) brought about a new development of mosque building. The mosque of the new Shi'ite capital Mahdiyya in Tunis however corresponds completely to the preceding Aghlabid type. A novelty however is the use of cross vaulting which henceforth we find frequently, first of all in the two mosques of Monastir and in the new part of the Great Mosque of Sfax. Of the great pillared mosque of the Kal'a of the Basit Hammud, the minaret of which still stands and was mentioned in the article *MANARA*, it is only possible to reconstruct the ground plan, which had 13 naves with S-travées (cf. Blanchet, *Nouvelles archives de Mission*, vol. xviii, p. 13 199, and De Beylie, *La Kalaa de Beni Hammud*, p. 77 196). A second mosque of the Basit Hammud has been destroyed in Bougie but it is evident from an old description that it belonged in the type of *Ka'rawan* (De Beylie, *op. cit.*, p. 101-104).

Mosques of the Almoravids (448-541=1056-1147) and Almohads (524-667=1120-1267). The great mosques in Algiers and Tlemcen, the Kutubiya in Marrakesh and the mosque in Timmal are pillar mosques with bulbous arches. On the other hand the Mosque of Hassan in Rabat, now completely destroyed, the largest mosque of the Maghrib, stood on round pillars (650 X 465 feet; begun 539=1196-1197). A noteworthy feature is the mausoleum behind the mihrab in the mosque of Tlemcen, which now becomes frequent in the Maghrib (but seems not to have been unknown in eastern Islam, as the plan of the madrasa of Khargid shows; cf. Dies, *Cheraton. Bandenküster*, p. 73).

Masjids in Morocco (1195-1470), successors of the Almohads (eleventh-fifteenth century): a large mosque in Taza, Morocco, piers, broad central nave and transversal nave, finished in 693 (1294). A large mosque in Auyda on the Algerian-Moroccan frontier (696=1296). Sidi bel-Hassan in Tlemcen (696=1296), a small mosque with onyx columns, and Awlad al-Imam in Tlemcen (710=1310), small, but richly decorated. The great Mansura mosque in Tlemcen (736=1336), a very regular building, thirteen naves on onyx columns, a broad central nave, a three naved transept, a mausoleum in the centre, a polygonal mihrab with mausoleum behind. Sidi bu Madyen of al-Awad (739=1339) and Sidi al-Hafsi (754=1353), both in Tlemcen, small; the former on piers, the second on columns with slightly modified horseshoe arches with a wide span. Shella (harbour of Rabat), Necropolis of the Marinids, a tomb-mosque (739=1339) (plan in Margais, *Manuel*, fig. p. 498). Around Tlemcen are several small mosques of the sixteenth century.

Mosques of the Hafside in Tunis, thirteenth-fifteenth century: Mosque of the Kasba in Tunis, built by the founder of the Hafsid dynasty Abu Zakariya Yahya I (625-647=1228-1249), finished in 633 (1235). Pillars with chapitels, supporting horseshoe arches in the quadrangle and cross vaulting, the usual form of roof in Ifriqiya from the tenth century (cf. Sfax etc.) is similar. The Mosque of al-Hafsi of the sixteenth century is similar.

Mosques in Morocco under the Sa'adis 951-1361 (1544-1893).

In Morocco preference was given to the old Almohad type of mosque as exemplified in the

Kutubiya. The Bab Dukkala 965 (1537) and Muassiyin 976 (1562) mosques in Marrakesh have seven naves at right angles to the qibla, and a transept along the qibla wall. Innovations seem to be, in addition to the broader central nave, that the two outside naves left and right along the side walls were broader and a dome was placed at each of the four corners of the mosque. A second transept on the court side of the Hafsid seems to be exceptional, as in the Bab Dukkala. The mosque of the Kasba of Marrakesh dates from a foundation of the Almoravid al-Mansur. After the explosion of 1574 it was rebuilt and in the sixteenth and sixteenth centuries repeatedly restored (cf. the monograph by H. Basset and Terrasse). The mosques of al-Karawiyin and Maliky Idris in Fes have likewise been restored.

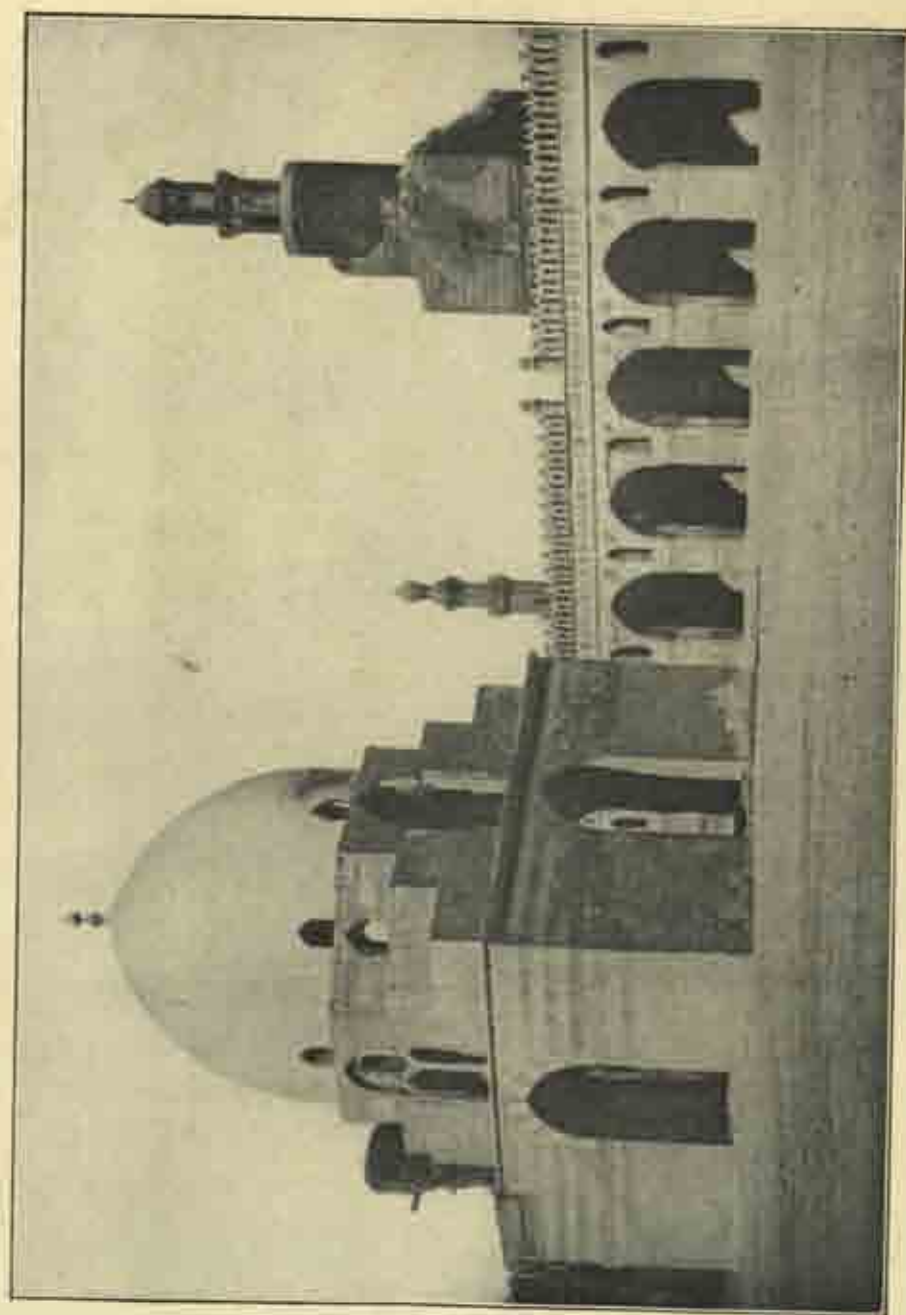
Mosques in Algeria under Turkish rule (1518). In addition to the two mosques which date from the Almoravid period, the Great Mosque 490 (1096) and the M. Sidi Ramadan in Algiers, only two other mosques of the old type are believed to exist; all the others, over 100 in number, are Turkish. The oldest Turkish mosque is 'Ali Bitikhan (1622), now Notre Dame des Victoires. This building had a large central dome, which is surrounded by small domes. It is noteworthy that the square minaret was not ousted by the Turkish type. All the later mosques of Algeria show variations of this type, except the 'Mosque on the Fish-Market' 1070 (1660) the plan of which recalls those of the Jesuit churches of the sixteenth century; it may however owe nothing to them but derive from Byzantine-Turkish models.

Mosques in Tunis under the last Hafside and Turks (from 1534). Under the last Hafside the venerable Djami' Zaidun was again restored, enlarged and given its present portico and the outer gallery of arcades. The oldest Turkish mosque is Yusuf Da'i (1610-1637). It is significant that it is built after the old Tunisian type on pillars with cross-vaulting, as are the later M. of Hammud's Bey finished in 1067 (1654) and several mosques of the sixteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Turkish style (Ahmediya in Constantinople) represented by the Sidi Mahrez (second half of the sixteenth century) remains the exception in Tunis.

The medersa in the Maghrib. Medersas were first introduced into the western lands of Islam by the Almohads but nothing of these seems to have survived. The oldest medersas date from the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries. The Marinids in Maghrib al-Aksha were particularly active in building and encouraging medersas, which, as in Syria and Egypt, were also state institutions. This evolution of the medersa was apparently a result of the Sunat, particularly Maliki, revived under the Marinids (1195-1470). Al-Sa'adun, the oldest medersa in Fes, built by the great warrior and champion of the faith Yaq'ub Yusuf (685-706=1288-1306) of the Marinids who also built Shella (see above), was the prototype of all the later medersas in the extreme Maghrib. An angular gateway, such as is usually only found in private houses leads into a court with a central basin and the cells. A domed chamber with a polygonal mihrab adjoins it. On the analogy of the tomb, it is called *qubba*. Adjoining it reached by a corridor is a *siyda'a*, with a basin in the centre for ablutions and latrines. These three main parts of the building, *siyda'a*, *qubba* and *siyda'a* and usually



1. Fougère, Mairie of Saint.



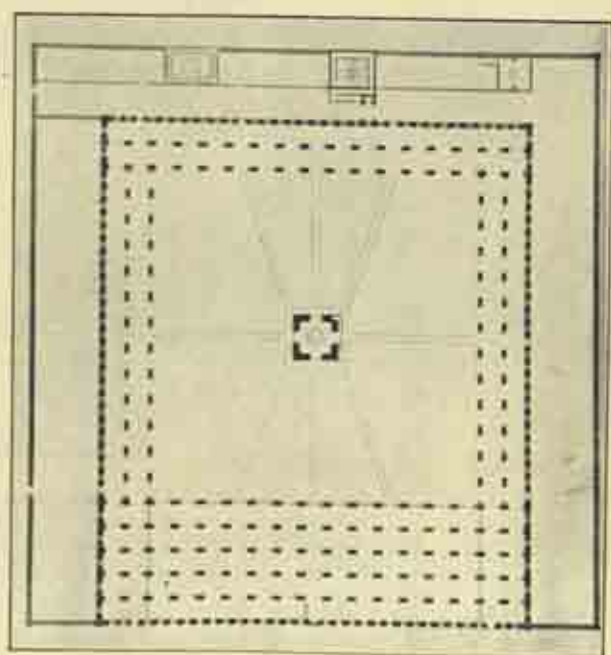
4. Cairo. Mosque of Ibn Tulun.



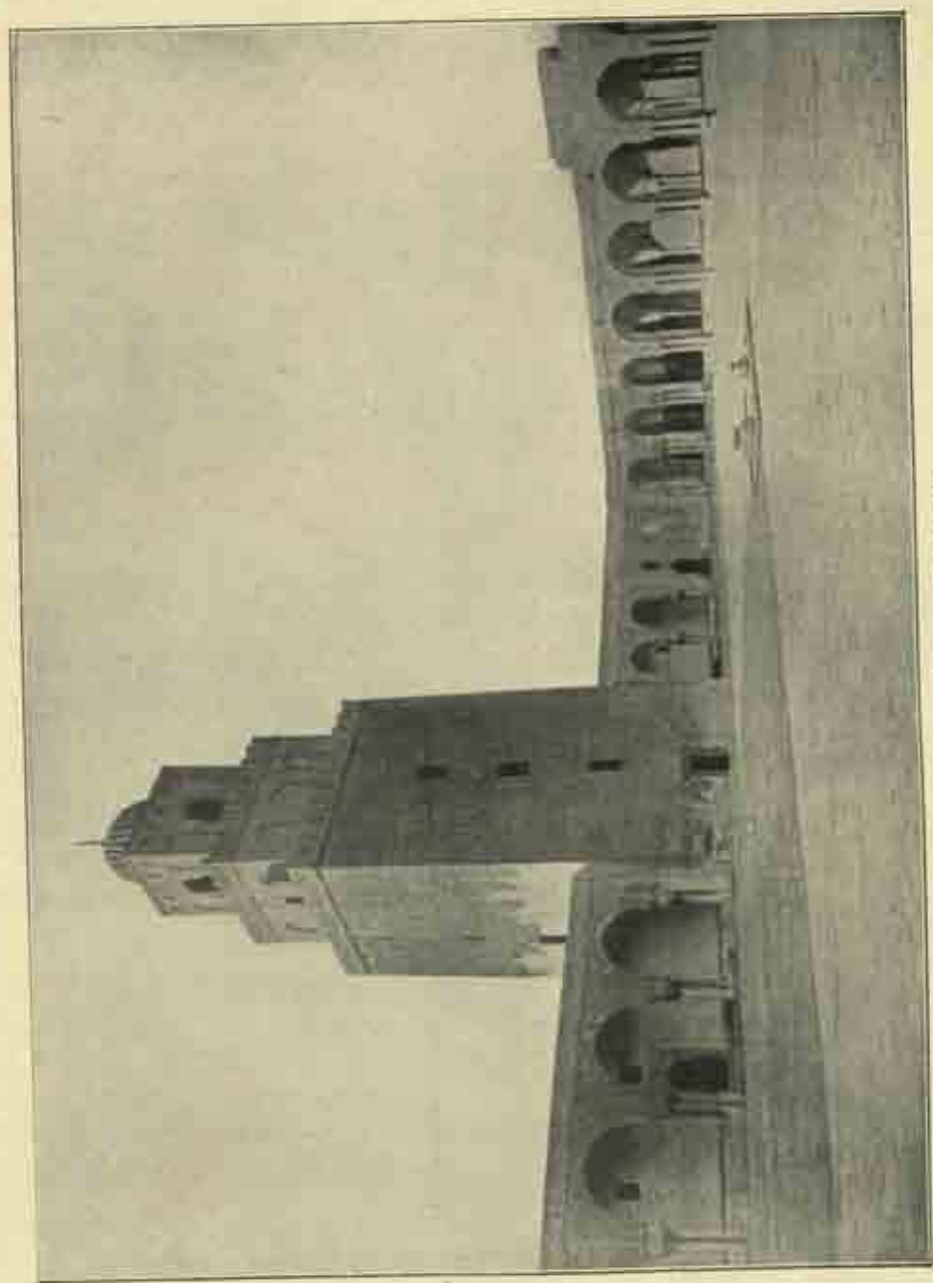
3. Cairo. Mosque of Ibn Tulun. Detail.



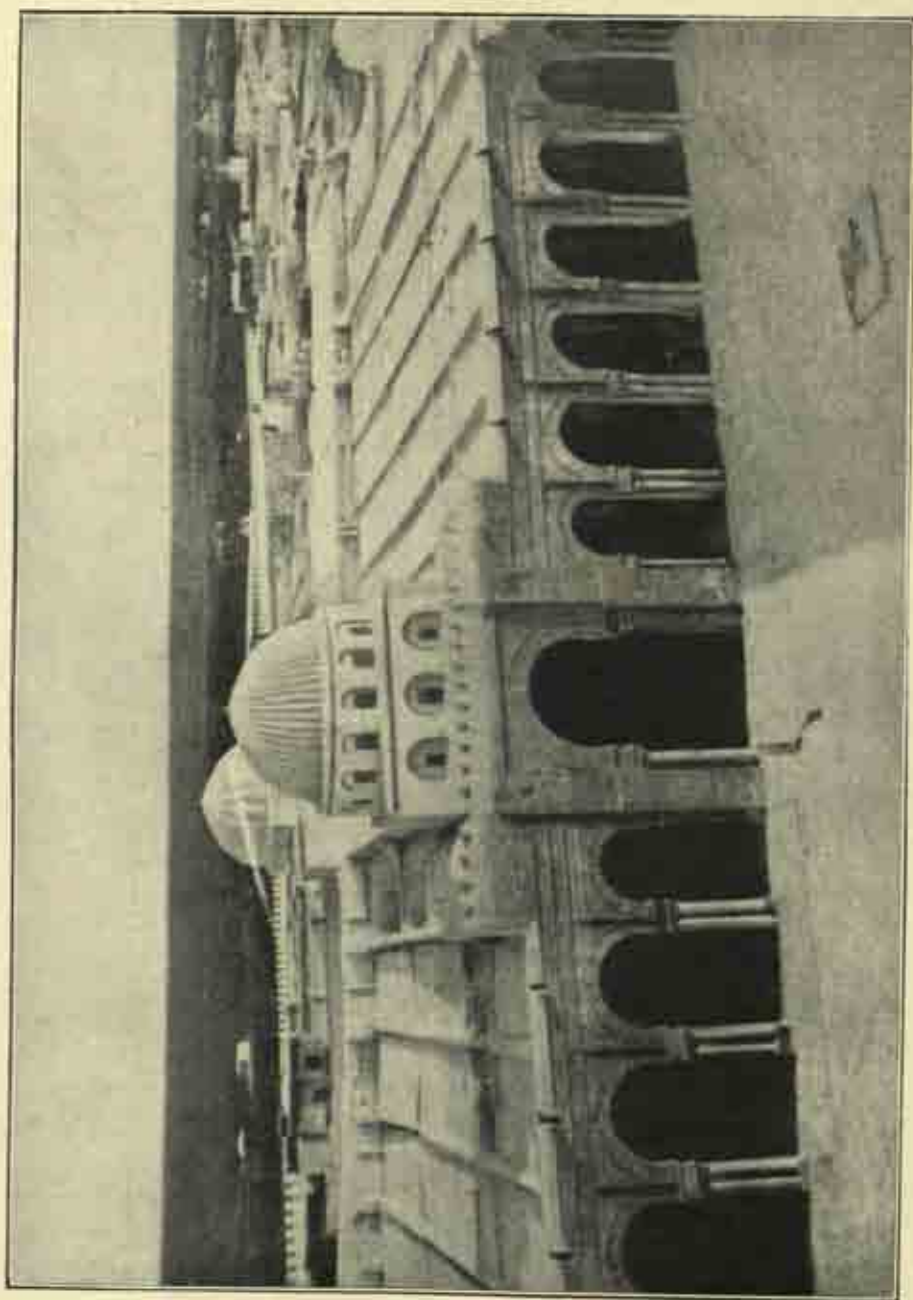
4. Cairo. Mosque of Ibn Tulun. Reconstruction.



5. Cairo. Mosque of Ibn Tulun. Plan.



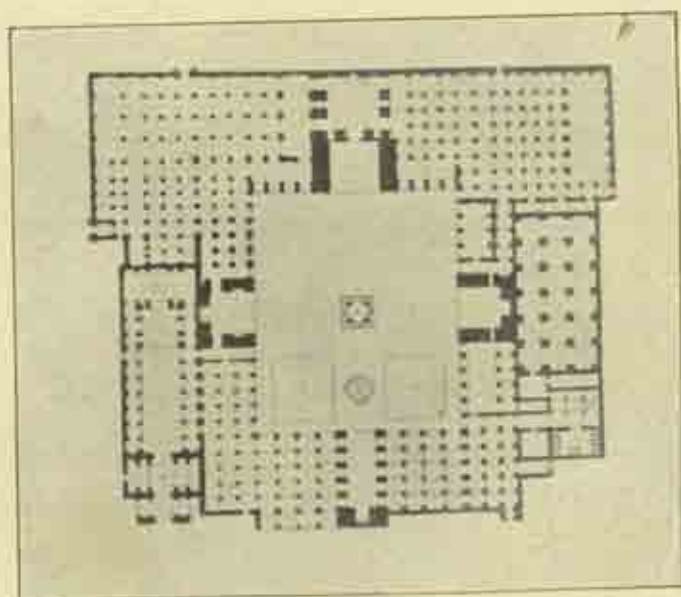
6. Kairawān. Mosque of Soli 'Ukba.



7. Kairawān. Mosquo of Sidi 'Ukba.



8. Isfahān, Djāmi'.



9. Isfahān, Djāmi', Plan.



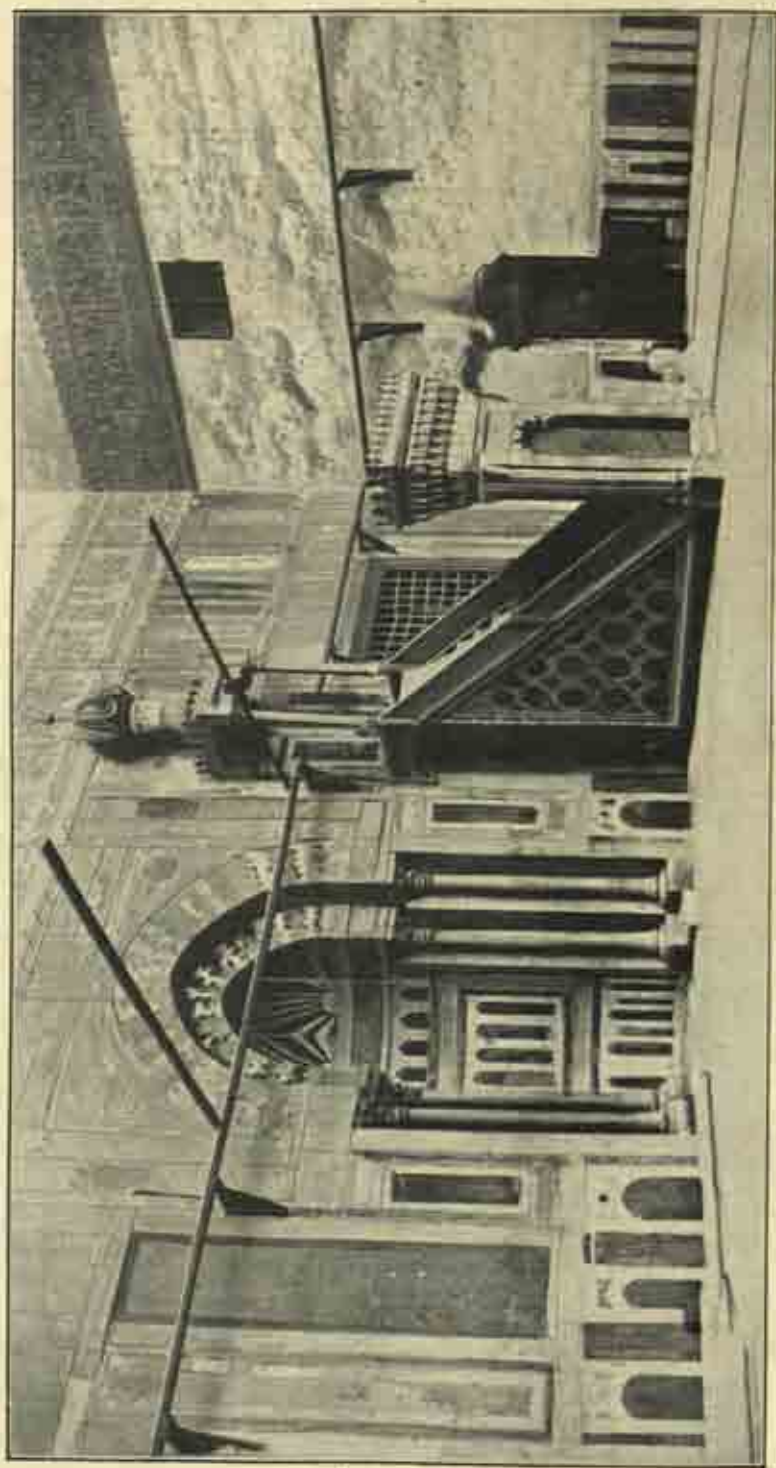
10. Isfahān, Djāmī. Detail.



11. Isfahān, Shah Hussain Madrasa.



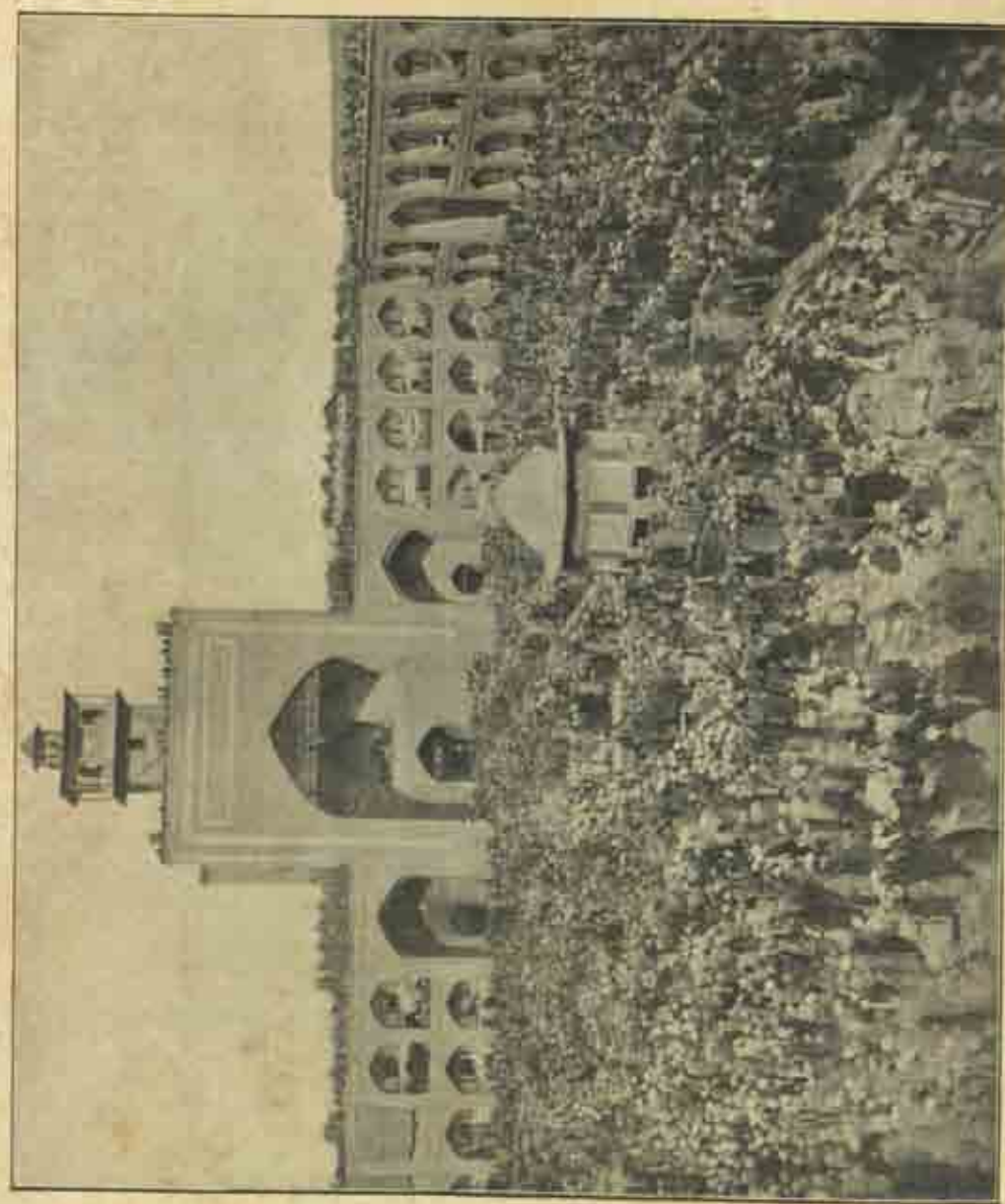
17. Khargird Madrasa.



13- Cairo, Mosque of Sultan Hassan.



14. Cairo. Mausoleum of Ka'it Bey.



15. Masjidul (Khurashin). Mosque in the sanctuary of Imbu Rida.

a separate minaret, are found continually in a number of variations, usually dependent on the space available, which Margais, *op. cit.*, II, 504, divides into three groups. In Fes in addition to those mentioned there are other seven medersas of the xivth century. With the medersas of Meknes, Sale, Taia and al-Awbad in Tlemcen we have in all eleven medersas of the Marinids extant (cf. the list in Margais, *op. cit.*, II, 504 *seq.*). The most imposing and finest medersa in Fes is the BU 'Ainaniya, founded by Abu 'Ainān, 749-759 (1348-1358). With its masjid of two transepts at the end of the square court and two domed chambers in the central axis of the court it recalls the mosque of Hasan in Cairo with its iwān. The façades on the court display the wealth of wall adornment usual in the Maghrib: tiles, stucco moulding and stalactites.

Medersas of the xvth-xvith centuries in Morocco: The Medersa of Ben Yūsuf in Marrakesh is regarded as the largest in the Maghrib and stands on the site of an originally Almoravid (?) and next Marinid Medersa Abu 'l-Ḥasan. The plan seems to be old and in its regularity recalls the *al-Hiri* type of Arab palace and the palaces of the Omayyads and 'Abbasids built in this style in the desert (plan in Margais, *op. cit.*, II, p. 702). The Medersa al-Sharāṭin in Fes, begun in 1670, shows a similar plan but is smaller and simpler.

Medersas of the xvth-xvith centuries in Tunis. In the xvth century the Hafsiids built a number of medersas here. Of the Turkish, the most interesting is the Medersa Bathiya of 'Ali Pasha (1740-1755): a court with cells, masjid on pillars and *miḥrāb*, but, like the Egyptian madrasas, it has also the tomb of the founder and a public fountain. In Tunis, probably as the result of Egyptian or Oriental influence, it is common to find medersas and mosques associated with the tomb of the founder. The three varieties distinguished in Egypt by van Berchem, mosque-mausoleum, madrasa-mausoleum and monastery-mausoleum were also built in Tunis.

Seldjūk empire in Rūm, Armenia and Georgia. In Seldjūk Anatolia (470-700 = 1077-1300) the three types of pierced mosque, the court-iwān madrasa and domed madrasa are to be distinguished. The pierced hall was used as the large public mosque. On account of the colder climate the open courtyard with pillars was not found here. The pillars were sometimes of wood (Ehret Rūm Džami'), usually however of stone. The flat wooden roof rested directly on the piers or on the arches which connected them, which run sometimes parallel, sometimes perpendicular to the *qibla* wall. The Ulu Džami' in Wan has a vaulted roof resting on pillars, a system later often used in the Ottoman empire. Of more importance architecturally are the smaller (mosque-madrasas), which played a prominent part in the Seldjūk empire; but they fell far behind the Persian madrasas in impressiveness and harmonious development. The model for the evolution of the iwān-madrasa was the Mesopotamian-Anatolian *formosa*. From the latter came the bowers along the sides of the court which were placed in front of the twin and the rows of cells. The combination of school and mausoleum in which the builders, usually high officers of state, were interred, was the rule. The domed madrasa consists of a domed hall

with a water basin in place of the open court with living rooms, a lecture-room and a mausoleum adjoining it. The external ornamentation of these Seldjūk madrasas and mosques is confined to the gateways. The façades of the gates, irrespective of the material used elsewhere in building (brick or moulding), were always covered with slabs and the portals then ornamented with strips of decoration or inscriptions, fantastic looking candelabra of palmettes (Diwrigi), bundles of rods and convolutions in low and high relief and thus one of the highest points in Muslim decorative art was attained. The iwāns along the court, interiors of the comparatively low domes (which here usually bridge over the corners on triangular consoles), the friezes on the wall and the *miḥrābs* are frequently adorned with glazed brick and mosaic friezes in a style which in pattern and colour is readily distinguished as an independent pattern from the Persian decoration. Here we find geometrical network patterns, which were not usual in Persia and a colour scheme which receives its special character from the much used black, alternating with bright and dark blue, although other colours are also found. The following is a list of the most important buildings, so far as they are known: 1. Pierced mosques: Mosque of 'Alī al-Dīn in Kōnya, completed 616 (1209-1210), Džami' Kebir in Siwā, xivth-xvth cent., citadel mosque 576 (1180-1181) and great mosque 679 (1280-1281) in Diwrigi, Ehret Rūm (Eski) Džami', xivth century, in Beyşehir, Ulu Džami' in Egerdir, xivth century (?), Ulu Džami' in Caesarea (Cappadocia), mosque of Minūchehr 464-495 (1072-1100) in Ani (with octagonal Maḥzar), Ulu Džami' in Wan, xivth-xvth century. 2. Court iwān madrasas: Sirdjely Madrasa 641 (1243-1244), Glök Madrasa, Berudjlediya and Tjifte Miḥre, all 670 (1271-1272) in Siwā, Eḥet-tūniya, 783 (1381-1382) in Karamān, Ibrahim Bey Madrasa, xivth-xvth century in Aksaray, Tjifte Minarelli, xivth-xvth century in Erzerum. 3. Domed madrasas: Kara Tai Madrasa 649 (1251) in Kōnya, Indje Minarelli 650-654 (1252-1255) in Kōnya, Esiret Džami' 657 (1258) in Kōnya, Taah Madrasa 613 (1216) and 659 (1260) in Akşehir, Sultan Walide xivth and xvth century in Saliyd-i Çāzi.

The mosque of the Turcoman ruler Tāh I (1348-1390) in Ayasoluk (Ephesus) is an exception in Asia Minor; it was finished in 777 (1375-1376) and its architect is said to have been 'Alī b. al-Dimishki. The interior is modelled on the mosque of the Omayyads in Damascus; the walls however are in the Turkish style of that period, as developed in the provinces of the Atabegs. The west façade is closely related to the façades of the mosque of Hasan in Cairo, which also drew inspiration from Northern Mesopotamia.

The Ottoman empire. The Ottoman Turks further developed the types of mosque built by their predecessors, the Seldjūks. A second very important factor in the development was their expansion into Europe and the new model, the Byzantine domed churches, especially the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Here three main types of mosque may again be distinguished: the pierced hall, the cruciform domed mosque and the central or great domed mosque. The first and third were

commonly used for Friday mosques and mosques for the people, while the second type was reserved for the Sultan's Friday service and religious instruction, and was more used for private mosques. The Ottoman piers hall mosque is distinguished from the Seldjuk, principally by its vaulting, rows of cupolas over the piers. The court is limited to a hypocaust water-basin of the same size as the dome above it. The Ulu Djami in Brussa for example is an unadorned pillared hall, rectangular in shape with five aisles each with four domes in a row. The second group of four pillars in the central aisle was originally uncovered (now it has a glass dome) and contains the basin for ablutions, the rudiments of a court. The domes of the five aisles rise one above the other to the central row. The most important buildings of this group are: Ulu Djami 1370-1420 in Brussa, Uç Şerefeli Djami 889-893 (1484-1487/8) in Adrianople, Ulu (Eski) Djami ca. 1403-1420 in Adrianople, Ulu Djami xvth century (?) in Manissa (Magnesia on Sipylon), Djumaya in Filibe (Philippopolis), old mosque (now museum) 882 (1477-1478) in Sofia, Sindjirli Koyu Djami ca. 1500, Ahmad Pasha Djami by Sinan ca. 1555 and Piale Pasha Djami 1573, all in Constantinople, Eski Walide in Scutari ca. 1570. The piers hall as an unadorned form became extinct in the xvth century. The Hekim Oghlu Djami in 1734 in Constantinople is a mixture of the latter with the great dome. The origin of the cruciform domed mosque is rightly sought by Wulzinger in the Seldjuk madrasas with courtyards which come in time to be covered over with a dome. The centre which lies somewhat below the level of the rest, is occupied by a square roofed with a dome, again the rudiments of the former courtyard, and still often containing a fountain. The Kibla chamber is vaulted with a barrel or dome, the praying chambers to right and left are either like iwans open towards the centre or have barrel-vaulting. The similarity of these mosques to Byzantine churches (in plan, not in structure) is involuntary and lies in the system. On the other hand, the open piers outer court (*hâşîmî*) may go back to Byzantine stimulation. These outer courts however are very general in the east to give shade. The most important buildings of this type are according to Wulzinger's list (*op. cit.*, p. 186): Mosque of Murad I (1359-1389) in Brussa, fin. end of xivth century, two storied, Mosque of Bayazid I Yildirim (1389-1403), fin. after 1402, Yashil-Djami in Brussa, fin. 1423, Mosque in the Koimesis church in Isnik, beg. of xvth century, Nilufer Khâtun 'Imaret, end of xvth century, Piraz Bey Djami in Milas, fin. 797 (1394), Mosque of Murad II (1421-1451), fin. 1447 in Brussa, Mosque of Murad II in Adrianople, 'Imaret Djami in Philippopolis 1359, Mosque of Hamza Bey before 1451 in Brussa, Ghafar Michal Djami ca. 1400 in Adrianople. The great domed mosque developed out of the more primitive single domed mosque which was very common throughout Asia Minor and Turkey as the simple village mosque, private mosque etc. and continued to survive. (In Aysoluk alone 14 small single domed mosques can be counted). This type of building was also used for the numerous türbes. The following are more important single domed mosques outside Constantinople: Yashil T-Djami 794 (1392) and Mahmud Celebi Djami about 1400 in Isnik,

Masjid of Khodja Vadygyar beg. 1369 in Isnik, Masjid of Elias Bey fin. 806 (1404) in Balat (Milet). The development of the great domed mosque from this type took place in part through combination with cruciform domed types, but its aim was however the elimination of all minor domes which at first it had for constructional reasons to put at the sides. A. Gabriel's table gives a good idea of the different variations. He gives the mosques of Constantinople, which number 42 (with Scutari), under six main types (*Les Mosquées de Constantinople, in Syria, vii., 1926, p. 352-419*):

A. Square or oblong halls with one or more domes, sometimes flanked by secondary domed chambers: Mahmud Pasha Djami 868 (1464), Murad Pasha Djami 870 (1466), Dawud Pasha Djami 890 (1485), 'Atik 'Ali Pasha Djami 902 (1497), Sultan Selim Djami 926 (1520).

B. Quadrangular single domed halls (continuing the list just given of the not yet very large single domed mosques from the city area of Constantinople): Firuz Agha Djami 896 (1491), Djerret Kasim Pasha Masjid 921 (1515), Khaseki Khurem Djami 946 (1539), Mehmed Agha Djami 995 (1585), Cihli Djami 1050 (1640), Nuri 'Othmaniya Djami 1169 (1755), Laleli Djami 1177 (1763), Walide Djami 1287 (1870).

C. Square hall with a central dome, usually supported by two half domes: Sultan Bayazid Djami 906 (1500), Sultan Sulaiman Djami 957-964 (1550-1557), Kiliç 'Ali Pasha Djami 988 (1580).

D. Square hall with a central dome supported by four axial half domes: Shahrade Djami 955 (1548), Sultan Ahmad Djami 1026 (1617), Yenil Walide Djami 1120 (1708), Sultan Mehmed Djami 867 (1463), reconstructed 1180 (1767); variants: oblong hall with a central dome supported by three half domes: Iskele Djami in Scutari 954 (1547).

E. Oblong hall with six domes of equal size (old type of people's mosque, cf. above): Zindjirli Kuyu Djami ixth (xvth) century, Piale Pasha Djami 981 (1573).

F. Oblong hall with central dome and aisles.

Group a. Central dome with square plan and pendentives: Ball Pasha Djami middle of xth (xvth) century, Mihrimah Djami middle of xth (xvth) century, Zal Mahmud Pasha Djami 958 (1551).

Group A. Central dome on octagonal basis: Ibrahim Pasha Djami 958 (1551), Rustam Pasha Djami middle of xth (xvth) century, Eski 'Ali Pasha Djami 994 (1586), Yenil Walide Djami 1120 (1708) in Scutari, A'zab Kapu Djami 985 (1577), Aiyub Sultan Djami founded ixth (xvth) century, rebuilt xiiith (xviiith) century, Nishandji Mehmed Pasha Djami 992 (1584).

Group c. Central dome on hexagonal basis: Ahmad Pasha Djami 962 (1555), Sukul or Mehmed Pasha Djami 979 (1571), 'Atik Walide Djami 991 (1583) in Scutari, Djerret Pasha Djami 1002 (1594), Hakim Oghlu 'Ali Pasha Djami 1147 (1734).

A survey of this list shows that the type given under A. is also the earliest. This was directly linked up with that in use in the older capital Brussa and already being built in Konya in the xiiith century (Kara Tai Madrasa, Yildirim and Yashil Djami) which seems to be continued in the Mahmud and Murad Pasha Djami. But already the original Sultan Mehmed Djami (rebuilt in the xviiith century)

which forms a striking anachronism in Gabriel's list under *D.* with its date 1463 (only the second modern Mehmediya of 1767 belongs properly there), had made the first important step towards a single great chamber (cf. Agha Oghla's reconstructed plan in *Dies, Kunst d. isl. Völker*, 2nd ed., p. 105) and this plan was repeated for the 'Apk 'Ali Pasha Djami', while the Dawūd Pasha Djami of 1485 had already used another variation (cf. the plans in Gabriel, *op. cit.*). This in brief is the historical development of the Constantinople mosque from the Anatolian Seldjūq-Ottoman type. The next important step to the gigantic domed mosques of Constantinople given under *D.* was completed by the greatest of Ottoman architects Sinān (1489—1588) step by step in the Shāhāde Djami, the Sulaimāniye and the Selimiye (1567—1574) in Adrianople. His guiding idea was, by thrusting the pillars of the domes as far back into the walls as possible, to get a single domed chamber of the largest possible dimensions, no longer interrupted by pillars; Sinān achieved this end in the Selimiye in Adrianople.

Persia, Turkestan and Afghanistan. Old mosques or remains of them have not survived in Persia, as in Egypt, the Maghrib and Syria, except perhaps for a few old parts still standing in the great complex of buildings, that forms the Friday Mosque of Isfahān or in the old Friday Mosque of Shirāz. We know however from literary sources that at the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd period large mosques were built everywhere in the towns and some must have existed even earlier. Abū Muslim, the celebrated general and 'Abbāsīd propagandist, built mosques in Merv and Nishābūr. The latter was built on pillars of wood and similar structures are occasionally mentioned in Persia (e.g. at Rubāt in the province of Džurdžān, Shirāl on the Persian Gulf etc.). In the ninth century, however, greater use began to be made of columns of brick or stone or marble columns taken from older buildings where they could be obtained, as in Isfahān at Persepolis. 'Amr b. al-Laith (265—287 = 878—900), the second ruler of the Saffārid dynasty, renovated the Friday Mosque in Nishābūr and among other mosques built the Djamī 'Apk in Shirāz, both mosques with columns of brick, of which parts are still standing in Shirāz. The Friday Mosque of Balkh destroyed by the Mongols in 1220, is said to have had splendid pillars, as Ibn Battūta records. An old mosque on piers of the fourth (tenth) century has survived in the remote desert town of Nāziya, east of Isfahān, and enables us to make deductions about the architecture of mosques in the early period in Irān. The ḥarām consists of eleven barrel-vaulted aisles running perpendicular to the kībla wall, of which the central one is broader than the others. The court is flanked by four-sided riwāls which run parallel to the kībla wall, only the wall of the entrance has an arcade. The plan is therefore similar to that of the mosques of the Maghrib. It is built on columns or piers of different forms. The part around the mihrāb is richly ornamented in stucco and has bands of inscriptions around it (cf. H. Viollet and S. Flury, *Un monument etc., Syria*, II, 1921). How securely the pierced hall, as the type of Friday Mosque, maintained itself in the Sunnī east, is seen from the rebuilding of Timur's great mosque in Samarkand after his return from his raid on India

in 1410, a mosque with columns, which was directly connected with the madrasah of Bibi Khānum, but has now completely disappeared. The mosque had 460 columns of hewn stone, each seven elis in height. The vaulting was covered with large beautifully carved and polished slabs of marble. There was a minaret at each of the four corners of the mosque. The door was of bronze and the walls were covered inside and outside with inscriptions in relief (according to Sharif al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī). How far there was any Indian influence here cannot now be ascertained. In any case, the iwān and mihrāb court became established in Persia in the fifth (eleventh) century and as the above described Friday Mosque in Isfahān shows, became blended with the pillared court. The great Mosque of Herāt (cf. Niedermayer-Dies, *Afghanistan*, p. 55 and figg. 149—153) shows a similar mihrāb court adapted to the (probably older) pierced hall. In the completely new buildings of the Timurid and Safawid period, the pierced hall completely disappeared and the ḥarām is extended by a central dome with vaulted halls at the side, when the kībla iwān itself does not fulfil the purpose. The mosque of the great sanctuaries in Kān Mashhad, Kerbelā, the Masdjid-i Shāh in Isfahān and many other urban mosques of Persia are built on this plan. Only in Eastern Khurāsān, as in the Turbat-i Shaikh Djamī, does the old pierced mosque survive but with vaulted arches and a large dome in the centre of the ḥarām, all of which betrays Indian influence (cf. the plan in *Dies, Churasanische Bauten*, p. 79).

Of the already characterised type of domed mosques may be mentioned: the 'Blue Mosque' in Tabriz and the Masdjid-i Shāh in Mashhad, both similar in plan with a large central dome and two flanking minarets. The former was built during the reign of the Turkoman ruler Džihān Shāh (1437—1467), the latter by Amir Malik Shāh, the architect being Ahmad b. Shams al-Dīn Muhammad Tabrizi (cf. *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 1131). The Tabriz mosque had a chapel leading from the domed area with a second smaller dome. Both domes were decorated with tiles, the larger with white tendrils on a green ground, the smaller with white stars on a black ground (Tavernier). Only fragments survive of the Blue Mosque, which show how splendidly it was once decorated; on the other hand, the Masdjid-i Shāh in Mashhad is still standing, although the dome has lost its decoration. To this group belong also the mosque on the citadel mound of Eriwān, the mosque of Shaikh Lutf Allāh in Isfahān, the Kāliyān mosque used as a royal private mosque and the public Mosque of 1611 in Bukhārā, both with high entrance iwāns and without a court. At largely attended common prayer, the people assemble in front of such mosques. This is particularly the case in Turkestan; for the iwān and niches were simply very large mihrābs and nothing further was necessary. In Balkh also there is a similar, formerly domed mosque probably intended for the ruler with a towering iwān (xvth century) (cf. Niedermayer-Dies, *Afghanistan*, figg. 204—205). Besides these large main types, there were and are in these lands of eastern Islām hundreds of smaller mosques in the towns and villages, which sometimes show very interesting structures. Thus in Džūdžarm in the Isfahān steppe (northern Persia) there is a mosque with a small

open court and domed chamber in front of the mihrāb, and two triple yoked aisles, probably a reminiscence of Nestorian churches (cf. Dietz, *Churas. Bdkm.*, p. 85). We also find everywhere small masjids, which are simply little oratories, where the people can promptly worship at the proper time: flat-roofed large halls on wooden pillars, which are frequently richly carved in Turkistan, Afghanistan (Kābul) and Central Asia (Kashmir etc.).

The Madrasa in Persia, Turkestan and Afghanistan. Shāfi'i madrasas were built in the 'Abbāsid period in Nishābūr (where Hāfi' Abrū counted 17), Merw, Bukhārā, Amol, Tus and other towns. Naṣr, brother of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, is said to have built the first state madrasa. Under the Saljuqs, Niẓām al-Mulk, vizier of Alp Arslan and of Malik Shah, built three state madrasas in Nishābūr, Tus and Baghdad. None of these pre-Timūrid madrasas in Persia has survived; unless the ruined iwān in Khārgird is what is left of a madrasa, which is very probable (cf. Dietz, *op. cit.*, p. 71 sq.). The ruins of the Timūrid period however give us a picture of the Persian madrasa of the golden period of Muslim Persian architecture. The madrasa in Khārgird near Khāf close to the Afghan frontier, completed in 848 (1444-1445), still shows a pure unmixed madrasa design: a quadrangular court with four barrel-vaulted large iwāns, equal in size, at the intersection of the axes, each flanked by two or, with the upper storey, four cells, four vaulted corner-chambers, a narthex-like outer building, consisting of three successive domed chambers; low confined mihrāb façades with low flanking towers at the corners. The walls, especially of the court, were adorned with rich tiled mosaic, the walls of the domed chambers with ornamental frescoes (cf. Dietz, *Churas. Bdkm.*, p. 72-76, pl. 31-34). In contrast to the low façade of Khārgird built by a West Persian (Shīrās) architect are the Turkestan madrasas with their high iwāns, characteristic of the east in general, and gateways especially. In Samarkand we have the three Rīgīstān madrasas: Shīr Dār (c. 1610), Tiliya Kārī (c. 1610) and Ulugh Beg (c. 1434); also the Madrasa Bibi Khanūm (about 1410) built by Timūr, all large courtyards with mihrāb courts and domed chambers, usually four minarets at the surrounding walls. In Bukhārā, the Madrasa Mir Arab of the end of the xvth century is related to the Madrasa Shīr Dār. Of the madrasas in Herāt, e.g. the celebrated Ekdlausiya, nothing has survived, nor do we have anything left of the madrasa of Turbat-i Shaikh Dīlm in Eastern Khurāsān (cf. Dietz, *op. cit.*, p. 78). A ruin architectonically interesting is the state madrasa founded in the xvth century by Malik Hama, the Gumbaz-i Surkh at Kal'a-i Fath in Sijistan (cf. Tate, *Seistan*, fig. p. 78). The cells are vaulted with the typical Persian house and bazaar domes. The last fine Persian madrasa is the Mader-i Shah Sultān Husain in Isfahān built by the Safawid Shah of this name (1694-1722). The tiled decoration of the court is among the finest of its kind that has survived in Persia (cf. Sarre, *Pers. Bdkm.*, and Dietz, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, p. 106-107). The dome still shows the original glazed tiles with foliage patterns: dark blue and white, changing to black stalks and and yellow leaves on a turquoise blue ground.

India. In India the history of Muslim archi-

itecture so far known does not go beyond the xiith century. The two earliest mosques of which the ruins still survive, the mosques of Adjmir and of Dehli, are large covered courts, built of pillars taken from Jaina temples. The domes on eight pillars found in all Jaina temples are here found ranged in rows. The richly sculptured pillars were simply cleared of any figures on them before being used. Vaulting on square piers continued in use after there were no more pillars to plunder (mosques in Kulbarga and Bidjāpur). For the rest, Indo-Muslim mosque architecture developed in different ways according to varied traditions and local conditions. In towns completely Islamised like Mandu on the Narbada, the capital of the sultanate of Mīlwa founded by Dīlīwar Shāh at the beginning of the xvth century, or Djawnpur near Benares, which was founded by the sultan of Dehli in 1359, Muslim places of worship show a marked synthesis of Hinduistic tradition with the rigid forms of Muslim symbolism. Similarly in the Muslim towns of Gujārat, in Ahmādābād, Cambay, Dholkā, Maḥmūdābād, Muslim sacred architecture developed out of the local Hindu art so that the demands made by Islām on the shape of a mosque, such as an entrance-iwān and minaret, were carried through by purely Indian means and only the arch gave the building a Muslim stamp. In Bengal again, where the curved bamboo roof prevailed, mosques were built with curved roofs from the bricks in use there, as is shown, notably by the ruins in Gaur on the Ganges. Instead of glazed tiles, the walls were generally adorned with richly ornamented slabs of stone. South of the Vindhya range also, in the Deccan and in South India local schools of architecture grew up according to the same general principles. In Ahmādnagar, Golkonda, Kulbarga, Bidār, Awrangābād and other capitals of Muhammadan principalities, the building of mosques was much cultivated. Architectonically, the most important city was Bidjāpur, the capital of the state of the same name, which became independent in 1490 under Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh and survived down to the xviith century, when its great period of building culminated in the gigantic dome of the mausoleum of 'Adil Shāh. The mosque of Bidjāpur (second half of the xvth century) consists of a pierced hall with small domes over each group of four piers and a large dome in the centre. In the Moghul period little change was made in this mixture of Hindu and Muslim methods, although the Persian elements are often more marked. The huge mosque with courtyard built by Akbar in Fatḥpur Sikri has the usual plan with slight variations. The Great Mosque of Agra built by Akbar still shows little Indian pavilions on the tops of the cornices. It was only under his successors that a Puritan reaction set in, which finds its fullest expression in the mosques of Dehli and Lahore. The process of assimilation thus attained its end.

China and Indo-China. From the Maghrib to the Pamirs and southeast of them the general character of the country, plains and deserts, linked the peoples of Islām together by certain common features, which also secured the mosque its uniformity of structure in the early centuries. In China where Islām was only the religion of a few isolated groups of immigrants the mosque soon adapted itself to the well-marked Chinese style of architecture and the mosques of the south and western

provinces, where Islām has established itself in places, are not distinguished externally from the Chinese temples or yamen and internally only by the absence of idols which are replaced by the mihrāb and minbar. Exceptions are the mosques in the seaports, where the colonies of Muslims kept up steady intercourse with the home of Islām and the mosques were at the same time built by native architects. This holds for example of the mosques of Ts'uan-tschou, province of Fukien, the Zaitūn of mediaeval writers, which was built in 400 (1009—1010) and restored in 710 (1310—1311) by an architect, a native of Jerusalem, who came from Shīrāz, as the inscription testifies. This mosque which is built of hewn stone consists of a hypostyle hall, such as we find in Asia Minor (e.g. Sams) and has bulb-shaped niches (cf. G. Arnau and M. v. Berchem, *Minaires sur les antiquités musulmanes de Ts'uan-tschou*, *T'oung Pao*, vol. xii, 1911). The mediaeval chief mosque of Canton also followed the western tradition and even has a minaret, which is never seen on the mosques of the interior. The same holds of mosques in Burma and the Indian Archipelago. They are usually built of wood and adapted to the native architecture.

Bibliography: The works quoted under MANĀRA will also serve for Mosque and Madrasa. Special works are quoted in the text. For the Maghrib the new, excellent *Manuel d'art musulman* of G. Marçais was mainly used, which deals only with the Maghrib (2 vols., Paris 1927). (ERNEST DIEZ).

AL-MASDJID AL-AKṢĀ, the mosque built on the site of the Temple in Jerusalem. The name means "the remotest sanctuary" and is first found in the Qur'an, Sūra xvii. 1: "Praise Him who made his servant journey in the night from the holy place to the remotest sanctuary, which we have surrounded with blessings to show him of our signs".

As was explained in the article *ISRA'* [q. v.], the older exegesis refers this verse to the journey to heaven (cf. *MI'RĀJ*) and sees in the name al-Masjid al-Akṣā a reference to some heavenly place (cf. *Sidrat al-Muntahā*, Sūra liii. 14).

This explanation had however in time to give way to another, according to which the expression is a name of Jerusalem. This explanation is connected with Muhammad's "journey in the night" (*isrā'*). The combination of the *isrā'* and *mi'rāj* thus gives the story of the Prophet's journey by night to the Masjid al-Akṣā (Jerusalem) and his journey following it from Jerusalem to the heavens.

The question arises how Jerusalem came to have this name among the exegetists of the Qur'an. According to Schrieke (cf. *ISRA'*) it is a result of the Omayyad tendency to glorify Jerusalem at the expense of the holy land of Islām. Horowitz has challenged this explanation (in *Islām*; cf. the *Bibl.*). In any case, Jerusalem was from very early times regarded in Islām as a sacred place, the original Kibla, which, although abandoned in favour of Mecca, still retained its sanctity as may be seen, for example, from the fact that 'Umar had a Masjid built on the site of the Temple [see *AL-KUṢ*, ii., p. 1097].

The name al-Masjid al-Akṣā is now particularly attached to the mosque in the south of the Temple area, which according to some was originally a church built by Justinian (cf. *AL-KUṢ*, ii., p. 1095).

According to late Arab writers the mosque was built by the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (785—805), a statement which might simply mean that Justinian's church was rebuilt. On this compare *AL-KUṢ*, ii., p. 1098 *sqq.* where the further history of the mosque is given.

For a picture of the site and the mosque see Pl. v. to the article *AL-KUṢ*; plan and description of the interior in *Travels of Ali Bey*, London 1816, ii. 214 *sqq.*; Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien*?, p. 54 *sqq.*

Bibliography: *Bibl.* to the art. *ISRA'*, and *B. G. A.*, iii. 168—171; *Madjir al-Din, al-Uns al-Djallil*, Cairo 1283, i. 201—203, 238 *sqq.*, 248 *sqq.*, 365 *sqq.*; Caetani, *Annali*, s. n. 21, § 87 *sq.*; a picture, *ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 504; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin and Leipzig 1926, p. 140; do., in *Isl.*, ix. 101 *sqq.*; A. J. Wensinck, *Tree and Bird as Cosmological Symbols*, in *Verh. Ak. Amsterdam*, 1921, p. 31; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, Leipzig 1930, p. 190, note 159. (A. J. WENSINCK).

AL-MASDJID AL-HARĀM, the name of the Mosque of Mecca. The name is already found in the pre-Muhammadan period (Horowitz, *Koranische Studien*, p. 140 *sq.*) in Kāis b. al-Khatim, ed. Kowalski, v. 14: "By Allāh, the Lord of the Holy Masjid and of that which is covered with Yemen stuffs, which are embroidered with bempen thread" (?). It would be very improbable if a Medina poet by these two references meant anything other than the Meccan sanctuary. The expression is also fairly frequent in the Qur'an after the second Meccan period (Horowitz, *op. cit.*) and in various connections: it is a grave sin on the part of the polytheists that they prohibit access to the Masjid Harām to the "people" (Sūra ii. 214; cf. v. 3; viii. 34; xii. 25; xvii. 25); the Masjid Harām is the pole of the new kibla (Sūra ii. 139, 144); contracts are sealed at it (Sūra ix. 7).

In these passages *masjid harām* does not as in later times mean a building but simply Mecca as a holy place, just as in Sūra xvii. 1 Masjid Akṣā [q. v.] "the remotest sanctuary" does not mean a particular building.

According to tradition, a *ṣalāt* performed in the Masjid al-Harām is particularly meritorious (Bukhārī, *al-Ṣalāt fi Masjid Makka*, hāṣ 1). This masjid is the oldest, being forty years older than that of Jerusalem (Bukhārī, *Amḥāl*, bab 10, 40).

This Meccan sanctuary included the Ka'ba [q. v.], the Zamzam [q. v.] and the Maḥām Ibrahim (see *KA'BA*), all three on a small open space. In the year 8, Muhammad made this place a mosque for worship. Soon however it became too small and under 'Umar and 'Uthmān, adjoining houses were taken down and a wall built. Under 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Zubair, the Umayyad and 'Abbasid caliphs, successive enlargements and embellishments were made. Ibn al-Zubair put a simple roof above the wall. Al-Mahdī had colonnades built around, which were covered by a roof of oak. The number of minarets in time rose to seven. Little columns were put up around the Ka'ba for lighting purposes. The mosque was also given a feature which we only find paralleled in a few isolated instances: this was the putting up of small wooden buildings, or rather shelters for use during the *ṣalāt* by the imām, one for each of the four orthodox rites. The fact that one of these makāms might be more or less elaborate than another occasionally gave

rise to jealousies between the Hanafis and the Shāfi'is. Ultimately the ground under the colonnades, which was covered with gravel was paved with marble slabs, in the maṭaf around the Ka'ba as well as on the different paths approaching the maṭaf.

The mosque was given its final form in the years 1572–1577, in the reign of the Salṭān Selīm II, who, in addition to making a number of minor improvements in the building, had the flat roof replaced by a number of small white-washed cone-shaped domes.

A person entering the mosque from the Maṣ'ā or the eastern quarters of the town, has to descend a few steps. The site of the mosque, as far as possible, was always left unaltered, while the level of the ground around — as usual in oriental towns and especially in Mecca on account of the Sel — gradually rose automatically in course of centuries (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 18–20).

The dimensions of the Harām (interior) are given as follows (al-Batānī, *Rihla*, p. 96): N. W. side 545, S. E. side 553 feet, N. E. side 360, S. W. side 364 feet; the corners are not right angles, so that the whole roughly represents a parallelogram.

Entering the maṭaf from the eastern side, one enters first the Bāb Bani Shēba, which marks an old boundary of the maṣḥid. Entering through the door, the Maḥām Ibrāhīm is on the right, which is also the Maḥām al-Shāfi', and to the right of it is the minbar. On the left is the Zemzem building. As late as the beginning of the 19th century, there stood in front of the latter, in the direction of the northeast of the mosque, two domed buildings (*al-Kubbatain*) which were used as store-houses (*Chron. d. Stadt Mekka*, ii. 337 sq.). These Kubbās were cleared away (cf. already Burckhardt, i. 265); they are not given in recent plans.

Around the Ka'ba are the maḥāms for the imāms of the madhhab, between the Ka'ba and the south-east of the mosque, the maḥām (or muḥallā) al-Hanbalī, to the south-west the maḥām al-Mālikī, to the north-west the maḥām al-Hanafī. The latter has two stories; the upper one was used by the mu'adhdhin and the muḥalligh, the lower by the imām and his assistants. Since Wahhābī rule has been established, the Hanbalī imām has been given the place of honour. The maḥām al-Hanafī stands on the site of the old Meccan council-chamber (*dār al-nadwā*) which in the course of centuries was several times rebuilt and used for different purposes. The maṭaf is marked by a row of thin brass columns connected by a wire. The lamps for lighting are fixed to this wire and in the colonnades.

The mosque has for centuries been the centre of the intellectual life of the metropolis of Islam. This fact has resulted in the building of madrasas and riwāḡa for students in or near the mosque, for example the madrasa of Kā'it Bey on the left as one enters through the Bāb al-Salām. Many of these waḳfs have however in course of time become devoted to other purposes (Burckhardt, i. 282; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 17). For the staff of the mosque cf. *ḤĪRA (HANO)*; Burckhardt, i. 287–291.

Bibliography: F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ii. 10 sq., 13–16, 337 sqq.; i. 301–333, 339–345; iii. 73 sqq.; iv. 121, 139, 159, 165, 190, 203, 205, 227 sq., 268 sq., 313 sqq.; Ibn Dūbair, *Rihla*, G. M. S., v. 81 sqq.; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. and transl. Deffremery

and Sanguinetti, i. 305 sqq.; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 525 sq.; *B. G. A.*, i. 15 sq.; v. 18–21; index to vol. vii. and viii., s. v.; Muḥammad Labīb al-Batānī, *al-Rihla al-ḥijāziyya*, Cairo 1329, p. 94 sqq.; *Travels of Ali Bey*, London 1816, ii. 74–93 and pl. liii, liv.; J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, p. 243–295; A. F. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina*, Leipzig 1874, iii. 1–37; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, Hague 1888–1889, i., chap. i.; ii. 230 sqq.; *Bilderatlas*, No. i., ii., iii.; do., *Bilder aus Mekka*, Leyden 1889, No. 1 and 3; P. F. Keane, *Six Months in Mecca*, London 1881, p. 24 sqq. (A. J. WESSINCK)

MĀSHĀF. [See **MUḤĀF.**]

MĀSHĀFĪ, GHULĀM ḤAMADĀNĪ b. WALĪ MUḤAMMAD, a distinguished Urdū poet, was born in Lucknow but went to Dīhli in 1190 (1776), where he applied himself to the cultivation of Urdū poetry. His house was resorted to by the eminent poets of the capital. In 1201 (1786) he returned to Lucknow and spent the rest of his life there under the patronage of Prince Sulaimān Shikōh, son of Shāh 'Ālam. He died in 1240 (1824). He is the author of several *Dīwāns* in Persian and Hindustānī, and of biographies of Urdū poets, called *Tadhkirat-i Hindī*. He also wrote another *Tadhkira* of Persian poets who flourished in India from the time of Muḥammad Shāh (1131–1161 = 1719–1748) to the reign of Shāh 'Ālam (1173–1221 = 1759–1806) entitled '*Ikā Thurayyā*', and a historical work in verse which he entitled *Sāḥā-Nāma*.

Bibliography: Shifā, *Gulshan-i Bihār*, p. 138; Azād, *Ab-i Hayāt* (Lahore 1913), p. 309–338; Garcin de Tassy, *Littérature hindouie*, i. 373; Sprenger, *Orient Catalogue*, p. 182; Rien, *Cat. Persian Mus. Br. Mus.*, p. 377.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MĀSHĀ'ALLĀH, the son of Ath(a)ri or Sāriya, a celebrated astrologer, who along with Nawbakht fixed the day and hour for the foundation of Baghdād by order of al-Manṣūr. According to the *Fihrist*, he was a Jew whose original name was Māshā (a corruption of Manāshahī, i. e. Manasse?); whether he later adopted Islam and for this reason took the name Māshā'allāh is not recorded. The date of his birth is unknown, but it can hardly be later than 112 (730). He is said to have died in 200 (815).

In numerous works Māshā'allāh covered the whole field of astrology, and also the making and uses of astronomical instruments. There has only survived in Arabic fragments of a treatise on the prices of various wares which was translated into Latin under the title *Menakallus Libellus de Mercibus*. Many of his astrological works were translated into Latin by Johannes Hispanensis and others and later printed. Hebrew versions are also known. It may be safely assumed that Arabic originals will still be found in eastern libraries. The critical study of the Latin translations existing in manuscript and printed form is most desirable in view of the early date of the author.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, i. 273; ii. 129; H. Suter, *Das Mathematikerverzeichnis*, 1892, p. 61–62; H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, 1900, p. 5–6; *Nachträge*, 1902, p. 158; M. Steinschneider, *Die arab. Literatur der Juden*,

1902, p. 15—23; P. Dubem, *Système du monde*, li, 1914, p. 204—206; G. Sarton, *Introduction*, i. 531.

AL-MASĪH, the Messiah; in Arabic (where the root *m-s-h* has the meanings of "to measure" and "stroke") it is a loanword from the Aramaic where משיח was used as a name of the Redeemer.

Horowitz (*Koranische Untersuchungen*, p. 129) considers the possibility that it was taken over from the Ethiopic (*masih*). Muḥammad of course got the word from the Christian Arabs. In Arab writers we find the view mentioned that the word is a loanword from Hebrew or Syriac. Tabari (*Taṣṭir* on Sūra iii. 40: vol. iii., p. 169) gives only purely Arabic etymologies, either with the meaning "purified" (from sins) or "filled with blessing". Horowitz, *op. cit.*, calls attention to the occurrence of the word in inscriptions, proper names and in the old poetry.

In the *Kur'ān* the word is first found in the Meccan sūras, a. alone: Sūra iv. 170; ix. 30; ā. with Ibn Maryam: Sūra v. 19, 76, 79; ix. 31; c. with 'Isā b. Maryam: Sūra iii. 40; iv. 156. None of these passages make it clear what Muḥammad understood by the word. From Sūra iii. 40: "O Maryam, see, Allāh promises thee a word from Him, whose name is al-Masīh 'Isā b. Maryam" one might suppose that al-Masīh was here to be taken as a proper name. Against this view however is the fact that the article is not found with non-Arabic proper names in the *Kur'ān*.

In canonical Hadīth, al-Masīh is found in three main connections: a. in Muḥammad's dream, in which he relates how he saw at the Ka'ba a very handsome brown-complexioned man with beautiful locks, dripping with water, who walked supported by two men; to his question who this was the reply was given: al-Masīh b. Maryam (Bukhārī, *Lihā*, bāb 68; *Taṣṭir*, bāb 11; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 302); ā. in the descriptions of the return of 'Isā [q. v.]; c. at the Last Judgment the Christians will be told: "What have you worshipped?" They will reply: "We have worshipped al-Masīh, the Son of God". For this they shall wallow in Hell (Bukhārī, *Taṣṭir*, Sūra iv., bāb 8; *Tamīd*, bāb 24; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 302).

In Hadīth also we frequently find references to al-Masīh al-Kaḍḍāb and al-Masīh al-Daḍḍāj; see the article AL-DAḌḌĀJ.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(A. J. WERNICK)

MASKAT, 1. a seaport on the Gulf of 'Omān, on the east coast of Arabia in 23° 37' 26" N. Lat. and 56° 15' 26" East Long. Maskat is the only harbour between 'Aden and the Persian Gulf, which ships of any size can enter and next to 'Aden and Djidda, the best harbour in the Peninsula. The port is of considerable importance from its position commanding the entrance to the Persian Gulf. It lies at the end of a horse-shoe-shaped bay 900 fathoms long and 400 broad which is enclosed and sheltered from the winds by multi-coloured rocks of volcanic origin, devoid of any vegetation. Behind the white town rises a series of extensive ranges of mountains on the highest of which, the Djabal Akhdar, 9,000 feet high, snow occasionally lies in winter-time. On the slopes we even find the Muscatel vine growing which is said to have been introduced by the Portuguese. The harbour is very busy; in the middle on the shore

stands the sultan's palace, at the south end the offices of the British political agent. On either side the town is flanked by an old Portuguese fort, Marāni and Djallali. The chapel in one of them bears the date 1588. The bazaar consists of low buildings and is of little importance. The mosques are remarkable for the absence of the usual tall minarets.

The climatic conditions are by no means favourable. With al-Hodeida and Djidda, Maskat is one of the hottest towns in the world. In 1912 the maximum temperature was 45½° C., the minimum 17½° C.; the rainfall varies between 75 and 150 mm. The high temperatures are caused mainly by the hot winds which at certain periods in the summer months usually blow from the Arabian desert and from the rocky hills for several hours in the night. From November to the middle of March the weather is however quite pleasant, but one must beware of malaria and fever.

Maskat plays a considerable part as centre of trade with the nearer east. There are regular communications with India, Persia, East Africa and Mauritius. The ships of quite a number of steamship companies call regularly at Maskat, e.g. the British India Steam Navigation Company on the route from London to India, the Backnall Steamship Company and the Strick Line to Basra, the West Hartlepool Steam Navigation Company on the 'Aden-Basra route, the Hamburg-America Line monthly to the harbours of the Persian Gulf, the Arab Steamers Ltd. on the Bombay-Basra route, and the Compagnie Russe de Navigation à Vapeur et de Commerce. In 1912—1913 the total tonnage entering the port was 98 steamers with 127,885 tons and 63 sailing vessels with 5,021 tons and leaving it 86 steamers of 90,803 tons and 30 sailing ships of 2,379 tons. The ships in question were mainly British (86.73%). Maskat has a regular postal service with the rest of the world instituted by the British, as well as a cable connection which the Indian Government has laid to Dushk. The population, which changes a good deal, is about 10,000 souls, primarily Arabs but there are also Persians, Hindus, Indian Muslims, Beludjis and a few Europeans settled here, mainly traders.

Maskat was at one time a flourishing centre of the silk and cotton trade but in recent years this has almost been destroyed by Indian and American competition. The gold and silver work done by Indians here is famous, notably richly ornamented swords and daggers. The imports of Maskat in 1912—1913 were valued at £ 463,551 and the exports at £ 301,477. The former were mainly arms and munitions, cereals, dyes, precious metals, pearls, foodstuffs, textiles, tobacco, building materials, enamel, glass and porcelain, ironmongery, perfumes and soaps, the latter camels, horses and asses, weapons, cereals, dried and salt fish, dates, lemons and pomgranates, *war* and dragon's blood, pearls, melted butter (*ghī*), mussela, mother-of-pearl and tortoise-shell, textiles, hides and leather. The chief importer was India, then Belgium, England and 'Aden, the exports went mainly to India, the Arabian coast, England, Persia, America and Zanzibar.

According to local tradition Maskat was founded at an early period by Himyar colonists. A. Sprenger has identified Maskat with the *μακκατ* *μακκατ* of Ptolemy, vi. 7, 12. As the harbour has only a narrow entrance on the north and is enclosed on

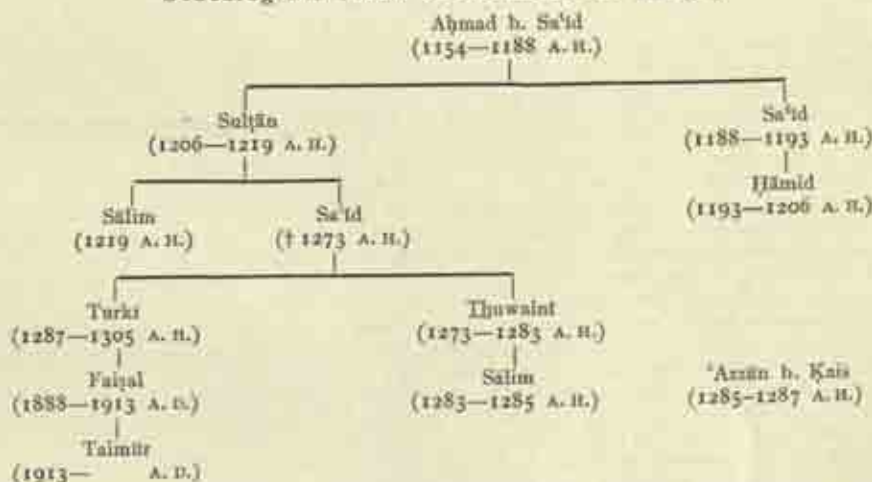
the east by rocky heights, it is, as a matter of fact, easy for sailors to overlook it, and the name "the hidden" would be quite appropriate. Al-Mukāḍḍī (*B.G.A.*, iii. 93 *sq.*) who mentions the port of al-Maskat, says that it is the first place which the ships from Yemen reach and is a fine town, rich in fruits. Ibn al-Faḥīḥ al-Hamadī (*B.G.A.*, v. 11) says of Maskat that it is the very end of 'Omān, about 200 parasangs from Strāf, the starting point for ships sailing to India and to Kūfūmah, a month's journey beyond it. Ships take in water here and Chinese ships pay 1,000 dirhams for it, the other 10—20 dīnārs. Idrīsī briefly mentions Maskat as a densely populated town; Ibn al-Muḍāwir is fuller (in A. Sprenger's *Post- and Reise-reuten*, p. 145 *sq.*) and tells us that Maskat was originally called Maskat—so also Niebuhr, p. 296—and that it is a considerable centre of trade with Africa and the east coast of the Persian Gulf, whence the wares are forwarded to Sijīstān, Khurāsān, Transoxania, Ghawr and Zabulistān. In the beginning of the xvth century A.D., Maskat, whose history had hitherto been that of 'Omān, attracted the attention of European powers. In 1506, Albuquerque appeared before the town and demanded that it should submit to the Portuguese. At the first the people seemed to be peacefully inclined and willing to accept his terms, but this attitude changed and the Portuguese admiral decided to attack and destroy the town. Forty large and small ships and many fishing-vessels and the Imām's arsenal were destroyed, the mosque pulled down and the town burned. The Portuguese fortified the place and in 1527 built two forts, Marīnī and Djalālī, and factories; the present buildings of these names were however only built after the union of Portugal with Spain in 1580 by direct instructions from Madrid. The Portuguese had not an easy position here. They were frequently attacked by the surrounding tribes and in addition by the Turks; in 1526 a rising in Maskat was put down by Lopo Vaz, the governor of India. In 1550 a Turkish fleet under Pīr Bey appeared before Maskat, attacked the town and took it by storm after eighteen days' bombardment. The Portuguese commander and 60 men were carried off to be Turkish galley-slaves, but in 1553 the Portuguese succeeded in destroying the Turkish fleet and re-establishing their sway in the Persian Gulf. Maskat was now fortified as a naval base. But after 1631 Portuguese prestige began to decline rapidly. At the end of 1649, Maskat was attacked by the Imām's army and had to surrender on January 23, 1650, as relief came too late. The town now lost much of its former importance, although under Dutch influence its commerce was still considerable. Towards the end of the xvth century it attained an uneasy notoriety as a nest of pirates; in 1737 it was taken by the Persians, who were driven out by Ahmad b. Sa'ād, the founder of the dynasty still ruling in Maskat, who was elected Imām in 1741. Since 1793 Maskat has been the capital of the sultanate of 'Omān. After 1797 the French began to be influential in Maskat; the town played a prominent part as a base for attacking India in Napoleon's grandly conceived plan for destroying England's power; we need therefore not be surprised that England also soon paid increased attention to the town. In January 1800, Capt. John Malcolm was sent to Maskat by the Indian government and concluded

a treaty with the Sultān by which an earlier agreement with the East India Company was ratified and an agent of the company established at Maskat. In 1807 and 1808 the French made treaties with the Sultān and also sent a consular agent to Maskat. The town flourished under this sultān, Sa'īd b. Sultān, and became a centre for commerce with the Persian Gulf. Maskat repelled an attack of the Wahhābīs with the assistance of the English in 1809, but in 1833 it became tributary to them. The change from sailing to steamships brought about a decline in the importance of the town. In 1863 Palgrave describes Maskat as an important harbour with 40,000 inhabitants, but in 1895, Bent puts the population at only 20,000 and at present it can hardly be more than 10,000. In 1833 however, the sultān was able to negotiate a commercial treaty with the United States, followed by a similar one with England in 1839; in 1844 France and Maskat drew up a commercial treaty by which France obtained the privilege of the most favoured nation and French subjects were given full freedom to trade in Maskat. The independence of Maskat, although expressly stated in the Anglo-French declaration of 1862, was however little more than nominal, for England, who had several times come forward to protect the sultanate, had through her political agent considerable control over the sultān. In connection with the slave-trade, which England was endeavouring to suppress, the sultān of Maskat had bound himself in various ways to England and in 1854 even ceded to England the Khūryān-Mūryān Islands of which France was endeavouring to obtain possession. When Sultān Sa'īd Sa'īd died in 1856, his kingdom was divided between his two sons Thuwānī and Maḥmūd of whom the former received Maskat, while the latter was given Zanzibar which had belonged to Maskat since the end of the xvth century. This division was negotiated by England through Lord Canning, the Viceroy of India. In 1861 Zanzibar was declared independent, but it had still to pay an annual tribute to Maskat, which England in 1873 undertook to pay in compensation for various concessions of the sultān of Maskat in connection with the suppression of the slave-trade so long as the sultān fulfilled his pledges and showed friendship for England. This readiness to meet the English was also seen in a telegraph agreement of 1864. In 1891 Sultān Faḥal concluded a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation with England in which the Sultān bound himself and his successors not to cede, sell or let land except to England. The French opposed this and in 1894 succeeded in obtaining a coaling station five miles S. E. of Maskat. England raised objections and quoted the treaty with the sultān although France in the treaty of November 17, 1844, had secured the right to acquire land. Diplomatic negotiations finally brought about a settlement, by which France gave up the coaling station in the Gulf of 'Omān, and in compensation was lent half the coal depots of Makullā. As France in 1916 again lent this coaling station to the English, the dispute was finally settled in favour of the English. A second *contrat* was similarly settled, although for a time it caused grave diplomatic negotiations. The French consul of Maskat and Zanzibar had given French papers and flags to a number of ships belonging to 'Omān. The captains of these who often traded in slaves and smuggled arms, resisted the jurisdiction of their sovereign, the

sultan of Maskat, and when the latter took steps to deal with them they were protected by France. The affair finally became so serious that in 1903 there appeared to be danger of a conflict between England and France, but in 1905 the question was submitted to the Hague Tribunal which decided that only those sailing-vessels which had received the French flag before January 2, 1892, had the privilege renewed and licences later issued were cancelled as invalid, in so far as they were not given to French protégés of 1863. As, in 1917, only 12 'Omān sailing-vessels still carried the French flag, this privilege of France must soon die out. It was only natural that the active smuggling of weapons from Maskat not only to Persia and Afghanistan but also into the interior of Arabia, should cause anxiety to England. The flourishing trade in arms was put down in 1912 by the establishment of a depot for the sale of arms under government control, which alone could sell arms. It is true that the smugglers have now migrated to Birk, Shab'ain and Ru'nis, but the great decline in the import of arms into Maskat is best shown by the statistics of the year 1912-1913 when in the first half year 147,391 lbs. of arms were still imported while in the last five months the total was only 36,667. In 1913, the new ruler Sultan Taimūr, who succeeded his father on October 4 and was recognised by England and France on November 15, 1913, met with serious opposition from the tribes in the south of 'Omān, who declared themselves independent under an imām whom they chose themselves. It is only England's power that keeps these rebels from Maskat and thus secures the existence of the dynasty, whose rule has long been quite nominal.

C. Deffrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, iv., Paris 1914, p. 310 sq.; C. Niebahr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 296 sq.; C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, viii/i, Berlin 1846, p. 309-318; A. Sprenger, *Post- und Reiserrouten des Orients* (Abh. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes), iii/3, Leipzig 1864, p. 145 sq.; du., *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 106; Th. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900, p. 46 sq.; *Muscat. Report for the year 1912-1913 on the Trade of Muscat*, Ed. at the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade, London 1913, p. 3-33 (Nº. 5198 Annual Series, Diplomatic and Consular Reports); F. Stuhlmann, *Der Kampf um Arabien zwischen der Türkei und England* (Hamburgische Forschungen), i., Braunschweig 1916, p. 159-195, 45-47, 51-65; *Arabia* (Handbooks prepared under the direction of the historical section of the foreign office, Nº. 61, London 1920), p. 5, 7 sq., 12, 53 sq., 62-64, 72, 85 sq., 88, 91; *Perian Gulf*, *ibid.*, Nº. 76, London 1920, p. 27, 32; Sir Arnold T. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf, an Historical Sketch from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century*, Oxford 1928, p. 13-15, 113-115, 125 sq., 153-156, 173, 176, 188 sq., 194, 198, 204, 215, 232, 237, 239-243, opp. p. 156 plate of Muscat in 1670, opp. p. 230 a view of the present harbour; E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de Géologie et de Chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, i., Hanover 1927, p. 129; C. J. Eccles, *The Sultans of Muscat and Oman*, in *Journ. of the Central Asian Society*, Jan. 1927, p. 14-42; v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Pers. Golf*, ii. 323 sq.; R. Said-Ruete, *Said bin Sultan* (1791-

Genealogical Table of the Imāms of Maskat



2. Maskat al-Raml, a village on the road from al-Baḥra to al-Niḥādī.

3. Market town on the Black Sea (Baḥr al-Khazar), said to have been founded by Khuraw Anūghirwān.

Bibliography: On 1. Ibn Hawḳal, *B.G.A.*, ii. 7; al-Muḳaddasī, *B.G.A.*, iii. 93; Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadī, *B.G.A.*, v. 11; Yāḳūt, *Muḳdīm*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 529; *Marāʾid al-Iḥṣāʾ*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll, iii. 98; al-Idrīsī, *Kitāb Nuzhat al-Muḥarrir*, transl. by A. Jaubert, i., Paris 1836, p. 152; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, ed.

1856) ruler of Oman and Zanzibar, London 1929; cf. also 'OMAN and the *Bibl.* of this article.

On 2. Yāḳūt, *Muḳdīm*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 529; *Marāʾid al-Iḥṣāʾ*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll, iii. 98.

On 3. al-Iṣṭakhri, *B.G.A.*, i. 186 sq.; Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadī, *B.G.A.*, v. 288, 293, 298; Ibn Khordādhbeh, *B.G.A.*, vi. 124; Qudāma, *B.G.A.*, vi. 259; Yāḳūt, *Muḳdīm*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 221, 438, 501; iv. 529; *Marāʾid al-Iḥṣāʾ*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll, iii. 98.

(A. GROHMANN)

MASLAMA IBN 'ABD AL-MALIK, son of the second Marwānid caliph. "His chivalrous figure seems to have made a vivid impression on the popular imagination; one might think he came out of a popular romance" (C. H. Becker). Few of the Marwānid princes were so active and gifted in so many diverse directions. He lived long enough to give proof that he was not unworthy of the high hopes placed upon him. His gifts earned him the confidence of all the Marwānid rulers, to whom he was a Nestor whose counsels were always heeded, from 'Abd al-Malik to Hishām, not even excepting 'Omar II, who was not at all favourably inclined to the sons of 'Abd al-Malik, nor the hysterical Yazid II nor the criminal and fanatic Walid II, who wept at his loss. He had been carefully educated by his father 'Abd al-Malik. His long career as a military leader revealed his personal courage and his knowledge of the art of war. A man of good counsel and excellent judgment, versed in literature, a patron of poets and an accurate critic of their merits, adored by his men, Maslama made use of his exceptional position to be a protector of all the oppressed, to maintain the unity and cohesion at the heart of his dynasty, which was threatened by the absurd law of seniority which regulated the succession to the throne.

The chance of birth — his mother was a slave-girl — prevented him from rising higher. Walid I gave his brother Maslama the task of conducting the military operations against the Greeks. Henceforth — with a few short intervals — he was to hold the office of commander-in-chief of the Arab armies, in which he frequently had under him his nephew, the able and valiant 'Abbās [q. v.], son of the caliph Walid. In the year 91 (709-710) he succeeded his uncle Muḥammad as governor of Armenia, a province not completely subdued, which required a military man to rule it. He also governed the *ghum* of Ḥinnasir [q. v.], another frontier province continually exposed to the attacks of the enemy. He never spent much time in civilian appointments, for which his soldierly spirit seemed less adapted and in which the independent character of the Marwānid prince usually came into conflict with the central power.

His first campaign was marked by the capture of the important fortress of Tyana (Tuwāna): the rigorous winter of the high Anatolian plateaus did not interrupt the operations of this long siege, in which the assailants suffered great hardships [for the chronology see *AL-'ABDĀS IBN AL-WALID*]. The dismantled town remained deserted, a serious loss for the Byzantines. Their enemies now held both slopes of the Cilician Taurus, the gateway to Anatolia. Under Maslama's directions, his nephew 'Abbās in the next two or three years completed the conquest of mountainous Isauria. In 93 (712) the fortress of Amana was taken and Maslama entered Galatia through Armenia. This opened up the road to Constantinople. In 98 he laid siege to the capital. The attack dragged on and caused unspeakable sufferings in the Arab army. Contemporary writers blame for their failure the lack of foresight and insufficient diplomatic skill in the commander-in-chief. 'Omar II recalled the besiegers to Syria and sent Maslama to the 'Irāk against the Kharrīdīs. Yazid II sent his brother to put down the rebellion of Yazid b. Muḥallab [q. v.] in the 'Irāk. After the death of this rebel (102 = 720), Maslama became governor of the two 'Irāqs.

Before this, he had very opportunely persuaded the caliph not to modify the order of succession to the disadvantage of Hishām. Yazid was not long in finding fault with his brother, especially as he neglected to send him the taxes of his immense eastern vice-royalty. He recalled him to Syria, where Maslama endeavoured to combat the influence of favourites on this weak sovereign. Returning to the army in 108 he conquered Caesarea in Cappadocia. The following years were marked by Maslama's great campaign in Armenia and the land of the Khazars. After partial successes in which the country was laid waste, the stubborn resistance of the natives and the Turkish tribes forced him to retire. The retreat was a disastrous one: with great difficulty Maslama succeeded in bringing back the remnants of his army to Arab territory by sacrificing all his baggage and equipment (115 A. H.). His intervention to support the claims of Walid b. Yazid [q. v.], heir presumptive to Hishām, compromised him at court. He died before this caliph and seems to have taken with him to his grave the fortune of the Marwānids, for they rapidly declined after his time.

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, i. 137; iv. 92; vi. 101-104; vii. 73; viii. 152-153, 156-158; x. 98; xi. 13; xiii. 55, 63, 157-159, 165-166; xv. 117, 120-121; xvi. 157; xviii. 139-140; xix. 16-17; al-Balādhuri; *Antāb al-Agharāf* (MS. Paris), fol. 160, 195, 223; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil al-Tawārīkh* (Egyptian ed.), v. 11, 18, 28, 30, 36-37, 40, 56, 63; Ibn Ḥatīb, *Uyūn al-Aḥbār*, ed. Brockelmann, p. 211; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, Paris, ii. 44, 317, 318, 336; v. 370, 447, 454, 479, 506; vi. 106, 119; Dīnawarī, *K. al-Aḥbār al-fīṭnāl*, ed. Guignas, p. 334; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī'l-Ḥadīth*, iv. 210; Tabart, *Annales*, ii. 1314-1317, 1346, 1348, 1377, 1378, 1389, 1390, 1397-1402, 1407-1409, 1411-1413, 1432-1434, 1560, 1561; H. Lammens, *Le califat de Yazid I^{er}*, p. 86.

(H. LAMMENS)

MAŠMŪDA (the broken plural *Mašmūdā* is also found), one of the principal Berber ethnic groups forming a branch of the Barānis.

If we set aside the Mašmūda elements mentioned by al-Bakrī in the neighbourhood of Bone, the post-Islamic Mašmūda seem to have lived exclusively in the western extremity of the Maghrib; and as far back as one goes in the history of the interior of Morocco, we find them furnishing with the Šanhādja [q. v.], another group of Barānis Berbers, the main stock of the Berber population of this country. Indeed from the first Arab conquest in the seventh century to the importation of the Hīlālīs by the Almohad Sultan Yaḥyā al-Manṣūr in 1190, it was the Mašmūda who inhabited the great region of plains, plateaus and mountains, which stretches from the Mediterranean to the Anti-Atlas to the west of a line from N. E. to S. W. passing through Mīknāsā (Meknās) and Dīmānī; the only parts of this territory which were not occupied by them were three small Šanhādja enclaves: the Šanhādja of Tangier, of the valley of the Wargha and of Azammūr. To the north and to the west, the land of the Mašmūda was bounded by the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. To the east and south it was bounded by the lands of the Šanhādja. To the north were the Šanhādja of the region of Tāzā and those of

Wargha; in the centre, the Zanāga or Ṣanhādja of the Central Atlas, to which should be added the Zanāta of Fāra; to the south, the Haakūra, the Lamta and the Gazūla.

It was from the presence of this Maṣmūda bloc, extending continuously from Sūs to the Mediterranean, that eastern Morocco generally must have received the name of Sūs, a name found for example in Yaḳūt (cf. *Ma'ājam*, s. v. *Sūs*) who distinguishes a Hither Sūs (capital Tangier) and a Farther Sūs (capital Taṛḡala) separated from the other by two months' journey. It is also to this racial unity that are due the legends according to which all the N. W. corner of Morocco was once inhabited by the people of Sūs (*ahl Sūs*). Before the coming of the Hilālī Arabs, the Maṣmūda peoples were divided into three groups:

1. In the north, from the Mediterranean to the Sabū and Wargha, the Ḡhumāra [q. v.].
2. In the centre from the Sabū to the Wādī Umm Rabi', the Baraghwāta [s. *BARĠHAWĀTA*].
3. In the south, from the Wādī Umm Rabi' to the Anti-Atlas, the Maṣmūda in the strict sense of the word.

Like the majority of the Barāks, who in this respect are a contrast to the Butr, who are inclined to be nomads, the Maṣmūda were all settled; for if, in one passage, Ibn Khaldūn mentions two nomad tribes, the Lakhs and the Zaggan as forming part of the Maṣmūda confederation of the Hāḡa, he also points out that they were tribes of the Lamta, i. e. of the nomadic Ṣanhādja, who finally became incorporated in the Dhawū Ḥassūn, Ma'kili Arab nomads of Sūs. Ibn Khaldūn further makes special mention of the fortresses and fortified villages (*ma'shil wa-ḥuṣūn*) of the Maṣmūda who lived in the mountains of Daran or the Great Atlas. Other Arab historians and geographers mention the many little towns (*ḥarya*) in the plains occupied by the Dukkāla or the Baraghwāta, a pastoral and agricultural people; but these were gradually ruined and destroyed in the course of the fighting which went on without interruption in their country from the establishment of the Zanāta principalities of Shalla, Tādā and Aghmāt: the Almoravid and Almohad conquests, repeated campaigns against the heretical Baraghwāta, the Hilālī occupation, the struggle between the Almohads and the Marinids, the rivalry between the Marinid kingdom of Fās and that of Marrākush and lastly the wars with the Portuguese. Exterminated as heretics, dispossessed of their lands and driven from them by the Arab or Zanāta nomads brought into their territory, transported to a distance (region of Fās) by the Wāḡiṣid sultans, for whose taste they showed too little hostility to the Portuguese, the central Maṣmūda, the original inhabitants of the Azghār, of Tāmasnā and of the land of the Dukkāla finally disappeared; their place was taken by nomads, Hilālī Arabs (in the north, in Hāḡa and Azghār, the Riyāḡ; in the south, the Djuḡham, Sufyūn, Khult, Banū Djabir) and the Berbers (Zanāta Hawwāra); in the xvth century the coming to power of the Sa'diyan dynasty brought about the immigration of Ma'kili Arab tribes to the same region: 'Abda, Ahmar, Rahmānīn, Bartbīsh, Wādīya, Awiād Du-laim, Za'air, etc.

From the xvth century onwards, as a result of the occupation of their central plains by the Arabs, Hilālī then Ma'kili, the Maṣmūda only survived in the mountainous regions which formed the

northern and southern extremes of their old domains.

The Maṣmūda of the north (or *Maṣmūdāt al-Shīl*: "M. of the shore" of *al-Bayān*) were chiefly represented by the Ḡhumāra group [q. v.]. But, alongside of them, we find two small groups having the same racial origin:

a. The Maṣmūda of the Straits, settled between the district of Ceuta, which belonged to the Ḡhumāra and that of Tangier, a Ṣanhādja country. It was they who gave their name to the fortified port of Kaṣr Maṣmūda, also called Kaṣr al-Madja, the modern al-Kaṣr al-Saghir. Their presence here is attested in the tenth century, for it was while fighting here against them that Hā-Mīm, the prophet of the Ḡhumāra, was slain; al-Bakri (xth century) knows them in the same area corresponding to that of the modern Andjra.

ā. Al-Bakri mentions another group of Maṣmūda (tribe of the Aḡāda) settled in the land lying between al-Kaṣr al-Kabir and Wāzūn; there is still a small Maṣmūda tribe between these two towns.

The Maṣmūda of the south, who inhabited the lands between the Wādī Umm Rabi' and the Anti-Atlas, were divided into two groups: those of the plain and those of the mountain.

a. The Southern Maṣmūda of the plain lived to the north of the Great Atlas. The chief tribes were the Dukkāla; the Banū Māḡir (around Safi); the Hamra; the Raḡraḡa and the Hāḡa (to the south of the lower course of the Tānsift). The chief town in this region was Safi (Ar. *Asfi*), for the town of Azemmūr [q. v.] and the *riḡḡ* of Tū [q. v.] were in the enclave of Ṣanhādja; beside the port of Safi, we must also mention that of Kūr (the *Agos* of the Portuguese) at the mouth of the Tānsift, which gave Aghmāt access to the sea and had a *riḡḡ*, and that of Amagūlūl (the *Mogador* of the Portuguese) which served the district of Sūs. Besides these three centres, there were, as in Tāmasnā, a large number of fortified little towns (*ḥarya*) many of which survived down to the xvth century; the Portuguese chroniclers, Leo Africanus and Marmol have preserved for us many names of these places which have now disappeared, their very memory being lost; the local hagiographic collections and notably the *Kitāb al-Taḡamawūf* of al-Tādilt (xiiib century) have preserved a good deal of valuable information on this subject. At the present day all the country to the north of the Atlas is arabicised and if the old Berber element has not completely disappeared, it is at least overwhelmed by Arabs of whom the majority seem to be of Ma'kili origin. The Hāḡa alone, between Mogador and Agadir, have remained almost intact and have retained the use of the Berber language.

ā. The Southern Maṣmūda of the mountains occupied the Great Atlas (*Djādāl Duran*), the massif of Sirwā (anc. Sirwūn) and the Anti-Atlas or mountains of the Nagaa (Berb. In Glat).

In the Great Atlas, the Maṣmūda extended to the east as far as the upper course of the Tānsift (a pass called Tūn-Telwet). From east to west, the following were the chief groups: the Gālāwā; the Hāllān (or Ailān), the Warḡa and the Haṣradja, near Aghmāt; the Aḡādan, including the Maṣfiwa, the Māḡhūs and the Daḡhaḡa or Banū Daḡhaḡ; the Hūstān, including the Ḡhaḡḡāya; the people of Tin-Mallal, on the upper course of the river of Naffis; the Saūda or Zauda, in the lower valley of the Asif al-Māl; the Gaḡmiwa and

lastly in the west, the Ganfja, the chief tribe of which was the Sakāwa or Sakāwa.

The massif of Sirwā and the high valley of the Wādī Sūs were inhabited by the Banū Wawazit and the Saktāna. The N. E. part of the Anti-Atlas was occupied by the Hargha.

Farther to the south, the Sūs, properly so-called, was inhabited by heterogeneous elements of Mašmuda origin (al-Idrisi, *al-Bihar min al-Barbar al-Mašmūda*). Describing the road leading from Tāridant to Aghmāt, al-Idrisi mentions between Tāridant and the land of the Hargha, four tribes the names of which, corrupted by the copyists, are unfortunately hardly identifiable.

Besides these highlanders, who were strictly Mašmuda, we must mention the Haskūra (or Haskūra). These were highlanders of Sanhādja origin, brethren of the Lamja and Gzila, who led a nomadic existence to the south of the Great Atlas and the Anti-Atlas. The Haskūra were settled in the high valley of Tāstift and the Wādī al-'Abid, on the two slopes of the mountain range which links the Great Atlas, the home of the Mašmuda, with the Central Atlas, the home of the Zanāga (= Sanhādja) of Tādila; their chief tribes were the Zamrāwa, the Muḡrāna, the Guraḡna, the Ghul-dina, the Fatwāka, the Maḡḡwa, the Hultāna, and the Hanfā, who, according as they lived on one slope or the other, belonged to the Haskūrat al-Kibla (H. of the south) or to the Haskūrat al-Dill (H. of the north). Ibn Khaldūn, who calls attention to the Sanhādja origin of the Haskūra, adds that, as a result of their taking up the Almohad cause, it became customary to associate them with the Mašmuda tribes, but that they never enjoyed the same privileges as these latter.

History. In 682, 'Ukba b. Nāfi' marched against the Mašmuda of the Atlas with whom he fought several battles. On one occasion he was surrounded in the mountains and owed his safety solely to the help given him by a body of Zanāta. In the same year he attacked and took the town of Naffis which was occupied by 'Rām' and herbers professing Christianity. Thence he went to Igli, a town of Sūs which he also took.

Legend adds that he even thrust his way to the Atlantic where he rode his horse into the water, calling God to witness that there were no more lands for him to conquer. This first submission of the Mašmuda does not however seem to have lasted after the departure of 'Ukba. In 707, Muḡā b. Nuṣair had to reconquer Morocco; he in person took Dar'a and Tāfilālt and sent his son to the conquest of Sūs and the land of the Mašmuda.

In 732 'Ubad Allāh b. al-Habāb was appointed governor of the Maghrib; he appointed his son Ismā'il as assistant to the governor of Morocco and gave him particular charge of the district of Sūs.

In 735, the same 'Ubad Allāh sent Ḥalīb, grandson of 'Ukba, to make an expedition into Sūs against the Mašmuda and the Sanhādja (Mašmūda). Later the latter's son 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Filī (d. 745) becoming semi-independent governor of the Maghrib occupied Igli and built a camp there, the remains of which could still be seen in al-Bakr's time. It is to the same governor that is attributed the making of the wells which supply the road from Tāmdalt to Awdagust via Wādān, through the modern Mauritania.

The land of the Mašmuda then disappears from history till the ninth century. The conquest of

Idris I did not extend in the south beyond the Tamasā and the Tādila. But in 812 Idris II made an expedition against the town of Naffis; on his death in 828, his son 'Abd (or 'Ubad) Allāh obtained as his share of the kingdom, Aghmāt, Naffis, the lands of the Mašmuda and of the Lamja as well as Sūs. Al-Bakr records that some of his descendants ruled as lords of Naffis and among the Banū Lamja, not far from Igli. Other Idrisids, descendants of Yahyā b. Idris, were at this time lords of Dar'a.

With the decline of Idrisid power in the tenth century, the Mašmuda again became independent and were ruled by elected chiefs or *ingāra* (= Amhic *ingāra*); al-Bakr tells us that those of Aghmāt were appointed by the people for a term of one year. When at the end of the tenth century, Zanāta principalities became established in Morocco (at Fas, Shālla and Tādila), Maḡrāwa established themselves at Aghmāt; but all we know of them is that they were attacked by the Almoravids. In 1057, after receiving the submission of Sūs and of the Mašmuda (Zaḡda, Shafāḡwa, Gadnūwa, Ragrāga and Rāḡa), the Almoravid chief 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf took Aghmāt, the last Maḡrāwa ruler of which, Lagū b. 'Alī, fled to Tādila. His wife, the famous Zaimb, who was one of the Naḡrāwa, finally became the wife of Yūsuf b. Taḡfītū whom she initiated into the fine art of diplomacy.

From 1057 Aghmāt was the capital of the Almoravids till 1062, when Yūsuf b. Taḡfītū founded Marrākush (q. v.). In 1074 the same ruler, having divided his empire among several governors, gave his son Tamīm the governorship of Marrākush, Aghmāt, of the Mašmuda and of Sūs, then of Tādila and Tamasā.

The Mašmuda seem to have remained subject to the Almoravids till the rebellion in 1121 provoked by the *maḥdī* Ibn Tumart (q. v.) of the tribe of Hargha, who, supported by 'Umar Inti, shaikh of the Hintata, and by 'Abd al-Mu'min (q. v.), brought about the foundation of the Almohad dynasty (q. v.). The history of the Mašmuda is henceforth involved with that of the dynasty which they brought to power and which was to last till 1269. The Mašmuda, together with the Almohad dynasty, thus contributed to the rise of the Hafsids (q. v.), who ruled over Ifrīkiya from 1228 to 1574, through the descendants of 'Abd Haf, 'Umar Inti, shaikh of the Hintata.

During the first half of the thirteenth century, the power of the Almohads, routed by the Christians of Spain at the battle of Higo al-'Uḡb (las Navas de Tolosa) in 1212 and vigorously attacked in Morocco by the Banū Marīn, soon began to decline. The Mašmuda of the Atlas, indifferent to the fate of the dynasty, took advantage of its plight to regain their independence. It was the tribes of the Hintata and the Haskūra, which in 1224 at the proclamation of al-'Adil assumed the leadership in the movement; frequently allied with the Hilālī Arabs of the plains, Sufyan and Khalt, we find them fighting in all the civil wars and supporting various pretenders to the throne.

When in 1269, the Marinids had definitely crushed the Almohads, the Mašmuda retained a certain amount of independence and lived more or less in submission to the central power, ruled by chiefs chosen from the great local families: Aḡlād Yūnus among the Hintata; Aḡlād Sa'd Allāh among the Gadnūwa; among the Sakāwa, 'Umar b. Haddū

was an independent chief who went so far as to claim the Berber title *agallā* (=king). In Sūs the Banū Yaddar founded an independent principality which lasted from 1254 till about 1340. As to the Haskūra, the power among them was exercised by the Banū Khattāb.

Down to the xvth century, except during the first half of the reign of the Almoravid dynasty of which they had been the principal supporters, the Mašmūda of the Atlas were hardly ever under the direct rule of the Moroccan government; only the tribes of the plains, Dukkāla and Hāha in a position of inferiority as a result of their geographical situation, were able to offer less resistance and had to submit. The later dynasties, Sa'dian and 'Alawi, were no better able to subdue the Mašmūda of the highlands; but instead of gathering round local chiefs with temporal power, the latter now placed themselves under the leadership of holy men with religious prestige.

In the beginning of the xvth century, the land of the Mašmūda was in a state of anarchy. Some *agallā* of the tribe of the Hintāta held the lands of Marrākush; the most famous was Abū Shannūf; to the south of Tānsūt, the xvth century saw the rise of the warlike group of the Ragragā; in the xvth century, the power of the mystic al-Djāzālī [q.v.] spread among the Hāha. In the adjoining country of Dar'a, the Sa'dian dynasty was rising, which after occupying Sūs imposed its domination on the whole of Morocco.

But it did not however succeed in subjecting completely the highlanders of the Atlas. The powerful Ahmad al-Manšūr himself had to fight against a pretender who had proclaimed himself king of the Saksāwa.

After the death of al-Manšūr, the Atlas and Sūs were all under the authority of local religious leaders of whom the most important were to be found among the Hāha and in Tāzarwālt (family of Ahmad U-Mimā).

It was the 'Alawid Sulṭān Mawḥy Raghdā who restored Sūs and the Atlas to the Moroccan empire. The only episode to note is the constitution in Tāzarwālt, by a marabout Saiyid Hishām of a kind of independent kingdom, the capital of which was Ilghet and which lasted from the end of the xvth century till 1886.

Henceforth the Mašmūda disappear from history. The Atlas remained more or less independent, according to the degree of power of the ruling sovereigns, but all the important events in the region took place among the Hāha or in Sūs [q.v.]. The French occupation found the old Mašmūda grouped, since the death of the 'Alawid Sulṭān Mawḥy al-Ḥasan, into three bodies each under the authority of a local family; the Glāwa in the east, the Gundāfa in the centre, and the Mtugga in the west. The only one now in existence is the Glāwa; as a result of the disappearance of their leaders, the two others were recently broken up.

The name Mašmūda, still preserved in the north Morocco in the name of a little tribe of al-Kasr al-Kabir, seems to have completely disappeared in the south, where the former Mašmūda peoples, continuing to talk Berber, bear the name of *Šāwā* (French *Chéouas*, q.v.). It may even be asked if the name Mašmūda, which is found so often in the Arab historians and geographers, was ever in regular use among the peoples to whom they apply it; it is, indeed, suggestive that it is not

found in the long lists of ethnics given in the *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, published in the *Documents inédits d'Histoire Almohade*.

Sociology. The Mašmūda of the Atlas lead a settled life, living by a little agriculture and breeding a poor type of cattle; they live in villages or hamlets of stonehouses with clay roofs. Ibn Khaldūn notes the existence among them of numerous little strongholds and fortified villages (*ma'āzil wa-ḥuṣūn*), the ancestors of the modern *ghremts* and *agūddes*. There were no towns among the mountains; Tū Mallal, famous for the mosque where Ibn Tūmart was buried, was never a town. Before the Almoravid ruler Yūṣuf b. Tāshfin founded Marrākush in 1062, built moreover in the plains out of reach of the highlanders, whom it was to control, the only urban centres in the district were situated at the foot of the Atlas on its lowest slopes. The principal towns were in the north, the double town of Aghmāt [q.v.] and that of Naffis on the river of the same name; in the south, in Sūs, Igli and Tāzarwālt; as places of less importance we may mention in the north, Shafghūwa (mod. Shishāwa), Afīfan and Tamarūt; in the east, among the Hāha and in the borders of Sūs: Tadnast. The great trade-routes which traversed the region started from Aghmāt for the port of Kāz (at the north of the Tānsūt), Fās (via Tāillā), Sijilmassa (through the land of the Hazzāja and the Haskūra), and Sūs (via Naffis, the land of the Banū Maḡhā and Igli; no doubt using the pass now called Tūn-Tast). Al-Bakrī particularly mentions the industry and application and the thirst for gain, characteristic of the Mašmūda of the Atlas and of Sūs. The principal products of the country were fruits (nuts and almonds), honey and oil of argan (*kargūn*, *argan*), a tree peculiar to the country, of which there were regular forests among the Hāha. The Mašmūda could cast and work iron and also copper, which they exported in the form of ingots or "loaves" (*tāngūt*); they also worked and chased silver jewellery. In Sūs also the cultivation of the sugar-cane enabled sugar to be made.

From the intellectual point of view, the Mašmūda seem to occupy a place of first rank among the Berbers. Each of their three principal groups has produced a reforming prophet, the author of sacred works in the Berber language: Hā-Mim of the Ghumāra; Šālih b. Tārif of the Baraghwāla; Ibn Tūmart of the Mašmūda of the Atlas. It may also be noted that, Sūs is one of those few districts in which books were written in Berber down to a quite recent date (cf. H. Rouet, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, p. 73-81).

As regards religion, the Mašmūda were converted to Islam in the viith century by 'Uḫba b. Nāf, who left his comrades Šikār among them to teach the new religion. The latter died among them and was buried on the banks of the Tānsūt where his tomb is still venerated. The place is now called Rihāt Saiyid Šikār near the confluence with the river of the Shūkhūwa. The Mosque of the town of Aghmāt of the Hāhāna was founded at the beginning of the eighth century in 704.

Ibn Khaldūn describes the Mašmūda of the Atlas as being attached to Islam from the first conquest, in which they differed from their brethren of the north, the Baraghwāla and the Ghumāra, who remained faithful to their heretical beliefs. At the beginning of the eighth century, several

of them accompanied Tārik on his conquest of Spain; the best known of these was Kuḥaiyir b. Waslā b. Shamlā, of the tribe of the Aḡḡāda, who settled in Spain and was the grandfather of Yahyā b. Yahyā, one of the *ruḥāt* of the *Muwaffa'*; many others also settled in Spain and their descendants played important parts under the Omayyads.

In the eleventh century however, al-Bakrī notes Rafiḡt heretics among the Mašmūda; these were the Banū Lamās settled to the north of the Hargha and the town of Igli. In this district he also mentions the existence of idolators who worshipped a ram: perhaps we have here a relic of the cult of the god Ammon among the ancient Berbers. The towns however formed important centres of Muslim culture, the influence of which was felt not only by the Mašmūda of the district but also by the Sanhādja of the adjoining deserts: Lamta and Gassila. We know that it was in the town of Naffis, with Waggāg b. Zallū, a learned jurist of Lamta origin and a pupil of Abū 'Imrān al-Fāst of al-Kairawān, that in 1039 Yahyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Gudāfi recruited 'Abd Allāh b. Yā-Sin al-Gasūlī who was the promoter of the Almoravid movement. For the Almohad period al-Fadl's hagiographic collection, entitled *Kitāb al-Taḥannuṭ*, shows us the land of the Mašmūda of the south full of wonder-working saints. Later the tribe of the Rag-rāga, settled on the lands now occupied by the Shayḡfina, was the cradle of a movement at once religious and warlike, the details of which are little known but the memory still alive. In the first half of the xviii century, religious activity seems to be concentrated in the south of Sūs, in Tāzarwāt where the descendants of the saint Saiyid Ahmad U-Mūsā carved themselves out an independent marabout principality.

Bibliography: See the indices to the geographers, especially al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī; Leo Africanus, ed. Schefer, I, p. 181—231; Ibn Khaldūn, *K. al-'Ibar*, chapters devoted to the Mašmūda; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almoravide*, Paris 1928, principally p. 55—67; R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Sahara dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris 1930; H. Hasset and H. Terrasse, *Tinmel, in Hispānia*, 1924, p. 9—91. (G. S. COLIN)

AL-MAŠMUGHĀN, a Zoroastrian dynasty whom the Arabs found in the region of Dunbāwand (Dāmāwand) to the north of Raiy.

The origins of the Mašmughān. The dynasty seems to have been an old though not particularly celebrated one as is shown by the legends recorded by Ibn al-Fakih, p. 275—277, and in al-Burūnī, p. 227. The title of mašmughān is said to have been conferred by Faridūn upon Arna'il, Bēwarāp's former cook (Zohāk), who had been able to save half the young men destined to perish as food for the tyrant's serpents. Arna'il (according to Yāqūt, II, 606, a Nabataean, a native of the Zab) showed to Faridūn in the mountains of Dailam and Shirrī, a whole nation of these refugees, which caused Faridūn to exclaim *was māsā kātā šād kardī* which is explained to mean: "What a large number of people of the house (*ahl bait*) thou hast saved!".

The first historical reference to a mašmughān is found in Tabarī's (I, 2656) account of the taking of Raiy by Nu'aim b. Muḥarrir in the time of the caliph 'Umar [according to Ibn al-Athīr in the years 18, 21 or 22; Marqart however puts

these events as late as 98 (716—717)]. The King of Raiy, Siyāwakhsh b. Mihrān b. Bahrām-Čobīn, had received reinforcements from the people of Dunbāwand, but when he was defeated, the mašmughān of Dunbāwand made peace at once with the Arabs and received honorable terms (*'aḡḡā' nāpīn wa šā ma'ānātīn*) promising an annual payment of 200,000 dinārs. The charter given by Nu'aim was addressed "to the mašmughān of Dunbāwand, Mardān-ahāh, to the people of Dunbāwand, of Kb'ār, of Lāris (Lāridjān) and of Shirrī". This gives us an idea of the extent of the sway of the mašmughān. His possessions included the country round Mount Dāmāwand [q. v.] and stretched down the plains as far as the east of Raiy. The district of Dunbāwand ["Dubā-wand, (the land occupied by) the 'Dubā clan"] did not form part of Tabaristān. The Arabs mention it along with Raiy (Tabarī, I, 2653—2656; Muḥaddas, p. 209; Ibn al-Fakih, p. 275—277); but as we have seen at the time of the conquest, Raiy and Dunbāwand were under different dynasties. The old capital of Dunbāwand may have been at Mandūn where, according to Ibn al-Fakih, Arna'il had built a wonderful house of teak and ebony, which in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd was taken to pieces and transported to Baghdād. In the Arab period there were two towns in Dunbāwand: Wīmā and Shulānba (the latter is marked on Stahl's map to the south of the modern town of Dāmāwand, which lies on the slopes of Mount Dāmāwand). According to Yāqūt, the mašmughān's principal stronghold was called Ustūnāwand or Ujarhūd. This should be sought above the village of Reins, which must correspond to the old Karyat al-Haddādīn. (Ibn al-Fakih's story of the shops [*hamānī*] in which worked the smiths, the noise of whose hammers exorcised the enchanted Bēwarāp must refer to the chambers carved out of the rock near Reins; cf. Crawshaw-Williams, *Rock-Dwellings at Reins*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, p. 551; 1906, p. 217).

An attempt made by Abū Muslim in 131 to conquer the mašmughān was a disastrous failure: his general Mūsā b. Ka'b was attacked by the mašmughān's men and on account of the difficult nature of the country (*li-dīkī bilādīkī*) was forced to return to Raiy (Ibn al-Athīr, v, 304; cf. Hāfiḡ Abūl in Dorn, *Ausgabe*, p. 441).

The principality was not conquered until 141. In this period there were dissensions in the family of the mašmughān. Abarwī b. al-Mašmughān, quarrelled with his brother and went over to the caliph al-Manṣūr who gave him a pension (Tabarī, III, 130). The *Kitāb al-Uyūn wa 'l-Rad'īk*, p. 228, testifies to his bravery in the rising of the Rāwandiya and calls him "al-Mašmughān Malik b. Dīnār, malik of Dunbāwand". This Abarwī (or Malik) had enjoyed considerable influence, for, according to Ibn al-Fakih, the appointment of 'Umar b. 'Alī as commander of the army sent against Tabaristān was made on the advice of Abarwī who had known him since the trouble with Sunhādī (on the partisans of this 'Khurramī' in Tabaristān cf. Mas'ūdī, *Murūḡ*, vi, 188) and with the Rāwandiya.

In the year 141, the brother of Abarwī who occupied the throne of Dunbāwand was at war with his father-in-law, the špāhād Khurshīd of Tabaristān; but when he heard that the forces sent by al-Manṣūr were on their way to Tabaristān, he hastened to effect a reconciliation with his adversary (Tabarī, III, 136; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 386).

The stories of the campaign against Tabaristān directed by al-Mahdī by order of his father al-Manṣūr are very contradictory as is shown by their very detailed analysis in Vasmer, *op. cit.* After the defeat of the isphahād, the Arabs conquered the maṣmughān and captured him and his daughters Bakhtariya (?) and Šmyr (?) or Šhakla. Of these princesses one became the wife of Mahdī b. Maṣṣūr and the other the *umm-walad* of 'Alī b. Raīṭa. According to a story in Ibn al-Faḥḥ, p. 314, Khālid b. Barmak (Vasmer, *op. cit.*, p. 100, thinks that his expedition was sent especially against the lord of Dunbāwand) sent the maṣmughān and his wife and his two daughters to Baghdad, but in another passage, p. 275, the same writer says that the maṣmughān obtained *amān* from Mahdī b. Maṣṣūr and came down from the mountains of al-'Aīraīn (?). He was taken to Raiy and there Mahdī ordered him to be beheaded.

After the death of the maṣmughān, the people of these mountain regions lapsed into barbarism (*hawziya*) and became like wild beasts (Tabari, iii, 136). According to Ibn al-Faḥḥ (p. 276) however, the descendants of the maṣmughān (= Arma'īl?) were still well known.

Spiegel's and Marquart's hypotheses. Yāqūt i. 244 interprets *maṣmughān* as *kaḥr al-maḥḥān* "the great one of the magi" (*magi*, "great", N.W. Iranian form). Spiegel thought of connecting this dynasty with the prince-priests of Raiy, whose existence is known from a well-known passage in the Avesta (Yasna, ix, 18, transl. Darmesteter, i, 170; cf. Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 202—205). In spite of Marquart's criticisms, who says it is impossible to quote the authority of Avestan traditions which relate to much earlier state of affairs, Spiegel's suggestion is still of interest. We have certainly to deal with vague memories and not with actual facts. In the time of the Arab conquest the descendants of Bahrām-Gōbin were ruling in Raiy, but the Arabs (Tabari, i, 2653—2656) installed there a certain al-Zainabī, son of Kāla and father of al-Farrukhān. It remains to be seen if this family of Zainabī, "whom the Arabs call al-Zainabī" (Balādhuri, p. 317) is connected with Dunbāwand. Their stronghold in Raiy was called 'Arta (?) which resembles the name of the mountain al-'Aīraīn from which the last maṣmughān came down (cf. the note by de Goeje in Ibn al-Faḥḥ, p. 275). Marquart wanted to connect the maṣmughān of the Bāwanid dynasty, the eponymous ancestor of which Bāw, a descendant of Kaykūs, brother of Khusrāw I, is said to have lived in the time of the later Sāsānians. This Bāw was a man of piety and after the fall of Yazdagird III had retired to his father's fire-temple. Marquart regards him as a "magus" and identifies him with the father of the Christian martyr Anastasius, who bore this name (84) and was a "master of magian lore". Lastly he quotes the fact that the Bāwanids appeared in 167 only after the disappearance of the maṣmughān (after 141) as if to continue their line. Unfortunately several details of the ingenious argument are not accurate: our sources (Ibn Isfandiyyār, *Zahīr al-Dīn* p. 204—205) give not the slightest suggestion that Bāw belonged to the priestly caste. According to Ibn Isfandiyyār (transl. Browne, p. 98), his grandfather's temple was at Kāla, which Rābīno, p. 160, locates a little distance west of Ashraf i.e. quite remote from Dunbāwand. The passage in Tabari, iii, 1294, which Marquart quotes to prove the occurrence

of the name Maṣmughān among the Bāwanids refers to the cousin of Māziyār of the Kārinid dynasty, which is quite different from the Bāwanids (cf. below).

The Kārinid maṣmughāns. It is curious that neither Ibn Isfandiyyār nor *Zahīr al-Dīn* speak of the dynasty of the maṣmughān of Dunbāwand, perhaps because they do not include this region in Tabaristān proper. On the other hand, they mention a maṣmughān (maṣmughān > *maṣmughān) Wālāh, who was the marzubān of Miyan-du-rūd (*Zahīr al-Dīn*, p. 42 says that this canton was near the Sāri between the rivers Kālārad and Mīhrībān and that on the east it adjoined Kara-jughān; Miyan-du-rūd is thus quite close to where Rābīno puts Kāla). This maṣmughān Wālāh (Ibn Isfandiyyār, p. 101; *Zahīr al-Dīn*, p. 42) lived in the time of Djamāspid Farrukhān the Great (709—722?) and belonged to the elder branch of the Kārinids descended from Zarmihr b. Sākhrā. (We do not know why Justi, p. 430, takes this Wālāh to be the son of the last maṣmughān of Dunbāwand?). The Kārinid Wāndād Hurmuzd (of the younger line, descended from Kārin, brother of Zarmihr) in his rising against the caliph (cf. Mahdī, p. 158—169?) had combined with the isphahād Shar-wīn (772—797) and the maṣmughān Wālāh of Miyan-du-rūd. This latter (Ibn Isfandiyyār, p. 126; *Zahīr al-Dīn*, p. 155) seems to have been one of the successors of the maṣmughān Wālāh mentioned above.

Under 224 (838) Tabari (iii, 1294) mentions a cousin of the Kārinid Māziyār, who was called Shāhriyār b. al-Maṣmughān. According to this, al-Maṣmughān would be identical with Wāndād Ummid, uncle of Māziyār (cf. Justi, p. 430). On the other hand under the year 250 (864), Tabari, iii, 1529, mentions a Maṣmughān (*sic*) among the allies of the 'Alid Ḥasan b. Zaid. Ibn Isfandiyyār, p. 165 calls him Maṣmughān b. Wāndād-Ummid. One must either suppose there is an error in Tabari's genealogy or admit that the title of maṣmughān was borne both by Wāndād-Ummid and his son, but the form of the designation of the latter (ماصمغان with the article) would rather show that the title had become a simple proper name (Browne is wrong in translating "the Maṣmughān").

To sum up then: Alongside of the maṣmughāns of Dunbāwand, we have the maṣmughāns of Miyan-du-rūd. These *marzubān*, if we may rely on *Zahīr al-Dīn*, belonged to the Zarmihrid branch of the dynasty of Sākhrā (Sāsānian governor of Tabaristān descended from Kārin, son of the famous smith Kāwa). Later we find the title (or proper name!) of maṣmughān recurring in the younger branch of the line of Sākhrā (the Kārinid branch), which occupied a position in Tabaristān subordinate to the Bāwanid isphahāds (*Zahīr al-Dīn*, p. 154, 14).

Bibliography: Tabari, i, 2656; iii, 130, 136 (1294, 1529); Birūnī, *al-Āṭhar al-kāfiya*, p. 101 (transl. p. 109), p. 227 (transl. p. 213); *Kātib al-Dīn wa l-Ḥadāiq*, ed. de Goeje and de Jong, p. 228; Ibn al-Āṭhar, iii, 18; v, 304, 386—387; Ibn Isfandiyyār, index; Yāqūt, i, 243—244 (Ustān-wānd); ii, 606—610 (Dunbāwand); *Zahīr al-Dīn*, index; Spiegel, *Iran. Altertumskunde*, 1871, iii, 563; Spiegel, *Über d. Vaterland d. Avesta*, Z. D. M. G., xxxv, 1881, p. 629—645; Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 199 and 430 (tables); Marquart, *Beiträge*, Z. D. M. G., xlix, 1895,

p. 661; Marquart, *Erānlake*, p. 127; Vasmier, *Die Eroberung Tabaristans... zur Zeit des Chalifen al-Manṣūr*, in *Islamica*, III, p. 86-130. (V. MINORSKY)

MĀSSA (Berber *Māssat*), the name of a small Berber tribe of Morocco of Sūs, settled some 30 miles south of Agadir at the mouth of the Wādī Māssa; the latter is probably the *flumen masat* mentioned by Pliny the Elder (v. 9) to the north of the *flumen Darat*, the modern Wādī Dar'a, and the *Masat* of the geographer would correspond to the modern *ahl Māssa*.

The name Māssa is associated with the first Arab conquest of Morocco: according to legend, it was on the shore there that, after conquering Sūs, 'Uqba b. Nāfi' drove his steed into the waves of the Atlantic calling God to witness that there were no more lands to conquer on the west. In any case, Māssa appears very early as an important religious and commercial centre. Al-Ya'qūbī (end of the third = ninth century) notes that the harbour was a busy one and mentions a *ribāṭ* already renowned, that of Baḥlūl. Al-Bakrī and al-Iḍrīṣī mention the harbour of Māssat; al-Bakrī emphasises the fame of the *ribāṭ* and the importance of the fairs held there. Ibn Khaldūn devotes several passages in his *Kitaḥ al-'ibar* to the *ribāṭ* of Māssa, where according to popular belief the expected Mahdī or Fātimid was to appear; this belief induced many devout people to go and settle in this *ribāṭ* and also sent many adventurers there to raise rebellions.

Towards the end of the xvth century, the religious movement begun by al-Ḥazali made Māssa one of the great *zāwiya*'s of Sūs. In the middle of the 16th (xvth) century Leo Africanus describes Māssa as a group of three little towns surrounded by a stone wall in the middle of a forest of palm-trees; the inhabitants were agriculturists and turned the rising of the waters of the Wādī to their advantage. Outside the town on the seashore was a very venerated "temple", from which the Mahdī was to come; a peculiar feature of it was that the little bays in it were formed of ribs of whalebone: the sea actually throws up many cetaceans on this coast and ambergris was collected here; local legend moreover says that it was on the shore of Māssa that Jonah was cast up by the whale.

After the fall of the Sa'dians, the development of the Marabout principality of Tāzarwālt again made Māssa a commercial centre. The port was frequented by Europeans but it was soon supplanted by that of Agadir. The rapid decline of the principality of Tāzarwālt and the steadily increasing influence of the central Moroccan power finally destroyed almost completely any religious and economic importance of Māssa.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomena*, transl. de Slane, II, 201-202; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Schefer, I, 168; R. Basset, *Relation de Sidi Brāhim de Māssat*, Paris 1883; R. Montagne, *Une tribu berbère du Sud Marocain: Māssat*, in *Hispania*, IV, 1924, p. 357-403. (G. S. COLIN)

MAS'UD ABU SA'ID, the eldest son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna, was born in the year 388 (998). In 406 (1015-1016), Sulṭān Maḥmūd nominated him his heir-apparent, and two years later made him governor of Herāt. In

411 (1020), at the command of his father, he led an expedition to Ghūr and reduced the north-western part to submission. Shortly after this, he was disgraced and sent as a prisoner to Multān, but he was soon taken back into favour and was reinstated in his government at Herāt. When the province of Rāy was conquered in 420 (1029), Sulṭān Maḥmūd placed it under Mas'ud who, after subjugating the outlying parts, conquered Hamadḥān and Isfahān from their Buwaihīd ruler, 'Alā' al-Dawla b. Kākawāth, in the beginning of 421 (1030), and was making preparations for further conquest when news arrived of the death of his father and the succession to the throne of his brother Abū Ahmad Muḥammad. Mas'ud hurried to Ghazna to claim the throne. In the meantime, the army tired of Muḥammad, deposed him, and had the *ḥakūma* said in the name of Mas'ud. Muḥammad was blinded and sent to the fort of Mandish, and Mas'ud ascended the throne in Shawwāl, 421 (October 1030), about 5 months after the death of his father. The Caliph al-Qādir bi'llāh conferred on him the titles of Naṣir Dīnī 'llāh, Ḥāfiẓ 'l-ḥakūma and Zahir Khālifati 'llāh.

In 422 (1031), Sulṭān Mas'ud sent an army to punish 'Isā, the ruler of Mukrān, for his rebellion. 'Isā was defeated and put to death, and his brother named Abū 'l-Mu'akar was placed on the throne. In 424 (1032-1033), Mas'ud laid siege to a fort named Sarastī in the southern Kāshmir hills, took it by assault and returned to Ghazna in the spring. After this he attacked Tabaristān, as the ruler of that country, named Abū Kālingdār, had adopted a hostile attitude, and captured Astarābād. Abū Kālingdār was forced to offer submission and to promise to pay annual tribute. About the end of 426 (October 1035), Ahmad b. Niyāltigin, the governor of Lahore, rebelled. Mas'ud sent against him one of his Hindū generals who was defeated and slain in battle. He then sent another Hindū general named Tilak, who defeated Ahmad and forced him to fly to Sind where he was drowned while attempting to cross the river Indus. About the end of 427 (October 1036), Mas'ud led an expedition to India, took the forts of Hānsi and Soupat and returned to Ghazna, leaving his son Maḥmūd as the governor of the Punjab. In 430 (1038-1039), Mas'ud crossed the Oxus to punish Pārtigin, son of 'Altigin, ruler of Bukhārā, for his hostility, but before he could accomplish anything he received news that the Saljuqs were advancing to Balkh to cut off his retreat, and he immediately returned to Khurāsān.

Early in his reign, Sulṭān Mas'ud had been called upon to deal with the Saljuqs whose power had considerably increased during the period of disturbance following the death of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. They raided Herāt as early as 422 (1031) but were repulsed with heavy loss at Farāwah and forced to take refuge in the Balkhān Mountains. This however did not stop their activities, and by 425 (1033-1034) they had started to make systematic incursions into Khurāsān. In Shawwāl 426 (June, 1035) Mas'ud sent against them two of his generals, the Ḥājib Baktrghī and Husain 'Alī b. Mikā'il, who inflicted a crushing defeat on them, but while the Ghaznawid troops were engaged in plundering the camp of their vanquished foes, a body of the Saljuqs under Dāwūd issued from the hills, fell upon their disorderly ranks, and made fearful slaughter among them. Husain 'Alī was taken prisoner, and

Baktoghdi managed to escape. Instead of marching against the Saljuks, Mas'ud wasted his time in a fruitless expedition to India in 427, as stated above, and the result was that they became bolder and more powerful. In 428 (1036-1037), they captured Balkh, but retired to Marw at the approach of Sulṭān Mas'ud, and sued for peace. Mas'ud gladly consented to it, but it was only a shampeace and when Mas'ud started on his return march to Ghazna, the Saljuks fell upon his rear and put many of his soldiers to death. Mas'ud turned round and took terrible revenge for this treachery. The Saljuks redoubled their efforts against the Sulṭān, and won over the people of Sarakhs, Nasa and Baward to their side. Mas'ud now personally took the field against them. The Saljuks advanced to meet him under their leader Tughril. The two armies met at Dandānākan on 8th Ramaḍān, 431 (May 23, 1040). Mas'ud fought bravely but being deserted by his generals and finding himself surrounded on all sides by the enemy, he fought his way out of the field of battle and managed to reach Ghazna in safety.

The Saljuks had evidently become too strong for him, and he resolved to withdraw to India, possibly with a view to gaining a respite and preparing a large army there to retrieve his affairs. He left Ghazna with all his treasure, and accompanied by his captive brother Abū Ahmad Muḥammad. At Ribāṭ-i Mārīkalah, shortly after crossing the river Indus, his slaves rebelled against him, plundered his treasure, and, being joined by the rest of the army, they seized Mas'ud and acclaimed the blind Muḥammad as their sovereign. Mas'ud was sent as a prisoner to a fort where he was put to death on 11th Dhu'l-Ḥijja 1, 432 (January 17, 1041). His reign had lasted 10 years and three months.

Mas'ud was a man of strong build and great physical strength. He was brave and generous, but he lacked the wisdom of his father, and early in his reign, he lost the co-operation of his officers by foolishly attempting to bring about the ruin of the old servants of the House on the advice of his young and ambitious courtiers, and demanding the return of the money which Muḥammad had distributed among them at the time of his succession to the throne. Mas'ud was a great lover of learning, and numerous scholars had assembled at his court, one of whom was the famous Abū Raiḥān al-Bīrūnī who dedicated some of his greatest works to him. Several poets sang his praises and were given magnificent rewards. He adorned his capital with beautiful buildings, and the New Palace with its magnificent throne was one of the wonders of the times.

Bibliography: Abū 'l-Faḍl Baihaḳī, *Ta'rikh-i Mas'udi*, ed. Motley; Gardist, *Zain al-Ahḥad*, ed. M. Nazim, in *Browne Memorial Series*, I.; Ibn al-Aṭhir, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, ix. 161-333; *Ta'rikh-i Firākha*, ed. Bombay, p. 68-77. (M. NAZIM)

MAS'UD B. MAWUD B. ZANGI, 'IZZ AL-DIN ABU 'L-FATḤ (or Abū 'l-Muḥaffar), lord of al-Mawṣil. Mawḍūd [q. v.] died in 565 (1170); he was followed by his son Saif al-Din Ghāṭi [q. v.] as Atabeg of al-Mawṣil. When the latter came into conflict with Saladin [q. v.] in 570 (1175) he gave his brother Mas'ud command of the troops sent to relieve Halab, which was being besieged by Saladin. After Saladin had left Halab and seized

the citadel of Hims, Mas'ud, who had in the meanwhile attached the Ḥalabīs to his side, attacked him but was defeated in Ramaḍān 570 (April 1175) at Kūrin Hamāt. Saif al-Din died on 3rd Šafar 572 (Aug. 11, 1176), or according to another less authenticated statement in 576 (began June 20, 1180), and Mas'ud then became lord of al-Mawṣil. To this in 577 (1181-1182) was added Halab, which his cousin al-Malik al-Sālih [q. v.] bequeathed to him shortly before his death; but Mas'ud did not hold it very long. On the advice of the influential emir Muḥāhid al-Din Kaimār, he ceded his new possessions to his brother 'Imād al-Din Zangī who gave him Sinḍjār in exchange, and in Muḥarram 578 (May 1182) the latter occupied Halab. Soon afterwards, Saladin took Edessa, al-Raqqā, Sarūj and Nasibin, and in Rajab (November) of the same year he appeared before al-Mawṣil but could not take it by force; so he retired in the following month and turned his attention to Sinḍjār. After he had taken this town, he forced Imād al-Din to capitulate (Šafar 579 = June 1183). In 581 (1185) Saladin again attacked al-Mawṣil but had once more to retire with his object unachieved. After the capture of the town of Mayyāfārḳin, he made a third attempt to take al-Mawṣil, and encamped at some distance from the town but fell ill and was taken to Ḥarran. In spite of this, 'Izz al-Din did not dare to oppose him any longer but began negotiations. Saladin declared himself ready to make terms, and in Dhu 'l-Hijja 581 (March 1186) peace was made on condition that 'Izz al-Din recognised the suzerainty of Saladin and gave him Shabrazūr with the lands behind the Zab. 'Izz al-Din died in al-Mawṣil on Šabān 27 or 29, 589 (Aug. 28 or 30, 1193) after designating his son Nūr al-Din Arslān Shāh as his successor. The Arabic historians pay him as high a tribute as they do to his father Mawḍūd.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, N^o 731 (de Siane's transl., iii. 356); Ibn al-Aṭhir, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), xi., xii., passim; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chulifen*, iii. 355, 394-396, 400 sq.; *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Hist. or.*, index; de Zambaur, *Manuel de géologie et de chronologie*, p. 226 sq.; Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, p. 162 sqq. (K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

MAS'UD B. MUḤAMMAD ABU 'L-FATḤ GHUYYATH AL-DIN, a Saljuḳid ruler in the 'Irāk (529-547 = 1134-1152). Like Muḥammad's other sons, Mas'ud, when quite a child, was entrusted to an atābeg to be educated, namely the celebrated emir Mawḍūd and when the latter was murdered, Aḳ Sonḳar and Aḳha Djuḡaysh Beg acted successively as Mas'ud's tutors. The latter, an ambitious emir, in the beginning of Mahmūd's reign tried to secure the sultanate for his protégé, then an eleven-year-old boy, but the attempt failed; in an encounter with Mahmūd's troops he was put to flight and Mas'ud as well as his wife, the famous Arab poet al-Tughril' [q. v.], were taken prisoners (514 = 1120). On the fate of the poet see the article on him. Mas'ud was pardoned and later given Gandja by his brother (1130). After Mahmūd's death (525 = 1131), his son Dāwūd was at first recognised as sultan but Sanḍjār decided that Mas'ud's brother Tughril should be sultan. Mas'ud soon made peace with Dāwūd, after some fighting near Tahur, and sought to obtain from the caliph al-Mustarshid that the latter should mention him in the khutba in

Baghdad. The caliph, who had been approached with the same object by another brother of Mas'ud named Saldjuk and his atabeg Karadja, found himself forced to accede to both by having Mas'ud's name mentioned first, followed by that of Saldjuk. He also collected his forces to go in alliance with them against Sandjar; but when he arrived in Kharik, he withdrew so that Mas'ud and Saldjuk had to continue the struggle against their uncle alone and they were routed by him near a hill called Pandj Anghasht in the neighbourhood of Dinawar (1132). Sandjar however allowed Mas'ud to return unhindered to Gandja and at the end of the same year Mas'ud found an opportunity to go to Baghdad where Dawud also now was. Both princes were received by the caliph in public audience and given robes of honour and other tokens of esteem. Homage was paid to Mas'ud as sultan and to Dawud as heir-apparent. Thereafter he fought with varying fortune against his brother Tughril and after the latter's premature death (528—529 = 1134) was generally recognised as sultan. Amgharwan b. Khalid, the caliph's vizier, now was given the office of vizier to the sultan. Soon afterwards however, a number of Turkish emirs became dissatisfied with Mas'ud because they had felt themselves insulted by the advancement of Kara Sonkor, the powerful emir of Adharbaidjan, and were able to win the caliph over to their party. In the hope that Dawud would join him, he went with some 7,000 horsemen towards Hamadhan, where Mas'ud then was, but when the sultan's troops met him at Daimarg, his own men left him in the lurch or even went over to Mas'ud so that he and his vizier and other high officials were taken prisoners (529 = 1135). The sultan, it is true, treated him with deference, and began to discuss terms of peace, but he did not release him. He took him with him to Masgha, where in the same year (cf. the various dates given: Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, iii. 231, note 4) he was murdered by a number of *fidais*. The murderers were apparently hired by the sultan, on the advice of Sandjar, who had been stirred up against the Caliph by Dubais [q. v.]. The latter, who was also with Mas'ud, was soon afterwards treacherously slain by him. These deeds of violence naturally made a very bad impression. Dawud and Saldjuk began again to bestir themselves; the new caliph al-Khalid bi'llah, a son of al-Mustahid, adopted a hostile attitude and other Turkish emirs, notably Zangī, the lord of al-Mawwīl, began to be insubordinate; in a word, anarchy soon prevailed everywhere. But when Mas'ud returned to Baghdad with his troops they all retired. Mas'ud thereupon had the caliph, who had escaped with Zangī to al-Mawwīl, deposed by a *fa'id* of the *kutub* and jurists and approved the appointment of al-Muktafi (530 = 1136). After peace had in this way been to some extent restored, Mas'ud thought he might now devote himself to his pleasures and remained the whole year of 1137 in Baghdad in comparative inactivity, without allowing his leisure to be disturbed by a demonstration by the mob of the capital, which was intended to remind him that it was his duty to wage war upon the unbelievers. Once again several Turkish emirs rebelled and tried to bring Dawud to the front again; among them the most dangerous were 'Abd al-Rahman b. Tughanyerek, lord of Khalkhal, and particularly the prince Mingubars, whom Sandjar after Karadja's death had sent to Fars and who

was vigorously supported by his deputy in Kharistan, Buzaba. Mas'ud, it is true, sent troops against them under Kara Sonkor but they had to retire, and a battle was only fought when Mas'ud himself came up, at Kurahanbe near Hamadhan (532 = 1138). The sultan was at first victorious and put Mingubars, whom he had captured, to death; but when his troops were scattered plundering the enemy's camp, Buzaba fell suddenly upon them so that he and Kara Sonkor had narrow escapes and some twelve of the emirs with him were captured and all put to death by Buzaba. Fortunately for Mas'ud, Buzaba did not pursue him, but was content with occupying Fars; the sultan was also able to make peace with Dawud, and the deposed caliph was murdered in Isfahan on Ramadan 25, 532 (June 6, 1138). The sultan's position however was not one whit better, for the different provinces of the empire were in the hands of powerful emirs, who not only paid no heed to the sultan, but occasionally appeared in open rebellion against him in the name of various Saldjuk princes whose atabegs they were. The most powerful of these was still Kara Sonkor who began a war on Buzaba to avenge his son, who had been murdered by the latter. When he approached, however, Buzaba withdrew into an inaccessible citadel and when Kara Sonkor retired, he took prisoner the prince Saldjuk whom he had appointed to rule over Fars and then continued to rule in Fars as atabeg of two sons of Mahmud, Malikshah and Muhammad. After the death of Kara Sonkor, who died in 535 of a broken heart after the great losses he suffered in the terrible earthquake in Gandja in 533 (1138), Çawlt al-Djandär took his place and like his predecessor was generally attached to Mas'ud. Buzaba's attempt along with another emir named 'Abbas [q. v.], who had gained an influential position in al-Ray, to put the sultan's youngest brother Salaman on the throne therefore failed. Mas'ud invited this prince to come to him and when he came he was imprisoned in spite of the sultan's promise. Çawlt died in 541 (1146) in the same year as Zangī and in the following year 'Abd al-Rahman and 'Abbas were disposed of by assassination so that Buzaba alone remained of the enemies of Mas'ud. Buzaba now set out for Hamadhan to attack the sultan, but not far from this city was taken prisoner in a fierce battle and executed (542 = 1147). The princes Muhammad and Malikshah who were with him escaped. Mas'ud afterwards sent for the latter, gave him his daughter in marriage and designated him his successor. In these negotiations the sultan followed the advice of his favourite beg Arslan b. Balangari, best known by the title Khayyabeg, who in this way disposed of all his rivals, but at the same time aroused great discontent so that even the aged Sandjar came once more to al-Ray to remonstrate with his nephew (544 = 1149). But all this was in vain; and when in 547 (1152) Mas'ud died, Khayyabeg put Malikshah upon the throne; when in a short time the latter showed himself quite incapable, he sent for Muhammad, who had Khayyabeg treacherously murdered.

Bibliography: in the article SELJUKS.—Ibn Khallikan's article on Mas'ud (Rabik edition 1299, ii. 531) is of no importance.

(M. TH. HOUTSMA)

MAS'UD b. SA'D b. SALMAN, a poet in Arabic and Persian, was born in Lahore. His father

remained for a considerable time in the service of the kings of Ghazna and had become the possessor of great wealth and lands in Lahore and other parts of India. After his father's death these lands were confiscated by the Governor of Lahore and Mas'ud was compelled to proceed to Ghazna to demand justice, but there also his enemies were able to put him to more troubles and bring against him a false accusation, which caused him to be imprisoned. He at last through the recommendation of Mas'ud b. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm was permitted to return to India and take possession of his estate. When Saif al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm came in India as viceroy, Mas'ud attached himself to this prince as courtier and panegyrist and became one of the special favourites of his court. But again, a false charge being brought against him, he once more fell upon evil days and loss of fortune. It was maliciously reported in 492 (1098) to Sulṭān Ibrāhīm b. Maḥmūd that his son Saif al-Dīn Maḥmūd intended to go to 'Irāq to Malikshāh. This report so much aroused the indignation of the Sulṭān that he ordered his son with all his courtiers to be arrested and put to prison. Our poet for the next ten years remained a prisoner. But on the intercession of Abu 'l-Kāsim Khāṣṣ, the Sulṭān pardoned him and released him from prison. He returned to India and was again placed in possession of his father's lands and dignity.

He died in 515 (1121). He is the author of two diwāns, one in Arabic and the other in Persian.

Bibliography: *ʿAṣd al-Bilgīrāmī, Saḥāḥ al-Mawḥiḥ*, p. 24; Dawlat Shāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shāʿirā*, p. 47; Siddiq Hasan, *Abd al-ʿUlūm*, p. 890; Niẓām Arāḍī, *Chahār Maḥallā*, ed. Browne, index; 'Awfi, *Lubb al-ʿAlbā*, ed. Browne, II, 246-252; 'Abd al-Wahhāb Kaṣwīnī, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 693-740; 1906, p. 11-52; and Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, II, p. 324.

(M. HIDAYET HOSEIN)

AL-MAS'UDĪ, ABU 'L-HASAN 'ALĪ b. AL-HUSAIN, Arab historian and geographer and one of the most versatile authors of the fourth century A.H. Information about his life can only be gleaned from occasional references in his works; as his activity lay outside the lines of the regular schools of learning, he gets little mention from their representatives. The author of the *Fihrist* regards him as a Maghribī. According to his own statement, however, he was born in Baghdad and descended from an Arab family which could trace its ancestry to a Companion of the Prophet. While still quite young he travelled through Persia where he spent part of 305 (915) in Isfahān. Next year he went to India and visited Multān and al-Manṣūra. He went by Kanbāya and Śāimūr as far as Ceylon, joined some merchants on a voyage to the China Sea and back to Zanzibar from which he returned to 'Omān. We again find him travelling along the southern shore of the Caspian Sea and in 314 (926) at Tiberias in Palestine. In 332 (943) he visited Antioch and the Syrian frontier towns and after a brief visit to his native province of Baṣra, he was staying in Damascus in 334 (945). Afterwards he seems to have lived sometimes in Syria and sometimes in Egypt. He was in al-Fustāṭ in 336 (947) and 344 (955) and he died there in Djumādī II 345 (956) or 346.

His restless life is reflected in his literary acti-

vity. His travels were certainly stimulated not by thirst for adventure but by a strong desire for knowledge. But this was superficial and not deep. He never went into original sources, as did al-Bīrūnī later, but contented himself with superficial enquiries and accepted tales and legends without criticism. Nevertheless we owe him a good deal of valuable information about the lands on the periphery of Islam. His method of presenting his material has the same faults as his scholarship. He is never able to finish a subject he has begun but continually diverges from his theme. His literary activity, in addition to philology and theology in the narrower sense, touched on almost all the fields of interest of his time, particularly natural philosophy, ethics and politics as well as heresiology. His works, a list of which is given by de Goeje in the preface to the *Kitāb al-Tunikh*, p. vi., are for the most part lost because they were not of general interest. Posterity was only interested in him as a historian. In the year 332 (943) he began his great history of the world *Kitāb Akhbār al-Zamān wa-man abādahu 'l-Hitthān min al-'Omān al-maḥḍiya wa-'l-ʿAḥyāl al-ḥāliya wa-'l-Mamālik al-dāthira*, which is said to have filled 30 volumes. Burckhardt's statement (*Travels in Nubia*, p. 527) that twenty volumes of it are preserved in the Aya Sofia in Constantinople has unfortunately not been confirmed. Only a single volume, the first of the work, which A. v. Kremer obtained in Aleppo, is preserved in Vienna (see v. Kremer, *S. B. W. A.*, 1850, p. 207-211; Flügel, *Die ar. pers. u. türk. Hss. der K. K. Hofbibliothek*, II, N^o. 1262; another MS. of the same part is in Berlin, see Ahlwardt, N^o. 9426). The work begins with the creation and after a brief geographical survey discusses the non-Muslim peoples and goes fully into the legendary history of Egypt. He reproduced extracts from this work in the *Kitāb al-awṣaf* of which one volume perhaps survives in Oxford (see Uri, *Catalogus cod. MSS. or.*, I, 666). The substance of these two works he gave in briefer form in the *Murūdj al-Dhahab wa-Ma'ādin al-Djauāhir*, which he finished in Djumādī I, 336 (Nov.-Dec. 947) but revised in 345 (956). In addition to the manuscripts used for the Paris edition, a number of others are in existence, e.g. in the Ambrosiana (*R. S. O.*, IV, 97), in Fes (*Fihrist Maḥḥid al-Kawātib*, N^o. 1298) and Mōqūl (*Dawūd, Maḥḥḥḥ al-Manṣūr*, p. 122, N^o. 22; p. 173, N^o. 32); printed as Maḥḥḥ, *Les papyrus d'or* (the more correct translation would be "Gold-washings"; see Gildemeister, *W. Z. K. M.*, v. 202), *Texte et Traduction* par C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, 9 vols., Paris 1861-1877, Būllḥ 1283, Cairo 1313, on the margin of Ibn al-Athīr, Būllḥ 1303, of Maḥḥḥ's, *Nafḥ al-Tib*, vol. 1-3, Cairo 1302. A synopsis of the *Murūdj al-Dhahab* down to the fall of the Umayyads was made by Ibrāhīm al-Aḥashī in 1118 (1706) (MS. Vienna, Flügel, N^o. 807). Another synopsis of which it has still to be ascertained whether the two works on which it is based were not also used in addition to the *Murūdj*, with a continuation down to the year 638 (1248) was composed by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Shāṭibī of Tāra in Morocco under the title *al-Djūmāl fī Maḥḥḥ al-Akhbār al-Zamān* (wrongly ascribed by de Sacy, *N. E.*, II, 1787 to Maḥḥḥ; MS. Gyāngos, 64, fol. 31-195; see Asin Palacios, *Excelsior*, p. 374; other MSS. in Cairo and

Damascus; see M. Kurd 'Alī, *E. A. A. D.*, ii, 239—242. An anonymous synopsis of his *magnum opus* with special reference to travellers' tales from the Indian Ocean with additions from the *Kitāb 'Aḡḡā'ib al-Hind* of Rāmḥurmīzī, as well as from the legends of Egypt, entitled *Kitāb al-Ḥabār al-Zamān wa-'Aḡḡā'ib al-Bulḍān*, or *Muḥṭaṭṭar al-'Aḡḡā'ib wa'l-Ḥabār* is preserved in several MSS. In Paris (see Carra de Vaux, *J.A.*, ser. 9, vol. vii, p. 133—144). Towards the end of his life, Mas'ūdī composed a survey of his whole literary activity and supplemented it where necessary from new sources in the *Kitāb al-Tamīh wa'l-Ishrāf* (ed. de Goeje, in *B.G.A.*, viii, Leyden 1894; additions to this in a Leipzig MS., *Z.D.M.G.*, lvi, 223—236; see Carra de Vaux, *Maṣūdī, le livre de l'avertissement et de la révision*, French transl., Paris 1897).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 154; Yāqūt, *Ishrāf al-'Arāḥ*, v, 147—149; al-Subkī, *Tadhkhat al-Shāfi'īya*, ii, 307; Quatremère, *J.A.*, ser. iii, vol. vii, p. 1—31; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber der Araber*, No. 119; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i, 141—143; Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 352—354; J. Marquart, *Orientalische und asiatische Streifzüge*, xxxiv/xxxv.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

MASYĀD, a town in Northern Syria on the eastern side of the Djabal al-Nuṣairiyye. The pronunciation and orthography of the name varies between the forms *Masyād*, *Masyāf* (in official documents and on the inscriptions mentioned below of the years 646 and 870 A. H.), *Masyāt* and *Masyāḥ* (on the interchange of *f* and *h* see Keschek, *Z.D.M.G.*, lxxiv, 465; Praetorius, *Z.D.M.G.*, lxxv, 292; Dussaud, *Topographie hist. de la Syrie*, p. 143; note 4; 209; 395, note 3). The variants *Masyāḥ* (Yāqūt, *Muḥṭaṭṭar*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 556), *Masyāḥ* (Kharrī al-Zahrī, *Zubda*, ed. Ravaisse, p. 49) and *Masyāf* (al-Nābulusī, in v. Kromer, *S.B. Ak. Wien*, 1850, ii, 331) are no doubt due to mistakes in copying (van Berchem, *J.A.*, ser. 9, ix, [1897], 457, note 2). At a later period, the pronunciation *Misyāf*, *Misyād* became usual (al-Dimashqī, ed. Mehren, p. 208; al-Kalḥashandī, *Sukh al-Aḥḥād*, Cairo, iv, 113; Ibn al-Shihīr, *Harīrī*, p. 265; cf. *Masyāf* in v. Oppenheim's map in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, lvi, [1911], ii, Taf. 11). The name is perhaps a corruption of a Greek *Μαρία* (= *Maria*) or *Μαριον κίου*, which presumably lay on the *Mariyat amni*, the boundary river of the Nasirini (ancestors of the Nuṣairiyya; *Nat. Hist.*, v, 81) (cf. Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencyklopädie*, xiv, Col. 1985 sq., s. *Mariyat*, No. 3).

A number of ancient pillars and capitals built into the gates of the fortress (some reproduced in G. L. Bell, *Syria: The Desert and the Sea*, p. 217—220) are its only remains of antiquity. An old Roman road (*rayf*) from Hamā to the west passed the town (according to Miss Bell, *loc. cit.*).

Masyād is not mentioned in the early middle ages; the first mention of the fortress is probably in a Frankish account of the advance of the Crusaders in 1099: *pervenimus gaudentes hospitari ad quoddam Arabum castrum* (*Anonymi gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, ed. Hagenmeyer, 1890, p. 418 with note 29; Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Nuṣairis*, Paris 1900, p. 21,

note 4). When in 503 (1109—1110), the Franks advanced on Rafaniya, Tuḡhtakīn set out to relieve it; by the terms of the peace concluded between them, the Franks bound themselves to abandon all designs on Masyād and Ḥiṣn al-Akrād and in compensation these two places and Ḥiṣn Ṭufān were to pay them tribute (Sibt b. al-Jawālī, *Muḥṭaṭṭar al-Zamān*, in *Rec. Hist. Or. Crois.*, iii, 537). Before 521 (1127) the fortress was in possession of a branch of the Mirdāsids, who sold it to the Banī Munqidh. After the Nuṣairi citadels of Qadmūs and al-Kahf had fallen into the hands of the Imā'illīs in 527 (1132—1133), the latter also seized the fortress of Masyād in 535 (1140—1141), by outwitting the commandant Suḡkur, a mamlūk in the service of the Banī Munqidh of Shaizar, who was surprised and slain (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Muḥṭaṭṭar fi Ḥabār al-Bihar*, in *Rec. Hist. Or. Crois.*, i, 25; Ibn al-Aṭhir, *Kāmil*, *ibid.*, i, 438; al-Nuwairī, *Coel. Leyden* 2^m, i, 222b, in van Berchem, *J.A.*, 1897, p. 464, note 1). Masyād now became the residence of the Syrian 'Master' of the sect (as we may call him, with van Berchem, to distinguish him from the Grand Master in Alamūt), known as *Shaykh al-Djabal*. After the Master (*Muḥaddim*) Abū Muḥammad had gathered round him the members of the sect in the hills of Qadmūs, about 557 (1162) Kāshid al-Dīn Sīnān [q. v.] appeared in Syria, as envoy from the Persian Grand Master, took over command of the Assassins [q. v.] there and displayed his unusual organising ability, by raising the sect to be a well equipped and dreaded force, the terror of the Crusaders. Saladin, who wanted to punish them for two attempts on his life, invaded the land of the Imā'illīs in Muḥarram 572 (July-Aug. 1176), laid it waste and laid siege to Sīnān in Ḥalāt Masyād. Through the mediation of Saladin's uncle Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥarīmī, lord of Hamā, Sīnān however succeeded in obtaining Saladin's forgiveness; in the beginning of August, he went with his army to Hamā (Abū'l-Fidā' and Ibn al-Aṭhir, in *Rec. Hist. Or. Crois.*, i, 47, 626). Shortly before he raised the siege of Masyād (about the 1st Šafar), he received from Usāma b. Munqidh, who was in Damascus, a letter containing a panegyric of his great patron (Derenbourg, *Vie d'Usāma*, Paris 1893, p. 400 sq.). Rāshid al-Dīn died in 588 (Sept. 1192). The Syrian Masters, as the official epithet *al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn* henceforth regularly borne by them shows, were raised by him to a position with power and privileges equal to those of sovereign rulers (van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 470). While Sīnān had completely emancipated himself from the suzerainty of the headquarters of the sect in Alamūt, in 608 we find the old conditions completely restored (Abū Shāma, *al-Dhail fi'l-Rawḍatayn*, in van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 475 sqq., note 1). According to an inscription in the inner gate of the castle (van Berchem, *J.A.*, 1897, p. 482 = van Berchem-v. Oppenheim, *Beiträge z. Assyriol.*, viii/1, p. 17, No. 18), this building was restored by the Syrian Master Kamāl al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Mas'ūd under the suzerainty of the Grand Master of Alamūt 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad III (618—653). The reference is probably to the al-Kamāl, who according to al-Nasawī (*Hisht. al-Sultān Djalāl al-Dīn Munkshirī*, ed. Houdas, p. 132) was for a period before 624, governor in Syria for the grand master of the Imā'illīs. It is uncertain whether the commandant (*mutawallī*)

Majd al-Dīn, who received in 624 the ambassadors of Frederick II (Hamawi in Amari, *Bibl. arabico-sinica*, App. II, p. 30) was one of the Masters (van Berchem, *J.A.*, 1897, p. 501, note 1). About 625/6 and still in 635, Sirāḡ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Husain was Syrian Master (Nasawi, *op. cit.*, p. 168; inscription of al-Kahf, ed. van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 488). A Persian from Alamūt, Tāḡ al-Dīn, was in 637 *mukaddam* of the Syrian Ismā'īlīs (Ibn Wāṣil, *Geschichte der Ayyūbiden*, Paris, MS. Ar. 1702, f. 333^b in van Berchem, p. 466, note 2). As Tāḡ al-Dīn Abū'l-Futūḥ he appears in an inscription in Masyād of Dhū'l-Ḥa'da 646 (Feb.-March 1249), according to which he had built the city wall of Masyād and its south gate. The commander of the fortress under him was 'Abd Allāh b. Abī 'l-Faḡl b. 'Abd Allāh (inscriptions A and B in van Berchem, *J.A.*, 1897, p. 456 = van Berchem-v. Oppenheim, *Beitr. z. Assyriol.*, *op. cit.*, N^o 19). Probably it was Tāḡ al-Dīn to whom the Dominican monk Yvo the Breton, a member of an embassy sent by Louis IX to the "Old Man of the Mountains" in May 1250, sent a naive and fruitless appeal for his conversion (Jean de Joinville, *Hist. de St. Louis*, ed. Wailly, p. 246 *seq.*; van Berchem, *J.A.*, 1897, p. 478-480). In the time of the Master Ridā' al-Dīn Abū'l-Ma'ālī in 658 (1260) the Tatars seized and held the fortress for a time, but after the victory of the Egyptian Sulṭān Ḥuṭus at 'Ain Djalūt, they abandoned it. About two years later Baiḥars began to interfere in the affairs of the Ismā'īlīs and to demand tribute from them. He very soon deposed the Master Naḡm al-Dīn Ismā'īl and appointed his son-in-law Šarīm al-Dīn Muḥarak in his place and took Masyād from him. When the latter returned there, Baiḥars had him seized and brought to Cairo, where he was thrown into prison. Naḡm al-Dīn was again recognised as Master for a brief period and then his son Šams al-Dīn, before the Sulṭān definitely incorporated Masyād in his kingdom in Raḡlab 668 (1270) (Abū 'l-Fida', in *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, i. 153; Mufaddal b. Abī 'l-Faḡl, *Gesch. d. Mamlūkensultane*, ed. Blochet, in *Patrol. Orient.*, xiv. 445; van Berchem, *J.A.*, 1897, p. 465, note 2).

Masyād presumably at first belonged to the "royal province of fortunate conquests" the capital of which was Hīn al-Akrād, then to Tarfūbulus (after its capture in 688). It was later separated from this province and added to the *niyāba* of Dimashk to which it still belonged in the time of Kaḡashandī (*Subḥ al-Aḡḡā*, Cairo, iv. 113, 202, 235) about 814 (1412). Khalīl al-Zāhirī (*Zublat Kaḡf al-Mamālīk*, ed. Ravaisse, p. 49) includes Masyād with Hamā (about 850). Under Egyptian rule the position of the lands of the Ismā'īlīs with Masyād as capital was to some extent exceptional (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'Époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. 182, N^o 3).

Abū 'l-Fida' (about 720 = 1320) described Masyād as an important town, with beautiful gardens through which streams flowed; it had a strong citadel and lay at the eastern base of the Djabal al-Lakkām (more accurately Djabal al-Sikkīn) about a *farsakh* north of Bārin and a day's journey west of Hamā (not Hims, as Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 507 erroneously says; Abū 'l-Fida', *Geogr.*, ed. Reinaud, p. 229 *sq.*). As a result of its high situation, it has a more temperate climate than the low ground on the Nahr al-'Aṣī; the young Usāma

in 516 (1122-1123) brought to Masyād the wife and children of the emir of Shalzar, his uncle 'Izz al-Dīn Abū 'l-'Aḡkīr Sulṭān, from the heat of Shalzar which was causing the emir anxiety about their health (Derenbourg, *Vie d'Ousama*, p. 43).

The Baḡḡā passed through Masyād in 756 (1355) and al-Nābulusī in 1105 (1693-1694). The latter mentions that the governor of the town then was a certain Sulaimān of the tribe of Taḡḡḡ. An inscription of Masyād of Ramaḡān 870 (April-May 1466) contains a decree about taxes of the Sulṭān al-Malik al-Zāhir *Khushkadam* (van Berchem-v. Oppenheim, *Beitr. z. Assyriol.*, vii. p. 20, N^o 23; N^o 22 is perhaps of the same Malik al-Zāhir). Of a later date are two inscriptions of an emir Muṣṭafā b. Idrīs, one of the year 1203 (1788-1789) relating to the building of a well (*sabil*) (*op. cit.*, p. 21, N^o 24), the other (N^o 25) of 1208 (1793-1794) to the building of the house of the Ismā'īlī emirs.

The Ismā'īlīs lived constantly in open or secret enmity with the Nuṣairīs, although various tribes of the latter had offered their services to the Ismā'īlī Masters, for example as early as 724 (1324) to Raḡhīd al-Dīn (Guyard, *Un grand maître des Assassins au temps de Saladin*, *J.A.*, v. 1877, p. 165; Dussaud, *Histoire et Religion des Nuṣairīs*, p. 80). A number of Nuṣairīs of the tribe of Raḡlān, whom the emir of Masyād had allowed to settle in the town under their Shaikh Maḡmūd, in 1808 murdered the emir, his son and about 300 Ismā'īlīs and seized the town. The other inhabitants, who had sought refuge in flight, applied for protection to Yūsuf Paḡḡā, the governor of Damascus. He sent a punitive expedition of 4-5,000 men against the Nuṣairīs; Masyād had to be surrendered by the Banī Raḡlān after three months' stubborn resistance and the fugitive Ismā'īlīs returned to Masyād in 1810 (Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 32; Burckhardt, *Reisen in Syrien*, p. 258). In 1812 Burckhardt estimated the population of Masyād at 250 Ismā'īlīs and 30 Christian families. The population since then seems to have diminished still further. Burckhardt and Lammens found many houses in the town in ruins and large gardens within its walls. According to Burckhardt, the land east of the town is a desert moor, while in the north at the foot of the hills the citadel stands on a high steep rock; on the west side is a valley, in which the inhabitants grow wheat and oats. The town, which lies on the slope of a hill is about half an hour's walk, in circumference. Three older gates have been incorporated in the present more modern walls. The mosque is in ruins. The citadel has an outer wall from which the inner defences are reached by a vaulted passage (G. L. Bell, *Syria: The Desert and the Town*, p. 218). The old citadel is for the most part destroyed; only a few buildings have been roughly restored and in parts are still inhabited.

Bibliography: Yaḡnī, *Muḡam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 556 [the article *Safad*, also Yaḡnī, iii. 399, according to Dussaud, *Syrie*, iv. 332^b, is based on a misspelling of *Masyād*]; Sulṭ al-Dīn, *Muḡam al-Iḡlāḡ*, ed. Juyḡboll, iii. 111; Ibn al-Aṡḡir, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xi. 52; Abū 'l-Fida', *Taḡwīm al-Bulḡān*, ed. Reinaud, p. 229 *sq.*; al-Dimashkī, ed. Mehren, p. 208; Ibn Baḡḡā, ed. Desfrémery-Sanguinetti, i. 166; Khalīl al-Zāhirī, *Zublat Kaḡf al-Mamālīk*, ed. Ravaisse, p. 49; Ibn al-Shihna, *al-Diār al-muntaḡḡab fī Ta'rikḡ Mamlakat Ḥalab*, Beirut 1909, p. 265; 'Umarī,

Tārīf, Cairo 1312, p. 182; transl. by R. Hartmann, *Z.D.M.G.*, lxx. [1916], p. 36, with note 11; Kalkashandi, *Subḥ al-Aḥḥād*, Cairo, iv. 113 [where in l. 13 the words *ḥamā* wa- should be deleted, cf. l. 141]; al-Nābulusi, transl. v. Kremer, *S.B. Ab. Wien*, 1850, II, p. 331; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 81, 352, 507; Gaudelroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. 77, 182 sq.; J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, London 1822, p. 150 sq.; German by Gesenius, p. 254 sq.; Quatremère, in *Fundgruben des Orients*, iv. 340, note c); Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii. 822, 918, 922, 935, 967 sq., 972 sq.; E. G. Rey, *Rapport sur une mission scientifique dans le Nord de la Syrie* (1864—1865), in *Archives des missions scient. et litt.*, Ser. II, III, Paris 1866, p. 344; R. Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, p. 191, No. 715 (1193 A.D.); H. Derembourg, *Vie d'Ousma*, Paris 1893, p. 8, 43, 281, 399 sq.; van Berchem, *Epigraphie des Assyriens de Syrie*, in *J.A.*, Ser. ix., ix. [1897], p. 453—501; R. Dussaud, *Rev. archéol.*, 1897, I. 349; do., *Histoire et religion des Nafsirs* (= *Bibl. de l'école des hautes études*, fasc. cxxix.), Paris 1900, p. 21, note 4, 23, 32, 80; do., *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, p. 142 sq., 153, 187; H. Lammens, *Au pays des Nafsirs*, in *R.O.C.*, v. [1900], p. 423—427; G. L. Bell, *Syria: The Desert and the Snow*, London 1907, p. 218 sq.; German transl. entitled: *Durch die Wästen u. Kulturstätten Syriens*, Leipzig 1908, 21910, p. 211 sq.; M. v. Oppenheim, *Z.G. Erdk. Berl.*, xxxvi [1901], p. 74; do. and van Berchem, *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopot., Kleinasien*, 1913 (= *Beiträge z. Assyriol.*, VII/1), p. 17—22; also the literature given under ASSAOLUS.

(E. HONIGMANN)

MATĀLĪ (See MATĀLA).

MATAMMĀ, a town in the Eastern Sūdān (province of Kasaala, district of Gallabat). Matammā has a remarkable importance as a market on the Sūdāno-Ethiopian frontier near the route of the caravans between the Abyssinian region of Lake Tānā and Khartūm. Its economic value has greatly increased on account of the development of agriculture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān and the new survey of Lake Tānā as a possible reservoir of water to extend irrigation in the Sūdān and Egypt and by this means to increase and intensify the culture of the cotton which is the principal source of prosperity in those countries.

Matammā is famous in the recent history of Ethiopia because the Emperor (*Negusa Negast*) Yohannes IV was defeated and killed in the neighbourhood of this town by the so-called Darāwīsh of the Sūdānese Mahdī, March 10, 1889 A.D. (1st *magāhāt* 1881 of the Abyssinian era). The Emperor was preparing an expedition against Shawā to oblige Menilek, King of that country, to recognise definitely his vassallage to the Ethiopian Crown. But, when he was informed that a corps of Darāwīsh had advanced as far as the frontier and that the zone of Lake Tānā with the ancient capital, Gondar, was menaced by the fanatic followers of the Mahdī, he came back to the Northern regions with his army, and met the Darāwīsh at Matammā. After a strenuous fight the Emperor Yohannes IV himself was killed and the Abyssinians were defeated.

The Darāwīsh cut the head of Yohannes and sent it to the Mahdī as a sign of their victory.

The battle of Matammā however had no greater value for the Mahdī's followers than a successful razzia: they retreated to the Sūdān after pillaging some neighbouring countries and did not occupy any territory of Ethiopia. On the contrary, Matammā caused the end of the Northern Abyssinian dynasties; and the southern region—the Shawā kingdom—became the political centre of the Empire, when in the same year, 1889 A.D., King Menilek proclaimed himself Emperor (*Negusa Negast*) as a descendant of the Salomonic dynasty.

The death of the Emperor Yohannes as a martyr during the battle against the Muslims, hereditary enemies of the Christian Abyssinians, has been celebrated in many songs and poems. The following is a very interesting example of the Abyssinian poetry in recent times:

"The Emperor Yohannes was a fool,
and we all despise him!

They said to him: "Reign in the middle of
the country!"

He answered: "I will be the keeper of the
frontier!"

The Emperor Yohannes was a liar!

He said: "I do not like drink!"

And we have seen him drinking
a drink which causes the head to turn
around!"

(The last verses allude to the head of the Emperor sent to the Mahdī by the Darāwīsh).

Bibliography: Afawarḥ Gabra Iyasus, *Digwān Menilek*, Rome 1909; Blätté Khery Walda Sellāsē, *Ṭopya-nuṣṣā Matammā*, Addis Ababa 1918; C. Rossetti, *Storia diplomatica della Etiopia*, Turin 1910; E. Cerulli, *Canti popolari amarici*, in *R.R.A.L.*, xxv., 1916; do., *Una raccolta amarica di canti funebri*, in *R.S.O.*, x., 1924. (ENRICO CERULLI)

MATGHARA, the name of a Berber tribe belonging to the great family of the Butr; they were related to the Zanāta and brethren of the Maṣmāṣa, Kūmya, Lamāya, Saddīna, Madyāna, Maghla etc., with whom they form the racial group of the Banū Fāṭin. Like the other tribes belonging to this group, the Matghara originally came from Tripolitania; the most eastern members of the Maighara, however, known to al-Bakri and Ibn Khaldūn were those who lived in the mountainous regions along the Mediterranean from Milyāna and Teues to the north of Unjdā (port of Tibahrīt); those of the western part of this zone were allied with the Kūmya; their mountain rose not far from Naḍrūna and the fortress of Tawunt was on their territory.

Three sections had reached the western Maghrib as early as the eighth century and there formed an important bloc. These were:

1. The Matghara of Fās and the ouloir of Tāzā; al-Bakri observes that the source of the Wādī Fās was on their territory, in the region where Leo Africanus still mentions the *Sah al-khamis* of the Maighara "fifteen miles west of Fās".

2. The Matghara of the Middle Atlas in the Djebel Matghara which Ibn Khaldūn locates S.E. (still) of Fās and which Leo Africanus says is five miles from Tāzā (to the south). The reference then is to the mountain region now occupied by the Ait Wārdin; an important section of the latter, the Ait Djellidāsen, represents the Banū Gallidāsen

whom al-Bakr gives as a section of the Matghara, settled near Tenes in Algeria. We still find among the Ait Wārsin several sections of the Imghilen who represent the Maghilla, brethren of the old Matghara.

In al-Bakr's time (vth = 11th century) these two sections of the Matghara had as neighbours in the west, the Zawāgha of Fāzā and of Tidlā.

3. The Matghara of the oases of the Sahara settled in the region of Salfimāssa and in the town itself, in which they constitute the main element of the population, in the region of Figig, in Tuwat, Tāmanijt and as far away as Wallao (Ouallen).

At the beginning of the Arab conquest, the Matghara are represented by Ibn Khaldūn as settled and living in huts built of branches of trees (ḥḥaḥ); those of the Sahara lived in fortified villages (ḥḥḥ) and devoted themselves to growing dates. In the time of Leo Africanus, the Matghara of the Central Atlas occupied about fifty large villages.

Like other peoples belonging to the group of the Banū Fāṭim, the Matghara took an active part in the events at the beginning of the Arab conquest and weakened themselves considerably in the fighting. As soon as they had become converted to Islām, a number of bodies of Matghara went over to Spain and settled there. Later, like their brethren, the Matmāṭa, they adopted the principles of the Ḥafṣiya; one of their chiefs, Maṣṣara, provoked the famous schismatic rising of 740, which was the beginning in Morocco of the Baraghwāṭa heresy. In a list of the tribes which adopted this heretical teaching we find the Matmāṭa and Matghara of the Central Atlas, as well as the Banū Aḥd Naar, the modern Ait Bū-Naār, the eastern section of the Ait Wārsin.

With the rise of Idrīs, the chief of the Matghara, Bahlūl, declared himself at first a supporter of the caliph of Baghdad, Ḥārūn al-Rashid, then rallied to the new dynasty. Later and down to the xvth century, the Matghara of the Central Atlas do not seem to have played any part in politics; they retained their independence at least. From the xvth century, they seem to have been supplanted on their territory by invaders from the south. As to the Matghara of the shore, settled in the region of Nadrūma, their alliance with the Kūmya gained them considerable political importance, when the latter became supporters of the Almohads. It was at this period that they built the fortress of Tāwunt. They then rallied to the Marinids but this brought upon them the wrath of the ruler of Tlemcen, the celebrated Yaḥyāmurāsān, who finally crushed them.

Ibn Khaldūn uses the form *Matghara* instead of *Matghara*; in Moroccan texts of late date we also find *Matghara*.

Bibliography: al-Bakr and al-Idrīs, *indicis*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIṣṣar*, transl. de Slane, i. 237—241; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Schefer, ii. 54 and 342; iii. 71 and 225.

MATHAL (A., pl. *amthal*) is originally by etymology, like the Eth. *mesl*, *mesall*, Aram. *mathal* and Hebrew *māḥal* (see O. Eissfeldt, *Der Mathal im Alten Testament*, *Beiträge zur Z.A.T.W.*, xxiv, Giessen 1913), simile, comparison; as popular sayings commonly appear in this form, the term was applied to them in general and thus obtained the general sense of proverb and popular saying. The fondness for similes and allusions,

which is common to all primitive cultures, survived among the Semites and especially among the Arabs with great tenacity and therefore plays an important part, even in the higher forms of literature. The simplest form of metaphor usually draws parallels between man and beast. Of a sleepless man, one says *tāta ḥi-lallat anḥala* (or *anḥala*) "he spent the night like a hedgehog" (Abū Ḥilāl al-ʿAskari, *Maḥṣan al-Amthal*, on the margin of Maḥṣan, Cairo 1310, i. 109, 15; *Lisān al-ʿArab*, iv. 437) and with the downrightness beloved by the Arabs the good example and educative influence of a leader or father is described as *ḥāla ḥimār* "as a donkey" (*al-Maḥṣan*, *Maḥṣan al-Amthal*, Cairo 1310, i. 64, 65). The comparison to animals is also used to indicate veiled mockery of unpleasant social conditions as *al-ḥuḥḥ* "fi arḍihā yastanziru" "here among us the sparrow plays the falcon" (al-ʿAskari, i. 193, 20). Such proverbs are sometimes developed into regular fables (see Brockelmann, *Fabel und Tiermärchen in der älteren arab. Literatur*, *Islamica*, ii. 96—128). Among them we find much that is common to all nations, which it is hardly ever possible to trace back to a single source (cf. the discussion on the "goat and knife": *Z. D. M. G.*, xlv. 757 1897; xlvii. 86 1899), unless the origin is as well known as that of the two bulls from the *Katila wa-Dimna*, which is given by al-ʿAskari, i. 47, 16 1899, and therefore 'Alī cannot have applied it to his relationship to Othmān.

But the circumstances of everyday life also provide material for similes which usually take the form *af'ala min*, as in those which al-ʿAskari and al-Maḥṣan quote at the end of each chapter of their collections of proverbs arranged in alphabetical order. Even quite banal happenings may pass into proverbs (*fa-ṣārat* or *dhakalat mathalan* or *ḥuriba* *ḥāla* "mathalan", as so many Arabic stories end), like the story of Kū'is of whom we know no more than that his aunt once gave him as a surety and never redeemed him (al-Muḥṣan b. Salama, *al-Faḥḥir*, ed. Storey, p. 24, N. 61); or the story of the poor woman selling butter of whom a rogue took advantage after inducing her to build two skins of butter firmly together in her hands (*al-Faḥḥir*, p. 70, N. 147). But the memory of important historical events is also perpetuated in proverbial sayings, like that of the fratricidal war between the Bakr and Taghlib provoked by Raḥḥa (*al-Faḥḥir*, p. 76, N. 157); al-Muḥṣan in his *al-Faḥḥir*, p. 217—231, and al-Maḥṣan, ii. 38—47, therefore give the most notable battles of the Arabs in their lists of proverbs and proverbial allusions. Many incidents of the Muslim period have attained equal renown, like Mu'awiya's exclamation of joy on hearing that al-ʿAshṭar had been poisoned (see above, i. 504; al-Maḥṣan, i. 8, 19) or the memory of the fine voice of the two singers of the bon vivant Caliph Yazīd b. ʿAḥd al-Malik (al-Maḥṣan, i. 137, 22). It is however not always epoch-making events that are handed down to posterity in this way, like the stormy night in the time of the Caliph al-Mahdi, which provoked him and his retinue to do such penance (al-Maḥṣan, i. 176, 22); or the story of the defeat and fall of the Khāḥḥ, apparently that chief of the Khuttal, whom Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh conquered in the year 119 (737), which, according to Tahart, ii. 1616, made a great sensation at the court of Ḥishām, while Muḥṣan in *al-Faḥḥir*, p. 80, 22 1897, refers it to the fighting

to the Prophet and his Companions. The *Amthal al-Nabi*, which circulated outside the canonical collections of Tradition were collected by Ibn Khallād al-Rāmhurmuzī (*Fihrist*, p. 155) and Abū Hilāl al-Askari; al-Maidāni accuses the latter of being uncritical and quotes in his preface as an example of genuine Hadīth the parable of the good and bad companion in Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (ed. Krehl, ii. 17). This does not prevent him however from putting in his collection a series of sayings of the Prophet, as his predecessors had done, and at the end of his book compiling a special chapter of them, which also includes sayings of the first Caliphs. Special popularity was always enjoyed — not only among Shīʿis — by sayings attributed to 'Alī. Ibn Kutayba in his *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār*, in the fifth book, *K. al-ʿIlm wa ʿl-Bayān* (cod. Köpr., fol. 155b), already uses a collection of this kind, such as was current in various recensions (anonymous in *al-Tuḥfa al-baḥiyya*, Stambul 1302, p. 107—114), e.g. in alphabetical order by 'Abd al-Wahid b. Muḥammad al-ʿAmīdī, about 510 (1116), entitled *Ḥawār al-Ḥikam wa-Duʿar al-Kalim*, lith. Bombay 1280 and also edited in Persian and Turkish (s. i. 299, and also W. Yule, *Apophthegms of Ali the son of Abo Talib* [Maṭṭūb kull Ṭalīb] with an early Persian paraphrase and an Engl. translation, Edinburgh 1832; *Sad Kalimāt-i Maṭṭūb-i Muttaḥḥiyān Amir al-Muʾminin*, Teherān 1304; *Nāṭir al-Lāʾil*, the second coll. in Fleischer, with Turk. paraphrase by Muʾallim Nāḍi entitled *Amthal ʿAlī*, Stambul 1313; with Turk. comm. by Naṣīb entitled *Ḥikāt-i Dīwānī*, Stambul 1257).

Numerous also are the proverbs which have a metrical form, while it is impossible to say whether the poets, in whose *Dīwāns* they are, originated the idea or only gave it its form. Al-Sakkārī (*Fihrist*, p. 78) and ʿUyayna b. al-Minhāl (*ibid.*, p. 48, 108) collected such *adwiyat*. A fine collection has been made by al-Ibshīhī in the *Kitaḥ al-Mustafāf*, Cairo 1320, i. 27 199. Among such metrical sayings are some by the greatest poets of the pagan period like Tarafū (*al-Fāḥir*, p. 254, 509; al-Maidāni, i. 161), Imrūʿalqais ('Askari, i. 255 = Maidāni, i. 133), Labid ('Askari, i. 37) and by later poets like al-Farazdaq (*al-Fāḥir*, p. 250, No. 496; al-'Askari, ii. 46) and Muṭʿ b. Iyās, whose two palms of Hulwān ('Askari, i. 297, 452; Maidāni, i. 297) are famous. From a misunderstanding of a verse of Farazdaq's in which the way to 'Unṣulain is mentioned (Maidāni, i. 38; quoted by Yāqūt, iii. 736), this verse became typical of taking the wrong way. Al-Mutanabbī's verses that have passed into the language have been collected by Ismāʿīl al-Ṭalāḳānī, d. 385 = 995 (Yāqūt, *Iʿzāz*, vi. 501—518; Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿat*, p. 35), in *al-Amthal al-ʿalīya min Ṣaʿr al-Mutanabbī* (*Fihrist*, Cairo 2, iii. 23).

Proverbs excited the interest of the learned from the very beginning of Arabic literature; historians and philologists emulated one another in collecting and explaining them. Thus we find among the sources of the works that have survived to us the old historians and geographers like al-Sharḥī b. al-Kaṭmī (Wüstenfeld, *Geographische*, No. 23) and 'Awāna b. al-Hakam (*ibid.*, No. 27) and Abū ʿl-Yakṣan (*ibid.*, p. 36; *al-Fāḥir*, p. 253), the two former very often as authorities for Hishām b. al-Kalbi, to whom with the great monographer Muḥammad b. Hāshim (Wüstenfeld, No. 59), Zubair b. Bekkār (*ibid.*, p. 61) and al-Maḥḥimī (*ibid.*, p. 47), we owe

most of the legendary and historical material. Almost all the philologists of note have devoted special works to the subject. To their interest in language is to be ascribed the fact that the limits of the scope of the subject are extended to include phrases and idioms which have really nothing to do with the proverb and, as for example *laʿman ʿl-lāḥ* (*al-Fāḥir*, p. 7), do not seem to require explanation; but we owe, for example, to al-Mufaḍḍal the interesting note that it had become a habit with some Syrian Arabs to use the Greek *φωρ*, "says he". The oldest work of the kind that has survived is the *Kitaḥ al-Amthal* of al-Mufaḍḍal al-Dabbī († 170 = 786), pr. Stambul 1300. The next oldest, that of Abū ʿUṣaid al-Kāsim b. Sallām al-Harawī (d. about 223 = 837), is preserved in a number of Stambul MSS. (s. Rescher, *Z.D.M.G.*, liiv. 517, No. 43; *M.S.O.S.*, xiv. 6; *M.O.*, vii. 123), and in the Escorial (Derebourg, *Lévi-Provençal*, No. 1757), also the commentary by 'Abd Allāh al-Bakrī (d. 487 = 1094), *ibid.*, No. 526 and Lāleli, No. 1795; printed as No. 1 of the *al-Tuḥfa al-baḥiyya*, Stambul 1302, p. 2—16; on the other hand, the work dealt with by E. Bertheau in his *Dias*, Göttingen 1836 (s. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, iii. vii—xi.) is much more recent. The *Kitaḥ al-Fāḥir* of al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, a pupil of Ibn al-Aʿlān (d. 231), has been edited by C. A. Storey for the "De Goeje Foundation", Leyden 1915. The specially numerous proverbs of the form *afaʿu min* were collected by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (d. between 450—460 = 960—970) in a work which only survives in a unique MS. in Munich (see Mittwoch, in *M.S.O.S.*, 1909, p. 33 197), which was much used by later writers, and copied word for word by al-Maidāni for the corresponding section of his book. Abū Hilāl al-'Askari (d. after 395 = 1005) compiled the *Dīwanharat al-Amthal*, extant in several MSS. in Stambul (see Rescher, *Z.D.M.G.*, liiv. 513; *M.F.O.B.*, v. 501; *M.S.O.S.*, xiv. 36) and printed at Bombay in 1306—1307 as well as on the margin of Maidāni (Cairo 1310), in which an attempt was made for the first time to annotate each proverb from the philological and historical point of view, excluding all post-classical material, to which Ḥamza had allotted considerable space. Al-Maidāni [q.v.] collected the material compiled by his predecessors in his *Maḥḥimāt al-Amthal* and expanded each section by an appendix on modern proverbs. This has since then been regarded as the standard work on the subject and not even Zamakhsharī's *Kitaḥ al-Mustafāf* s. *ʿl-Amthal*, although also much read (to the MSS. mentioned in *G.A.L.*, i. 202, sive. may now be added the following in Stambul, *M.S.O.S.*, xiv. 15; *R.S.O.*, iv. 708; *M.O.*, vii. 97, 102, 123; also Ḥāḡa, No. 991; Dīmāzādī, No. 1557; Scutari, *Z.D.M.G.*, lxviii. 58; Brussa, *ibid.*, p. 50; Mōyul, *Dawūd al-Makhḥḥimāt al-Mamḥḥimāt*, p. 329, 33, Cairo; *Fihrist* 2, iii. 355), could according to Ḥāḡdī Khallīf, No. 11421, permanently affect its popularity. Al-Māwardī's [q.v.] book, like the different collections of sentiments made by al-Zamakhsharī, was from the first intended to deal rather with the literature than with the language of the people.

It was not till the xixth century that interest in the east was again aroused in proverbs under the influence of European scholarship. Almost all works on modern Arabic dialects contain collections of proverbs (cf. the lists which could of

course now be very much extended in A. Fischer, *M.S.O.S. Ar.*, i. 198—199 and E. Löffmann, *Arabie Peninsul* collected by Mrs. A. P. Singer, Cairo 1913, p. ix.; in addition to the works by modern Orientalists there quoted we may mention: Ibrāhīm Sarrīs Lubnānī, *al-Durra al-yatima fī 'l-Amḥāl al-badima*, Bairūt 1871; Maḥmūd Ef. 'Omar al-Baḥārī, *Kitāb Amḥāl al-mutakallimīn min 'Arā'imin al-Miṣrīyīn* (allāghī ḥaddamān fī 'l-Mu'tamar al-'ilmi al-ḥamīd bi-Bilād al-Sūd wa 'l-Norwajī min Mamālīk Urūḥa Sumat 1889 mil.), Cairo 1311; Ṭahīr b. Šāliḥ al-Djāzārī (cf. M. Kurd 'Alī, in *R.A.A.D.*, viii. 576—596, 666—679), *Azḥār al-Amḥāl*, Cairo 1338; cf. O. Rescher, *Ethnologisches im arabischen Sprichwort*, *Jl.*, ii. 98—101; iii. 178.

Bibliography: in the article and T. A. Stephens and W. Bonser, *Proverb Literature*, London 1930, p. 355—370 and 395—399.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

AL-MATHĀNĪ, a term of uncertain meaning which occurs twice in the *Qur'ān*, namely in Sūra xv. 87: "and we have brought thee seven of the *mathānī* and the noble *Qur'ān*", and Sūra xxxix. 24: "Allah sent down the most beautiful recital, a book which is in harmony with itself, *mathānī*, at which the skin of those who fear their Lord creeps".

The interpretation of the word is made more difficult by the fact that in the latter passage it seems to mean the *Qur'ān* itself, in the former, on the other hand, something similar to the *Qur'ān*.

In Tabart (*Tafsīr*, xiv. 32 sq.; cf. xlii. 124 sq.) we find the following opinions:

a. Muṣṣā was given six out of the seven *mathānī*; two were lost when he broke the tablets. The seven *mathānī* are like seven long suras, i.e. ii-vii. and a seventh, on the identity of which there is a difference of opinion; it is either Sūra x. or viii. and ix. combined.

b. The seven *mathānī* mean the *Paṭiḥa* which contains six verses. These with the *ḥasmata* in the beginning make seven. It is called the *mathānī*, i.e. repetitions, because it is repeated in the *ṣalāt*'s at each *ra'ī'a*. This explanation is supported by quoting the term *mutaṭṭabib* ("in harmony with itself") which immediately precedes the word *mathānī* in Sūra xxxix. 24.

c. The *mathānī* means the *Qur'ān* in general. Ḥadīth hesitates among these interpretations a. (Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra ix., trad. 1; cf. Bukhārī, *Aḥḥād*, bāb 106) and b. (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra i., bāb 1; Sūra xv., bāb 3; *Faṭṭā' al-Ḳur'ān*, bāb 9; Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra xv., trad. 3, 4; Naṣr's *Iftīḥ*, bāb 26).

Nor is there any unanimity in explaining the form *mathānī*. Rūdāwī on Sūra xxxix. 24 gives as the singular *mathānī*, *mathān* or *mathānīn*. Zamakhsharī gives *mathānī*. The latter form is found in the *Qur'ān* (Sūra iv. 3; xxxiv. 45; xxxv. 1) and in Ḥadīth (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 84; *Witr*, bāb 1; *Tahallūf*, bāb 10; Muslim, *Muṣṣaf*, trad. 145—148; Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 206 etc.) as a distributive, meaning "occurring in pairs". This meaning however would not be at all suitable for *mathānī*.

Geiger (*Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, p. 57 sq.) has already compared the Hebrew *miṣnā* (Aram. *mathānīṭā*). According to him then *mathānī* would mean the *Qur'ān* itself as a whole. His suggestion is approved by Noldeke-Schwally (*Geschichte des Qur'ān*, p. 114

sq.). Attention might further be called to the fact that *miṣnā* means a single law as well as the whole codex and from this could be derived the double meaning of *mathānī* (separate verses and the whole *Qur'ān*), a derivation which could be supported by the parallel double meaning of the word *Qur'ān* (single revelation and all revelation as a whole).

Sprenger (*Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, Berlin 1861, i. 463 sq.) explains the word from the Hebrew *shānā* "to repeat" and the conception from Sūra xxxix. 24, from which it would appear that the *mathānī* are part of the stories of punishment. This view has been adopted by D. H. Müller, *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form*, i. 43, 46, note 2; H. Grümme, *Mohammed*, ii. 77; N. Rhodokanakis, in *W. Z. K. M.*, xxv. 66 sq.; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, p. 26 sq. This would imply that, at least when Sūra xv. 87 was revealed, there were seven of these legends of punishment.

Early evidence of the use of the word outside of the *Qur'ān* is found in a poem of Abū 'l-Aswad al-Du'ālī (text and transl. by Noldeke, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xviii. 236 sq.; cf. thereon Bevan, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1921, p. 584 sq.; Horowitz, *op. cit.*). Here the *mathānī* are mentioned along with the *Māna*, "the seven versed" along with the "hundred versed" *sūras* of the *Qur'ān*. The exact content of these groups is unknown.

In conclusion it may be mentioned that Goldziher (*Z.D.M.G.*, lxi. 866 sq.) has called attention to a term *mathnāt*, which occurs in non-canonical tradition and is obviously a new formation modelled on the Hebrew *miṣnā*.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article: Th. Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge z. sem. Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 26; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-Ghaib*, iv. 110—112; al-Shayḥ, *al-Bān*, p. 124; Lisān al-'Arab, xviii. 127 sq.; Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v. *mathnan*.

(A. J. WESSINK)

MATHNAWĪ, a form of poetry in which each *baṭ* (verse) is normally a self-contained whole, grammatically complete and with the two *miṣrā's* (hemistichs) rhyming with one another and not — except accidentally — with the verses that follow. In Persian, Turkish, Turki and Urdu, poetic compositions of any length dealing with epic, romantic, ethical or didactic themes are of the *mathnawī* form, which probably originated in Persia. Dawlatshāh (ed. E. G. Browne, p. 29) relates a tradition that in the time of the Dailamite 'Aḥmad al-Dawla (d. 372=982) there was still to be found inscribed on the palace at Kaṣr-i Shīrīn a *baṭ* in "Old Persian" having the two hemistichs rhyming. There would appear to be no pre-Islamic Pahlavi verse of the kind extant, and the *mathnawī* form may be merely a development or expansion of the *maṣnū'* of the *paṭṭa* or *ghazal*. However that may be, in the oldest fragments of Muslim Persian literature that have come down to us, there are examples of the *mathnawī* as of the other forms of verse. Of these fragments the oldest belong to the work of Abū Shukr of Balkh, who is said, probably on that account, to have invented the *ghazal*. They appear to be parts of a series of narrative *mathnawīs* (cf. Asadi's *Lughat-i Furz*, ed. P. Horn, p. 29 of the Persian, and also p. 22 sq.). Alongside of them are to be found sufficient portions of the work of Rūdāwī (a later contemporary of his), to indicate that he also used the same form

for a translation of the *Kalīla u-Dimna* (Asadi, *op. cit.*, p. 19 *sqq.* and Dawlatshāh, p. 31). There is also a couplet in the *hasanī* metre indicating an erotic mathnawī (Asadi, p. 48; cf. Ethé, *Rudagi*, in *N.G.W. Golt.*, 1873, p. 735 *sqq.*).

The first complete poem that has survived of the *genre* is the *Shāh-nāma*, begun by Dīkī and completed by Firdawsi. Actually, apart from the arrangement of the rhyme, it is not of the regular mathnawī type. More characteristic is Firdawsi's *Yūsuf u-Zalikhā*, composed in the same metre (the *mutafā'īl*). It begins with a number of introductory sections of which the first is in praise of Allāh and the rest are headed respectively, "In praise of the Prophet", "In description of the king of Islām", "On the cause of the revelation of the Sūra of Joseph", "On the reason for setting down this narrative", etc. Then comes the story proper, commencing with the description of Jacob's working for Rachel and pursuing its way through the various episodes of Joseph's career until he becomes treasurer to the house of the vizier Potiphar, whose wife Zalikhā falls in love with the youth. When he refuses her advances she denounces him for wizardry to her husband. Here is introduced the often illustrated incident of the Egyptian ladies who, at a feast to which they had been invited by Zalikhā, catch sight of Joseph and are so astounded by his beauty that, without being conscious of what they are doing, they peel the skin from their hands instead of keeping their knives for their oranges. Then comes the account of the imprisonment of Joseph, the events that lead to his release and exaltation, the confusion of the wicked brethren, the repentance of Zalikhā, her rejuvenescence and marriage to Joseph, and the death of Jacob.

A contemporary of Firdawsi's, 'Unqurī, is credited with a mathnawī romance which has not survived: *Wāmīk u-Adhrā*. What purports to be a version of the story is given in a Turkish mathnawī by Lāmī (d. 940 = 1533), according to which, Wāmīk, a priest in a fire-temple, is described as having fallen in love with Adhrā, a maiden devoted to the cult. They are forced to part; Adhrā going to the frozen regions of the North and Wāmīk to the torrid lands of Ethiopia. They pine away in separation, and dying are turned into stars. The maiden becomes *Virgo* holding *Spica* in her hand, while Wāmīk becomes *Arcturus*. The story bears marks of being of Pahlavī origin, the Arabic names being only translations.

Of mathnawīs which have survived there follow chronologically two works of Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, namely the *Rawḥanī-nāma* and the *Se'ādat-nāma*, two ethico-didactic poems written in the *hasanī* metre. After them in time is usually put the romance of *Wīs u-Rūnīs*, ascribed by 'Awfi to Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī (d. 440 = 1048), who is said to have derived it from the Pahlavī. In the version which has come down to us (ed. W. N. Lees, Calcutta 1865), we have a tale of passion unrestrained, which Pizzi (*Persia Persiana*, II, 88) characterizes as a vulgar product of India in Akbar's time. In the tale, Wīs or Wīsa, the wife of Mōbad, king of Merw, has for her paramour her husband's brother Rūm or Rūmīn, who proves unfaithful to her but in the end marries her after Mōbad has been killed. If the work is genuine, it marks a step in the differentiation of the romantic from the epic mathnawī, being composed in the *hasanī* and

not the *mutafā'īl* metre which had hitherto been common to both.

The true creator of the romantic mathnawī is Nizāmī of Gandja, who, after beginning with the composition in that form entitled the *Maknūn al-A'war* — a collection of ethical and religious maxims interspersed with anecdotes, — wrote in succession the four other works which form his *Khamsa* or *Panji Ganj*. This quintet provided the model for all subsequent mathnawī writers. Strictly speaking, only the second, third and fourth of them are romances; namely (a), the *Khusrāw u-Shīrīn*, the story of the love of the Sāsānian prince Khusrāw Parwiz for the Christian princess Shīrīn, who is also loved by the mighty builder and engineer Farbūd, and of the latter's betrayal and tragic end; (b), the *Lailā u-Madjnūn*, the scene of which is laid in the desert and which shows the two lovers prevented from union by the hatred of their families for one another; and (c), the *Haft Paykar*, which has Bahram Gūr as its hero and consists of seven tales, each told to the king by one of his seven favourite wives. The *Sikandar-nāma*, which forms the fifth of the group, treats of the life of Alexander in epic style, but with a mystical touch in the later passages which makes him a prophet as well as a conqueror. Each of the five mathnawīs is prefaced by introductory sections similar to those in Firdawsi's *Yūsuf u-Zalikhā*, with the necessary changes for the names of patrons etc. and with a further section headed "On the *mīrās* of the Prophet" added in the works which follow the *Khusrāw u-Shīrīn*. Every imitator of Nizāmī's mathnawīs copies him in this respect as in others, so that even the xviiith century Judaeo-Persian *Danāsh-nāma* (by Khwāja Bakhārī, British Museum, MS. Or. 4743) has this introductory matter, though Moses is substituted for Muhammad in the section devoted to the Prophet.

The chief imitators of Nizāmī are, in Persian, Dīlāmī; in Turkish, Shaḡhī with his *Khusrāw u-Shīrīn* and Fuḡālī with his *Lailā u-Madjnūn*; in Turki, Mir 'Alī Shīr Nawa'i with his *Khamsa*; and in Urdu, Amin with a *Yūsuf u-Zalikhā*, Tadjallī with a *Lailā u-Madjnūn*, etc. (cf. G. de Tassy, *Auteurs Hindoustani*, Paris 1885, p. 30 *sqq.*).

The Mathnawī *par excellence*, i.e. the *Mathnawī-i Ma'nawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, is in a class by itself, being a long medley of the doctrines of Sūfism combined with parables, allegories, and pseudo-historical narratives. It is without the preliminary sections characteristic of the romantic mathnawī.

Arabic contains no poems of the mathnawī *genre*, but poems having the two *mīrās* of each *ball* rhyming together independently of the rest are known. The arrangement of the rhyme is known as *mawḍū'iyya*. Short specimens translated from Persian are quoted in Tha'alibī's *Yatimat al-Dahr* (iv, 23), and there are longer compositions, metrical grammars, by Harīrī (*Mulhat al-I'rāb*) and by Muhammad b. Malik (*Kifāh al-Afīya*) (for both of which see de Sacy, *Anthologie Arabe*, p. 134 *sqq.* and 145 *sqq.* of the Arabic text and p. 325, 356 of the notes).

The metres normally associated with the *mathnawī* form are those used by the masters in their compositions; *viz.*, in addition to those mentioned above, the *sarī* and *kāfīf* used by Nizāmī for *Maknūn al-A'war* and the *Haft Paykar* respectively;

2. The *ascensio obliqua* (fig. 2) of a point A in the ecliptic at any point is the curve γB of the equator the poles of which are P and P' , between the beginning of Aries and the horizon

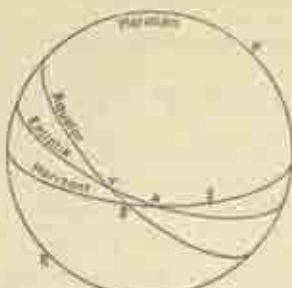


Fig. 2

at the moment in which this point rises (for any particular star S substitute "star" for "point of the ecliptic"; it is often also made to begin at Capricorn).

Tables for the *ascensio obliqua* can only be given for particular places as they differ from place to place. The *ascensio obliqua* however can easily be calculated from the *ascensio recta*.

The *ascensio obliqua* is called: *Maḥālī² al-Balad*, *M. al-Buldān*, *M. al-Iḥlīm* (of the clime), *M. ḥ al-Balad*, *M. ḥ al-Iḥlīm*, *M. al-baladīya*, *M. al-ufkiyya*, *M. ḥ al-Aḥlāk al-mū'ila*, *M. al-Burūḍ ḥ al-Kura al-mū'ila*, *M. al-Shurūḥ*. We may also note the terms *M. al-Naḥr* and *M. al-Waḥr*.

Ascensio recta: might perhaps be translated direct or spherical ascension and *ascensio obliqua* by local ascension.

Arab astronomers, following Ptolemy, have proposed the following formulae for the *ascensio obliqua*. If δ is the plane of the ecliptic, δ the declination of the point A on the ecliptic, α its right ascension and r the number of parts (usually 60) into which the radius is divided (with the later Arabs and modern astronomers $r = 1$) then according to al-Khwarizmi and al-Battāni, we have:

$$\sin \alpha_1 = \frac{\sin \delta \cos \delta}{\cos \delta - \sin \delta \cdot r} = \tan \delta \cdot r$$

The *ascensio obliqua* α_2 is for the latitude ϕ $\alpha_2 = \text{ascensio recta } (\alpha_1) + \arcsin \left(\frac{\sin \phi \sin \delta}{\cos \phi \cdot \cos \delta} \right) = \alpha_1 \pm \arcsin (\tan \phi \tan \delta)$. At the same time it is to be observed that al-Khwarizmi (d. about 850) and al-Battāni, who published his book before 900, give the formula with sine and cosine, while Ḥabash al-Ḥāshī, who made his observations between 825 and 835, uses tangents and cotangents.

To ascertain the ascension, the above formulae are used if tables are not available. But one can also use one of the many apparatus which are made for the mechanical solution of such problems. The simplest of these is the armillary sphere (see Nolte quoted in KURA) and the globe with the arm (see Schnell quoted in KURA) as in both cases the heavens can be used as the largest circles. There are also the monographic methods, in which projections of the sphere of heavens are used, as in the astrolabe (s. J. Frank, *Die Verwendung des Astrolabs nach al-Khwarizmi*, *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaft*, etc., Heft III, 1922), the universal plane, the Zarkālī plane (see an article to be published later by Mittelberger), Werner's

meteoroscope (Joannis Vernerii de Meteoroscopia, publ. by J. Wüschmidt, *Abhandlungen zur Gesch. d. Mathematik*, Heft XXIV/II, 1913) and the *magfāra* quadrants. On the sine quadrants, the system of lines which enable the sine and cosine to be read off, the above formulae can be obtained with the help of the latter (on the quadrants see P. Schmalz, *Zur Geschichte der Quadranten bei den Arabern*, Munich 1929).

Along with the *maḥālī²*, the *magfāra* also were ascertained. If one is observing, not the rising but the setting points, the corresponding curves are called *magfāra* (a table for the latter is given by al-Bīrūnī in the *Maḥādī Canon*).

Addendum. Among the Greeks and Arabs and European astronomers of the xiith-xvth century *ṣafāya* means: 1. the globe or geometrical sphere; 2. the space between two surfaces of two concentric spheres, a shell of a sphere; 3. the circle which corresponds to the assumed path of a heavenly body, i.e. the ecliptic, the epicycle, the eccentric circles. — The Arabic *ḥura* has only the first meaning, the word *ḥura* the second and third, the second in the theory of Ibn al-Haitham (see al-Kharāḡī). The *sphaera recta*, *al-ḥura al-mustakīm* is the sphere of the heavens, i.e. for the inhabitants of the equator; in the Latin translation of the tables of al-Khwarizmi (table 59) it is said of the ascension in the *sphaera recta* "horoscopus secundum terram Arin" (Arin is a corruption of Axi-Uḡḡain = U-jaylū in Sanskrit, which was erroneously taken to be the *ḥubbat al-arḍ*, dome of the earth, the centre of the equator and of the inhabited world). At all places which do not lie on the equator, there is a *sphaera obliqua* so that these are innumerable.

Bibliography: Ptolemy, *Almagest*, ed. Heiberg, *passim*; al-Battānī *Opus astronomicum* etc., ed. C. A. Nallino; H. Suter, *Die astronomischen Tafeln des Muhammed ibn Mūsā al-Khwarizmi* etc. [cf. also AL-KHWARIZMI] and numerous works on astronomy. — (I am much indebted to Prof. Nallino for a number of suggestions). (E. WIEDEMANN)

MATMĀṬA, the name of a Berber tribe, belonging to the large family of the Butr, and brethren of the Matgham, Kūnya, Lamāya, Saḍīna, Madyāna, Maghilla, etc. They formed with them the ethnic group of the Banū Fāṭin who, like all the other Butr, seem to have had their original home in Tripolitania.

Our chief source of information about the Matmāṭa are al-Bakrī and Ibn Khaldūn. As with the majority of the Butr Berbers, three principal divisions can be distinguished:

1. Elements settled in the eastern Maghrib not far from their original home: these are the modern Matmāṭa in Southern Tunisia, some 30 miles S.W. of Gābes.

2. Elements which have settled in the Central Maghrib: first in the plateaus of the Senū, in the N.E. of Mīndās; then having been driven out of this territory by the Zanāṭa Banū Tudjīn, they sought refuge in the mountainous massif of Wāghbart (the modern Onarsénis).

3. Elements which have migrated as far as Morocco. In the fourth (tenth) century we find them in the country of the modern Kabdīna (to the S.E. of Melilla) and in the upper valley of the Moluya at Amaakūr. Ibn Khaldūn also mentions a little isolated group settled on the mountain

which bears their name between Fās and Sufray; there must also have been some of them in the country of Tarsa for a place between Fās and Tarsa still bears their name. Finally we owe to al-Iḍrīḥ the record of the most western body: the Matmāja of Tāmasān.

The Matmāja played a fairly important part in the early centuries of Islām. Those of the central Maghrib had adopted Abāḍī doctrines; being conquered by the Ṣanhādja and Zanāta, many of them migrated to Spain. The most famous member of this people was Saḥīḥ b. Salāmān, the famous Berber genealogist, so frequently quoted by Ibn Khaldūn.

Bibliography: al-Bukrī and al-Iḍrīḥ, *Indice*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, i. 246—248. (G. S. COLIN)

MATN (أ.), a term with different meanings (cf. the lexicon, s.v.), of which that of text, especially that of the text of a tradition, deserves to be mentioned here.

Matn occurs in the sense of text already in pre-Islamic poetry and is used in this sense in Arabic literature up to the present day. It denotes especially the text of a book as distinguished from its oral explanation or its written or printed commentary.

In connection with traditions matn denotes the contents as distinguished from the chain of traditionists who handed it down (*isnād*).

Bibliography: Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii. 6 sqq. (A. J. WENKINCK)

MATRAH, a town on the Gulf of 'Omān, two miles west of Maṣṣāt on the east coast of Arabia. The town, which has about 14,000 inhabitants, is the starting-point for caravan traffic into the interior of Arabia and, next to Maṣṣāt, the most important commercial centre in 'Omān. The town is beautifully situated in fertile surroundings, has a good harbour, easily entered but little sheltered, from which Maṣṣāt can be reached in an hour by boat. The sultans of 'Omān used to have wharves for shipbuilding here and the textile industry was not unimportant (spinning and weaving). A fort built by the Portuguese still stands as a memorial of their rule in 'Omān. According to Wellsted, the town used to have 20,000 inhabitants.

Bibliography: C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 297; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, viii/1, Berlin 1846, p. 518—520; A. Springer, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 106; Th. Benl, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900, p. 68 sq.; *Muscat, Report for the year 1912—1913 on the Trade of Muscat*, Ed. at the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade, London 1913, p. 32. (N^o 5198 Annual Series, Diplomatic and Consular Reports). (A. GROMMAN)

MĀTURĪDĪ, ABŪ MANẒŪR MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MAḤMŪD AL-HARĀBĪ AL-MUTAKALLIM AL-MĀTURĪDĪ AL-SAMARĀNDĪ is the titular head of the Māturīdīte School of theology which, with the Aḥlīte School, form orthodox Sunnite Islām. The two Schools are equally orthodox, but there has always been a tendency to suppress al-Māturīdī's name and to put al-Aḥlī forward as the champion of Islām against all heretics except in Transoxiana (*Mā-mur* al-Nakr) where his School has been, and is, the dominant, representing the views of *ahl al-nawā* as 'Iḥmādī.

Next to nothing is known of al-Māturīdī's life, but he died at Samarḳand in 333 (944), a contemporary of al-Aḥlī who died a little earlier about 330 (941), while al-Tahāwī [q.v.], another contemporary, died in Egypt in 331. All three represented the movement, which must have been very widely spread, to defend orthodox Islām by the same weapons of logical argument with which the Mu'tazilites had attacked it. Māturīd or Maturī is a locality (*mahall*, *ḥarya*) in Samarḳand. Its geographical reality and the identity of Abū Maṣṣūr al-Māturīdī are assured by the article Māturī in the *Anṣab* of al-Sam'ānī (fol. 498b, l. 4; cf. also Barthold, *Turkistan down to the Mongol Invasion*, G.M.S., p. 90, notes 9 and 10; p. 267, note 5, and the Russian references there). The books of Hanafite *Tuhfat* give the names of his teachers, but to us they are names only (see Ibn Kaṭṭābghā [ed. Flügel, N^o 173] and Flügel's *Hanafiten*, p. 274, 293, 295, 298, 313). The Saiyid Murtadā in his little treatise on Maturīdī, inserted in his commentary on the *Ḥayāt* (ii. 5—14), complains that he has found only two biographies and that both are short (*ḥala 'l-ikhtisār*). Even Yāqūt in his *Ma'ājam* has no mention either of him or of Māturīd. Ibn Khaldūn in his sketch of the origin and history of *Kalām* (*Muqaddima*, transl. de Slane, iii. 55 sqq.; ed. Quatremere, iii. 38 sqq.) has no place for him and speaks only of Aḥlī and the Aḥlītes. For Ibn Ḥarm (d. 456 = 1064; *Fih*, ed. Cairo 1320, ii. 111) the orthodox opponent of al-Aḥlī is Abū Ḥanīfa and he has no mention of al-Māturīdī. Similarly Shahrastānī (d. 548 = 1153; *Milāl*, transl. Haubricher, i. p. 159; text on margin of Ibn Ḥarm, i. 188) gives the views of Abū Ḥanīfa but does not mention Māturīdī. Abū Ḥanīfa, he says, inclined to the Murjītes and his followers were even called the Murjītes of the Sunna, meaning, apparently, a form of Murjīism consistent with orthodoxy. Similarly the Saiyid Murtadā (*loc. cit.*, p. 13 foot) says that the Mu'tazilites claimed Abū Ḥanīfa for themselves and rejected his authorship of one book because it was too flatly against their positions. The truth evidently was that Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150 = 767) was the first to adopt the methods of the Mu'tazilites and apply argument to the foundation of the Faith. Also, from the beginning, his standing was so high that it was simply impossible to call him a heretic. This status continued in the Māturīdīte School.

All this goes back to the time before *kalām* had become a technical term and when *ḥikm* meant both theology and canon law, with the difference that theology was called "the greater *ḥikm*" (*al-ḥikm al-akbar*, see article *KALĀM* above, vol. ii., p. 672). That was the title of one of Abū Ḥanīfa's books and we have a commentary on it ascribed to Māturīdī (Haidarābād 1321), the only writing asserted by him apparently in print. This does not occur in the two exactly similar lists which we have of his books (Saiyid Murtadā, p. 5; Ibn Kaṭṭābghā, p. 43): 1. *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*; 2. *Kitāb al-Maḥalāt*; 3. *Kitāb Radd al-ʿawā'il al-Adilla li 'l-Ka'bi*; 4. *Kitāb Bayān Wahm al-Mu'tazila*; 5. *Kitāb Ta'wīl al-Kur'ān*. Of these only the last is given by Brockelmann, i. p. 195, 4; the biographers praise it highly. The others suggest only anti-Mu'tazilite polemic (for al-Ka'bi see Horten, *Philosophische Systeme*, by index). As a matter of fact it is only in one MS. of the com-

mentary on the *Fiḥ Akbar* that this work is ascribed to al-Māturīdī.

How the theological school of Abū Ḥanīfa came to be known as that of al-Māturīdī we do not know. The epithet *al-mutahallim*, applied to al-Māturīdī, may mean that he was the theologian of the school of Abū Ḥanīfa as opposed to those who were canon lawyers (*fuḥalā*). But the two tendencies to accept him and to suppress him still continue. The *ʿAṣīd* of one of his followers, al-Nasāfi, fortified with the commentary of al-Taḥṣīnī, an Ashʿarite, is the theological text-book of the last two years of the Ashʿar course and is a final authority in Egypt. Yet when Muḥammad ʿAbdī, the late Chief Mufti of Egypt, a regenerator and reformer of Islam, put his views of the development of Muslim theology and of its final position into a course of lectures at Bairūt (*Riḥlat al-tawḥīd: Exposé de la religion musulmane, traduit de l'Arabe...*, by B. Michel and Moustapha ʿAbdel Razik, Paris 1925) he showed himself a Māturīdite with no mention of al-Māturīdī.

The differences between the two Schools are commonly reckoned as thirteen in number; six, a difference in idea (*maʿnā*) and seven in expression (*lafẓ*) (for them in detail see the Saiyid Murādī, p. 8 *seq.* and Abū ʿUḥba, *al-Rawḍa al-ḥakīya*, Haidarābād 1904). They have been studied by Goldziher in his *Vorlesungen*, p. 110 *seq.*, and by Horten in his *Philosophische Systeme*, p. 531 *seq.* It is frequently said that these points of difference are slight, but that is not so. The moral position of Abū Ḥanīfa is as plain in them as in his canon law. Al-Ashʿarī was concerned only to maintain the absoluteness of Allāh's will; that he could do anything; and that a thing was "good" because he willed it. Future rewards and punishments, therefore, had no "moral" basis. But Abū Ḥanīfa, and after him al-Māturīdī and his School, recognises that man possesses free-will (*ikhtiyār*) actions for which he is rewarded and punished. No explanation is attempted of this fundamental antinomy of predestination and free-will; they are stated side by side as equal, if contradictory, facts. Similarly, while Abū Ḥanīfa admits that evil deeds are by the will (*irāda*) of Allāh — otherwise they could not happen — he cannot bring himself to say that they are by the "good pleasure" (*riḍā*) of Allāh. Further, the Māturīdite School admits the doctrine of "assurance of salvation" and the Ashʿarite does not. A Māturīdite may say, "I am a believer, assuredly" (*ḥakīm*), but an Ashʿarite must say, "I am a believer if Allāh wills". Because, then, of this essential difference in human and moral feeling the School of al-Māturīdī has steadily penetrated the School of al-Ashʿarī and even the professed Ashʿarite at the present time is, to a greater or less extent, a Māturīdite.

Bibliography: has been given in the article. But cf. article KALAM throughout.

(D. B. MACDONALD)

AL-MĀʾUN, title of Sūra cvii. taken from Vx. 7 where *māʾun* denotes the *salāt*.

MAWĀLIYĀ, MAWWĀL, means a kind of popular song. Tradition says that this genre of poetry was invented by the people of Wāsiṭ; but that it was the people of Baghdād who after improving it made it fashionable. It is said that when Ḥārūn al-Rashīd had the most prominent Barmecides massacred, he forbade for lamentations them. One of the slaves of Dīḡār, so well-known

from the *Arabian Nights*, composed in everyday language an elegy on her old master and at the end of each strophe she said *mā mawālīya* "O my masters!" Whence the name of this kind of poetry.

From the point of view of metre, the mawwāl, a popular form from *mawālīya* or *mawālīya*, is a long in the *baṣī* metre (first *ʿarūḡ*) of which the last verse of each hemistich is *fāʾilun, fāʾilun* or *fāʾilun*.

In its primitive form, the mawwāl consisted of strophes, each of four hemistichs rhyming with one another. Later it was somewhat altered: the strophe contained five hemistichs in which the first, second, third and fifth, but not the fourth rhymed together or it contained seven hemistichs of which the first, second, third and seventh had the same rhyme and the fourth, fifth and sixth rhymed together.

The red mawwāl is used for war-songs while the green mawwāl is used for love-songs. In all cases the mawwāl must be in the popular dialect and make use of alliteration.

Bibliography: Besides the treatises on prosody quoted in the article *ʿAṣṣ* and by Fleischer, *Z.D.M.G.*, vii. 365 *seq.* and *Description de l'Égypte* (Paris 1822, xiv. 306; xviii. part 1, 75 *seq.*) quoted by Dozy, *Suppl. aux dict.*, ii. 844, we may mention: al-Khafāʾī, *Shifāʾ al-ḡhulī*, Cairo 1320, p. 9; Bistānī, *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*, Bairūt 1870, p. 2011 (sub *m-w-l*) and 2289 (sub *m-l-l*); Ibn Khaldūn, *Proleg.*, iii. 451 *seq.*; Muḥammad Ṭafai, *Ghāyat al-Arab fī Shīʿat Shāʿr al-Arab*, Cairo 1316, p. 101; Muḥammad al-Damāḥūrī, *Ḥaṣṣiya ʿala ʿI-Kāfi*, Cairo 1316, p. 36; al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Aḥbār*, Cairo 1284, i. 109; Saiyid Amin, *Bulbul al-Afrāḡ wa-Muṣall al-Afrāḡ fī ʿI-Mawwāl al-ḥakīm wa ʿI-kumr al-Milāḥ*, Cairo 1316, p. 4 *seq.*; Dīḡārī Mikhāʾī Fattāy, *al-Baṣī al-ḥafī*, Bairūt 1890, p. 105; al-Aḥshū, *al-Mustafaf*, Bulāḡ 1292, ii. 258, 271; L. Cheikh, *ʿIlm al-Adab*, Bairūt 1908, i. 429; ʿAbd al-Ḥādī Naḍjā al-Abyārī, *Suʾat al-Mawālī li-Suʾat al-Mawālī*, Bulāḡ 1283, i. 283; Jules David, *Les Maṣnawī*, Cann 1864; Hammer-Purgstall, *Notice sur les Mawāṣṣiḥat*, etc., *J.A.*, Aug. 1859, p. 155 *seq.*; Ahmad al-Hāshimī, *Muṣṣan al-Dīḡār fī Shīʿat Shāʿr al-Arab*, Cairo n. d., p. 140; Muḥammad Bey Diyāb, *Tarīḡ al-Adab al-Lughat al-ʿarabiya*, Cairo n. d., p. 149; al-Dīshbarī, *Alfāʾīk al-Aḥbār fī ʿI-Tarāḡim wa ʿI-Aḥbār*, Bulāḡ n. d., i. 293.

(MOH. BENCHESEN)

MĀ WARĀ' AL-NAHR (Arab.) "that which (lies) beyond the river"; the name for the lands conquered by the Arabs and subjected to Islam north of the Amū-Daryā [q. v.]. The frontiers of MĀ warā' al-Nahr on north and east were where the power of Islam ceased and depended on political conditions; cf. the statements of the Arab geographers on MĀ warā' al-Nahr in G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 433 *seq.*; W. Barthold, *Turkistan (O. M. S., N. S., v., London 1928)*, p. 64 *seq.* The phrase MĀ warā' al-Nahr passed from Arabic literature into Persian. As late as the ninth (xviii) century, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abru [q. v.] devotes a special chapter (the last) to MĀ warā' al-Nahr in his geographical work. Under the influence of literary tradition, the phrase MĀ warā' al-Nahr was used down to quite recent times in Central Asia itself (Nābur, *G. M. S., I, Index*; the Özbek Muḥ. Sāliḥ, *Sprach. Knika Samark. Oblasti*, v. 240 *et pass.*)

although to the people of Central Asia the lands in question were on their side of and not across the river.
(W. BARTHELEMY)

AL-MĀWARDĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ b. MUḤAMMAD b. ḤANĪN, a Shāfi'ī faḡh, who on the conclusion of his studies taught in Bagra and Baghdad and after holding the office of chief qāḍī at Ustūwā near Nisābūr, settled permanently in Baghdad. Here he often acted for the caliph al-Qādir (381-422 = 991-1031) in his negotiations with the Bayids, who then ruled al-'Irāq; when the Būyid Djalāl al-Dawla in 429 (1037-1038) asked the caliph al-Muḥtaḍī to grant him the title of shahān-shāh (*malik al-mulūk*), he expressed his objections in a *fatwā* and thus earned the enmity of the Būyid. He died on 30th Rabi' I 450 (May 27, 1058) at the age of 86.

His works are said to have been collected and edited only after his death by one of his pupils. The following have survived: 1. *Tafsiṭ al-Kur'ān* or *Kitāb al-Nukat wa 'l-Uyūn*; MSS. in Rampur (s. Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, N.S., II, xli), Fer (Fikrist *Mawḍū' al-Kur'ān*, No. 215) and Stambul (Kili' 'Alī, No. 90); 2. *K. al-Ḥawā' al-kabrī 'l-Furū'*; MSS. in the Brit. Museum Or. 5828; s. Ellis and Edwards, *Dense List*, p. 22; Cairo (Fikrist, III, 215) and Stambul (Sulaimāniya, No. 436); 3. his most celebrated work, dealing with constitutional law in purely theoretical fashion, disregarding the political conditions of the time (s. A. v. Kremer, *Culturgegeschichte*, I, 396; M. Hartmann, *Unpolitische Briefe aus der Türkei*, p. 242), entitled *K. al-Aḥkām al-Saltāniya*, *Constitutiones politicoe*, ed. R. Enger, Bonn 1853; pt. Cairo 1298, 1324, 1327. Translations: *Publiek en administratief regt van den Islam met een inleiding over de toepassing daarvan op dat regt in Nederland-Indië* door S. Keizer, 's-Gravenhage 1862; *Les constitutions politiques, trad. et commentées d'après les sources orientales* par le comte L. Ostorog, Paris 1900-1906; *Les statuts gouvernementaux ou règles de droit public et administratif* trad. et comm. par F. Fagnan, Algiers 1915; cf. H. F. Amedroz, *The Muslim jurisdiction*, J.R.A.S., 1911, p. 635-674; 4. *K. Naṣṣ al-Mulūk*, MS. in Paris, de Slane, No. 2447; 5. *K. Tashīl al-Nazar wa-Taḥḍīl al-Ḥaṣar*, on politics and the art of government; MS. in Göttingen, a. Portsch, Verz., No. 1872; 6. *K. Kawā'id al-Wiṭā'a*; MS. in Vienna, Consularakademie, Krafft, p. 475, entitled *Kānūn al-Wiṭā'a wa-Siyāsāt al-Mulūk*; MS. formerly in Landberg's possession, s. Goldziher, *Abh. zur ar. Philologie*, II, note p. 14 (the *K. al-Wiṭā'a* in Stambul, Top Kapı 2405, 3 is however, according to Reischer, *R.O.S.*, IV, 710 perhaps only a part of No. 4); 7. *K. al-'Ilm al-Nabū'iyya*; MS. in Berlin, Ahlwardt, No. 2527; Cairo, Fikrist, I, 270; pt. Cairo 1319, 1330 (cf. Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, II, 382; Schreiner, in *Kokutsu Semite Studien*, p. 502-513); 8. *K. Adab al-Kāfi*; MS. in Stambul, Sulaimāniya, No. 381; 9. *K. al-Amthal wa 'l-Ḥikam*, a collection of 300 traditions, 300 wise sayings and 300 verses in 10 *faṣl* to 30 *proverbs* in Leyden, s. Catalogus, I, No. 382; 10. *K. (al-Buḡḡa al-'ulā) Adab (Adab) al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn*, a work still much read; pt. Stambul 1299, Cairo 1309, 1310, 1315, 1327, 1328, 1339; on the margin of al-Amul's *Kaṣṣidat*, Cairo 1316, in India 1315. Uwais Wafā' b. Dāwūd al-Aṣṣāḡī Khānīdī wrote a commentary entitled *Minkhāj al-Yafīn*, pt. Stambul 1328. A synopsis was prepared by

Ibn Lāyūn a teacher of the vizier Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb (d. 776 = 1376), Madrid, No. 427. An anonymous synopsis entitled *K. Maṣrifat al-Fuṣṣal* is in the Escorial, s. Derembourg, II, 748.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Cairo 1299, I, 410; Vāḡūṭ, *Irshād al-Arṭ*, v. 407; al-Subkī, *Tahāḥūṭ al-Shāfi'iya*, III, 303-314; Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Popper, p. 718 (n. 224); Wustenfeld, *Schäfi'it*, No. 395; R. Enger, *De vita et scriptis Mawerdī*, Bonn 1851; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, I, 386.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

MAWDÜD, ABU 'L-FATḤ, SHIHĀD AL-DAWLĀ WA-ḤUṬUṬ AL-MILLA, ruler of Ghazna, was born about 412 (1021-1022). In Muḥarram 432 (September 1040) he was appointed to the government of Balkh with Khwāja Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad as wazir. A few months later, his father Sulṭān Mas'ad was deposed and Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Mahmūd, was raised to the throne. On learning news of this, Mawḍūd left Balkh, took possession of Ghazna, and spent the winter in making preparations for a struggle for the throne with Muḥammad. At the end of the winter, Muḥammad marched from India to take Ghazna and Mawḍūd advanced to meet him. A fierce battle took place on 3rd Sha'bān, 432 (April 6, 1041) near Daupūr or Dinawar (modern Fathābād on the Peshāwar-Kābul route) in which Mawḍūd was victorious. Muḥammad, all his sons except 'Abd al-Rahīm, Sulaimān b. Yūṣuf, and Nūḡhātīn of Balkh were taken prisoners and executed. Mawḍūd returned to Ghazna in triumph, but he was not yet the undisputed master of the kingdom. His brother Maḍḍūd, governor of Multān, was advancing on Ghazna by way of Lahore, but three days after his arrival at Lahore, he died mysteriously on the morning of 10th Dhū 'l-Hijja, 432 (August 11, 1041).

In 435 (1043-1044) Sukhpāl, alias Nawās Shāh, son of Dīpāl of the Hindūshāhiya dynasty of Waihand, formed a confederacy with some Hindū Rājās and laid siege to Lahore. Sukhpāl was killed in action, and after his death the Rājās quarrelled among themselves, raised the siege and retired to their respective kingdoms. The Muslims followed them in pursuit and laid siege to the fort of Sonpat where one of the confederates named Dīpāl Haryāna had taken refuge. The fort was captured and given up to plunder but Dīpāl managed to escape. About 5,000 Muslims who had been imprisoned in the fort were released. The victors next attacked another Rājā, called Tīlhat Bālī by Ibn al-Athīr, took his fort and returned to Lahore with immense booty. These victories restored for some time the waning prestige of the Ghaznawids in Upper India.

It was the ambition of Mawḍūd to restore the greatness of his empire by conquering the provinces which his father had lost to the Saldjūqs. In Muḥarram 435 (August 1043) he attacked Khurāsān but was defeated by Alp Arslān b. Dāwūd. In the following month the Ghaznawid troops retrieved their reputation by inflicting a defeat on the Saldjūqs near Bust, but in spite of this reverse they became so powerful that Mawḍūd found it difficult to overcome them single-handed. After protracted negotiations, he secured the assistance of the ruler of Iḡhān and the Khān of Turkistān, and marched towards Balkh to join forces with the Khān of Turkistān, but he had not gone far

when he was taken ill with colic and was forced to return to Ghazna where he died on 20th Rajab, 441 (December 18, 1049), at the age of 29 years.

Mawdūd was a good ruler and was famous for his generosity. *Paikān-i Mawdūd* (the Arrow of Mawdūd) is called after him. It is stated that in his wars he used golden arrows so that if the victim was killed, the gold in the arrow would pay for his funeral, and if he was only wounded, it would defray the expenses of his treatment. He was a skilful general, and his premature death put an end to all hopes of crushing the power of the Saljuks.

Bibliography: Gardizi, *Zain al-Ahḥār*, ed. M. Nāzim, in *Browne Memorial Series*, i.; Faḡhr-i Muḥḥir, *Adab al-Mulūk* (India Office, MS. No. 647), fol. 766—802; Ibn al-Aṭṭar, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, ix, 331—399; Minhāj-i Sirāj, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣir*, Major Raverty's translation into English, p. 95—97; Mustawfi, *Ta'riḥ-i Ghasida*, G.M.S., p. 402; Mir-Kāshān, *Nawāḥid al-Safā*, Newalkishore Press, 1914, iv, 47; and Firāšta, *Newalkishore Press*, 1884, p. 44—46. (M. NAZIM)

MAWDÜD b. 'IMAD AL-DIN ZANGI, KUTR AL-DIN AL-A'WADJ, lord of al-Mawṣil. After the death at the end of Djumādā II 544 (Nov. 1149) of his elder brother Saif al-Din Ghāsi I [q.v.], Mawdūd was recognised as lord of al-Mawṣil through the influence of the powerful vizier al-Djauḥid [q.v.] and of the commander-in-chief of the army Zain al-Din 'Alī. A number of emirs negotiated with the third brother, Nūr al-Din Mahmūd, who lived in Haleb, and seized the town of Sindjār, and Mawdūd began preparations for war. The vizier however, who feared not only Saladin but also the Franks, succeeded in dissuading him, whereupon Nūr al-Din handed over Sindjār to his brother and was given Hims and al-Rahbi instead. On other questions also Mawdūd followed his vizier's advice; al-Djauḥid however fell into disgrace and in 558 (1163) he was thrown into prison and replaced by Zain al-Din Kāṭik. In the next year Mawdūd joined forces with his brother Nūr al-Din in a war against the Franks, and in Ramaḍān (Sept. 1164) the latter defeated the Christian forces and stormed Kalāt Ḥarīm. According to the most usual statement, Mawdūd died on 22nd Dhu 'l-Hijja 565 (Sept. 6, 1170) aged about forty. He is described by the Oriental historians as a just and benevolent ruler. He was succeeded in al-Mawṣil by his son Saif al-Din Ghāsi II.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yām*, ed. Wüstenfeld, No. 754 (de Slane's transl., iii, 458); Ibn al-Aṭṭar, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xi, *passim*; Uṭluḡa b. Munṣidh, ed. Derenbourg, i, 298, 301—303, 350 sq., 353; *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Hist. or.*, see index; de Lambour, *Manuel de géologie et de chronologie*, p. 226 sq.; Lane-Poole, *The Mos. Dynasties*, p. 163.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉN)

MAWKIF (A.), *nomen loci* from *māḥḥ* "to stand". Of the technical meanings of the term two may be mentioned here:

a. the place where the *wakāf* [q.v.] is held during the pilgrimage, viz. 'Arafāt [q.v.] and Mudalifa [q.v.] or Djan'. In well known traditions Muḥammad declares that all 'Arafāt and that all Mudalifa is mawkif (Muslim, *Ḥaḍiṣ*, trad. 149;

Abū Dāwūd, *Mawṣiḥ*, lib 56b, 64 etc.; cf. *Hand-book of Early Mos. Tradition*, v. 'Arafāt). Snouck Hargrope (*Het mohammedsche feest*, p. 150 = *Vergeelde Geschieden*, i, 99) has conjectured that these traditions were intended to deprive the hills of 'Arafāt and Mudalifa of their sacred character, which they doubtless possessed in pre-Islamic times.

b. the place where on the day of resurrection several scenes of the last judgment will take place; cf. al-Ḥazali, *al-Durra al-Fāḡhira*, ed. Gantier, p. 577, 683, 12, 813; cf. *Kitaḥ Aḥwāl al-Ḥayāma*, ed. M. Wolff, p. 65 sqq.

(A. J. WENHICK)

MAWLĀ (A.), a term with different meanings (cf. *Lisān al-Arab*, xx, 289 sqq.) of which the following may be mentioned:

a. Tutor, trustee, helper. In this sense the word is used in the *Kur'ān*, Sūra xlvii, 12: "God is the mawlā of the faithful, the unbelievers have no mawlā" (cf. sūra iii, 143; vi, 62; viii, 41; ix, 51; xlii, 78; lxvi, 2). In the same sense mawlā is used in the Shi'ite tradition, in which Muḥammad calls 'Alī the mawlā of those whose mawlā he is himself. According to the author of the *Lisān*, mawlā has the sense of *maḥl* in this tradition, which is connected with Ḥaḍir al-Khamṣ [q.v.]; cf. C. van Ardenonck, *De ophomst van het Zaiditische imamaat*, p. 18, 19. It may be observed that it occurs also in the *Munad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (i, 84, 118, 119, 152, 330 sq.; iv, 281 etc.).

b. Lord. In the *Kur'ān* it is in this sense (which is synonymous with that of *malik*) applied to Allāh (sūra li, 286; cf. vi, 62; x, 31), who is often called *Mawlānā* "our Lord" in Arabic literature. Precisely for this reason in Tradition the slave is prohibited from calling his lord mawlā (Bukhārī, *Djihad*, lib 165; Muslim, *Aḥḍāṭ*, trad. 15, 16).

c. It is not in contradiction to this prohibition that Tradition frequently uses mawlā in the sense of "lord of a slave", e.g. in the well known *ḥadīṭ*: "Three categories of people will receive twofold reward... and the slave who fulfils his duty in regard to Allāh as well as to his lords" (Bukhārī, *Ṭaw*, lib 31; Muslim, *Aḥḍāṭ*, trad. 45).

Compositions of mawlā and suffixes are frequently used as titles in several parts of the Muslim world, e.g. *mawḍāy(a)* (*mawḍāy*), "my Lord" (especially in North Africa and in connection with saints); *mawḍāwī* (*mawḍāwī*), "lordship" (especially in India and in connection with scholars or saints).

The term mawlā is also applied to the former lord (patron) in his relation to his freeman, e.g. in the tradition: "Who clings to a (new) patron without the permission of his (legal) mawlā, on him rests the curse of Allāh" (Bukhārī, *Djihad*, lib 17; Muslim, *Ṭaw*, lib 31; trad. 18, 19).

d. Freed slave, e.g. in the tradition "the mawlā counts as the people to whom he belongs" (Bukhārī, *Fara'id*, lib 24, etc.). In this sense mawlā, or rather the plural *mawālī*, is frequently used in Arabic literature. The evolution of the idea as well as the position and the aspirations of the *mawālī* have been expounded by von Kremer (*Culturgegeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, ii, 154) and by Goldziher (*Mohammedanische Studien*, i, 104 sqq.), by the latter especially in connection with the *shu'abīya* [q.v.]. On the position of the

manāḥ in the law of inheritance law cf. the art. *MIRĀTH*.

Bibliography: in the article; also Doute in *R.H.R.*, xli. 30 199.; Lütmann, in *N.G.W.*, 1916, p. 102. (A. J. WESSELYCK)

MAWLAWI. [See MAWLĀ.]

MAWLAWIYA (Turkish pronunciation Mewlawiya), Order of Derwishes called by Europeans Dancing or Whirling Derwishes.

1. *Origin of the Order*. Its name is derived from *mawlānā* ("our master"), a title given *par excellence* to Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī (e.g. by the Turkish writers Sa'd al-Dīn and Pečewī, cited below), of which the Persian equivalent was according to the *Manāḥib al-'Arifin* (translated by Huart as *Les Saints des Derwiche Tourneurs*, Paris 1918—1922) bestowed on Djalāl al-Dīn (q.v.) by his father, with whom this hagiography commences. According to the same authority (i. 162), his adherents adopted the name *Mawlawi*, and indeed copyists of the *Mathnawī* of the years 687 and 706 A. H. thus designate themselves (Nicholson's ed., i. 7 and iii. 11); yet Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited Konia after the latter date, asserts that they were styled *Djalālīya*, and the word *Mawlawi* seems to be used occasionally in the *Manāḥib* in the sense of "scholar", which it ordinarily has in India. This work asserts that one Baḥr al-Dīn Guharāgh (a historical personage, since he is mentioned in Ibn Bihār's chronicle of the Seljuks of Asia Minor) built a college at Konia for the children of Djalāl al-Dīn's father, which was inherited by Djalāl al-Dīn. The *Manāḥib* (by Shams al-Dīn Ahmad al-Aḥlākī, 718—754 A.H.), however, so teems with anachronisms and extravagances that its statements must be used with great caution.

The European name is taken from the ritual of the *ḡayr*, in which the derwishes revolve, using the right foot as a pivot, to the tune of various instruments. Djalāl al-Dīn is said to have claimed that he had elevated the practice, but denied that it was an innovation (*Manāḥib*, ii. 79). Certainly "dancing" (*raḡḡ*) is mentioned as a Sūfī practice in works earlier by some centuries than Djalāl al-Dīn's time, often with severe condemnation. The historian Saḥkhwī (*al-Tārīkh al-Mawāḥib*, p. 220) in recording an edict issued in 852 against the practice in Egypt cites verses by one of "the earliest Sāyids" in which the Sūfīs who perform it are compared to apes and are bitterly reproached.

Dancing is indeed a natural accompaniment of music (*Aghāṭi*, x. 121) or poetry (*Iṣṭiṣāt al-Aṭib*, v. 134, 135), but the whirling of the derwishes would seem to have for its purpose the production of vertigo rather than the presentation of an idea in rhythm. Of the various reasons which have been assigned for it the most interesting is that recorded in the *Manāḥib* (i. 190) as the excuse of Djalāl al-Dīn, viz. that it was a concession to the pleasure-loving inhabitants of Asia Minor, who might thereby be drawn to the true faith. The theory that the whirling was a reproduction of the motions of the celestial bodies is found in his *Mathnawī* (ed. Nicholson, iv. 734), and the same view is offered in the much earlier *Nisāḥ* of Ibn Tufail (Cairo 1922, p. 75), where its hypnotic effect is emphasized. The saints in the *Manāḥib* are represented as able to maintain the exercise for many days and nights continuously, but the

actual *ḡayr* lasts only about an hour, with some intermission.

2. *Relations with other Orders*. Although the earlier mystics, such as Ḍunaid, Bisṭāmī and Hallāj are mentioned in the *Manāḥib* with profound reverence, the treatment of founders of orders who came near Djalāl al-Dīn's time is very different. 'Abd al-Kādir al-Jīlānī is ignored, Ibn 'Arabi mentioned with contempt, and Rifā'i with severe condemnation. Ḥadīdī Bekīsh is represented as having sent a messenger to inquire into the proceedings of Djalāl al-Dīn, and to have acknowledged the supremacy of the latter. At a later period the rivalry of the Mawlawi with the Bekīsh Order became acute.

It has been shown by F. W. Hasluck (*Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929, ii. 370 199.) that the environment wherein the Mawlawi Order originated was favourable to Christians, and that throughout its history it has shown itself tolerant and inclined to regard all religions as reconcilable on a philosophic basis. He suggests that the veneration of the Muslims of Konia for the supposed burial-place of Plato (in a mosque which was once the church of St. Amphilochius) may have been intentionally favoured by the Mawlawi derwishes, or possibly their founder, as providing a cult which Muslim and Christian might share on equal terms. In three other sanctuaries of Konia, one of them the mausoleum of Djalāl al-Dīn himself, he found evidence of a desire to provide an object of veneration to the adherents of both systems. It is not, however, easy to accept his inference that some sort of religious compromise on a philosophic basis was devised between the Seljuk Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn, Djalāl al-Dīn, and the local Christian clergy. It appears from the *Manāḥib* that the Order was frequently exposed to persecution from the *futūḥā* in consequence of the music and dancing; and they found an analogy in Christian services to the employment of the former. They are credited in recent times with having impeded the massacres of Armenians.

3. *Spread of the Order*. The *Manāḥib* attributes its propagation outside Konia to Djalāl al-Dīn's son and second successor, Sultan Ḥabīb al-Dīn Walad who "filled Asia Minor with his lieutenants" (ii. 262). It would however appear from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's narrative (ii. 282) that its following was not in his time extensive outside Konia, and was confined to Asia Minor. The story told after Sa'd al-Dīn by v. Hammer (*G.O.R.*, i. 147) and others, that as early as 759 (1357) Sulaimān son of Orkhan received a cap from a Mawlawi derwish at Balair, has been shown by Hasluck (ii. 613) to be a fiction. The historians make no allusion to any importance attaching to the Mawlawi chief when Murād I took Konia in 1386; but when the city was taken by Murād II in 1435, peace was negotiated according to Sa'd al-Dīn (i. 358) by Mawlawī Hamza, but according to Neshī (quoted *ibid.*) by a descendant of Mawlawī Djalāl al-Dīn al-Kūmī, 'Arif Çelebi, "who united all the glories of worth and pedigree, and possessed mystic attainments"; the rebellious vassal supposed that a holy man of the family of the Mawla would inspire more confidence. The same person performed a similar service in 1442 (Sa'd al-Dīn, i. 371). According to V. Guinet (*La Turquie d'Asie*, i. 829) Selim I when passing through Konia in 922 (1516) in pursuit of the Persians (?) ordered the destruction

of the Mawlawīkhāna, at the instance of the Shaikh al-Islām; and though this command was repealed, the moral and religious authority of the head of the Order was gravely compromised. That the saints of Konia were highly revered in the Ottoman Empire later in the sixteenth century appears from the list of graves visited by Saiyid 'Alī Kapūdān in 1554, which commences with those of Djalāl al-Dīn, his father and his son (Peñewi's History, 1283, I. 371). In 1634 Murād IV assigned the *khawāṣṣ* of Konia to the Celebi. Yet the first reference to "dancing derwishes" in Constantinople which Haslück produces, is from the time of the Sultan Ibrahim (1640—1648). Cuiet mentions three Mawlawīkhānas of the first rank and one Tekye of the second in Constantinople and the neighbourhood; he gives the names of the saints whose tombs they contain, without dates. He mentions seven other Mawlawīkhānas of the first rank, at Konia, Manissa, Karahisar, Bahariya, Egypt (Cairo?), Gallipoli and Brusa; and as the more celebrated of the second rank that of Shamsi Tabrizi at Konia, and those in Medina, Damascus and Jerusalem. To these Haslück adds Tekye at Canes (Crete), founded about 1880, Karaman, Ramla, Tatar (in Thessaly), and possibly Tempe (for one in Smyrna see *M. W.*, 1922, p. 161; for one in Salonica see the work of Garnett, and for one in Cyprus that of Lukach cited below). It would seem then that the Order was confined to the limits of the Ottoman Empire, and indeed to its European and Asiatic territories.

By a decree of Sept. 4, 1925 all the Tekye in Turkey were closed, and the library of the Mawlawīkhāna of Konia was transferred to the Museum of the city (*Oriente Moderne*, 1925, p. 455; 1926, p. 584).

4. Political importance of the Order. Reference may be made to Haslück's work (ii. 604 *sq.*) for refutation of the stories uncritically reproduced by Cuiet and some less authoritative writers. In these "the Shaikh of the Mawlawi becomes first the legitimate successor by blood of the Seldjūq dynasty, and finally the real Caliph." Haslück supports these tales to be based on the supposed "traditional right" of the Mawlawi Shaikh to gird the new Sultan with a sword. This right cannot be traced earlier than 1648, and appears to have obtained recognition in the nineteenth century. It would seem that reforming Sultans used the Mawlawi Order as a make-weight against the Bektaşis, who supported the janissaries, and then against the 'Ulamā, who supported the treatment of the Muslim community as a privileged community against the *dhimmi*. In recent times the Sultans 'Abd al-'Aziz and Mehmed Reşād were members of the Order.

5. The ritual of the Order has been described by numerous travellers, e.g. J. P. Brown, *The Derwishes*, 1868, p. 198—206; 1927, p. 250—258; V. Cuiet, *loc. cit.*, p. 832; Garnett and Lukach in the works cited; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, 1910, iii. 12; S. Anderson, *M. W.*, 1923. The attire consisted of a cap called *sikke*, a long sleeveless skirt called *tennure*, a jacket with sleeves called *dutte-gul*, a waistband called *elîf-lâm-end*, and a cloak with sleeves called *dhîrge*, thrown over the shoulders (in Lukach's description [Cyprus] "a violet gown worn over a dark green cassock"). The instruments employed according to the last writer (dealing with Konia)

are six: reed-flute, sither, rebeck, drum, tambourine, and one other. Cuiet enumerates four, of which three agree with the above, the last being *kutilla*, vulgarly *zil*, a sort of small cymbal. Brown enumerates three, flute, violin, and kettle-drum. Those mentioned in the *Manāḥis* are rendered by Huart, *flûte, violon* and *tambour de basque*. The service in Konia according to Lukach was held twice a month after the Friday prayer; in Constantinople, where there were several *tekye*, they were held more frequently, to enable the members of different *tekye* to join in.

6. Administration of the Order. The head of the Order, resident at Konia, had the titles *Mulla Kānūnār*, *Hadret-i Pir*, *Celebi Mulla*, and *'Atiz Erendi*. A list of persons who have held the office is given by Hartmann (*loc. cit.*, p. 193) after the *Habîbîkî Adhûr-i Mawlânâ*, making 26 in all down to 1010; this list appears to be imperfect, and the *Celebi* whom Lukach found in Konia was uncertain whether he was the 39th or the 40th. The head of the establishment at Manissa counted as second in authority. Cuiet enumerates seven officials subordinate to the *Celebi* at Konia, but the names of several seem seriously mutilated. Others mention a secretary (*mekil*). An account of the discipline which those who would enter the Order had to endure is given by Huart (*Konia, la Ville des Derwishes Tournours* Paris 1897). They had to perform menial service for 1001 days, divided into periods of 40; when this was over, they were clothed in the uniform of the *tekye*, assigned cells, and instructed in the exercises of the Order; and they had to remain thus occupied till they believed themselves able to enter into relation with the Deity by means of whirling, meditation, and music.

Bibliography: see especially the works of Brown, Cuiet, Hartmann, and Haslück, cited above; Lucy M. Garnett, *Mythicism and Magic in Modern Turkey*, London 1912; H. C. Lukach, *The City of Dancing Derwishes*, London 1914; S. Anderson, in *M. W.*, 1923, p. 188—191. (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

MAWLID (A.) or MAWLID (pl. *mawlid*), time, place and celebration of the birth of any one, particularly of the Prophet Muhammad (*Mawlid al-Nabi*). From the moment when Islam in its attitude to Muhammad abandoned the lines laid down in the Qur'anic view of him and began to bring his personality within the sphere of the supernatural, the scenes among which his earthly life had been passed naturally began to assume a higher sanctity in the eyes of his followers. Among these, the house in which he was born, the *Mawlid al-Nabi*, in the modern Sûk al-Lail in Mekka, the history of which is preserved principally in the chronicles of the town (ed. Wüstenfeld, I. 422), does not seem at first to have played a part of any note. It was al-Khatirûn (d. 173), the mother of Hārūn al-Rashid, who first transformed it from a humble dwelling-house to a place of prayer. As they did to the tomb of the Prophet in Medina, the pious now made pilgrimages also to his mawlid to show their reverence for it and to receive a share of its blessings (*â'ishaharrat*). In time also the reverence in which the house was held found expression in its development in a fitting architectural fashion (Ibn Dûbair, ed. Wright, p. 114, 163; on the present state of the house: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, I. 106; II. 27).

Records of the observation of the birthday of

the Prophet as a holy day only begin at a late date; according to the generally accepted view, the day was Monday the 12th Rabi' I. The story which Wüstenfeld originated, according to which the pious Shāfi'ī Karājī (d. 343) observed this day by breaking his fast upon it, which he only did on one other occasion, the *Tal al-Fitr* (Abb. G. W. G., xxvii, N° 126), does not seem to find any confirmation in the sources and is in contradiction to the general custom of fasting on Monday, as this day plays a special part in the life of Muhammad as the day of his birth, of his Hujra and of his death (Ghazālī, *Ihya'* [Bulāq], i. 363 and *pass.* On the Jewish origin of fasting on Monday, see Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden*, p. 126). But that on this day a special celebration was arranged, as distinct from private observation, one first learns for Mecca, where one would expect it earliest from the local traditions, from Ibn Dūbair (d. 614; *Travels*, p. 113), who however is obviously referring to a custom which has already been a considerable time in existence. The essential feature of the celebration is however only a somewhat considerable increase in the number of visitors to the Mawlid house which was exceptionally open the whole day for this purpose. This visit and the ceremonies associated with it (*warḥ* etc.) are carried through entirely in forms which are characteristic of the older Muslim cult of saints.

But just as the later cult of the Prophet cannot be put on a level with the reverence shown to other holy men, so new and special forms developed for his birthday celebrations, which in spite of minor differences in time and place show the same general features everywhere and are comprised under the name *Laila al-Mawlid* or briefly *Mawlid al-Nabi*. An anticipation of the Mawlid celebration is found in Egypt as early as the middle and later Fātimid period. During the period of office of the vizier al-Aḥfāḥ (487—513), we hear that the "four Mawlid" were abolished but a little later revived in all their old glory (Makrizī, *al-Aḥbār*, i. 466; for the description of the festival: l. 433 *seq.*). The celebration still took place in broad daylight and participation was practically limited to the official and religious circles of the city. There were not yet any preliminary celebrations; but we already have a solemn procession of all the dignitaries to the palace of the caliph, in whose presence — he sits, covered with a veil on one of the balconies of the palace — the three *ḥanūḥ* of Cairo (cf. above, ii., p. 928) in succession deliver a religious address, during which a special ceremonial is observed. As to the matter of the discourses, we only know that they were like those delivered on the nights of the illumination so that they presumably dealt mainly with the occasion of the celebration. It is interesting to note that the mawlid ceremonies here are not confined to that of the Prophet but the mawlid of 'Alī, Fātima and even that of the reigning Caliph, the *Imām al-ḥāqīq*, are similarly observed. As in the fundamental idea of these celebrations (*Mawlid al-Imām al-ḥāqīq*), Shī'a influence can also be traced in separate elements of it. It had not yet come to be a festival of the common people in the time of the Fātimids. This no doubt explains why — except in Makrizī and Kaḥḥāshandī, the great historians of Fātimid Cairo — there is hardly any reference to these celebrations in the literature emanating from Sunnī circles, not even when

writers like 'Alī Faḡhā Mubārak are dealing with features peculiar to Cairo and deal very fully with the history of the Mawlid festival.

The memory of these Fātimid mawlid seems to have almost completely disappeared before the festivals in which Muslim authors unanimously find the origin of the Mawlid, the Mawlid which we find first celebrated in Arbela in 604 by al-Malik Muzaffar al-Dīn Kökbūrt, a brother-in-law of Saladin. The fullest account is given by a somewhat later contemporary, the great historian Ibn Khallikān (d. 681) on whom later writers continually base their statements (e.g. al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥam al-Makrid* [Brockelmann, G. A. L., ii. 157] and others). The personality of this ruler, his period so disturbed by the turmoil of the Crusades, and his milieu to which Ibn Khallikān calls special attention, lead us to suggest marked Christian influence in the development of this celebration; his close relations with the Sūfī movement on the other hand suggest the possibility of influence of quite a different nature. This is clear from the description of the celebrations. Preparations are begun long before and people come in from remote districts. The prince takes special care that the visitors are housed in splendid wooden ḡubbas specially built and they are entertained with music, singing and all kinds of amusements (shadow-plays, jugglers etc.). The streets of the town were for weeks as busy as on the occasion of an annual fair. On the eve of the Mawlid night a torchlight procession took place from the citadel of the town to the ḡhāḡḡah, led by the prince after the maghrib ṡalāt. Next morning the whole populace assembled in front of the ḡhāḡḡah, where a wooden tower had been erected for the ruler and a pulpit for the *waḡīz*. From this tower the prince surveyed not only the crowd assembled to hear the address but also the troops summoned to be reviewed on the adjoining maidān. We are told nothing of the substance of the address. On its conclusion the prince summoned the distinguished guests up to the tower to give them robes of honour. The people were then feasted at the prince's expense in the maidān, while the notables were entertained in the ḡhāḡḡah. The following night was spent by the prince like so many of the Sūfis in *samā'* (Ibn Khallikān, *Bulāq* 1299, ii. 550 *seq.*).

In contrast to the Fātimid celebrations, what is specially striking here is the large share taken in the festival by the Sūfis and the common people, a circumstance which is all the more notable, as it is probably in this association with Sūfism that we have the reasons for the later great popularity of the mawlid. At the same time the torchlight procession, really foreign to Muslim sentiment, and borrowed from contemporary Christian customs at festivals deserves our attention; it is not found at the celebration in Cairo which was purely a day ceremony, while the lavish entertainment of all present, especially with sweets, and the addresses are found in both cases. In this remarkable ceremonial, we seem really to have the foundation of all Mawlid celebrations. With the great political and religious movement, which we may call Salḡḡḡ reaction, the Mawlid reached Egypt in Saladin's time, where it is significant that Sūfism very quickly took deep roots, thus preparing the way for an observance like the Mawlid, which is essentially kept up by popular religious sentiment.

The observance of the festival spread sooner

or later from here to Mecca where its old form was transformed. Its further progress was along the coast of North Africa to Ceuta, Tlemcen and Fes to Spain but it also went eastwards to India, so that ultimately the whole Muslim world is united on this day in a ceremonial, frequently of unprecedented splendour, but alike everywhere in its main features. We have innumerable descriptions of the festival from all parts of the Muslim world, most fully for Mekka (*Chroniken*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 438 sq.; Ibn Hadjar al-Haitami, *Mawlid* [Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 389]; for modern times: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 57 sqq.), where the celebrations have always been famous, for Egypt (Muh. Tawfiq al-Bakri, *Bait al-Siddik*, Cairo 1323, p. 404 sqq.; Lane, *Manners and Customs* [1871], ii. 166 sqq.) and the Indies (Snouck Hurgronje, *Achehneer*, i. 207; do., *Verspreide Geskriften*, ii. 8 sqq.; Herklotz, *Quatour Islam* [1832], p. 233 sq.; Goldziher, *Culte des saints* [1880], p. 13; here it is frequently not the birth but the death of the Prophet that is commemorated). The Turkish element in Islam also has not resisted the advance of the celebration of the Mawlid (Turk.: *Mevlid*). Since Sultan Murad III introduced it in 996 into the Ottoman empire, it has enjoyed increasing popularity. Since 1910 it has been celebrated as a national festival. Accurate descriptions of the festival as celebrated in the older period of the court of Constantinople (Mouradgen d'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, Paris 1787, I. 255 sqq.; *G. O. R.*, viii. 441) clearly reveal its relationship with the festivals of a more popular nature in other lands of Islam.

One element in particular is very prominent, and that is the most characteristic one of the later celebrations, namely the recital of *mawlid*'s i.e. panegyric poems of a very legendary character, which start with the birth of Muhammad and praise his life and virtues in the most extravagant fashion. The origin of these addresses is already to be found in the religious addresses in Fatimid Cairo and in Arbela and perhaps in part at least goes back to the sermon usual at Christian festivals. The *K. al-Tawfir fi Mawlid al-Sirafi*, which Ibn Dihya composed during his stay in Arbela at the suggestion of Kökburi was already famous as a *mawlid* at this period (Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 310). It was not till later times however that *mawlid* became a predominant element in the celebration, along with torchlight processions, feasting and the fairs in the street, ever increasing in size. In Mecca, for example, at the present day they form the main feature of the celebration in the mosque; among the pious they are the most popular evening entertainment for days before the celebration and teachers interrupt their lectures in order to deliver *mawlid*s to the students and the people on the streets and in the coffee houses find edification and entertainment in listening to them. The number of such *mawlid*s is quite considerable. Beside the famous but not very popular *Bawat Sa'ad* of Ka'b b. Zuhair of the older period, the *Burda* and the *Hamisiya* of al-Rûmi and their numerous imitations, there are a whole series of regular *mawlid*s, some of which are intended to instruct like that of Ibn Hadjar al-Haitami, others purely edifying like a shorter version of it, and notably that of Ibn al-Djawi (*G.A.L.*, i. 503) and al-Barrandji (*G.A.L.*, ii. 384). In addition to those in Arabic, there are a great many *mawlid*s in Turkish (Irmg. Engelke, *Süleyman Tschelbi's Leb-*

gedicht, 1926). It is significant of the part played by these poems, that they have passed from the *mawlid* celebrations to other festivals, so that the word has actually become a name for a 'festival' and particularly 'feast' (*qayma*; cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 147, 154 and *pass.*; Becker, in *Id.*, ii. 1911, p. 26 sqq.). Quite apart from any festivals, the recitation of *mawlid* is popular, in Palestine for example in fulfilment of a religious vow (T. Canaan, in *Journ. of the Pal. Or. Soc.*, vi., 1926, p. 55 sqq.; cf. also the introductory anecdote in the *mawlid* alleged to be by Ibn al-'Arabi [*G.A.L.*, i. 441]). Like the substance of these *mawlid*s, the form is also very regular. Prose and poetry alternate, interrupted frequently by appeals to utter blessings on the Prophet. Dhikrs are usually added at the end.

The Mawlid as the finest expression of reverence for Muhammad has found almost general recognition in Islam, as fulfilling a religious need of the people and as a result of the strength of the Sufi movement. This must not however blind us to the fact that at all times there has also been vigorous opposition to it. This is found as early as the festival of Arbela (al-Suyûti, *Hasn al-Mawlid*). The celebration is a *bid'a*, a religious innovation, which is in sharp contradiction to tradition. Even ardent advocates of the festival confess this and the strictly orthodox, who adhere to the sunna, reject it most emphatically. But, as in so many other things, practice has here proved stronger than dogmatic theory. Once the festival had been thoroughly established in the religious life of the people, it was bound in time to find approval as an element of the *idmâ*. Its supporters found it easy to get this *bid'a* legitimated, in theory at least, as a *bid'a hasana*. When the festival had been accepted by the consensus of the community, the essential thing had been done and legitimate ground for opposition had been removed. While the opposition thus finds itself reduced to combating the outer forms of the festival and its developments, its supporters are never tired of calling attention to the merit that lies in feeding the poor, in the more frequent reading of the Qur'an and *mawlid*s, and in expressions of joy over the birth of the Prophet and all that the day brings with it. It is significant of the character of the opposition that the opponents object to those very forms which show the influence of Sufism (dancing, *samâ*, ecstatic phenomena etc.) or Christianity (processions with lights etc.). The most interesting document of this feud is a *fatwâ* by al-Suyûti (d. 911; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 157; *Hasn al-Mawlid* f. 1 *'Amal al-Mawlid*) which gives a brief survey of the history of the festival, then discusses the pros and cons very fully and concludes that the festival deserves approval as a *bid'a hasana*, provided that all abuses are avoided. Ibn Hadjar al-Haitami in his *Mawlid* and Ka'b al-Din (*Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, iii. 439 sq.) take the same view, while Ibn al-Hajjid (d. 757) as a more strict Mâlikî condemns it most vehemently (*K. al-Madhal* [1320], I. 153 sqq.).

Although the height of this struggle was apparently reached in the eighth-ninth century, it did not completely die down in later years; indeed it received new life with the coming of the Wahhâbîs. The cult of the Prophet is in such contradiction in their fundamental principle, the restoration of the ideal purified primitive Islam, that we can understand that they should completely

disapprove of this, the most popular and most splendid expression of it. In doing this, they are only putting into action the protests of the extreme Hanbali Ibn Taimiya (d. 728), the famous precursor of their movement, against innovations which are contrary to the sunna (Ibn Taimiya against the holding of *ghutnas* in the Mawlid night: *Fatāwā* [Cairo 1326], i. 312). Similar ideas are still found to-day even where Wahhābism is rejected, notably in the school which Goldziher calls "Kulturwahhābismus", founded by the celebrated Muhammad 'Abduh (d. 1905), who in connection with the worship of saints condemns the Mawlid also, in the periodical *al-Manār* (Goldziher, *Richtungen der islam. Koranlegung*, p. 369 sqq.).

In the reverence shown to other Muslim saints, the Mawlid also play a great part. Although the success of an appeal to a saint does not depend on particular days, yet certain days and birthdays in particular are regarded as particularly favourable. These celebrations are often connected with places, to which a certain sanctity had been attached from pre-Islamic times (the Mawlid of Shaikh Ḥasan al-Badawī in Tanta: Goldziher, *Mus. Stud.*, ii. 338 sq.). There are also Mawlid of nameless saints in the derwish orders, next to that of the Prophet, the Mawlid of the founder is held in particular popularity. 'Alī Paṣhā Muḥṭarak (*Āḥīf al-Djāḥid*, i. 90; iii. 129 sqq.) mentions a large number of such festivities in modern Cairo, the characteristic features of which, he says, are the brilliant illumination of the town, the ceremonial procession (*Mahfil*; at the *Mawlid al-Nabī*: *manḥab*; cf. P. Kahle, in *Isl.*, vi., 1916, p. 155 sq.) and the great feasts. One cannot now imagine the popular religion of Egypt without these feasts.

Bibliography: Besides the works already mentioned: Muḥ. Tawfiq al-Bakrī, *Bait al-Siddiq*, Cairo 1333, p. 404 sqq.; al-Sakhawī, *al-Tibā al-manāḥid*, Bāḥā 1896, p. 13 sq.; numerous Mawlid texts are given in the *Verzeichn. der arab. Hs. der Kgl. Bibl. zu Berlin*. Of special value is the Mawlid of Abu 'l-'Abbās b. 'Abd Allāh al-Lakhmī of Ceuta (Brockelmann, *G.A.I.*, i. 366); J.-J. L. Burgès, *Complément de l'histoire des Beni-Zayn*, 1887, p. 47 sqq.; *Description de l'Égypte*, Paris 1826, xiv. 196 sqq.; A. Mez, *Reisen in d. Islām*, 1922, p. 403; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islām*, 1925, p. 257.

(H. FUCHS)

AL-MAWSIL. [See MOSUL.]

MAWSIM (a. from the root *w-s-m* "to stigmatise"), market, festival. In this sense the term is used in *ḥudūd*, especially in connection with the markets of early Arabia, such as those which were held in 'Ukāz, Madjanna, Dhu 'l-Madjar, 'Arifa, etc. (Bukhārī, *Ḥudūd*, b. 150; *Tafsīr*, xiii. 2, b. 34). At these markets the worst elements of Arabia gathered (*al-mawṣim yadḡma 'alā al-ḥudūd*, Bukhārī, *Ḥudūd*, b. 31). Advantage was also taken of these assemblies to make public proclamations and inquiries, e.g. in order to regulate the affairs of deceased persons (Bukhārī, *Ḥudūd*, b. 13; *Manāḥid al-Anṣār*, b. 27). As the pilgrimage was at the same time one of the chief markets of early Arabia, the term *mawṣim* is often combined with it (*mawṣim al-ḥajj*, Bukhārī, *Ḥudūd*, b. 150; *Ḥudūd*, b. 1; Abū Dāwūd, *Manāḥid*, b. 6). Upon this basis the term *mawṣim* has developed chiefly in two directions; it has acquired the

general meaning of (religious) festival (Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.) and that of season. In the Lebanon *mawṣim* denotes the season of the preparation of silk (Bisṭān, *Muḥit*, s.v.).

In India and in European terminology referring to these parts of the world, it has acquired the meaning of season in connection with the weather-conditions special to those regions, such as the regularly returning winds and rain periods. *Monsoon*, *monsoon*, *monsoon* and other corruptions of the term are found in this literature.

Bibliography: apart from the works mentioned in the art. cf. *Lisān al-'Arab*, xvi. 123 sqq.; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, Berlin 1897, p. 84 sqq., 246; Yule and Burnell, *Hobbes-Johnson*, ed. Crooke, London 1903, s.v. *monsoon*. (A. J. WENIGER)

MAWWĀL. [See MAWĀLĪYA.]

MAWZŪNA, a small silver coin struck by the Sharifs of Morocco in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. It was the smallest silver piece and equivalent to 24 copper *fulūs* or a quarter dirham. Another name for the *mawzūna* was *ḥiḡa*. In 1911 (1330) copper coins of the value of 10, 5, 2 *mawzūnāt* were issued, the *mawzūna* being now the equivalent of a centime. On recent issues the name *mawzūna* has disappeared and its place is taken by *ṣanīm*.

Bibliography: J. J. Marcel, *Tableau général des Monnaies ayant cours en Algérie*, Paris 1844, p. 9, 36-40. (J. ALLAN)

AL-MAYURKĪ, nisba of three Arabic authors, belonging to Majorca (Mallorca), the largest of the Balearic Islands.

I. the poet Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ahmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Tunāiz, d. in 475 (1082), according to others in 477 at Kāzima near Baghdad; poems by him are preserved in the MS. of the Escorial in Derenbourg, N^o 467, 2; cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Buḡyat al-Wu'at*, S. 327; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, iv. 722.

II. the traditionalist Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Naṣr Fūṣḥ b. 'Abd Allāh b. Humaid al-Azdī al-Humaidī, cf. above, ii. 3, where to the sources should be added Yāqūt, *Iṣṭiḥāṭ al-Arib*, vii. 58-60 and 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dihlāwī, *Bustān al-Muḥaddithīn*, p. 81. In addition to the works there given, the following still exist: 1. *al-Djāmi' bain al-Sakhāin Ṣakhā al-Bukhārī wa-Ṣakhā al-Muṣallīn*; MS. in Cairo, *Fihrist*, i. 325 and Mönsl, s. Dāwūd, *Mahṣūfāt al-Mawṣil*, p. 194, 16 (fragment); Yahyā b. Muḥammad b. Huhaira al-Wasīr (d. 560 = 1165) wrote a commentary on it; MSS. in Berlin, Alhwardt, N^o 1192; Leipzig, Vollers, N^o 313 and in the Brit. Museum, N^o 1603. 2. *Tafsīr ḡharīb ma'ā fī 'l-Sakhāin murattab 'alā 'l-Mawṣil*; MS. in the possession of A. Taimūr Pāshā in Cairo, s. R.A.A.D., iii. 540. 3. *Tasḥīl al-Sakhā ilā Ta'allum al-Tarīḥ bi-Tamḥīl al-Munāḥalāt wa-Tuḡāf al-Mukḥḥabāt*; MS. in Samsul, Top Kapu, N^o 2351; photograph in Cairo, s. *Fihrist*, iii. 62.

III. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tardjānī, born in Majorca of Christian parents, studied in Lerida and Bologna, then went to Tunis on the advice of Bishop Nicolas Martell, who was himself a Muslim in secret, there adopted Islam and in 823 (1420) wrote a pamphlet against Christianity entitled *Tuḥfat al-Arib* (*Adhāb 'l-Radd 'alā Ahl al-Salt*); MS. in the Brit. Museum Or. 5942; Ellis and Edwards, *Descriptive List*, p. 13; in Samsul, Khāṭir, N^o 5275 (with Turkish translation), Fāṭh, N^o 2909, Aṣ'ad, N^o 1147-1148; pr. Cairo

1895; transl. by J. Spiro, Paris 1886; cf. J. Miret y Sola, *La tomba del inscripore Catala Fru Anselmo*, Barcelona 1910. Abu 'l-Ghaith Muhammad al-Kashshah wrote an introduction to the book and dedicated it under the new title *Tahiyat al-Asrar Tahif al-Akhyar al-Ansar fi'l-Radd 'ala 'l-Nafara 'l-Kuffar* to the Ottoman Sultan Ahmad I (1012-1026 = 1603-1617); MSS. a. G.A.L., II, 250 (thereon Paris, No. 6051-6052). The author's son Abd al-Halim wrote a synopsis of the work; MS. in Berlin, Ahlwardt, No. 2211.

Bibliography: Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, p. 34, No. 15; *R. Afr.*, v. 266; *R.H.R.*, xii, 65-89, 179-201, 278-301; *R.T.*, xiii, (1906), p. 89-101, 292-294. (C. BROCKELMANN)

MAZAGAN (old Arabic name: *al-Buraidja*, "the little fortress"; modern Arabic name: *al-Djadida* "the new"), a town on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, 7 miles S.E. of the mouth of the Wadi Umm Rabi'. Its population in 1926 was 19,159, of whom 14,141 were Muslims and 3,385 Jews.

Some writers think that Mazagan was built on the site of the *Portus Ratis* of Ptolemy, or *Portus Ratis* of Pliny. The texts however do not say that there was ever a town there, but only a roadstead frequented by ships. The situation seems to have remained unchanged throughout the middle ages. As to the name Mazagan, it seems to appear for the first time in al-Bakri (eleventh century A.D.). This geographer, enumerating the ports of Morocco on the Atlantic coast, mentions a Marifen (de Slane's reading), which should undoubtedly be emended to Marighan, a form attested by Ibn al-Bakri (xiith century). The same place-name is found in a manuscript collection of edifying anecdotes relating to the great saint of Azammur: Sidr Abu Shu'ayb, who also lived in the twelfth century. Marighan appears here as a fishing village between Azammur and the ribat of Tiz [q.v.]. The proximity of these two fairly important towns prevented it from developing. The roadstead is marked on a whole series of European planispheres and portulans of the xivth and xvth centuries (publ. by Ch. de La Roncière, *Découverte de l'Afrique au Moyen-Âge*, 1925) which give the forms Messegan (1330 and 1373), Masaghan (1367), Mazagem, intermediate between Marighan and the Mazagão of the Portuguese. The latter, from the end of the xvth century, used to come to the harbour of Mazagan for cargoes of the grain of Dukkala to supply the capital. In 1502, a squadron commanded by a Portuguese gentleman, Jorge de Mello, caught by a storm in the Straits of Gibraltar was driven to Mazagan and landed there. The Portuguese installed themselves in a deserted tower there to defend themselves against a possible attack by the inhabitants. Jorge de Mello soon returned to Portugal and obtained the king's permission to build a fortress at Mazagan. Although the story of these events is only recorded by writers of the xviiith century, it must be in keeping with the facts, for letters patent of king Dom Manuel dated May 21, 1505, give Jorge de Mello the captaincy of the castle which he is authorised to build at his own expense at Mazagan. He did not however make use of his privilege for, when on Aug. 27, 1513 the Portuguese army sent to take Azammur under the command of the Duke of Braganza landed at Mazagan, there was neither town nor

fortress there except the old ruined tower (*al-Buraidja*). The difficulty of entering the port of Azammur led the Portuguese to establish a more accessible base at Mazagan. During the summer of 1514 under the direction of the architects Diego and Francisco da Arruda, a square castle flanked by towers at each of the four corners was built. One of these bastions was formed by the old tower, al-Buraidja, the name of which survived among the natives as that of the Portuguese town. This early castle still exists almost in its entirety. Particularly striking is a magnificent subterranean hall, the vaulting of which is supported by 25 pillars. It was probably, rather than a *salle d'armes*, a huge granary built to hold the contributions in grain paid by the tribes subjected to the Portuguese protectorate. It was at a later date used as a cistern to hold supplies of drinking-water for the garrison, when the place blockaded by rebellious tribes had no longer any means in grain to collect, which happened in 1541. For ten years before, the situation of the Portuguese stations on the coast, in view of the religious and anti-foreign movement stirred up by the coming and successes of the Sa'dian Sharifs, had been so bad that the king of Portugal thought of abandoning several of his fortresses. The taking of the fort Santa-Cruz on the Cape of Guer (Agadir) by the sharif (March 12, 1541) was a warning. John III decided to evacuate Safi and Azammur and to concentrate on Mazagan, a more favourable and more easily defended position, all the Portuguese forces he wanted to leave in the south of Morocco. The operation was carried through in the autumn (before Nov. 6). From the month of April onwards the work of putting the town in a state of defence had been going on. The work was actually pushed on during the last months of the year (1541) under the direction of the great architect João da Castilho, who used plans prepared by an Italian engineer, Benito of Ravenna. This was when the walls of Mazagan were built as they still stand to-day.

In retaining Mazagan the Portuguese wanted to keep a base on the coast to secure protection for the route to India. They also hoped that the fortress would serve them as a base for the conquest of Morocco, when a favourable conjuncture should arise, which however never happened. In fact for the more than two hundred years in which the Portuguese retained it, the possession of Mazagan only served them as a pretext to obtain from the Pope bulls of Crusades, which supplied the Papal Treasury with appreciable revenues. The tribes kept the town so closely blockaded that the inhabitants could not go outside its walls without military protection. The collection of wood and the cultivation of a few gardens, continually devastated by the natives, gave rise to continual skirmishes. The Muslims of the country around had built two little towns, a few miles from Mazagan, Fahs al-Zammuriyyin and Fahs Awiad Duwalyih, where they entrenched themselves to keep up the blockade and where the devout, desirous of acquiring merit from participation in the holy war, used to come to discharge a few shots at Mazagan.

Badly supplied by sea, often a prey to famines and epidemics, the garrison and population however lived in sufficient security under their powerful walls, against which the tribes could do nothing. On several occasions however, they had to resist vigorous attacks. In April 1562 Muhammad, son

of the Sa'dian Sultān, 'Abd. Allāh al-Ghālīb bi'l-lāh, at the head of a vast horde of tribal warriors laid siege to Mazagan. Two assaults were repulsed and the besiegers lost heart. On Aug. 4, 1623, the place, attacked by 3,000 Muslims during the absence of the governor, who was led into an ambush, owed its safety to his wife who ordered the gates to be shut, organised the defence, distributed arms to the whole population, women as well as men, and sent them on to the walls. During the disorder which accompanied the decline of the Sa'dian dynasty, the governors of Mazagan seem to have succeeded in raising the blockade and resuming relations to some extent with the tribes. The *mudfāhid* Sidi Muḥammad al-'Alīyāhī, to put an end to this, attacked the Portuguese in 1639 and inflicted some losses on them. Mawlay Ismā'il, occupied with the siege of Ceuta, never seriously tried to take Mazagan. The honour of retaking it belonged to his grandson Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd. Allāh. The Sultān came to besiege it in person at the end of Jan. 1769. The place held out successfully for five weeks but, the order to abandon it having arrived from Lisbou, the governor surrendered on honourable terms. The garrison and civilian population returned to Portugal with their arms and possessions. On abandoning Mazagan on March 10, 1769 the Portuguese exploded mines there which did great damage; the sultān entered a ruined town which he repopulated in part but it remained in so miserable a state that it was called *al-Mahdūma* "the ruined", until, in the reign of Sidi Muḥammad b. Hishām, in 1240 (1824-25) it was restored by Sidi Muḥammad b. al-Tayyib, kād of Dukkala and Tāmasna, who gave it the name of *al-Djādida* by which it is generally known to Muslims.

Bibliography: St. Gsell, *Hist. ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, vol. II, 1928; Luis Maria do Couto de Albuquerque da Cunha, *Memorias para a historia da praça de Mazagão*, ed. by Levy Maria Jordão, Lisbon 1864; Afonso de Dornellas, *A praça de Mazagão*, Lisbon 1913; Goulven, *La place de Mazagan sous la domination portugaise*, Paris 1917; Vergilio Correia, *Lugares do litoral*, Lisbon 1923; Agostinho de Gavy de Mendonça, *Historia do cerco de Mazagão* [1562], Lisbon 1891; *Discurso da tomada de D. Gensal Coutinho a villa de Mazagani*, Lisbon 1629; Jorge de Mascarenhas, *Descrição da fortaleza de Mazagão (1615-19)*, ed. by Belluaria Pimenta, Lisbon 1916; G. Hüst, *Den Mazahanki Kajter Muhammad bin Abdallah's Historie*, Copenhagen 1791; al-Nāṣiri, *Kitāb al-istiṭā'a*, transl. by Fumey, in *A. M.*, vol. ix, and x. (G. S. COLLIN and P. DE CENIVAL).

MĀZANDARĀN, a province to the south of the Caspian Sea bounded on the west by Gilān, on the east by the province of Āstarābād (q. v., formerly Gurgān).

The name. If Gurgān to the Iranians was the "Land of the Wolves" (*vohrāzma*), the region to its west was peopled by "Māzzinian dēws" (Bartholomae, *Altir. Wörterbuch*, col. 1169 under *māziniya dēwa*). Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, II, 373, note 32, thought that Māzandarān was a "comparative of direction" (**Mazana-tara*; cf. *shūvān* and *shūghtar*) but Nöldeke's hypothesis is the more probable (*Grundr. d. iran. Phil.*, II, 178) who thinks that Māzan-dar = "the gate of Māzan" was a particular place, distinct from the part of

the country known as Tapuristān. [A village of Mesderan (?) is marked on Siehl's map 12 km. south of Firūzkūh !] In any case the name Māzandarān seems to have no connection with *ma* *zand* *arān* *spōr*; which according to Ptolemy, vi, ch. v., was situated between Parthia and Arcia (Hār-rūd) and was connected by Olshausen (*Mazdoran und Mazandaran, Monatsberichte Ak. Berlin*, 1877, p. 777-783) with Masdūān, a station 12 farsakhs west of Sarakhs; cf. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 24; Mukaddasī, p. 351 [cf. however the late source of 88: (1476) quoted by Dorn, *Mélanges asiat.*, vii, 42].

The Avestan and Pahlavi quotations given by Darmesteter, *loc. cit.*, show to what degree the people of Māzandarān were regarded by the Persians as a foreign group and little assimilated. According to the *Bundahish*, xv, 28, transl. West, p. 58, the "Māzandarān" were descended from a different pair of ancestors to those of the Iranians and Arabs. The *Shāh-nāma* reflects similar ideas (cf. the episode of Kal-kā'ūs' war in Māzandarān and esp. Vullers ed., I, p. 332, v. 290: the war is waged against Ahriman; p. 364, v. 792-793: Māzandarān is contrasted with Irān; p. 574, v. 925: the bestial appearance of the king of Māzandarān).

Among historical peoples in Māzandarān are the Tapyres (*Tāpura*), who must have occupied the mountains (north of Simnān), and the Amardes (*Amardes*), who according to Andreas and Marquart have given their name to the town of Amol (although the change of *rd* to *r* is rather strange in the north of Persia). These two peoples were defeated by Alexander the Great. The Parthian king Phraates I (in 176 B.C.) transplanted the Mardes (Amardes) to the region of Khāzāz (Khāzār to the east of Warāmin) and their place was taken by the Tapyres, whose name came to be applied to the whole province.

The Arabs only know the region as Tabaristān (< Tapuristān, on the Pahlavi coins). The name Māzandarān only reappears in the Seldjūk period. Ibn al-Athīr, x, 34, in speaking of the distribution of fiefs by Alp Arslān in 458 (1065) says that Māzandarān was given to the emir Inandj Balghu. Ibn Isfandiyyār, p. 14, and Yāqūt, iii, p. 502, q. think that Māzandarān as a name for Tabaristān is only of fairly modern origin (in Arabic?) but according to Zakariyā Kazwini, p. 270, "the Persians call Tabaristān Māzandarān". Hamdallāh Mustawfī distinguishes between Māzandarān and Tabaristān. In his time (1340) the 7 *tuman* of the "willayat of Māzandarān" were: Djurdjān, Mūrūstāk (?), Āstarābād, Amol and Rustamdār, Dihistān, Rūghad and Siyāh-rustāk (?); on the other hand the *diyar-i Kūmis wa Tabaristān* included Simnān, Dāmghān, Firūzkūh, a town of Damāwand, Firīm etc. We find a similar distinction in Khwāndamīr, ed. Dorn, p. 83.

Geography: The actual extent of Māzandarān (Rahino) is 300 miles from east to west and 46 to 70 miles from north to south. Except for the strip along the coast — broader in the east than the west — Māzandarān is a very mountainous country. The main range of the Elburs forms barriers parallel to the south of the Caspian, while the ridges running down to the sea cut the country up into a multitude of valleys open on the north only. The principal of the latter ridges is the Mazār-dāh, which separates Tabaristān from Tūnikāhm. The latter is bordered on the south by the chain of the Elburs in the strict sense, which

separates it from the valley of the *Shāhrūd* (formed by the waters of the *Ālmūt* and *Tālān* and flowing westward into the *Safīd-rūd*).

To the east of *Māzr-ēb*, a number of ranges run out of the central massif of the *Elburz*: 1. to the east the chain of *Nūr* which cuts through the *Harā-ṭey* and 2. to the S.E. the southern barrier which forms the watershed between the Caspian and the central plateau. Between the two, rises in isolation the great volcanic cone of *Damāwand* (9,900 feet).

To the east of *Damāwand* the southern barrier rejoins the continuation of the *Nūr* and the new line of the watershed of eastern *Māzandarān* is marked by the ranges of *Bānd-i-ṭey*, *Sawād-kūh*, *Shāh-mīzād* (to the south of *Simnān*), of *Harā-djārīb* (to the south of *Dāmghān*), of *Shāh-kūh* (to the south of *Shāhrūd*) etc.

The rivers of *Māzandarān* are of two kinds. A hundred short streams run straight down into the sea from the outer mountains of *Māzandarān*. Much more important are the rivers which rise in the interior and after draining many valleys form a single great river when they break through the last barrier. Such are (from west to east): the *Sard-ābrūd*; the *Čāllā*; the *Harā-ṭey*, which drains the region of mount *Damāwand* and then runs past *Amol*; the *Bābōl* (the river of *Bārfrūsh*); the *Tālār* (river of *Ālshād*); the *Tidjīn* (river of *Sārī*) and the *Nikā* (or *Aspneyā*) which flows from east to west, its valley forms a corner between the southern chain (cf. above) and the mountains which surround the Gulf of *Astarābād* on the north.

Bibliography of Travels. Pietro della Valle (1618), *Viaggi*, part ii, letter iv., Brighton 1843, p. 578—702: *Isfahān-Siyāhkūh* (to the east of modern Lake of *Kūm*) — *Frūz-kūh-Shirgāh-Sārī-Farahābād-Ashraf-Sārī-Firūz-kūh-Gilyārd-Teherān*: Sir Thomas Herbert, *Some years' travels* (1627), and Fr. ed. *Relation du voyage*, Paris 1663, p. 265—311: *Isfahān-Siyāhkūh-Firūz-kūh-Ālshād-Ashraf-Amol-Teherān*; Hanway, *A historical account*, London 1754, ch. xxvii., i. 139—149: *Astarābād-Bārfrūsh*, ch. xlii., i. 192—198: *Lāgarūd-Amol-Bārfrūsh-Ashraf*; S. G. Gmelin, *Reise d. Russland*, iii. (*Reise d. d. nördlichen Perzien*, 1770—1772), St. Petersburg 1774, p. 446—472 (*Amol-Bārfrūsh-Ālshād-Sārī-Ashraf*); G. Forster, *A journey from Bengal to England* (1784), London 1798, ii. 179—210 (*Bistām-Dehī-mūlās-Chāhō-Sārī-Bārfrūsh*); Morier, *Seventy years' journey*, London 1818, ch. xxli. (*Teherān-Būmihīn-Damāwand-Bāgh-i Shāh-Firūz-kūh-Awarān-Fūlād-mahalla-Čahmā-Ālī-Sawāt-Astarābād*); Macdonald Kinneir, *Geogr. Memoir*, London 1813, p. 161—167; Ouseley, *Travels*, London 1819, iii. (*Frūz-kūh-Surkh-rabāt-Zirāb-Shirgāh-Ālshād-Sārī-Ashraf-Farahābād-Amol-Miyūkākā-Damāwand*); Trézel, *Notice sur le Gilan et Mazanderan*, in Jaubert, *Voyage en Arménie et en Perse*, ii., p. 417—463; Fraser, *Travels and adventures... on the southern banks of the Caspian Sea*, London 1826, ch. ii.—vii. 12—125: *Ashraf-Sārī-Bārfrūsh-Amol-Isdeh-Ālshād-Towār-Aḡarīm-I. Khidjān*; Eichwald, *Reise auf d. Kasp. Meer* (1825—1826), Stuttgart 1834, i., ch. xi. (*Māzandarān*), p. 330—358 (*Mashhadīsar-Bārfrūsh*); Conolly, *Journey to the North of India overland*, London 1834, i. 20—27 (*Teherān-Firūz-kūh-Sārī-Ashraf*); Burns, *Travels into Bokhara*, 1835, iii. 103—122 (*Astarābād-Ashraf-Ālshād-Firūz-kūh-Teherān*); Stuart, *Journal of a residence*

in Northern Persia (1835), London 1854, p. 247—289 (town of *Damāwand-Firūz-kūh-Zirāb-Sārī-Amol-Teherān*); d'Arcy Todd, *Memoranda to accompany a sketch of part of Māzandarān*, J.R.G.S., viii., 1838, p. 101—108, map (*Teherān-Amol-Bārfrūsh-Shirgāh-Surkh-rabāt-Firūz-kūh-Teherān-Damāwand-Firūz-kūh-sources of the Tālār-Uw-afid-Shirgāh-Ālshād-Sārī-Bārfrūsh-Amol-Teherān-Firūz-kūh-Fūlād-mahalla*); Ritter, *Erkundung*, vol. vi./i = part viii./3, Berlin 1838, p. 471—514 (routes through the *Elburz*), p. 514—550 (coast region of *Māzandarān*), p. 550—595 (*Damāwand*); Fraser, *A winter's journey*, 1838, ii. 131—145 (*Firūz-kūh-Shamīzād-Shāhrūd*); ii. 416—482 (*Teherān-Lār-Kālārastāk-Farāsp-Amol-Bārfrūsh-Magh-hadīsar-Isdeh-Sakhtāar*); Wilbraham, *Travels in the Transcaucasian provinces* (1837), London 1839, p. 423—477 (*Teherān-Firūz-kūh-Zirāb-Sārī-Ashraf-Amol*); Holmes, *Sketch of the shores of the Caspian*, London 1845, ch. x. (*Kālārastāk-Ntr-Amol-Farahābād-Astarābād*), ch. xvii. (*Sawar-Shāhkūh-Shamshirbur-Čahmā-Ālī-Simnān*); Voskoboïnikov, *Puteshetstvie po severnoi Perzii* (1843—1844), *Gosud. Zhurnal*, St. Petersburg 1846, v. 174—220, map, Germ. transl. in *Erman's Russ. Archiv*, v., Heft 4, p. 674—708 (geology: *Shāh-kūh*; *Sārī-Firūz-kūh*; *Kudjūr-Teherān*); Buhse, *Bergreise von Gilan nach Astarabad*, in Baer & Helmersen, *Beiträge z. Kenntnis der russ. Reichs*, 1847, vol. xiii., p. 217—236 (*Lāspūh-Kālārastāk-Kudjūr-Ask-Firūz-kūh-Fūlād-mahalla*); Hummaire de Hell, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, Paris 1855, iii. 214—336 (*Teherān-Lār-Amol-Ashraf-Astarābād-Rādikan-Kurd-mahalla-Ālī-Čahmā-Simnān*); iv. 285—306 (itineraries: atlas, plates 74—82, by Laurens); de Bode, *Ostasi turkmen. zemli i yugo-vostol. pribrezh. Kaspiiskago moria*, *Otchet*, *Zapiski*, 1856, No. 7, p. 123—150 (*Teherān-Sarbandān-Firūz-kūh-Čahārdeh-Hasār-djārīb-Astarābād*), No. 8, p. 459—472 (*Sawar-Rādikan*); F. Mackenzie, *Report on the Persian Caspian Provinces*, Rasht 1859—1860 (manuscript quoted by Rabino); Gasteliger-Rawenstein-Kobach, *Rundreise durch die nördl. Prov. Perziens*, Z. f. allgem. Erd., xii., 1862, p. 341—356 (*Teherān-Firūz-kūh-Ālshād-kūh* [*Sawād-kūh*]-*Sārī-Ashraf-Astarābād*); Dorn, *Bericht über eine wissenschaftl. Reise in den Kaukasus etc.*, *Mit. Asiatic*, iv., 1863, p. 429—500 (*Ashraf-āla-Ashraf-Bārfrūsh-Maghhadīsar*); Dorn, *Reise nach Māzanderan im J. 1860*, 1st section (St. Petersburg-Ashraf), St. Petersburg 1895 (with an atlas); Melgunov, *O yulnom beregi Kaspiiskago moria*, appendix to vol. iii. of *Zapiski Akadem. Nauk*, St. Petersburg 1863, p. 95—195, Germ. transl. by Zenker, *Das nördliche Ufer d. Kasp. Meeres*, Leipzig 1868 (with some mistakes in the transcriptions); Eastwick, *Three years' residence*, London 1864, ch. iii., ii. 50—101 (*Astarābād-Ashraf-Sārī-Ālshād-Shirgāh-Zirāb-Surkh-rabāt-Firūz-kūh-Sarbandān-Būmihīn*); Seidlitz, *Handel und Wandel an d. Kaspiischen Südküste* (from *Russkii Vostok*), *Pet. Mitt.*, 1869, p. 98—103, 255—268 (*Safīd-rūd-Maghhadīsar-Bandāgar*; *Ashraf*; *Safībād*); G. C. Napier, *Extracts from a diary of a tour in Khurasan*, J. R. G. S., xvi., 1876, p. 62—171 (good map: *Galbak-Gilyārd-Firūz-kūh-Gūranīd-Ėhing Rūdār-Čahmā-Ālī-Čardīb-Shamshirbur-Aspinera-Shāhrūd*); V. Baker, *Clouds in the East*, London 1876 (p. 62—89: *Ashraf-Sārī-Shirgāh-Zirāb-Firūz-kūh-Sarbandān-Būmihīn-Teherān*, p. 57—142: *Lār-Ask-Kha-*

loe (?) - ²Altābād - Zīrāb - Casaleone (?) - ²Altābād - Attenne (?) - Surkhān - Čāshme 'Alī - Dihmulla - Dāmghān; Stack, *Six months in Persia*, ch. vii. and viii., London 1882, ii., p. 170-202 (Teherān-Mount Damāvand-Maghādiar); Beresford Lovett, *Itinerary notes of route surveys in Northern Persia*, *Proc. R.G.S.*, v., 1883, Feb., p. 57-84 (Teherān-Cālis - Nūr - Balada - Lār - Ask - Firākhūh - Fūlād-mahalla - Čārdeh - Ziyārāt - Astārābād); Curzon, *Persia*, 1892, i., 354-389, ch. xii. (Māzandarān and Gilān) with a sketch; Sven Hedin, *Genom Khorasan*, Stockholm 1893, i., 57-69 (Dāmghān-Čārdih-Djūhān-numā-Astārābād); E. G. Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, London 1893, p. 557-568 (Teherān-Maghādiar); de Morgan, *Mission scientifique, Etudes géographiques*, i., 1894, p. 113-208 (numerous illustrations); A. F. Stahl, *Reisen in Nord- und Zentral-Persien*, *Pet. Mitt.*, Ergänzungsheft No. 118, 1896, p. 7-18 (Teherān-Kelāvestāk - Nūr - Lār - Damāvand; Teherān-Āmol; Firākhūh - 'Altābād; Āmol-Astārābād-Tāsh-Čārdih-Simān) (with a detailed map); H. L. Wells, *Across the Alburz mountains*, *The Scott. Geogr. Magazine*, xiv., 1898, p. 1-9 (supplement to Lovett: Afsharān-Kudjūr-Now-rūdihān-Mulla-kāl'a); Saïre, *Reise in Mazanderan*, *Z. Geogr. Erdkunde*, 1902, p. 99-111 (Damāvand-Āmol-Aghrīl-Bandargaz); Stahl, *Reisen in Nord- und Westpersien*, *Pet. Mitt.*, 1907, Heft vi., p. 121-131 (with a map: Bāfrūsh-Firākhūh); O. Niedermayer [Die Persien-Expedition], *Mitt. d. Geogr. Gen. in München*, viii., 1913, p. 177-188 (Firākhūh-Turud-Pelwās-Sārī; Nkā-Sefaldje); Rahino, *A journey in Mazanderan*, *J.R.G.S.*, Nov. 1913, p. 435-454 (Rāshī-Sārī); Golubiatnikov, *Petrol in Northern Persia* (in Russian), *Neftyanoye i slantsevoye khozaystvo*, Moscow 1921, Sept.-Oct., p. 78-91; Noel, *A reconnaissance in the Caspian provinces of Persia*, *J.R.G.S.*, 1921, June, p. 401-418 (Teherān-Āmol-Fārbād - Nūr - Kudjūr - Tunikābān); Herzfeld, *Reisebericht*, *Z.D.G.M.*, 1926, p. 278-279 (Bistām-Rādkān-Shamghitbur-Dāmghān); A. F. Stahl, *Die geographischen und hydrographischen Verhältnisse des Elburz-Gebirges in Persien*, *Pet. Mitt.*, 1927, Heft 7-8, p. 211-215 (with a map); H. L. Rahino, *Māzandarān and Astārābād*, *G.M.S.*, 1928 (itineraries on the coast, administrative divisions with lists of villages, Muslim inscriptions); cf. p. xx., complete list of previous works. G. M. Bell, *Geological Notes on part of Mazanderan* (*Geol. Transactions*, series ii., vol. v., p. 517).

Ethnology. Khanykov, *Mémoire sur l'éthnographie de la Perse*, Paris 1866, p. 116-117; Inostrantsev, *The Customs of the inhabitants of the Caspian provinces in the tenth century* (in Russian), *Živaya Starina*, 1909, part II-III, p. 125-152. Language. Cf. Geiger, *Die Kaspischen Dialecte*, *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, i/3, p. 344-380, where the literature of the subject is given (esp. Dorn's works).

The historical geography of Māzandarān is still full of difficulties although Vasmer's very full study has considerably reduced their number. The matter is complicated by the fact that certain well-known names are used in different periods for more or less identical districts.

The eastern frontier of Māzandarān (Tabaristān) in the strict sense, with Astārābād (Djurdjān) seems to have always run near Kulhād (on the river Kirrind; cf. Ptolemy *Geographia*) where there used to be a wall (*djār-i Kūllād*) which barred the narrow

strip of lowland between the Gulf of Astārābād and the mountains; cf. Ibn Rusta (p. 149) who speaks of the brick wall (*djinnir*) and of the Gate of Tāmis through which travellers had to pass (cf. Ibn al-Fakih, p. 303). To the west the town of Shālūs (Čālis) was situated on the frontier of Dailām (Ibn Rusta, p. 150: *fi naḥl 'l-'aḥad*) but later the valley of the Sarīd-āb-rūd (Kālārdaght) seems to have been annexed to Tabaristān. Farther west the coast of Tunikābān was governed sometimes with Māzandarān and sometimes with Gilān.

The Arab geographers distinguished between the plain (*al-sahliya*) and the mountains (*al-jahaliya*) of Tabaristān (Iṣṭakhri, p. 211, 271). The important towns of Tabaristān were in the lowlands: Āmol, Nā'il, Shālūs (Čālis), Kālā (Kālār), Milā, Tardjī (Tūdji, Barđji?), 'Ain al-Hamm, Māmīr (= Bārfurūsh), Sārī, Tāmīgha (cf. Iṣṭakhri, p. 207; cf. Mukaddasi, p. 353). The principal town (*madina*) of Tabaristān in the time of Ya'qūbī, p. 276, still was Sāriya (p. 27), but in the time of Mas'ūdi, *Tanbih*, p. 179, Iṣṭakhri, p. 211, and Ibn Hawkal, p. 271, the principal town (*qajaba*) and the most flourishing one in Tabaristān was Āmol (larger than Kāwin).

The mountain area was quite distinct and its connection with the plain is not very clear in the Arabic texts; cf. the confused summary in Iṣṭakhri, p. 204. Tabari, iii., 1295 under the year 224 (838) distinguishes three mountains in Tabaristān: 1. the mountain of Wandā-Hurmuz in the centre (*wasaf*); 2. that of his brother Wandāsandjān (*si*) b. Alandād b. Kārin and 3. that of Sharwin b. Surkhāb b. Bāh. Now according to Ibn Rusta, p. 151, (the Kāzinid) Wandā-Hurmuz lived near Dunbāwand. On the other hand, the same writer, p. 149, says that during the rule of Tabaristān by Djarir b. Yazid, Wandā-Hurmuz had bought 1,000 *djāris* of domain lands (*ṭawāfi*) outside the town of Sārī. These *al-djāris* seem to correspond to the region round the sources of the rivers Tūdjin and Nīkā which in Persian is called Haṣir-djāris. Later, the lands of Wandā-Hurmuz included the greater part of eastern Māzandarān. *Wandāspdjān seems to have ruled over the greater part of Māzandarān for his capital Muzn was the rallying point from which expeditions set out against Dailām. Finally the mountains of Sharwin comprised the S.E. part of Māzandarān, for according to Ibn al-Fakih, p. 305, it was close to Kūmis.

In the time of Iṣṭakhri, the three divisions of the mountains specified are: the mountains of Rūbādji, of Fādūbān and of Kārin. *They are high mountains (*djibāl*) and each of them (*djibāl*) has a chief.

Rūbādji, according to Ibn Hawkal, lay between Rāy and Tabaristān. Barthold, *Oriental Researches*, p. 155 emends the name to *Rūyandj and identifies it with Rūyān. Ibn Rusta, p. 149 says that Rūyān, near the lands of Rāy, did not form part of Tabaristān but formed a special *kūra* with the capital Kadidja which was the headquarters of the Wālī (cf. Kāfaristān) in the *ṣulṭā* of Kudjūr. According to this, *Rūyandj = Rūyān is to be located in the S.W. part of Māzandarān (north of Teherān). In the Mongol period, Hamdallāh Kāzwini, p. 160, is the first to mention Rustamdār (on the Shāh-rūd). As Vasmer, *loc. cit.*, p. 122-125, has shown, Rustamdār later included all western Māzandarān between Sakhtasār (Gilān) and Āmol.

Rustamdār therefore included Rūyān, without the two terms being completely synonymous.

Djibāl Kārin had only one town Shalmār, a day's journey from Sāriya. The local chiefs of the dynasty of Kārin lived in the stronghold of Firrim which must have stood on the western branch of the river Tiddin, which later flows past Sāri. The modern *bulūk* of Firrim is in the Hazār-Djārib (more accurately in its western half which is called Dūdāngā). According to Ibn Isfandiār, p. 95, the possessions of the Kārinids included the mountains of Wandā-ummid (*ibid.*, p. 25; the water supply of the mosque of Āmol came from this mountain), Āmol, Lafūr (on the eastern source of the river Bāhul which runs to Bāfurūsh) and Firrim, "which is called Kūb-i Kārin". According to Yāqūt, iii, 283, the lands of the Kārinids included Djibāl Sharwīn (cf. above) which I'timād al-Saltāna, *Kirāt al-Ta'wīn*, p. 42, identifies with Sawād-kūh i.e. the sources of the Tūlār (river of 'Alīshād between Āmol and Bāfurūsh); the pass leading to Sawād-kūh is still called Shalmīn < Sharwīn.

The Djibāl Pādūspān (قدوسیان) long wrongly read (قدوسیان) lay a day's journey from Sāri. The district had no cathedral mosque; the chief lived in the village of Uram (Ibn Hawkal, p. 268, 17; Uram-khūst, Ārum). As Vasmer has shown, p. 127-130, this must be sought on the middle course of the rivers of Bāfurūsh and 'Alīshād (to the north of Lafūr and near Sitrūgh).

Bibliography. B.G.A., s.v. Dailam, Tabaristān, Āmol, Sāriya etc. Ibn al-Fakih, p. 301-314, in particular gives very detailed information about Tabaristān. Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, index; Idrisi, *transl.* Jaubert, ii, 169, 179-180, 333; 337-338 (of little originality); Zakariyā Kāzwini, *Atthar al-Buldān* (clime iv.); Āmol, p. 190; Billād al-Dailam, p. 221; Rūyān, p. 250; Tabaristān; Yāqūt, cf. Dorn, *Auszüge*, 1858, p. 2-45; where are collected all the articles relating to Tabaristān [but the text of Wüstenfeld's edition is preferable]; Hamidullāh Kāzwini, *Nuhat al-Kulūb*, G.M.S., p. 159 and 161; Dorn, *Auszüge aus 14 morgenl. Schriftstellern betreffend d. Kaspiische Meer*, *Mittheilungen Asiatischer*, vi, p. 658, vii, p. 19-44 and 52-92; cf. also the historical bibliography. European works: Spiegel, *Eran. Altertumskunde*, 1871, i, 64-74; Dorn, *Caspia*, 1875 (a mass of rather undigested information); Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur*, 1882, index; Brunnhofer, *Vom Pontus bis zum Indus*, Leipzig 1890, p. 73-93; Alburs and Mazandaran (the author seeks to explain Iranian geography from Sanskrit texts); Barthold, *Inter-geogr. über Iran*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 158-161; Pers. transl., Teherān 1930, p. 289-295; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphs*, p. 368-376; Vasmer, *Die Eroberung etc.*

History. The local dynasties of Māzandarān fall into three classes: 1. local families of pre-Islamic origin, 2. the 'Alid sayyids and 3. local families of secondary importance.

I. At the coming of the Sāsānian dynasty, the king of Tabaristān and of Pādūshwārgar (Marquart, *Erzählung*, p. 130: "the district opposite the region of Khwāzr"; Farshwārdgar is a misreading of the name, which is also found in the *Bundahish*, xii, 17) was Gushnasp, whose ancestors had reigned since the time of Alexander. In 529-536 Tabaristān was ruled by the Sāsānian prince Kayūs, son of Kāwāt. Anūshīrwān put in his place Zarmihr, who

traced his descent from the famous smith Kāwa. His dynasty ruled till 645 when Gil Gabhāra (a descendant of the Sāsānian Djamasp, son of Pērōz) annexed Tabaristān to Gilān. These families, on whom their coins might throw some light (cf. below), had descendants ruling in the Muslim period.

The Bāwandids (who claimed descent from Kayūs) provided three lines: the first 45-397 (665-1007) was overthrown on the conquest of Tabaristān by the Ziyārid Kābūs b. Washmīr; the second reigned from 466 (1073) to 606 (1210) when Māzandarān was conquered by Muḥammad Khwārimshāh; the third ruled from 635 (1237) to 750 (1349) as vassals of the Mongols. The last representative of the Bāwandids was slain by Afrāsiyāb Culāwt.

The Kāribids (in the Kūb-i Kārin) claimed descent from Kārin, brother of Zarmihr (cf. above). Their last representative Māyūr [p. v.] was put to death in 224 (839).

The Pādūspānids (Rūyān and Rustamdār) claimed descent from the Dābūyida of Gilān (their eponym was the son of Gil Gabhāra; cf. above). They came to the front about 40 (660) and during the rule of the 'Alids were their vassals. Later they were vassals of the Būyids and Bāwandids, who deposed them in 586 (1190). The dynasty, restored in 606, survived till the time of Timur; one of its branches (that of Kāwūs b. Kayūmarth) reigned till 975 (1567) and the other (that of Iskandar b. Kayūmarth) till 984 (1574).

II. Alongside of these native dynasties the 'Alids were able to establish themselves, principally in Tabaristān. In 250 the people of Rūyān, rebelling against the governor, sent to Rāy for the Zaidī Sayyid Hasan b. Zaid, a descendant of the Caliph 'Alī in the sixth generation. This (Hasanid) branch ruled in Tabaristān till 316 (928). The Husainid branch ruled from 304 to 337 (?). Another dynasty of Murāshī sayyids ruled in Māzandarān between 760 (1358) and 880 (1475). The founder of this dynasty was Kiwām al-Dīn, a descendant of 'Alī in the twelfth generation. A third family of Murāshī sayyids is known in Hazār-Djārib between 760 and 1005 A.H.

III. The noble families who enjoyed considerable influence, mainly in their fiefs, are very numerous. Rāhino mentions the Kiya of Culāwt (at Āmol, Talāshān and Rustamdār) between 795 A.H. and 909 A.H.; the Kiya Djālālī of Sāri in 750-763; the house of Rūzāsiyūn of Sawād-kūh between 897 and 923; the Diw in the period of Shāh Tahmāsp in certain parts of Māzandarān; the Banū-Kā'ūs between 857 and 957; the Banū-Iskandar between 857 and 1006 and the different princes of Tamisha, of Miyāndurūd, of Lāridjān, of Māmūr, of Lafūr etc.

Besides this confusion of feudal dynasties, a series of conquerors from outside has ruled in Māzandarān: the Arabs (their expeditions began in 22=644; the final conquest took place under al-Manṣūr in 141-144 [cf. the article TABARISTĀN]); the dates and facts given are very contradictory as Vasmer has shown; the Tāhirids, the Saffārids, the Samānids, the Ziyārids, the Ghaznawids, the Saldjūks, the Khwārimshāhs, the Mongols, the Sarbadārs, Timur and his descendants, the Safawids, Shāh Ismā'īl sent an expedition to Māzandarān in 923 (1517) but it was under Shāh 'Abbās that the land was definitely incorporated in Persia in 1005 (1596). This monarch claimed hereditary

rights there from the connection of his family with the Saiyid Kiwām al-Dīn Mar'ashī (*Ālam-nāma*, Tēherān, p. 354). Farāhābād was founded in 1020 (1612) and in the next year Ashraf was built with its famous palaces.

Bibliography. On the campaigns of Alexander the Great and Antiochus III (in 209 B.C.; cf. Polybius, x. 28–31), cf. Dorn, *Corps*, sub Alexander; Dorn, *Reise*, p. 156–161; Marquart, *Alexander's March von Persien nach Herat*, in *Untersuch. z. Gesch. von Iran*, ii, 1905, p. 45–63; Stahl, *Notes on the march of Alexander the Great from Ecbatana to Hyrcania*, *J. R. G. S.*, Oct. 1924, p. 312–319. On the Arsacid and Sāsānid period: Darmesteter, *Lettre de Tansar à Jansaf, roi de Tabaristan*, *J. A.*, 1894, t. 1, p. 185–250 et 502–555 (Tansar [Tisari], the priest of the Sāsānid Ardāshīr I exhorts Djušnāsf to submit; the document translated from Pahlavi into Arabic is given by Ibn al-Makaffa in Persian in Ibn Isfandi-yār), *Juati, Iranischer Namentbuch*, 1895, p. 430–435 (tables); Justi, in *Grundr. d. iran. Phil.*, ii, 547; Marquart, *Eränjahr*, p. 129–136.

For the Muslim period: Balādshāhī, p. 334–340; Tabari, index; Ya'qubi, *Historiat*, ed. Houtsma, ii, 329–330, 355, 447, 465, 479, 514, 582; *Kitāb al-Uyūn*, ed. Jong and de Goeje, p. 399–405, 502–516, 520–523; Ibn al-Fakih, *op. cit.*; Ibn al-Athir, index; as well as the local histories given below (an asterisk marks the works which seem to be lost): Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muhammad al-Madā'ini (d. 225 = 890), **Kitāb Futūḥ Dīhāb al-Tabaristān*; **Bāwand-nāma* (written for Shāhriyār b. Kārin who reigned from 466–503 = 1072–1109); 'Abd al-Ḥasan Muḥammad Yazdīdī, **Uḥūd al-Sīr wa-Kat'īd al-Durār*; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Isfandi-yār, *Ta'rikh-i Tabaristān* (written in 613 = 1216), abstr. transl. by E. G. Browne, *G. M. S.*, 1905; the manuscript mentioned by Dorn has been continued to 842 (1488); Badr al-Ma'ālī Awliyā-Allah Amoli, **Ta'rikh-i Tabaristān* (written for Fakhr al-Dawla Shāh-Ghāzi, 761–780 = 1359–1378); 'Alī b. Dījāl al-Dīn b. 'Alī Maḥmūd al-Nadībī Rūyāni, **Ta'rikh-i Tabaristān* (written for the Kārkiyā Mirzā 'Alī before 881 = 1476, used by Zahir al-Dīn); Saiyid Zahir al-Dīn (born in 815 = 1412) b. S. Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Mar'ashī, *Ta'rikh-i Tabaristān wa-Rūyān wa-Māzandarān*, fin. in 881 (1476), ed. Dorn, St. Petersburg 1266 (1850); Dorn's Germ. transl. was printed in 1885 but only a few copies are known; Ibn Abī Musallim, **Ta'rikh-i Māzandarān* (date unknown); *Kitāb-i Gilān wa-Māzandarān wa-Astarābād wa-Simnān wa-Damghān wa-Ghairih* (Pers. MS of 1275 [1859], cf. Dorn, *Bericht*); Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān 'Imād al-Saltāna, *Kitāb al-Tawāriḥ fī Ahwāl-i Dīhābī Shāwīn*, Tēherān 1311 (geography and history of Sawād-kūh, lists of the Bāwandids, Pādshāpān etc.). Cf. also the local histories of Gilān: Zahir al-Dīn Mar'ashī, *Ta'rikh-i Gilān wa-Dallamīstān* (to 1489), ed. Rabino, Rāshī 1330 (1912); (Ameq p. 476–498: correspondence of Khān Ahmad Gilāni); 'Alī b. Shams al-Dīn, *Ta'rikh-i Akābūt* (880–920), ed. Dorn, 1858; 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Fūmāni, *Ta'rikh-i Gilān* (923–1038), ed. Dorn, 1858; and the local histories of Djuḍjān: 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad al-Idrīsī (d. 405 = 1014), **Ta'rikh-i Astarābād*, continued by Ibn al-Kāsim Ḥama b. Yūsuf al-Sahmī al-Durjānī (d. 427 = 1036) who is the author of a *Ta'rikh-i Djuḍjān* (perhaps = *Kitāb al-Ma'rifat 'Ulamā' Ahl-i Djuḍjān*,

written by Abu 'l-Kāsim Ḥama al-Sahmī in 689 = 1290, cf. the Catalogue of the Bodleiana, Oxford 1787 (Uri), p. 165, Arabic MSS, No. 746); 'Alī b. Ahmad al-Durjānī al-Idrīsī, *Ta'rikh-i Djuḍjān* (date unknown). A large number of Muhammadan sources relating to Māzandarān have been collected by Dorn, *Die Geschichte Tabaristans und der Sarbadars nach Chondemir*, *Mém. de l'Acad. de St. Pétersbourg*, 1850, vol. viii.; and *Auszüge aus Muham. Schriftstellern betreffend d. Gesch. und Geographie*, St. Pétersbourg 1858 (extracts from 22 works). For Timur's campaigns: *Zafar-nāma*, i, 348, 358, 379, 570; ii, 577; Mīneddīn-luḡhī (1630–1702), *Shāhīf al-Akhbār*, Stambul 1285 (1868) (dynasties of Māzandarān; cf. Sachau's translation, *Ein Verzeichniss d. muhamm. Dynastien*, Berlin 1923; *Die Kaspischen Fürstentümer*, No. 3–13).

European works: d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, 1835, iii, 2, 10, 44, 48, 106–109 (Cintimar governor in Māzandarān), 120–122, 193, 414–418 (Abaka); iv, 4, 42, 44–45 (Māzandarān apportion of Ghāzān), 106, 124, 155, 159, 600 (Abū Sa'īd in M.), 613, 622 (revolt of Yasaqur), 685 (Ḥasan b. Čoban in M.), 726, 730 (Tughā Timūr, q. v.), 739 (the Sarbadars, q. v.); Melgunov, *op. cit.* (lists of the dynasties and governors of Māzandarān); Rehatsek, *The Baw and Gawbarak repabltz*, *J. Bombay branch R. A. S.*, 1876, xii, p. 410–445 (according to Zahir al-Dīn, Mīrkhond and the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*); Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, index (publ. in 1927); Horn in the *Grundr. d. iran. Phil.*, ii, 363 ('Alids); Lane-Poole, *The Muhamm. Dynasties*, cf. the additions by Barthold in the Russ. transl., 1899, p. 290–293; Casanova, *Les Isphahs de Firim*, in *A Volume... presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, p. 117–126 (the identification of Firim with Firūzkūh is wrong); Huart, *Les Zīyārides*, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, xlii., Paris 1922, index; Barthold, *La place des provinces caspiennes dans l'histoire du monde musulman* (Russ.), Baku 1925, p. 90–100 (Timūr in Māzandarān); Rabino, *Les dynasties alawides du Māzandarān*, *J. A.*, 1927, ccv, 253–77 (lists without references); Zambaur, *Manuel de géol. et de chronologie*, Hanover 1927, ch. ix. and tables C and P; Vasmer, *Die Eroberung Tabaristāns durch die Araber z. Zeit des Chālfen al-Manṣūr*, *Islamica*, 1937, iii., p. 86–150 (very important analysis of the Muhammadan sources); Rabino, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, p. 133–149 (lists of dynasties and governors detailed but without references); Vasmer, *Die Mūnen d. Isphahs und Statthalter von Tabaristān* (in preparation). On the Russian expeditions to Māzandarān see Dorn, *Corps*; Kostomarov, *Bunt Stenki Razina* (1668–1669), in *Sobraniye sochinenii*, St. Petersburg 1903, Kniga I, vol. ii, 407–505 (Persian sources call the Cossack chief Stenka Razin 'Istān Gurānī'); Butkov, *Sur les événements qui eurent lieu en 1781 lors de la fondation d'un établissement russe sur le Golfe d'Astarabad* (Russ.), *Zurn. Min. Vnutr. del.*, xxiii., 1839, p. 9; Butkov, *Materialy dlia novoi istorii Kavkaza*, St. Petersburg 1869, index (in the Persian sources the leader of the Russian expedition of 1781 Count Woinowicz is called 'Kārāfī (= Graf) Khān').

Archaeology. Bode, *On a recently opened tumulus in the neighbourhood of Astarabad*, *Archaeologia*, London 1844, xxx, 248–255 (on the circumstances of the find made at Tūrang-tāpā cf. Bode,

Ottavienyia Zapiski, 1856, № 7, p. 152—160); Rostovtsev, *The Sumerian treasure of Astarabad* (*Journ. of Egyptian archaeol.*, 1920, vi. 4—27); Minorsky, *Transcaucasica* (publ. in *J. A.*, 1930); De Morgan, *Mission scientifique, Recherches archéologiques*, part I, Paris 1899, p. 1—3 (prehistorical sites of Māzandarān); Crawshaw-Williams, *Rock-dwellings in Kainak*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, p. 551—552; 1906, p. 217; Hommaire de Hell, cf. above (atlas); Hantzsche, *Paläste Schah Abbas I in Mazanderan*, *Z. D. M. G.*, xv., 1862, xv., 1866, p. 180; Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin 1901—1910, Textband, p. 95—116; Die Bauwerke d. Landschaft Tabaristan (Grabtürme von Mazanderan; Amol; Sari; die Palastanlage von Aschraf; Sa'd-shah; Farah-shah); *Die, Caspazische Baudenkmäler*, Berlin 1918, p. 88, inscription of Rōskān of the Isfahān Abū Dja'far Muḥammad b. Wandarīn Bāwand of 407 (1016; studied by van Berchem).

(V. MINORSKY)

The coins of Māzandarān. The question whether the Sāsānians struck coins in Māzandarān is still an open one and can only be settled when the groups of letters that mark the mints on Sāsānian coins have been properly explained. According to the so far insufficient attempts to explain them, the letters *A M* found from the time of Fīrūz onwards are an abbreviation for Amul, but this explanation is quite without proof.

The Dābwhāhidā and the earlier Arab governors of Tabaristān struck in the second (eighth) century coins of the type of the Sāsānian drachms of Khuraw II; on the obverse, with the bust of the ruler, his name is given in Pahlavi characters and on the reverse is the fire-altar with its two guardians and on the right the mint *Tpūrtan* and on the left the year in the Tabaristān era (began on June 14, 652). These silver coins average in weight 1.90 grammes = 29.3 grains and are hemi-drachms. Of the Dābwhāhid rulers, Ferghwān, Dābwhāhidmātūn and Khūshīn are mentioned upon them. The coins of the first bear the years 60—77 (711—728), of the second 86—87 (737—738) and of the third 89—115 (740—766); these dates enable us to correct the chronology given by the historians. On some coins with the name Khūshīn, earlier students read the dates 60—63 but this is to be explained by the similarity of *khūsh* and *dehsh* in the Pahlavi script and these coins are really of the years 110 sqq. The assumption of a Khūshīd I, who reigned in the sixties of the Tabaristān era (Mordtmann), is thus quite unfounded. As Khūshīd died in 144 A.H. = 110 Tabaristān era, and there are coins with the names of Arab governors earlier than the year 116 Tab., it must be assumed that the Arabs continued to strike coins in the name of the earlier ruler of the land for a period after the conquest of Māzandarān, just as they did after the conquest of Persia under the Caliph 'Umar.

The earlier coins struck by Arab governors of Tabaristān bear the name Khālid (Khālid b. Barmak, 116—119) and Umar ('Umar b. al-'Ala, 120—125) in Pahlavi. From 122 the name of the governor is given in Kūfic also and afterwards in this exclusively ('Umar, Sa'id, Yahyā, Djarir, Sulaimān). In the years 130 and 140, there frequently appear on the coins names which seem to have belonged to some other officials, as the names of governors given for this period by historians are different.

Anonymous coins were also struck. The issue of these coins with Sāsānian types ended in the year 143 Tabaristān era (794, anonymous) but we have a coin of 161 (812) on the obverse of which in place of the king's head — as earlier on the coins of the governor Sulaimān (136—157) — there is a rhombus with the puzzling Arabic letters *sh* and on the margin al-Faḥl b. Saḥl Dhū'l-Riyāsain (in Arabic) is named; on the reverse, instead of the altar with its guardians are three parallel designs like fir branches, between them an inscription in four lines giving the Muḥammadan creed in Kūfic and the date and mint in Pahlavi (Tiesenhansen, *Zap. vest. stud. arch. obshch.*, ix. 224).

We know dirhams of Tabaristān mint of the Caliphs of the years 102 (Lavois), 147 (Brit. Mus. with the name of the governor Rawh), 190—192, copper coins of the years 145 and 157 (Zambaur, *Numism. Ztschr.*, xvi., the latter with the name of 'Umar b. al-'Ala). At a later date, coins were struck there by the dā's of the 'Alids ('Amul, 253 A.H., 300 A.V. and A.R.), the Būyids and Ziyārids (Amul, Sāriya and Firrūz), the Bāwandids (Firrūz, 353—367, 401 A.R.), sometimes by the Sāmānids (Amul A.V. 341, A.R. 302, 353—357), still later by the Hūllāgids, Serberdārs, Timūrids (Amul, Sāri) and Shāhs of Persia (Amul, Sāri, Tabaristān, Māzandarān). In Amul anonymous copper coins were struck from the xvth century onwards. On several pieces of this period the mint Tabaristān occurs. As these are all very rare, the issue must have been an occasional one. The dates are not preserved on any specimens. More common are copper pieces of the value of 4 *kābeki* (18—22 grammes = 280—340 grains) with the lion and sun and mint Māzandarān, which belong to the xviiith century. During the Russian occupation of Gilān in 1723—1732, to meet the shortage of currency provoked by the financial crisis in Russia at this time, Persian copper coins were overstruck with a Russian die (double-eagle) and circulated in the occupied provinces in place of Russian money. These coins are often called Māzandarān pieces but this is not correct, as only Gilān and not Māzandarān was occupied.

Bibliography: Olshausen, *Die Pahlavi-Legenden auf den Münzen der letzten Sassaniden*, Copenhagen 1843; Kraft, *Wiener Jahrbücher*, cvi., *Anzeigerblatt*, 1844; Mordtmann, *Z. D. M. G.*, viii., xii., xix., xxxiii.; S.B. Bayr. Ak., 1871; Dorn, *Mittheilungen Asiatischer*, i.—iii., vi., viii.; Thomas, *J. R. A. S.*, 1849, 1852, 1871. A new work on the Tabaristān Pahlavi coins is in preparation by R. Vasmer. For the later period: The coin catalogues by S. Lane-Poole and R. Stuart Poole; Markov, *Issledovaniya Katalog*; Zambaur, *Numism. Ztschr.*, xlvii. 136; R. Vasmer, *Sbornik Ermitaza*, iii. 119—132 (Russ.).

(R. VASMER)

MAZĀR-I SHARĪF, a town in Afghānistān, south of the Amū-Daryā [q.v.]. In the middle ages it was the site of the village of Khair, later called Khodja Khairān, 14 miles east of Balkh. On two different occasions, in the vith (xiith) century after 530 (1135—1136) in the time of Sultan Sanjār [q.v.], and in 885 (1480—1481) in the reign of the Timūrid Sultan Husain, the tomb of the caliph 'Alī was "discovered" here and its genuineness declared to have been proved. A place of pilgrimage (*mazār*) at once arose around the tomb with a considerable market; the second

tomb which is still standing (the first is said to have been destroyed by Čingis-Khān), was built in 886 (1481—1482). The *mazar* does not seem to have been of any particular importance during the time of the Özbeqs and is hardly mentioned although several Özbeq Sultāns were buried there. In the first half of the sixteenth century, the place is usually simply called *mazar* by travellers, the name *Mazar-i Sharif* seems only to have arisen within the last hundred years. 'Abd al-Karīm Bukhārī (ed. Schefer, p. 4) does not mention Mazar at all among the towns of Afghanistan; in 1832 when A. Burnes passed through it, it was a little town with about eight hundred houses. In 1866, the Afghan governor Na'ib 'Alīm Khān, a Shi'ī, chose Mazar-i Sharif as his residence; since then Mazar-i Sharif has been the capital of Afghan Turkistān. In 1878 it was described by the Russian general Matweyew as one of the best towns in Northern Afghanistan with about 30,000 inhabitants (Kostenko, *Turkistanskii Krai*, ii. 157).

Bibliography: On the first discovery of the tomb cf. the text of Abū Hāmid al-Andalusī al-Gharanī (*G. A. L.*, i. 477, where the name is different), in *J. A.*, cccvii, 1925, p. 145 sqq.; on the second: Khwandamīr, *Tabāṭ al-Siyar*, lithography of Tihān, iii. 260 sq.; C. E. Vate, *Northern Afghanistan*, Edinburgh and London 1888, p. 279 sqq. (W. BARTHOLO).

AL-MAZĀTĪ, a name borne by over twenty Abādī writers or men celebrated for their piety, among whom may be mentioned Abū 'I-Raḥī Sulaimān b. Yakhīf al-Mazāṭī, a pupil of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Bakr. Celebrated for his learning and his virtues, he spent all his life in study and teaching and died in 474 (June 12, 1081—May 31, 1082) in a little town of the Banū Wislū (*ويسلو*), a clan of the tribe of Mazāṭa,

which in those days occupied the lands between Gabes and the south of Tripoli. He wrote a book on the principles of law (*uṣūl*) entitled *al-Murshaf*.

Bibliography: Abū 'I-Abd Allāh Ahmad b. Sa'īd al-Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301, p. 412, 592. (MOH. BESCHNER).

MAZDAK, the apostle of a religion, which was founded two centuries before him by Zardusht, son of Khurrahān, but spread in Persia only after his propaganda; it had great political influence in the country in the time of Kawādh (488—531 A. D. with an interregnum). The latter adopted it and even made arrangements for putting its teaching into practice but after his restoration he put Mazdak and a large number of his followers to death. The best known feature of his teaching was the endeavour to remove every cause of covetousness and discord among men, and thus to purify religion, by making women and possessions common property.

It is not possible to reconstruct from the sources the Mazdaki doctrine in detail nor to settle its relations with the other religions or sects of Persia. The main features will be indicated here.

The sources. Detailed narratives of the reign of Kawādh and some important references to Mazdak and his teaching will be found in the contemporary Syrian and Byzantine writers (Joshua Stylites, Agathias, Procopius, Malala, Theophanes). In Pahlavi literature there are few references to Mazdak. The bulk of our information about Mazdak and his relations with Kawādh come to us

from Arab and Persian writers and go back mainly to the *Khwadānāmagh* or Royal Sāsānian Chronicle, of which the best known Arabic version was that of Ibn al-Muqaffa'. Baron Rosen has shown that the other Arabic versions were not all dependent on this one, some of them having been prepared directly from the original. Some compilers also inserted historical or legendary episodes taken from other Pahlavi works and others attempted to harmonise different narratives and did a certain amount of retouching in their reconstruction of the original. The Persian and Arab writers who had these different versions or compilations at their disposal only very rarely mention their sources and endeavour in turn to reconcile the statements made. Noldeke has already distinguished two "Hauptquellen" for the various Arabic and Persian narratives (the first followed by Ibn Qutayba and Eutychius and a part of Tabari, the second by al-Ya'qūbī and another part of Tabari). Christensen in his fundamental study thinks he can distinguish four lines of the tradition of the *Khwadānāmagh* found by the Arab and Persian authors in the different versions or editions of it. Noldeke's two "Hauptquellen" correspond to the first two; a third is represented by al-Dinawari (Noldeke thinks his story is a harmonising of the two "Hauptquellen") and the *Nihāyat al-Irāq fī Akhbār al-Furs wa 'l-'Arab* (*J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 195 sq.) the fourth presents features of its own, some of which are legendary in character and are found again in the *Siyāsat-Nāma* of Niẓām al-Mulk, which is independent of the *Khwadānāmagh*. The common source of all these legendary features would be, according to Christensen, the Book of Mazdak, a Pahlavi work of fiction (like the *Kalīla wa-Dimna*), which enjoyed great popularity and was translated into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa' and into Arabic verse by Abū Ḥanīfa, 'Abd al-Hamid al-Jahīlī. The elements of this fourth line of tradition are, according to Christensen, found in the *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, al-Tha'libī, Firdawsī, al-Bīrūnī, Ibn al-Athīr and Abū 'I-Fidā'. Some references in al-Mas'ūdī and al-Khwarizmī can also be traced to the book of Mazdak.

Independent traditions would also be preserved elsewhere, for example by the Arabs of al-Hira. Al-Shahrastānī's notes (to which some critics deny any historical value) might go back to books of the sect now lost. These are not found elsewhere and their immediate source was Muḥammad b. Hārūn Abū 'Isā al-Warrāq, a Zoroastrian converted to Islam. The source of the notices in the *Fihrist* is not known (it calls the Mazdaki Zoroastrians), the Persian work of the xviii century called *Dabistān-i Madhhab*, is probably a mere compilation of no value, from sources already mentioned and the pretended Mazdaki book *Disūda*, which it quotes, is not genuine.

Doctrine. The fact that the majority of these sources emphasise the social aspect of the Mazdaki reforms and do not mention special doctrines or beliefs of the sect (some like the *Fihrist* and Ibn al-Athīr connect it with Mazdacism) has convinced the majority of Orientalists who have studied this subject (e.g. Noldeke, Nicholson, v. Wessendank) that the reforms must be considered as a social movement which aimed at purifying the Mazdaean religion; a communal system of which the precepts regarding women and property and those of an ascetic nature (like the prohibition of slaughtering

animals and eating their flesh) had however a religious aim, and were clearly distinguished by this character from modern social communism.

Christensen, in his work already quoted, comes to the contrary conclusion that Mazdakism was above all a religious movement and that its social precepts were originally a very secondary feature; it was, he says, a reform of Manichaeism, already preached by Zardūšt, two centuries before Mazdak. Christensen supports his argument by two well known passages in Malala, of which the first deals with the doctrines propounded at Rome under Diocletian by the Manichaean Bundas in opposition to official Manichaeism.

This Bundas is supposed to have afterwards gone to Persia and spread his doctrine there, which was called *raḥ dāpōrēvō* (from the Pahlavi form *drōit-dēvō* = followers of the orthodox faith). The other passage calls king Kāvōdh *ē dāpōrēvōc* (an inaccurate form for *ē dāpōrēvōc*), an epithet which contains an allusion to the Mazdaki faith. A popular form *نیزد نین* is said to be the origin of the very corrupt forms of this surname, which are found in the Arabic texts and are due to the similarity of certain Arabic letters (*al-Ṭaʿālūt* translates it "may his beard fall" which presupposes a form *نیزد نین*). Christensen thinks these links sufficient to identify Zardūšt with Bundas (Bundas would be an honorific title of the reformer, "the venerable", from the Pahlavi *bundāg*, *bundag*) and defines Mazdakism as a Manichaean *epiōtēia*.

This theory is supported by al-Shahrastānī's résumé, which gives us, along with the general character of the religious history of Iran, the best argument for this thesis, and those who hold the other view are forced to deny any force to the evidence of this historian of sects. Christensen also concludes that it is with good reason that the Byzantine historians call the Mazdakis Manichaeans; but it must be added that their classification of a doctrine so little known in the west (where on the other hand Manichaeism was well known and was, so to speak, the typical heresy of Persia) is not of much value.

According to al-Shahrastānī's exposé, Mazdak's system resembled that of Mani; except that he said that the dark spirits did not act of their own will and without restraint (*bi 'l-khāf wa 'l-ḥāḥṭiyya*), but blindly and by chance (*bi 'l-khāḥṭ wa 'l-itiffāḥ*); that mixture is produced also *bi 'l-khāḥṭ wa 'l-itiffāḥ* and liberation will be produced *bi 'l-khāḥṭ wa 'l-itiffāḥ*. In this connection we must remember that the same author in his survey of the Manichaeans tells us that the views of the Manichaeans on the cause of mixture were divided and that some of them said that it was produced *bi 'l-khāḥṭ wa 'l-itiffāḥ* the opposite of what was laid down in the original cosmogony. Other Muslim writers allude to this point in dispute among the dualist sects: al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Makdisī says, for example, that mixture *bi 'l-khāḥṭ wa 'l-itiffāḥ* is taught by the Sabians, a name which is sometimes applied to the Manichaeans. All this gives the impression that the mention of the Mazdaki teaching in this connection is quite in keeping with the conditions of polemic among dualists. Perhaps the practical teachings of Mazdakism should be connected with the doctrine of mixture *bi 'l-khāḥṭ wa 'l-itiffāḥ*.

Al-Shahrastānī also gives from another source other details on Mazdaki cosmogony (the four forces, which surround the object of worship as court dignitaries surround the king of Persia; the seven virtues, the twelve spiritual beings, the three elements, the director of good and of evil), details which have their parallels in other gnostic and dualist cosmogonies, which should be studied with their names from the point of view of the latest studies on Iranian syncretism.

Al-Shahrastānī finally alludes to certain cabalistic speculations on the letters of the supreme name and mentions Mazdaki sects (like the *Alū Maslīṭya*) still in existence in his time in Persia and as far away as Soghdiana.

We may conclude that it is at least premature to deny all connection between Manichaeism and Mazdakism; it seems that rather than put the question in the form of a rigid alternative between Manichaean or Manichaean influence, it would be better to regard Mazdakism as a form of gnosticism upon which two powerful religious forces have exerted an equal influence, the official religion and the Manichaean heresy, and some other elements also (just as Manichaean gnosticism owes much to the national religion).

In any case, the feature which appears most clearly from the sources and which struck contemporaries was the general body of Mazdaki precepts with communist and humanitarian tendency and especially those which relate to community of women and property and were actually put into practice for a short time. The ascetic prescriptions are quite in keeping with a gnostic character of the sect (the prohibition of slaughtering animals and eating their flesh) which with communist teachings would be the elements forming the path to gnosis and liberation.

The presence of an ascetic strain in Mazdakism, as in Manichaeism, is probable. The people naturally seized on these principles and eagerly attempted to put them into practice on a large scale. Thus excesses resulted which, at least in origin, were very far from the intentions of the reformer and the elite of his adherents. This explains also why the religious character of the sect was forgotten and memory of its social teachings retained. Whether the founder and his leaders also abandoned themselves to the excesses of which the sources accuse them, one cannot say; we know that very frequently the initial good faith of reformers is disturbed by contact with reality.

It was natural to give a more practical value to this body of teaching, if we regard Mazdakism as a Persian reform remaining within the Mazdaean religion and not becoming an independent religion.

Contemporary sources also tell us of a bishop elected by the Mazdakis, named, according to Malala, Indarstar (which Nöldeke connects with the Pahlavi word *indarstar* = to advise; cf. the *ispahs* or *episcopos* of the Manichaeans) who was slain with the other Mazdakis on the day of the massacre; according to Christensen, it is possible to identify him with Mazdak.

During the persecution which followed the massacre, all the Mazdaki books were destroyed. The Persian work of the seventh century, *Dabistān-i Moṭahhik* quotes a book called *Dinād* which is usually regarded as a forgery: all the notices of the sect professing to come from this book are

taken from the text of al-Shahrastāni and other sources, like the rest of the book. The Book of Mazdak which enjoyed a great popularity and was translated in Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa' and into Arabic verse by Abūn b. 'Abd al-Hamid al-Lāhiki was a work of entertainment and not of religious teaching (cf. above).

History of the Mazdaki movement in the reign of Kawādī. — The Massacre. We know very little about the life of Mazdak (also written Mazdak). His father was called Bāmdādī (a Persian name like Mazdak) and according to Tabari, they came from a town مزدگان which

Christensen is inclined to identify with Māgharāyā-Isfahār and Tabriz are mentioned as the birth-place of the reformer. According to some sources, he had been a Zoroastrian priest (*mōbed*); al-Bīrūnī who sometimes follows a romantic tradition (cf. above), calls him *mōbed* *mōbed*. The details of his doctrine are not known but it is certain that he developed and spread the teaching of his precursor Zarādušt of Pāsā, who lived two centuries before him. It is evident that the disturbed condition of Persia after the victories of the Hephthalites facilitated the spread of revolutionary doctrines; but it is difficult to see why the king (whose reign began in 488) became a convert to the new faith (and this is a question which also puzzled the ancients), and how he became connected with Mazdak.

The necessity of crushing the power of the nobility and higher clergy which he found annoying may have caused the king to use for his own ends a sect which aimed at destroying the privileges of these classes. Nöldeke (who thinks Kawādī was a man of strong will) credits him with this plan. Christensen (who had accepted this thesis) now sees in the allusions of some of the sources proof of the sincerity of Kawādī (whom, as he says, the contemporary sources do not credit with a "Machiavellian character"). Kawādī, he thinks, was moved primarily by religious motives and was attracted by the religious element in the new teaching, while ready to take advantage of any political advantages that the sect might be likely to gain for him. In any case it is evident that in his wars he was not restrained by any humanitarian prejudices, although one Arabic source with a hostile bias says that the king as a *zand* feared to spill blood. Christensen likes to compare his attitude with regard to Mazdaki morality with that of Constantine with regard to Christian teaching. In any case it is difficult to give a verdict on Kawādī, in view of the varying prejudices of the sources and the tradition of the time of Khuraw which in general tends to elevate the figure of Anūsharwān at the expense of the others. There were numerous conversions among the upper classes; proselytising among the common people was facilitated by the wretched conditions in which they lived and of course also by the nature of the teaching which in every age has seduced the masses. Mazdakism thus became a remarkable force and permeated all the machinery of government. The practical effect of the king's favour was seen in the measures alluded to in contemporary sources; but we do not know to what degree they realised the Mazdaki ideal, either as regards community of women (perhaps this was only an extension of regulations already existing in the Sāsānian code?)

or community of property (only taxes on the rich?). But what is certain is that Khuraw at the beginning of his reign had to take important steps to remedy the disastrous results to property and the organisation of the family; such abuses were however not the direct result of the legal measure adopted by Kawādī but rather of the violent application of communism which was a later development.

The philo-Mazdak policy of the king and the growing power of the sect provoked a revolution in the palace and Kawādī was dethroned and imprisoned. Dīmāsp, his brother, was put on the throne in his stead. Kawādī succeeded in escaping and took refuge with the Hephthalites and regained his kingdom with their assistance (498 or 499). In the meanwhile, in spite of the dethronement of the king, the sect had grown more and more and its power became disquieting. The people, urged on by their leaders and more alive to the practical advantages than to the religious elements of the reform, naturally abandoned themselves to all sorts of excesses and disorder broke out everywhere. The estates of the nobles were plundered, the women carried off, which, with a horror of communist principles, explains the violent language used by contemporary and Arabic and Persian sources against the sect. All this must have frightened the king on his return. Having revenged himself on his principal enemies immediately on his restoration, he now found it necessary to come to an agreement with the majority of the nobility and clergy in order to face the war with Byzantium. Prince Khuraw seeing his rights to the succession threatened by the activities of the sect, which, taking advantage of its power, was endeavouring to secure the election of Kawādī's eldest son Pādshākhwar Shāh (Pithusarian). It is also said (in the sources of the fourth line; cf. above) that Khuraw was eager to avenge himself on Mazdak, who had refused to take as his wife the mother of Khuraw (offered to him by Kawādī in recognition of the principles of the sect) until the prince humbled himself before him. Khuraw, who had already begun to display his remarkable political abilities, must have had considerable influence with his father, who was persuaded to have Mazdak and his followers massacred, after inviting them en masse to the court on the pretext that a theological disputation was to be held (or according to another story, for the public proclamation of Pādshākhwar Shāh as heir to the throne). The massacre took place in 528 or at the beginning of 529. Arab writers wrongly put it at the beginning of the reign of Khuraw; this exploit earned him the title of Anūsharwān. The number of slain is unknown. Kawādī died in 531 and after him Khuraw took special steps to restore order in the ownership of property and in the social organisation which had been upset by the application of communism. The surviving Mazdakis were persecuted in a blood-thirsty fashion and their books burned.

Mazdakism after the massacre. It is not probable that Mazdakism disappeared with the persecution; perhaps the survivors sought refuge in the mountains, in different parts of Persia where we later find sects (e.g. the *Khurawānīyā*) whom Muslim writers do not hesitate to connect with the Mazdakis. Nizām al-Mulk, who in his manual on the art of government attributes great political importance to a knowledge of the various sects, is very clear on this point. According to some

orientalists Mazdaki elements can be discovered in Bāṭinism and Ismāʿilism. But the whole question of the relations between these sects (of which very often insufficient is known) and the old Persian religious forms must be examined thoroughly with a knowledge of the progress made in the study of Iranian gnostics and syncretisms. It cannot be dealt with here; cf. the articles *ISMĀʿILĪYA*, *KHURRAMĪYA*, *MURĀVIḌA*, *MUHAMMIRĀ*, *MUKANNAʿ*, *XX-WANDĪYA*, *SINĀD* etc.

Bibliography: Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und der Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden 1879, p. 455—467 (fundamental); cf. the popular sketch of the subject by the same author in *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1879, p. 284 sqq.; E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, Cambridge 1900 and 1928, vol. 1; O. G. v. Wesendonck, *Die Mandakiten*, in *Der Neue Orient*, vi. 35—41; do., *Die Religion der Drusen*, *ibid.*, vii. 85—88, 127—130; A. Christensen, *Le règne du roi Kawūsh I et le communisme mandakite*, in *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabsnæst Selskab, Hist.-filol. Meddelelser*, ix. 6, Copenhagen 1925 (very important) (MICHELANGELO GUIDI).

MAZHAR, MIRZĀ DĪRĀNĀN, an Urdu poet and eminent Sufi, of Turkish descent, was born in 1111 (1699) or 1113 (1701) in Kālābhāgh, Mālwah. His father Mirzā Dīrān was an officer of Awrangzeb (q.v.), who, when the news of his birth was conveyed to him, said his father was Mirzā Dīrān and hence his son should be called Dīrān; though his father afterwards named him Shams al-Dīn, yet he is known by the name which the emperor had selected for him. He was received into the Naqshabandi order by Saiyid Mir Muhammad Badāʿunī and into the Qādiri order by Muhammad ʿAbid Samānī. He died in Dihli on the 10th of Muharram 1195 (January 6, 1780) from a pistol shot fired at him by some Shiʿa fanatic. His memoirs with some letters, called *Majmaʿat Mazhar* or *Lataʾif Khawar* are edited by Muhammad Beg b. Raḥīm Beg, Dihli A. H. 1309, A. D. 1892. His biography, together with notices of his disciples, has been written by Muhammad Naʾim Allāh Baharīdī in *Biharāt Mazharīya*.

Bibliography: Shifā, *Gulshan Bihār*, fol. 142^b—143^a; Azīd, *Abd Hayat*, Lahore 1913, p. 137—148; Karīm al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Shāwār-i Urdu*, Dihli 1848, p. 105—107; *Ḥudūd al-Hanafiya*, Lucknow 1891, p. 453; Sprenger, *Oriental Catalogue*, p. 488; Garcin de Tassy, *Litt. Hind.*, ii. 297; and Rieu, *Cat. Persian Mss. Br. Mus.*, i. 363^a. (M. HIBBERT HOSAIN)

MÄZIN, the name of several Arab tribes who are represented in all the great ethnic groupings of the Peninsula; this finds typical expression in the anecdote recorded in *Aghāni*, viii. 141 (= Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ii. 382—383), according to which the Caliph al-Walīd asked the grammarian Abū ʿOthmān al-Māzinī, who had come to his court, to which Māzin he belonged: — if to the Māzin of the Tamīm, to those of the Kaṣa, to those of the Raḥṭa or to those of the Yemen.

The first are the Māzin b. Mālik b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, L. 12); the second, the Māzin b. Manẓar (D. 10) or the Māzin b. Fazāra (H. 13); the third, the Māzin b. Shaibān b. Dhuhī (C. 19); the last, the Māzin b. al-Nadīdjār, a clan of the Khazraj Anṣār (19, 24). But alongside of these, many other

tribes and clans bore this name. The *Djamharat al-Aniḥ* of Ibn al-Kalbi gives no less than seventy, of whom the best known are the: Māzin b. Saʿd b. Qabba (Ibn Kutaiba, *K. al-Maʿarīf*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 36; more accurately according to the *Djamhara*, MS. Br. Mus., Add. 23, 297, fol. 114r: Māzin b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Bakr b. Saʿd b. Qabba; not given in the *Tabellen*); Māzin b. Saʿsaʿa b. Muʿāwiyā b. Bakr b. ʿIz-wāzin (Ibn Kutaiba, p. 42; *Tabellen*, H. 14); Māzin b. Raḥṭ b. Ghatafan (H. 10); Māzin b. Raḥṭa b. Zubaid or Māzin Madhīdī (7, 18); Māzin b. al-ʿAṣd (11, 11). The large number of tribes named Māzin and their distribution over the whole of Arabia makes the hypothesis that we have here a single tribe that had been broken up into small sections impossible and we are led to suppose that the name Māzin, is a descriptive rather than a proper name; since the verb *masana* means to "go away", one might suppose that Māzin originally meant "the emigrants" and was used in a general way of any ethnic group which became separated from its own tribe and was incorporated in a strange tribe. This etymology, like almost all those of the names of Arab tribes, is of course only a hypothesis.

The sources give a certain number of geographical and historical references to different tribes called Māzin; but they are generally very scanty, none of these tribes having attained sufficient importance to make it independent of the larger body to which it was attached. We have a few details about the Māzin b. al-Nadīdjār, a fairly important group of Madinese Khazraj (on the part played by them at the beginning of Islām see Castani, *Annali dell' Islam*, Index to Vols. i.—ii.), as well as about the Māzin b. Fazāra who took part as members of the tribe of the Dhubyān, in the war of Dāḥis and al-Ghāṭrāʾ (cf. *Dhubyān*, and *Aghāni*, xvi. 27). Ibn Maīyās, himself a Dhubyān, directed a violent satire against them at the end of the first century A. H. (*Aghāni*, ii. 90, 102). As to the Māzin b. Shaibān b. Dhuhī, to whom the grammarian Abū ʿOthmān belonged, we know from the anecdote above quoted that in their dialect, *m* (initial) was pronounced like *h* (*haʾmuka* for *maʾmuka*, what is thy name?), a peculiarity which does not seem to be recorded of the dialect of other Raḥṭa. Lastly the Māzin b. al-ʿAṣd, whom tradition makes migrate to the north, changed their name to Ghassān (q.v.) under which they became celebrated.

It is only of the Māzin b. Mālik b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm that we have fairly full information. Legend, which has developed with unusual detail around the sons of Tamīm (q.v.) gives Māzin a part in the story of his uncle ʿAbd Shams b. Saʿd b. Zaid Manāt b. Tamīm's fight against al-Anḥar b. ʿAmr b. Tamīm (cf. al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, *al-Fakhir*, ed. Storey, p. 253 and the references given in the note). This tribe of Māzin never left the great group of the ʿAmr b. Tamīm to which it belonged and dwelled with them in the lands in the extreme N.W. of Najd; their headquarters were around the well of Safārī near Dhu Kār (*Najd*, ed. Bevan, p. 48, note to line 17; Yāqūt, iii. 95; Bakrī, p. 724, l. 1: 787—788); their principal subdivisions were the Banū Hurkās, Khazʿi, Rāḥm, Anmār, Zabma, Uthātha and Raʿlān. In the Dhilyiya, the Māzin followed their parent tribe and we find them sharing in the

wars of the latter; in rotation with the other Tamim tribes they held the office of *šāhin* at the fair of 'Ukāz (*Naṣā'iq*, p. 438). At the coming of Islām, their chief was Mukhārrik b. Shihāb, also known as a poet (cf. especially al-Dīhiz, *Buyūn*, ii, 171; al-Kālī, *Amālī*, iii, 50; Ibn Hajar, *Iṣṣā*, Cairo 1325, vi, 156). Without being particularly zealous partisans of the new religion, they did not take part in the *riḍḍa* with the other Tamim tribes (11 A.H.) and they even drove away the messengers sent them by the prophetess Saḍāq [q.v.] and made one of them prisoner, the Tughlīfī al-Hudhālī b. 'Imrān; the latter waited for his revenge till the troubled period that followed the murder of the Caliph 'Uthmān (35 = 656), of which he took advantage to ravage the district of Saffari; but the Mazin met him and slew him and threw him into the well (Tabari, i, 1911, 1915; cf. *Aghāni*, xix, 145—146, transl. in Cantani, *Annali dell' Islam*, x, 552—553; in the last passage the expedition against the Saffari appears to be independent of the events of the *riḍḍa*).

At a later date, the Mazin settled in large numbers, like the rest of the Tamim, in Khurāsān and took part in the conquest of Central Asia; among the Mazin who distinguished themselves there were Shihāb b. Mukhārrik, son of the chief already mentioned (Tabari, i, 2569, 2707); Hilāl b. al-Aḥwar, who in 102 (720) slew the members of the family of Yazid b. al-Muhallab after the defeat of the latter (Tabari, ii, 1912—1913); 'Umayr b. Sinān, who killed the Persian chief Rūhl (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab al-Arab*, p. 30, note to lines 3—4). We also find many of the Banū Mazin among the *fuṣṣal* of the 'Abbasid army in the time of the rising against the Umayyads. But a no less number went to swell the ranks of the Khāridjīs, the celebrated chief of the Akrāḥ, Kaṣārī b. al-Fudjā'a [q.v.], belonged to the Mazin clan of Kāhiya b. Hurkūn.

Very few of the remarkable number of poets produced by the Tamim belonged to the Mazin. We may note however Hilāl b. As'ad of the Umayyad period (*Aghāni*, ii, 186); Malik b. al-Rabi, poet and brigand, contemporary of al-Ḥadīdī (*Aghāni*, xix, 162—169; Ibn Kūṭayba, *al-Sha'ir wa 'l-Sha'ira*, ed. de Goeje, p. 205—207 etc.); Zuhair b. 'Urwa al-Sakb (*Aghāni*, xix, 156; the few verses that we have by him, often quoted, are also attributed to his father, 'Urwa b. Dīḥān, and even to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥassān b. Thābit: cf. *Mufaḍḍaliyat*, ed. Lyall, p. 249, note y). Lastly it may be mentioned that the Mazin have given to Arab philology two of its most illustrious masters: Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alī' (p.v., d. 154) and al-Naḍr b. Shumail whose genealogies are given in Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* (L).

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Register* x. d. *genos*, *Tabellen*, p. 291; Ibn Kūṭayba, *K. al-Ma'arif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 36—42; Ibn Duraid, *K. al-Jahiz*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 124—126, 171, 211, 258; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djāmi'at al-Anṣāb*, ms. Brit. Mus., Add. 23, 297, fol. 90 v—92 r, and *passim*. (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

MAZYADIS, a Muḥammadan dynasty in al-Hilla. The Banū Maryad belonged to the tribe of Asad and lived west of the Tigris, from Kūfa to Hit. In the southeast, on the Khūzistān frontier, the Banū Dubais had settled. When Abū 'I-Ghannā'im Muḥammad b. Maryad, who was related to the Banū Dubais, slew one of their chiefs with

whom he had quarrelled, a war broke out between the two tribes (401 = 1010—1011). Abū 'I-Ghannā'im fled to his brother Abū 'I-Ḥasan 'Alī; the latter set out against the Banū Dubais with an army, but was defeated and Abū 'I-Ghannā'im fell in the battle. In 403 (1012—1013), 'Alī was recognised as emir by the Būyid Sulṭān al-Dawla. In Maḥarram 405 (July 1014), he undertook a campaign against the Banū Dubais, to revenge himself for the defeat he had suffered and slew Ḥassān and Nabhlān, the sons of Dubais, but in Djumādī of the same year (Oct.—Nov. 1014) he was routed by their brother Muḍar. After 'Alī's death in Dhū 'l-Ḥiḍja 408 (March—April 1018), his son Dubais succeeded him. The latter's brother al-Muḥallad with the help of Turkish mercenaries in Baghdad, endeavoured to seize the power for himself; but order was soon restored and al-Muḥallad went to al-Mawṣil to the 'Ukalīda. In a few years Dubais became involved in war with Karwāsh b. al-Muḥallad [q.v.] and he had also troubles within his borders. In the war between the two Būyids Abū Kāldjār and Djalāl al-Dawla, the former was supported by Dubais and the latter by al-Muḥallad. After the defeat of Abū Kāldjār in 421 (1030), al-Muḥallad with the help of the Banū Khafāja and the troops of Djalāl al-Dawla invaded his brother's territory. Dubais had to take to flight and the land was laid waste. Peace however was soon arranged. Dubais was allowed to retain his lands but had to pay Djalāl al-Dawla a considerable sum. The third brother Thābit allied himself with al-Basāsiri, the military governor of Baghdad, and in 424 (1032—1033) they advanced against Dubais. The latter sent an army to meet them; but his troops were routed and he himself had to take to flight. After receiving reinforcements he advanced against Thābit; they met at Djarjariya and after a fierce battle, Dubais had to cede a part of his possessions while al-Basāsiri, who arrived too late to take part in the battle, returned to Baghdad. In Rajab 446 (Oct.—Nov. 1054) the Banū Khafāja invaded the country but were soon driven out with the help of al-Basāsiri. Two or three years later war broke out between al-Basāsiri who was joined by Dubais, and the Salḍjūq Sulṭān Toghril Beg and his follower Karāsh b. Badrān [q.v.]. Dubais died in Shawwāl 474 (March—April 1082) at the age of 80. His son Maṣūṭ succeeded him but died in Rabi' 1, 479 (June—July 1086). In the reign of his son and successor Saḍāka [q.v.] the power of the Mazyadis spread over almost the whole of the 'Irāq. At first he was a stout supporter of Bakīyārūk [q.v.]; in 494 (1100—1101) however he turned to his brother. The towns of Hit, Wāsh, Baṣra and Takrit fell successively into his hands but, as the commander appointed by Saḍāka in Baṣra did not prove fit for his task, Muḥammad seized the suzerainty of the town and installed a new governor. In Saḍāka's reign the capital al-Djāmīn was extended and fortified, and given the name of al-Hilla (495 = 1101—1102). His steadily increasing power however aroused Muḥammad's misgivings and in spite of long negotiations, a rupture finally occurred between them. At the end of Rajab 501 (Febr.—March 1108) Muḥammad himself set out from Baghdad against Saḍāka. A section of the Arabs allied with him died and Saḍāka fell in the battle. His son Dubais was taken prisoner but the latter's two brothers escaped and were only able to return home after Muḥammad's death

(511 = 1118). In 529 (1135) he was treacherously murdered [cf. the article DUBAIS] and succeeded by his son, Šadaqa. In the war between Sultān Mas'ūd and his nephew Dāwūd, Šadaqa declared for the former. After Mas'ūd's victory, the troops scattered to seek booty and several emirs including Šadaqa were surprised and captured by the enemy and at once put to death (532 = 1137–1138). Šadaqa's brother Muḥammad was thereupon recognised as lord of al-Hilla. In 540 (1145–1146) however, the third brother 'Alī went to al-Hilla, because he was afraid of the Sultān and drove out Muḥammad. After he had taken the town, he drove back the Sultān's troops and it was not till 542 (1147–1148) that Salārkerd, one of Mas'ūd's generals, was able to expel 'Alī but in the same year he was defeated by the latter and had to abandon the town. In 544 (1149–1150) 'Alī endeavoured to induce the caliph al-Muḥtafi to abandon Mas'ūd but, as the caliph refused and summoned the Sultān to his help, 'Alī had to

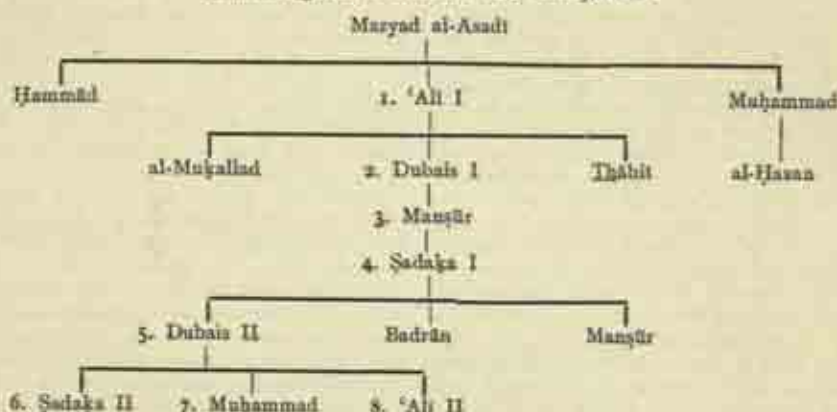
submit and the rebels who had joined him dispersed. 'Alī died in the following year and al-Hilla was given as a fief to Salārkerd by Mas'ūd. On Mas'ūd's death in 547 (1152), the town fell into the hands of Mas'ūd Hilāl, the commander of Baghdad; the latter however was driven out by the caliph's troops who occupied al-Hilla. When in 551 (1157) Sultān Muḥammad took the field against al-Muḥtafi [q.v.], they had to withdraw and Muḥammad put a garrison in the town. The Mazyadis submitted to his deputy but in 558 (1162–1163) the caliph al-Mustadhid sent an army against them which put an end to their power. 4,000 men were slain and the remainder outlawed so that they were scattered in all directions.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aṭṭar (ed. Tornberg), *is.* 157, 170, 174 *sq.*, 215 *sq.*, 227, 248–250, 265 *sq.*, 297, 358, 381, 411, 430–438, 447 *sq.*; *x.* 5, 78, 98 *sq.*, 177, 192, 198, 209 *sq.*, 223, 243–248, 251 *sq.*, 254, 258, 264, 266 *sq.*, 272 *sq.*, 276–278, 283 *sq.*, 289–291, 302–313, 376–380, 394–399, 422–430, 435, 439–443, 459–461, 470 *sq.*; *xi.* 18 *sq.*, 30, 40, 69, 80 *sq.*, 88, 94, 100, 195; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Iḥṣān*, iv. 276–293; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 67 *sq.*, 78, 80, 87, 97 *sq.*, 102 *sq.*, 144, 152, 156–160, 214–232, 242, 257, 259, 309 *sq.*; Karabacek, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mazyaditen*; Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Moham-*

medan Dynasties, p. 119 *sq.*; de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, p. 137.
(K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

MĀZYĀR, [Balādhuri] gives the form Māzādīyār < *Māh-yārd-yār, the last of the Kārinid rulers of Tabaristān, leader of the rising against the caliph al-Muṭayim.
Origins. The Kārin-wand dynasty claimed descent from Kārin b. Sūkhra, whom Khuraw Anūshirwān had established in Tabaristān and who was descended from the legendary smith Kāwa, who saved Faridūn. The hereditary fief of the dynasty was the "mountain of Kārin" [or of Windād Hurmuz], Tabari, iii. 1295. The capital of this region was probably Laptāra (cf. Laptāra on the eastern source of the river Bābul which later runs through Bārfurūsh). The Kārin-wand were subordinate to the Bāwandid *ispahbads* (capital Firrim). The genealogy of the Kārinids given by Zahir al-Dīn, p. 167 and 321 is fantastic. The first Kārinid known is Windād-Hurmuz (138–190 =

Genealogical Table of the Mazyadis:



755–805?) who raised a coalition of local chiefs against the Arabs (the Bāwandid Sharwīn, [the] Māsmughān Walīsh of Miṣṣandurūd, the Pādīspān Shahriyār b. Pādīspān) and defeated the generals sent by the caliph al-Mahdī (first Salīm Farghānī, then Firāsha; Ibn Isfandiyyār, p. 128; Zahir al-Dīn, p. 155–159). Windād-Hurmuz had to submit to Hādī, the son of the Caliph, and accompany him to Baghdad. Soon he returned to his native mountains and resumed an independent attitude (*ibid.*, p. 160). According to Ibn al-Faḥīh, p. 304, Windād Hurmuz came to the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who appointed him *ispahbad* of Kharrān. He died in the reign of al-Ma'mūn. His son and successor was Kārin (a contemporary of the Bāwandid Shahriyār). According to Ibn Isfandiyyār, p. 145, he accompanied al-Ma'mūn on his campaign against the Byzantines but this does not agree with the dates given for his successor.

According to Zahir al-Dīn, p. 321, Māzyār b. Kārin ruled for 30 years (194–224 = 809–839) but on p. 167 the same writer says that his (tyrannical!) government lasted 7 years (217–224). Tabari, iii. 1015, under the year 201, speaks of the conquests in Tabaristān of 'Abd Allāh b. Khuradadbeh (sic!) as a result of which the Bāwandid Shahriyār b. Sharwīn had to leave the mountains and Māzyār b. Kārin was sent to al-Ma'mūn. According to late sources,

Shahriyār b. Sharwīn had deprived Māzyār of his possessions. Māzyār sought refuge with his cousin Windāš Ummīd b. Windāš-aspañ, who handed him over to Shahriyār. Māzyār, however, managed to escape, sought refuge with al-Ma'mūn and became a Muslim, assuming the name Muḥammad. After the death of Shahriyār (210 = 825; Tabari, iii, 1093), Māzyār, returning to Tabaristān, slew Shāpūr b. Shahriyār and seized the mountain (Tabari, *ibid.*). [Ibn al-Fakīh's story, p. 305–306, about the "son of Sharwīn b. Shahriyār", whom Māzyār assassinated treacherously seems to refer to Shāpūr; to allay the suspicions of his victim, Māzyār had built a mosque in Firrīm]. Māzyār assisted the Arab governor Mūsā b. Ḥafṣ b. 'Umar b. al-'Alā' to subjugate the mountain of Sharwīn and al-Ma'mūn appointed him governor of Tabaristān, Rūyān and Dunlawand with the rank of *ispahbād* (Balādhuri, p. 229; Ibn al-Fakīh, p. 309). At this time (Ya'qūbī, *Historia*, ii, 582), Māzyār boasted the title of *Djil Djilān*, *ispahbād* *ispahbād* *Biḥār* *Khurāsān* (read *Patishwār-djardjān*), *Muḥammad b. Kārim*, *munwālī* (sic) *amir al-mu'minin* (i.e. "ally" instead of *ma'wā* "client"). When Mūsā b. Ḥafṣ died, Māzyār paid no heed to his son Muḥammad b. Mūsā. Complaints against Māzyār were taken to Baghād by the Bāwandids and by devout Muslims. But as al-Ma'mūn was setting out against the Byzantines (expedition of 216–218) Māzyār felt himself free from any control. In his turn he charged Muḥammad b. Mūsā with intriguing with the 'Alids and on this imaginary pretext besieged Amul. The town capitulated at the end of 8 months. Māzyār executed his enemies and imprisoned all the notables, including Muḥammad b. Mūsā, first at Rūd-bast and then in his principal stronghold of Humuzd-ābād. To judge from Tabari, iii, 1289–1292, the place must have been in the valley of the Tālar, above Uraus (Arum) at a distance of 5 farsakhs from Amul and from Sāri (cf. the article MĀZANDARĀN).

In the sixth year of the reign of al-Mu'tasim (218–227), Māzyār openly rebelled (Balādhuri, p. 229; *Isfahān wa-Zahāra*). The Ṭāhirid 'Abd Allāh, governor of Khurāsān, had denounced to the Caliph the "misdeeds, tyranny and apostasy" of Māzyār. When al-Mu'tasim's ambassador arrived, Māzyār would not listen to him. Ibn Isfandiyyār, p. 152, even accuses him of having conferred honours "on Bābak, Mardak and other Magians who had ordered the destruction of the mosques and the obliteration of all traces of Islām".

Māzyār's schemes. It is difficult to reconstruct Māzyār's programme from the sources, which are hostile to him, but the narratives of contemporary witnesses which Tabari, iii, 1268–1303, gives under the year 224 contain a number of curious and important details.

The extension of Māzyār's power (after the assassination of the Bāwandid Shāpūr and the occupation of the mountain of Sharwīn) had brought him into conflict with the Ṭāhirids to whom he refused to pay *kharrāj*. It may be noted that Māzyār's very title "*ispahbād* of Khurāsān" (this variant is given in Ya'qūbī, *B.G.A.*, vii, 276) must have been displeasing to the Ṭāhirids. On the other hand the celebrated Afshin, who after his victory over Bābak was at the height of his glory, coveted Khurāsān. He therefore secretly encouraged Māzyār's resistance to his rivals and according to Tabari, iii, 1269, played upon his

sentiments as a man of noble Iranian blood (*yastamīshu bi 'l-āshkanān*).

From the national point of view, Māzyār could recall the precedent of his grandfather Windāš-Harmux to whom late sources attribute the organisation of the massacre of the Arab garrisons. Māzyār, who came out of "the mountain" where he had only an almost unknown town (Istakhrit, p. 206; al-Ashmū'ī?) must have looked askance at the urban elements of the great towns of the "plain" among whom Arabs and their clients (*abnā*) predominated. The landowning class was certainly hostile to him, as in order to weaken and even exterminate them, he had relied on the support of the peasants. Māzyār's actions were certainly very violent, for ten centuries later, Ṭāhir al-Dīn, p. 167, quotes the proverb: "so and so has done an injustice such as not even Māzyār could have done".

Coming out in open rebellion (probably before the year 224 under which Balādhuri and Tabari relate the dénouement) Māzyār had homage paid to himself, took hostages and levied *kharrāj* at once. The doings of his governor Surkhastān in Sāri are characteristic. He transferred all the inhabitants of Sāri to Amul, where he shut them up in a fort; as to the people of Amul, he took 20,000 of them away into the mountains of Humuzd-ābād (cf. above). The walls of Sāri, Amul and Tāmina were razed to the ground "to the sound of flutes and drums".

Māzyār had given orders to the peasants to attack and plunder their masters (Tabari, iii, 1269). The next passage (iii, 1270) seems to indicate that a cadastral survey was ordered (*amara an yunsaḥḥa 'l-balad*) and the lands were let out, the rental being 30% (of the produce). As to Surkhastān, he collected 200 nobles (*abnā 'l-qurayn*), the bravest he could find, and on a pretext "that the *abnā* were favourable to the Arabs and to the 'Abbāsids", handed them over as dangerous individuals to the peasants, who slew them at his suggestion. He even tried to provoke a massacre of all the imprisoned landowners, saying to the peasants "I have already handed over to you the houses of the landowners and their wives", but this time the peasants refrained from following his advice.

The later sources retain the usual accusation of apostasy against Māzyār ("he once more assumed the girdle of Zoroastrianism", says Ibn Isfandiyyār, p. 150 quoting the *kafr* of Amul). Balādhuri, p. 229 and Ibn al-Fakīh, p. 309 also say that Māzyār "renounced the faith and committed treason", but this point is more obscure in Tabari, where it only occurs in the list of charges made against Afshin, iii, 1311 (transl. in Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, i, 334). The tone of the letter which Māzyār had addressed to his representatives, *ibid.*, iii, 1381, is respectful to the Caliph, in form at least. But there is no smoke without fire, if we may believe the authors who mention the existence in Tabaristān of a *Māzyāriya* sect connected with the *Ḍharramiya* [q. v.] or *Muḥammira* [q. v.] (i.e. followers of Bābak). Cf. al-Baghdādī (d. in 429), *Furq bain al-āfāq*, p. 251–252; Ṭāhir al-Isfahānī (d. in 451), *Tahzīb fi 'l-dīn* [quoted in Flügel, *Bābak*, *Z. D. M. G.*, 1869, p. 533] and Sam'ānī, *G. M. S.*, fol. 501a.

Māzyār's end. 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir sent against Māzyār his uncle Ḥasan b. Ḥusain to operate from the direction of Djurdjān as well as

Haiyān b. Djabala, who went with 4,000 horses via Kūmis towards Djabal al-Sharwīn (= Sawādkūh); cf. the article MĀZANĪKĀN. At the same time the caliph al-Mu'tasim sent considerable forces under the command of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm who entered Rūyān (western Tabariān) by Shalāma and Rughbā (Tabari, iii. 1264). Mazyār b. Ḥasan, "lord of Dunbāwand", attacked from Raiy while Abu 'l-Sājj advanced via Liris and Dunbāwand.

The Arabs very skillfully exploited the rivalries and enmities in the entourage of Māzyār. First of all his nephew Kāri b. Shahrīyār (his representative in the mountain of Sharwīn = Sawādkūh) went over to Haiyān, who marched on Sīrt and began to negotiate with Māzyār's brother Kūhyār. In the meanwhile Surkhshātū's army which occupied the Tamīsha front dispersed and allowed Ḥasan b. Ḥusain to advance. Kūhyār, who had been promised Māzyār's place, submitted to Ḥasan. Māzyār seems to have lost his courage when he found himself surrounded by the Arabs and betrayed by his follower. He trusted Kūhyār, who had promised him the *amān*, and came with him to Ḥasan (Tabari, iii. 1288—1291, dramatic story by an eye-witness) but Ḥasan did not even acknowledge his greeting. Māzyār was handed over to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm and sent to Sāmarrā. Here he was confronted with Afshīn and seems to have denounced the latter. The caliph ordered him to be given 400 *laabas*, under which he died and his body was exposed beside that of Rābak in 224 = 839.

Kūhyār's treachery served him little. He was slain as a traitor by his cousin Shahrīyār b. Mā-mughān who commanded the Dailāmis in the service of Māzyār.

Surkhshātū was betrayed by the soldiers after the defeat at Tamīsha and the other of Māzyār's generals, al-Durri, who was fighting against Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm on the Rūyān front, died while attempting to reach Dailām (Tabari, iii. 1300).

Bibliography: Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, i. 514; ii. 582; Balādhuri, p. 229; Tabari, iii. 1268—1303, — among his authorities were Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ al-Thakafī al-Tabari (perhaps related to the Arab wali Mūsā b. Ḥafṣ?) and 'Alī b. Sahl Rabban "the Christian" [author of the *Firdaws al-ghilma*, ed. Sīddīqī, Berlin 1928], whom Māzyār employed as his scribe, cf. the *Fihris*, ed. Flügel, p. 299; Tabari is the source of the later epitomists: *Kitāb al-Uyūn*, ed. de Jong-de Goeje, p. 399—405; Ibn Miskawayh, vi., ed. de Goeje, p. 502—516, 522—525; Ibn al-Athīr, vi. 351—359, 362—364, 366 etc. Cf. also Ibn Rusta, p. 276; Ibn al-Fakīh, p. 304, 305—306, 309—310; Mas'ūdī, *B.G.A.*, vii. 137; Ya'qūbī, ii. 608; iii. 284, 490, 506; Ibn Isfandiyār, transl. Browne, p. 14—154; Zahr al-Dīn, index (these two last local sources do not know Tabari and contain a number of quite legendary stories); Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 321—325; Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 201—202 (bibliography); Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 334.

(V. MINORSKY)

MECCA.

1

On the eve of the Hījra. It is with the birth of Muḥammad — between 570—580 A.D. — that Mecca suddenly emerges from the shadows of the past and thrusts itself upon the attention

of the historian. The geographer Ptolemy seems to know it under the name Macoraba; but it must have been in existence long before his time. Mecca was probably one of the stations on the "incense route", the road by which the produce of the East especially valuable perfumes, came to the Mediterranean world. It owes its importance to its position at the

Intersection of great commercial routes. The town that had grown up around the well of Zamzam and the sanctuary of the Ka'ba was advantageously placed at the extreme ends of the Asia of the whites and the Africa of the blacks, near a breach in the chain of the Sarāṭ, close to a junction of roads leading from Babylonia and Syria to the plateaus of the Yemen, to the shores of the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. By the latter it was in communication with the mysterious African continent. What advantages were offered by this situation at the boundary between civilisation and barbarism, at the point of contact of two societies, brought together by necessities more pressing than political ambitions or the quarrels of race and religion? This was the part played by the Palmyrans, situated between the Romans and the Parthians. It demanded an adaptability and diplomatic skill beyond the ordinary. The two societies were frequently at war; it required wits to deal tactfully with them. But if the position had its risks, it had the advantage of being able to fix the price for its services to the belligerents. In the delicate role of intermediary and broker between two world, the strength of will of the Ishmaelite and the tenacity that lay beneath his apparent complaisance assured his success from the first. Civilisation and barbarism might conclude peace for a time or be at war; he was able to trade on their agreement or exploit their dissensions with equal satisfaction to himself. Ambiguous and amphibious, the Meccan was able to have a foot in both camps without it being possible to discern where his sympathies really lay.

At an early date we see the Meccans opening negotiations with the states adjoining Arabia. They obtained from them safe conducts and capitulations, permitting the free passage of their caravans. This is what their chronicles call the "guarantee of Caesar and of Chosroes". They also concluded agreements with the Negus of Abyssinia, with the principal sheikhs of Najd, the *ḥaṭṭ*'s of the Yemen, with the phylarchs of Ghassān and of Ḥimr. In the negotiations with the Greeks and Persians the principal of the "open door" was not admitted. Commercial transactions were carried through at posts on the frontier or in towns specially designated for the purpose. In Palestine there were the ports of Aila and Ghazza and perhaps also Jerusalem. In Syria, Bozra was their principal outlet, their great market.

Sūra cvi. 2 mentions as a permanent institution "the double caravan of winter and summer". The *nasāb*, genealogists, record the names of the Ka'ashī chiefs who had succeeded in obtaining by negotiation permits to trade. The countries open to commerce in this way were called *waḡā*, direction, *waṭṭa*, region of trade. There were innumerable restrictions, limiting the extension of the privilege. Eastern governments did not permit free trade. Distrustful of merchants even when her own subjects, Byzantium showed herself still more

suspicious of foreigners, especially Bedouins, a slippery race which filled her with an unconquerable distrust. The latter had therefore to make heavy sacrifices, to pay onerous taxes, to pay continual customs-dues and tolls or to hand over hostages before negotiations could be begun. Mecca was not inspired by principles any more broad-minded; she took care to recompense herself from foreign traders and to levy various charges upon them, tithes, charges for permits to stay in the country, to travel about and to trade. Tithes had to be paid before entering Mecca. There was also, as at Palmyra, a "departure" tax or tax on exportation. In short, foreign merchants were entangled in a very intricate fiscal system, whether they settled in Mecca or only passed through it, especially those who did not obtain the *ḡfirān* or guarantee of a local clan or notability.

The population. About the time of the Hijra, the people of Mecca claimed descent from a common ancestor. They called him *Quraysh* or *Fihir*, sometimes also *al-Nadr* surnamed *Quraysh*. The origins of the *Quraysh* were humble and little is known of them. They formed one of the less wealthy branches of those who went back to the main stock of the *Kinda* [q. v.]. At first they led a miserable existence in the wild mountains around the sacred territory of Mecca. A condottiere from the northern Hijāz, *Quraysh*, is said to have installed them by force of arms in Mecca, which he took from the control of the tribe of *Khawā'a* [q. v.]. Some ten main clans can be distinguished among them: *Hāshim*, *Umayyā*, *Nawfal*, *Zuhra*, *Asad*, *Taim*, *Makhshūm*, *ʿAdī*, *Djomaḥ* and *Sahm*. These occupied mainly the centre of the town, the bottom of the valley, *al-Baḥā'*, where the water of the well of Zamzam accumulated, the hollow where the *Ka'ba* stood. Their living in this neighbourhood earned them the epithet of *al-Baḥā'*, *Bīḥā'* or *Quraysh al-Bīḥā'*. This central quarter of the town was regarded as that of the aristocracy and of the oldest *Quraysh* families. Among these ten groups, some owe to Islam a renown hitherto denied them. Such were the *Taim* and the *ʿAdī*, rendered illustrious by the caliphs *Abū Bakr* and *ʿUmar*. Other clans more vaguely connected with the eponymous ancestor were thrust towards the outskirts of Mecca, on the lower slopes or in the gorges (*ḡḡā'*) of the hills which dominate the town. They were called the *Quraysh of the outskirts* (*Quraysh al-Zawāhir*). Held in less consideration than their fellow-tribemen of the *Baḥā'*, these suburbans had the advantage of being distinguished from them by their bravery. They supplied the *Quraysh* community with its best soldiers and never failed to cast this up to the Meccans "of the centre".

Government and Administration. It is not easy to discover definite indications of this. There must however have been a rudimentary system of archives in which to preserve treaties of alliance and commerce, and later the equivalent of an office to take charge of the collection of taxes on foreign traders. Nowhere do we find any explicit allusion to the working of such administrative organisations. A tradition records the existence of purely honorary offices with no jurisdiction. But it does not agree either upon the number (ten or six) nor upon the functions of these offices. I imagine it was invented to satisfy the vanity of the great families. The only allusion to it is in

the verses of a Meccan poet, *Ḥassān b. Thābit*. The office of "pavilion and reins" has nothing to do — as has been supposed — with the art of war. This dignity, which was an ancient one and no longer understood, was a memory of the ritual processions held in pagan Arabia. The *ḡḡā'* was simply the pavilion or portable tabernacle, containing the fetish of the tribe and solemnly carried on the back of a camel. The chiefs and notables took turns at holding the reins of the animal bearing this precious burden. It is taking nothing from the glory of *Khalid b. al-Walid* to say that he had not a monopoly of this privilege. Behind the legend of the Meccan dignities, we perceive the intention of glorifying the cradle of the Prophet. In giving it administrative institutions, an attempt was made to conceal the modest beginnings of the *Hāshim* and no less those of *Abū Bakr* and *ʿUmar*. The onerous office of *ḡḡā'*, which had to pay compensation for murder and injury, was far beyond the financial resources of the modest citizen called *Abū Bakr*. The entrusting to *ʿUmar* of the *ḡḡā'* or diplomatic missions cannot be reconciled with his extreme youth and plebeian origin.

I have elsewhere, for lack of a better term, called Mecca "a merchant republic". If *Abū Sufyān* is called "Shaikh and chief of the *Quraysh*", several of his contemporaries are given equally high sounding titles. There is not the slightest reason to think that he was a kind of *Quraysh* doge. The manner in which the events of the first eight years of the Hijra are recorded produces the fallacious impression that he held the power in Mecca in his hands. In reality he was only the ablest and most intelligent of his peers, the chiefs of the *Quraysh* clans. As *al-Fāst* pertinently observes, all were equal: "no one exercised authority unless delegated or kindly permitted to do so by them". Did their chiefs constitute a regular official body? Yes, says tradition. Mecca is even said to have had a kind of Senate or Grand Council, the *dūr al-madīna*. It met only in extraordinary circumstances. Usually however, we find that it is in the *madīna*, family groups or clans, the *Nādi Ḥawm* opening on the square of the *Ka'ba* — the forum and bourse of the town — that affairs of general interest were dealt with.

The *Qur'an* cannot conceive of authority without a council of notables, without the *maḥa*. This institution is so frequently mentioned in the *Qur'an* that the Prophet must have seen it working before his eyes. We think then that Mecca was ruled by the oligarchy of the *maḥa*, the equivalent in the town of the *madīna* of the nomad tribe. This was an assembly of the chiefs of the wealthiest and most influential families. This is why *Umayyads* and *Makhshūms* are most usually mentioned as composing the *maḥa*. Neither election nor birth could necessarily open the way to a seat on it, but rather the fame of services rendered, the prestige of ability and wealth. Thus it welcomed to its counsels the very wealthy *Ibn Djudʿān*, a member of the humble clan of *Taim*. An assembly of elders or of you like of senators, in conformity with the principle of seniority among the Arabs: its authority, purely moral, was limited to advising, studying, looking ahead and giving to the merchant community the benefit of the experience of its conscript fathers. In the absence of any coercive

powers, persuasion was the only force it had to make its wishes obeyed. Hence the importance of eloquence in a milieu like this, where every family and every clan claimed autonomy. The cause of peace was in continual conflict with their claims. Without infringing their prerogatives, the *mala'* was able to exert moral pressure when the general good required it. The system recalls, though remotely, the organisation of Palmyra and of Venice.

Site and climate. In the form of an elongated crescent with its points turned towards the flanks of the *Ku'ayk'ān*, the town was hemmed in by a double range of bare and steep hills. The centre of this ill-ventilated couloir coincided with a depression in the soil. The early town occupied the bottom of this; this was the *wadī*, the valley, the *baḥa Maḥka*, the hollow of Mecca. The centre, the lowest part of this depression, was called *al-Baḥā'* (cf. above). Some buildings in this quarter were so close to the Ka'ba that in the morning and in the evening their shadows were merged in that of the sacred edifice. Between these houses and the Ka'ba [q. v.] a narrow esplanade (*ṣanā'*) lay below the level of the surrounding soil. This open area formed the primitive *masjid*, a sanctuary open to the heavens. The pre-Islamic *Baḥā'* knew no other. The ends of the little streets opening on this open space were called the "gates of the haram or of the masjid". The so-called gates or openings took their names from the clans settled around the Ka'ba. Thus one regularly spoke of the "gate of the Banū Dīnāh". The walls of their houses served to mark the boundaries of the masjid. It was on the ground floor of the buildings facing the sides of the Ka'ba that the *maḥḥa* or *nadī* of the chief families met, those that formed the *mala'* (cf. above).

In the suburbs (*ḡawāhir*), and at a later date in the ravines (*ṣifḥ*) which had been dug by erosion out of the flanks of the hills, was a confusion of poor houses, low and ramshackle hovels. The unpleasant features of a town of this kind are obvious. The geographer Maḥdīst has summed these up strikingly: "suffocating heat, deadly winds, clouds of flies". The continual difficulty was the dearth of water. The population was dependent on the variable output of the Zamzam. There were other wells, mainly outside the town. Those inside had a doubtful reputation. The scarcity of drinking-water is evident from the amount of precaution taken, when some thousands of pilgrims had to be supplied. In such deplorable conditions one can imagine what suffering the long days brought, *ramḡā' Maḥka* "the burning of Mecca"; why the great families preferred to send their children to be brought up in the desert; why the *Sira* only incidentally mentions the plague of Mecca (*waḥḡ Maḥka*). Smallpox is mentioned only in connection with the enemies of the Prophet.

Rains are few and far between. Droughts sometimes last for four years. But when the winter season is wet, the rains may sometimes attain an unheard-of degree of violence. To the east of Mecca a rocky wall raises its steep barrier, a succession of strata and summits merging into the chain of the Sarḥt. These jagged hills collect on their flanks the surplus rains of the monsoon which brings fertility to the Yemen. All along these slopes, where no shrub interrupts the fall — at the bottom

of each a *sa'il* is formed — the cataracts augmented by all these tributaries fall into the hollow of Mecca, *baḥa Maḥka*, of which the Ka'ba occupies the bottom. The waters rush to this depression they force a passage through the "gates of the masjid" and flow over the area around the sanctuary. They fill it and rise to attack the Ka'ba. Before the Hijra, the Quraysh syndicate seems to have paid no heed to the flooding or said they were powerless to prevent it. Efforts made by the caliphs yielded "only mediocre results".

This is why the misdeeds of the *sa'il* fill the annals of Mecca. On several occasions their violence has overthrown the Ka'ba and turned the court of the great mosque into a lake. As a result of the floods, epidemics broke out. The deposit of filth brought by the waters polluted the wells; bodies left unburied formed centres of epidemic infection. The annalists avoid dwelling on this, troubled by the Tradition which says that the plague never reaches Mecca. The absolute sterility of the soil brought another scourge, that of famine. The slightest irregularity in the convoys of grain from Syria or the Sarḥt was enough to cause it. It continues to figure along with the ravages of flood and plague in the monotonous annals of the town.

Economic life and finance. On examining closely the picturesque literature of the *Sira* and *Hadith*, one receives the impression of business, of intense activity bursting out of the narrow and sterile valley of Mecca. The Qur'an only strengthens this impression. All his life the Prophet retained the impress of his Quraysh education and training. This fundamentally mercantile character is revealed at every turn.

Writing and arithmetic! One is amazed at their importance in the economic life of the town. Relying on the Qur'anic epithet *ḥisāb*, i. e. pagan, gentle, and on biased writers like al-Balādhuri, it has been held that, except for some fifteen individuals mentioned by name, all the pre-Hijran Quraysh were illiterate. Alongside of the "book" of accounts, the scales always figure in the Meccan shops: not so much to weigh goods as to verify and check payments of all kinds including cash. Now, coins were not plentiful on the Meccan market; they were supplemented by the precious metals, ingots of gold and silver, by *ṭibr*, gold dust. Only the scales could determine the value. In the more delicate cases, recourse was had to the services of a *wasṭa* or professional weigher.

It would be difficult to imagine a society in which capital enjoyed a more active circulation. The *ṭāḡir*, business man, was not engaged in hoarding, in gathering wealth into his strong boxes. He had a blind faith in the unlimited productivity of capital, in the virtue of credit. Brokers and agents, the bulk of the population lived on credit. The sleeping partnership was much in favour (*maḡḡaraba*), especially the "partnership for the half", which supposes 50% participation in the profits by the sleeping partners. Thanks to the development of these institutions the humblest sums could be invested, down to a gold *ḍīnār* or even a *naḥḥ* or half *ḍīnār*. Such a flexible organisation stimulated even the humblest to take his share in commercial enterprises.

The coins brought to Mecca were of very different kinds: the *denarius aureus* of the Byzantines

and the silver drachm of the Sāsānids and Hīmyars. These pieces often worn, rudely engraved, very unequal in weight and format, came from the most varied mints. Only the money-changer had the requisite flair, the eye sufficiently trained to deal with the confusion of currencies, to determine accurately the standards, values, and the kinds in circulation. In addition there were the complications caused by the difference of standard and the oscillations of exchange. The Byzantine provinces, Syria and Egypt, were among the *ahl al-dhahab* or countries with a gold standard. Babylonia was *ahl al-wariḡ*, a land with a silver, the Sāsānian, standard. On the eve of the departure of the caravans for Syria, there were regular battues in search of dinārs. The Meccan *ṣāḡfir* was not distinct from the financier. His first article of trade was money. When occasion arose, he invested his capital in business, in the organisation of large caravans. To the leaders of the caravan, to the traders and to the factors, he advanced the funds necessary for their operations.

Primarily a clearing house, a banking town, Mecca had customs and institutions peculiar to this kind of transaction and to finance. Sometimes it is *riās*, usury, in all its ugliness: dinar for dirham, dirham for dirham, i.e. 100% interest. To the condemnation of *riās* in the Qurʾān, the Quraysh objected that they saw in it only "a kind of sale" (Qurʾān ii. 276), of letting out capital for a rent. Speculation too was rampant, on the rates of exchange, the load of a caravan which one tried to buy up, the yield of the harvests and of the flocks and lastly the provisioning of the town. Fictitious associations were formed and sales were made on which loans were borrowed. "Every Arab", says Strabo, "is either a trader or a broker". In Mecca, says the ḥadīth "he who was not a merchant, counted for nothing". In setting out on a military expedition the citizens always took merchandise along with them. This is what they did when going to relieve the Badr caravan. The first thing the Meccan *ṣāḡfirūn* did on arriving in Medina was to ask the way to the market-place. The women shared these commercial instincts: Abū Ḍjahl's mother ran a perfumery business. The activities of the *ṣāḡfira* Khadija are celebrated. Hind [q. v.], the wife of Abū Sufyān, sold her merchandise among the Kallās of Syria. Like their husbands the Meccan women had financial interests in the caravans. On the return of the convoys they gathered round Abū Sufyān to know what their money and their contributions had earned and to get their share of the profits.

The caravans. The organisation of a caravan was the subject of interminable palavers in the *ṣūḍī* around the Ka'ba. Its departure and return were events of public interest. The whole population was associated with it. En route it remained in continual communication with the metropolis through Beduins met on the journey or special couriers. Abū Sufyān sent one of these messengers to describe the critical position of the Badr caravan. It cost him 20 dinārs, an enormous sum, but one proportionate to the value of the convoy in which Mecca had 50,000 dinārs invested. The Meccan caravans were of considerable size. Neither horses nor mules appeared in them. The number of camels on occasion rose to 2,500. The men (merchants, guides [*ḡallī*] and guards) varied from 100 to 300. The escort was strengthened on approaching areas

infested by bandits (*ḡa'ib*) or when traversing the territory of hostile tribes. The Badr caravan may be taken as typical. We do not know of another in which the capital invested attained such an amount. The greater part was supplied by the important Umayyad firm of Abū Uḡayḡa, i.e. the family of Sa'īd b. al-ʿĀs. This firm had formed a company of the family, adding to their own considerable reserves the contributions of its sleeping partners. To their 30,000 dinārs the other Umayyad houses added 10,000. Four-fifths of the capital of the Badr caravan was therefore of Umayyad origin. We can understand why the direction and supreme control of the convoy was entrusted to Abū Sufyān, who was personally interested in the enterprise.

In the first place a caravan from Mecca carried skins and leather, sometimes also the *zabīb* of Tā'if, a kind of currant; then ingots of gold and silver partly from the mines of the Banū Sulaim and *tibr*, gold dust from Africa. The texts frequently call it *ṣafma*, i.e. a convoy laden with perfume and rare spices. Of the perfumes, the most esteemed came not from the Hīdžāz, but from southern Arabia, the "land of frankincense", or even from India and Africa. To these might be added aromatic gums and medicinal drugs, like the senna of Mecca, all objects of small bulk and purchased at higher prices by the luxury of the civilised countries.

From the Yemen the Meccan caravans brought back the products of India, the silks of China, the rich *ʿadant* cloths, so called from 'Aden. Besides gold dust, the main exports of Africa were slaves and ivory. From Africa Mecca recruited her laborers and her mercenary soldiers, the *Aḡābiḡ* or Abyssinians. In Egypt and in Syria, the Quraysh traders bought luxury articles, products of the industry of the Mediterranean, mainly cotton, linen or silk stuffs and cloths dyed in vivid purple. From Boḡrā and the Sharrāt (Syria) came arms, cereals and oil, much appreciated by the Beduins. The pace of the caravan was slow but the articles transported, leather, metals, scented woods, feared neither damage nor the delays of long journeys. The expenses were confined to the hire of the animals, the payment of the escort, the tolls and presents to the chiefs of the tribes. With such an economical organisation, the profits of 100% attested by our authors were quite usual. This was the case with the caravan of Badr "each dinār having brought back a dinār". Two years after this brilliant affair, the Companions of the Prophet who had sought refuge in Medina were able to carry out as profitable a transaction in the same field "since each of their dirhams gained a second dirham", that is to say a profit of 100% again.

Fortunes in Mecca. We can now imagine how money had gradually accumulated in the chests of the Meccan financiers, who were naturally of a saving disposition. This explains Pliny the Elder's ill-humour when he recalls "the millions of sesterces which the Arabs take annually from the Roman Empire giving nothing in return, *nihil in vicem redimentibus*" (Hist. Natur., vi. 28). This last statement is an exaggeration, but it should be remembered that the Meccan caravan carried only articles of high value, and that with regard to the Empire the Arabs were mainly importers, so that the trade balance was always very much

in their favour. The 30,000 dinars invested by the one house of Abū Uthāla in the Badr caravan suggests that H. Winckler is quite right when he tells us to think of the Palmyra of Zenobia if we wish to get an idea of the financial capacity of Mecca. The fortunes of the Makhzūmīs were no less than those of their Umayyad rivals. The Taimi 'Abd Allāh b. Djūd'an must have been a millionaire if the poet thought of comparing him to Caesar. The principal organisers of the Badr caravan were also millionaires. The thousands of dinars subscribed by them did not even represent all their fortune. Other portions of their capital were out at interest or put in other speculations. Among other millionaires we may mention the Makhzūmī Walīd b. al-Mughira and 'Abd Allāh, father of the poet 'Umar b. Abī Raḥīfa.

Next to these representatives of high finance come the well-to-do Meccans, like 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf who had a capital of 8,000 dinars and al-Hārith b. 'Amir and Umayya b. Khalaḥ. Of the latter two, the first had 1,000 and the second 2,000 dinars in the Badr caravan. Lastly there were the small traders, brokers and shopkeepers who formed the petite bourgeoisie of the town. To their commerce a number added the supervision of some industry like ironwork or carpentry. The most typical representative of this class is given us by the future caliph Abū Bakr, a *ḥāḍir*, retailer of cloth. He belonged like Abū Djūd'an to the plebeian clan of Taim, rich in men and women of initiative, like 'Ā'isha, daughter of Abū Bakr. He seems to have had a capital of 40,000 dirhams. 'Abbās, the uncle of the Prophet, is also mentioned among the rich bankers of Mecca, but we have no details about him. The other Ḥāshimīs lived in circumstances bordering on poverty. Those Meccans most certainly must have been wealthy who paid without a murmur the enormous ransoms demanded for their relatives after the defeat of Badr. After this sacrifice — it cost them not less than 200,000 dirhams — the Meccan chiefs gave up their share of the profits in the Badr enterprise — some 25,000 dinars — to prepare for the revenge. They did this *ḥaiyibā 'l-anfus* "with a good heart", with the easy grace of opulent financiers, used to running the risks of speculations on a large scale. One touching detail is recorded. They refused to touch the modest shares of the small contributors. This example shows how at Mecca, "the strong", *ahl al-ḥawma* (Wāḡidī), i.e. the patricians, were able in critical circumstances to realise a spirit of solidarity and of sound democracy.

Mecca before the Hijra had neither ships nor a port. It was only exceptionally that foreign ships cast anchor in the little bay of Shu'aiba off a desert shore. It was here that the Byzantine ship was wrecked, the wood of which went to build the terrace of the Ka'ba. It was to Shu'aiba that the first Muslim emigrants for Abyssinia went, no doubt on hearing that two merchant ships had touched there. More rarely sailings took place from the desolate shore of Djidda, which was nearer Mecca. From the time of 'Uthmān, Djidda took the place of Shu'aiba and became the port of the Quraysh metropolis. When Muḥammad settled in Medina and cut their communications with Syria, the Meccan leaders never thought of taking to the sea but resigned themselves to the enormous detour through al-Nadīd. The

creation of an Arab navy was the work of the caliph Mu'āwīya.

2. After the Hijra. We need not rehearse the events of the first eight years of the Hijra. They are summed up in the struggle with the Prophet. This struggle and the *ḥidda*, the surrender of Mecca, were fatal to its economic prosperity. One after the other, the great families migrated to Medina, now the capital of Islām. This tendency increased under the first three caliphs, who made their headquarters among the Anṣār. 'Alī definitely left Arabia to settle in Kūfa. Richly endowed by the state, the leading Quraysh, becoming generals and governors of provinces, lost interest in commerce. No more is heard about caravans or fairs in the Hijra. It was only at the period of the pilgrimage that Mecca became alive again and saw the caliphs reappear at the head of the pilgrims. The conquest of the 'Irāq dealt the last blow to the economic decline of western Arabia. The Indian trade resumed its old route by the Persian Gulf and the valley of the Euphrates. Direct communication was established by land with the markets of the middle east.

Umayyad period. The situation improved with the coming of the Umayyad dynasty. Mu'āwīya took an active interest in his native town. He erected buildings there and developed agriculture in the environs, dug wells and built dams to store up the water. Under his successors, especially the Marwānids, Mecca became a city of pleasure and ease, the rendezvous of poets and musicians, attracted by the brilliant society formed by the sons of the Companions of the Prophet. Many people returned to live in Mecca after making their fortunes in the government of conquered provinces. Contact with foreign civilisations had made them refined and fastidious. They had become accustomed to baths, a luxury which presupposes an abundant water-supply. Water had to be procured from the hills of the Sarāḥ. Khalīd al-Kasrī's [q. v.] name is associated with this undertaking which changed the aspect of the town. To meet the scourge of flood, the caliphs 'Umar and 'Uthmān had called in the aid of Christian engineers, who built barrages in the high-lying quarters. They also secured the area round the Ka'ba by making dykes and embankments. The Umayyad caliphs continued and completed these works. They dug a new bed along the course of the *ḥaḍ* and endeavoured to break its violence by barriers built at different levels. Their great anxiety was to protect the depression of the *Bathā'* where the Ka'ba stood. The skill of the engineers of the period did not succeed in overcoming the topographical difficulties nor in averting the ravages of the winter rains, regular cloudbursts. They were frustrated by the steep slope of the ground, still further aggravated by the unusual shape of the *Bathā'*, a basin with no outlet. The houses on the bank of the *ḥaḍ* were taken down and the alleys adjoining the Ka'ba removed. Each modification of the old plan meant the sacrifice of more buildings. These clearances in time changed the traditional aspect of Mecca, where the *ḥaḍ* continued to sow destruction.

Along with these precautions against flooding an endeavour was made to enlarge the exiguous court around the Ka'ba. Islām aspired to possess a temple in keeping with its worldwide claims. Successive expropriations begun by 'Umar and finished

by Walid I prepared an esplanade. The plan of the great mosque [cf. AL-MASJID AL-HAKIM] with its galleries, a vast courtyard with the Ka'ba in the centre, is the work of the Umayyad caliph. He had the assistance of Christian architects from Syria and Egypt to carry it out. The important governorship of the Hijaz with its three cities, Medina, Mecca and Ta'if, could in principle be given only to a member of the ruling family. Among the most celebrated of these Umayyads may be mentioned Sa'id b. al-'As and the two future caliphs, Marwan b. al-Hakam and 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz. When no Umayyad was available the choice fell upon an official of tried capacity like Hajjadj and Khalid al-Kasbi. At first they were given Ta'if and then transferred to Mecca. It was only after this probation that the three towns were entrusted to them. But even then the centre of government remained in Medina, which under the Umayyads eclipsed Mecca by its political importance and by the fact that it was the home of the new Muslim aristocracy.

Under Yazid I, the rising of 'Abd Allah b. al-Zubair [q.v.] brought Syrian troops to Mecca. The rebel had made his headquarters in the court of the great mosque. A scaffold of wood, covered with straw, protected the Ka'ba. The carelessness of a Meccan soldier set it on fire. Ibn al-Zubair rebuilt the edifice and included the Hijir within it [see KA'BA]. When Hajjadj had overthrown the Zubairid anti-caliph, he restored the Ka'ba to its former dimensions which have since remained unaltered. In 747 a Kharijite rebel from the Yemen seized Mecca without meeting opposition. He was soon defeated and slain by the troops of the caliph Marwan II. In 750, Mecca passed with the rest of the caliphate under the rule of the 'Abbasids.

Bibliography: Very detailed in H. Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'hégire* (extract from *Mélanges de l'Univ. St. Joseph de Beyrouth*, ix., fasc. 3). The oriental and western biographies of the Prophet should also be consulted; *Kitab al-Aghani*, vol. 21, *passim*; Azraqi and Fasi, in *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. 1 and 2; Ibn 'Abdrabbih, *al-Ish'afat*, vol. II; the *Mu'jam* of Bakri and of Yaqut, ed. Wüstenfeld; Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan*, ed. de Goeje; Bukhari, *Sahih*; Burckhardt, *Voyages en Arabie* (transl. Eyries), vol. 3; Cassani, *Annali dell' Islam*; Djahiz, *Tricopacula*, ed. van Vloten, p. 61 etc.; Gandefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mecque*, Paris 1923; Hassin b. Thabit, *Diman*, ed. Hirschfeld; Ibn Duraid, *Kitab al-Ish'afat*, ed. Wüstenfeld; Ibn Hisham, *Sharaf al-Rusul*, ed. Wüstenfeld; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitab al-Tabaqat*, ed. Sachau; H. Lammens, a. *Etudes sur le règne du calife umayyade Marwan Ier* (extract from *M.F.O.B.*, I.-III.); b. *Le califat de Yazid Ier* (extract from *M.F.O.B.*, v.-vii.); c. *Les chrétiens à la Mecque, à la veille de l'hégire* (in *B.I.F.A.O.*, xiv.); d. *Les Juifs à la Mecque, à la veille de l'hégire* (in *Recherches de science religieuse*, viii.); e. *Fatima et les filles de Mahomet*, Rome 1912; f. *Les Ahlul-Bait et l'organisation militaire de la Mecque au siècle de l'hégire* (in *J.A.*, 1916); g. *Le culte des bédouins et les processions religieuses chez les Arabes préislamites* (in *B.I.F.A.O.*, xvii.); h. *Le Berceau de l'Islam; l'Arabie occidentale à la veille de l'hégire*, Rome 1914; i. *La cité arabe de Taif, à la veille de l'hégire* (extract from

Mé. Univ. St. Joseph de Beyrouth, viii.); k. *La république marchande de la Mecque vers l'an 600 de notre ère* (in *B.I.F.A.O.*, 1910); Ibn Djubair, *Travels*, ed. de Goeje, p. 74 etc.; Maqdisi, *Ahsan al-taqsim*, in *B.G.A.*, III, p. 71-79; Mas'udi, *Muruj al-Dhahab*, Paris, vol. 3; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, vol. 1; Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*; Tabari, *Annales*, ed. de Goeje, vol. I-II; Yaqut, *Historiae*, ed. Houtsma, vol. 2; Wakiidi, *Kitab al-Maghatal*, ed. Kremer; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*; the *Kur'an* *passim*; the *Musnad* of Ibn Hanbal, 6 vols.; the *Sunan* of Abu Dawud, of Nasai and of Ibn Majja, the *Maqabih al-Sunna* of Baghawzi, each in 2 vols. (H. LAMMENS).

II

1. Mecca under the 'Abbasids down to the foundation of the Sharifate (750-961).

Although the political centre of gravity in Islam now lay in Baghdad, this period at first presents the same picture as under Umayyad rule. The *Harām* are as a rule governed by 'Abbasid princes or individuals closely connected with them (*Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, II, 181 sqq.). Sometimes Mecca and Ta'if were under one ruler, who was at the same time leader of the Hadj, while Medina had a separate governor of its own.

Arabia had however from the first century A.D. contained a number of 'Alid groups, who, as was their wont, fished in troubled waters, lay in wait as brigands to plunder the Hadj caravans and from time to time hoisted their flags when they were not restrained either by the superior strength or by the bribes of the caliphs. We find al-Mansur (136-156 = 754-774) already having trouble in Western Arabia. Towards the end of the reign of al-Mahdi (156-169 = 774-785) a Hasanid, Husain b. 'Ali, led a raid on Medina, which he ravaged; at Fakhkh near Mecca, he was cut down with many of his followers by the 'Abbasid leader of the Hadj. The place where he was buried is now called al-Shuhad. It is significant that he is regarded as the "martyr of Fakhkh" (Tabari, III, 551 sqq.; *Chron. Mekka*, I, 435, 501 sq.).

Hārūn al-Rashid on his nine pilgrimages expended vast sums in Mecca. He was not the only 'Abbasid to scatter wealth in the holy land. This had a bad effect on the character of the Meccans. There were hardly any descendants left of the old distinguished families and the population grew accustomed to living at the expense of others and were ready to give vent to any dissatisfaction in rioting. This attitude was all too frequently stimulated by political conditions.

In the reign of al-Ma'mun (198-218 = 817-833) it was again 'Alids, Husain al-Afshar and Ibrahim b. Mu'alla, who extended their rule over Medina, Mecca and the Yemen (Tabari, III, 981 sqq.; *Chron. Mekka*, II, 238), ravaged Western Arabia and plundered the treasures of the Ka'ba. How strong 'Alid influence already was at this time is evident from the fact that Ma'mun appointed two 'Alids as governors of Mecca (Tabari, III, 1039; *Chron. Mekka*, II, 191 sqq.).

With the decline of the 'Abbasid caliphate after the death of Ma'mun, a period of anarchy began in the holy land of Islam, which was frequently accompanied by scarcity or famine. It became the

regular custom for a number of rulers to be represented at the Hajj in the plain of 'Arafat and to have their flags unfurled; the holy city was rarely spared fighting on these occasions. The safety of the pilgrim caravans was considerably affected; it was very often 'Alids who distinguished themselves in plundering the pilgrims.

The 'Alid cause received an important reinforcement at this time by the foundation of a Hasanid dynasty in Tabaristan (Tabari, iii. 1523-1533, 1583-57, 1682-1685, 1693-57, 1840, 1880, 1884-57, 1940). In Mecca the repercussion of this event was felt in the appearance of two Hasanids (*Chron. Mekka*, i. 343; ii. 10, 195, 239-57, 1940). Yusuf and his brother Muhammad, who also ravaged Medina and Djidda in the way that had now become usual (251 = 865-866).

The appearance of the Karmaṭians [q.v.] brought still further misery to the country in the last fifty years before the foundation of the shērīfate (Tabari, iii. 2124-2130). Hard pressed themselves at the heart of the empire, the caliphs were hardly able even to think of giving active support to the holy land, and, besides, their representatives had not the necessary forces at their disposal. From 916 onwards the Karmaṭians barred the way to the pilgrim caravans. In 930, 15,000 Karmaṭian warriors raided Mecca, massacred the inhabitants by the thousand and carried off the Black Stone to Bahrain. It was only when they realised that such deeds were bringing them no nearer their goal—the destruction of official Islām—that their zeal began to relax and in 950 they even brought the Stone back again. Mecca was relieved of serious danger from the Karmaṭians. The following years bear witness to the increasing influence of the 'Alids in western Arabia in connection with the advance of Fātimid rule to the east and with Būyid rule in Baghdad. From this time the Meccan 'Alids are called by the title of Sharīf which they have retained ever since.

2. From the foundation of the Sharīfate to Kaṭāda (c. 350-598 = 960-1200).

a. The Mūsāwīs. The sources do not agree as to the year in which Dja'far took Mecca, 966, 967, 968 and the period between 951 and 961 are mentioned (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 205-57). 'Alids had already ruled before him in the holy land. It is with him however that the reign of the Hasanids in Mecca begins, who are known collectively as sharīfs, while in Medina this title is given to the reigning Hammadids.

The rise and continuance of the Sharīfate indicates the relative independence of Western Arabia in face of the rest of the Islāmic world from a political and religious point of view. Since the foundation of the Sharīfate, Mecca takes the precedence possessed by Medina hitherto.

How strongly the Meccan sharīfate endeavoured to assert its independence, is evident in this period from two facts. In 976 Mecca refused homage to the Fātimid caliph. Soon afterwards the Caliph began to besiege the town and cut off all imports from Egypt. The Meccans were soon forced to give in, for the Hijāz was dependent on Egypt for its food supplies (Ibn al-Athīr, *A'māl*, viii. 491; *Chron. Mekka*, ii. 246).

The second sign of the Sharīfs' feeling of independence is Abu 'l-Fatūh's (384-432 = 994-1039) setting himself up as caliph in 1011

(*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 207; Ibn al-Athīr, *A'māl*, ix. 235, 317). He was probably induced to do this by al-Hakim's heretical innovations in Egypt. The latter however was soon able to reduce the new caliph's sphere of influence so much that he had hurriedly to return to Mecca where in the meanwhile one of his relatives had usurped the power. He was forced to make terms with al-Hakim in order to be able to expel his relative.

With his son Shukr (432-453 = 1039-1063) the dynasty of the Mūsāwīs, i.e. the descendants of Mūsā b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Talīb came to an end. He died without leaving male heirs, which caused a struggle within the family of the Hasanids with the usual evil results for Mecca. When the family of the Banū Shāiba (q.v.; the Shāibīs) went so far as to confiscate for their private use all precious metals in the house of Allāh, the ruler of Yemen, al-Sulāhī (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 208, 210-57; Ibn al-Athīr, *A'māl*, ix. 422; x. 19, 38), intervened and restored order and security in the town. This intervention by an outsider appeared more intolerable to the Hasanids than fighting among themselves. They therefore proposed to al-Sulāhī that he should instal one of their number as ruler and leave the town.

He therefore appointed Abū Ḥāshim Muḥammad (455-487 = 1063-1094) as Grand Sharīf. With him begins the dynasty of the

A. Ḥawāshim (455-508 = 1063-1200), which takes its name from Abū Ḥāshim Muḥammad, a brother of the first Sharīf Dja'far; the two brothers were descendants in the fourth generation from Mūsā II, the ancestor of the Mūsāwīs.

During the early years of his reign, Abū Ḥāshim had to wage a continual struggle with the Sulaimānī branch, who thought themselves humiliated by his appointment. These Sulaimānīs were descended from Sulaimān, a brother of the Mūsā II above mentioned.

The reign of Abū Ḥāshim is further noteworthy for the shameless way in which he offered the suzerainty, i.e. the mention in the *khutba* as well as the change of official rite which is indicated by the wording of the *adḥān*, to the highest bidder i.e. the Fātimid caliph or the Saljuq sultan (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 253; Ibn al-Athīr, x. 67). It was very unwelcome to the Meccans that imports from Egypt stopped as soon as the official mention of the Fātimid in the *khutba* gave way to that of the caliph. The change was repeated several times with the result that the Saljuqs, tired of this comedy, sent several bodies of Turkomans to Mecca.

The ill-feeling between Sultān and Sharīf also inflicted great misery on pilgrims coming from the 'Irāq. As the leadership of the pilgrim caravans from this country had gradually been transferred from the 'Alids to Turkish officials and soldiers, Abū Ḥāshim did not hesitate occasionally to fall upon the pilgrims and plunder them (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 254; Ibn al-Athīr, x. 153).

The reign of his successor is also marked by covetousness and plundering. The Spanish pilgrim Ibn Djuḥair, who visited Mecca in 1183 and 1185, gives hair-raising examples of this. Even then however the Ḥawāshim were no longer absolutely their own masters, as over ten years before, the Aiyūbid dynasty had not only succeeded to the Fātimids in Egypt but was trying to get the whole of nearer Asia into their power.

Saladin's brother, who passed through Mecca on his way to South Arabia, abandoned his intention of abolishing the sharifs but the place of honour on the Hajj belonged to the Ayyūbids and their names were mentioned in the khutba after those of the 'Abbāsid caliph and the sharif (Ibn al-Dubair, p. 75, 95). The same Ayyūbid in 1186 also did away with the Shī'ī (here Zaidī, for the Sharifs had hitherto been Zaidīs) form of the *adān* (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 214), had coins struck in Saladin's name and put the fear of the law into the hearts of the sharif's bodyguard, who had not shrunk from crimes of robbery and murder, by severely punishing their misdeeds. — A further result of Ayyūbid suzerainty was that the Shī'ī rite became the predominant one.

But even the mighty Saladin could only make improvements in Mecca. He could abolish or check the worst abuses but the general state of affairs remained as before.

3. The rule of ʿĀṭāda and his descendants down to the Wahhābī period (c. 1200—1788).

In the meanwhile a revolution was being prepared which was destined to have more far-reaching consequences than any of its predecessors. ʿĀṭāda, a descendant of the same Mūsā (see above) from whom the Mūsawīs and the Hawwābīs were descended, had gradually extended his estates as well as his influence from Yanbu' to Mecca and had gathered a considerable following in the town. According to some sources, his son Ḥanzala made all preparations for the decisive blow on the holy city, according to others, ʿĀṭāda seized the town on the 27th Rajab when the whole population was away performing a lesser *umra* in memory of the completion of the building of the Ka'ba by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zuhair, which was celebrated on this day along with the festival of Muḥammad's ascension to heaven. However it came about, ʿĀṭāda's seizure of the town meant the coming of an able and strong-willed ruler, the ancestor of all later sharifs. He steadfastly followed his one ambition to make his territory an independent principality. Everything was in his favour; that he did not achieve his aim was a result of the fact that the Hūdīs was once again at the intersection of many rival lines of political interest.

ʿĀṭāda began by ruining his chances with the great powers; he ill-treated the son of the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-ʿAdil (540—615 = 1145—1218) in brutal fashion (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 263). He roused the ire of the caliph by his attitude to pilgrims from the 'Irāq. He was able however to appease the latter and the embassy he sent to Baghdad returned with gifts from the caliph. The caliph also invited him to visit Baghdad. According to some historians, however, the sharif turned home again before he actually reached Baghdad. On this occasion, he is said to have expressed his policy of the "splendid isolation" of the Hūdīs in verse, as he did in his will in prose (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Qatādah's Policy of Splendid Isolation* etc. in *Bibl.*).

On the other hand, ʿĀṭāda is said to have vigorously supported an Imām of Hasanid descent in founding a kingdom in the Yemen. After the reconquest of this region by a grandson of al-ʿAdil, the Ayyūbids of Egypt, Syria, and South Arabia were mentioned in the khutba in Mecca along with the Caliph and Sharif.

ʿĀṭāda's life ended in a massacre which his son Ḥasan carried out in his family to rid himself of possible rivals (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 215, 263 *seq.*; Ibn al-Athir, *Kāmil*, xii. 262 *seq.*). The Ayyūbid prince Ma'ūd however soon put a limit to his ambition and had Mecca governed by his generals. On his death however power again passed into the hands of the sharifs, whose territory was allowed a certain degree of independence by the rulers of the Yemen as a bulwark against Egypt.

About the middle of the thirteenth century the world of Islām assumes a new aspect as the result of the advent of persons and happenings of great importance. In 1258 the taking of Baghdad by Hūllāqū put an end to the caliphate. The pilgrim caravan from the 'Irāq was no longer of any political significance. In Egypt power passed from the Ayyūbids to the Mamlūks; Sulṭān Baibars (658—676 = 1260—1277) was soon the most powerful ruler in the lands of Islām. He was able to leave the government of Mecca in the hands of the sharif, because the latter, Abū Numayy, was an energetic individual who ruled with firmness during the second half of the thirteenth century (1254—1301). His long reign firmly established the power of the descendants of ʿĀṭāda.

Nevertheless the first half century after his death was almost entirely filled with fighting between different claimants to the throne. 'Adjlān's reign also (1346—1375) was filled with political unrest, so much so that the Mamlūk Sulṭān is said on one occasion to have sworn to exterminate all the sharifs. 'Adjlān introduced a political innovation by appointing his son and future successor Aḥmad co-regent in 1361 by which step he hoped to avoid a fratricidal struggle before or after his death.

A second measure of 'Adjlān's also deserves mention, namely the harsh treatment of the Mu'adhdhīs and Imām of the Zaidīs; this shows that the reigning sharifs had gone over to the predominant rite of al-Shāf'ī and forsaken the Zaidī creed of their forefathers.

Among the sons and successors of 'Adjlān special mention may be made of Ḥasan (1396—1426) because he endeavoured to extend his sway over the whole of the Hūdīs and to guard his own financial interests carefully, at the same time being able to avoid giving his Egyptian suzerain cause to interfere.

But from 1425 he and his successors had to submit to a regular system of control as regards the allotment of the customs.

From the time of Ḥasan, in addition to the bodyguard of personal servants and freedmen, we find a regular army of mercenaries mentioned which was passed from one ruler to another. But the mode of life of the sharifs, unlike that of other Oriental rulers, remained simple and in harmony with their Arabian surroundings. As a vassal of the Egyptian Sulṭān the sharif received from him every year his *tanṣif* (q. v.) and a robe of honour. On the ceremonies associated with the accession of the sharifs see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 97 *sq.*

Of the three sons of Ḥasan who disputed the position in their father's lifetime, Barakāt (I) was chosen by the sulṭān as co-regent; twenty years later, he succeeded his father and was able with slight interruptions to hold sway till his death in 1455. He had to submit to the sulṭān sending a permanent garrison of 50 Turkish horsemen under an emir

to Mecca. This emir may be regarded as the precursor of the later governors, who sometimes attained positions of considerable influence under Turkish suzerainty.

Mecca enjoyed a period of prosperity under Barakāt's son Muḥammad (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 341 *sqq.*; iii. 230 *sqq.*), whose reign (1455–1497) coincided with that of Kātibey [q. v.] in Egypt. The latter has left a fine memorial in the many buildings he erected in Mecca.

Under Muḥammad's son Barakāt II (1497–1525) who displayed great ability and bravery in the usual struggle with his relatives, without getting the support he desired from Egypt (*Chron. Mekka*, ii. 342 *sqq.*; iii. 244 *sqq.*), the political situation in Islam was fundamentally altered by the Ottoman Sultan Selim's conquest of Egypt in 1517.

Although henceforth Constantinople had the importance for Mecca that Baghdad once had and there was little real understanding between Turks and Arabs, Mecca at first experienced a period of peace under the sharifs Muḥammad Abū Numayy (1525–1566) and Ḥasan (1566–1601). Under Ottoman protection the territory of the sharifs was extended as far as Khaihar in the north, to Hali in the south and in the east into Najd. Dependence on Egypt still existed at the same time; when the government in Constantinople was a strong one, it was less perceptible, and vice versa. This dependence was not only political but had also a material and religious side. The Hijāz was dependent for its food supply on corn from Egypt. The foundations of a religious and educational nature now found powerful patrons in the Sultans of Turkey.

A darker side of the Ottoman suzerainty was its intervention in the administration of justice. Since the sharifs had adopted the Shāfi' madhhab, the Shāfi' Kādī was the chief judge; this office had also remained for centuries in one family. Now the highest bidder for the office was sent every year from Constantinople to Mecca; the Meccans of course had to pay the price with interest.

With Ḥasan's death a new period of confusion and civil war began for Mecca. In the language of the historians, this circumstance makes itself apparent in the increasing use of the term *Dhawī*... for different groups of the descendants of Abū Numayy who dispute the supremacy, often having their own territory, sometimes asserting a certain degree of independence from the Grand Sharif, while preserving a system of reciprocal protection which saved the whole family from disaster (Savuk Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 112 *sqq.*).

The struggle for supremacy, interspersed with disputes with the officials of the sultan, centred in the xvth century mainly around the 'Abādila, the Dhawī Zaid and the Dhawī Barakāt.

Zaid (1631–1666) was an energetic individual who would not tolerate everything the Turkish officials did. But he was unable to oppose successfully a measure which deserves mention on account of its general importance. The ill-feeling between the Sunni Turks and the Shī'ī Persians had been extended to Mecca as a result of an order by Sultan Murād to expel all Persians from the holy city and not to permit them to make the pilgrimage in future. Neither the Sharifs nor the upper classes in Mecca had any reason to be pleased with this measure; it only served the mob as a pretext to plunder well-to-do Persians. As soon

as the Turkish governor had ordered them to go, the Sharifs however gave permission as before to the Shī'īs to take part in the pilgrimage and to remain in the town. The Sharifs likewise favoured the Zaidis, who had also been frequently forbidden Mecca by the Turks.

The further history of Mecca down to the coming of the Wahhābīs is a rather monotonous struggle of the Sharifian families among themselves (Dhawī Zaid, Dhawī Barakāt, Dhawī Ma'ūd) and with the Ottoman officials in the town itself or in Djidda.

4. The Sharifate from the Wahhābī period to its end. The Kingdom.

Although the Wahhābīs [q. v.] had already made their influence perceptible under his predecessors, it was Ghālib (1788–1813) who was the first to see the movement sweeping towards his territory like a flood; but he left no stone unturned to avert the danger. He sent his armies north, east and south; his brothers and brothers-in-law all took the field; the leaders of the Syrian and Egyptian pilgrim caravans were appealed to at every pilgrimage for help, but without success. In 1799 Ghālib made a treaty with the emir of Dar'ya, by which the boundaries of their territories were laid down, with the stipulation that the Wahhābīs should be allowed access to the holy territory. Misunderstandings proved ineradicable however and in 1803 the army of the emir Sa'ūd approached the holy city. After Ghālib had withdrawn to Djidda, in April Sa'ūd entered Mecca, the inhabitants of which had announced their conversion. All kubbās were destroyed, all tobacco pipes and musical instruments burned, and the *adhān* purged of praises of the Prophet.

In July, Ghālib returned to Mecca but gradually he became shut in there by enemies as with a wall. In August the actual siege began and with it a period of famine and plague. In February of the following year, Ghālib had to submit to acknowledging Wahhābī suzerainty while retaining his own position.

The Sublime Porte had during all these happenings displayed no sign of life. It was only after the Wahhābīs had in 1807 sent back the pilgrim caravans from Syria and Egypt with their mahmāls, that Muḥammad 'Alī was given instructions to deal with the Hijāz as soon as he was finished with Egypt. It was not till 1813 that he took Mecca and there met Ghālib who made cautious advances to him. Ghālib however soon fell into the trap set for him by Muḥammad 'Alī and his son Tuṣūn. He was sent to Salonika, where he lived till his death in 1816.

In the meanwhile Muḥammad 'Alī had installed Ghālib's nephew Yaḥyā b. Sa'ūd (1813–1827) as sharif. Thus ended the first period of Wahhābī rule over Mecca, and the Hijāz once more became dependent on Egypt. In Mecca, Muḥammad 'Alī was honourably remembered because he restored the pious foundations which had fallen into ruins, revived the consignments of corn, and allotted stipends to those who had distinguished themselves in sacred lore or in other ways.

In 1827 Muḥammad 'Alī had again to interfere in the domestic affairs of the sharifs. When Yaḥyā had made his position untenable by the vengeance he took on one of his relatives, the viceroy deposed the Dhawī Zaid and installed one of the 'Abādila,

Muhammad, usually called Muhammad b. 'Awn (1827—1851). He had first of all to go through the traditional struggle with his relatives. Trouble between him and Muhammad 'Alī's deputy resulted in both being removed to Cairo in 1836.

Here the sharif remained till 1840 when by the treaty between Muhammad 'Alī and the Porte the Hijāz was again placed directly under the Porte. Muhammad b. 'Awn returned to his home and rank. Ottoman suzerainty was now incorporated in the person of the wali of Djidda. Friction was inevitable between him and Muhammad b. 'Awn; the latter's friendship with Muhammad 'Alī now proved of use to him. He earned the gratitude of the Turks for his expeditions against the Wahhābī chief Faṣāl in al-Riyāḍ and against the 'Asir tribes. His raids on the territory of Yemen also prepared the way for Ottoman rule over it.

In the meanwhile the head of the Dhawī Zaid, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (1851—1856), had made good use of his friendship with the grand vizier and brought about the deposition of the 'Abdillāh in favour of the Dhawī Zaid. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib however did not succeed in keeping on good terms with one of the two pashas with whom he had successively to deal. In 1855 it was decided in Constantinople to cancel his appointment and to recall Muhammad b. 'Awn. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib at first refused to recognise the genuineness of the order; and he was supported by the Turkophobe feeling just provoked by the prohibition of slavery. Finally however, he had to give way to Muhammad b. 'Awn, who in 1856 entered upon the Sharīfate for the second time; this reign lasted barely two years. Between his death in March 1858 and the arrival of his successor 'Abd Allāh in October of the same year took place the murder of the Christians in Djidda (June 15) and the atonement for it (cf. *Widda*, and Snouck Hurgronje, *Ein rector der mekkanischen universität, in Bijdagen t. d. Taal-, Land- en Volkskunde van Ned.-Indië*, 5^e volgr., deel ii., p. 381 sqq., 399 sqq.).

The rule of 'Abd Allāh (1858—1877) who was much liked by his subjects, was marked by peace at home and events of far-reaching importance abroad. The opening of the Suez Canal (1869) meant on the one hand the liberation of the Hijāz from Egypt, on the other however more direct connection with Constantinople. The installation of telegraphic connections between the Hijāz and the rest of the world had a similar importance. The reconquest of Yemen by the Turks was calculated to strengthen the impression that Arabia was now Turkish territory for ever.

The brief reign of his popular elder brother Husain (1877—1880) ended with the assassination of the sharif by an Afghān. The fact that the aged 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (see above) was sent by the Dhawī Zaid from Constantinople as his successor (1880—1882) gave rise to an obvious supposition.

Although the plebs saw something of a mint in this old man, his rule was soon felt to be so oppressive that the notables petitioned for his deposition (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 204 sqq.). As a result in 1881, the energetic 'Othmān Nāṣrī Pasha was sent with troops to the Hijāz as commander of the garrison with the task of preparing for the restoration of the 'Abdillāh. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was overthrown and taken prisoner; he was kept under guard in one of his own houses in Mecca till his death in 1886.

'Othmān Pasha, who was appointed wali in July 1882, hoped to see his friend 'Abdillāh, one of the 'Abdillāh, installed as Grand Sharif alongside of him. 'Awn al-Rafīk (1882—1905) was however appointed (portrait in Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder aus Mekka*, p.). As the wali was an individual of great energy, who had ever done much for the public good and 'Awn, although very retiring, was by no means insignificant, nay even tyrannical, trouble between them was inevitable, especially as they had the same powers on many points, e.g. the administration of justice and supervision of the safety of the pilgrim routes. After a good deal of friction 'Othmān was dismissed in 1886. His successor was Qjamāl Pasha, who only held office for a short period and was succeeded by Safwat Pasha. Only Ahmad Rāṭib could keep his place alongside of 'Awn and that by shutting his eyes to many things and being satisfied with certain material advantages. After 'Awn's death 'Abdillāh was chosen as his successor. He died however before he could start on the journey from Constantinople to Mecca. 'Awn's actual successor was therefore his nephew 'Alī (1905—1908). In 1908 he and Ahmad Rāṭib both lost their positions with the Turkish Revolution.

With Husain (1908—1916—1924), also a nephew of 'Awn's, the last sharif came to power. But for the Great War his sharīfate would probably have run the usual course. The fact that Turkey was now completely involved in the war induced him to declare himself independent in 1916. He endeavoured to extend his power as far as possible, first as liberator (*muntahid*) of the Arabs, then (June 22, 1916) as king of the Hijāz or king of Arabia and finally as caliph. Very soon however, it became apparent that the Sultan of Naḍj, 'Abd al-'Azīz Al Sa'ūd, like his Wahhābī forefathers, was destined to have a powerful say in the affairs of Arabia. In Sept. 1924 his troops took Ta'if and in October Mecca. King Husain fled first to Akaba and from there in May 1925 to Cyprus. His son 'Alī retired to Djidda. Ibn Sa'ūd besieged this town and Medina for a year, avoiding bloodshed and complications with European powers. Both towns surrendered in December 1925.

Since January 1926, Ibn Sa'ūd has been king of the Hijāz; the official title of his kingdom now is Hijāz, Naḍj and dependencies. A political unit has thus been formed which covers a larger area than the sharifs ever ruled and possesses greater internal strength than has been seen in Arabia since the end of 'Abbasid power.

By the organisation of the Naḍj warriors (*ishk-wān*) as agriculturists also, by the maintenance of a strict discipline among the Beduins, by the creation of a military police, which is held in awe, a security has been created such as Arabia has perhaps never known and secure foundations laid for traffic, especially of the pilgrims.

With the representatives of foreign governments in Djidda the king maintains friendly relations. Recently several states have raised their consulates there to the rank of an embassy. Treaties have been concluded with a number of states.

By making use of modern technical skill, the king is endeavouring to counteract the natural poverty of the land. The automobile has become of importance for the pilgrim traffic, agricultural machinery is being imported and cisterns built to hold the rain water. A project for examining the

ground to prospect for minerals has been drawn up as well as a plan for a quay in the harbour of Djidda.

Wahhābism — or as they prefer to call it in Arabia: Islām according to the Hanbali rite — is the state religion. But it has advanced cautiously in comparison with its attitude at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The external symbols of veneration for saints and the dead have been removed; Muhammad's tomb in Medina has however been spared. The mahmal [q. v.] no longer comes to the hajj; the new covering for the Ka'ba is made every year in Mecca. The pilgrim traffic again shows high figures and even Shi'as are admitted again to the pilgrimage.

The religious and economic life of the city has from the earliest times centred round the pilgrimage (cf. the article *ḤAJJ*) and the Mosque (cf. *AL-MASJID AL-ḤARĀM*). The character of Mecca as the metropolis of Islām is reflected in the great variety of its population. Besides the original Meccan nucleus we have numerous Arab elements — among which the Hadramis are particularly prominent on account of their energy — and colonies of foreigners from all parts of the Muslim world who have out of worldly or religious motives taken up their abode permanently in the capital. Among these, special mention must be made of those from the Malay Archipelago who are known collectively as *Djāwa*; with them it is exclusively religious motives that have caused them to take up permanent residence in Mecca.

Even at the present day, slaves mainly African, form an important element in Meccan society. Abyssinian slave girls have always been highly esteemed as concubines. The slave-market however is no longer of the importance it once was. Freedmen rise from the slave caste and their swellings, hats put together of every conceivable material, are on the outskirts of the city.

Artisans are, or at least down to the end of the sixteenth century were, organised in guilds. Among these guilds that of the pilgrim guides (*mufawwiḥ*, q. v.), who have agents in Djidda and outside Arabia, is the most important; it lives entirely on the pilgrim traffic.

This is true in a way of the whole population, which has arranged to let houses to the pilgrims for a considerable portion of the year. By the eighth month, tens of thousands of these visitors are in the town. Their number increases till the twelfth. In Muḥarram, Mecca resumes its usual appearance.

During the last few hundred years — except for the first Wahhābi period — the cult of saints in Mecca has steadily increased. Numerous places have sacred memories of Muhammad and his family, the most prominent *muhāffirūn* and later saints; numerous *kabābas* were built over their graves and haws and mōlids were celebrated in their honour. The Wahhābism have done away with a great deal of this, how much is not exactly known.

Mecca is the seat of the government, although the king's residence is in Riyāḍ. The official gazette *Umm al-Ḥurā* appears weekly. There are also printing presses, which mainly print Wahhābi or Hanbali literature.

List of the Sharifs of Mecca (ca. 961—1916).

a. MUSEWIS (ca. 961—1061)

Djāfar ca.	ca. 961—ca. 980
'Isā.	ca. 980—994
Abū 'l-Futūḥ	994—1039
Shukr.	1039—1061

Abū Sulaimānūs or Bannū Abū 'l-Tayfīs, from 1061, at constant feud with the
c. Hawāshim (1063—1200)
d. Katāda and his descendants (1200—1916)

Katāda	1200—1221
His sons	till 1254
Abū Numayy I.	1254—1301
His sons	till 1346
'Adjlān	1346—1375
His sons	till 1396
Ḥasan I.	1396—1426
Barakāt I.	1426—1455
Muḥammad	1455—1497
Barakāt II.	1497—1525
Abū Numayy II.	1525—1566
Ḥasan II.	1566—1601
His sons	till 1631
Zaid	1631—1666
Sa'd I.	1666—1672
Dhawī Barakāt.	1672—1684
Sa'd II.	1684—1704
Dhawī Barakāt.	1704—1711
Dhawī Zaid	1711—1770
Sarūr	1773—1788
Ghālib	1788—1813
Yahyā b. Sarūr	1813—1827
Muḥammad	1827—1851
'Abd al-Muttalib	1851—1856
Muḥammad	1856—1858
'Abd Allāh	1858—1877
Ḥusain I.	1877—1880
'Abd al-Muttalib	1880—1882
'Awn al-Raṭīq	1882—1905
'Abdillāh	1905
'Alī	1906—1908
Ḥusain II.	1908—1916 as

Sharif; till 1924 as King.

Bibliography: Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka, ed. Wüstenfeld, passim; Tahari, ed. de Goeje, passim; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, passim; Ahmad b. Zayn Dāhlā, *Khatā'at al-Kalām fi Bayān Umūr al-Balad al-Ḥarām*, Cairo 1305; Wüstenfeld, *Die Scherife von Mekka im XI. (XVII.) Jahrhundert* (ASA. G. W. Gött., xxxii, 1885); C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (Hague 1888—1889; on this work is based the above sketch down to the beginning of 'Awn's reign); do., *Ein vektor der Mekkanischen Universität* (B. T. L. F., 5^e reeks, li. 344 sqq. = *Verpr. Geogr.*, iii. 65 sqq.); do., *Qandak's Policy of Splendid Isolation of the Hijaz* (A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne, Cambridge 1922, p. 439—444 = *Verpr. Geogr.*, iii. 355—362); do., *The Revolt in Arabia* (New York 1917 = *Verpr. Geogr.*, iii. 311 sqq.); do., *Prins Faisal Bin Abdal-Aziz al-Saud* (*Verpr. Geogr.*, vi. 465 sqq.); J. L. Barchard, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, i. 170 sqq.; Ali Bey, *Travels*, London 1816, ch. vi.-x.; W. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medina and Meccah*, Leipzig 1874, vol. iii.; T. F. Kean, *Six Months in Mecca*, London 1881; H. St. J. B. Philby, *The Heart of Arabia*, London 1922; do., *The Recent History of the Hijaz*, London 1925; Amin al-Raḥmān, *Tarīkh Najd*, Beirut 1928; do., *Mulūk*

al-Arab; *Oriente Moderno*, passim (especially v. 143 pp., 302 pp., 413 pp., 600 pp.; vi. 219 pp. etc. s.v. Arabia; treatise: vi. 14 pp., 42 pp.; vii. 6 pp., 474—479; x. 105 pp., 122; constitution; vi. 550 pp.; assumption of regal title: vi. 101 pp.; cf. vii. 173 pp.).

(A. J. WASSINCK)

MEDEA, a town in Algeria (department of Algiers), 60 miles S. of Algiers, in 36° 15' 50" N. Lat. and 2° 45' E. Long. (Greenwich). Medea lies at an altitude of 3,070 feet on the northern border of the mountainous massif which divides the high plateau from the Mitidja. Down to the French occupation, it could only be reached by a bridle-path over the Mummia pass (3,270 feet). The building of a road through the gorges of the Chiffa, alongside of which a railway now runs, has made access to it easier. The town itself is built at the foot of slopes covered with vineyards which yield wines of superior quality and orchards in which, as a result of the temperate climate, fruit trees grow very well. In the neighbourhood a number of European villages have grown up in which the cultivation of cereals is combined with that of the vine. There is also a fairly busy market but it is losing in importance since the railway has been extended to Djelfa at the southern end of the high plateau. The population (census of 1926) is 13,816 of whom 2,225 are Europeans, almost all French and 11,591 natives.

Medea occupies the site of the Roman settlement of Lambdia, on the ruins of which Buluggin b. Ziri in the tenth century built the modern town. The district in which it was built was, according to Ibn Khaldun (*Doctrines*, transl. de Slane, ii. 6), inhabited by the Sahhâdjia tribe of Lemdia, whence no doubt the name Lemlami taken by natives of Medea. Of the history of the town itself we know hardly anything. Leo Africanus (Bk. iv., ed. Schofer, iii. 66) and following him Marmol (*Africa*, ii. 394) only tell us that after having belonged to the sultans of Tlemcen who kept a garrison there, it passed into the hands of the sultans of Tunes, and then of the Turks when the Barbarossas established themselves in Algiers. Under Hasan Khair al-Din, Medea became the capital of one of the three provinces (beyliks) of the Regency, the beylik of the south or of Tiltet, to which at a later date was added the lower valley of the Sebou in Kabylia. Down to about 1770 we therefore find the bey of this province living alternately at Medea and Bordj-Sebau. It was not till this date that the region of Sebou having been incorporated in the Dâr al-Saltân governed by the dey, the bey of Tiltet settled permanently at Medea where he was in a better position to control the nomadic tribes of the plateaus. He had however no authority over the inhabitants of the town itself, who were under the authority of a *kâim* appointed by the sultan of Algiers. The population, which did not exceed 4,000—5,000 among whom were many Kuleghis and Turks retired from the service, became wealthy through its trade with the south. Caravans brought thither the produce of the Sahara and also negro slaves who were sold to the citizens of Algiers.

During the years which followed the capture of Algiers, the French on several occasions (Nov. 1830—May 1831—April 1836) occupied Medea, without taking permanent possession. 'Abd al-Kâdir however placed a bey in it and had his

ownership of it recognized by the treaty of the Tafra (cf. 'ABD AL-KÂDIR). The outbreak of hostilities again between the Emir and the French led to the final occupation of Medea by the latter on May 17, 1840.

Bibliography: Federmann and Aumaitaine, *Notice sur l'histoire et l'administration du beylik de Tiltet*, R. A., 1869; F. Pharon, *Notes sur les tribus de la subdivision de Média*, R. A., 1857. (G. VYSA)

MEDINA. The Arabic word *madīna* "town" [cf. AL-MADĪNA] has survived in Spain in a number of place-names. The principal are Medina de las Torres in the province of Badajoz, Medina del Campo and Medina de Rioseco, in the province of Valladolid, Medina de Pomar, in the province of Burgos, Medinaceli, in the province of Soria and Medina-Sidonia, in the province of Cadix. The Arabic place-names *Madīnat Walid* and *Madīnat al-Faraj* correspond to Valladolid [q.v.] and to Guadalajara respectively (from the second Arabic name of this town: *Wādī l-Hijāra*) [cf. above ii. 177, and it may be added that the town took its name from a known individual, Mūlik b. 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn al-Faraj, according to Ibn al-Khaṭir, *Ṣiḥḥ*, MS. in the Escorial, I. 189].

(E. LEVI-PROVENCAL)

MEDINACELI, a little town in the N.E. of Spain on the railway from Madrid to Saragossa, about halfway between these two towns, some 3500 feet above sea-level on the left bank of the Jalón. In the Muslim period it was called *Madīnat Salim*, which is not to be confused with *Madīnat Ibn al-Salim* or Ibn Salim, in the Seville district (Ibn al-Dawādī, *Descri. de l'Espagne*, 174/208 and note 5, 177/115), the modern Grazañema in the province of Cadix.

The Arab geographers give brief descriptions of Medinaceli. According to Idrisi, it was a large town built in a hollow with many large buildings, gardens and orchards. Abu l-Fida' says that this town was the capital of the Middle March (*al-Maḥal al-Awsat*). Yāqūt adds that Ṭarīq [q.v.] found the town in ruins at the conquest of Spain but it was repopulated under Islām and became a prosperous town.

Through its geographical position, *Madīnat Salim* was of considerable strategic importance for the Umayyads from the fourth century onwards. It was on many occasions, as the last stronghold on Muslim territory, the point from which forces assembled at Cordova finally started for expeditions against the Christians of the N.E. of the Peninsula and to which they retired. Though somewhat decayed down to the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāṣir, it was rebuilt, if we may believe the detailed evidence of a chronicler quoted by Ibn 'Idhārī, in 335 (946): this ruler put the work in charge of his client, the general Ghālib, and all the garrisons of the country lent their aid in the work. This Ghālib remained governor of Medinaceli and all the Middle March until the power was seized by al-Manṣūr Ibn Abi 'Amir [q.v.]. It was in Medinaceli that this famous *Ḥafṣ* died on 27th Ramaḍān 392 (Aug. 10, 1002) on returning from his last expedition against Castile. In the following century Medinaceli was frequently taken by the Christians and retaken by the Muslims, before being finally incorporated in the Kingdom of Castile.

Bibliography: Idrisi, *Sifat al-Arṣ*, ed.

(245) 2

55

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

A DICTIONARY OF THE GEOGRAPHY,
ETHNOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY OF THE
MUHAMMADAN PEOPLES

PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF LEADING ORIENTALISTS

EDITED BY

M. TH. HOUTSMA, A. J. WENSINCK

H. A. R. GIBB, W. HEFFENING and E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL

NUMBER 44

BEHINAGELI — MIRATH



LEYDEN
LATE E. J. BRILL, LTD
PUBLISHERS AND PRINTERS

1931

LONDON
LUZAC & CO
45 GREAT RUSSELL STREET

Dozy and de Goeje, text 149; transl. 229-230; *Ahn l-Fidā'*, *Tafsim al-Buldan*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, text 178, transl. 257; Yāqūt, *Ma'ān al-Buldan*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 15; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, Index; Ibn 'Adhār, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, ii. 229-230, transl. Fagnan, ii. 354-355; R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Madrid 1929, ii. 532.

(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL.)

MEDINA-SIDONIA, a little town in the S. W. of Spain, in the province of Cadix, almost equidistant from Algeciras and Jerez de la Frontera. Under the name of *Shadhūna* it was in the Muslim period the capital of the district of this name; its territory formed part of the province of Sevilla and adjoined that of Moron.

Bibliography: *Istislāh, Sifat al-Andalus*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, text 174, transl. 208, and note 6; *Ahn l-Fidā'*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, text 166, transl. 236; Yāqūt, *Ma'ān al-Buldan*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 267.

(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL.)

MEDJELLE (a. *maḡalla*). Under this name the Civil Law Code of Turkey; is generally known. It is an abbreviation of *Maḡallat al-sharī'at al-dīniyya*. The elaboration of this Civil Code took place between 1869 and 1876 and was a part of the legislative programme of the Tanzimat (q.v.). It had been preceded by a Penal Code (1858) and a Commercial Code (1861), but, while these two codifications had been based in a large measure on the laws of European countries, the *Medjelle* was a codification of that part of Hanafite *fiqh*, which treats of obligations (*mu'amalat*). The codification was done by a commission of seven members, having as president Ahmad Rüşvet Pasha (q.v.). In a preliminary report (*maḡalla*), dated 18 Dhu l-Hijja 1285 (April 1, 1869), this commission explains the reasons why a codification of this matter had become necessary. The newly instituted secular tribunals (*maḡallat*) had often to deal with matters of common civil law, but the judges did not know much, as a rule, about *fiqh*; it had, therefore, been thought wise to appoint the president of the so-called religious tribunal at the same time president of the secular tribunal. This, however, did not prove satisfactory and so it was necessary to put the main points of the law of obligations into a code that could be more easily consulted than the voluminous *fiqh*-books. Among the previous endeavours to bring Hanafite law into this form the commission mentions expressly Ibn Nujaim (q.v.); the biography of this jurist is to be found at the end of the first part of the Cairo edition of 1334 of his *al-ḡayy al-sharī'* [communication of Dr. C. van Ardenonck]. The editors have followed as a rule those opinions of Hanafite doctors, which are most in harmony with the exigencies of modern life and business. It is, however, expressly stated that the introduction (*muḡallima*) and the first book have been approved by the Shaikh al-Islām and other prominent jurists.

Though the different parts were successively sanctioned by Imperial *ḫatt* (with the formula *maḡallima* and *amr*), the *Medjelle* cannot be said to have had an executive authority in the matter regulated. The judges were perfectly free to form their own opinion as to the validity of the Hanafite law books and the *Medjelle* was really used

The *muḡallima* of the *Medjelle* contains in 100 articles a number of principles (*ḡamā'at*) as already elaborated by Ibn Nujaim and his school; then follow sixteen books (*ḡurūḥ*), beginning with the *ḡalīb al-Bay'*; the last four books deal with process matters. The whole has 1,801 articles. The first part of each book gives definitions of the technical law terms used, and most of the articles are followed by examples taken from the collections of *fatāwa*. The introduction and the first book obtained the imperial sanction on the 8th Muḥarrum 1286 (April 20, 1869) and the last two books on the 26th of Sha'ḥān 1291 (September 16, 1876).

The text of the *Medjelle* is to be found in the big code collection *Dawā* (the introduction and book i-viii. in vol. I; book ix-xiv. in vol. iii.; and books xv. and xvi. in vol. vi.). It has been published several times with a commentary, as the *Maḡallat al-sharī'at al-dīniyya* (*ḡurūḥ*) by H. M. Dīyā' al-Dīn (Der-i Şāadet 1311) and a work under the same title by the in his time famous jurist 'Aḡī Bey (Der-i Şāadet, in different parts from 1328 to 1339; most parts had a second and the first part a third edition); the latter commentary, however, does not go beyond art. 1248. A full French translation is found in G. Young, *Corps de Droit Ottoman*, vol. vi., Oxford 1905, p. 270-446.

Since the Great National Assembly has adopted, on February 17, 1926, a new civil code (*Kānūn al-madani*; cf. *Oriens Modernes*, vi. 134-144), which is substantially the Swiss civil code, the authority of the *Medjelle* has disappeared.

(J. H. KRAMER.)

MEDJIDIYE. In February 1844 (Muḥarrum 1260) in the reign of 'Abd al-Medjid the Turkish coinage was entirely re-organised on European models and this currency is known as the *Medjidiye*. The name *Medjidiye* was also given to the largest silver piece in the new coinage: the 20 piastre piece of this new issue; it weighed 372 grains (24.08 grammes).

(J. ALIAN.)

MEHEDIA. [See AL-MAHDIYA.]

MEHEMET, MEHEMMED, MEHMED. [See MUHAMMAD.]

MEHMED PASHA. [See KAWAMENI MEHMED PASHA.]

MEHRI, the language of the Mahra country in Southern Arabia, which with *Shawri* (spoken in the mountains northeast of Zafar) and the dialect of the island of Soqatra forms a separate branch of South Semitic; the relation of this branch to the now extinct languages found in the inscriptions of the Sabaeans, Minaeans and Hadramawtians has not yet been accurately defined. Mehri itself as a spoken language in South Arabia is seriously threatened by the steady advance of northern Arabic. The Mahra people are already almost all bilingual and their native idiom is very much influenced, especially in vocabulary, by northern Arabic; for example, of its old numerals it has preserved only the first ten; all higher numbers have been replaced by the northern Arabic forms. It is therefore not always easy to distinguish with certainty old words which are also found in northern Arabic from later borrowings.

As regards phonetics, the Mehri consonants are in general agreement with Arabic and Ethiopic. Of the laryngeal consonants, which will sur-

1) In this article the author's system of transliteration is retained for philological reasons.

vives in Shihawri, is characteristic of Mehri. The uvular plosive *q* seems always to be voiced; of the palatals the *g*, which still survives in Shihawri, is always liquified, as in northern Arabic, to *gh*. The case of the sibilants is particularly characteristic. The original Semitic *z* seems to have been preserved as such, but in many words, as in northern Arabic, the original Semitic *ḡ* has coalesced with it. This sound, which is preserved in Shihawri as well as in Canaanite and Aramaic, has often been replaced by *h* in genuine Mehri words, initially for example in *hama* (he) "heard" (compare *mishma* "ear-muscle") and medially in *neha* "forgotten"; in the final position it may be dropped, as in *tey* "a little goat", *heri* "head". But when we find alongside of *huda* "to obstruct" *huda* "to carry over, to come to an agreement", which is connected with the Arabic *ḥadd* "straight, correct", the latter can only be regarded as borrowed from the Arabic. This *h* however is also found in words like *hisa* (be) "put on" and in the pronoun of the third pers. fem. *u*, *ru*, etc., in which any such borrowing is highly improbable; these must therefore belong to a dialect for which the phonetic law *ḡ* → *h* did not hold. The primitive Semitic *ḡ* has also survived where a following *t* was assimilated to it, even when the consequent doubling was dropped, as in the prefix to the causative reflexive *sha*. A primitive Semitic sound seems also to have survived in the *shu*, to which Jahn has given the name "lateral", and which is transliterated in the Vienna texts by *š*; it corresponds etymologically to the Arabic *shu*, and therefore to the *šin* in Canaanite and old Aramaic. Whether the position of articulation was exactly the same cannot of course be decided; but the description of the sound as "lateral" probably means the same as the pronunciation with flattened tongue which is assumed for Canaanite and Aramaic. Among the dentals we find alongside of *d* and *t* also the fricatives *ḡ* and *ḥ* in native as well as loanwords; but in both groups the fricative pronunciation has frequently been dropped, e.g. in the case of *ḡ* regularly in the demonstratives; alongside of *ḡalḡam* 300, we have *ḡalḡa* 30. In *ru* "behind" *r* appears instead of the *ḡ* in the Arabic *ahar* "track", probably under the influence of *r*, like *ḡ* in the Eth. *arhar* instead of the *arhar* which we should expect. So also in the case of *ḥ*, the fricative has in many cases become a plosive *h* under conditions still to be explained, as in *ḥar* "noon", *ḥarim* "great" = Arabic *ḥar*, *ḥarim*. The voiced *ḡ* has a lateral articulation differing from the Arabic. In the labials, as in Arabic, the voiceless fricative *f* corresponds to the voiced explosive *b*. Of the liquids, *n*, when in proximity to velars and palatals, is frequently more nasal than in Arabic. *l* and *r* before consonants frequently lose their own sound and merge in the preceding vowel, as *waḡḡa* "slain" from *laḡa* = *ḡl*, *yaḡḡa* "he carries her" from *ḡal* (by dissimilation in *ḡal* "night", *ḡalḡa* "every night"), *ḡarn* > *ḡan* "horn", *ḡal* > *ḡal* "belly".

The vowels are frequently prefaced with the laryngeal fricative instead of the laryngeal plosive, i.e. we often have *ha* for *ham*. As in Ethiopic and probably also in primitive Semitic, only two short vowel sounds, *a* and *e*, are distinguished, while of long vowels we have *i*, *u* and *i*. The old diphthongs are contracted to *i* and *e*. These basic vowels are however more strongly affected

than in Arabic by the predominant articulation of consonants. The distinction between *a* and *e* is thus frequently obliterated. Stress brings about the disappearance of short vowels in unaccented syllables and lengthens them in accented ones, whereby *a*, if it is not retained by laryngeal or emphatic (i.e. pharyngealized) consonants, becomes *ā* (which often passes into *ū*), open sounds adjoining it however become *i*, *i* (*imāla*). Assimilation of vowels in adjacent syllables is frequent. Original long vowels after laryngeal and emphatic consonants become *au*, *ou* and *ai*.

Of the phenomena of sound-shifting and sound-change in combination, a characteristic feature is the tendency, paralleled in the vowel assimilation just described, to bring voiced and unvoiced sounds into agreement (Jahn, *Grammatik*, p. 8). On this is based the transformation of Arabic *shahar* "of others", the root of which poetic language retains in *shahar* "to be delayed", into *shahar* with metathesis of the initial sound (*shahar* being replaced by *h*) (cf. *maghar* "thereupon"), while the *shahar* of the Arabic, which Bitter, *Studien*, I, 15 compares with this, is to be regarded as distinct. The tendency to the assimilation of *n* is, as in Arabic, usually counteracted by the necessity of maintaining the verbal system. Although the disappearance of vowels produced by stress sometimes produces double consonants initially, this is frequently avoided at the end of words by the insertion of an epenthetic vowel, e.g. *ard* alongside of *ard* "earth". Such additional syllables are found medially also before consonants as in the subj. *yidḡif* (*yidḡif*), after laryngeals as in *yidḡif* and *velars* as in *yidḡif*, *yidḡif*, etc. Dissimilation, especially between consonants (*ḡad* "idol" from *ḡad*, *ḡad* < *ḡad* "time"; Hein, p. 117, 23), haplology as in *ḡad* > *ḡad*, *ḡad* "one" (fem.) and strong metaphyses like *ḡad* > *ḡad* "he slew", *ḡad* > *ḡad* > *ḡad*, *ḡad*, "heaven" also contribute to give the Mehri vocabulary its special features.

The pronoun has preserved very archaic forms. The first personal pronoun *hu*, *hu* can probably not be equated (as Bitter, *Studien*, III, 7 suggests) to *hu* in Accadian *ahlu*, as the change *h* > *h* is not found elsewhere in Mehri, but must be connected with the primitive Semitic *hu* (with aspiration of the initial vowel — see above). It is also improbable that the 2nd pers. pronoun sg. *het*, plur. m. *tem* f. *ten*, should preserve in the singular, with assimilation of the *w*, the initial syllable *an* found in the other Semitic languages, but reject it in the plural. It is perhaps more probable that the initial sound of the 2nd pers. has been assimilated to that of the 1. and 3. The 1. plur. *shu* reveals a corruption of the primitive Semitic *shu*. The 3. pers. has alone among Semitic languages preserved the original difference in the initial sounds, m. *he*, f. *u*, plur. m. *hem*, f. *ten*; on the other hand, the double distinction through the vowels has been dropped. Among the suffixes may be noted the distinction of genders, found also in some North Semitic dialects, in the 2. pers. m. *ḡ*, f. *ḡ*, with palatalisation from *ḡ*, as in Shihawri *ḡḡḡḡ* (Müller, III, 113, 14) and Sol. *ḡḡḡḡ* (Müller, II, 227, N° 2), "liver". In place of the suffixes, the independent pronouns may also be used with the genitive particle as *mi* *ḡ-ḡ*, "my fatm"; *ḡ-ḡ* *ḡḡḡḡ*, "thy sheep".

The demonstrative pronouns end in the sg. in *ḡ* (in place of *ḡḡ*) and distinguish the

genders as in Arabic, m. *āl*, f. *āl*, in plur. comm. *āl*; they are further combined with (*ma*) to m. *ām(e)*, f. *ām(e)*, pl. *ām(e)*, with *ā* to m. *āā*, f. *āā*, pl. *āā*, or with both elements to m. *āāām(e)*, f. *āāām(e)*, pl. *āāām(e)*; in the basic form both genders when unstressed sometimes coincide in *ā*, in the combined form in *āām(e)*. The basic form, reduced to *āā*, *āā*, *āā* without distinction of gender, pl. *āā*, *āā*, *āā*, serves also as a relative. In the interrogative besides the personal *āā* "who?", we have the neuter *āā* < "ai" "what?"

Of the numerals, as already mentioned, only the first ten have survived. "One" in the basic form *āā* is only used as an indefinite "any one"; otherwise it has been driven out by the relative phrase **āāāā* > *āāā*; the fem. takes the ending of the nomina unitatis (see below), which by analogy has been transferred to 2 and the other numerals except 4 and 5, perhaps under the influence of *āām(e)* 8, which follows the regular phonetic law; from **āāāā* we get by haplology *āāā*, *āāā*. The numeral 2 agrees in its stem with the Aram. *šrā* (like *šer* > *šāšā* "son" with *šā*), the ending *ā* from *ā* is the old dual ending of the nominative. In 3 the initial letter, as in Sabae and Ethiopic, is dissimilated (from the final) to *f* and the final has become a plosive: *āāā*; the feminine form after dropping the *f* (see above) has dissimilated the final *ā* of the stem to *f*, becoming *āāā*. 4 *āāā* loses in the feminine the unaccented first syllable: *āāā*. 5 loses the last radical, weakened to *ā*; in the masculine the basic form **āāāāā* has through vowel assimilation become *āāāā* through **āāāā*, the feminine shows the feminine ending *ā*, to which the vowel of the stem is assimilated: *āāāā*. 6 and 7 change the initial *ā* to *ā*, while the final *āā* of 6 as in Arabic by mutual synthesis becomes *āā*: *āā*; 7 following phonetic laws: m. *āāā*, f. *āāā*. 9 loses its initial sound, which had already lost its vowel in the unaccented syllable: *āā*. 10 *āā*. 8 and 10 show, following regular phonetic laws, m. *āāāā*, f. *āāāā*; m. *āā*, f. *āā*.

Among the nouns, the most noteworthy for their form are those which were originally monosyllabic; they are found throughout with the prefix *āā* (*āā*) as in *āāā* alongside of *āā* (see above) "son", a new formation (differently Bittner, I. 28, 33, following *āāā* alongside of *āā* "daughter", *āāā* "water", *āāā*, *āāā*, *āāā* "day", *āā* alongside of *āāā* "to-day", *āāā* alongside of *āāā* (lit. *āāā*, *āāā* see above) "night", *āāā* "father" and *āāā* "hand" are therefore not to be equated directly with *āā* and **āā* with *āā* for *āā* instead of *āāā*, as it is found in *āāā* "mother", but we must recognise in them as well the prefixed syllable which is found also before some nouns which are trilateral in the other Semitic languages, like *āāā* "head" = *āāā*, *āāā* "son", which Bittner explained by metathesis, *āāā* "vessel" = Ar. *āā*, *āāā*, pl. *āāāā* "great, elders" = Ar. *āā*, pl. *āāāā* "old she-camel, head of a family", *āāā* (Shb. *āā*) "water-skin" = Hebr. *āā*, Acad. *āāā*. In *āāā* "in a valley" (Müller, III. 24, 3) this syllable (here assimilated only to the beginning of the next word) serves as an indefinite article, which has lost its significance in the above words and become a component of the stem, so that it also appears in the plur. *āāāā* etc., but originally however must have been identical with the numeral *āāā*, which is still used as an

indefinite pronoun. *āāā* "uncle" and *āāāā* "aunt", *āāāā* "fox" *āāā* show the *āā* weakened to *āā*. A. Embert, in *Zeitschr. f. ag. Spr. u. Alt.*, II. 118, 138, compares these nouns with the assimilated stems with prefixed *āā* in Egyptian discussed by Sethe, *ibid.* xlvii. 80, note 2.

Of other nominal forms we need only mention the diminutives, sometimes with internal formation similar to Ar. *āāāāā* (see Rhodokanakis, *Zur Formenlehre*, p. 5), *āā*, for example, *āāāāā* "little child", sometimes *āā* with the ending *āā*, which here always appears as *āā* under the influence of the diphthong of the basic form *āāāā* (Rhodokanakis, *ibid.*); *āāāā* "short time".

The feminine ending *āā* takes the accent in nominatives with short stem vowels and therefore appears as *āā*, *āā*, or with assimilation to close front vowels as *āā*, as in *āāāā* "rain", *āāāā* "leaf", *āāāā* "chamber"; after long stem vowels however, it is unaccented, as in *āāāā* "flag", *āāāā* "tile", *āāāā* "palm-wood", especially in loanwords from the Arabic, while in true Mehri words the vowel in the unaccented syllable usually disappears and the vowel of the now closed root syllable is abbreviated, as in *āāā* (= Yemen. *āāā*) "town, village", *āāā* "worm", *āāāā* "meal", at the same time showing assimilation of the final consonants: *āāā* (from *āāā*) "good" (fem.), *āāāā* (from *āāāā*) "small" (fem.).

Another feminine ending *āā*, which still occasionally appears unsupported in Arabic and Aramaic, is here found, as in most Semitic languages, only in combination with the usual ending *āā* as a regularly accented *āā*, e.g. in the participles, and again in simple noun-stems, corresponding to the masc. ending *āā*, e.g. *āāā*, f. *āāāā*, in the derivative stems like *āāāā*, f. *āāāāā*, *āāāā*, f. *āāāāā* with from the masculine transference of *āā*, and also in the feminines by signification derived from the masc. like *āāāā* "witch", *āāāā* "daughter" (see above), *āāāā* "lady" from *āāā*, *āāāā* "noble lady" from *āāāā*. The endings of the nomina unitatis likewise end in this way in *āāāā* "egg" from *āāā*, *āāāā* "citron" from *āāā*, *āāāā* "hair" from *āāā* (alongside of the usual ending as in *āāāāā* "bread", *āāāāā* "date-palm"); as in Tigri and Tigris, these are really feminines of adjectives of relation, which in their original meaning preserve the full form *āāā* (see Rhodokanakis, *op. cit.*, p. 6, 7).

Of the dual only a trace remains in *āāā* 2; perhaps however also in the ending *āā* of nouns before this numeral, like *āāāā* *āāā*, if this is not simply an apophthegic vowel before the double consonant. *āāāāā*, borrowed from the Arabic *āāāāā*, takes the meaning "period after the 'āā'"; from this is formed on the model of *āāāāā* "before", *āāāāā* "at the time before the 'āā'".

The sound plural of the masculine with the ending *āā* (*āā*, *āā*), before suffixes *āā*, is still in use to a greater extent than in Arabic. The plural of adjectives of relation in *āāā* is still found alongside of the contracted form *āā*, frequently in names of trades like *āāāāāāā*, *āāāāā* (Rhodokanakis, *op. cit.*, p. 9). The ending of the fem. pl. is *āā*, sometimes *āāā*, which does not, as Bittner thought, maintain the nunation, which survives in Mehri (as in modern Arabic and in Hebrew and Ethiopic) only in adverbs. The suffixed syllable is the plural ending of the masc. in unaccented syllables (*āāāā*, I. 442), just as the fem. sg. it takes the masc.

ending *r* (see above), or it may be, as Rhodokanakis (*op. cit.*, p. 8) suggests, the other plural ending *in*, as in Accad. *kalātūn* "all". In the formation and use of the broken plural, Mehri adopts a mean between Arabic and Ethiopic. Characteristic are a number of formations from plurals of the plural, such as are found also in Arabic: e.g. *lars* "a piece of wood", plur. **lars*, then **larsay* and and thence *larsay* (Rhodokanakis, p. 11 sqq.). Double plurals also arise through the addition of the masc. pl. ending *in* in *siabūn* "wind", *šamīn* "tails", *šamīn* "bows", to which the original plurals *siab*, *šamīn*, *šamīn* are then taken as singulars (Rhodokanakis, p. 9), and again with vowel reduction after the accented syllable in *kilābūn* "bitches", *šabānūn* "daughters", in which however Rhodokanakis (p. 15) sees the ending *in*.

The case-inflections, except for a few remains of the accusative in some adverbs, have completely disappeared. The genitive is expressed by the simple juxtaposition of two nouns, more frequently by the relative, sometimes with a demonstrative suffix, as in *šifāh de šifāh hibr de šifāh* "the skin of the steer, the young of the cow", Hein, p. 15; cf. alongside of *šifāh tawt* "the young of the ewe", *ibid.*, p. 3, 17.

Determination and indetermination are never indicated. Negation only survives in some adverbs, like *šawwūn* "in front", *šawwūn* "behind", *awwūn* "later".

The prepositions of Mehri are for the most part new formations, some of uncertain origin. Of the old Semitic prepositions, only *šā* (šā, šā), *šān*, *šān* "after", *le* (šān and *šān*, and *šān* have survived; *šā*, *šā* has come to mean "with". The place of *šā* has been taken by *šā*, *šā*, which Bittner traces to the first syllable of *šān*, but this is not very probable. The other prepositions have been replaced by words indicating place, like *šawwūn*, *šān* "before", *šān* (properly "track") "behind", *šān*, *šān* "at" (properly a T-nomen connected with Arabic *malāyā* "to be near", rather than with Syriac *malāyā*, as Bittner considers), *šān* "below" (properly "depression"), but *šān*, *šān*; Müller, iii. 34 *infra*, or parts of the body, like *šān* "in" (lit. "in the bosom"; Christian) and *šān*, *šān* "upon" (properly "back").

The verb distinguishes from the simple form, which is found in the active as *šān* "wrote" and stative as *šān* "was clothed", an intensive which has however dropped the doubling and thus coincides with the purposive, and a causative with the prefix *šān*, which in the imperfect also sometimes has the same form as the intensive (e.g. *šān* "to tend a sick person", impf. ind. *šān*, subj. *šān*, but *šān* "to remedy", impf. ind. *šān*, subj. *šān*). The causative has very often a passive sense, like the simple intransitive verb, with which it often coincides as an inner causative. To each of these stems there is a reflexive with inserted *r*; to the simple verb in double form as *šān* or *šān*, or with assimilation to the vowels of the simple verb *šān*, to the intensive *šān*, to the causative from the simple form *šān* "to beg pardon", to the purposive stem *šān* "to go to law", *šān* "to quarrel".

In contrast to the perfect (quoted above as the normal form), which expresses a fact as such, there is an imperative in the active *šān* "break", to the stative *šān* "put on", in the intensive

šān "travel", in the causative *šān* "cause to write", in the reflexive *šān*, *šān*, *šān*, in the caus. refl. *šān* and *šān*. From these imperatives is formed the affective mood (Hiltner's subjunctive), like *šān* "that he crush", *šān* "that he put on", *šān* "that he travel", *šān* "that he write", *šān*, *šān*, *šān*, *šān*, *šān*. Next there is expressed the progressive aspect, which presents the action as in progress, often with limitation to the present and future, a form which doubles the second radical in the simple verb but, as in the intensive, has replaced the reduplication by lengthening the vowel as in *šān* "he crushes", so also in the causative *šān*, but in the intensive and sometimes in the reflexive shows an ending corresponding to the Arabic energetic, as in *šān* "he travels", refl. *šān* and *šān*, caus. refl. *šān*. In the intransitive simple verb, the affective mood serves also to indicate that an event is happening at the present time (as a so-called indicative); on account of the relations of the intrans. to the caus. and refl. already referred to this formation, but now for the indicative only, is transferred to these forms in *šān* (alongside of *šān*), *šān* and *šān* (from *šān*).

In the so-called perfect in active verbs, the stress remains on the second syllable of the stem with the exception of the 3rd fem. sg., the ending of which *at*, as in the noun, attracts the emphasis to itself (*šān*). The 3rd pl. has lost the endings and replaces them only in the masc. by *em*, which comes from the pronoun. The consonantal terminations have lost their vowels, but the double consonant at the end of a word is separated by the insertion of an epenthetic vowel only before the *em* of the 1st pers. plur. (*šān*); before other terminations the vowel of the stem remains short. As in Ethiopic the initial of the 2nd pers. is assimilated to that of the 1st (-š); as in the suffix, the 2nd fem. sg. appears in the palatalised form *at*. The intransitives with the exception of the 3rd fem. sing. retain the stress on the first syllable of the stem, the vowel of which is assimilated to that of the second (*šān*). In the intensive the lengthening of the *a* to *ā* is found only in the forms which do not add a termination.

In the imperative in the transitive simple verb as well as in the causative there is no distinction of gender in the singular. In the intransitive form however, the vowel of the second accented syllable of the stem was assimilated to the feminine ending *i*, so that even after it was dropped the distinction between m. *šān* and f. *šān* was retained, similarly in the reflexive *šān*, *šān*.

Accordingly, in the intensive and its reflexive and in the causative reflexive the distinction of gender is expressed also by changing the accented vowel: m. *šān*, f. *šān*, m. *šān*, f. *šān*, m. *šān*, f. *šān*. In the plural the genders are distinguished by the endings in *-em*, f. *-em*. In the intransitive simple form however, the vowel change is transferred from the singular to the plural, m. *šān*, f. *šān* and in the reflexive of the scheme *šān*, with peculiar change of function m. *šān* (assimilation to the indic. imp. *šān*, pl. *šān*), f. *šān*. The same change of function is also found in the perf. of the causal: 3. m. pl. *šān*, f. *šān*.

Out of the imperative arises the so-called subj.

of the imperf. by means of the same personal prefixes as in all Semitic languages and with the endings *i* for the 2nd sg. *i* and *m-am*, *i-en* for the plural of the 2nd and 3rd pers. In the corresponding indicative the distinction of gender is expressed in the second person by internal vowel change, *m. teltter*, *f. teltter* and on the addition of the plural endings the short vowel (*yeltterem* etc.) is restored. In the intransitive simple verb the moods are not distinguished, the genders of the 2nd pers. sg. are distinguished by the same vowel change as in the imperative: this vowel change is also transferred to the plural (*m. teltterem*, *f. teltterem*) and with exchange of functions also to the 3rd pers. (*m. yeltterem*, *f. teltterem*). In the intensive, distinction of gender in the second person is expressed only in the singular (subj. *teššer*, *f. teššer*, indic. *m. teššerem*, *f. teššerem*); before the endings the vowels are short and the mood endings give way to the plural endings so that the 3rd pers. *f. sg.* and *pl.* are the same: *teššerem*.

The participles are in the simple form active *teššerem*, *f. teššerem* (see above), pass. *meššer*; in the derivative stems as in e.g. intensive *meššerem*, *f. meššerem*, caus. *meššerem*, *f. meššerem*; in the passive they follow the model of the simple verb, *meššerem* "despatched" (in the intensive only when borrowed from the Arabic like *meššerem* "chief").

The infinitives are in the simple verb of the form *šer* (more rarely like *šādēl*: "to carry", *šādēl* "to be ill") or *šādēl* "to take" (frequently with mod. *lar*), with prefix, like *meššer* "work", or with ending like *šādēl* "to forgive"; in the intensive *šādēl* "to cool down", in the causal and the reflexives with the ending *šādēl* (*šādēl* *m* in Eth. *šādēl*, *šādēl*, *šādēl*).

In the verbs with laryngeal as second radical, the perfect is e.g. *šādēl* "he went"; it is therefore, as in Ethiopic, the intransitive scheme with the type of the transitive making itself felt; the imperfect is therefore inflected as in the intransitives without distinction of mood. As a first radical, a laryngeal frequently produces intrusive syllables, as in subj. *yāšādēl* "let him judge" *šādēl* arising out of *šādēl* as first radical, acts in the same way, e.g. *yāšādēl* "let him become hard" (cf. Arabic *šādēl*, not Hebrew *šādēl* as Bitton suggested), while an original *šādēl* disappears, as in *yāšādēl* "let him say". As a second radical *šādēl* disappears, but keeps *a* in the perfect of the simple verb unchanged, as *šādēl* "thrust (past tense) with the lance". In the verbs with third *šādēl*, unlike Ethiopic, trans. and intrans. formation is distinguished in the simple verb, whereby the perf. of the trans. coincides with the intensive (*šādēl* "he paid" like *šādēl* "he collected"); the intransitives distinguish the moods of the imperf. exactly like the transitives.

In the verbs with first *šādēl*, the primitive Semitic formation of the biliteral stem is dying out. It is true we still find the imperative *šādēl* "give" with the subj. *yāšādēl* and *šādēl* "come in" with the subj. *yāšādēl*, but *šādēl* is already limited to the feminine and the masc. *šādēl* formed from it; we have besides the reduplicated imperative: *šādēl*, *šādēl*, as well as *šādēl* and *šādēl* "to lead", and with vowel lengthening *šādēl* "to calm" and *šādēl* "to be necessary". In secondary formations the *š* disappears from the root in some forms of the reflexive, like *meššer* "to go in the

afternoon", imp. ind. *yāšādēl*, subj. *yāšādēl*, inf. *šādēl* and *meššer* "be awakened", imp. ind. *yāšādēl*, subj. *yāšādēl*, inf. *šādēl*. For the rest the first-*šādēl* verbs inflect regularly, and the few first-*šādēl* verbs follow them.

The third-*šādēl* verbs very often coincide with the third-*šādēl* and third-*šādēl*. In the transitives in the simple form we have *š* throughout and in the intransitives *š*, which in the perfect in the forms with consonant endings merges with the stem, e.g. *šādēl* "he found", but *šādēl* and *šādēl* "he saw", but *šādēl* in the 3rd plur. *m.* besides the original *šādēl*, we have also *šādēl* with secondary vowel differentiation, and with a new formation on the model of forms like *šādēl* also *šādēl*. In the imper. and subj. the form of the third-*šādēl*, like *šādēl*, *yāšādēl* has predominated; in the indie the unaccented final vowels disappear except in the 2. *f. sg.* (*šādēl*). The denominative *šādēl* "to bear" from *šādēl* "son" follows completely the strong paradigm *šādēl*, only the *i* of the 2. *sg. f.* is also found in the 3rd, e.g. *šādēl*, alongside of *šādēl* and *šādēl* (Müller, iv, 31, 32). In the derivative stems only the 3rd *m. sg.* of the perf. in the caus. (*šādēl*) and its refl. (*šādēl*) is formed after the trans. simple verb, in all other forms the paradigm of the third-*šādēl* is followed (*šādēl*, *šādēl*, *šādēl* etc.). But the final vowel is lost in the imperative always and in the subj. of the reflexive sometimes (*šādēl* "hide thyself", subj. *yāšādēl*, but *yāšādēl* "speak", subj. *yāšādēl*), and both forms lose *i* regularly in the causative and its reflexive (*šādēl*, *yāšādēl*, sometimes with lengthening: *šādēl* "get up", *yāšādēl*, *šādēl* [Jahn, p. 11], 32) "give heed", *yāšādēl*).

The medial *š* and *i* verbs are, as in Ethiopic, to a great extent assimilated to the plan of the strong verbs, *šādēl* and *šādēl* being treated as consonants. Only in the simple form of the med. *š* is the old Semitic inflexion retained in principle. But the old form *yāšādēl* (frequently *yāšādēl*) has become indicative, and a new subj. has been formed with vowel change, *yāšādēl*, followed by the imperative *šādēl*. As in the intransitives, the ending of the 2nd *sg. f.* reacts on the stem in the indicative: *šādēl*, whence also the fem. plur. *šādēl* to the *m. šādēl*, and the 3rd pers. with those reversed: *yāšādēl*, *šādēl*. In the perf. *šādēl* < *šādēl* is retained but abbreviated before consonant suffixes, as *šādēl*; the participle from it is *šādēl*. But the pass. part. is quite strong in formation as *meššer* "feared". Some verbs, probably formed from nouns, follow the strong paradigm throughout the simple form, like *šādēl* "to be finished", *šādēl* "to be mad". This is always the case in the reflexive of the base, e.g. *šādēl* "to long for home" and in the causative, as *šādēl* "turned" and its reflexive, e.g. *šādēl* "warmed himself", as well as in the med. *šādēl* verbs e.g. *šādēl* "travelled". The intensive stem shows a peculiar formation, e.g. *šādēl* "returned", imp. *i* ind. *yāšādēl*, subj. *yāšādēl*, imp. *šādēl*, part. *meššer*, inf. *šādēl* (from the simple verb, elsewhere however like *šādēl*) and *yāšādēl* "called aloud" following the formation of the doubled verbs.

The biliteral roots with short vowel (the so-called med. gem. or doubled verbs) have retained the primitive Semitic inflection with doubling of the second radical only in the perfect of the simple form; in addition the consonantal endings take an epenthetic vowel: 3rd *m. šādēl* "was at an end";

In 'Isatin and the Djama' al-Nadjiqum (one of the jewellers, carpenters and curiosity shops), have no remarkable features except the covered *passage* [q.v.] the booths of which were ornamented a few years ago with shutters of painted wood. The *medina* [q.v.] of Meknes is to the south of the *medina*; it seems to have been here since the reign of Mawli Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah. A new *medina*, three times the extent of the old one, has been occupied since 1925. The *medina* of Meknes is one of those which have retained their native character most unaffected. Only one artery, the Kaidin street, is accessible to European trade and traffic. The centre of the town's activity is the Hedine square. In the evening the story-tellers and hallooers, who usually call themselves *shorfa* of Mawli 'Abd al-Kadir al-Khalid, are surrounded by a crowd, the animation of which is exceeded only by that which fills the Djama' al-Fa at Marrakech. To the S.E. lie the vast ruins of the *palace* of Mawli Ismail. They now reveal nothing but chaos and disorder. The only buildings still kept in repair are the Djama' b. Halima, out of which the Direction de l'Agriculture has made a charming garden, and the Dar al-Balqa which is now a school for native officers. In the Dar al-Makheem live the last surviving women of the family of Mawli al-Hassan and sometimes it is used as a royal residence. Begun at the end of the XVIII century this palace was built in several periods. The fifth Dar al-Makheem dates from 1889. In the ruins of the Dar Khara live the families of the *Hassani shorfa*, near the abode of the *shorfa* of the *shorfa*, Mawli Kabir b. Zulfu. To the Djama' al-Akhdar across the *halla*, *shorfa* and principal officials go every Friday and on the occasion of solemn prayers. In the old Agdal of Mawli Ismail, among waste lands, an ostrich farm, the origin of which goes back to Mawli 'Abd Allah, has been laid out, beside an experimental garden. Further on there is a horse-breeding establishment. The remainder is nothing but ruins. The visitor goes along miles of successive walls and finds enormous ruins: the Hart al-Mansur used as a stable and storehouse for fowls, the stables, the granary and the ornamental water left to go to ruins.

There is very little industry in Meknes: carpentry and particularly weaving, already noted by al-Ibraz. The most notable artistic industries are the many coloured embroiderys of large irregular point lace and painted wood. The public service endeavour to keep going these trades, in which purely Berber influence is more and more marked. European competition is severely affecting, at Meknes as elsewhere, some classes of artisans, like the tailors, smiths and potters. The building trades, on the other hand, are flourishing. Sûks are held outside the town and are attended by the country people: the Sûk of the *Ben Jadda*, before the gate on which the heads of rebels used to be placed for the edification of the tribes, the Sûk al-Gharis and that of the *Lentaria*. There is no native commercial house of any importance. The market of Meknes does not extend beyond the environs of the town. It exports nothing except in years of abundant harvest. The region was already famed in the tenth century for its fruits, its vines, its gardens and its vegetables. The mills, four or five of which are still working, date from the same period. Since the French occupation, colonisation has developed

considerably. The colonists, most of whom have come from Algeria, cultivate mainly wheat, of which they are obtaining increasing yields. The cultivation of the vine is increasing each year. The region of Mawli Isatin is one of the principal centres of olive-growing in Morocco (400,000 trees); 550 farms are laid out in the district, covering 85,000 hectares. Official colonisation which has now disposed of almost all the reserved lands has been out-dimensioned since 1927 by private colonisation. The native farms (130,000 hectares) tend to disappear from the plain and to confine themselves to mixed farming in the mountains. Prospecting for minerals has only been done piecemeal, traces of petroleum have been found beside Petitjean and of lead in the Central Atlas.

The government of Meknes, which is a *medina* town, is in the hands of a *hajib*. He is also *hajib* of the Bishshers, who have retained a relic of their past greatness in a special statute and down till 1912 provided the garrison of the town (800 men according to L. Chasteller). The *hajib* of the *Hassani shorfa* exercises a jurisdiction independent of that of the *hajib*. In the administrative organisation of the province, Meknes has been made the capital of a very considerable area. It was from it that the military operations in the Central Atlas were directed. Although this active part is now over, Meknes is still a military command, and its administrative region, although greatly reduced, still stretches to Midelt. Situated in the centre of Morocco at the junction of important roads, Meknes is marked out as one of the strong places of the country in the future: a military camp is being laid out at al-Badjab.

The population of Meknes consists of many distinct elements: *Shorfa*, Bishshers, Berbers and Jews. The *hajib shorfa*, who have played their part in the history of the town and retain privileges (of the numerous descendants of Mawli Isatin, only the families residing in Fas and Meknes are allowed to share in the income of the *shayks* of Fas) and the *Hassani shorfa*, who have many privileges of their own, form a kind of aristocracy, generally powerful. The Bishshers, descendants of the *hajib* of Mawli Ismail, up till 1912 formed an unreliable element, which was always a nucleus of trouble. Since that date they have been taking up the trades of meat-makers and farmers. They live close to the town of old houses and gardens which belong to the Makheem, and in the old *halla* of Mawli Ismail in the Ben Jadda quarter. Their houses, roofed with thatch, look like African encampments. But it is the Berber (*Berber*) element which predominates at Meknes and gives it its desire for independence, a feature of which has for centuries been a jealousy of Fas. It is the Berbers of the mountains who give it its tone; when they come down to the town, their women give colour to the streets of the *medina* with their short skirts, their jacket gaiters and their wide trimmed hats. The Berber elements of the plain are much more mixed, having undergone many vicissitudes since the day when Mawli Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah inaugurated the policy, considerably practised by his successors, of transferring tribes. A considerable part of the population of Meknes consists of *hajib* elements who come, usually between harvests, to work as artisans. These immigrants almost all come from the south, from Tafilalet in particular (potters, tanners and porters),

from *Sâa* (grocers), from *Thâa* (oil-makers), from *Pigga* and *Dar'a* (meatmen). The Rifans and *Jhâla* supply most of the agricultural labourers. A small number of *Fâsis*, who have in recent years merged into the population of the town, are cloth-merchants, old-clothes-dealers and shoemakers.

Jews form a quarter of the native population. Foucauld estimated the *mulât* of Meknes to be half that of *Fâs*. Chénier remarked on its prosperity. It has increased since his day, as elsewhere and the position of the Jews is greatly improved since the establishment of the French Protectorate.

Religious life. From the presence of the *Idrisid* and *Hassanid* shrines, the proximity of the sanctuary of *Mawla* *Idris* and the religious event of the celebrations of his *milâd* (class. *marâsim*, q. v.) every year, Meknes is one of the most important centres of *shari'ism*. At the same time for the Berber population it is a centre of marabout rites of the most elementary kind. All the brotherhoods that have *shâwiyas* in Morocco are represented in Meknes. The most important are those of the *Kâdiriya*, *Tuljâniya*, and especially *Hamâdsha* and the largest, the *Isâwra*, to which half the population are attached. Meknes, whose patron saint is *Sidi Muhammad b. Isâ* and which contains his tomb under the *qubba* erected by *Mawla* *Muhammad b. Abd Allah*, is the capital of the order. This saint came here at the end of the xth century. His teaching at first met with a vigorous resistance, which he overcame so completely that, when the governor of the town sought to take steps against him, the people protected him. Before his death he acquired an *estate*, constituted it *qubba* and set it aside as a cemetery. It is still used and many men of religion are buried there. The celebration of his *milâd* on the first day of the *mu'arrif* (*mu'arrif*) festival is the great event of the year. The preparations for it begin forty days before and become all-absorbing ten days before the festival. On the day before or the preceding day delegations flock in from all parts of Morocco, following the traditional routes. The most generous hospitality is given to the pilgrims by the descendants of *Shaikh al-Kâmil*, who have the *shâwra* (*Brunei*). The excesses committed on the occasion of this pilgrimage have been frequently described. Many other special cults are observed in Meknes. *Bâ Zakri* is the patron of the grainers, and *Mawla* *Idris* of the *Zâhira* is the patron of the tanners, weavers and butchers (*Masjûnâ*). There is even the cult of a living holy man, *Mawla* *Ahmad Warzânî*. As it was his custom to sit in the public way in a very simple costume, he was in 1917 granted clothes and a *qubba* at the request of *Mawla* *Yûsuf*. The *qubba* is at the entrance to a dispensary and the admirers of the saint come there daily to keep him company.

History. We know nothing certain about the history of the region in the Roman period nor in the centuries which followed. The most advanced Roman stations were on the slopes of the *Zâhira* guarding the plain, out of which the warriors of the Central Atlas might debouch, and perhaps throwing out a screen as far as the plateau of *al-Hâdjeh*.

We do not know at what date the people here had their first contact with Islam, nor even if it was not till the *Hilâli* invasion that Islam became securely established here. The Berber tribes of the *Sâ'is* and *Sabâ* made the most of the fertility of their country. A tradition records that a fire

destroyed the gardens there in 917. It was at this period that the country was covered, from *Tâza* to Meknes, by the migration of a *Zunna* tribe, the *Miknâsa*, a section of whom, who received the name of *Miknâsa al-Zaitûn* to distinguish them from the *Miknâsa* *Tâza*, who lived farther to the east, established themselves securely in the plain. The *Idrisids* met with a vigorous resistance from the *Miknâsa*. They always found in them opponents whom they could not overcome in spite of several campaigns, and who were the medium of *Umayyad* intervention.

The *Âl-Kirâs* records that a governor of the district, *al-Mahdi b. Yûsuf al-Kasani*, having joined *Yûsuf b. Taghîn*, was assassinated by the tribesmen, but the terrified citizens hastened to disown the murder. At this date a few villages stood on the site of Meknes. One cannot say at what date, perhaps in the tenth century, they were grouped together to form the *Tawadit* mentioned by *Idrisi* (*Tagharit*, according to the *Kinâh al-Lithâir*). The population seems to have been more numerous in the *Almoravid* period than later, and prosperous. Enclosed by a wall, Meknes looked like a pleasure resort, with its gardens, cultivated fields, its mosques, its baths and water channels.

The *Miknâsa* vigorously opposed the *Almohad* onslaught. When passing through this region in 1120-21, *Ibn Tûmarî* preached here but he was not well received. Twenty years later, *'Abd al-Mu'min* laid siege to Meknes but it was not he who took it. He left it to enter *Fâs*, leaving the conduct of siege in the hands of *Yahya b. Yaghmur*. The *Âl-Kirâs* says the siege lasted seven years. The town fell in 1150. It was plundered, the defences dismantled, a part of its wealth confiscated and all its garrison put to death, except the governor *Yaddar b. Ughit*, who is said to have gone over to the *Almohads* before the surrender in order to save his head. On the site, or beside the ruins, Meknes rapidly rose again under the shelter of the fortifications built by the *Almohads*. At the end of the century, it had regained some importance and the mosque of *al-Nadjdjârîn* was finished. This is the oldest monument in Meknes: in 1756-1757 *Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah* had it restored and built the present minaret. The *Almohads* brought water hither from *Tadjenna*, five miles away. In 1182 the *qubba* was said in five different places in Meknes and there were six gates in the wall which surrounded the town.

In the course of the following century, the intrigues of the *Ba'ûl Martû* (q. v.) disturbed the country, where the fighting that accompanied the fall of the *Almohads* was particularly lively. In 1231-1232, *al-Ma'mûn* had to intervene against the *Rasûl Fâsis* and *Maklûta*, who were ravaging Meknes. In 1236-1237, as a result of the *Marînid* success in the battle in which *al-Sa'id's* son was slain, *Abû Bakr* entered the town. This occupation was only temporary but the *Almohad* restoration was not secure. In 1245-1246, the governor left there by *al-Sa'id* was slain in a rising in the town in favour of *Abû Zakariyyâ* the *Hafsid*. *Al-Sa'id* again returned victorious, causing *Yahya b. 'Abd al-Hakk* to fly to *Thâa*. The *Marînid* had only two years to wait; after the death of the *Almohad* governor, he returned to Meknes to occupy it definitely.

The first period of greatness for Meknes dates from the *Marînids*. They set out to make it beautiful

like Rabat and Fés. Abū Yūsuf moved from Fés to Meknes, which owed to him a kasba and a mosque (1276). Abū 'l-Ḥasan improved its water-supply, built bridges on the road to Fés and began the *Madrasa Qadida* which Abū 'Inān was to finish. It bears the latter's name and is still the most notable building in Meknes, in spite of the indiscriminate restorations carried out in 1917-1922. Other madrasas, 'Aqāim and Filāh, were built by the Marinids.

During this period the political organisation of the country was developing in quite a different direction. The Idriṣid shorfa', having assisted the Marinids to gain power, prepared to take advantage of the organisation which the latter had given them. Thus the foundations were laid for the movement which was to end in the partition of Morocco in the last years of the xvth century into practically independent divisions. The shorfa' were numerous in Meknes. When the weakening of the Marinids and the decline of their prestige made it possible, they supplied leaders. History has preserved the name of Mawlaī Zayn. The Wattasids only once intervened, it appears, when at the beginning of the xvth century Ma'ād b. al-Nāṣir, having rebelled against Muḥammad al-Fortūgālī, found an asylum at Meknes. The Sultān besieged the town and took it, then installed his brother al-Nāṣir al-Kaddid there, who however did not prove faithful to him. The few years of independence enjoyed by Meknes were not particularly glorious. They mark, however, an epoch in the history of the town destined at other periods to be only the prey of anarchy or the plaything of a tyrant.

The rise of the brotherhoods of the xvth century found a favourable soil among the Mālikites. The *zawiya Qadiriya* was established there, as in other places in Morocco. A few years later, Muḥammad b. 'Isā was teaching there.

Meknes was thus well prepared to welcome the Sa'diāns. When Muḥammad al-Shaykh approached in 1548 he entered the town without much trouble. The Marinid al-Nāṣir al-Kāṣir is said to have agreed to hand over the town in return for the liberty of his father Ahmad Bā Zekrī, and the marabouts to have demanded the conclusion of such an agreement. Muḥammad al-Shaykh however took a sufficiently sure method to establish his authority; when the Khawf Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Harūn began to preach against him, he had him scourged to death. When he returned two years later, he was welcomed with gifts. The estimates of travellers of this time put the population of the town at 6-8,000 *hachims*. It was the only town in the region. The Sa'diāns took little interest in Meknes which never attracted their attention. The country was well in hand and the Berber tribes peaceful to such a degree that the road from Marrākush by the Tāllā was regularly used. It was the practice to make Meknes the residence of one of the sons of the Sultān. There was however no important command attached to it. Leo Africanus credits it with a revenue equal to half that of the vicereignty of Fés, which is astonishing. Under Ahmad al-Manṣūr, Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī lived there and then after the second partition, Zidan and, lastly Mawlaī al-Shaykh, but as a prisoner in the last years of his father's life.

The civil war which broke out on the death of al-Manṣūr placed Meknes at the mercy of the

Berber risings and marabout intrigues. Mawlaī 'Abd Allāh b. al-Shaykh lived by brigandage and often found a refuge in al-Kāṣir al-Kāṣir. In 1619, his brother Muḥammad defeated him near Meknes. Al-Ifrānī mentions for the next year the rising of an individual who called himself the Sharif Aḥḥār. In the midst of this disorder an authority gradually made itself felt, that of the *zawiyas*, and especially the *Zawiya of Dīr*. In 1640-1641, Muḥammad al-Ḥadīdī was even able to seize the sovereign power and get himself recognised by Fés and Meknes after his victory over Mawlaī Muḥammad al-Shaykh b. Zidan. He gained over the Berber tribes, and Mawlaī al-Rashīd in 1666 found the Banī Mitr against him, allied with the Dīrī Abū 'Abd Allāh, and he had to fight them again in 1668.

Mawlaī al-Rashīd seems to have been interested in Meknes, the Kasba of which he restored. In burying him in the mausoleum of al-Muḥidhūb, Mawlaī Ismā'īl said he was fulfilling the last wishes of the deceased. But the most important event was that al-Rashīd sent Mawlaī Ismā'īl to Meknes. The latter lived before his accession in the Almohad *ḥaḥa*, as a landed proprietor managing his estates. In his choice of a capital, we see the attraction of a rich district like this. He wished it to be in his own image and realised his desire. For fifty years Meknes was simply the framework for his splendour, the scene of his extravagances.

He at once decided to build himself a palace and at once a grandiose scheme was projected. He began by clearing a space. The houses adjoining the Almohad wall east of the town were destroyed and their owners forced to carry the debris off to a site which has retained the name of *Ḥadīm*, then to rebuild on a site which the sharif enclosed by a wall to the N. W. of the *maḥala*. The site which he chose for himself was also separate from the town. His palace was built, and one even more splendid for his women. This first edifice, *Dīr Khira*, was finished in 1579. It was a series, without intelligible plan, of *riyāḍas* embellished with fountains, paved with marble, surrounded by galleries which were supported by columns of marble; the apartments opened on to three galleries. The sovereign's palace was in two suites, that of his ladies in four and larger than his. His four wives and his favourites were equally splendidly housed. The other concubines, of whom he had 500 of all nations, were housed in rooms along the passage. At the end was a common hall, on a higher level, which gave a view over the gardens through iron grilles. The reception pavilions were planned on the same scale; one of them had forty rooms. The palace contained in all 45 pavilions and twenty *kubbas*. The whole was surrounded by a crenelated wall pierced by twenty gates. It was triple in the N. E. with a road round it and it could be defended equally well against the interior of the *ḥaḥa*. The bastions supported batteries of guns and mortars. The women being subject to rigorous confinement and Mawlaī Ismā'īl being very meticulous in the performance of the duties of religion, a mosque was set aside for them. Another had been begun in 1672, communicating with the town by the *Bab 'Isā*. Lastly the palace with its dependences contained four mosques; two are still in use, the *Djāmī al-Aḥḥār* and in the quarter of the mews, very broken down, the *Djāmī al-Rawā*. To the south was a garden, the area of which is equal to that of the present *maḥala*, an

orchard in which olive trees predominated. Farther on were the stables to which the Sultan admitted only picked horses, to the number of 1,200; two parallel rows of stables about 100 feet apart. In the centre ran running water. Each animal had its stall and a shelter for its equipment. Opposite was a storehouse; the *serai*, which supported a supplementary palace with twenty pavilions. Between the palace and the stables was the granary, forty feet high and big enough it was said, to contain the whole harvest of Morocco. At the side was a pond for irrigation purposes and also subterranean reserves of water in case of a siege.

The buildings did not stop here. To the south west of the town lay a city of pleasure, Madinat al-Riyāḥ, where the officials had palaces, whose Mawlaī *Imād* himself had his mosque, his madrasa, his hammām, his fondaks and the offices of the *umamā* of the Treasury, with the shops of the Sharīfian tailors. In 1732-1733 Mawlaī 'Abd Allāh on returning from an unsuccessful expedition into the Sās, had the Madinat al-Riyāḥ destroyed by Christian slaves. There is nothing left of it to-day except the Bab al-Khamsa, dated 1667, one of the finest and best proportioned gates in the city.

Lastly a site was reserved for the troops. To the west of Meknes a large *dhawāz* was settled with *ashab* and their families. To the east of the Dār al-Maghzen, five *ḥajras* for the 150,000 men of the *ghis* were gradually incorporated in the great *ḥajra*.

After fifty years of unorganised but superhuman effort, the buildings were not yet completed. It was in 1731-1732 that Mawlaī 'Abd Allāh finished the surrounding wall and the Bab Maḥḥū, the most finished example of the *Imād*lian gate, ponderous, of proportions by no means perfect but imposing, of which the Bab al-Bardā'n and the Bab al-Nuḥs are the two other finest examples at Meknes at the present day. This name of a renegade, Maḥḥū al-Yuhā, was no doubt that of a keeper of the gate. Mawlaī *Imād* directed all the operations himself. During the first twenty-four years of his reign he never spent twelve months on end at Meknes. But he returned there after each expedition: in proportion as his ambition and his power increased, his despotism and the needs of his government, his army and his family grew, his scheme became more and more grandiose; the work done was found unsatisfactory, modifications were made, buildings taken down and the work began all over again. The result certainly was sumptuous and imposing but also odd and varied.

All the country helped in the work. Mawlaī *Imād* collected materials wherever he could. Volubilis, Chella, Marrākeḥ were plundered. If he destroyed al-Bahā, it was perhaps out of jealousy of Sāḍan work, or perhaps simply to get material. Like Ahmad al-Manḥū, he procured marble from Fās. One day when a corsair ship had stranded near Tangier he ordered the Ghāmāra to bring the cannon from it by unaided manual labour. When he died the columns of marble which were still on their way were left at the roadside.

Labour was recruited by similar means. The Sāḍan imposed days of labour on the tribes, levied forced labour as he pleased, sent his ministers to the workshops, but relied mainly on renegades and Christian slaves who were his permanent workmen. From 1680 the work was pushed on frantically. All the Christians in Morocco were

collected there. The Trinitarians of Fās joined them. The slaves were at first housed in stables near the building-yards, then they were moved to the Dār al-Maghzen, then to near the stables, under the arches of a bridge, where their lot was particularly miserable, finally to the interior of a ruined *serai*, east of the town along the north wall of the Dār al-Maghzen. They were able to organise themselves a little there, to build themselves a church, to have chapels, a convent and infirmaries. A pharmacist monk made up a medicine, the "Christian decoction"; this was the means by which humane relations were established with the natives, even with the dwellers in the palace. Their last historian has reduced the number of Christian prisoners in the service of Mawlaī *Imād* to its real figure: they did not as a rule reach a thousand and the Sultan, in the course of over fifty years, himself killed only one hundred and nine (Koehler).

The emperor revealed in his palaces his extravagance and his capidity; he accumulated wealth as he did buildings, but only to hide it. The consuls and ambassadors who came to negotiate the ransom of captives he received with a mixture of buffoonery and splendour. Frequent mention is made of the cruelty and the terror which this ruler inspired; he loved to torture his women and cut off hands to show his skill. His amusements were of a similar character; he liked to shoot with his *ḥaida* at the deer in his menageries then to finish them off with spearthrusts. "Let us avert our eyes from all these horrors which make nature shudder," says Cheoier. Following his example his household inspired terror in the town. He had six hundred children, a nursery of slaves, "who might have had a happier lot if he had loved them as much as his horses". On the approach of any of them, "every one hid all that he might take a fancy to", and the *ḥaida* in their turn, negroes robed in bright colours, went about bullying, in the name of their master at first and then in their own.

All his work was to collapse at his death, but he was able to keep it up in his lifetime. From the troubles that broke out when he disappeared from the scene, one can judge of the energy of this man of eighty who maintained order among his hordes of negroes and in this country destined by God to anarchy. The *ḥajra* of Zarḥūn, the *ḥajra* of Aḥḥ in the middle of the Central Atlas, defected Meknes on North and South. He was also able to preserve it from other scourges; when an epidemic of plague broke out, the *ḥaida* were simply given orders to kill any people who came from Fās.

Mawlaī *Imād* was hated like his brother in the manuscripts of Sāḍ 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Madīdhū, a moralist saint of the xviii century. His son, the rebel Mawlaī Maḥammad, killed at Thāḥ in 1706, and Mawlaī Zidān in 1707, had already joined Mawlaī Raḥīm. In 1689 the ashes of Mawlaī 'Abd al-Rahmān were also deposited there.

On the death of Mawlaī *Imād*, the *ḥajras* and the soldiers of the *ghis* stirred up a palace war which lasted twenty years. Mawlaī 'Abd Allāh lost and regained his throne six times. But however great this danger was, the other threat was still more disturbing; having got rid of the garrisons of the *Imād*lian *ḥajras*, the Berbers, armed, came down from the mountains. The problem for the sultans was to choose the lesser evil; they

declined to disband the *ashâ* and in the struggle which naturally arose between these and the Berbers relied more on the former. The civil war extended to the tribes of the plain and the garrisons of Fâs, especially the Udaya; pretensions stirred up the flames, readily giving the signal to plunder and, in the rivalries of races and tribes, easily finding a party to support them. Gradually the Berbers sank in misfortune. It was in vain that Mawli 'Abd Allâh and his sons expended the treasure of Mawli lams' for them. The worst of it for Meknes was that every one ended or began by plundering it.

Mahmûd b. 'Abd Allâh almost re-established order and restored to the town its past glory. He did a great deal for it; his palace of Dar al-Balâ, the severe architecture of which, not without charm, can still be seen in a part of the olive-grove of al-Hamriya; in the Kasba, he built the *Umayyad* al-Awar and in the *udina*, the minaret of the *Djama* al-Nadiriya, the kabba of Sidi Muhammad b. 'Isa, and several mosques (al-Achar, al-Burji, al-Bi, Mekki, Berzima and Sidi Bi 'Uthman). It was he who made the 15,000 books of the library of Mawli lams' *judâ* for the benefit of all the mosques of Morocco. As regards the tribes his policy was to break them up. He transplanted many of them and tried several repatriation schemes. The end of his reign was marked by the success of the Berbers whose attacks had been resumed about 1775.

Soon nothing was to be left of the work of Mawli lams'. The Christian community lost its Franciscan mission in the reign of Mawli Vaid and did not survive the persecution of this *sharif*. The earthquake of 1755 had destroyed their church, convent and hospice. The renegades, who had gathered together at Kasba Agâfil, were gradually absorbed.

The Berber crisis was again acute from 1811. Communication with Fâs was continually being cut and it was something to boast of for the sultans to get out of Meknes. Mawli Slimân (Salimân), who had undertaken to restore the Kasba and rebuild the bridges on the road to Fâs and who would have liked to get rid of the *shâkher*, decided to settle in Fâs. His walls were his only defence at Meknes, which was blockaded by the tribes. Mawli 'Abd al-Bahmû, whom Delacroix was there and who built a *kasba* in *Umayyad* b. Halima, left the Berbers in semi-independence and at last disbanded the *ashâ* without even granting those who remained in Meknes the character of Makhzen troops. His son carefully avoided all quarrels.

Mawli al-Hamû revived the tradition of the great sultans and made his authority felt. He was able to enter Meknes after his accession only by crushing the power of the tribes. In 1879 he conducted a campaign against the Beni Mijr. In 1887 he forced his way through the country of the Beni Mijr in his campaign against the Nun. On his death the Berbers regained their independence. If they retained their *gâids* it was because the latter cast off their allegiance to the Makhzen. After the fall of Mawli 'Abd al-'Azîz, Meknes recognised all the competitors in succession. It was Meknes that proclaimed 'Abd al-Jafî, who had come via the Berbers of Tâla in 1908; in 1909 it summoned the *sharif* al-Katimî and in 1911 rallied to Mawli Zâim. It was in this year

that General Maunier entered Meknes and two years later Calaud Henrys under the direction of General Lyantey pacified the Beni Mijr country.

Bibliography. In the article *meknâ* (Mawli): a. Arabic sources: editions and translations of al-Bakri, Ibn Abi Zar', Ibn al-Athîr, al-Idrîsî, and of the *Kutub al-tahqiq*; Houdas, *Monographie de Meknès*, in *J.A.*, 1885; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Schefer, 1897-1898; al-Kalû b. Zûlû, *Histoire de Meknès (1184 d'Islâm al-mîr: ba'd al-Bahmû Miknâ)*, 2 vol. publ., Rabat 1920-1930.

b. European sources: Marmol Carvajal, *Description general de Africa*, 1573; Moultie, *Relation de la captivité du Sieur Monrois*, 1683; *Mission historique de Morrocco*, exc. par Fr. de San Juan de el Puerto, 1708; Windin, *A journey to Mequinez*, 1723; Oumet, *Histoire du royaume de Meknès*, 1731; Haringman, *Tagebuch einer Reise nach Marokko*, 1805; Castries and Couval, *Scenes inédites de l'Afrique du Maroc*, in course of public.; Champio, *Tanger, Fès, Meknès*, 1924 (gives the French transl. of the passage of Windin relating to the *bagha* of Meknes); Périgny, *Au Maroc. Carnet de voyage*, Rabat, Meknès, 1919; Genival, *La mission française au Maroc*, 1927; Koehler, *La pénétration chrétienne au Maroc. La mission française*, 1914; do., *Notes prises sur quelques traits d'histoire ayant trait aux captifs chrétiens de Meknès*, in *Rev. de géog. maroc.*, 1921; do., *Quelques points d'histoire sur les captifs chrétiens de Meknès*, in *Hispanie*, 1928; Margab, *Meknès d'art musulman*, 1926-1927; Saladin, *Les ports de Meknès d'après les documents recueillis par M. Le Capitaine Emmet*, and *Le grand souk de Meknès*, in *Bull. archéol. du Congrès Travaux Hist.*, 1916 and 1917; Ricard, *Pour comprendre l'art musulman en Afrique du Nord et en Espagne*, 1924 (gives a plan of the Dar al-Makhzen); Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, 1888; Segonzac, *Voyage au Maroc*, 1903; Massignon, *Le Maroc dans les premières années du XVI^e siècle. L'abbé d'après Lion l'Africain*, 1906; do., *Enquête sur les corporations musulmanes d'artisans et de commerçants au Maroc*, 1925; Le Clézelier, *Notes sur les villes et tribus du Maroc en 1890*, 1902; Brunel, *Essai sur la confrérie religieuse des 'Aïssid au Maroc*, 1926; Bel, *Histoire d'un saint musulman vivant actuellement à Meknès*, in *Rev. Hist. des relig.*, 1917; Leno, *Derrière les vides murs en ruine*, 1922; do., *Pratiques des hermites marocains*, 1925; Arnaut, *Monographie de la région de Meknès*, 1914; Besugé and Joleand, *Étude technique de la région de Meknès*, in *Bull. Sociol. de France*, 1922; *Mémorial du Service géographique de l'Armée. Description géographique du Maroc. Parallèle de Meknès*, 1926.

(C. FOUK-BRENTANO)

MELLAH, the name given to the quarters in Moroccan towns which the Jews are compelled to inhabit. Being *ashâ* al-dhimmâ, the Jews have a right to the special protection of the government which allots them a particular quarter to live in, situated very often quite close to the *shâh* (*kasba*) where the governor of the town resides. Moreover, the sovereigns and governors liked to have at hand "their" Jews who were frequently of use, to them as clever diplomatic

agents and often gave them valuable financial support. All the towns of Morocco, even the large ones, did not necessarily have a *mellāh*. Thus at Tangier there are certain quarters particularly inhabited by Jews but they are not set aside for them and we also find Muslims there. As to Rabat, its present *mellāh* was established only in 1808 by Sulḥān Mawḥy Sulaimān; formerly the Jews lived together in the al-Buhaira quarter (al-Bḥra) where there were also Muslims. When he founded Fās in 805, Idrīs II compelled the Jewish refugees who flocked into the capital to reside in the northern part of the 'Adwat al-Karawīyān (Aghlān quarter as far as the gate called Bāb Hija Sa'dūn); this was undoubtedly the first Moroccan ghetto; and the present *Fondaṣ al-Jūdī* ('the Jew's warehouse') apparently preserves its memory. But at the end of the eighth century the Marīnid [q.v.] dynasty, wishing to create a new capital, founded alongside of 'Old Fās' (*Fās al-Bālī*) 'New Fās' (*Fās al-Djādīd*) or 'White City' (*al-Madīnat al-Bayḍā*). In the first half of the ninth century, the town of Hima was built close beside Fās and at first occupied by the Ghuz archers who formed a part of the regular Marīnid army; after the suppression of this force in 1320, Hima became the quarters of the Christian mercenaries, whom we find there in 1361. Later, probably at the beginning of the tenth century, and no doubt as the result of massacres, the Jews of Old Fās were ordered to settle in Hima; this town was built on a site known as *al-Mallāḥ*, the 'salt spring', or 'salt marsh', and the new ghetto became known by this name. From a proper, this became a common noun, and passed from Fās to the other towns of Morocco as the name for the quarter assigned to the Jews. The etymology proposed by Dozy in his *Supplément* (*al-mallāḥ* < *al-mahalla* 'quarter') is therefore to be rejected, as are the explanations as 'salted, accursed land', or 'quarter of the Jews who were forced to salt the heads of decapitated rebels'. In Morocco instead of *al-mellāḥ*, in speaking, the expression *al-marḥū* (class. *al-marḥū*) is often used by anti-phrases, lit. the 'not-salted'.

The *mellāḥ* of Fās is therefore the oldest in Morocco in every way. For a long time it was also the most important; in the middle of the ninth century, al-Bakrī says that Fās is the town with most Jews in the Maghrib, which has given rise to the proverbial saying: *Fās balad bi-lā nās*: 'Fās, a town where there are no people (worth mentioning)'. But the constitution of Marrākush in 1063 resulted in the foundation in southern Morocco of a new Jewish centre which was to attract to it the Jewish and pseudo-Jewish peoples of the Atlas. The term *al-mellāḥ* however appears for Marrākush only in the second half of the tenth century (cf. E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, p. 409). At the present day the *mellāḥ* of Marrākush and the Jewish town of Mogador form the most important Jewish centres of Morocco.

The name *al-mallāḥ* is peculiar to Morocco; there, however, it is applied not only to the Jewish quarter in a town but also to little mountain villages exclusively inhabited by Jews. At Tlemcen the term *darb al-jūdī* (class. *darb al-yahūd*) is used; at Constantine *rah-ahūd* and in Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli: *al-jūra*.

On the interior organisation of the present day Moroccan *mellāḥ* see E. Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*.

lui, Paris 1904, p. 367—372; J. Goulven, *Les mellāhs de Rabat-Sali*, Paris 1927, p. 99—107; the article *Morocco* in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. *Bibliography*: Gaudelroy-Demombynes, *Morocain: Mellah*, in *Journal Asiatique*, ser. 11, vol. 3, 1914, p. 651—658; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, p. 470 and 466.

(GEORGES S. COLIN)

MELILLA (in modern Arabic: *Milya*, Berber *Tawllit*, 'the white', in the Arab geographers: *Malila*), a seaport on the east coast of Morocco on a promontory on the peninsula of Gellya at the end of which is the Cape Tres Forcas or the Three Forks (*Rās Hurk* of the Arab geographers, now *Rās Werk*).

Melilla probably corresponds to the *Rusadir* of the ancients (cf. *Rhyssadir oppidum et portus* [Pliny, v. 18], *Rusadir Colonia* of the Antoninian Itinerary). Leo Africanus says that it had belonged for a time to the Goths and that the Arabs took it from them, but in reality we know nothing of the ancient history of the town.

It is only at the beginning of the tenth century that Melilla appears in the Muslim history of Morocco. In 930, the Umayyad Caliph of Spain, 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh succeeded in detaching from the Fātimids the famous Miknāsā chief Mūsā b. Abī l-'Āfiya, who had established his authority over the basin of the Moluya and the district of Tāṣā; having seized Melilla, al-Nāṣir built ramparts around it and gave it to his new ally, who thus had at his command a base of defence (*maḥḥil*) against the Fātimids of Ifrikiya and a port which made communication with Spain easy. Later on, the descendants of his son, al-Bīrī b. Mūsā, rebuilt the town, which remained one of the strongholds of the Miknāsā in Morocco down to the time of the decline of the power of the tribe, who were definitely defeated and scattered by the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāḥīm in 1070.

But the Miknāsā must have abandoned it before their dynasty was crushed by the Almoravids; for al-Bakrī shows us that by 1067 a descendant of the Hammūlīd Idrīsids of Spain had been summoned to Melilla and recognised as ruler by the people of the district.

At the period when al-Bakrī wrote (1068), Melilla was a town surrounded by a wall of stone; inside was a very strong citadel, a great mosque, a *ḥammām* and markets. The inhabitants belonged to the tribe of the Banū Wartādī (or B. Wartadā), a branch of the Ṣanhāja group of the Baṣṣiya. Melilla had a harbour which was accessible only in summer. It was the terminus of a trade route which connected Sijilmāsa with the Mediterranean through the valley of the Moluya and Agarsif (French: *Guerif*). The trade must have been considerable; the principal exports were no doubt those mentioned by Leo Africanus: iron from the mines of the mountains of the Banū Sa'īd and honey from the Kabdāna country; we may also add pearls which were taken from oysters found in the harbour itself. Al-Bakrī notes that the inhabitants made money by granting protection to merchants. The environs of the town were occupied by the Banū Wartādī (who also occupied the stronghold called Kulīl Gāret), the Matmāra, the Aḥl Kabdāna, the Marīna of the 'White Hill' (*al-Kudāt al-Bayḍā*) and the Ghassāsa of the massif which ends in Cape Tres Forcas (*Ljāḥal Hurk*). All this region was then independent and had no political

link with the kingdom of Fās or that of Nakūr.

But in 1080 the Almoravid sovereign Yūsuf b. Tāshīn took Melilla and added its territory to the Almoravid empire. In 1141–1142, in the course of the Almoravid pursuit of the Almohads, a body of the latter set out from Tamsūsā to lay siege to Melilla, which was taken and plundered. In 1272, the Marinid Sultan Ya'qūb took Melilla from the Almohads and Ibn Khaldūn simply mentions it as a fortified place. It seems in fact that these three captures of the town had destroyed its commercial importance to the advantage of another town on the west coast of the peninsula of the Gēfīya: Ghassāsa also called al-Kudiyat al-baḥā'ī, the *Alenda* of the Portolana; in the xiiith century it is this latter town that appears as the Mediterranean port of Fās and Tāsā, and it was through it that political and commercial relations with eastern Spain and Italy (Genoa and Venice) were carried on.

Leo Africanus says that in 1490, hearing that an attack on it was planned by the Spaniards, the inhabitants abandoned the town and fled to the mountains of the Bāṭṭāya; to punish them for this the Wattīd Sultan had the town burned down; when in Sept. 1497 the Spaniards arrived they were thus able to disembark without resistance and occupied the town, abandoned and half destroyed. The occupation of Melilla enabled the Spaniards to attack the port of Ghassāsa by land and it was taken in April 1506. The Moroccans recaptured it in 1533 but the dangerous proximity of Melilla henceforth deprived it of importance. The commercial activity of this region was moved farther west to the port of al-Mazīma (Spanish: Alhucemas, Fr.: Alhouême), and the centre of Muslim resistance in this part of Morocco was henceforth the stronghold of Tāzāya, which after having been the capital of the Marinid sief of the Banū Wattās became that of a practically independent leader of a holy war. After passing into the hands of the Spaniards, Melilla was continuously besieged by the Muslims, mainly by the forces of the leaders of holy war established at Tāzāya and at Mājān (the *Megga* of Leo Africanus). Occupied by the Christians, the town naturally became one of the places in Morocco in which Muslim pretenders and rebels found asylum and support against the central power, especially at the beginning of the Sa'īdian dynasty. In 1549, it sheltered the dispossessed Wattīd Abū Hūwās, "king" of Bādīs; in 1550 it welcomed with his family the Mawṭay 'Amar, "king" of Debdā. It was from Melilla that in 1595, the pretender al-Nāsīr b. al-Ḥalīb brīlāh set out against his uncle Sultan Ahmad al-Manṣūr.

Later Melilla only appears in history in connection with sieges which it had to suffer: sieges by Mawṭay Ismā'īl in 1687 and 1695; siege in 1774 by Mawṭay Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh; Spanish-Moroccan war of 1893 (Sīdī Waryāḥ affair). From 1903 to 1908 the region of Melilla was the scene of struggles between the pretender al-Ḥalīb al-Ruḡī, established in the *faḥḥa* of Selwān, and the troops of the Sultan 'Abd al-'Azīz; defeated and receiving no support, the latter had to take refuge in Spanish territory and be repatriated. Still more recently in 1921, the same district witnessed the sanguinary battles between the Spaniards and the Rifans under 'Abd al-Karīm (Anwāl disaster). Melilla is for Spain a "place of sovereignty" like Alhucemas, Peñon de Vélez and Ceuta. Before the establish-

ment of the French protectorate, Melilla, constituted a free port, was the landingplace for all the European merchandise (cotton, sugar, tea) intended not only for eastern Morocco but also for the Saharan regions of Morocco and Orania. It has now lost much of its commercial importance.

Bibliography: al-Bakrī, index; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Schefer, vol. 2, p. 309; H. de Castries, *Sourcez inédites de l'histoire du Maroc, Espagne*, vol. 1, pp. 1–xxviii.; *Melilla au XV^e siècle*.

(GEORGES S. COLIN)

MENDEREZ, the name of two rivers in western Anatolia:

1. *Büyük Menderes* (called by al-'Umari *Menderos*, by Piri Reis, *Mendiras* or *Mendiros*), the ancient Maeander, the Mandra of the Crusaders. It rises in the district of Germiyan in a little lake, the Huweiran Gölü (Sami) above Diner (according to Abū Bakr b. Bahram in a spring called Huṣār baḥrī, a day's journey from Homa), flows past Homa at some distance off, then through the plain of al-ḥāḥī and the *kāḥs* of Baḥlān and Cal. In the *kāḥ* of Çarḥamba (capital Balladan) it is joined by the Banaz Çai (called Murād Daḡh Suyu in Abū Bakr b. Bahram whose statement that it flows past al-ḥāḥī is wrong), which rises in the Murād Daḡh and flows past Banaz. Farther down its course, in the plain of Denizli, it receives the Çurak Su, the ancient Lycus Fl. Farther on a ruined bridge called Demirtaş Koprūsi marked the frontier between the two old liwās of Germiyan and Aidin; according to Abū Bakr a warm spring rising in its foundations had contributed to the destruction of this bridge.

In the territory of Aidin the *Büyük Menderes* flows past at a distance the villages of Ortaḡköl, Narilli, Sultānḥışār, Köşik and Güzelḥışār. Aidin, breaks up into several arms in the plain of Balat (Palatia, the ancient Miletus) and feeds a lake full of fish (al-'Umari) there, which is now called Bafī Deñiz (Lake of Palatia, the ancient *ḥāḥḥa* *Aarḥāḡ*). A little below Balat, it enters the sea.

Al-'Umari who, generally speaking, is inaccurately informed about its course (he puts Deñizli and Birgi on it, i.e. brings the Cayster into its basin and makes it flow into the Black Sea) compares the Maeander for its size at low level with the Nile, in flood however with a sea. According to him, it is navigable and the people on its banks sail from its mouth on military or commercial enterprises. Western writers also speak of the trade borne on the Maeander in the late middle ages. The main centre of trade on the Maeander and also on the land routes through the valley was Palatia (Balat, the ancient Miletus); in later times, however, the caravan route down the Maeander valley ended in Scalanuova (Kuş Adası).

2. *Küçük Menderes*, the ancient Cayster. The central part of its course runs in a wide plain on the northern edge of which is Birgi, on the southern edge Tire, the old capital of the *āḥḥa* of Aidin. A little below Ayasolugh, the ancient Ephesus, it enters the sea.

In the middle ages the centre of trade with the hinterland reached by the Cayster was Altoluogo (from *Altoluog* *Ḥeḥḥāḡ*), the ancient Ephesus (Turk. Ayasolugh, now called Seldjuk); later Scalanuova (Kuş Adası). In the Ottoman period Smyrna attracted all the trade of the Aegean Sea with the Anatolian hinterland. The caravan routes which

came down the river valleys opening on the Aegean thus ended in Smyrna, just as at the present day the railways which utilize these valleys start from Smyrna.

Bibliography: Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Maṣāliḥ al-Aḥqar*, ed. Taeschner, p. 34 (Fr. transl. Quatremère, in *N.E.*, xiii: 353); Piri Ke'n, *Bağrîye*, ed. Kahle, Chap. 15, Position 16 (Ayaaulugh sayı: the Cayster); Kap. 16, Pos. 20 and Chap. 21, cf. the beginning and Pos. 1 (Bafat sayı: the Mander); Abū Bekr b. Behrām in the printed edition of Kitāb Ḍalebi's *Ḍihān-namā*, Istanbul 1145, p. 634; Sami, *Kāmas al-Ālam*, vi: 4449; W. Heyd, *Geschichte der Levantehandels im Mittelalter*, Vol. I, Stuttgart 1879, p. 590 *seq.*, espec. 594 (French ed., p. 540 *seq.*, espec. 544); W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter*, Wien 1891, p. 34 (Cayster), 36 (the mouth of the Mander), 99 (the source of the Mander); Fr. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wogenetz nach orientalischen Quellen*, Vol. I, Leipzig 1924, p. 170 *seq.* (F. TAESCHNER).

MENF. (See MANUF.)

MENGÜCEK (MANĞUDJAK), a Turkish emir, who after the capture of Romanos Diogenes in 1071 A.D. seized various places in the north-east of Asia Minor and transmitted his power to his descendants. We find them in Erzinjān, Koghonits (Colonia, Kara-Hisar Sharḡi) and Diwrigi (cf. the genealogical table in von Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie* etc., p. 146). Little is known of their history. It is incidentally mentioned in Michael Syrus (ed. Chabot, iii: 205) that Ibn Mangūdjak, being threatened by the Ortukid Balag, made an alliance with Theodore Gabra, the Byzantine commander of Tretizon, but was taken prisoner in battle along with the latter (1118). He was, however, released by the Danishmandid Emir Ghāzi, whose daughter he had married, while the Greek had to pay a heavy ransom. His name is not mentioned but, from the genealogical statements in the inscriptions of his descendants, he was called Ishāk. The same story is given elsewhere but not so fully. Better known is his grandson Fakhr al-Dīn Bahringhāh, who ruled for many years in Erzinjān and died in 622 (1225). To him the celebrated poet Nizāmī dedicated his poem, *Mahmūn al-Aḥrār*, which was composed in 1198 or 1199. He was on the best of terms with the Saljuqs of Konya, with whom he was connected by marriage, but when these relations were altered under his son 'Alī al-Dīn Dawūd-shāh, the rule of the Mangūjids was ended. At the end of 625 (1228) he was forced to cede Erzinjān to Kaikobād, and his brother Mujaḥḥar al-Dīn Muḥammad who ruled in Koghonits met a similar fate. A collateral line established in Diwrigi and ruling there in the name of the Saljuqs held out for a few more years, perhaps till the coming of the Mongols into these regions in 675; only a few scraps of information about this line have been gleaned from inscriptions and coins.

Bibliography: Munsajjīdīn Ḥaḥlī, *Ḍawā' al-Dawā'ī*, ed. van Berchem, in *C.I.A.*, iii, Anhang 1, p. 101 *seq.*; Houtama, *La dynastie des Binn Mengülek*, in *Rev. Or.*, 1904, p. 277, 277; van Berchem, *Mosulians pour un C.I.A.*, p. 55 *seq.*; v. Zambaur, *Manuel*, loc. cit., where further references are given.

(M. TH. HOUTAMA.)

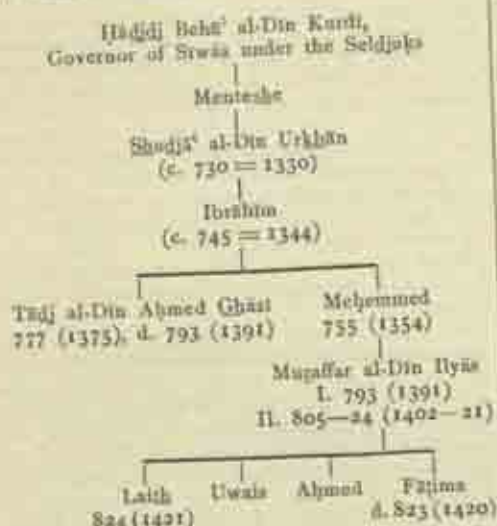
MENTESHE-ELI, a little principality in Anatolia. The boundaries of the territory of the Menteshe-oghla's [q. v.] are given by Māneḍjīn-haḥlī (cf. Fr. Babinger, *G.O.B.*, p. 234 *seq.*) in his *Sahā'if al-Aḥḥār* (Istanbul 1285) as marked by Mughla, Balīz, Boz-Üyük, Milās, Bardjān, Marṣa, Çine, Tawla, Bornāz, Mahri, Goghjūn, Fola and Mermere. They thus correspond approximately to those of the ancient Caria. The origin of the name is uncertain, but it can confidently be asserted that the opinion, presumably first put forward by F. Meninski (*Lexicon*, iv: 737) and till quite recently upheld, that the district takes its name from the Myndus (Mēdos, in Strabo) of the ancients is not worthy of credence. Several of the places above mentioned play a not unimportant part as centres of scholarship and literature in the earlier period of Ottoman intellectual life. Thus in the time of the Menteshe-oghla Meḥemmed (775—777) a certain Mahmūd b. Meḥemmed of Bardjān composed a *Bār-nāma* which was published by J. v. Hammer-Purgstall under the title '*Fakher-nāma*' (Pest 1840) from the Milan MS. and rightly described as one of the earlier documents of the Ottoman language. In many of these places there were academies where an active intellectual life flourished, so that the share of the district of Menteshe in Ottoman literature is strikingly large.

(Fr. BABINGER.)

MENTESHE-OGHLULARI, a petty dynasty in Anatolia. The princes of Menteshe first appear in history after the break up of the Seljuq empire. The founder of the family is said to have been a certain Menteshe Beg b. Behā' al-Dīn Karīb. He had his court at Milās (Mylasa) in the ancient Caria, and not far from it his stronghold Paḥla (Petsona). His descendants also lived in Milās until they moved their court to Miletus. The son of Menteshe was Urkhān Beg, who is known from an inscription on a building in Milās and from Ibn Battūta who visited him in 1334 in Milās (cf. Ibn Battūta, *Travels*, ed. Defrémery, Paris 1854, II, 278 *seq.*). Urkhān's successor was his son Ibrāhīm, who built a mosque in Mughla in 745 (1344) and left two sons, Ahmed Ghāzi and Meḥemmed. The second succeeded him in 755 (1354), but succumbed in the struggle for the throne to his brother Ahmed, who took Eski Hışar in 755 (1354), in 777 (1375) founded an academy at Bardjān and at the end of ʿUḡmūdī II, 780 (Oct. 1378) completed the Ulu Ḥḡmī' in Milās. Ahmed Ghāzi died in Shaḥān 795 (July 1391) and was succeeded by his nephew İlyās. The Ottomans had in his reign already taken possession of several principalities in the neighbourhood of Menteshe-eli, such as that of the Germiān-eli [q. v.] and of the Hamid-eli [q. v.], and now seriously threatened the existence of the Menteshes. Immediately after the accession of İlyās Beg, Bāyazīd I, who had just become Sultān, deprived the lords of Menteshe of the last vestige of independence. They sought refuge with the ruler of Sinope, Bāyazīd Kökürüm, and later with the conqueror of the Ottomans, Timur-Lenk. İlyās Beg, who built a mosque in Miletus, regained possession of Menteshe-eli in 1402. On 24 July 1403, he concluded a treaty with the Count of Crete, Marco Pallieri (publ. by Max Lathie, at the end of his essay, *Commerce d'Éphèse et de Milet moyen âge* in the *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, Ser. v. Vol. vi. Paris 1864, p. 226 *seq.*) and with

the admiral Ser Pietro Civerano on 17th Oct. 1414 (cf. *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, II. 305, 293 and W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce au Levant*, II. 353 ff.). The reign of Ilyas Beg, filled with fighting and difficulties of all kinds, ended in 824 (1421) when his lands passed to the Ottomans. Mehmed I had struck coins as early as 818 (1415) on which he calls himself lord of Menteshe. Among the children of Ilyas Beg, mention is made of Laith Beg, but the shadowy part he played is quite uncertain. The year 829 (1426) saw the end of the princes of Menteshe. A certain Balaban was appointed as Ottoman governor of Menteshe-eli and henceforward the district forms a part of the Ottoman empire. The chronology of the dynasty of Menteshe is still uncertain and essential points have still to be cleared up, which will require a systematic study of the many monuments in Menteshe-eli with their important inscriptions, especially in Milas, Miletus, Bardis, Mugha, etc.

The following genealogical table shows the relationship of the various princes and is based on coins and inscriptions.



Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: Pachymeres, Bonn ed., I. 472; Dubus, Bonn ed., p. 13; Ibn Battûta, *Voyager*, ed. Defrémery, II. 278—280; Defrémery, in *Newman's Journal des voyages*, 1851, I. 13 ff.; Ibn Faûl Allâh al-Umari, *N. E.*, xiii, Paris 1838, p. 338 sq., 370; Sanuto, *Itinerario della Romania*, in K. Hopf, *Chron. grecorum*, p. 145 sq., 167; Ahmad Tawhid Bey, in *T. O. E. M.*, II. 761, 1146; (v. 1452; v. 1521; Khâlid Edhem Bey, *Dawlat-i ilâmiye*, Stambul 1927, p. 283 sq. (the best account); E. v. Zambaur, *Manuel*, Hasover 1927, p. 353 sq. — On the coins of the M. cf. G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin*, p. 480—489; J. v. Karabacek, *Wiener Numism. Zeitschr.*, vol. ix, 1877, p. 200; Stanley Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol. viii, London 1883, p. 34; Ahmad Tawhid Bey, *Mushâhât-i hadime-i Kâralighi*, vol. iv, Stambul 1321, p. 388 sq. — On buildings in Menteshe-eli cf. K. Wulringer, *Die Pirus-Moschee zu Milas, ein*

Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte armenischer Baukunst, in the *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der Technischen Hochschule Karlsruhe* (1925) (Fr. BÄHNER)

MERDAWIDI. [See MARDAWIDI.]

MERIDA, Ar. MĀRIDA, from the Latin *Emerita*, a town in the southwest of Spain, in the modern province of Badajoz, where it is the capital of a *partido*, on the right bank of the Guadiana. Now somewhat decayed, it has only 11,150 inhabitants. It is on the Madrid-Badajoz railway and is also connected by rail with Cáceres in the north and Seville in the south.

The ancient capital of Lusitania, *Augusta Emerita*, was founded in 23 B.C. and under the Roman empire attained remarkable importance and prosperity. Numerous remains of Roman buildings still testify to the position it held in the Iberian peninsula in those days: a bridge of 64 arches, a circus, a theatre, and the famous aqueduct of *las Milagras*, of which there are still standing ten arches of brick and granite. Merida under the Visigoths became the metropolis of Lusitania and according to Rodrigo of Toledo was fortified and strongly defended, which explains why the Muslim conquerors led by Muṣā b. Nusair [q. v.] had some difficulty in taking it. The Arab leader on landing in Spain in Ramadan 93 (June 712) first took Medina-Sidonia and Carmona, then Seville. He next laid siege to Merida, before which he stayed for several months; but the inhabitants in the end capitulated and the town surrendered on 1st Shawwāl 94 (June 30, 713). From Merida, Muṣā b. Nusair continued his advance to Toledo.

Under the Arab governors, Merida seems to have very soon become a rallying point for a large number of rebels of Berber and Spanish origin. It was there that Yūsuf al-Fihri endeavoured to organise a movement against that organised for his own benefit by 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Dhakkān in 141 (758). At a later date, a Berber named Asbagh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Wānās rebelled there against al-Hakam I. in 190 (805) and the emir of Cordova had for the next seven years to undertake summer campaigns against him before bringing him to reason. Another rebellion broke out in Merida in 213 (828) and the town had to be besieged in 217 and again in 254 (868). In the reign of Emīr 'Abd Allāh it was the headquarters of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Marwān al-Djillīkī (the Galician), an Arabic name which concealed that of a Christian nationalist leader. Merida definitely returned to its allegiance in the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāsir when it submitted in 316 (928) to the *shah* Ahmad b. Alyas.

From the 11th century, Merida began to decline in favour of Badajoz, especially when the latter town became the capital of the independent little kingdom of the Aftasids [q. v.]. It remained in the hands of the Muslims till the beginning of the 13th century. In 1228 it was retaken by Alfonso IX of Leon but never recovered its former importance.

The Arab geographers who mention Merida, describe its Roman ruins in detail; they also mention the Muslim citadel, the foundation inscription of which has been preserved. It was built in 220 (835) by the governor 'Abd Allāh b. Kulāib b. Thā'aba by order of the Umayyad Emīr 'Abd al-Rahmān II.

Bibliography: The Arabic historians of

Umayyad Spain (*Akhbar madīniyya*, Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, Ibn al-Athīr, *Nuwairī*, *Maḡarrī*, *Analektes*, *passim*); *Ibn al-Batṭā*, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, text, p. 175, 182, transl., p. 211, 220; *Yāqūt*, *Muḍjam al-Bulān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 389—390; *Abu 'l-Fida'*, *Taḡwīm al-Bulān*, ed. Reinand and de Slane, p. 172—248; *Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyarī*, *al-Rawf al-mufīr*, edition in preparation, Spain, N° 117; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1924, index; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, ii, 37, 49, 62, 96; *Recherches hist. litt. Esp.*, i, 54—56; Codera, *Inscriptions arabe del Castillo de Mérida* (*Bolet. Acad. Hist.*, Madrid 1902, p. 138—142); E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leyden-Paris 1931, N° 39—40.

(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL.)

MERINIDS (BANU MARTIN), a Berber dynasty, which ruled over the extreme Maghrib (Morocco) from the middle of the xiith to the middle of the xvth century.

The first references we have to the Banu Martin show them living a nomadic life in the Sahara between Figuig [q.v.] and Tāfilāli [q.v.]. Like the other groups who claimed to be Zenāia, they must have been driven to the west by the nomad Arab Banu Hilāl in the second half of the xth century. Like their brethren, the Banu 'Abd al-Wad, whose lands adjoined theirs, they had attempted in 1145 to resist the conquest of the Central Maghrib by the Almohads and had been defeated. While the Banu 'Abd al-Wad entered the service of the conquerors, the Banu Martin took refuge in the desert. The weakening of the Almohad empire gave them a chance to take their revenge. In the course of their periodic movements in the valley of the Mulaya, they learned of the weakness of the defences of the extreme Maghrib, the best forces of which were engaged in Spain, and the Banu Martin therefore made a formidable razzia northwards in 613 (1216). This was the first stage of the conquest which was to proceed step by step for 53 years. It was continued next year by the crushing of the Banu Rīyāb Arabs, who lived in the plains of the west, and by a first fiscal exploitation of the country. The Almohads, paralysed by dynastic feuds, made no serious thrust in return until 27 years later, when the Banu Martin were defeated by the troops of the caliph al-Sa'id (642 = 1244). After a forced check, the conquest was resumed with more method by the *amir* Abū Yahyā b. 'Abd al-Haqq. He endeavoured to increase his military forces by granting lands to groups of his kinsmen and taking into his service foreign mercenaries, and he made every effort to capture towns. To achieve this end and to gain a moral support which he lacked, the *amir* claimed to be the mandatory of the Hafsids [q.v.], the Almohads of Ifrīkiya. He further declared himself the protector of the holy men, who were venerated by the people. It was thus that he took possession of Meknes, Fās, Tāfilā, Rabat and Sale. Finally the help he gave the Almohad pretender Abū Dabbūs enabled the *amir* Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb, Abū Yahyā's successor, to annex Marrakech, which marked the completion of the Martinid conquest (669 = 1269).

Inheriting this area of the western Muslim world, which had been the very heart of the great Almohad empire, the Merinids also inherited the traditions

of those they had dispossessed and their dreams of hegemony in Spain and Barbary.

As in the time of the Almoravids and Almohads, Spain was for the Maghribis the sacred land of martyrs for the faith. Not only did the dynasty send there its troublesome sons, princes whose presence in the Maghrib might be inconvenient and who formed the corps of volunteers of the faith, but several sultans fought there in person: Abū Yūsuf, whose resumption of the holy war was his one great scheme, his successor Abū Ya'qūb, and Abū 'l-Hasan, who saw the failure of these overseas expeditions.

In crossing the Strait, Abū Yūsuf fulfilled his dearest vow but he was also answering the reiterated appeals of the Banu 'l-Aḥmar of Granada, who were tired of enduring the exactions and insults of the King of Castille. He was received there as a saviour and at once undertook a plundering expedition. Don Nuño de Lara, endeavouring to capture the loot taken from the Christians, sustained a heavy defeat near Ecija and was himself slain (674 = 1275). Very few other pitched battles are mentioned in these wars of the Merinids in Spain, but almost daily razzias into Christian territory. The Muslims destroyed or carried off the crops and stocks and they took prisoners who were sold as slaves in the Maghrib. The relations between the Sultans of Fās and of Granada, by no means warm at the time of the landing in Spain, became decidedly hostile when Abū Yūsuf claimed the ownership of the town of Tarifa [q.v.] as a base for his future operations in the Peninsula. Ibn al-Aḥmar appealed to the King of Castille for help against the encroachments of his rescuer. An alliance was formed between Christians and Muslims of Spain which Yaghmūrāsān, sultān of Tlemcen, soon joined. The latter undertook to prevent or impede any further crossings of the Moroccan ruler into Andalusia.

The entente with the Christians did not however prevent the latter from continuing the task of the Reconquista. In 709 (1309) they took Gibraltar and the Sultān of Granada appealed again to the Maghribi Sultān. Abū 'l-Hasan sent his son 'Abd al-Malik who recaptured Gibraltar (733 = 1333). 'Abd al-Malik having been killed, Abū 'l-Hasan sent a large army on ships supplied by the ports of Ifrīkiya and himself landed near Tarifa. This town was in the hands of the Christians. He tried to take it but was routed by the combined forces of Alfonso XI of Castille and Alfonso IV of Portugal. This disaster of 1340 and the taking of Algeciras by the King of Castille finally discouraged the Merinid sultān. Neither he nor his successors again made attempts in Spain.

If circumstances prevented the Merinids from reviving against Christianity the glories of the wars of the Almohads, they were able to devote themselves to regaining the great African empire of their predecessors and they succeeded in doing so for a comparatively short time. That empire, as is well known, covered in addition to the kingdom of the Merinids, that of the 'Abd al-Wadids of Tlemcen and that of the Hafsids of Tunis [q.v.]. The kingdom of Tlemcen was that most directly threatened by the ambitions of the sultāns of Fās. Causes of quarrel were numerous between these neighbouring and related dynasties. To old rivalries, dating from the days when the two clans were nomads, had been added the competition of two adjoining states each seeking to extend their frontiers.

The 'Abd al-Wāḍids very soon lost hope of annexing territory in the west. If, as we have seen, they were a thorn in the side of the Merinids who desired to cross into Spain, this policy was of brief duration. Very soon they had to confine themselves strictly to the defensive. On many occasions, the kingdom of Tlemcen was invaded and the Tlemcenians shut up within their walls. For example for eight years and three months, from 698 (1299), they were blockaded, during which period the Merinids established a permanent camp which became the town of al-Manṣūra [q. v.] in addition to numerous other works of circumvallation; Tlemcen however did not fall till later. In 737 (1337) Abū 'I-Ḥasan took it; he and his son Abū 'Inān were to hold it for 22 years. For these two princes, whose reigns mark the apogee of the dynasty, Tlemcen was only a first stage towards Ifrikiya. The dream of recreating the empire of the Almohads was to be realised by annexing the Hafsid kingdom.

Constant relations, in which each hoped to gain some advantage, united the two states of east and west, Banū Ḥafṣ and Banū Marīn. To a contemporary observer like the Egyptian al-Umari, the Banū Marīn alone counted as a military power, but the Banū Ḥafṣ, descendants of the Almohad caliphs, had a prestige which the Banū Marīn could not claim in spite of the title of *Amir al-Mu'minin* which Abū 'Inān arrogantly assumed. This explains why, from the very first, the Banū Marīn in annexing the towns of the Maghrib declared themselves mandatories of the sovereigns of Tunis and why they married Hafsid princesses. On their side, the Banū Ḥafṣ did not think it wise to refuse their daughters; they dealt tactfully with the Moroccan sultans, who might be useful in protecting them against the sultans of Tlemcen. In a word, they hoped to see the Merinids attack central Maghrib but not to become complete masters of it, which would directly expose Ifrikiya to the attacks of the conquerors.

This is what actually happened in 1347. Taking advantage of the usurpation of the throne of Tunis and of the troubles which followed it, Abū 'I-Ḥasan invaded Ifrikiya and sought to impose his authority there as in his own kingdom. The situation here however was very different from what he was familiar with in the Maghrib. In Ifrikiya, the Arabs were still very strong. Abū 'I-Ḥasan came to grief against the Arab tribes united against a foreign master and near Kairawān they inflicted a disastrous defeat on him in Muharram 749 (April 1348). This disaster even endangered the position of the Merinids in the Maghrib itself. An attempt by Abū 'Inān, son of Abū 'I-Ḥasan, to reconquer Ifrikiya proved fruitless.

In spite of the collapse of Marinid aims, the period of these two last sultans was nevertheless one of the greatest in the history of Muslim Barbary, one of those which has left us most memorials of its magnificence.

The Merinids were vigorous builders. In 1276, Abū Yūsuf had founded New Fās, west of the old town, to make it his official capital; but it was during the first half of the sixteenth century that the greatest building activity was displayed. The majority of those that have come down to us date from this period. Works of considerable artistic value, they are at the same time evidence of the military activity and religious ardour of

the Banū Marīn, like the ramparts and the mosque of al-Manṣūra, the walls and necropolis of Chella, the medersas of Fās and Salé, the different buildings erected near Tlemcen around the tomb of the great ascetic Sidi Bū Madyan. Piety in the form of mysticism was the dominating note in the intellectual life of the Maghrib. We must however not forget that the court of Fās was frequented by men like 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Khaldūn, Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who have left a name in the field of literature and profane learning.

The failure of the attempts upon Ifrikiya and the disaster at Kairawān may be taken as the beginning of the decline of the Merinids. As a result of these military failures, the troops stationed in some parts of the Maghrib had to be withdrawn. The passes of the Atlas being no longer guarded, the Arabs of Sits and Tafilalet, excited by the rumours from Ifrikiya, began to display their turbulent spirit. The tribes who paid taxes now paid only at longer and longer intervals under the threat of expeditionary forces sent against them. There was still a graver cause of decline: the power of the viziers vastly increased. An aristocracy of high officials related to the royal family handed down offices from father to son, backed by powerful clans, and ended by acquiring the power to nominate the new sovereigns. To keep them in tutelage, they used to choose for the throne a minor or a weakling. When the Sultān displayed some desire to rule in person, they did not hesitate to dethrone or assassinate him. Thus in 762 (1361) Abū Salīm was decapitated by a soldier of the Christian militia; his successor Taḥtān, an idiot, was deposed and replaced by Abū Zayyān, who was found strangled and drowned in a reservoir.

In the midst of these palace revolutions the unity of the kingdom was destroyed. We find the prince who governs Sijilmāsa fighting with the sultān reigning at Fās. The vizier who has control of the legitimate sovereign has pretenders against him, who end by dividing up the country among them. Marrākeṣ fights against Fās. At one time, the traditional enemies of the dynasty, the 'Abd al-Wāḍids of Tlemcen, endeavour to profit by the occasion to resume the aggressive policy of Yaghmoriskān. But Tlemcen was itself too weakened to attain success. Besides, it was attacked in the rear by the Arabs of the Central Maghrib, instigated from Fās. One of the shaikhs of the Suwaid Arabs is called the "friend and patron of the Marinid dynasty". The Banū Marīn had another means of neutralizing Tlemcen; this was to support pretenders of the 'Abd al-Wāḍid family. To sum up, in spite of the weakness of the Banū Marīn, the Banū 'Abd al-Wāḍid, whose lands had for the most part passed into the hands of the Arabs, cut a still sadder figure and could not resist when attacks from the west were resumed. From 1389 all the sultāns of Tlemcen ruled under the suzerainty of Fās.

But grave events were to turn the attention of the Merinids from the affairs of the Central Maghrib. In 1401, King Henry III of Castile landed in Barbary to take vengeance for outrages of the Muslim corsairs and destroyed Tetuān. This attack, which produced considerable commotion in the Maghrib, and the taking of Ceuta by the Portuguese in 818 (1415), provoked a vigorous campaign by the religious element. The threat from abroad, combined with its weakness in meeting this critical

situation, brought about a series of troubles under which the dynasty succumbed. In 823 (1420) after the assassination of the Sultan Abd Sa'īd, the Merinids gave place to the Banū Wattās.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomena*, ed. Quatremère, transl. de Slane (*Notice et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, vol. xvi-xxi); do., *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, vol. II, transl. de Slane, vol. IV.; Ibn Abī Zār, *Ramḍ al-Kirfās (Annales regum Mauritaniae)*, ed. and Latin transl. Tornberg, 2 vol., Upsala 1843; Ibn al-Aḥmar, *Ramḍ al-Nisrīa (Histoire des Beni Merin)*, ed. and transl. Gh. Bouall and G. Marçais (*Publications de la Faculté des lettres d'Alger*), Paris 1917; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Deux nouveaux manuscrits de la Ramḍ al-nisrīa d'Ibn al-Aḥmar*, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1923, II, p. 219 sq.; Ibn Battūṭa, *Voyages*, ed. and transl. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, IV., Paris 1879; *Ad-dakḥirāt al-ṣaniya (chronique anonyme des Merinides)*, ed. Ben Cheneb (*Publ. de la Faculté des lettres d'Alger*), Algiers 1921; al-Djauṣī, *Zahrāt al-ḥayr, traité de la fondation de la ville de Fès*, ed. and transl. A. Bel (*Publication de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger*), Algiers 1923; Ibn Marṣūq, *Muḥammad (Hist. du merinide Abu l-Haman)*, extracts, ed. and transl. Lévi-Provençal, in *Hesperis*, 1925; Ibn Faṣl Allāh al-Umari, *Maṣālik al-Aḥyār*, I., transl. Gaudetroy-Demombynes, Paris 1927; A. Bel, *Inscriptions arabes de Fès*, Paris 1919 (repr. from the *Journal Asiatique*, 1917-1919); H. Basset and Lévi-Provençal, *Chella, une nécropole mérinide*, Paris 1923 (repr. from *Hesperis*, 1922); A. Cour, *Les derniers Merinides*, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Alger*, 1905; do., *La dynastie marocaine des Beni Wattās*, Constantine 1917; G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XI^e au XIV^e siècle*, Constantine-Paris 1913; do., *Manuel d'art musulman, L'architecture*, II., Paris 1927; W. and G. Marçais, *Les monuments arabes de Tlemcen*, Paris 1903; van Berchem, *Tibris califien d'Occident*, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1907, I., p. 245 sq.; Ch. Terrasse, *Mémoires du Maroc*, Paris, n. d.; Henri Terrasse, *Portes de l'Arnal de Salé*, in *Hesperis*, 1922, p. 357 sq.

(GEORGES MARÇAIS)

MERKEZ, MUḤIB AL-DIN MUḤIB, an Ottoman Shaikh of an Order and Saint.

Merkez Muḥib al-Din Muḥib b. Muḥammad b. Kiliç b. Hadjar belonged to the village of Sarf Mahmūd in the Anatolian district of Lādhiḳiyya. He was at first a pupil of the Mullā Ahmad Faḥḥā, son of Khidr Beg [q. v.], and later of the famous Khalwati Shaikh Saḥb al-Shān Efendi, founder of the Saḥb al-Shān, a branch of the Khalwatiyya, head of the monastery of Kodja Muḥammad Faḥḥā in Stambul (cf. on him: Brunsell Mehemmed Tahir, *Oṭmānīl Müellferi*, I. 78 sq.). When the latter died in 936 (1529), Merkez Efendi succeeded him in the dignity of Pir. He held the office of head of a monastery for 23 years and died in the odour of sanctity in 959 (1552), aged nearly 90. He was buried in Stambul in the mosque which bears his name (cf. *Hadīḥat al-Djauṣī*, I. 230 sq.; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 95, No. 495) before the Yeṣi Kapı. At the tomb of Merkez Efendi there is a much visited holy well, an *ayazma*, to which one descends by steps. Its reddish water is said to have the miraculous power of healing those

sick of a fever (cf. Ewliya Çelebi, I. 372; J. v. Hammer, *Constantinople*, I. 503; do., *G. O. R.*, ix. 95, No. 495, following the *Hadīḥat al-Djauṣī*, loc. cit.). Beside it is the cell (*saḥḥa*) of Merkez Efendi, of which wonderful stories still circulate among the people. He had many pupils, including his son Ahmad, famous as the translator of the *Kāṣimī*, his son-in-law Muḥib al-Din (cf. Ewliya, I. 372), the poet Ramadān Efendi, called Bihāḥit and many others.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: Tashkoprūzade, *Shāḥīḥ al-Naḥḥāniyya*, transl. Medjāt, p. 522 sq.; Brunsell Mehemmed Tahir, *Oṭmānīl Müellferi*, I. 160; Mehemmed Thurayyā, *Sifḥill-i 'Oṭmānī*, IV. 363; F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 44, note 1.

(FR. BABINGER)

MERSİNA, an Anatolian sea-port on the south coast of Asia Minor.

Mersina, the port and capital of the former sandjak of the same name (with an area of 1,780 sq. m.) in the wilāyet of Adana [q. v.] on the south coast of Anatolia, is 40 miles from Adana, to which a railway runs. The name Mersina comes from the Greek *myrsini* (*myrrine*), myrtle, because this tree grows in large numbers in this region. The regularly built town, founded only in 1832, with about 21,171 inhabitants (1927) is only of importance as a port for the export of silk, corn and cotton. The climate is very unhealthy in summer. The old name of Mersina was Zephirim; in the vicinity (8 miles S. W.) lie the ruins of Soloi or Pompeiopolis. The town which is quite modern is of no Muslim historical interest.

Bibliography: V. Cuiet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, II. 50 sq.

(FR. BABINGER)

MERTOLA, Az. *Martula* and *Mirula*, a little town in the south of Portugal on the Guadiana, 35 miles above and north of the mouth of this river, at its junction with the Oeira. This place, the *Myrtis* of the Romans, was of some importance in the Muslim period. It was in the district of Beja and according to Yāḥyā was the best defended stronghold in the whole of the west of the Peninsula. At the end of the ninth century it was the headquarters of an independent chief, 'Abd al-Malik b. Abi l-Djauḥād, who was in alliance with the lords of Badajoz and Ocenoba and held his own against the Cordovan emir 'Abd Allāh.

Bibliography: Idrisi, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. Dory and de Goeje, text p. 175, 179, transl. p. 211, 217; Yāḥyā, *Muḥḥam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, IV. 714; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, II., text p. 140, transl. p. 223.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MERWĀRA, a British district in Kāḥl-pūtāna, lying between 25° 24' and 26° 11' N. and 73° 45' and 74° 29' E., has an area of 641 sq. miles and a population (1901) of 109,459. The local name of the district is Magra, or 'hills'. Beyond the fact that between 1138 and 1232 (1725 and 1816), several unsuccessful attempts were made by Rājapūts and Marāṭhas to subdue the country, the history of Merwāra is a blank up to 1234 (1818), when the British appeared on the scene. The District was at one time an impenetrable jungle, inhabited by outlaws and fugitives from surrounding states. The population known under the name of Mārs originally comprised a mixture of castes, Čandēla Gadjars, Bhāṭṭi, Rājapūts, Brahmins and Minas. It is said that Nisāldew, the

Cañhān King of Adjmir, subdued the inhabitants and made them drawers of water in the streets of Adjmir. The country has made much progress under the British rule.

Bibliography: *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xvii. 309—311; *Rajputana District Gazetteers*, vol. i. (Ajmer 1904).

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MERZIFÜN, also called **MĀRSHWĀN**, a town in the Anatolian wilāyet of Siwas [q.v.] and in the sandjak of Amasia [q.v.] at the beginning of the fertile plain of Salu Owa, with 11,334 inhabitants (in 1927), of whom the Armenians have had to migrate, which produces a good deal of wine and makes some cotton. Merzifün before the World War was the centre of activity of the Protestant missions in this region and contained the Anatolia College. The town most probably occupies the site of the ancient Phazemon (Φαζεμών) in the district of Phazemonitis; the name is probably a development of Φαζεμών. Ibn Bittā (cf. *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoukides*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, iv., Leyden 1902, p. 292, 22) also gives the form **مَرْزِفُون**. Little is known of the early history of the town in the Muslim period. It belonged to the kingdom of the Dānişmandids [q.v.] and when in 1393 Bāyazīd I drove the ruler of Siwas, Mir Ahmad, out of the country, the land of "Maravani", as the Bavarian traveller Hans Schiltberger (cf. *Hans Schiltberger Reisebuch*, ed. V. Langwieser, Tübingen 1885, p. 12) called it, passed to the Ottoman empire. Merzifün plays a notable part in the history of Ottoman culture as the birth-place and scene of the activities of learned men and authors (cf. A. D. Mordtmann, *Anatolien*, ed. F. Babinger, Hanover 1925, p. 88). In Merzifün there used to be a number of dervish monasteries (cf. Ewliya Çelebi, *Siyahname*, ii. 396 infra, where several are mentioned). Of special interest are the mosques, mainly converted from Byzantine churches, including the so-called **Eski Džami**, on the walls of which Christian paintings could until recently be seen (cf. V. Guinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i. 761) and the mosque of Murād II, both on the market-place. The saint locally revered was Pīr Dede Sültān, said to be a pupil of Hādīdjī Bektaşh (Ewliya, *op. cit.*, ii. 396). In A. D. Mordtmann's time (1852) the "whole Turkish population" consisted of **şahıs**, i.e. descendants of the Prophet.

Bibliography: Ewliya Çelebi, *Siyahname*, ii. 396 sqq.; Engl. transl. by J. v. Hammer, ii. 212 sqq.; *Le Voyage de Monsieur d'Armen... écrit par... F. Chénouet*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1887, p. 68; J. Morier, *Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor*, London 1812, p. 350; *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, 1859, Heft 12; C. Ritter, *Erkunde von Kleinasien*, i. 179 sqq.; Wm. Ainsworth, *Travels in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i. 33; Wm. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i. 329; A. D. Mordtmann, *Anatolien*, ed. by F. Babinger, Hanover 1925, p. 87 sqq.; Henry J. van Lennep, *Travels in little-known parts of Asia Minor*, London 1870, i. 82; F. Guinet, *Studia Pontica*, ii. 140; iii. 162; V. Guinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i. 758 sqq. — [As regards the derivation of the name Merzifün from Phazemon, it must be pointed out that the ancient name no longer came easily to the mouths of

the later Greeks; Stephen of Byzantium (fifth century A. D.) already writes **Φαζεών** (var. lect. **Φαζεών**, **Φαζαζών**). (F. BABINGER)

MESHED (AL-MASHHAD), capital of the Persian province of Khurāsān (q.v., ii, p. 966), the greatest place of pilgrimage for the Shi'ites in Persia. It lies 3,000 feet above sea level in 59° 35' E. Long. (Greenw.) and 16° 17' N. Lat. in the valley from 10 to 25 miles broad of the Kešef-Rūd, which runs from N. W. to S. E. This river, also called Ab-i Meshhed (the "river of Meshhed"), rises about 12 miles N. W. of the ruins of Tus [q.v.] in the little lake of Česhme-i Gilās (cf. Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 350; Khanikoff, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 315) and joins the Heri (Hārī)-Rūd (q.v., and cf. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 407 sq.) about 100 miles S. E. of Meshhed on the Russo-Persian frontier. Meshhed lies about 4 miles south of the bank of the Kešef-Rūd. The hills which run along the valley rise to 8,000 or 9,000 feet at Meshhed.

In consequence of its high situation and proximity to the mountains, the climate of Meshhed is in the winter rather severe, in the summer, however, often tropically hot; it is regarded as healthy.

Meshhed may in a way be regarded as the successor of the older pre-Muhammadian **Tūs** [q.v.], and it has not infrequently been erroneously confounded with it.

The fact that **Tūs** is the name of both a town and a district, together with the fact that two places are always mentioned as the principal towns of this district, has given rise among the later Arab geographers to the erroneous opinion that the capital **Tūs** is a double town consisting of **Tāharān** and **Nūḡān**; e.g. Yāqūt, iii. 560, 5 (correct at iv. 824, 23) and in the *Lubāb* of Ibn al-Athīr [q.v.] quoted by Abū 'l-Fidā' (*op. cit.*, p. 453). Kāwini (*Athār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 275, 21) next made the two towns thought to be joined together into two quarters (*maḥalla*). This quite erroneous idea of a double town **Tūs** found its way into European literature generally. Sykes (*J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 1115—1116) and following him Dier (*Chorasanische Baudenkmäler*, Berlin 1918, i. 53 sq.) have rightly challenged this untenable idea. The older Arab geographers quite correctly distinguish between **Tāharān** and **Nūḡān** as two quite separate towns. **Nūḡān**, according to the express testimony of the Arabic sources, was only $\frac{1}{4}$ parsang (*farsakh*) or one Arabic mile from the tomb of Hārūn al-Rashīd and 'Alī al-Ridā (see below) and must therefore have been very close to the modern Meshhed. The ruins of **Tāharān-Tūs** and Meshhed are about 15 miles apart.

As to **Nūḡān** (often wrongly vocalised **Nawḡān**) it is sometimes called more precisely (e.g. Yāqūt, iii. 153, 21) **Nūḡān Tūs**, and occasionally (e.g. Isṭakhri = *B. G. A.*, i. 257, 3; Hamīd Allāh al-Mustawfī, *op. cit.*, p. 151, 2—3) included with **Sanābād**. The distance between these two towns is put at an Arabic mile (Yāqūt, iii. 153, 21) or what is practically the same, $\frac{1}{4}$ *farsakh* (e.g. Isṭakhri, *op. cit.*; Ibn Hawqāl in Abū 'l-Fidā', *op. cit.*, p. 451). **Nūḡān** must have lain to the east and northeast of the modern Meshhed and a small part of it is the northeastern quarter of the latter town.

In **Nūḡān** or in the village of **Sanābād** belonging to it two distinguished figures in Muslim history

were buried within one decade: the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and the 'Alid 'Alī al-Rīdā b. Mūsā.

When Hārūn al-Rashīd was preparing to take the field in Khurāsān, he was stricken mortally ill in a country house at Sanābādīh where he had stopped, and died in a few days (193 = 809). The caliph, we are told (Tahari, *op. cit.*, iii. 737, 13-17), realising he was about to die, had his grave dug in the garden of this country mansion and consecrated by Kūrān-readers.

The three available accounts differ at first sight as to the house in which Hārūn spent his last hours. Two of them are given by Tahari: according to the first (iii. 736, 17-18; 737, 4) it was on the estate of Djunaid b. 'Abd al-Rahmān that the caliph stopped; the second story (iii. 735, 15-16; 738, 14-15) says that Hārūn lived in the mansion of Humaid b. Abi Ghannm. A third story in Yaḥṣat (iii. 560) says that the tombs of Hārūn and of 'Alī al-Rīdā were in one of the gardens of the house of Humaid b. Kaḥṭaba. Now there is not the slightest doubt that the references to the house (*dār*) of Humaid b. Kaḥṭaba and to that of Humaid b. Abi Ghannm are to the same place. Humaid b. Kaḥṭaba must be the same person as Humaid b. Abi Ghannm; they are both described as of the tribe of Taly.

As to Tahari's second story, which substitutes a *dār* b. 'Abd al-Rahmān for a *dār* Humaid, it may be observed that Djunaid b. 'Abd al-Rahmān held the office of governor of Khurāsān under the Omayyads (caliphate of Hishām) from 111 to 116 (729-734) (on him cf. above i. 1109 *sp.*; ii. 357^b; Weil, *op. cit.*, i. 629-631; E. v. Zambaur, *op. cit.*, p. 47). Djunaid probably resided as a rule not in Nishāpūr or Tus but in the palace at Sanābādīh which he had probably built. One of his successors, Humaid, also chose to live here and seems to have enlarged the place. This would explain how our sources call the same house the house of Djunaid and of Humaid. Perhaps the estate became the property of the 'Abbasids on the death of Humaid.

About 10 years after the death of Hārūn, the caliph al-Ma'mūn on his way from Merw spent a few days in this palace. Along with him was his son-in-law 'Alī al-Rīdā b. Mūsā, the caliph designate, the eighth imām of the Twelvers. The latter died suddenly here in 203 (818); the actual day is uncertain (cf. Strothmann, *Die Zwölfer-Schī'a*, Leipzig 1926, p. 171). On 'Alī al-Rīdā and his death cf. above i. 296, 298^b; iii. 222; Weil, *op. cit.*, p. ii. 225^b; Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey into Khurāsān* (London 1825), p. 449-451 (gives the story current in Meshhed of the imām's death); Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 340-342; Sykes, *The Glory of the Shīa World*, London 1910, p. 235-238; W. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 265-266.

It was not the tomb of the caliph but that of a highly venerated imām which made Sanābādīh (Nūḥān) celebrated throughout the Shī'a world, and the great town which grew up in course of time out of the little village actually became called *al-Mashhad* (Meshhed) which means "sepulchral chapel" (primarily of a martyr belonging to the family of the Prophet). Cf. on the conception of Mashhad, iii. 323 and v. Berchem in Diez, *Churassanische Hausdenkmäler*, i. (Berlin 1918), p. 89-90. Ibn Hawkal (p. 313) calls our sanctuary simply Mashhad, Yaḥṣat (iii. 133) more accurately al-Mashhad al-Rīdāwī = the tomb-chapel of al-Rīdā; we also find

the Persian name *Mashhad-i muḥaddas* = "the sanctified chapel" (e.g. in Ḥamd Allāh al-Muḥawwi, p. 157). As a place-name Mashhad first appears in al-Muḥaddas (p. 352), i.e. in the last third of the tenth century. About the middle of the ninth century the traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii. 77) uses the expression "town of Mashhad al-Rīdā". Towards the end of the middle ages the name Nūḥān, which is still found on coins in the first half of the 15th century under the Ilkhāns (cf. Cochrington, *A Manual of Muslim Numismatics*, London 1904, p. 189), seems to have been gradually ousted by al-Mashhad or Meshhed. At the present day Meshhed is often more precisely known as Meshhed-i Rīdā, Meshhed-i muḥaddas, Meshhed-i Tus (so already in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii. 66). Not infrequently in literature, especially in poetry, we find only Tus mentioned, i.e. New Tus in contrast to Old Tus or the proper town of this name; cf. e.g. Muḥammad Mahdī al-'Alawī, *Ta'rīkh Tus wa al-Mashhad al-Rīdāwī*, Baghdad 1927, p. 3.

The history of Meshhed is very fully dealt with in the work of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Sanī' al-Dawla entitled *Maṣṭā' al-Shams* (3 vols., Teherān 1301-1303). The second volume is exclusively devoted to the history and topography of Meshhed; for the period from 428 (1036) to 1302 (1885) he gives valuable historical material. On this work cf. Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 313-314 and E. G. Browne, *A History of Pers. Lit.*, Cambridge 1924, iv., p. 455-456. The *Maṣṭā' al-Shams* forms the chief source for the sketch of the history of the town in Yate, p. 314-326. Cf. also the chronological notes in Muḥammad Mahdī al-'Alawī, *op. cit.*, p. 13-16.

The importance of Sanābādīh-Meshhed continually increased with the growing fame of its sanctuary and the decline of Tus. Tus received its death blow in 791 (1389) from Mirānshāh, a son of Tīmūr. When the Mongol noble who governed the place rebelled and attempted to make himself independent, Mirānshāh was sent against him by his father. Tus was stormed after a siege of several months, sacked and left a heap of ruins; 10,000 inhabitants were massacred (see Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 316; Sykes, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 1118 and Browne, *op. cit.*, iii., p. 190). Those who escaped the holocaust settled in the shelter of the 'Alid sanctuary. Tus was henceforth abandoned and Meshhed took its place as the capital of the district.

As to the political history of Meshhed it coincides in its main lines with that of the province of Khurāsān [q.v.]. Here we shall only briefly mention a few of the more important events in the past of the town. Like all the larger towns of Persia, Meshhed frequently saw risings and the horrors of war within its walls. To protect the mausoleum of 'Alī al-Rīdā in the reign of the Ghaznawid Ma'ad [q.v.], the then governor of Khurāsān erected defences in 1037. In 1121 a wall was built round the whole town which afforded protection from attack for some time. In 1161 however, the Ghuzz [q.v.] succeeded in taking the place, but they spared the sacred area in their pillaging. We hear of a further visitation by Mongol hordes in 1296 in the time of Sulṭān Ghazan [q.v.]. Probably the greatest benefactors of the town and especially of its sanctuary were the first Tīmūrid Shāh Rukh (809-850 = 1406-1446; see vol. iv. 265 *sp.*) and his pious wife Djawhar-Shādī.

With the rise of the national Ṣafawid dynasty (q. v.), a new era of prosperity began for Meshhed. The very first Shāh of this family, Ismā'īl I (907-930 = 1501-1524; q. v.), established Shi'ism as the state religion and, in keeping with this, care for the sacred cities within the Persian frontier, especially Meshhed and Qumm, became an important feature in his programme as in those of his successors. Pilgrimage to the holy tombs at these places experienced a considerable revival. In Meshhed the royal court displayed a great deal of building activity. In this respect Tahmāsp I, Ismā'īl's successor (930-984 = 1524-1576; q. v.), and the great Shāh 'Abbās I (995-1037 = 1587-1627; q. v.) were especially distinguished.

In the xvth century the town suffered considerably from the repeated raids of the Ōzbegs (Uzbek). In 1507 it was taken by the troops of the Shaibānī Khān (cf. SHAIBANIDS); it was not till 1528 that Shāh Tahmāsp I succeeded in repelling the enemy from the town again. Stronger walls and bastions were then built and another attack by the same Ōzbek chief was foiled by them in 1535. But in 1544 the Ōzbegs again succeeded in entering the town and plundering and murdering there. The year 1589 was a disastrous one for Meshhed. The Shaibānī 'Abd al-Mu'min after a four months' siege forced the town to surrender. The streets of the town ran with blood and the thoroughness of the pillaging did not stop at the gates of the sacred area. Shāh 'Abbās I who lived in Meshhed from 1585 till his official ascent of the throne in Qazwin in 1587 was not able to retake Meshhed from the Ōzbegs till 1598.

At the beginning of the reign of Tahmāsp II (q. v.) in 1722 the Afghān tribe of Abdālī (q. v.) invaded Khurāsān. Meshhed fell before them, but in 1726 the Persians succeeded in retaking it after a two months' siege. Nādir Shāh (q. v.) (1736-1747) had a mausoleum built for himself in Meshhed.

After the death of Nādir Shāh civil war broke out among the claimants to the throne, in the course of which the unity of the Persian empire was broken. The whole eastern part of the kingdom of Nādir Shāh, particularly Khurāsān (except the district of Nishāpūr), passed in this period of Persian impotence under the rule of the vigorous Afghān Shāh Ahmad Durrānī. An attempt by Karīm Khān Zand to reunite Khurāsān to the rest of Persia failed. Ahmad defeated the Persians and took Meshhed after an eight months' siege in 1167 (1753); cf. above i., p. 169^b, 202^b, 203^b. Ahmad Shāh and his successor Timūr Shāh left Shāh Rukh in possession of Khurāsān as their vassal, making Khurāsān a kind of buffer state between them and Persia. As the real rulers however, both these Afghān rulers struck coins in Meshhed (cf. above i., p. 202^b).

Otherwise the reign of the blind Shāh Rukh, which with repeated short interruptions lasted for nearly half a century, passed without any events of special note. It was only after the death of Timūr Shāh (1207 = 1792) that Agha Muḥammad Khān, the founder of the Qājār dynasty, succeeded in taking Shāh Rukh's domains and putting him to death in 1210 (1795) and thus ending the separation of Khurāsān from the rest of Persia (cf. above, i., p. 204^a). The death soon afterwards of Agha Muḥammad (1211 = 1796) enabled Nādir, who had escaped to Herāt, to return to Meshhed and take up the reigns of government

again. A siege of his capital by a Qājār army remained without success; but in 1803 Faḡh 'Alī Shāh was able to take it after a siege of several months when Nādir's funds were exhausted.

From 1825 Khurāsān suffered greatly from the raids of Turkoman hordes and the continual feuds of the tribal leaders (cf. Conolly, *op. cit.*, i. 288 and Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 53). To restore order the crown prince 'Abbās Mirzā entered Khurāsān with an army and made Meshhed his headquarters. He died there in 1249 (1833).

The most important political event of the xixth century for Meshhed was the rebellion of Ḥasan Khān Sālār, the prince-governor of Khurāsān, a cousin of the reigning Shāh Muḥammad-I 'Abbās. For two years (1847-1849) he held out against the government troops sent against him. At the time of the accession of Nāṣir al-Dīn (1848) Khurāsān was actually independent. It was only when the people of Meshhed, under pressure of famine, rebelled against Sālār that Ḥusām al-Saltāna's army succeeded in taking the town.

In 1911 a certain Yūsuf Khān of Herāt declared himself independent in Meshhed under the name of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh and for a period disturbed Khurāsān considerably with the help of a body of reactionaries who gathered round him. This gave the Russians a pretext for armed intervention, and on March 29, 1912, they bombarded Meshhed in gross violation of Persia's sovereign rights and many innocent people, citizens and pilgrims, were slain. This bombardment of the national sanctuary of Persia made a most painful impression in the whole Muslim world. Yūsuf Khān was later captured by the Persians and put to death (cf. E. G. Browne, *The Press and Poets of Modern Persia*, Cambridge, 1914, p. 124, 127, 156; Sykes, *History of Persia*, London 1927, ii. 426-427).

Meshhed is now the centre of eastern Persia, the capital of the province of Khurāsān which, since its eastern part was taken by the Afghāns in the xvth century, is barely half its former size (cf. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 383 *sq.*; *ibid.*, xi. 108 *sq.* and above, ii. 966). In the middle ages it was not Tūs, Meshhed's predecessor, but Naisabūr (modern Persian Nishāpūr) that was the capital of this extensive and important province. A royal prince has usually been governor since the fall of the Nādirids. Since 1845 the lucrative and influential post of Mutawallī-Nāḡhi, the controller or treasurer of the sanctuary of the Imām, has usually been combined with the governorship (cf. Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 322).

The only plan — not very accurate — of Meshhed known to me is that of Colonel Dolmage (cf. Curzon, *op. cit.*, i. 151, note 2; 160) and was made about 1870. It is published in MacGregor, *op. cit.*, i. 284. The plan of the town is an irregular oblong with its longer axis running from N. W. to S. E. Its circumference is according to the most reliable calculations about 6 miles, the greatest breadth about a mile, and the length not quite two miles measured along the main street Khayyān which runs right through the town.

Like most Persian towns Meshhed is enclosed by a great girdle of walls, which gives it a very picturesque appearance. The lines built to stiffen the defences, namely a small moat with escarpment before the main wall and a broad ditch around outside, are now in ruins and in places have completely disappeared.

The citadel (*arḥ*) in the southwest part of the town is directly connected with the system of defences. It is in the form of a rectangle with four great towers at the corners and smaller bastions. The palace begun by 'Abdās Mirzā but finished only in 1876, with its extensive gardens, is connected with the fortress proper, now fallen into disrepair (cf. Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 327). It is used as the governor's residence. The whole quarter of government buildings which, according to MacGregor, occupies an area of 1,200 yards, is separated from the town by an open space, the *Mahdān-i Tūp* (Cannon Place) which is used for military parades.

There are six gates in the city walls.

The town is divided into six great and ten smaller quarters (*maḥalla*) (see Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 328). The six larger bear the names of their gates; see al-Mahdī al-'Alawī, *op. cit.*

The principal street which divides the whole town into two roughly equal halves, the *Khiyābān*, is a creation of Shāh 'Abdās I who did a great deal for Meshed (1587—1627; see Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 319; cf. the pictures in Sykes, *The Glory of the Shia World*, p. 231). This street, a fine promenade, is, being the main thoroughfare, filled all day with a throng of all classes and nationalities, including numerous pilgrims, and caravans of camels and asses; the bustle is tremendous, especially in the middle of the day.

The canal, which flows through the *Khiyābān* in a bed about 9 feet broad and 5 feet deep is fed, not from the *Keshf Rūd* (see above) which runs quite close to Meshed, as it has too little water, but from the *Čubhān-i Gīllā* already mentioned, which used to provide Tūs with water. When this town had been almost completely abandoned, Shīr 'Alī, the vizier of Sulṭān Ḥusain b. Manṣūr b. Bāghar (1468—1506; on him see above, II, 343; I, 394*), at the beginning of the xvth century had the water brought from this source to Meshed by a canal 45 miles long, thus sealing the ruin of Tūs; cf. Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 315; al-Mahdī al-'Alawī, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

The making of this canal (see Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 315; Mahdī al-'Alawī, p. 13) contributed essentially to the rise of Meshed; for the greater part of its inhabitants rely on it for water, although after entering the town, the canal becomes muddy and marshy (which was often a subject of satire; cf. 'Abd al-Kāsim, *op. cit.*, p. 74), and use it for drinking, washing and religious ablutions without hesitation. There are also large and deep reservoirs before the main gates. The water is saline and sulphurous and therefore has an unpleasant taste (cf. Conolly, I, 333—334; Khanikoff, p. 105; Carron, I, 153).

The sacred area divides the principal street into two parts: the *Hāḥ* (= Upper) *Khiyābān* in the N.W. and the *Pā'in* (= Lower) *Khiyābān* in the S.E., of which the former is about 3 times as long as the latter. The sacred area covered by the sanctuary of the Imām al-Riḍā is usually called *Hāḥ* (cf. above, I, 309). The name *Haram-i Sharīf* or *Haram-i Muḥaddas* or *Haram-i al-Riḍā* (al-Riḍā's *Haram*) is often also applied to it; frequently it is called simply, "*Imām*" as in Persia as in the *Irāq* this title is applied also to a building or place of ground sacred to an Imām. The *Hāḥ*, a rectangle 900 feet X 700 feet in area, is in the lower half of the *Khiyābān*. With its courts, mosques, sanctuaries, madrasas, caravanserais,

buzars, dwellinghouses etc. it forms a town by itself; a wall around it cuts it off completely from the rest of Meshed. The main entrances from the *Khiyābān* are two great doors on north and south, but they are barred by chains so that no vehicle or riding-beast can enter; for the ground of the *Hāḥ* is holy and may only be trodden on foot. Animals which get in by accident become the property of the administration of the Imām. The *Hāḥ* also has the right of asylum (whence the name *Hāḥ*). Debtors who take refuge in it are safe from their creditors; criminals can only be handed over by order of the Mutawallī-Bāghī, which is now usually done after three days. In the whole of the sacred area strict discipline is maintained by its own police; there is a special prison for thieves (see the plan in Yate, p. 332, N^o. 75; cf. also Conolly, I, 263; Khanikoff, p. 98; Bassett, *op. cit.*, p. 224; Carron, I, 153—154; Massy, *op. cit.*, p. 1006; Yate, p. 334).

Entrance to the *Hāḥ* is strictly forbidden to all non-Muslims. In earlier times the rule does not seem to have been so strict, for Clavijs (see *ibid.*) in 1404 was able to visit the sepulchral chapel of the Imām al-Riḍā. In the sixteenth century Fraser (1822, 1833), Conolly (1830), Burnes (1832), Ferrier (1845), Eastwick (1862), Vámbéry (1863), Colonel Dolmage (in the sixties) and Massy (1893) visited the sacred area. Only Fraser, Conolly, Dolmage and Massy actually entered the sepulchral chapel itself. Vámbéry and Massy were dressed as Muslims while the others retained their European dress. Except Dolmage, all these travellers have given more or less full descriptions of the sacred area. The full and accurate description given by Sykes in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 1130—1148 and in the *Glory of the Shia World* is based on information supplied by the attaché to the British Consulate, Khān Bahādur Ahmad Din-Khān (cf. *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 1113 and *The Shia World*, p. iii; see also Carron, I, 154 sq. and Mahdī al-'Alawī, p. 17—22).

The most detailed plan of the *Hāḥ* is in the already mentioned *Maḥal al-Shams* of Saḥī al-Dawla (1885); also given in Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 332. A plan on a somewhat smaller scale was prepared by the Persian architect Ma'wīn-i Saḥā'ya (cf. Sykes, *Glory of the Shia World*, p. 240) and was published by Sykes in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 1128 and in *Glory of the Shia World*, p. 100. The latter differs in details not inconsiderably from Saḥī al-Dawla's plan; which is right we have not the means of telling.

The history of the sanctuary of 'Alī al-Riḍā is pretty well known from inscriptions and literary sources (cf. especially the references in Yate, *op. cit.*, p. 317 sq.; Sykes, *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 1130 sq. and Mahdī al-'Alawī, p. 14 sq.). According to local legend, Alexander the Great built a wall around the site as he foresaw in a dream that it was destined to be the tomb of a saint (cf. Fraser, *Narratives*, p. 449; Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 1130). As early as the second half of the tenth century, as Ibn Hawqāl tells us (*B. G. A.*, II, 313), the 'Alīd sanctuary had a strong wall built around it, within which devout men who wished to lead an ascetic life (*ʿiṣṣāf*, q. v.) took up their abode. The almost contemporary account of al-Mahallabī in *Alm 'l-Fidā*, p. 452 is similar. A few decades later, Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna (998—1030) as a result of a dream enlarged the

buildings of the tomb and provided a new wall around them (see Sykes, p. 1130). The sanctuary at a later date seems to have fallen somewhat into decay: for about a century later it was restored by the Saldjûk Salṭān Sandjâr (q. v.) out of gratitude, local tradition says, for the miraculous cure effected on his sick son there (see Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 451; Napier, *J. R. G. S.*, xvi. (1876), p. 80 *op.*; Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 1141—1142 and in *Glory of the Shia World*, p. 238 *sq.*). It is to this event that an inscription of 512 (1118) inside the chamber of the tomb refers (see it in Sykes, p. 1140—1141 and cf. Mahdi al-'Alawi, p. 18). There is also a second inscription (in Sykes, p. 1142—1143) which records a restoration undertaken in 612 (1215). The existence of these two inscriptions, the oldest in Meshbed, shows that the Mongols of Čingiz Khān when they swept over Khurāsān in 1220, if they may have plundered the sanctuary, spared the buildings. We hear of another restoration of the buildings in the reign of Salṭān Uljaytū Khwāzanda (1304—1316; cf. Sykes, *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 1132; Mahdi al-'Alawi, p. 18). From the middle of the xivth century we have the somewhat fuller description of the sanctuary of 'Alī al-Riḍā by Ibn Battūṭa (ii. 77—79). Timūr's son Shāh Rukh (1406—1446) and his wife Qjawhar Shāhī did a great deal for the Haram. The latter built the splendid mosque to the south of the tomb which still bears her name. The Dār al-Siyāda, the fine hall west of the tomb, and the adjoining chamber, the Dār al-Huffā, are also due to this queen. Under Timūr's grandson Salṭān Husain Bāqarā (1469—1506) (q. v.), the vizier Shīr 'Alī erected the southern part of the Ṣaḥn-i Kūhna, "the old court", with the imposing portico; see the inscription reproduced in Sykes, p. 1133.

With the coming to power of the Safawids a new and brilliant era dawned on Meshbed. The rulers of this dynasty vied with one another in the development and adornment of the sanctuary of 'Alī al-Riḍā, which they raised to be the religious centre of their kingdom. In this respect Tahmāsp I, 'Abbās I, 'Abbās II and Sulaimān I deserve special mention. Tahmāsp I (1524—1576) erected a minaret covered with gold in the northern part of the Ṣaḥn-i Kūhna, adorned the dome of the tomb with sheets of gold and put a golden pillar on the top of it. The Qshāgs carried off this rich adornment on their raid in 1589. 'Abbās I the Great did most of all the Safawids (1587—1627) for Meshbed. 'Abbās II (1641—1666) devoted his attention mainly to the further decoration of the Ṣaḥn-i Kūhna. The inscription published in part by Sykes, p. 1133 (cf. also Khanikoff, p. 103) was written by the master hand of Muhammad Riḍā 'Abbāsī (on him cf. Sarre and Mitwoch, *Zeichnungen des Kisa Abbasi*, Munich 1914, p. 15—16). Sulaimān I (1666—1694) devoted special attention to the restoration of the dome of the Imām's tomb; see Mahdi al-'Alawi, p. 19 (cf. also Yate, p. 343; Sykes, p. 1137).

Foreign potentates also gave great gifts to the 'Alī sanctuary in the Safawid period, such as the Emperor Akbar of India who made the pilgrimage to Meshbed in 1695 (cf. Yate, p. 319) and in 1512 the Kūb Shāh of the Deccan.

It was Nadir Shāh (1736—1747) who did most for the town of Meshbed in the xviiith century. Although a very strict Sunni, he devoted a considerable part of the enormous wealth which he had

brought back from his Indian campaign to the embellishment of the great Shī'a place of pilgrimage. He restored thoroughly the southern half of the Ṣaḥn-i Kūhna built in the reign of Salṭān Husain Bāqarā. He decorated the portico richly and covered it with sheets of gold so that it is still called "Nadīr's Golden Gate" after him. In 1730, before his accession to the throne, Nadir erected a minaret covered with gold in the upper part of the Ṣaḥn, as a counterpart to that erected by Tahmāsp I on the north side of the "old court". Cf. on Nadir Shāh's activities at the sanctuary of al-Riḍā: Muhammad 'Alī Husain *Ta'riḥ Akwāl Shāhān Hāsin* (Memsūr, ed. Rāfour, London 1831, p. 272).

The rulers of the Kādjar dynasty of the xixth century, Fath 'Alī (1797—1834), Maḥammad Shāh (1834—1848) and Naṣr al-Dīn (1848—1896), faithfully followed in the footsteps of their predecessors, as regards attention to the Imām's sanctuary.

In spite of the number of times which the 'Alī sanctuary has been plundered in course of time, it still has countless treasures within its buildings and puts in the shade, as regards this wealth and the extent of its buildings and courts, all the other great Muhammadan sanctuaries, except perhaps Mecca, but including the much admired Nadjaf and Kerbelā.

A detailed and accurate description of the Haram and an account of its architectural history based on its present state cannot be given because the strict prohibition of admission to members of other faiths has prevented non-Muslim scholars from examining thoroughly and reproducing the buildings. Relying on descriptions of the sacred area prepared by Europeans and Orientals and on the valuable data contained in inscriptions (the latter were first noted by Khanikoff, p. 103—104; the more important were published by Sykes assisted by Khān Bahādur Ahmad Ūm, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 1131 *sq.*), we can assume with considerable probability that, except the tomb proper, which in its present form (excluding the later dome) according to the inscription (512 = 1118), dates from the beginning of the xiiith century, only insignificant remains of the earlier mediæval period have survived. The Haram in its present form is in the main a creation of the last 500 years, as is briefly outlined in the above short historical sketch of the sanctuary.

The dome of the tomb with its various annexes rises in the centre of the sacred area and is bordered on the north and east by two great rectangular courts, the Ṣaḥn-i Kūhna and the Ṣaḥn-i Naw, while in the south it is adjoined by the extensive buildings of the Qjawhar Shāhī mosque.

The most popular entrance to the Haram and the one preferred by pilgrims is the gateway in the Balā-Khiyābān barred by a chain. The road runs for 250 yards through this street filled with shops and ends at a great gateway through which the Ṣaḥn-i Kūhna, the "old court" is entered. Its northern part dates from the time of Shāh 'Abbās I, while the southern is as old as the second half of the xivth century (reign of Salṭān Husain Bāqarā) but was completely restored by Nadir Shāh. Four great towers with niche-like halls (hence called *mināra*) admit to the court. The simplest are the west and east towers built by 'Abbās I; the former has the clock tower, while the platform of the latter is used as *naḥḥa-ḥāḥa* i. e. "music-

house", where, according to an old Persian custom, found in other royal cities, sunrise and sunset are greeted with music. From the east gate one reaches the eastern exit of the Bāst through the Bazar of the Pā'in-Khiyābān. Much more impressive from the architectural point of view are the northern gateway built by 'Abbās II and especially the southern gateway of the court, "Nādir's Golden Gate", Nādir Shāh's most splendid achievement and the most imposing building of the whole Hāram. At each of the two great gates stands a minaret 100 feet high, the upper part of which is covered with gold; the builder of the northern gate was Tahmāsp I and of the southern Nādir Shāh. Nādir built in the centre the famous octagon of "Nādir's Well" covered by a gilt baldachin (*Sakhā-Khāni Nādiri* = "Nādir's water carrier-house"); it was hewn out of a huge block of white marble which the Shāh had brought at great expense from Herāt. The walls of the court are pierced by two rows of alcoves, the lower of which is occupied by artisans, schools and dwellings of the servants of the mosque, while the higher officials of the Imām occupy the upper storey. The whole courtyard which has a length of about 100 yards and a breadth of 70, is paved with dark Meshhed stones (cf. below) which are also to some extent tombstones. For pictures of the Şahn-i Kūhna with clock tower and Nādir's Well see above, iii. 384, pl. 15; Yate, p. 340, 346; Sykes, *Glory of the Shia World*, p. 241; picture of Nādir's Golden Gate in Yate, p. 328 and Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

Nādir's golden gateway leads southwards into the area of the holy tomb, the sepulchral chamber with the halls and rooms surrounding it. Strictly speaking, it is only this nucleus of the whole sacred area that should be called *Haram* or *Haram-i Muḥaddas* or *Haram-i Muḥarrak*, terms often extended to the whole Bāst. The names *al-Rawḍa al-Muḥabbata* and *Aṣṭāne* = the (holy) threshold, are also used. After passing through the Golden Gate one enters the *Dār al-Siyāda*, built by Dīawhar Shāh, the finest hall in the sacred quarter. Hung on a wall here is a round dish said to be that on which the poisoned grapes were offered to 'Alī al-Riḍā. The pilgrim can see into the sepulchral chamber through a silver grille from the *Dār al-Siyāda*. Turning to the southeast one enters a smaller, more simply decorated chamber, the *Dār al-Huffā*.

Adjoining the *Dār al-Huffā* in the north is the dome of the Mausoleum of the Imām. The interior of the sepulchral chamber (see the picture in Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 251), an almost square area, 30 × 27 feet, is, as there are no proper windows, lit by the dim light from golden lamps and chandeliers and furnished with the greatest splendour. The tomb itself is in the N.E. corner and surrounded by three beautiful grilles, one of which, dated 1747, is said to come from the mausoleum of Nādir Shāh now destroyed. 'Abbās I gave the top of the tomb with its gold covering. In a projection at the foot of the tomb, Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh placed a false door of gold inlaid with jewels (picture in Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 255). In niches in the wall behind glass are kept very valuable votive offerings (jewelled arms, etc., mainly gifts of the ruling house). On the wall are the two inscriptions already mentioned of 312 (1118) and 612 (1215) of which the first is the earliest known

example of the so-called round hand (*thulth*) in Arabic epigraphy (cf. v. Berchem in *Diez, Churasan, Bandenkmler*, i. 97, note 8). These enable us to place the building of the present chamber in the beginning of the 13th century, while the dome 65 feet high covered with sheets of gilt copper was built only in 1607 by 'Abbās I and renovated in 1675 by Sulaimān I, according to inscriptions on its outside. As the thread of tradition regarding the site of the Imām's grave can hardly have been broken, it may be assumed practically with certainty that the present dome is built on the true site. There is no longer any trace of Hārūn's grave; it probably was in the centre of the mausoleum, whence the tomb of the 'Alid who died later was put in a corner of the same place.

Of the other chambers and isolated buildings belonging to the system of the Hāram proper, we shall only mention here the *Gumbad* (dome) of Allāh Wārī Khān, which lies to the N.E. and takes its name from its builder, a famous general of 'Abbās I (cf. Conolly, i. 271; Sykes, *The Glory of the Shia World*, p. 266; see also the picture in *Diez, Persien: Islam. Baukunst in Churasan*, p. 54).

Leaving the sacred chamber by the eastern door one reaches, after traversing two adjoining rooms, the "Golden Gate" of Nāṣir al-Dīn, which leads into the New Court (*Sahn-i Naw*); its northside is bounded by the Pā'in Khīyābān. Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh began this court in 1818. His two successors continued the building, which was completed in 1855.

If one turns southwards from the *Dār al-Siyāda* already mentioned, one soon enters the area of the charming mosque endowed by Sulṭāna Dīawhar Shāh and bearing her name. Like the Şahn-i Kūhna this older court, an oblong running N. to S. about 100 yards long and 90 broad, is broken in the middle of each of its four sides by an arched hall (*aiwān*), while the unbroken parts of the walls have rows of alcoves fitted up as dwellings. The largest and finest of these four aiwāns of the mosque, the *Aiwan-i Maḥṣūr* in the south (for *Maḥṣūr* = stall, cf. iii., p. 336), is used for prayers; in it is a wooden pulpit in which the Mahdī will one day show himself to the faithful. The entrance hall is covered by a blue dome which surpasses that on the tomb of the Imām in height and width, and is flanked by two high minarets covered with blue glass tiles. The centre of the court is occupied by the *Manḡili-i Pir-i Zan* = "Mosque of the Old Woman", a square unroofed area surrounded by a wooden balustrade around which runs water in a deep stone channel.

The Dīawhar Shāh mosque is the noblest and finest building in the sacred area; cf. the opinions of Fraser, *Narrative*, p. 447; Vámbéry, *Meine Wanderungen* etc., p. 322 and Sykes, *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 1145. — Pictures of the mosque in Sykes, *The Glory of the Shia World*, p. 263; Yate, p. 344 (*Aiwan-i Maḥṣūr* and *Manḡili-i Pir-i Zan*); *Diez, Persien: Islam. Baukunst*, p. 45-48.

Of the various small sanctuaries which the pilgrim visits in the Hāram, only two need be mentioned here, the *Ziyarat Kadam-i Muḥarrak* or *Sharīf* = "the place of pilgrimage of the blessed or excellent foot" also called *Dīwā Sang-i Ḥakīm-pā* = "place of the foot-stone" (see the plan in Yate, p. 332, N^o. 16), a circular space covered by a dome (east of the north aiwān of the Dīaw-

lar *Shāhī* mosque), in which reverence is paid to a dark grey oval-shaped stone said to contain an impression of 'Alī al-Riḍā's foot (cf. Massy, *op. cit.*, p. 1003—1004). The second noteworthy feature of the Bāst is a tall stone pillar, out of which a water basin has been roughly hewn. It is said to have fallen into the Bāst as a shapeless block from heaven (see Massy, *op. cit.*, p. 1002).

Inside of the sacred area are the richest and busiest bazars of the town, the most richly endowed *nadras*, the most profitable caravanserais and the most popular baths. These are all, like the dwelling houses there, the absolute property of the Imām, the 'Alīd buried here, i.e. of the ecclesiastical authorities who administer the sanctuary on his behalf. The whole Bāst belongs exclusively to them. This dead hand however has still more possessions in land, buildings, canals (*ḥawāḍ*, q.v.), in all the provinces of Persia, especially in the immediate and more distant vicinity of Meshhed. To the vast sums which these properties yield in produce and rents, are to be added the considerable payments for funerals and tombs, the gifts of pilgrims etc. There is also considerable expenditure, the payment of a considerable number of higher officials and of a large number of lower officials and servants, the maintenance of many pilgrims, the cost of repairs, lighting, decoration of the sanctuaries etc. The income of the Haram in course of time has naturally varied. Towards the end of the Safawid period it is said to have been about £15,000 while at the time of Fraser's first visit (1822), as a result of the troubled times, it had sunk to £2,000—2,500 (Fraser, *Narrative*, p. 456). Later travellers, like Basset (1878) and Curzon (1889), estimated the annual revenues of the Imām at £16,000 to £17,000 (without revenues in kind); for the last decade of the sixteenth century Massy (p. 1106) and Yate (p. 344) give £20,000. Ibrāhīm Beg's estimate (*op. cit.*, p. 43) of £40,000 is certainly much too high.

At the head of the administration of the Haram there has been from early times a Mutawallī-Bāshī, who must be a layman. In view of the very influential position which this official occupies in his capacity as head of the greatest Persian sanctuary and treasurer of a very considerable estate, it is only natural that an appointment to such a position of trust is regarded as a very special honour. As it was not uncommon for disputes about the limits of their respective spheres of authority or other matters to arise between the holder of this office, the representative of ecclesiastical power, and the governor of Khurāsān, the clerical element has since the middle of the sixteenth century been subordinated in the civil power by giving the office of Mutawallī-Bāshī to the governor of the time (see Yate, p. 322, 344). This very lucrative double office—the Mutawallī-Bāshī gets 10% of the revenues of the Haram—is as a rule only held for a few years by the same individual.

The Mutawallī-Bāshī is assisted by a staff of higher officials (*mudawallīs*). He has further at his command the varied hierarchy of the sacred area, among whom the *mawḥabids* (q.v.), who have a thorough knowledge of religious law and are men of great prestige and influence, occupy the first place. Next comes a regular army of lower clerics (*mullās*) who conduct the services, teach in the schools and guide the rites of the pilgrims;

not a few of them make a living by supplying official documents sealed with the seal of the Imām (see the picture in Sykes, *Glory of the Shia World*, p. 278) which deal among other matters with the answering of petitions made by the pilgrims at the sacred tomb (cf. Khanikoff, p. 99). On the administration of the sanctuary of Meshhed cf. Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 455—456; Curzon, i. 162—164; Massy, p. 1006 and especially Yate, p. 344—346.

As we know from mediæval Arabic sources, pilgrimage to the tomb of 'Alī al-Riḍā began at an early date. We occasionally hear also of royal visits from the sixteenth century onwards.

As to the number of pilgrims who visit Meshhed annually we have different estimates for the sixteenth century but as exact figures can hardly be kept and the numbers vary greatly, they can only claim reliability to a very limited extent. While Yate (p. 334) gives the annual number for the last decade of the sixteenth century at 30,000, earlier travellers, except Marsh (1872: 20—30,000) give much higher figures, e.g. Bellew (1872): 40—50,000; Ferrier (1845): 50,000; Khanikoff (1858) and Eastwick (1862): over 50,000; Curzon 1889 even gives 100,000, but this is certainly too high. The numbers go up considerably when special religious ceremonies are going on, e.g. at the anniversary of 'Alī al-Riḍā's death (cf. the pictures in Dies, *Persien etc.*, p. 46) and during the first third of the month of Muharram at the *Tāziya* (q.v.) in memory of the tragedy of Kerbelā. We have a full description of the Muharram festival of the year 1830 from Conolly (see his *Journey etc.*, i. 267—284, 335—336) and a shorter one of 1894 by Yate (*op. cit.*, p. 144—148); cf. also the illustrations in Yate, p. 146 and the drawing by the painter 'Alī Riḍā 'Abbās of a Meshhed pilgrim at the time of the Muharram festival in Sarre and Mittwoch, *Zeichnungen des Risa Abbasi* (Munich 1914), Plate 1 (thereon p. 23, 49 and *ibid.*, ii. 216 sq.).

Every pilgrim who arrives has a right to free maintenance for three (according to Vámbéry: six) days. In the sacred quarter, south of the Bāst Khayāḥā (see the plan in Yate, p. 332), there is a special kitchen used exclusively for pilgrims, which gives out 5—600 free meals every day (cf. Vámbéry, *op. cit.*, p. 323; Goldsmith, *Eastern Persia*, i. 364 and Curzon, i. 162).

On the ceremonies which the pilgrims have to perform at their visit to the tomb of 'Alī al-Riḍā, we have accounts by Massy, *op. cit.*, and the notes supplied by Khān Bahādur Ahmed al-Din Ehlā in Sykes, *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, p. 144—45 and in the *Glory of the Shia World*, p. 240 sq. Special mention may be made of the three circumambulations (*ḥawāḍ* (q.v.)) of the tomb and the cursing of all enemies of the Imām three times, especially the Caliphs Hārūn and Ma'mūn.

Every pilgrim who has performed the pilgrimage to 'Alī al-Riḍā's grave in the prescribed fashion is entitled to call himself *Meshhedī*.

Meshhed occupies first place among all the places of pilgrimage in Persia. Among the great sanctuaries of the Muslim world, Meshhed stands seventh in the view of Shī'a theologians, coming after, not only Mecca and Medina, but also the four specifically Shī'a sanctuaries of the 'Irāq, Nedjef, Kerbelā, Sāmarrā and Kāpāmalā, in this order (cf. Sykes, *The Glory of the Shia World*, p. xlii). According to a version current in Shī'a

circles which Curzon (i. 150) gives, Meshbed is entitled to the sixth place, coming between Kāpī-main as fifth and Sāmārā which is put seventh.

The longing of every Shi'ite to find a last resting place in the shadow of one of the beloved Imāms caused extensive cemeteries to be laid out at an early date at the great centres of pilgrimage. Thousands of corpses are brought every year to Meshbed, mainly of course from Persia, but also from all the Shi'a lands, particularly India, also Afghānistān and Turkestan. Nowhere in the whole of Persia are there so many tombs as at Meshbed. As the ground of the cemeteries must be used over and over again, the graves change their occupants every few years. Fine solid tombstones are not used, but simply rough blocks of granite or soapstone from the quarries of the neighbourhood (cf. also Conolly, i. 343—4 and Khanikoff, p. 105). Graves within the sacred quarter itself are naturally most desired. Every available space there is used for the purpose; the pavingstones in the courtyards are often tombstones for the dead below. The fees for graves within the Bāst, which vary with the distance from the Mausoleum of 'Alī al-Riḍā, bring a not inconsiderable revenue to the authorities.

Of the large cemeteries (*maḥbaras*) outside the Bāst the most important is the Maḥbara Kaṭl-i Gīb (*place of the killing*) lying north of the sacred area. East of it is that of Saliyid Ahmad in which three children of the seventh Imām, Mūsā al-Kāẓim, are buried (cf. Mahdi al-'Alawī, p. 8). In the Pā'in Khayābān quarter is the Maḥbara Pir-i Pālandūz. S.E. of the citadel is the cemetery of Gumbad-i Sabā (*green dome*) which takes its name from a half ruined mausoleum there, now inhabited by dervishes (cf. Yate, p. 328; Mahdi al-'Alawī, p. 9).

In the Nūḡān quarter is the Maḥbara Shāh-zāde Muḥammad (see Mahdi al-'Alawī, p. 8). We may also mention that outside the Nūḡān gate on the site of the old town of Nūḡān (see above), are visible the remains of a gigantic cemetery on which, according to Sykes (*J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 1116), there may be found stone sarcophagi with inscriptions carved upon them dating from 760 to 1099 (1359—1688).

Outside of Meshbed a good half hour's journey to the south, on rocky ground is the cemetery of Mirzā Ibrāhīm al-Riḍawī (see Mahdi, *op. cit.*, p. 8) and still further from the town, 3 miles north of it, that of Khwādja Rabi' (cf. Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 1124 and Ibn Sa'd, vi. 127 *sq.*). According to the popular view, he was a Sunni in spite of his relations with 'Alī and is therefore in a way regarded as the patron of the Sunnis in Khurāsān, of whom those who live in Meshbed are usually buried near his tomb. Rabi's mausoleum is one of the most interesting in the whole of Khurāsān: it is a large octagonal building crowned by a dome but now it is in a half ruined condition.

Meshbed is the centre of Muslim theological and legal studies in Persia. A number of colleges (*madrasas*) there are devoted to teaching these subjects. Lists of them with dates are given by Fraser (p. 456—460) who mentions 14 of the present 16 madrasas, also by Khanikoff (p. 107) who gives 13, and by Mahdi al-'Alawī (p. 9—12). The latter observes that there were 20 older colleges, of which he gives 15, and a number of more modern ones. Fraser also gives brief notes on the

possessions of the various madrasas and the clerics (*mullās*) attached to them. Yate (p. 329—330) simply mentions six of the best known. From these lists, which supplement one another in welcome fashion, we get the names of 20 colleges. From the dates of foundation we find that the oldest of the madrasas still standing in Meshbed is the Madrasa Dūdār, which was built in 823 (1430) by the Timūrid Sulṭān Shāh Rukh and restored by Sulaimān I. Under the same ruler was built the Pāstād Madrasa which was completely remodelled by Sulaimān I. From the time of 'Abbās II date the two almost contemporary colleges Khairāt Khān (1058 = 1649) and Mirzā Dja'far (1059 = 1650). The majority of the older colleges, no fewer than nine in number, date from the time of Sulaimān I, who also restored some buildings (1666—1694). As to the Kādjārs, one was founded in the reign of Fath 'Alī Shāh and two in that of Nāṣir al-Dīn, who also restored two that had fallen into ruins.

From the artistic point of view, the finest is the Madrasa of Mirzā Dja'far which was built and richly endowed in 1059 (1650) by a Persian of this name who had made a fortune in India. It is generally regarded as the third finest building in Meshbed, next to the Mausoleum of 'Alī al-Riḍā and the Djawhar Shāhīh Mosque. In its plan, with vaulted halls and courtyard with niches, and its rich decoration, it follows the style of the courts and mosques of the sacred area above described, typical of the ecclesiastical architecture of Persia (cf. above, iii. 439, 447 *sq.* and also Fraser, p. 466—467). Not only the Madrasa of Mirzā Dja'far but also other richly endowed colleges, like that of Pā'in-Pā (both of the time of Sulaimān I) owe their origin to Persians who had made fortunes in India (cf. on the foundation of the two last named colleges: Fraser, p. 457—459; Sykes, *The Glory etc.*, p. 267—269). The most esteemed colleges are in the Bāst, namely the three already mentioned as the oldest, Dūdār, Pāstād and Khairāt-Khān, also Pāstār and 'Alī Naḡī Mirzā. Others, like the above mentioned Mirzā Dja'far Madrasa and the Mustashār Madrasa have doors communicating with the Saḥn-i Kūhna of the Haram quarter.

Students also live in the madrasas, their maintenance being provided for by pious endowments. While in Khanikoff's time (1858) there were no outstanding teachers there and the number of students was small, the reputation of the Meshbed colleges went up again in the second half of the sixteenth century so that Sykes (*The Glory etc.*, p. 267 *sq.*) in 1910 puts the attendance at 1,200 students, who came from Persia, India and other Shi'a regions. The student who wishes to take a higher theological training after the nine years' course at Meshbed must go to Meshbed 'Alī (Nedjef, q. v.) and attend the lectures of the teachers there, who are the first authorities on Shi'a theology.

We have no details of the libraries of the Meshbed colleges. Of the rich Fājlī-Khān Madrasa, Fraser only says (p. 457) that it has a valuable library. The administration of the Haram also has a large and valuable collection of books (on its location see the plan in Yate, p. 332, No. 65 and cf. No. 29), founded in the first half of the xvth century by Sulṭān Shāh Rukh. The treasures accumulated under him and his successors were for the most part lost when Meshbed was sacked by

the Ösbeys under 'Abd al-Mu'min Khān (1589; cf. Yate, p. 318; Sykes, *The Glory etc.*, p. 259; cf. also Herzfeld, in *Ephemerides Orientales*, 1926, No. 28, p. 7-8). A thorough examination of the manuscripts here might give valuable results.

In this connection we may mention the activity of the Meshhed printing presses (newspapers etc.), which began with the last decade of the sixteenth century; see thereon Browne, *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia* (Cambridge 1914), p. 348 (Index, s. v. Meshed); Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, iv., Cambridge 1928, p. 223, 489; Mahdi al-'Alawi, p. 12.

Meshhed is remarkably rich in mosques which are built in the sacred area, at cemeteries and at separate tombs, and are connected with madrasas and other buildings of a religious character.

Here we may also mention the Mu'allim which stands outside the town, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the Pā'in Khayyān gate on the Herāt road. It is a hall (*aiwan*) about 30 feet high which opens into a gigantic arch about 60 feet high.

However picturesque Meshhed may look from outside, the impression one gets on entering it is far from pleasing, excepting the Bast which forms a separate enclave. Except for the already described broad main street (Khayyān), there are only narrow dark alleys the level of which is almost always considerably above that of the inner courts of the houses of brick, so that they can only be entered by long gloomy passages (cf. Khanikoff, p. 304; Yate, p. 328).

As to the population of Meshhed, — the permanent residents, excluding the many pilgrims, — it was at its highest in the reign of Nādir Shāh, who frequently held his court here and in every way contributed to the prosperity of the town. At that date Meshhed had not less than 60,000 inhabitants. But the half century of turmoil which followed the reign of Nādir Shāh brought about a great decline in the town so that only 3,000 houses were reckoned there in 1796 (cf. Yate, p. 330). In the sixteenth century began a slow but steady rise. Truilhier in 1807 estimated the number of houses at 4,000; Fraser in 1822 at 7,700 with 25-30,000 inhabitants. Conolly (1830) and Barnes (1832) estimate 40,000 inhabitants; Ferrier (1845) and Khanikoff (1858) at 60,000. In 1874 Khurāsān suffered a terrible famine and 24,000 in Meshhed alone died of starvation (see Goldsmid, i. 361). Baker is too high in putting the figure at 80,000 in 1873 and Curzon too low at 45,000 for 1889. Meshhed at the present day is said to have 100,000 inhabitants (see Mahdi al-'Alawi, p. 4); it is in any case the third largest town in Persia.

The permanent population of Meshhed is a rather mixed one; in consequence of the great influx of pilgrims and the commerce which was very great at least in an earlier period, many foreigners (Turkomans, Afghāns, Indians etc.) settled in Meshhed. Except for a very small section, all the Muslims of the town are Shi'is. The small number of Sunnis are mainly Afghāns and Turkomans. We have already mentioned that the Masjid-i Shāh and the Makbara Khwāja Rabi' are used by the Sunnis. The number of Christians is infinitesimal and is confined to a few Armenian traders and the personnel of English and Russian consulates established in 1889.

Nādir Shāh settled 100 Jewish families in Meshhed whom he had transplanted from Kazwin.

After his death their position became a miserable one, especially after the catastrophe which overwhelmed them in 1839. When in this year, during the celebration of the Muslim Kurban festival, a Jewess on medical advice placed her hand, which was suffering from an eruption, in the bowels of a freshly slain street dog, the Muhammadans took this for an insult to their religious observances. The excited mob, seizing the excuse, fell upon the Jewish quarter, plundering and murdering as they pleased and destroyed the synagogue. The surviving Jews had to adopt Islam. These Jewish converts are called Džadid, more fully Džadid al-Islām = "new comers to Islam", because their forced conversion is of recent date. The change of faith was only an external one; it is true that these Džadid to avert suspicion regularly attend the mosque, but not a few of them are said to observe their old rites in secret. The number of Judeo-Moslems in Meshhed at the present day who are small traders, physicians, etc., was put by Bassett (1878) at 300 families, by Yate at 200. On the Jews of Meshhed and their persecution in 1839 cf. Truilhier, p. 273; Conolly, i. p. 304-308; J. Wolff, *Narrative*, p. 177, 394-396; Ferrier, p. 122-123; J. J. Benjamin (see *Fiil*), p. 189-190; Vámbéry, *Wanderungen*, p. 324-325; Bassett, p. 230-233; Yate, p. 322.

The clerical element is strong in the Muslim population; everywhere one sees mullas, tollhas (students) and dervishes. The town swarms with sayyids (alleged descendants of 'Alī) among whom the Rijawis, who claim descent from 'Alī al-Riḍā, enjoy special privileges. Meshhed is not only one of the most fanatical cities in the whole Muslim world but also one of the most immoral in Asia. Prostitution, the so-called pilgrim marriage (*Pera Māde*; cf. MUR'A and iv., p. 353*, 355*), sanctioned by the Imāmi group of the Shi'a, flourishes here. Most pilgrims take advantage of this institute of temporary marriage (cf. Khanikoff, p. 98; Curzon, i. 164-165; Ibrahim Beg, p. 45; Yate, p. 419; Allemague, iii. 86-87).

The people of Meshhed are described as very superstitious; see especially Bassett, p. 228 *sq.* and the *Meshhed Stories* in Conolly, i. 316-318. Many stories are told of miracles wrought in the 'Alid sanctuaries; see Fraser, p. 451-452; Bassett, p. 426-427; Massey, p. 992-993, 1002; Yate, p. 325, 337.

The population of the town lives partly by catering for pilgrims and partly on local industries and commerce.

The industries, once very flourishing, have now declined. The famous manufacture of sword blades, introduced by Timūr from Damascus, has now almost entirely disappeared (cf. Truilhier, p. 275; Fraser, p. 124; Ferrier, p. 468; Curzon, i. 166).

A speciality of Meshhed is the manufacture of decorated vessels (household utensils, like jugs, pots, dishes etc.) out of serpentine and dark grey soapstone (Meshhed stone), from the quarries $\frac{1}{2}$ hours south of Meshhed. This stone industry is old and the Arabic sources of the middle ages mention it as native to the district of Tūs and especially to the town of Nūkān (the predecessor of Meshhed); cf. *B. G. A.*, i. 258; ii. 313; iii. 324, 326; al-Muhallabi in Abu'l-Fida', p. 452; Abū Hamid al-Gharnāṣī, in *J. A.*, 1925, p. 203; Yāqūt, iv. 524 and cf. G. Le Strange, *op. cit.*

p. 389. For the sixteenth century cf. Truillier, p. 274-275; Fraser, p. 469; Ferrier, p. 124; Bellew, p. 366-367; Baker, p. 184; MacGregor, l. 291-292; Bassett, p. 234; Curzon, l. 167.

The celebrated turquoise mines east of Nighāpur (about 1½ days' journey distant; cf. Matzner and Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 368; Fraser, p. 409-420; Ferrier, p. 106-107; Khanikoff, p. 90-92; Bassett, p. 216-217; Yate, p. 399-408) at one time were of special significance in Meshhed's trade and industry. Meshhed was the centre of the turquoise trade; for the whole output of these mines came to it and they were controlled by Meshhed merchants. The turquoises were sorted in Meshhed and put into commerce there. Now however, the finest specimens are usually sent directly abroad from the mines and only pieces of inferior quality come to Meshhed, to be worked there by the still very stilled stone cutters into ornaments and souvenirs for pilgrims. On the turquoise industry of Meshhed cf. Truillier, p. 274; Bellew, p. 367; Goldamid, l. 365; Baker, p. 184.

Weaving is another important industry in Meshhed. The carpets produced here were at one time of immensely greater value than those of the present day, which are produced in factory fashion. The modern shawls of Kashmir style are especially prized and known as Meshhedī, as are the velvets, which in Fraser's time were regarded as the best in Persia. On weaving in Meshhed cf. Fraser, p. 468; Ferrier, p. 124; Goldamid, l. 365; Baker, p. 184-185; Curzon, l. 167; Ibrahim Beg, p. 47; Schweinitz, p. 27-28; Allemagne, iii. 110.

Until the second half of the sixteenth century, Meshhed was one of the first emporia of Eastern Iran. At the intersection of important caravan routes, it was the entrepôt for the trade of Central Asia and especially of Afghanistan. Since however Russia has become established in Turkestan and built the Transcaspian railway, Meshhed's through trade has much declined. Nevertheless the town must still be described as an important centre of traffic and trade, not least on account of the numerous pilgrim routes that lead to it. Meshhed is 150 miles from the Russian railway station of Ashkhabād [q. v.], the capital of the Transcaspian area; there is a good road between the two towns.

For the housing of the numerous pilgrims and other strangers who come to Meshhed, a considerable number of caravanserais are available. In Fraser's time (1822), there were at least 25-30 such places in use, apart from some that had been abandoned and allowed to fall into ruins (see Fraser, *Narrative*, p. 460). Khanikoff (p. 107-108) gives 16, four of which, intended for pilgrims only, were inside the Bāst; of these latter the oldest is the Salān Caravanserai, built by Tahmāsp I; others date from Sulaimān I.

Bibliography: In addition to references already given: *B. G. A.* (ed. de Goeje), l. 257; ii. 313; iii. 35, 50, 319, 333; vi. 24; vii. 171, 278; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iii. 113, 486, 560 sq.; iv. 824; Karwini, *Aḥḥār al-Bilād* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 262, 275; Abu 'l-Fida', *Taḥḥim al-Bulād* (ed. Paris), p. 450, 452; Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuḥḥat al-Kulūk*, (= *G. M. S.*, xliii.), p. 150 sq.; Ibn Battūta (ed. Paris), ii. 79; 'Abd al-Kārim (1741), *Bayān-i Wāḥidā*, or the French transl. of this Persian work entitled *Voyage de l'Inde à la Mekka par*

Abdoul-Kārim by Langlès, Paris 1797, p. 69-74; Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's *Reise nach Khorāsan* (1866), Pers. text, Teheran 1286 = 1869, p. 180-225; Ibrahim Beg, *Siyāḥet-Nāme* (ed. Stambul), or in the transl. by W. Schultz, *Zustände des heutigen Persiens, wie sie das Reisetagebuch Ibrahim Begs enthüllt*, Leipzig 1903, p. 40-49; Sām Bey Frāghet, *Kāmis al-A'lām*, Stambul 1316, vl. 4290-4291; Muḥammad Mahdī al-'Alawī, *Ta'rikh-i Tās al-Mashhad al-Ridawī*, Baghdad 1346 = 1927. Cf. also the manuscript diary of a pilgrimage to Meshhed in 1819-1820 by Husain Khān b. Dja'far al-Mūsawī in the Berlin State Library, a. Pertsch, *Verzeichnis der persisch. Handschr. in Berlin*, Berlin 1888, Np. 360, p. 378-379. On the *Maḥḥā* al-Shams of Sanī' al-Dawla s. above.

As to descriptions of Meshhed by Europeans we owe the first full description to Fraser (1822); Conolly (l. 260) and Burnes (ii. 78) both say it is thoroughly reliable. Valuable notes on the town are given by Conolly, Ferrier, Khanikoff, Eastwick, MacGregor, Bassett, O'Donovan, Curzon, Massey, E. Dier, and especially by C. E. Yate and Sykes, each of whom spent several years (1893-1897 and 1905-1912 resp.) in Meshhed as British Consul-General for Khuzestān. — Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo (1404), *Embassy to the Court of Timur*, ed. C. R. Markham (Hakluyt Society, vol. xxvi., London 1859), p. 109-110; Truillier (1807), in *Bulletin de la Société de Géogr.*, vol. ix., Paris 1838, p. 272-282; J. B. Fraser (1822), *Narrative of a Journey into Khorāsan in the years 1821-1822*, London 1825, p. 436-548; A. Conolly (1830), *Journey to the North of India*, London 1834, i. 255-289, 296-368; A. Burnes (1833), *Travels into Bokhara*, London 1834, ii. 76-87; J. B. Fraser (1833), *A Winter's Journey from Constantinople to Teheran*, London 1838, i. 213-255; J. Wolff, *Narrative of a Mission to Bokhara in the years 1843-1845*, London 1846, p. 177-196, 386-408; J. P. Ferrier (1845), *Caravan Journeys and Wanderings in Persia*, London 1857, p. 111-133; J. J. Benjamin, *8 Jahre in Asien und Europa*, Hanover 1858, p. 189-190; N. de Khanikoff (1858), *Mémoires sur la partie méridionale de l'Asie centrale*, Paris 1861, p. 95-111; N. de Khanikoff, *Méhed, la ville sainte et son territoire*, in *Le Tour du Monde*, Paris 1861, No. 95-96; Eastwick (1862), *Journal of a diplomat's three years residence in Persia*, London 1864, ii. 190-194; H. Vámbéry (1863), *Reise in Mittelasien*, Leipzig 1865 (1873), p. 248-258; identical with H. Vámbéry, *Meine Wanderungen und Erlebnisse in Persien*, Pesth 1867, p. 313-327; H. W. Bellew (1872), *From the Indus to the Tigris*, London 1874, p. 358-368; Fr. John Goldamid (and Evan Smith, 1872), *Eastern Persia*, London 1876, i. 356-366; H. C. Marsh (1872), *A ride through Islam etc.*, London 1877, p. 96-112; V. Baker (1873), *Clouds in the East*, London 1876, p. 177-194; C. M. MacGregor (1875), *Narrative of a Journey through the province of Khorāsan*, London 1879, i. 277-309; ii. 4; J. Bassett (1878), *Persia, the Land of the Imams*, London 1887, p. 219-247; E. O'Donovan (1880), *The Merw Oasis*, London 1882, i. 478-502; ii. 1-14; A. C. Yate, (1885, brother

(*al-sāwīya*) in which the pilgrims are entertained. Admission to the tomb could only be obtained by permission of the gate-keeper. The pilgrims kiss the silver sarcophagus, above which hang gold and silver lamps. The doors are hung with silken curtains. The inhabitants are divided into the *Awlād Rakhik* and *Awlād Fāyiz*, whose continual feuds are detrimental to the town, although they are all *Shī'is*.

About the same date, *Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfi* (*op. cit.*) gives the circumference of the town as 2,400 paces; he mentions there also the tomb of *Hurr Riyā* (b. *Vazid*), who was the first to fall fighting for *Husain* at *Kerbela*.

The *Safawid* *Shāh Ismā'il I* (d. 930 = 1524) made a pilgrimage to *al-Nadja* and *Meshhed Husain*.

Sultān Sulaimān the Magnificent visited the two sanctuaries in 941 (1534–1535), repaired the canal at *Meshhed al-Husain* (*al-Husainiyya*) and transformed the fields which had been buried in sand into gardens again. The *Manīrat al-'Abd* (see below), formerly called *Engušt-i Yār*, was built in 982 (1574–1575). *Murād III* in 991 (1583) ordered the *Wāll* of *Baghdād*, 'Alī *Pasha* b. *Alwand*, to build or more correctly restore a sanctuary over the grave of *Husain*. Soon after the capture of *Baghdād* in 1623, 'Abbas the Great won the *Meshheds* for the Persian empire. *Nādir Shāh* visited *Kerbela* in 1743; while he is credited with gilding the dome in *Meshhed 'Alī*, he is also said to have confiscated endowments intended for the priests of *Kerbela*.

The great prosperity of the place of pilgrimage and its large number of inhabitants is emphasised on the occasion of the pilgrimage of 'Abd al-Karīm, a favourite of *Nādir Shāh*. *Radiya Sultān Begum*, a daughter of *Shāh Husain* (1694–1722), presented 20,000 *nādir*s for improvements at the mosque of *Husain*.

The founder of the *Qājār* dynasty, *Agha Muhammad Khān*, towards the end of the xviiith century, presented the gold covering for the dome and the *manāra* of the sanctuary of *Husain* (Jacob in *A. Noldeke, op. cit.* p. 65, note 4).

In April 1801, in the absence of the pilgrims who had gone to *al-Nadja*, 12,000 *Wahhābis* under *Shāikh Sa'ūd* entered *Kerbela*, slew over 3,000 inhabitants there and looted the houses and bazaars. In particular they carried off the gilt copper plates and other treasures of the sanctuary and destroyed the shrine. But after this catastrophe contributions poured in for the sanctuary from the whole *Shī'i* world.

After a temporary occupation of *Kerbela* by the Persians, *Nedjib Pasha* in 1843 succeeded by force of arms in enforcing the recognition of Turkish suzerainty over the town; the walls of the present old town were now for the most part destroyed. The governor *Midhat Pasha* in 1871 began the building of government offices, which remained incomplete, and extended the adjoining market place (references for the history of *Meshhed Husain* are given in *A. Noldeke, op. cit.*, p. 35–50).

At the present day with over 50,000 inhabitants, *Kerbela* is the second largest and perhaps the richest town of the 'Irāq. It owes its prosperity not only to the great number of pilgrims who visit the tomb of *Husain*, but also to the fact that it is the most important starting point for the Persian pilgrim caravans to *al-Nadja* and *Mecca*, and through its situation on the edge of

the alluvial plain it is an important "desert port" for trade with the interior of Arabia.

The old town with its tortuous streets is surrounded by modern suburbs. About half to three quarters of the citizens are Persians, the remainder *Shī'i* Arabs. The most important tribes among them are the *Bani Sa'ad*, *Salāme*, *al-Wurūm*, *al-Tahmāze* and *al-Nāziyye*. The *Dede* family is the richest: for constructing the *Nahr al-Husainiyya* it was rewarded with extensive estates by *Sultān Selim*.

The name *Kerbela* strictly speaking only applies to the eastern part of the palm gardens which surround the town in a semi-circle on its east side (*Musil, The Middle Euphrates*, p. 41). The town itself is called *al-Meshhed* or *Meshhed al-Husain*.

The sanctuary of the third *Imām* lies in a court yard (*yahya*) 354 × 270 feet in area, which is surrounded by *Imāms* and cells. Its walls are decorated with a continuous ornamental band which is said to contain the whole *Kur'ān* written in white on a blue ground. The building itself is 156 × 138 feet in area. The rectangular main building entered by the "golden outer hall" (picture in *Grothe, Geogr. Charakterbilder*, pl. lxxviii, fig. 136) is surrounded by a vaulted corridor (now called *ḡūmī*; *A. Noldeke, op. cit.*, p. 20, 3) in which the pilgrims go round the sanctuary (*ḡawf*) (*Wellhausen, Reste arab. Heidentums* 2, p. 109–112). In the middle of the central domed chamber is the shrine (*yandūka*) of *Husain* about 6 feet high and 12 long surrounded by silver *wazhrabiya* work, at the foot of which stands a second smaller shrine, that of his son and companion-in-arms 'Alī Akbar (*Mas'ūdi, Kitāb al-Tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, *B. G. A.*, viii, 303).

"The general impression made by the interior must be called fairy like, when in the dusk—even in the daytime it is dim inside—the light of innumerable lamps and candles around the silver shrine, reflected a thousand and again a thousand times from the innumerable small crystal facets, produces a charming effect beyond the dreams of imagination. In the roof of the dome the light loses its strength; only here and there a few crystal surfaces gleam like the stars in the sky" (*A. Noldeke, op. cit.*, p. 25 *sq.*).

The sanctuary is adorned on the *Kibla* face with magnificent and costly ornamentation. Two *manāras* flank the entrance. A third, the *Manīrat al-'Abd*, rises before the buildings on the east side of the *Sahn*; south of it the face of the buildings surrounding the court recedes about 50 feet; on this spot is a *Sunnī* mosque. Adjoining the *Sahn* on the north side is a large medrese the courtyard of which measures about 85 feet square with a mosque of its own and several *mīhrābs* (on the present condition of the sanctuary: cf. *A. Noldeke, op. cit.*, p. 5–26, on its history p. 35–50 and on its architectural history, p. 51–66).

About 600 yards N. E. of the sanctuary of *Husain* is the mausoleum of his half-brother 'Abbas. On the road which runs westward out of the town is the site of the tent of *Husain* (*Āḡaimagāh*). The building erected there (plan in *Noldeke*, pl. vii.; photograph in *Grothe*, pl. lxxxiv, fig. 145) has the plan of a tent; and on both sides of the entrance there are stone copies of camel saddles.

On the desert plateau (*ḡammāḡ*) west of the town stretch the graves of the devout *Shī'is*. North of the gardens of *Kerbela* lie the suburbs, gardens

and fields of al-Bāḡr, N.W. those of Ḳarra, S. those of al-Ghādhiriya (Yāqūt, iii. 768). Among places in the vicinity, Yāqūt mentions al-Aḡr (iii. 695) and al-Nawāyih (iv. 816).

A branch line diverging north of al-Hilla connects Kербela' with the Baghdad-al-Baḡra railway. Caravan roads lead to al-Hilla and Naḡlaf. The sanctuary of Husain still has the reputation of securing entrance to Paradise for those buried there, wherefore many aged pilgrims and those in failing health go there to die on the holy spot.

Bibliography: al-Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, Indices; Ibn al-Athīr, *Tārīkh*, ed. Toruḡer, Indices; al-Iṣṭakhri, *BḠA*, i. 85; Ibn Hawqāl, *BḠA*, ii. 166; al-Maḡdī, *BḠA*, iii. 130; al-Idrīsī, *Nuḡha*, iv. 6, transl. Jaubert, ii. 158; Yāqūt, *Muḡjam*, ed. Wustenfeld, ii. 189, iii. 695, iv. 249 sq.; al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitaḡ al-Tanbih*, *BḠA*, viii. 303; al-Bakrī, *Muḡjam*, ed. Wustenfeld, p. 162, 456, 471; al-Zamakhsharī, *Lexicon zoogr.*, ed. de Grave, p. 139; Ḥamd Allāh al-Muḡawī al-Ḳazwīnī, *Nuḡha al-Ḳutub*, ed. Le Strange, p. 32, transl. p. 39; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Taḡfī*, ed. Defrémery-Sanguinetti, ii. 99 sq.; O. Dapper, *Umständliche und eigentliche Beschreibung von Asia*, Nürnberg 1681, p. 137; Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien u. a. anliegenden Ländern*, ii., Copenhagen 1778, p. 254 sq.; J. B. L. J. Rousseau, *Description du pachalik de Bagdad*, Paris 1809, p. 71 sq.; C. J. Rich, in: *Fundgruben des Orients*, iii., Vienna 1813, p. 200; J. L. Burckhardt, *Bemerkungen über die Beduinen und Wahabys*, Weimar 1831, p. 390, 444, 452 sq.; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi., Berlin 1844, p. 837 sq.; M. v. Thielmann, *Streifzüge im Kaukasus, in Persien und in der Asiatischen Türkei*, Leipzig 1875, p. 398–401; Nolde, *Reise nach Innerasien*, Braunschweig 1895, p. 113 sq.; M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, ii., Berlin 1900, p. 274, 278, 281; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905 (reprint 1930), p. 78 sq.; A. Noldeke, *Das Heiligtum al-Husain in Kербela*, Berlin 1909 (= *Türkische Bibliothek*, ed. by G. Jacob, xi.; p. 30–34 further references); H. Grothe, *Geographische Charakterbilder aus der asiatischen Türkei*, Leipzig 1909, p. xlii and pl. lxxvii–lxxiv, with figg. 136, 138–45; L. Massignou, *Mission en Mésopotamie* (1907–1908), I., Cairo 1910, p. 48 sq. (= *M F A O*, xxvii.); Lamberto Vannutelli, *Anatolia meridionale e Mesopotamia*, Rom. 1911, p. 361–363; G. L. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, London 1911, p. 159–166; Stephen Hemsley Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925, Index; A. Muḡl, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, S. 40–42, 279–351 (= *American Geographical Society, Oriental Explorations and Studies*, No. 3).

(E. HONIGMANN)

MESHHEH-I MIŞRIYÂN, a ruined site in Transcaucasians (Türkenistan), N. W. of the confluence of the Atrak and its right bank tributary the Sumbar, or more exactly, on the road which runs from Çat at right angles to the road connecting Çikighlir with the railway station of Aydın.

The ruins are surrounded by a wall of brick and a ditch and have an area of 320 acres. The old town, situated in the steppes which are now peopled by Turkomans, received its water from a canal led from the Atrak about 40 miles

above Çat. Near the latter place the canal diverged northwards from the river, crossed the Sumbar by a bridge and finally followed an embankment 6 feet high on which the bed of the canal was 12 feet broad.

The ruins of a fine mosque can still be seen, the gateway of which, decorated with faience, has an inscription according to which this *ḡ* was built by 'Alī al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn ḡhiyāḡ al-Ilām wa 'l-Muḡlimin ḡllī Alīmī fi 'l-Ālamīn Sulṡān Muḡammad b. Sulṡān Takīḡ Burhān Amir al-Mu'minin. The Ḳh̲wārizmshāh Muḡammad in question reigned 1200–1220. On one of the two towers (minarets?) is written: *bismillāh... barakātun min Allāh minimū amara ḡhī Abū ḡd'far Aḡmad b. Abī 'l-Aḡḡar ḡḡḡ al-ribāḡ, ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ. 'Amal 'Alī R... (I)*. The identity of this Aḡmad is unknown but the title "lord of the ribāḡ" which he gives himself, confirms the fact that M-Miḡriyān was a frontier fortress (ribāḡ). Near the east gate stood another white mosque.

Tradition (Conolly) ascribes the destruction of Miḡriyān to the "Kalmuḡ Tatars". The appearance of the Kalmuḡs in these regions may be dated about 1600.

The name Meshhed-i Miḡriyān (variants: Mestorian, Mest-Debrān, Mest-Dovran, Mastān) is obscure, unless Mestorian is to be explained as "Nestorian" "Nestorian Christians"; it may be recalled that during his campaign in the Çol (**میل*), to the east of the Caspian, Yazdigird II persecuted the Christians (Hoffmann, p. 50; Labourt, *Le christianisme dans l'Empire Persé*, 1904, p. 126).

The site of the ruins (to the north of ḡurdjān) is given the name Dihistān in Muslim sources, which recalls the name of the old Scythian people Dahs who led a nomadic life on the Atrak (Greek *Δαḡ* and *Δαḡ*; cf. Tomaschek in *Panly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl.*, iv., col. 1945). From the Dahian clan of the Parnot was descended the Arshakid dynasty which imposed its authority on the Parthians (cf. Minorsky, *Transcaucasia*, J. A., 1930, July–Sept., p. 56).

The basin of the Atrak (the ancient *Sāpuz*) is at the extreme limit of the lands described in the classical and Muḡammadan geographers. The sources mention several settlements in Dihistān but in a somewhat confusing fashion. As the analysis by Hoffmann and by Barthold has shown, a distinction must be made between: 1. the settlement on the sea-shore, 2. the town of Dihistān and 3. the ribāḡ Dihistān.

1. The first of these was built on a promontory (*ḡḡḡḡ*) behind which ships could shelter. Marquart, *Erzählung*, p. 130, reads the name concealed in the variants in *Iṣṡḡḡ*, p. 219, note 5, as "Dihistān Bayāḡn" which he connects with the district of Bayāḡn mentioned (in ḡurdjān!) by Tabarī, ii. 1330; Balāḡhūrī, p. 337 and Ibn Ḳhur-dāḡḡḡḡ, p. 35. The *Hudūd al-'Ālam* mentions a peninsula of Dihistān-Sur on the coast of Dihistān. This *ḡ* may be an echo of the name of the

Turkish (I) princes *ḡḡḡ* or *ḡḡḡ* (Hoffmann, p. 281) who attacked ḡurdjān from the north (Ibn al-Athīr, iii. 22). Lastly Tabarī, ii. 1325, locates an island of Bahāira 5 *farasakha* from Dihistān. Barthold identifies all these names with the cape of ḡasan-Ḳali which shelters the bay into which the Atrak flows. [Cf. also the article *rūḡḡ*, on the *Diā-i Ālān* mentioned in the *Shāh-nāma*].

A difficulty is raised by İstakhrî (p. 219) who puts at 50 farsakhs and p. 226 at 6 *marhala* (each of 82½ farsakhs) the distance between Abaskân (at the mouth of the river Djurdjân, now Gümüş-tapa) and the cape of Dihistân in question. If we follow this double indication literally, we ought (with Hoffmann, p. 279, who reads the name "Dihistân" = Tabakhrî) to move the cape of Dihistân considerably to the north, in the bay of Krasnowodsk, which is certainly a very important place. In this case the cape would be a different one from Buhaira = Hasan Kuli (Hoffmann, p. 278).

2. The town of Dihistân, according to the middle Persian list of the towns of Erân, was founded by a certain Narsahr the Arshakid (Marquart, *Erânshahr*, p. 73) and according to the *Nusbat al-Kutub*, p. 166, by the Sāsānid Kubād b. Firz. According to Mukaddasî, the town of Dihistân was called Akhûr. Tabari locates (the town of) Dihistân 23 farsakhs from (the river of) Djurdjân and, as we have seen, 5 farsakhs from Buhaira. This latter distance is by the way less than the actual distance between Hasan-Kuli and Meshhed-i Misriyân.

3. The ruins of Meshhed-i Misriyân (as the inscription on the mosque suggests) must correspond to the ribât of Dihistân which Mukaddasî, p. 358 (cf. also p. 312, 367, 372) mentions distinct from Akhûr. This ribât situated on the borders of the steppes had fine mosques and rich markets. Relying on Yâqût, i. 39, Barthold thinks that in the 13th century the ribât (and not Akhûr to the east of the Djurdjân-ribât road) was the capital of the district of Dihistân.

Bibliography: The Muslim sources in the text; *Hudūd al-'Alam* (anonym. geography of 372=983), ed. Barthold, Leningrad 1930, fol. 58; Conolly, *Journey to the North of India*, London 1838, i. 76—77; Vambery, *Reise in Mittelasien* 2, Leipzig 1873, p. 85 (fantastic statements on the Greek origin of the ruins); Lomakin, *Osmotr savanin Meshed-i Misriyan*, *Izv. Kavk. Obd. Russ. Geogr. Obshch.*, iv, No. 1, p. 15—17; A. Kohn, *Die Ruinen d. alten Städte Meshed und (sic!) Mesterian*, *Globe*, 1876, No. 71; Blaraberg, *Die Ruinen d. Stadt Mesterian*, *Pet. Mitt.*, 1876, xxii, No. 1; Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten*, 1880, p. 277—281 (lucid analysis of the Arabic statements); Marquart, *Erânshahr*, p. 51, 73; 310; Barthold, *Iran-geogr. obzor Irana*, 1903, p. 82; Semenov, *Nadplni na portale meletii v Meshed-i Misriyan*, *Zap.*, xviii, p. 0154—0157; Barthold, *K istorii erocheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, p. 31—37 (this little known work contains a minute description of the basins of the rivers of Turkestan).

(V. MINORSKY)

MESİHİ (originally 'Isâ), an important Ottoman poet of the time of Bayazid II. Born in Prishtina (northern Albania), he came as a youth to Constantinople where he became a *sefta* (theological student) and distinguished himself as a calligrapher. In the end he won the favour of the grand vizier Khâdim 'Alî Paşa [q.v.] and became his diwân-secretary. But his irregular life and carelessness in the performance of his duties frequently irritated his patron ('Alî Paşa called him *Şehîr eghlânî*). He held his post, however, till the death of 'Alî Paşa in 917 (1511) in battle against the Shî'î rebels under Şah Kâfî. Mesîhî wrote an elegy on his death, full of the deepest emotion.

His attempts to find a new patron failed. He had to be content with a miserable fief in Bosnia where he soon died in 918 (1512), poor and forgotten and still quite young.

According to Ahmad Paşa [q.v.] and Nejdârî (d. 914 = 1509), Mesîhî was regarded as the third great Ottoman poet and the greatest lyric poet before Bâkî. He is a most artistic and original figure. His output was not extensive, but of lasting influence. His *Divân* has not yet been printed, a fate common to nearly all important Turkish poets. In his lyric poems he is above the average of contemporary poets. In addition to the grace and delicacy of his diction, there is a certain novelty in his style. New images and pictures are introduced with great boldness, perhaps a result of his Albanian blood. The best known of his poems, in Europe is his Ode to Spring (*bahârîye*) which Sir William Jones published with a Latin translation: *Poësis Asiaticæ commentariorum libri sex*, Leipzig 1774 and has been repeatedly reprinted (by Toderini, by Wieland in the *Deutsche Merkur*, by J. von Hammer etc.). His *Divân* is also of importance linguistically, for it bears the stamp of the Rumelian dialect.

Mesîhî's most original work is his *Meşnevî*, *Şehîr-engiz* (the "Thriller of the Town"), which is also the most original work in Turkish literature down to Mesîhî's time. It is original in subject also, as it did not have a Persian model. It introduced quite a new style of poem, which was frequently imitated. *Şehîr-engiz* represents the first attempt at humorous verse in Turkey, and its language is very close to the spoken speech. Here Mesîhî could write Turkish to his heart's content, while in other forms he had to use the learned jargon. He laments in one passage that without Persian and Arabic there would be no room for him as a poet, even if he had come down from heaven.

Şehîr-engiz is a burlesque catalogue of the beautiful "boys" of Adrianople — it is interesting to note that they are all Muḥammadan — and became popular on account of its unaffected language.

As a product of his activity as a secretary, we have also a collection of *inşâ*, elegant specimens of epistolary style, not without historical interest, entitled *Gülü Şad Berg* (the hundred-leaved rose). I have a manuscript of this work, which seems to be rather rare, of 991 (1583) entitled *Inşâ-i Mesîhî*.

Bibliography: Sehi, *Heşt Bihîşt*, Constantinople 1325, p. 109; Laṭîfî, *Tekere*, Constantinople 1314, p. 309—311; İbureyî, *Sâğıll-i 'oḥmânî*, Constantinople 1311, iv, 369; Sâmi, *Kâmilî*, Constantinople 1316, vi, 4286; Ahmad Rifât, *Luğat-ı ta'rikkîye*, Constantinople 1300, v, 80; H. Husâm al-Dîn, *Amâsiya Ta'rikkî*, Constantinople 1927, iii, 260; Nejdârî 'Aşim, *Mesîhî Divânı*, T.O.E.M., i, 300—308 (*Notice historique-sociologique tirée du divan de Mesîhî*); Mehmed Fâhîr, *Oḥmânîl Mî'ellîfîleri*, Constantinople 1335, ii, 410 (the *Divân* in the Hamidiya-Library is numbered No. 483 [not 473]; I could not find the copy of the *Inşâ* in the Cat. of the Nûrî 'oḥmânîye); Hammer, *G.O.D.*, i, 297—302; G.O.R., i, 679; Smirnov, *Ođerk istorii*, St. Petersburg 1891, iv, 477 (Kort); Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, London 1902, ii, 226—256; the Catalogues by Pertsch (Berlin, Göttingen), Rieu &c.

(Tit. MANZEL)

METAWILA. [See METAWALLI.]

MEWLÂNÂ HUNKÂR, a title of the head of the Mawlawî Order [see MAWLAWÎ]. The second word is the Turkish form of the Persian *hukūmandâr*, the equivalent of *mawla*, which according to Afîakî (*Saints des Derviches Tourneurs*, i. 59) was bestowed on Djâlâl al-Dîn by his father. Sâmi in his Turkish Lexicon states that the word, besides being used for "Sultân", "King", is applied to certain saintly personages, in such combinations as *pir hunkâr* or *mullâ hunkâr*. The underlying idea of such a title is probably that the saint has had committed to him the government of the world, if he choose to undertake it, an idea elaborated by Ibn 'Arabi (*Futûhât Makkiya*, i. 262; ii. 407), who regards such a saint as the true *khâlifa*. The title *leilî* is more generally recognized as that belonging to the head of the Mawlawî Order (Sâmi, *loc. cit.*, p. 310a).

(D. S. MARGOLIOU)

MEZZOMORTO, an Ottoman Grand Admiral whose real name was HÂDÎ HUSEIN PASHA.

Hâdî Husein Pasha, known as Mezzomorto, i. e. "half-dead" because he was severely wounded in a naval battle, came from the Balearic Islands, if A. de la Motraye's statement (*Voyages*, The Hague 1727, i. 206) that he was born in Mallorca is right. He probably spent his youth sailing with corsairs on the sea off the North African coast. He first appears as a desperate pirate in the summer of 1682 in the Barbary States. When France was preparing to deal a decisive blow at the pirates of Algiers, whose arrogance had passed all bounds, he was handed over as a hostage to the French after the bombardment of Algiers, but managed to return there, to strike down with his own hand, in a mutiny of the mercenaries which he had stirred up, the Dey of Algiers Baba Hasan, who was ready to make peace and to fight his way to the head of the state (summer of 1683, cf. Zinkeisen, *G.O.R.*, v. 51 sq.). Husein Ke's in the following year concluded with Louis XIV of France a truce for a hundred years, which however was only of brief duration. His own rule over Algiers was not long either (till 1688; cf. A. Bernard, *L'Algérie*, Paris 1929, p. 159). About ten years later, in Muharram 1107 (Aug. 1695), Husein Ke's, who had already distinguished himself as commander of a galloon (*kâfirân kapudân*), was appointed Grand Admiral of the Ottoman fleet (*kapudân-ı der-yâ*) in succession to 'Amâdîzâde Husein Pasha, who was appointed governor of Adana after the taking of Chios. He owed his promotion to his skillful seamanship at the capture of Chios where he distinguished himself in the battle with the Venetian fleet (spring of 1695). In 1697 Husein Pasha inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Venetian Captain General Alessandro Molino off the island of Lemnos, and in the following year in a naval fight on July 6 with Molino's successor, Giacomo Cornaro, near Mytilene it was very doubtful whether the Crescent on the Lion of St. Mark gained the victory (cf. Zinkeisen, *G.O.R.*, v. 183, from the account by the *Inquisitore Garzoni* in his *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*, Venice 1705, p. 644 sq., 691 sq., 748 sq. and 775 sq.). Ottoman authorities and the historian Rashîd (fol. 231; cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vi. 635) credit the victory to the Ottomans. In 1113, Mezzomorto was dismissed from his rank and re-

placed by 'Abd al-Fattâh Pasha. He retired to Chios, where his adventurous life came to an end in the same year on the 13th Safar 1113 (July 20, 1701, according to Safwet, *op. cit.*), on the 14th Safar 1114 (i. e. July 9, 1702) according to others. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vi. 766 and vii. 624, gives the date as 15th Rabi' 1113 (Aug. 20, 1701). One of these dates is probably that of his dismissal.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text cf. Safwet Bey, *Kapudân Mezmorja Husein Pasha*, Stambul 1327, Admiralty Press, 129 pp. small-8°, reprint from the periodical *Djerd-i bahriye*, documents and original sources relating to Mezmorto; cf. F. Bahinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 397 sq.; H. D. Grammont, *Histoire d'Alger sous la domination turque*, Paris 1887; E. Planet, *Correspondance des deys d'Alger avec la cour de France*, Paris 1890. (F. BAHINGER)

Mİ'DHANA. [See MANARA.]

MIDHAT PASHA, Ottoman statesman, twice grand vizier.

Midhat Pasha was born in Stambul in Safar 1238 (beg. Oct. 18, 1822), the son of Hâdî 'Alî Efendi-Zâde Hâdî Hâfîz Mehmed Efendi Efendi, a native of Rüşuk. The family seem to have been professed Bektaşîs and Midhat Pasha also had a leaning towards them. His earliest youth was spent in his parents' home at Widdin, Lofça (Bulgaria) and later in Stambul, where his father held judicial offices. In 1838 he was working in the secretariat of the grand vizier and later he filled confidential posts in various governorships (including two years in Danubius), in 1844 he came to Konya and in 1849 became second, in 1851 first secretary to the Council (*medjlîs-i salt*). In 1854 the grand vizier Kihriâlî Mehmed Pasha gave him the difficult task of pacifying the provinces of Adrianople and the Balkans and clearing them of robber bands. Here he displayed for the first time his special talents for administration, which were not unnoticed by the Porte and soon afterwards brought him the appointment of governor of the Danube districts (Widdin, Silistria). In 1858 he spent six months travelling for study in western Europe, including Vienna, Paris, Brussels and London. In 1861 he was appointed governor (*sâdî*) of Nîgh and Prizren with the rank of vizier, where he earned distinction by his pacification of the country, so that, when the new organisation of wilâyets was carried out in 1864, he was given the model province, Danube-Bulgaria (*Tuna Wilâyeti*). During his four years' governorship, he raised the province to a level rare in Turkey, although it was only under his successor that the people learned to thank him for it. He built schools and educational institutes everywhere, created funds to make advances to and support useful undertakings, built hospitals, granaries, roads (2,000 miles) and bridges (1,400) and improved communications in every way. As he required money for all these progressive undertakings, which the government could not give him and he would not raise by abuse of taxation, he raised the necessary funds by "voluntary contributions" from the people. The Bulgars, with whom for nationalist reasons he had no sympathy, suffered not a little from the enterprising spirit and unrestrained love of work of the young governor who, of unbending will and inexorable severity, was of a nature not attractive, but rather arrogant and conceited. At the same time he was quite modern in his views and had no scruples about

introducing absolute equality between Christians and Muslims in his province. He proceeded ruthlessly against agitators and rebels, dismissed incompetent officials and brought extortionists to book. His most rigorous steps were directed against the Russian Pan-Slav intrigues, the leaders of which he ruthlessly hanged. Although in a few years he made the Danube province the richest in Turkey without it costing the state a piastre, in 1869 Midhat Pasha, who had incurred the hostility of the Russians, was deprived of his office and sent to remote Baghdad as governor and commander of the 5th Army Corps. Midhat Pasha was not dismayed, but went to work with renewed energy to develop his new governorship. He laid roads, started horse-tramways, built a technical school, founded a savings bank, instituted regular steamship traffic on the Tigris between Baghdad and several harbours on the Persian Gulf and urged the building of a "Euphrates railway". Under the pretext that he had taken part in a conspiracy against the Sultan, Midhat Pasha, who had already earned the gratitude of the Baghdad province and also won Nedjd for the Ottoman empire, was summoned to Stambul where his enemy, the grand vizier Mahmud Nedim Pasha, had chosen him for the office of wali of Adrianople. Instead of this, on the fall of his rival, Midhat Pasha was appointed grand vizier on Aug. 1, 1872, only to be dismissed on October 19. It was clearly shown that his real strength lay in provincial administration. All possible elements combined to bring about his fall: Sultan 'Abd al-Aziz could not endure him because he opposed his mad whims; the Old Turks regarded him as an infidel because he planned his measures regardless of dogmatic objections; he was most unpopular with the Russians because he had taken sharp measures to deal with the Slav Bulgar intrigues. Midhat Pasha retired into private life as *persona ingrata*. In the grand vizierate of Es'ad Pasha, he became minister of justice on March 13, 1873 and held this office still under his successor Shirkatî-râde Mehmed Rüşdi Pasha till Sept. 29, 1873. In the following October, the governorship of Salonika was given to him which he only accepted with reluctance and held for barely three months. On Feb. 17, 1874 he was again dismissed and retired once more to private life. He used the leisure thus forced upon him to work out the schemes which he later unfolded and which meant a decisive change in the orientation of the Ottoman empire. In August 1875 his old enemy Mahmud Nedim Pasha, who had again received the imperial seals, appointed him minister of justice but by November he had handed in his resignation, which was accepted. The empire was then in a state of complete confusion risings, famine, an empty treasury and a half mad sultan. Midhat Pasha then composed his famous memorandum of March 9, 1876, which was to have such momentous results. On May 20, 1876 he entered the cabinet of the grand vizier Muttarîm Mehmed Rüşdi Pasha as minister without portfolio. In the night of May 30, Sultan 'Abd al-Aziz was deposed and Murad V raised to the throne of his fathers. On July 15, a proclamation issued in the name of the new sovereign used for the first time the word "constitution". Midhat Pasha was the soul of the new movement and he worked ardently with a few kindred spirits to give Turkey a constitution. Sultan Murad V became insane and was replaced by his brother 'Abd al-Hamid; on December 18,

1876 Midhat Pasha became grand vizier for the second time, and five days later, the constitution was solemnly proclaimed. The reactionary party and a powerful camarilla never ceased its endeavours to bring about the fall of Midhat Pasha and to bring his progressive schemes to nought. Under the pretext of high treason he was dismissed on Feb. 5, 1877 and banished to Europe. He was put upon a steamer and went via Rome and Paris to England. He was only permitted to return in 1878 and then only to Crete. In November 1878 under pressure from England, he was appointed governor-general of Syria. In 1880 he was transferred to Smyrna as governor. Here 'Abd al-Hamid's wrath overwhelmed him. In May 1881 he was arrested and brought to Stambul. The ludicrous charge of having caused the assassination of Sultan 'Abd al-Aziz was brought against him. Midhat Pasha was condemned to death but the sentence was not carried out. He was banished for life to Ta'if in Arabia. After repeated attempts to poison him, he was strangled on April 10, 1883 (Radjab 29, 1301) in prison. In this tragic fashion ended the life of one of the most notable and best statesmen of Turkey, perhaps the most important administrator that the Ottoman empire has produced in modern times. Midhat Pasha had a son, 'Ali Haidar Midhat Bey, who after his death conducted a campaign to clear his memory and wrote a very full life of his father.

Bibliography: The main source for the life of Midhat Pasha is the work of his son 'Ali Haidar Midhat Bey, which appeared in 2 vols. entitled *Midhat Pasha, Hayat-i siyasiyesi, khidmai, menfa hayati* at Stambul in 1325 (1909) (vol. 1: *Tahire-i 'Ibret*; vol. 2: *Mir'at-i 'Hairet*, Hilal press). — He had previously published *The Life of Midhat Pasha. By his son Ali Haidar Midhat*, London 1903, xii., and *Midhat-Pasha, sa vie — son œuvre. Par son fils Ali Haidar Midhat Bey*, Paris 1908, xxiii. A kind of translation of these works is: Yusuf Kamal Bey Hüsni, *Midhat Pasha, Hayat-i siyasiyesi, khidmai, menfa hayati*, Cairo 1331 (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 395, note). Of the wealth of literature on Midhat Pasha we may mention: Léon-Léon-Duc, *Midhat Pasha*, Paris 1877; Benoît Brunswick, *La vérité sur Midhat Pasha*, Paris 1877; A. Cléman Vassil Efendi, *Son Altesse Midhat-Pasha, Grand Vizir*, Paris 1909, vii.; *Un horrible assassinat commis sur l'ordre spécial du Sultan Abdul-Hamid II. Assassinat de Midhat Pasha d'après les documents officiels de la Jeune Turquie*, publ. par le Comité Ottoman d'Union et de Progrès, Geneva 1898, also *Midhat Pasha wa-Damād Mahmud Pasha Haydarîniñ Sultan 'Abd al-Hamidîñ Envârî Kâfiyyet Şekâdetleri*, Geneva 1314 (1896); Thurniay Rif'at, *Midhat Pashanın Kâ-tilleri*, Stambul 1324; of importance for the political ideas of Midhat Pasha are his own publications: *Feryâd ve-Figânlar*, Stambul 1326, political apologia; *Ahval al-Dawla al-'otmânîya al-siyâsiya li 'l-Nazar ila 'l-Medî wa 'l-Hâl wa 'l-istihkâl*, *La Turquie, son passé, son avenir*, *Ta'rif Midhat Pasha wa-had tarâfamañ Khalil Efendi al-Khürî*, Balıkt 1879; thereon Mehmed Rüşdi, *Midhat Pashanın Wafiyet-Nâmîsi ve-Şekâdeti*, Stambul 1325. — Of European works on the life and work of Midhat Pasha may be mentioned: [A. D. Mordmann sen.], *Stambul und das moderne Türkenhum*, New Series,

197; *Fragmenta Hist. Arab.*, p. 465). Those who declared their opinion in conformity with that of the caliph, should cite the legal witnesses under their jurisdiction and institute a similar inquisition.

This letter was sent to the provinces. In Egypt little was done. At Kūfa the general feeling was against yielding to the order of the caliph. In Damascus, the latter, probably on his way to Asia Minor, personally conducted the testing of the doctors of the town.

In a second letter he ordered Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm to send to him seven of the leading theological authorities of Baghdad, that he might test them himself. The name of the chief champion of the orthodox view, Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Hanbal [q. v.], which was at first in the list, was cancelled at the instance of the chief kadi Ahmad b. Abi Du'ad [q. v.], the most vigorous advocate of the miḥna under al-Ma'mūn and his successors. Among the seven who were summoned to the court was Muhammad b. Sa'd [q. v.], the secretary of al-Wakidi [q. v.], and author of the *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt*. All of them gave way to the pressure, assented to the view forced upon them and were sent back to Baghdad, where Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm had them repeat their confession before the theologians (Tabari, iii. 1116 sq.; *Kitāb Baghdad*, p. 343 sqq.). The success of the caliph moved him to cling to the method inaugurated by him. In a third letter which is interwoven with theological arguments (Tabari, iii. 1117 sqq.; Patton, *op. cit.*, p. 65 sqq.) he enjoined Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm to test all the kadis under his jurisdiction, who in their turn should test all witnesses and assistants in matters of law. Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm cited before him a number of the most notable doctors of Baghdad (Tabari, iii. 1121 sqq.; Patton, *op. cit.*, p. 69 sqq.), among them Ahmad b. Hanbal. The result of the test was that some of them yielded and others remained steadfast; Ahmad b. Hanbal belonged to the group of the latter.

In a fourth letter to Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm (Tabari, iii. 1125 sqq.; Patton, *op. cit.*, p. 74 sqq.), the caliph discussed the attitude of each of the doctors in connection with his character and way of life, and ordered those who had given unsatisfactory answers to be sent to his camp in Tarsūs. After a further examination by Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm two of them only remained steadfast, Ahmad b. Hanbal and Muhammad b. Nūh. They were sent to Tarsūs as prisoners. On the way thither the report of the caliph's death reached them. They were sent back to Baghdad; Muhammad b. Nūh died before he had reached the capital.

Ahmad b. Hanbal remained in prison. Although he was urged to make use of *taḥiyya* [q. v.] as others had done, he stuck to his attitude. Cited before al-Ma'mūn's brother and successor al-Mu'tasim (218—227 = 833—842), there originated lively debates on the nature of the Qur'ān and other theological subjects between him, the caliph, Ahmad b. Abi Du'ad and others, which lasted three days. No change, however, being brought about in Ahmad's attitude, he was scourged at the order of the caliph, and afterwards, from fear of an insurrection (for Ahmad was very popular), set free. Little more is heard of the miḥna under al-Mu'tasim (Abu 'l-Mahāsīn, i. 649; Patton, p. 113), who had neither the interest nor the training of his predecessor in theological matters.

His son al-Wathīk bi'l-lāh (227—232 = 842—847) who succeeded him, returned to the methods

of al-Ma'mūn (Abu 'l-Mahāsīn, i. 683; Patton, p. 115 sqq.), although it is said that he had restrained his father from prosecuting the miḥna any farther. He ordered the governors of the provinces to test the notables under their jurisdiction. Little is known of the consequences of this order. Ahmad b. Hanbal in the meanwhile had become a favourite teacher; when, however, he heard of the renewed activity of Ahmad b. Abi Du'ad he refrained of his own will from teaching, and was henceforth left alone.

Al-Wathīk personally intervened in the trial of one person of note, the theologian Ahmad b. Nāgī b. Mūlik al-Khuzā'i who had moreover taken part in a conspiracy (Weil, ii. 321; Patton, p. 116 sq.; cf. Tabari, iii. 1343 sqq.; de Goeje, *Fragmenta Hist. Arab.*, p. 529 sqq.). Questioned about the Qur'ān, al-Khuzā'i replied that he believed it to be the word of God. The trial had not proceeded much farther, when the caliph put an end to it and personally made an attempt to behead his victim, in which he did not succeed without the assistance of some one more skilled than himself (Shāhīn 231 = 846).

Other persons of note who remained steadfast under al-Wathīk were Nu'aim b. Hammad and the well known Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf b. Yahya 'l-Buwaṭṭi, the pupil of al-Shāfi'i and editor of some of his works (Patton, p. 119). Both died in prison. As an instance of the fanaticism of Ahmad b. Abi Du'ad it is related that, when in 231 (846) it was proposed to ransom 4,600 Muslim prisoners from the Byzantines, he proposed to abandon those who would not admit the creation of the Qur'ān; this was actually done (Tabari, iii. 1351 sqq.; *Fragmenta Hist. Arab.*, ii. 532; Abu 'l-Mahāsīn, i. 684; Patton, p. 120). It is said that al-Wathīk gave up his Mu'tasiliite views before his death. The miḥna continued to exist during the first years of the reign of his successor al-Mutawakkil (232—247 = 847—861), but in 234 this caliph stopped its application and forbade the profession of the creation of the Qur'ān on pain of death.

Bibliography: al-Ya'qūbi, *Ta'riḥ*, ed. Houtsma, ii. 491, 500—509, 521, 528, 575, 582; al-Tabari, ed. de Goeje, iii., as cited in the article; al-Mas'ūdi, Paris ed., vi. 283 sqq.; vii. 101; viii. 300 sqq.; s. 45, 51, 70; *Fragmenta historiarum arabicarum*, ii., ed. de Goeje, Leyden 1871, as cited in the article; Ahmad b. Abi Thābir Taifūr, *Kitāb Baghdad*, ed. Keller, Leipzig 1908; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vi. 297—301, 314; vii. 14 sq.; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Ta'riḥ*, Constantinople 1286, ii. 31 sqq.; Abu 'l-Mahāsīn b. Taghribirdi, *al-Nuḍjūm al-Zāhira*, ed. T. G. J. Juyneh, as cited in the article; Taḍī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, *Tabaqāt al-Sha'fi'iya*, Cairo 1324, i. 205 sqq.; W. M. Patton, *Ahmad b. Hanbal and the Miḥna*, Leyden 1897; A. von Kremer, *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams*, Leipzig 1868, p. 233 sqq.; M. Th. Houtsma, *De strijd over het dogma in den Islam tot op de Ash'ari*, Leyden 1875, p. 107 sqq.; G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, ii. 262 sqq., 297 sq., 340 sqq.; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland* (*Allgem. Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen*), i., 115v, 514 sqq., 523 sq.; W. Muir, *The Caliphate*, ed. T. H. Weir, Edinburgh 1924, p. 507, 512, 520 sq., 545; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg 1910, as cited in the article; do., in *Z.D.M.G.*, lii. 155 sqq. (A. J. WENSINCK)

MIHR, the seventh month of the Persian solar year which runs from Sept. 17 to Oct. 16 and therefore begins the autumn. Mihr is also the name of the 16th day of each month. To distinguish between the month Mihr and the day, the former is called *Mīhr Māh* and the latter *Mīhr Rūz*. On the 16th Mihr, the day when Mihr Māh and Mihr Rūz coincide, called *Mīhr-gāw*, one of the great feasts begins, which is also called *Mihrgāw* and lasts till the 21st of the month. The first day of this feast is called *Mīhr-i 'amma*, the general Mihr, the last *Mīhr-i khāssa*, the special, proper Mihr. The associations of this feast partly relate to the beginning of autumn, partly to the sun, whose name the month indeed bears, and partly to heroic legend: *Mihrgāw* is the feast of Ferīdūn's accession after his victory over Dabūk. On the rites observed at the feast see the sources mentioned below.

Bibliography: Ginzel, *Handbuch d. math. u. techn. Chronologie*, I, § 67 199; al-Birūnī, *At-ta'ār*, ed. Sachau, p. 42, 43, 70, 222 199; Vullers, *Lexicon persico-latinitum*, s. v. مهر; al-Kāẓimī, *Adjās al-Mahāliāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 81 19. (M. FLEISCHER)

MIHR-I MĀH SULTĀN, daughter of Suleimān the Magnificent. Mihr-i Māh (sometimes also written Mihr-u-māh: cf. Karādehlī-āde, *Namāṭ al-Ebrār*, p. 458) was the only daughter of Suleimān the Magnificent [q. v., as well as F. Bahinger, in *Meister der Politik*, II², Berlin 1925, p. 39—63]. While still quite young she was married to the grand vizier Rustem Pasha (cf. F. Bahinger, *G. O. R.*, p. 81 19.) in the beginning of December 1539 (cf. J. H. Mordtmann, in *M. S. O. S.*, Year xxxii., Part 2, p. 37), but the marriage does not seem to have been a happy one. She used her enormous wealth — St. Gerlach in 1576 estimated her daily income at not less than 2,000 ducats (cf. *Tagbuch*, Frankfurt 1674, p. 266) — for many pious endowments. Among these the most important were the two mosques built by her, one in Istanbul at the Adrianople gate (*Edirne Kapısı Džamī*; cf. Ewliya, *Seyahat-nāme*, I, 165; Hāfiḡ Husein, *Hadiḡat al-Djāwāmi*, I, 24 and J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix, 50, N^o 1) and the other (*Mīhr-i Māh Sultān Džamī*; cf. Ewliya, *op. cit.*, I, 472 19; Hāfiḡ Husein, *op. cit.*, II, 186 and J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix, 128, N^o 741) near the landing-stage in Scutari. The second was the work of the great architect Sinān [q. v.] who built it in 954 (1547) and also erected a palace for Mihr-i Māh in Scutari near this mosque. After her husband's death (July 8, 1561) Mihr-i Māh Sultān intervened in political matters on several occasions; for example she continually urged upon her father that the conquest of Malta should be one of the main undertakings of the Holy War and offered to equip 400 galleys for this campaign at her own expense. She was still alive at the reconciliation with her brother Selim and his accession. The correct date of her death, Jan. 25, 1578 is given only by Gerlach, *Tagbuch*, p. 449; the date in Karādehlī-āde, *op. cit.*, p. 458, namely Džū 1-ḡa'da 984 (Jan. 20—Feb. 18, 1577), is a whole year out. She was buried beside her father in his *ḡarab* (tomb-mosque) in Istanbul. From her marriage with Rustem Pasha two sons and a daughter 'Āḡaḡ Khanum were born; the latter married the grand vizier Ahmed Pasha.

Bibliography: In addition to the references

in the text, cf. Meḡammed Thuraiyā, *Sigill-i 'Osmāni*, I, 83; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, III, 393, 425 and pass.; a description of the circumcision festivals of her sons Džihāngir and Bāyazid is given in the Turkish MS. N^o 34, fol. 43^o 199. in the Pruss. State Library (cf. W. Perisch, *Verstecknis*, 66).

(FR. BAHINGER)

MIHRĀB (see also MASġUD I, D, c). Derivation of the niche. The mihrāb niche has been given a twofold origin by Orientalists and historians of art: from the Christian apsis and the Buddhist niche. "Tout ce qui reste de la basilique dans le sanctuaire de la mosquée c'est la qibla, sorte d'abside atrophie" says M. v. Berchem in his *Notes d'archéologie arabe* (*J. A.*, vol. xvii, 1891, p. 427). The introduction of the niche mihrāb into the mosque is no doubt rightly ascribed to the Omayyads, who were the first to build mosques of any size, under the influence of the Christian architecture of their lands. The simple Arabian and Persian village mosques have no niches even at the present day. According to tradition, Walid I, when he visited the mosque built for him with the help of Byzantine masons in Medina, was reproached with having built the mosque in the style of Christian churches (Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Medins*, Abh. G. W. Gottl., ix, 1861). When 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz in his Syrian buildings had the qibla made in the form of a niche, he provoked the opposition and anger of the zealous on account of the similarity which was thus produced between the mosques and churches. H. Lammens has collected a number of references, in which the mihrāb is roundly asserted to be copied from the Christians and to have become naturalised only with difficulty and not till the second century (*Ziyād*, p. 94, note 1 quoted by C. H. Becker, *Zur Geschichte des islamischen Kultus, Islamstudien*, p. 493). Perhaps the custom of placing several niches in the qibla wall of large mosques was also a gesture against the appearance of imitating the Christian custom. On the other hand it should not be forgotten that the semicircular niche was one of the most widely disseminated forms of ornament in Mediterranean architecture and its adoption was much more natural than an imitation of the much larger Christian apsis. The derivation of the mihrāb from the Buddhist or Hindu niche for idols has as much or as little in its favour as the other. For it was only exceptionally that the Indian idol stood in a niche, but regularly it was in a separate quadrangular cell. The separate phenomenon of the eastern polygonal mihrāb developed by the Turkish peoples, which was brought by the Seljuks and other Turkish peoples to Asia Minor and is found in Mesopotamia from the end of the 11th century can only be explained satisfactorily as a deliberate creation of its makers. As the heart of the house of worship, the mihrāb forms the culminating point in the equipment of the mosque, and as the carrier of the varied forms of decoration and continually changing systems of Muslim decorative art through the centuries is of considerable importance in the history of art. As a barometer of culture and art the mihrāb, if properly read, shows the prevailing tendency of art and its changes as a result of social changes. The writing of its history is a task for the future and it can only be outlined here.

History. The qibla was originally indicated not by a niche but by some mark such as a strip of paint or a flat stone marked in some way. Ac-

cording to Abū Huraira, it was introduced into the first mosque of the Prophet in Medina: "Instead of a mihrāb or prayer niche a block of stone directed the congregation; at first it was placed against the northern wall of the mosque and it was removed to the southern when Mecca became the Kiblah" (R. F. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina*, 1874, II, 72). The oldest mosque of 'Amr in Fustāt of 21 (642) had no niche, but the kībla, accurately calculated, was marked (Corbett, *J.R.A.S.*, 1890, p. 757-800). The Arabian use of slabs to indicate the kībla instead of a niche survived, alongside of the mihrāb and in spite of it, for several centuries within and without Arabia. The mosques in Arabia proper are still unknown and only a few buildings on the borders enable us to draw some conclusions. The ruins of the xith-xiith century on Bahrain (Dier, *Ein schiltsche Moscheereste auf der Insel Bahrain, Jahrb. d. asiat. Kunst*, 1925, II, Halbband) and the mosque of Kūmkaṣi on Zanzibar (*J.R.A.S.*, 1922, pl. iii.) show examples of a type later well known. Such slabs of stone or stucco were frequently built into the front pillars of the ḥarām down to the xiith century to indicate the kībla. They are to be found in Mōsul (Hersfeld, *Arch. Reise*, II, 277, 280) and they would certainly have been found in Baghdad for example had the old mosques survived there. They gave the caliph and his representatives the opportunity, so limited in Islām, of perpetuating their names and boasting themselves helpers of Islām by presenting such flat mihrābs. Examples are the richly ornamented stucco slab presented by the vizier al-Aḥḍal in the name of the Caliph al-Mustansir (485 = 1092) in the mosque of Ibn Tallā and its counterpart ordered by Sulṭān Lādīn (696-698 = 1296-1298) (illustr. in F. Flury, *Die Ornamente der Hākim- und Aḥar-Moschee*, 1912, pl. xvi.). When Muslim architecture is deliberately developed on a grand scale however we find the mihrāb in the viiith century as a semi-circular shell-shaped niche flanked by pillars, and this is the form that has survived essentially with local variations to the present day.

Mesopotamia. The oldest example here is the mihrāb of the Dīāmī al-Khāṣṣi in Baghdad. It consists of a single marble block 5' 4" inches high and 3' 1" broad with a semi-circular niche in it 12" deep. The columns have spiral grooves in them and Corinthian-like capitals upon which the horseshoe-shaped shell is directly placed without an abacus. The niche, otherwise smooth, has in the central axis a perpendicular strip of ornament as its sole decoration, which is quite devoid of any structural function and is quite in the textile-like style of later Islamic decoration. Hersfeld supposes that this mihrāb was brought by water about 145 A.D. for the newly founded Baghdad from North Syria or Diyār Bakr and suggests for this and similar mihrābs of Northern Mesopotamia, the similar niches in Christian churches as models (*Id.*, I, 35, 299). The Khāṣṣi type of mihrāb is found again in the walls of Amīd, which were built in 297 (910) by al-Muktadir (M. v. Berchem, *Inschriften aus Syrien* etc., coll. by Frh. von Oppenheim; De Beylie, *Prise et Samarra*, fig. 42; v. Berchem-Strykowski, *Amida*, fig. 12, 292, pl. 111, 27.). The change to the pointed arch however took place here probably by the tenth century, certainly in the xith A.D. Instead of the

semicircular we find also flat niches cut out in the form of a rectangle e.g. in the tomb of a holy man in Abū Huraira (Sarre-Hersfeld, *Arch. Reise*, I, 133, 19.). The use of stucco, which is so easily worked, hastened the development of the form of the niche in the xiiith century. In the mausoleum of the Forty Faithful (al-Aḥḍal) in Takrit there is a stucco mihrāb of 660 (1261-62) with a stepped arch in profile. The tomb of Zainab in Sindjār of about 657 (1288) contains a richly decorated stucco mihrāb completely covered with ornaments and scrolls (*Arch. Reise*, p. 308, 27., pl. iv.). This wealth of decoration may in turn have reacted on the niches of stone, as the rich mihrāb of the great mosque of 543 (1148) and other niches in Mōsul show (*Arch. R.*, pl. v. xci, xciii.). In contrast to Persia, stone remained the usual material here. We now find twisted little pillars with vase bases and vase capitals, zigzag arches and richly fluted bands with plumed fountains (mihrāb of Baḍr al-Dīn in Mōsul). The Hellenistic mussel-shell, so far as it still survives, lost its naturalism by turning the sphincter structure into ornament. The rectangular frame of the arch of the niche completed the adaptation of an originally Hellenistic type to the oriental spirit of architecture. In the vacant field below the couch we here frequently have a mussel shell carved in relief. We find variations like the flat rectangular niches with the base of the couch protruding as in the Dīāmī al-ʿOmariya (*Arch. R.*, pl. cxxxv.). When however we find in Pandjah 'Alt in Mōsul in 686 (1287) i.e. under the Ilkhān Arghūn, a polygonal mihrāb with stalactite canopy, we have apparently eastern, Seljuḳ influence, which produced the abstract stereometric crystallisation of the details and general form. Their seeming structural function is taken from the flanking pillars by direct continuation around the arch. Finally we may mention the occurrence of corner mihrābs in Mesopotamia when the kībla demanded it and it was not possible to orient the whole building properly. Such exceptions were confined to sepulchral domes (Maḥḥad Imām 'Awn al-Dīn in Mōsul: cf. Hersfeld, *Arch. R.*, pl. cxxxv.).

Syria. The Mosque of the Omayyads in Damascus has twelve mihrābs in all (cf. the plan by A. Dickie, supplemented by C. Watzinger and K. Wulzinger, *Damascus, Die islamische Stadt*). If systematically studied, they would probably give a conspectus of the development of the mihrāb in Syria. Only the principal mihrāb appears, at least in its architectonic development, if not in its embellishment to go back to the time of the foundation of the mosque. The other niches were put up mainly in the xivth century and later (*J. A.*, 1890, ser. vii., p. 185). The two favourite styles of decorating the walls in use among Byzantine workmen under Walid were *opus sectile* and glass mosaic. They must have been used almost exclusively for the early mosques along with carved mouldings. The description by Ibn Dīnair, who visited the mosque in 580 (1184) i.e. not till after the first great fire of 461 (1069), gives us an idea of the mihrāb as it then was, probably still predominantly Omayyad. The mihrāb wall was covered with marble slabs; the arch of the niche had inscriptions in gilt letters on a blue ground, probably in mosaic, and had a quadrangular frame. The wedges between arch and frame were decorated with the famous "vineyard of Walid", as we may safely assume, in mosaic. The vaulting of the niche was probably adorned in the same way. The frame

of the mihrab was crowned by a miniature arcading, a motive which with others was taken to Spain (see below) and above this the wall was adorned with views of celebrated towns and trees in mosaic, the Ka'ba in the centre. Remains of these mosaics still survive and the mosaics discovered a few years ago in the mosque by the French give us an idea of the splendour of their colouring. The mihrab destroyed in the fire of 1893 had a miniature arcading (illustr. in Saladin, *Manuel*, fig. 35); it had also an arch encircling it above, which also suggests an Omayyad origin. (According to Marçais, *La mosquée d'el-Walid à Damas et son influence sur l'architecture musulmane d'Occident*, R. A., L., where the dependence of the mosque of Cordova on that of Damascus is discussed, in Damascus all arches were originally horseshoe-shaped — and as in the rebuilding — arranged in two stories as we see from old descriptions). Of the mihrab of the Djami' al-Akṣā we know that it was covered with marble in 583 (1187) by order of Saladin. It has a wide niche formed of segments, with a pointed arch. The two sets of pillars with acanthus capitals are earlier than Saladin (Saladin, *op. cit.*, fig. 28). Le Bon mentions two peculiar mihrab niches in the transept of the mosque (*La civilisation arabe*, p. 148 and fig. 68). Under the Ayyubids the use of interlacing patterns in stone was popular in Northern Syrian architecture. They are sometimes rectilinear, sometimes rounded interlacings of textile origin which were used on the fronts of doors and prayer niches either in profile or as bands of stone in alternating colours. The decoration of the mihrab thus received a remarkable stimulus, as the prayer niches of the Madrasa al-Sulṭāniya and the Djami' and Madrasa al-Firdaws of 633 (1235), both in Aleppo, and the mihrab restored by Balbars of the Kubbat al-Silsile in Jerusalem, shew (picture in Creswell, *The Works of Sultan Balbars*, B. I. F. A. O., pl. xxvii, pl. 28, 29). Another peculiarity of the Syrian mihrab is the occasionally found adornment of the vaulting of the niche with — it is true very rounded — views of buildings and trees in opus sectile, as an example of which we may take the mihrab of the great mosque of Tripoli founded in 693 (1294) (picture in M. I. F. A. O., vol. xxv, 1909, pl. 5). The later Syrian mihrabs continued the traditional encrusting with different coloured marbles to which Turkish influence added the stalactitic conch.

Egypt. The principal mihrab of the oldest mosque that has survived in Cairo, the mosque of Ahmad b. Tulūn, is thought to be the original one in its general structure. The mosaic frieze with inscription at the level of the capitals and the marble covering below belong either to the restoration by Kalā'ūn or more probably to that of Lādīn. Thus a type was created in Cairo in the middle of the third century which is characterised by the double stepping of the niche with two pillars on each side, in this case taken from old Christian buildings and by the stilted pointed arch and rectangular frame; this form became the Egyptian model. In place of the Mesopotamian conch, the top of the niche was smooth and probably, as in Kairawān, painted. The narrow top continued through the Fatimid period while the double recess of the niche with pillars gives all later Cairene mihrabs their character. A stucco mihrab of the fourth (tenth) century, only the upper third of which has survived in its original form, of

which there is a copy in the Arab Museum, had the same structure with two pairs of pillars. The conch was imposed later (Flury, *Ein Stuckmihrab des IV. (X.) Jahrhunderts*, *Sarac-Festschrift*, 1925, *Jah. d. ar. K.*). The stucco mihrab of the sepulchral mosque of Dhiyūṣi on the Muḥattam in Cairo, a century later (478 = 1085) and particularly richly decorated, has a similar niche with a high pointed top (picture in Flury, *Ornamente lac. cit.*, pl. xvii, 1; Springer, *Hilch. d. K.*, vi, fig. 400). It is to be assumed that the original mihrabs of the Fātimid mosques of Ḥākim and al-Aḥmar also belonged to this group. The al-Aḥmar mosque, completed in 519 (1125) introduced a new motif in its façade, which was much imitated in Cairo, the placing of a row of ribs like the corrugation of a shell along the top of the niche. The stucco mihrab already mentioned, a copy of which is in the Arab Museum, must have been embellished about this time by a mussel shell. The mihrab in the sepulchral chapel of Shāḥjarat al-Durr [q. v.] the widow of Sulṭān Ṣāliḥ Nāḍim al-Dīn Aiyūb of c. 648 = 1250 (fig. in R. L. Devonshire, *Some Cairo Mosques*, London 1921, p. 32) shows this fashion in a much more decided and more advanced mugharnais stage. Such variations were however the exception. On the other hand the stucco mihrab survived down to the Mamlūk period. Creswell, for example, ascribes the stucco mihrab on the outside of the north wall of the mosque of 'Amr, rebuilt by Sulṭān Balbars, to the time of Balbars on grounds of style (658—676 = 1260—1277) (*The Works of Sultan Balbars*, B. I. F. A. O., xxi, 1926). The splendour of the exceedingly thick stucco ornamentation in relief is here increased by the *mugharnais* in the miniature arcading of the upper part of the niche. Stucco decoration thus reached its last effective possibilities. With the Mongol invasion of Syria, Syrian influence on Egyptian art was renewed (Cairo also benefited by the taking of Mōsul by the Mongols in 653 = 1255 and the resultant migration of the celebrated copper-smiths of Mōsul to Cairo, where from this time on the art of the metal-worker flourished, cf. Creswell, *op. cit.*, p. 482). Syrian influence also brought the Syrian mihrab overlaid with marble slabs and stone mosaic to Egypt, where it drove out the other types and became predominant. The oldest prayer niches of this new kind appear in the buildings of Kalā'ūn at the end of the fifth (eleventh) century. The flanking double pillars give them their Gothic grace and elevation. The arches are usually composed of alternating coloured wedge shaped stones serrated in various ways. The walls of the niches are decorated with mosaic in geometric patterns between miniature arcading and the conch vaulting overlaid with light and dark strips of colour alternating (often zigzag). Exceptionally we also find glass mosaic, as in the maḥfil of the Muḥtash of Kalā'ūn. Under the late rulers of the Circassian Mamlūks the decoration of the niche reached its height. The inlaying was done with all kinds of costly materials such as mother-of-pearl, turquoise, agates, ivory (Madrasa of Abū Bakr b. Muḥit and al-Ghūrī; cf. Briggs, *Mus. Arch.*, fig. 119 and 127).

A small group by itself is formed by the three portable mihrabs of the fifth (eleventh) century from al-Aḥmar, Saiyida Ruḡaiya and Saiyida Naḥās which are now preserved in the Arab Museum.

Maghrib. The history of the mihrab in the

western lands of Islam begins with the prayer niche in the great mosque of Kairawān. It was not the direct model for the later mihrābs — this was reserved for the portal of the library of this mosque — but with its wide semi-circular niche and the slightly rounded but still pointed arch it forms the transition to the western form of mihrāb. The pillars of mottled red and yellow stone rest on late antique bases and support pseudo-Byzantine porphyry capitals the abacuses of which are decorated with Kufic inscriptions. The wall of the niche is covered with marble slabs, some perforated, some carved in relief, the frames of which also bear inscriptions. Behind is a recess. The vaulting of the niche still shows traces of having been painted with vine tendrils arranged in circular patterns, which remind one of Mshatā (pictures in G. Margais, *Couplet et plafond de la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan*, 1925, pl. viii.). The frieze separating the recess and the vaulting of the niche, and the surrounding walls are covered with the famous lustre tiles made, some in Baghdad and some by a Baghdad artist in Tunisia, and presented in 281 (844) by Ibrāhīm b. Aghlab. This remarkable mihrāb of the early period, when Islam was still in search of a style, thus combines all that the empire could produce in decoration, sculpture, painting, both richly lightened by gold and shining tiles. The fully developed western style is found a century later in the mihrāb of the Mezquita in Cordoba. This mihrāb, built by Hishām II about 970, consists of an isolated heptagonal space 12 feet broad and 23 to 26 feet high. One side is formed by the wall containing the door. The floor and walls are covered with rectangular pieces of white marble, above are a frieze of inscriptions and the cornice, on which a richly carved niche wall with clover leaf arch on marble pillars with gilt capitals forms the upper part, which again terminates in an inscribed frieze and is covered by a single piece of marble in the shape of a mussel shell. In the inscription on the outer wall the artist is mentioned: "the work of Badr b. al-Khūyān". The historically important part here is the entrance wall to this chamber, which consists of a horseshoe-arch gateway with rectangular frames and miniature arcading at the top. This form of wall, which now becomes typical for mihrābs and portal walls in most lands of the Maghrib and shows its own course of development, has been traced to the portal wall of the library of the great mosque in Kairawān as the earliest model, or both go back to a common Syrian original (cf. Margais, *Manuel*, I, 264 sq.). In Cordoba we meet with a special shape of the mihrāb recess, the origin of which is doubtless different from that of the niche and goes back to an original with special functions connected with the cult of relics and of the dead. According to tradition, a relic of the Prophet was actually preserved in this space and the believers used to pay reverence to it in a sevenfold circumambulation. A quite singular, similar, isolated mihrāb is found in the madrasa in Khargird, Khurāsān (cf. Margais and below *FRANK*). (Whether here we have the influence of the *pradakhshana* of the Indian cult of relics cannot be settled. The circumambulation of altars, tombs of saints, and other sacred objects was of course a widespread custom in northern lands also). Horseshoe-arches, multiple rectangular border and miniature arcade

are the typical elements of the henceforth canonical mihrāb wall. The wedge-shaped stones of the horse-shoe arch are not serrated in complicated fashion, as in Egypt and Syria, but usually alternate in colour and are all smooth, as in Cordoba, or alternately smooth and carved in relief. In Cordoba the spandrels are still filled with palm-branches and acanthus-like tendrils in relief and the two borders decorated with Kufic inscriptions (cf. R. Amador de los Rios, *Inscriptions arabes de Cordoba*, Madrid 1892). The niches of the miniature arcading with clover-leaf arches are covered with mosaic (pict. in E. Kühnel, *Mausolée Kunit. K. d. O.*, pl. 13, 14). The wall of the pentagonal mihrāb niche in the great mosque of Tiemen of about 1135 A.D. is similarly formed (pict. in Kühnel, *op. cit.*, pl. 24). But we already find here in the spandrels the isolated rosettes which first appear on the mihrāb of the Aljaferia in Saragossa of the second half of the eleventh century (pict. in Margais, *Manuel*, fig. 215). The mihrāb wall of the Almohad mosque in Timall in the Atlas (1153 A.D. shows, instead of the tendrils, a woven pattern such as is often found on carpets (pict. in Margais, *op. cit.*, fig. 216); and in place of the miniature arcading we have round arched windows alternating with flat niches. A divergence from the canonical type is found in the mihrāb of the mosque in Tameur built in 590 (1194) in the oasis of Djerd (pict. in Margais, *op. cit.*, fig. 218). It has a double arch and profuse ornamentation, on the wall of the niche also. Margais explains the divergence by saying that the mosque was built by a conqueror of Almoravid descent in the Almohad period by workmen from Andalus. The niche bears the stamp of hurried improvisation. The mihrāb here reproduced, in the Sidi Ogha mosque in the Siban oasis at Biskra which is considered the oldest mosque in Algeria, may be regarded as an example more in the popular tradition, therefore particularly interesting. The date is unknown. The decoration belongs to the field of *Kirishunst*. Under the dynasties which succeeded the Almohads from the xiii.—xvth century the Cordoba type remains the model in principle. Only the proportions are more slender, the horseshoe arches more elegant and, instead of the miniature arcading, windows with coloured glass in a stucco framework have become naturalised. The isolated mihrāb chambers have given place to semicircular or polygonal niches. Examples are the *maḥrab* of the mosque in Taza, Sidi bel Hasan and al-'Uād in and near Tiemen, in Fās and the Hamra of Granada, the latter covered with mosaic (pict. in Margais, *op. cit.*, fig. 336—338 and P. Ricard, pl. 2, 21). In Tunis of the xv.—xvith century also the mihrāb with flat round niche and horse-shoe arch of alternately coloured and ornamented stones and rectangular frame continued to predominate. The plinths are regularly covered with marble or tiles, while the niche vaultings are fluted like a mussel shell.

Persia, Turkestan, Afghanistan. The two earliest prayer niches in Persia, so far as is known, are in the mosque at Nāyin, east of Isfahān, of the ix.—xth century A.D. (Viollet and Flury in *Syria*, 1921, pl. xxx, and S. Flury, in *Syria*, 1930) and in the *ḥaḍra* at Khargird, Khurāsān, of the xi.—xii century (Dier, *Khurāsanische Wandmalerei*, pl. 30).

In spite of their different ornamentation, these



Fig. 1. Mihrab of a Mosque in Bahrain.



Fig. 2. Mihrab of the Sidi 'Ukba Mosque in Kalawān.



Fig. 3. Mihrab of the Mosque in Sidi 'Ukba (Ziban oasis, Algeria).



Fig. 4. Mihrab of the Ahmed b. Tulun Mosque in Cairo.



Fig. 5. Mihrab of the Ma'aliyah Mosque in Cairo.



Fig. 6. Wooden mihrab from the Sayyida Nafisa Mosque in Cairo (Arab Museum).



Fig. 7. Mihrab from Bidjapur (1636 A. D.).

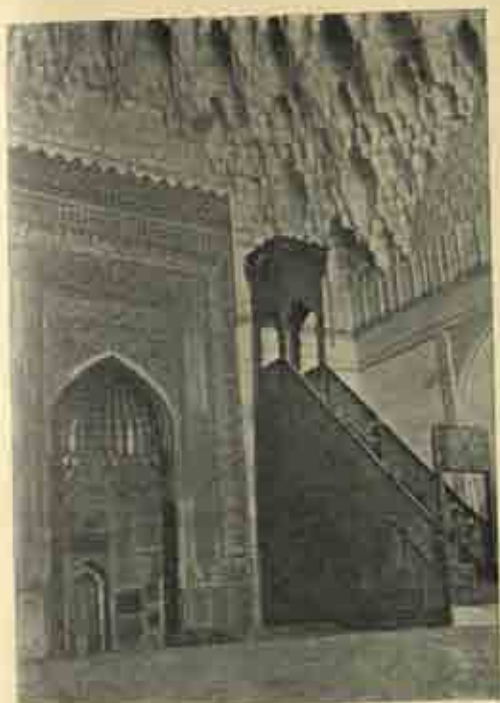


Fig. 8. Mihrāb of the Djawhār Shād Mosque in Meshhed.



Fig. 9. Mihrāb of the Uldjaitu Khudābanda Mosque in Isfahān (1310 A. D.).



Fig. 11. Mihrāb of a Mosque in Isfahān (XVIIth century A. D.).



Fig. 40. Persian frieze with Ishtar decoration.

two stucco mihrābs are very similar. Both are rectangular niches flanked by inset $\frac{3}{4}$ pillars with leaf capitals, with pointed conches diagonally set and thickly decorated with tendrils in a rectangular frame. The back wall under the conch presents a repetition of the architecture of the niche so that we have a niche in a niche. In Persia, therefore, if Flury is right in his early dating, perhaps as early as the third (ninth) century, a rich double framed style of mihrāb had been developed, which lasted down to the sixteenth century, as is shown by the next surviving monument of this group, the stucco mihrāb in the Masjid-i Djum'a in Isfahān of 710 (1310) (Dier, *K. d. isl. Völker*, p. 100; 2nd ed., p. 85). In the interval however the decoration, at first purely floral, had become mainly epigraphic, a transition that can be followed step by step from the sixteenth century. The stucco mihrāb of the mosque of Djilyūst on the Makāṭam in Cairo of 478 (1085) is also of importance for this sequence of development (pict. in Flury, *Ornements* etc., pl. xvii).

But in Persia a second type developed alongside of the stucco mihrāb, the mihrāb decorated with lustre faience, with which this part of the decoration of the mosque and with it Persian faience reached its zenith. The lustre mihrāb of Kāshān of 624 (1226) in Berlin (pict. in Springer's *Kunstgeschichte*, vi. 438) and a similar niche from Warāhm in the possession of the firm of Kelskian (*Cat. of the Exhib. of Persian Art*, London 1931) may be quoted as examples. These mihrābs show the same double niches as their stucco counterparts but are flatter, more framework than niche. In place of the curved arch, the canopy is a rectilinear gable, a change in shape probably mainly due to the material. The colours are predominantly a light blue ground with letters in dark blue relief and decorations in brown lustre. By the combined effect of the colours and the profuse ornamentation, these mihrābs have a truly fairylike suggestion and reach the highest ideal of Islamic decorative art. The mihrāb assumed a new form in the Timurid period. Instead of the semi-circular or flat rectangular niche we now find under Turkish influence the polygonal — pentagon constructed out of an octagon — of larger dimensions than previously, broader and deeper. The ornamentation proceeds parallel with the usual Timurid wall decoration. In the same way the plinth is covered breast-high with polygonal tiles and the walls above usually with flat miniature arcading, which pass into vaulted muqarnas painted or covered with tiles. Finally the frames and the scrolls of inscription filling them are frequently inlaid with that finely executed tile-mosaic which forms the glory of Timurid architectural ornament. As examples may be mentioned the mihrābs in the praying chambers of the madrasa in Khargird (Dier, *Cour. Rendantmaler*, pl. 33, 1), the mihrāb of Ziyāret Abi Walid near Herāt (Niedermayer-Dier, *Afghanistan*, fig. 174), the splendid prayer niche in the mosque of Djawhar-Zāde in Mashhad (Dier, *K. d. isl. Völker*, v. fig. 146 and 108) all of the sixteenth century. The mihrāb in the splendid medrese in Herāt, now destroyed, must have been similar to that in Mashhad, here reproduced, having been founded by the same princess and probably built by the same architect (cf. above iii. p. 387^h). In the Safawid period, we find alongside of mihrābs with mosaic and muqarnas also painted niches,

which show intertwining tendrils standing out in white from a brick red ground. Mihrābs like this are to be seen in the ruins of the Musalla outside Isfahān and in Rezhān, Khurasān (fig. Dier, *Cour. Rendantmaler*, pl. 22, 3). They seem to have been very widely disseminated. It may be mentioned in conclusion that in place of a prayer niche in the Kibla-sala of the Timurid madrasa in Khargird, there is a rectangular windowless chamber, accessible by a doorway through the sala. The similarity with the mihrāb chambers frequently found in the Maghrib is remarkable and is discussed under Spain.

India. No mosques earlier than the sixteenth century have survived in India. In the mosques of the sixteenth—seventeenth centuries the prayer niches are built in Indian fashion, that is to say flanked by decorated Indian pillars and adorned with Indian ornamentation. The gable-shaped panels over the niches are particularly ornamental. The wall of the niches is usually adorned in relief with a lotus rosette and a pendant vase out of which grow tendrils. Numerous niches of this kind are to be found in mosques of Gujjarat and Ahmadābād of the sixteenth—seventeenth centuries. An Indian peculiarity is the placing of three to five, sometimes even seven mihrābs in the kibla wall in keeping with the architectural units of the main building, each marked by a dome (Djāmi Masjid in Bharoch, and Champanir, Gujjarat etc.). There are also mosques with mihrāb chambers, which we can assume with Havell to be adaptations of the former cells for idols (Dholka, Gujjarat, Khana Masjid and Ahmadābād). It is therefore not impossible that isolated mihrāb chambers outside of India, as in Khargird, Persia, or even in the Maghrib, should be traced to Indian influence, although this feature is not found in the earliest mosques in Aden and Delhi. In Gujjarat however these chambers might have been used as mihrābs in the oldest mosques and provinces with a sea coast and international trade may have had influence abroad (cf. *Arch. Survey of India, Western India*, vol. vi., vii., Gujjarat, Ahmadābād). When Persian influence began to be felt under the Moghul emperors, the Indian elements gradually disappeared from the mihrābs and their place was taken by the polygonal niche in the wall incrustated with coloured marble. Under Akbar Indian detail still survived. The arches of the mihrāb of the great mosque in Fatehpur Sikri, for example, are edged with a lacework of carved palmette friezes; the material is stone but the inlay work imitates the Persian tiled mihrābs (pict. in V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India* and Dier, *K. d. isl. Völker*, p. 229 and p. 141). In the court mosques of Agra and Delhi we find dazzling white marble mihrābs with coloured intarsia of flowers. The most splendid mihrāb in India and indeed in all the lands of Islām is the niche of the Friday mosque in Bidjāpur, the former capital of the 'Adil Shāhs in the Dekhan. The only rival that it can ever have had is Walid's mihrāb in Damascus. Framed by a gigantic arch resting on double pillars, the pentagonal niche recess constructed out of an octagon goes deep into the wall on whose surface the motif of the niche is three times repeated. The central of the three niche areas is mystically marked by a gilt eight-pointed star as the real kibla. In gigantic letters of gold the two sacred names Allāh and Muḥammad in the spandrels of the arch impress themselves on the hearts of the worshipper, and chime in

afresh in the drum-shaped flanking pillars, which in Bijāpūr decoration are frequently used as conventional ornament but are here of structural importance. Mināras and sepulchral domes crown the structure and their principal motive is again a niche in the centre. This imposing decoration is carried out in shallow relief and is painted with red, blue and black colours heightened with gold. In the rectangular fields on both sides and in the arches are inscriptions on bands and in medallions of which we give Cousens' translation of one because it sums up Muslim philosophy in a nutshell:

- "Place no trust in life: it is but brief".
 "There is no rest in this transitory world".
 "The world is very pleasing to the senses".
 "Life is the best of all gifts but it is not lasting".
 "Malik Ya'qūb, a servant of the mosque and the slave of Sulṭān Muḥammad, completed the mosque".

"This gilding and ornamental work was done by order of the Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Adil Shāh, 1045" (1636 A.D.).

Asia Minor, Armenia and Turkey. The mihrāb took a development quite of its own among the Seldjūqs of Rūm. Instead of the descendant of the high, Hellenistic round niche, we find here a prayer niche which rather resembles a hearth and is probably to be explained as an adaptation of the prayer carpet to this form of building. The appearance of these niches, which are thus of no structural significance, is however made up for by their stereometrically crystallised cone-shaped vaulting formed of cells. The Turkish art of the Seldjūqs brought as its dowry to the art of the Muslim world the Muḥarrat, the suggestion of which, it in turn owed to Buddhist art, for the Seldjūqs came from Central Asia where Buddhist art had long prevailed. During the short period of Seldjūq architecture in Asia Minor, the 11th century, the form of the niches remained unaltered. They are low rectangular shallow niches with pillars built in without bases, which bear rhomboidal crystal bodies as capitals and come to a point with the conical cells of the vaulting. The spandrels and frames are inlaid with the usual Seldjūq white, blue and black tile mosaic (pic. in Löytved, Sarre, Springer-Kühnel and Dies, *op. cit.*).

The most important change undergone by this early Turkish mihrāb in Ottoman architecture was the raising of the supporting niche to its full height. The niche assumed polygonal form, i.e. it has three or five surfaces constructed out of the octagon, such as we find in India and Persia from the 17th century; it was however raised higher and looks more slender and regularly ends in a muḥarrat cone. The decoration consists mainly of marble and Turkish tiles. A moulded tinfoil frieze formed the usual framework for the whole. The combination of Byzantine and early Turkish elements, the hard forms and a certain rationalism in execution give these mihrābs that cold appearance which is peculiar to Ottoman art.

Worthy of mention is the splendid mihrāb of the Ulū Dīwān in Wāw in the Persian style with mosaics of glazed brick terracotta reliefs and inscriptions; a niche with a muḥarrat (11th—12th centuries, pic. in Bachmann, *Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenien*, pl. 62).

Bibliography: The references given under

MANĀRA and MASJID apply also to MIHRĀB. The mihrāb has not yet had separate studies devoted to it. The following works have been specially used here: F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise*, 4 vols.; E. Herzfeld, *Die Genesis der islamischen Kunst und das Mesopotamienproblem* (for the Khāṣaki Mihrāb), in *Idl.*, I.; M. v. Berchem and J. Strzygowski, *Amida*; H. Viollet and S. Flury, *Un monument des premiers siècles de l'histoire en Perse*, in Syria, 1921; S. Flury, *La mosquée de Nāyin*, in Syria, 1930; do., *Die Ornamentik der Hākim und Athar Moschee*, Heidelberg 1932; do., *Ein Stuckmihrāb des IV. (X.) Jahrhunderts*, in *Idl.*, 1935; E. Dies, *Eine schiffliche Moschee auf Bahrein* (Jahrb. d. ar. Kunst, 1925); do., *Die Kunst der isl. Völker*, Handbuch d. Kunstwissenschaft; do., *Chirāzische Bauendenkmäler*; K. A. C. Creswell, *A brief Chronology of the Muhammadan Monuments of Egypt to A.D. 1517*, B.I.F.A.O., xvi.; do., *The Works of Sultan Bihār in Egypt*, B.I.F.A.O., xxvi.; P. Ravaisse, *Sur trois mihrābs en bois sculpté*, *Mém. Inst. Egypt.*, II, 1889; G. Margais, *Musée d'art musulman*, 2 vols., 1926; E. Kühnel, *Maurische Kunst, K. d. Orient*, vol. ix.; H. Saladin, *La mosquée de Sidi Oḥā à Kairouan*; G. Margais, *Croquis et plans de la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan*; J. H. Löytved, *Konia, Inschriften der seldschugischen Bauten*; C. Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*; Arch. Survey of India, *Western India*, vols. vi. and vii.; H. Cousens, *Bijapur, a Guide to its Ruins*, Poona 1923.

(E. Dies)
MIHRĀN, the name given by Muslim writers to the Indus (Sanskrit *Sindhu*), called by the Greeks *Σίνδης* and *Σίνδης*, by the Romans *Sindus* and *Indus*, and by early Muslim writers *Abi Sind* (the Water of Sind). The name is more particularly applied to the lower reaches of the river, after it enters Sind. Flüy, writes of "Indus, inedia Sindus appellatus".

The Indus rises in 32° N. and 81° E., receives the Kābul river almost opposite to Atak, and the Pandjnad, the accumulated waters of the five rivers of the Pandjāb, just above Mithankot. Near Kashmor, in 28° 26' N. and 69° 47' E., the river enters Sind, and below Bahkar is locally known as *Daryā*, "the Sea". It falls into the Arabian Sea in 25° 58' N. and 67° 30' E. Its drainage basin is estimated at 372,700 square miles and its length at a little over 1,800 miles.

The courses of the Indus and its tributaries have undergone, even in historical times, extensive changes of which it is impossible to give details in this article, and which have misled historians who have disregarded them. They have been minutely and elaborately described in *J. A. S. B.*, vol. lxi. (1895) by the late Major H. G. Raverty, who has illustrated his scholarly monograph by a series of admirable maps.

(T. W. HAIG)

MIHRGĀN. [See **MIHR**.]

MIHRĪ KHATUN (originally Mihr-i Māh), an important Turkish poetess of the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries. She belonged to Amāsa, which produced a number of poets, and spent her whole life there. She was one of the family of Pir Ilyās. Her father was a *ḫāṭi* and wrote poetry under the *maḥallā* of Bāḫl. She inherited from him her poetic gifts and also

received from him the poetic and theological training ascribed to her by Ewliya.

Not much is known of her life. This is in part to be explained by the reticence of the East regarding women. That in the East boys rather than girls are sung of in love songs is due not so much to a preponderance of paederasty as to a disinclination to talk of women at all. She died in 912 (1506). Her tomb in Amasia is a place of pilgrimage. She belonged to the literary circle of prince Ahmad, the second son of Süleymân Baysiz, who was governor of Amasia in 886-918 (1481-1512). Of a circumcision festival in the house of the prince in 911 (1505), it is recorded that Mihri was the chief of the poets present.

In spite of the love affairs credited to her and sung by her (with Iskender, son of Sinân Paşa, with Ma'siyad-âde [born 860 = 1455] and others), the Turkish biographers emphasize besides her beauty her virgin life, in spite of the glowing fervour with which she described her nights of love. Her nature was evidently not quite clearly understood by the *trikereği*. Contrary to the Oriental custom, Mihri remained unmarried in spite of many wooers. It is not improbable that the experiences described by her are not quite inventions but evidence of her passionate nature which drove her to unfettered love. Mihri's great merit is that she did not suppress her femininity, so that in her poems she reveals a truly womanly soul. In this respect, she is the most personal among Turkish poetesses.

As a woman she found it doubly difficult, in view of the restrictions on her sex at the time, to win a place as a poet, as the study of the Persian poets was absolutely necessary for this. The energy with which she managed to achieve her aim is remarkable. Her chief model was Nedjâti (d. 914 = 1509), the most important poet of the period, with whom she tried to compete. Most of her pieces are written in Nedjâti's manner. She is not very original, but very few Turkish poets are, in language and in images she is conventional. But her freshness, directness and passionate feeling, in which no other poetess equals her, are remarkable. Her eloquence and brilliant style were proverbial.

She left a *Divân* (edition in preparation by Martinovitch) and several treatises in rhyme. A number of her poems have been made accessible to us by Smirnov. According to Ewliya's statement (in MSS., not in the printed text), she also composed *risâle's* on *âşk* and *farâîf*.

Bibliography: Lutfi, *Tezkere*, Constantinople 1314, p. 319-322; Sehi, *Tezkere*, Constantinople 1325, p. 122; Ewliya, *Seyahat-Nâme*, Constantinople 1314, li. 192 (my MS. of the year 1176 gives ii. f. 91^r full details of her works which are not in print); Zihni, *Masâlik-i Nisâ*, Constantinople 1295, li. 240-241; Mu'allim Nâzî, *Erkân*, Constantinople 1308, p. 310; Ahmad Muhtâr, *Sûr-i Kâmilîlerimke*, Constantinople 1311, p. 59; Thureyâ, *Sâfiyye*, Constantinople 1311, iv. 527; Reşad, *Tu'rikâ-i Edebiyat-ı 'osmâniye*, p. 225-227 (n. d.); Şihâb al-Din Sulaimân, *Tu'rikâ-i Edebiyat*, Constantinople 1328, p. 58; do. and Köprülüâde M. Fu'âd, *Osmânî Tu'rikâ-i Edebiyat*, Constantinople 1332, p. 248-253; M. Tahîr, *Osmânî Mu'allifleri*, Constantinople 1333, li. 408; 'Ali Emîrî, *Tu'rikâ-i 'osmâniye*, Constantinople 1335, li.

508-510; İbrâhim Nedjâti, *Tu'rikâ-i Edebiyat Derleri*, Constantinople 1338, i. 79; Hammer, *G.O.D.*, i. 306-309; li. 73; *G.O.R.*, i. 191; Smirnov, *Oğrak istoriî turekbi literatûry*, St. Petersburg 1891, iv. 478-481; do., *Oğrakçıya presvideniya osmanli literatûry*, St. Petersburg 1891 and 1903; Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, ii. 123-135. (Tu. MUSEUM.)

MİKÂL, the archangel Michael [cf. MAL'Ā'IKĀ], whose name occurs once in the *Kur'ân*, viz. in sûra ii. 92: "Whoever is an enemy to Allâh, or his angels, or his apostles, or to Gabriel or to Michael, verily Allâh is an enemy to the unbelievers". In explanation of this verse two stories are told. According to the first, the Jews, wishing to test the veracity of the mission of Muhammad, asked him several questions, on all of which he gave the true answer. Finally they asked him who transmitted the revelations to him. When he answered, Gabriel, the Jews declared that this angel was their enemy and the angel of destruction and penalty, in opposition to Michael whom they said to be their protector and the angel of fertility and salvation (Tabari, *Tafsîr*, i. 324-327). — According to the second story, 'Umar once entered the synagogue (*mišvâd*) of Madina and asked the Jews questions concerning Gabriel. They gave of that angel as well as of Michael an account similar to the one mentioned above, whereupon 'Umar asked: What is the position of those two angels with Allâh? They replied: Gabriel is to His right and Michael to His left hand, and there is enmity between the two. Whereupon 'Umar answered: If they have that position with Allâh, there can be no enmity between them. But you are unbelievers more than asses are, and whoever is an enemy to one of the two, is an enemy to Allâh. Thereupon 'Umar went to meet Muhammad, who received him with the words: Gabriel has anticipated you by the revelation of: "Whoever is an enemy" etc. (sûra ii. 92; Tabari, *Tafsîr*, i. 327; Zamakhshari, p. 92; Baijâwî *ad* sûra ii. 91).

We do not know of any Jewish traditions which ascribe to Gabriel a hostile attitude towards the Jews. For the statements regarding Michael as communicated above, there is sufficient literary evidence. In Daniel xii. 1 Michael is called the great prince, the protector of the people of Israel; cf. *Targum Contium*, viii. 9: "Michael, the lord of Israel"; Daniel x. 13, 21 where Michael is said to have protected the Jews against the kings of Persia and Greece; further 1 Enoch xx. 5 where he is called the protector of the best part of mankind; *Testamentum Levi*, xv. 6; *Test. Dan*, vi. 2.

In *Vita Adâi et Enoc*, chap. xii. 197, it is Michael who orders Satan and the other angels to worship Adam. Although the story is mentioned several times in the *Kur'ân* (cf. m. l. s.), there is no trace in Muslim literature of the role ascribed to Michael in *Vita Adâi et Enoc*; the only mention of Michael in the Muslim legend is that he and Gabriel were the first to worship Adam, in opposition to Iblîs who refused to do so (al-Kisâ'i, p. 27).

Neither does Muslim literature seem to have preserved other features ascribed to Michael in Jewish Apocrypha (mediator between God and mankind, 1 Enoch xl. 9; *Test. Dan*, vi. 2; 3 Baruch, xl. 2), or in the New Testament (Ep. Jude, vs. 9: Michael disputing with the devil about the body of Moses; Revelation xii. 7-9: Michael and his angels

fighting against the dragon and the final discomfiture of the latter). Perhaps a faint recollection of Michael as the protector of mankind (the Jews, the Christians) may be found in the tradition according to which Michael has never laughed since the creation of Hell (Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii. 224). Further, however, Michael is rarely mentioned in *ḥadīth* (Bukhārī, *Ḥad' al-Aḥadīth*, b. 7, where he, together with Mikāl, the guardian of Hell, and Gabriel, appears to Muḥammad in a dream; Naṣā'ī, *Ḥadīth*, b. 37 where Michael incites Gabriel to urge Muḥammad to recite the Qur'ān according to seven *ahraf*).

al-Ya'qūbi mentions a story of which we have no counterpart in Jewish or Christian literature either, which is not amazing, the story bearing an outspoken Shi'ite tendency. One day Allāh announced to Gabriel and Michael that one of them must die. Neither however was willing to sacrifice himself in behalf of his partner, whereupon Allāh said to them: Take 'Alī as an example, who was willing to give his life on behalf of Muḥammad (the night before the *hiǧra*; Ya'qūbi, ii. 39).

Michael is further mentioned by name as one of the angels who opened the breast of Muḥammad before his night journey (Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1157—59; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ed. Tornberg, ii. 36 *sq.*), and as one of those who came to the aid of the Muslims in the battle of Badr (Ibn Sa'd, ii. 9, 10).

In the text of the Qur'ān as well as in a verse cited by Tabarī (ed. de Goeje, i. 329), the form of the name is Mikāl as if it were a *mif'al* form from *wakala* (Himwiz). A direct reminiscence of the Greek, probably also of the Hebrew and Aramaic, forms of the name is to be found in the tradition preserved by al-Kisā'i (p. 12), which calls Mikāl the attendant of the second heaven, in contradistinction to Mikāl, who is the guardian of the sea in the seventh heaven (p. 15). Other forms of the name are Mikālī, Mikālīl, Mikālīn, Mikālīn and Mikālīl. It is hardly necessary to say that in the magical use of the names of the archangels that of Mikāl is on the same level as that of his companions (e.g. Zwerner, *The Influence of Animism on Islam*, p. 193, 197).

Bibliography: al-Ya'qūbi, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Houtsma; al-Kisā'i, *Kitāb al-Anbiyā'*, ed. Eisenberg, Leyden 1922; al-Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 329 *sq.*; *Lisān*, x. 139 (on the form of the name and its meaning); Ibn Hishām, ed. W. Steinsfeld, p. 328, 624; Rhodokanakis, in *W. Z. K. M.*, xvii. 282; Umāyya d. Abi Salt, ed. Schultess, in *Beiträge z. Assyriologie*, vii. N^o 14, i. 8 (spurious); Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Leipzig-Berlin 1926, p. 243. (A. J. WENINK)

MIKAT (A., *mif'al* form from *w-ḥ-l*, plural *manāḥiṭ*) appointed or exact time. In this sense the term occurs several times in the Qur'ān (sūra ii. 185; vii. 138, 139, 154; xvi. 37; xiv. 40; lvi. 50; lxxviii. 17).

In *ḥadīth* and *ḥikā* the term is applied to the times of prayer and to the places where those who enter the *ḥaram* are bound to put on the *iḥrām*. For the latter meaning of the term cf. *ihram*, i.

Although some general indications for the times at which some *ḥajjāt* are to be performed occur in the Qur'ān (cf. sūra ii. 239; xi. 116; xvii. 80; xxiv. 29), it may be considered above doubt

that during Muḥammad's lifetime neither the number of the daily *ḥajjāt* nor their exact times had been fixed and that this happened in the first decades after his death.

A reminiscence of that period of uncertainty may be preserved in those traditions which apply a deviating nomenclature to some of the *ḥajjāt*. The *ḥajjāt al-ḥuḥr* e.g. is called *al-ḥajjāt al-ḥuḥr*; the *ḥajjāt al-maghrib*, *ḥajjāt*; the *ḥajjāt al-ḥajjāt*, *ḥajjāt*; the *ḥajjāt al-fajr*, *ḥajjāt* (Bukhārī, *Manāḥiṭ al-ḥajjāt*, bāb 13, 19). In other traditions the term *al-atama* as applied to the *ḥajjāt al-ḥajjāt* is ascribed to the Beduins and prohibited (Muslim, *Manāḥiṭ*, trad. 228, 239; Abū Dāwūd, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 78; Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Manāḥiṭ*, ii. 10 etc.); cf. on the other hand Bukhārī, *Manāḥiṭ*, bāb 20; Muslim, *Ḥajjāt*, trad. 129 etc., where the term *atama* is used without censure.

From some traditions so much may be gathered, that the — or at least some of the — Umāyads showed a predilection for postponing the times of the *ḥajjāt* (Bukhārī, *Manāḥiṭ*, b. 7; Muslim, *Manāḥiṭ*, trad. 166, 167; al-Naṣā'ī, *Imāma*, b. 18, 55; Zaid b. 'Alī, *Maǧmū' al-Fiḥḥ*, N^o 113).

In opposition to this a *ḥajjāt* in due time is declared the best of works (Bukhārī, *Ḥajjāt*, b. 1; *Manāḥiṭ*, b. 5; Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 138, 139; Tirmidhī, *Ḥajjāt*, b. 13; *Birr*, b. 2). In other traditions this is said of a *ḥajjāt* at its earliest time (Tirmidhī, *Ḥajjāt*, b. 13).

This early state of things is reflected in several respects in a tradition according to which 'Umar b. al-Ka'bi once postponed one of the *ḥajjāt* and was rebuked for this by 'Urwā b. al-Zuhair, who related to him that al-Mughira b. Shu'ba had once been rebuked for the same reason by Abū Ma'ad al-Anṣārī, on account of the fact that Gabriel himself had descended five times in order to perform the five *ḥajjāt* at their exact times in the presence of Muḥammad. Thereupon 'Umar admonished 'Urwā to be careful in his statements (Bukhārī, *Manāḥiṭ*, b. 1; Muslim, *Manāḥiṭ*, trad. 166, 167; al-Naṣā'ī, *Manāḥiṭ*, b. 10).

Some early groups of traditions affect to reproduce reminiscences of the practice in Madina in Muḥammad's time.

a. The *ḥajjāt al-ḥuḥr* was performed at noon, when the sun was beginning to decline (Bukhārī, *Manāḥiṭ*, b. 11);

b. the *ḥajjāt al-ḥajjāt* when the sun was shining into 'A'isha's room, no shadows being yet cast there (Bukhārī, *Manāḥiṭ*, b. 13; Muslim, *Manāḥiṭ*, trad. 168). After this *ḥajjāt* people had still time to visit the remotest parts of the town, while the sun was still "alive" or "pure" (Bukhārī, *Manāḥiṭ*, b. 1, 13, 14, 18, 21);

c. the *ḥajjāt al-maghrib* was finished at a time when people could still perceive the places where their arrows fell down (Bukhārī, *Manāḥiṭ*, b. 21);

d. the *ḥajjāt al-ḥajjāt* was sometimes postponed till a late hour, sometimes till the first third of the night had passed (Bukhārī, *Manāḥiṭ*, b. 11, 20, 21, 24);

e. the *ḥajjāt al-fajr* was performed by Muḥammad at a time when a man could discern his neighbour (Bukhārī, *Manāḥiṭ*, b. 13); but the women on their way home could not yet be recognised (Bukhārī, *Manāḥiṭ*, b. 27).

In a second layer of traditions these general indications are specified by the mention of the first and the last limits allowed for the different

prayers (cf. e.g. Muslim, *Maṣāʾid*, trad. 176, 177). On one day Muḥammad performed:

a. the *ṣalāt al-ṣuhr* when the sun began to decline;

b. the *ṣalāt al-ʿaṣr* when the sun was still high, white and pure;

c. the *ṣalāt al-maghrib* immediately after sunset;

d. the *ṣalāt al-ʿiṣā* when the twilight had disappeared;

e. the *ṣalāt al-fajr* at daybreak.

On the following day Muḥammad performed:

a. the *ṣuhr* later than the day before;

b. the *ʿaṣr* later than the day before, the sun being still high up;

c. the *maghrib* before the twilight had disappeared;

d. the *ʿiṣā* when the first third of the night had passed;

e. the *fajr* when sunrise was near (*ʿaṣṣa biḥā*).

In a tradition communicated by al-Shāfiʿi (*ʿAlīm al-Umm*, l. 62) the fixing of the *mawāḥit* just mentioned is ascribed to the example of Gabriel (cf. Zaid b. ʿAlī, *Maḥmūd al-Fiḥ*, No. 109). These *mawāḥit* have for the most part passed into the books of *fiqh*. We cannot reproduce all details here. The following scheme may suffice:

a. *ṣuhr*: from the time when the sun begins to decline till the time when shadows are of equal length with the objects by which they are cast, apart from their shadows at noon. The Hanafites alone deviate in one of their branches in so far as they replace the ultimate term by the time when the shadows are twice as large as their objects. In times of great heat it is recommended to postpone the *ṣuhr* as late as possible;

b. *ʿaṣr*: from the last time allowed for *ṣuhr* till before sunset. According to Mālik the first term begins somewhat later;

c. *maghrib*: from the time after sunset till the time when the red twilight has disappeared. Small deviations only, in connection with a predilection for the first term;

d. *ʿiṣā*: from the last term mentioned for the *ṣalāt al-maghrib* till when a third, or half of the night has passed, or: till daybreak;

e. *fajr*: from daybreak till before sunrise.

Side by side with these *mawāḥit* we find in the books of Tradition and of Law the times on which it is not allowed to perform prayer, viz. sunrise, noon, and sunset (Bukhārī, *Mawāḥit*, b. 30-32; Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-Muṣṣirīn*, trad. 285-294; cf. al-Nawawī's commentary for controversies regarding this point, and further Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muh. Trad.*, p. 192a). According to ʿAṣṣa it is only forbidden to await sunrise and sunset for prayer (Muslim, *Muṣṣirīn*, trad. 296). In Makka prayer is allowed at all times (Bukhārī, *Ḥaḍīṣ*, b. 73; Tirmidhī, *Ḥaḍīṣ*, b. 42).

Bibliography: Apart from the works cited: Zaid b. ʿAlī, *Maḥmūd al-Fiḥ*, ed. Griffini, Milano 1919, p. 23-26; Abū ʿIḥāsim al-Muḥakkik, *Kitāb Ṣalāt al-ʿiṣā*, Calcutta 1255, p. 26; A. Querry, *Droit musulman*, Paris 1871, p. 50 199; Mālik, *al-Muwattaʿ*, ch. *Wuḥit al-Ṣalāt*, l. 12 199; Khallī b. Iḥāk, *al-Muḥṣaṣṣ*, l. 12 199; Khallī b. Iḥāk, *al-Muḥṣaṣṣ*, l. 12 199; Guidi and D. Santillana, *Il Muḥṣaṣṣ e Summaria dell'orizzonte musulmano di Halil bin Iḥāk*, Milano 1919, l. 45 199; al-Shāfiʿi, *Kitāb al-Umm*, Cairo 1321-25, l. 61 199; Th. W. Jeynball, *Hand-leiding tot de kennis van de Muh. Wet*, Leyden

1925, p. 53 199; Burhān al-Dīn Abū ʿIḥāsim ʿAlī b. Abī Bakr al-Marḥūqī, *al-Hidāya wa ʿIḥāṣ*, Bombay 1280, l. 83-89; al-Shāfiʿi, *al-Muḥṣaṣṣ*, Cairo 1279, l. 158-160.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

MIKHĀYL ŠABBĀGH, an Arabic author born of Catholic parents in Akko in 1784, was educated in Damascus and then came to Egypt. Here he joined the French army of Napoleon's expedition, had to leave the country with them and came to Paris. The State printing works employed him as a proof-reader and the Bibliothèque Nationale as a copyist of Oriental manuscripts; his irregular habits prevented him leading a comfortable or settled existence, although de Sacy and his pupils appreciated his thorough knowledge of his mother tongue. He himself only used it to compose *ḳaṣidas* in the old style in praise of great men of the period and to make some money thereby. For example in 1805 he addressed a poem to the Grand Juge when he visited the printing works, in 1805 to Pope Pius VII, in 1810 to Napoleon on his marriage, in 1811 to the King of Rome, in 1814 to Louis XVIII. These poems were printed at the government press, that to Pius VII with a Latin translation by de Sacy, that to Louis XVIII with a French one by Grangeret de Lagrange. He also published a work on carrier pigeons entitled *Kitāb Muṣāḥaḥat al-ḥaṣ* wa ʿIḥāṣ wa ʿIḥāṣ wa ʿIḥāṣ; *La colombe messagère, plus rapide que l'éclair, plus prompt que la nuée*, par M. S. traduit de l'Arabe en Français par Silv. de Sacy, Paris 1805; based on the preceding: *Die Briefschwinde Briefpost, oder tinnerische Kunst des Orient, Tauben zum Bestellen der Briefe abzurichten*, nach dem Arab. des M. S. Herborn 1806; *Beitrag zur Kunst der Taubenpost, welche seit der Zeit der Erfindung gebraucht wird*, aus dem Arab. von Dr. Th. J. K. Arnold, Frankfurt 1817; *La colombe messagère ratta fin del lampo*, trad. di S. A. Cataneo, Mailand 1822; *Die Brieftaube schneller als der Blitz*, aus dem Arab. von C. Löper, Straßburg 1879. — He left in manuscript a history of the Arab desert tribes of Syria, a history of Syria and Egypt and, important for its lexicographical information: *al-Ḳiṣṣa al-ḥamīya fī Kalām al-ʿAnna wa ʿIḥāṣ*, *al-Ḳiṣṣa al-ḥamīya fī Kalām al-ʿAnna wa ʿIḥāṣ*, M. S.'s Grammatik der arab. Umgangssprache in Syrien und Ägypten, nach der Münchener Hs. herausg. von H. Thorbecke, Straßburg 1886.

Bibliography: Humbert, *Anthologie Arabe*, p. 291 199; *Biographie Universelle*, xxix, 427.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

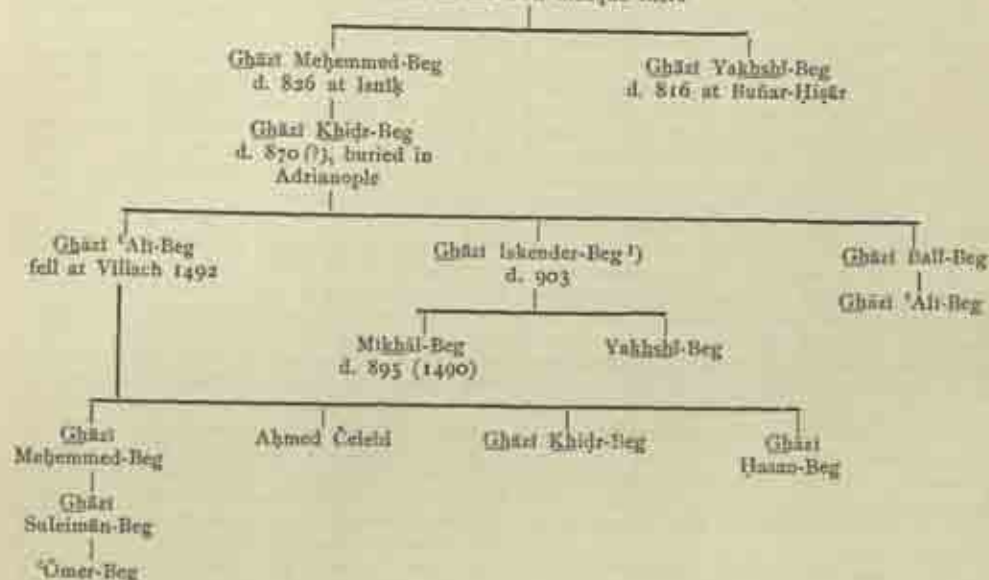
MIKHĀL-OGHLU, an old Ottoman noble family. This family traces its descent to the feudal lord Köse Mikhāl ʿAbd Allāh, originally a Greek (cf. F. A. Geuffroy in Ch. Schefer, *Petit traité de l'origine des Turcs par Th. Spandwyn Cantacarin*, Paris 1696, p. 267; *L'ung zindica Grex estoit nommé Michal*... *Dudist Michal*... *qui estoit nommé Michalegh*), who appears in the reign of ʿOthmān I. as lord of Chirmenika (Chirmendjik) at the foot of Olympus near Edrems, and later as an ally of the first Ottoman ruler earned great merit for his share in aiding the latter's expansion (cf. J. v. Hammer, in *G.O.R.*, l. 48, 57, following Idris Billal and Neshry). Converted to Islām, Köse Mikhāl appears again in the reign of ʿOthmān's son Urkhan. The rank of commander of the *ashraf* (q.v.) became hereditary in the family of Köse Mikhāl.

which is even said to have been related to the royal house of Savoy and of France (cf. Paolo Giovio: *Mikhailegi di sangue Turchico e per via di donna si fa parente del Duca di Savoia e del Re di Francia*; in this case Mikhail [Moxaia] alias Kose Mikhail must have been descended from the Palaeologi; cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.* I, 582), and along with the Malkot-oghlu (properly Malković, i.e. Marković), the Evrenos-oghlu [q.v.], Timurtaş-oghlu [q.v.] and Tarakhan-oghlu [q.v.] was among the most celebrated of the noble families of the early Ottoman empire. Kose Mikhail, called 'Abd Allāh, died in Adrianople and was buried in the mosque founded there by him in the western Yildirim quarter.

As Adrianople was certainly not conquered till 1361 (see F. Babinger, in *M.O.G.*, II, 311) he must therefore have lived into the reign of Murād I. What J. H. Mordtmann has said in the article GHĀZĪ EVRENOS [q.v.] would therefore be true about his remarkably long life. Kose Mikhail had two sons, namely Mehmed Beg and Yakhshī (Bakhshī?) of whom only the former acquired some renown. He was vizier under Murād Çelebi and a close friend of Sheikh Bedr al-Din of Sinaw [q.v.]. Under Murād he was Beglerbeg of Rumeli, and died in 825 (1422) at Isnik at the hand of the judge Tādī al-Din-oghlu and is said to have been buried at Plevna in Bulgaria (cf. Ewliya Çelebi, *Seyahat*).

The following genealogical table shows the order of succession of the Mikhail-oghlu:

'Abd Allāh, called Kose Mikhail, son of 'Axta', d. at Adrianople, buried in his own mosque there



According to the genealogy published by İsmail Hakkı, *Kiştahir* (Stambul 1345 = 1927), p. 25 which is based on a *Silsile-nâme* in the Ewâf-

office, *Waqfiye Defteri*, No. 247, in Siwa, the genealogy of the Mikhail-oghlu is as follows:



If we compare the article Yürkül Pasha in Mehmed Surayyā, *Sijill-i 'ermānī*, iv, 652, where the descendants of this general are given, we get a different picture of the genealogy.

1) According to Mehmed Surayyā, *Sijill-i 'ermānī*, iv, 101, Iskender-Beg had four sons, 'Alī, Mehmed, Khidr and Suleimān. This must be wrong and the genealogy is as above.

al-Bihar, iii. 305), after being previously (816—1413) detained as a state prisoner in the prison of Bedewi Çarlık near Tokat. His son was Khidr-Beg who distinguished himself in the wars of Murad II's reign. He died in 870 (1465) and was buried at Adrianople beside his ancestor Köse Mikhäl. Khidr-Beg seems to have had three sons, namely Ghäsi 'Ali-Beg, Ghäsi Iskender-Beg and Ghäsi Ball-Beg, of whom only the first two are of any historical importance. Ghäsi 'Ali-Beg in 1461 distinguished himself in the battle against Vlad (see J. v. Hammer, ii. 64), in 1473 ravaged the lands of Uzun Hasan (*ibid.*, ii. 118), invaded Hungary in 1475 (*ibid.*, ii. 144) with his brother Iskender-Beg, in 1476 (*ibid.*, ii. 156) was in command of the *ahindis* before Scutari in Albania and appears once again in Transylvania (*ibid.*, ii. 172); in the next 13 years nothing is heard of him. In 1492 he seems to have met his death at Villach in Carinthia, defeated by Count Khevenhüller, although other sources mention him at a still later date. According to them, he died in Plevna. His brother Iskender-Beg in 1476 commanded the light cavalry at the siege of Scutari, as *sandjakbeg* of Bosnia (880, 885 and 890) (J. v. Hammer, G.O.R., ii. 156); in 895 (1490) in the Karamanian campaign, in which he lost his son, the governor of Kalesiya Mikhäl-Beg (see J. v. Hammer, G.O.R., ii. 300), who was taken prisoner and sent to Egypt. He seems to have lived till 903 (1498). The military exploits of Ghäsi 'Ali-Beg were celebrated by Süti Çelebi (d. 930 = 1530 at Pürren; cf. F. Babinger, G.O.W., p. 34 sq.) in a long epic, (said to have been 15,000 couplets) fragments of which have recently been discovered (one in Berlin, MS. Or., No. 1468 containing 1,700 *baits* and the other in Agram, South Slav Academy of Sciences, Coll. Babinger, No. 535; i., with 212 *baits*). In some sources a Mehmed-Beg, who was distinguishing himself at that time, is described as a fourth son of Ghäsi Khidr-Beg; in others however, he appears as the son of Ghäsi 'Ali-Beg, which is not at all probable, if he really was twice governor of Bosnia, namely as early as 897 (1492) and again in 949 (1542) and did not die till 950 (1543). The family of the Mikhäl-oghlu now begins to fall into the background. About the middle of the xvth century an Ahmed-Beg is again mentioned, perhaps as the last of the Mikhäl-oghlu holding the hereditary office in the family of leader of a body of *ahindis* (see J. v. Hammer, G.O.R., iii. 293), and lastly a Khidr-Pasha is mentioned in history as a descendant of Köse Mikhäl (see J. v. Hammer, G.O.R., iv. 512). The family as a later date had estates in Bulgaria (around Ihtiman; cf. Ewliya Çelebi, iii. 390 and C. Jirček, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, Vienna 1891, p. 138 and Philippopolis, *ibid.*, p. 379 sq.) and survived down to modern times. As we learn, however, from the *Silass* of Adrianople for 1309, p. 82 sq., the Mikhäl-oghlu had already at an early date large estates around Adrianople. They had the country round Buşar-Hisar, Tırnovo, Kırk Kilise and Wize as a hereditary fief. The Anatolian district of Mikhälidji (Μιχαηλίδει, Μιχαηλίου in Chalkondyles, p. 223; cf. Ewliya Çelebi, v. 293 sq.; W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter*, in S.W.A.W., Phil.-hist. Kl., vol. cxvii, Vienna 1891, p. 95 and J. H. Mordtmann, in Z. D.M.G., vol. lxxv, 1911, p. 101) seems to be connected with the family of the Mikhäl-oghlu.

Bibliography: The well-known histories of J. v. Hammer, Zinkeisen, Jorga. Under the title *Aşmâ-i Ghât Mikhâl* (pr. Stanbul 1315; cf. F. Babinger, G.O.W., p. 35, note 1) Nurhet Mehmed-Pasha published a work glorifying a Köse Mikhäl and his descendants. — Al. A. Olesnickij in Agram is preparing an edition of the work of Süti Çelebi and at the same time a history of the Mikhäl-oghlu. (Fr. Babinger.)

MIKNÄS. [See MÄKNÄS.]

MIKYÄS, any simple instrument for measuring, e.g. the pointer on a sundial; in Egypt the name of the Nilometer, i.e. the gauge on which the regular rise and fall of the river can be read. To get an undisturbed surface, the water was led into a basin; in the centre of this stood the water gauge, a column on which elbs and fingers were carefully measured off. The level of the water was ascertained by an official daily and proclaimed by criers.

Originally the rising of the Nile was measured by the gauge (*al-wasifa*). According to Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, al-Kuḍrī, and others, Joseph, the son of Jacob, built the first Nilometer at Memphis; at a later date, the "aged Daulaka" built Nilometers in Ahmm and Anjuf (Antinoë). These were the Nilometers in use throughout the Greek period till the conquest of Egypt by 'Amr b. al-'As. The latter erected a Nilometer at Assuan and a second at Dendera. Others were built in the reigns of Mu'awiya and 'Abd al-'Aziz. Finally the Caliph al-Mutawakkil had a large Nilometer built and instead of the Christian officials appointed Abu 'l-Raddād to look after it, and the office remained hereditary in his family down to the time of al-Makrīf (d. 1442).

The ancient Egyptians are said to have drowned a virgin in the Nile at the beginning of its rise as a sacrifice. 'Amr compelled the Nile to rise and fall at God's command by means of a writing which he threw into the water.

Bibliography: al-Mukaddas, R.G.A., iii. 206; al-Karwī, ed. Wustenfeld, i. 186; H. Ethé, *al-Kawmīn's Kosmographie*, 1868, p. 379; al-Dimishqī, *Cosmographie*, ed. M. A. F. Mehren, p. 90; al-Makrīf, *K. al-Khitāt*, Bulak 1270, i. 37 sq.; U. Bouriant, *Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte*, in *Mém. de la mission archéol. française du Caire*, vol. 1, 1925, p. 162 sq.; A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, 1922, p. 427; Ali-Beg, *Travels*, London 1816, ii. 23 sq. (J. Ruyss).

MILAD (A.). According to some Arabic lexicographers the meaning of this term is time of birth in contra-distinction to *manāla* which may denote also "place of birth". The latter is the usual term for birthday, especially in connection with the birthday of Muhammad and Muslim saints (cf. the art. *MAWLID*); *milad* denotes also Christmas. For other special meanings cf. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, s.v.

Bibliography: the Arabic lexicons. (A. J. Wessink.)

MILAS, the ancient Mylasa, capital of Caria and famous in antiquity for its sanctuaries of the Carian Zeus (in mediaeval and modern western sources: Milaso, Milaxo, Melaxo, Melaxo), a town in S.W. Anatolia, 35 miles from its seaport, Kullük (on the Gulf of Mendere). It is the capital of the *kaza* of the same name in the vilayet of Mughla (formerly the sandjak of Men-

teshe) and has 7,346 inhabitants (census of 1928) compared with 7,261 (of whom 3,200 were Greeks who were removed by the exchange of 1922, 739 Jews, who still flourish, and 71 foreigners) in 1908 (*Silva Asiae*, of 1326 A. H.).

Milas lies on a low eastern spur of the Södra Dag (Gr. St. Elias) in the centre of a very fertile plain surrounded on all sides by hills, and watered by the Şarî Çay which flows round the Södra Dag on north and west. The road to the sea however does not follow this marshy water-course but crosses the hills south of the Södra Dag, here commended by the once powerful mediaeval fortress of Peçin (three miles S. of Milas). The bay itself was in the middle ages defended by the island citadel of Asin Kafesi (Judeish, Jasos; *Athen. Mitteil.*, xv, 139) and later by a castle at the harbour built by Mehmed II (Piri Re'is, *Behriyye*, ed. P. Kahle, chap. 21). At Milas met the old, and although difficult, only roads to the west to the important mediaeval port of Balat (Miletus), to the north into the fertile plain of Karpuzlu Ovasi and Çino and into the Massander valley, and eastward to Mughla, the other important town of the district. This and its protected situation near the sea within a broad fertile plain destined the town to be once more a capital when the region again attained political independence under the Turkish dynasty of the Menteshe [q. v.].

The region first passed temporarily under Turkish rule when, after the victory of the Seljuks at Mantikert in 1071 the western Anatolian coast with Nicæa, Smyrna and Ephesus and even islands like Samos and Rhodes were occupied by the Turks. Although we have no definite information about Milas itself we know that the monks of the neighbouring Latmos had to leave their monasteries on account of the Turks (in 1079; cf. Th. Wiegand, *Milet*, xvii, 185). But Byzantine rule was soon restored. It was only when the centre of the imperial government was withdrawn to Constantinople after the victory over the Latins in 1261 that this region finally passed into Turkish hands. When and how the final conquest took place we do not exactly know. Melanodion, which with Milas formed a theme from the period of the Comnenoi (W. Tomaschek, *Z. hist. Topographie Kleinasiens im M.A.*, Vienna 1891, *Abh. d. Ak. d. W.*, p. 38), and is therefore to be located in the neighbourhood of Milas and was Byzantine till 1273 at least, was again taken for a time from the Turks of Menteshe in 1296, so that it must have been occupied by them a few years before (Wiegand, *op. cit.*). That Menteshe is called Σαλαμίς (= Siphil liagi, Emir al-Samihil) in Pachymeres (I. 472; II. 211, Bonn ed.), in Sando (Höpf, *Chron. græco-venetianæ*, p. 145) Turquemen-damar (read: Turquemenodamar = "Turkoman of the sea") suggests a conquest from the sea. There is no longer any record at this period of the bishopric of Milas, which as a church of the eparchy of Caria (see G. Parthey, *Hierarchia Synecdemus et notitiae graecae episcopatum*, p. 32, 112 etc.) was under the metropolis of Stavropolis which still existed in the sixteenth century (A. Wächter, *Der Verfall der Griechentum in Kleinasien im XIV. Jahrh.*, p. 34 sqq.) (Stavropolis, the ancient Aphrodisias, at the village of Gere, twenty miles west of Denizli).

Milas appears as the capital of the principality of Menteshe about 1330 in al-'Umari (ed. Taesch-

ner, p. 21; مېلاش, corrupted from مېلاش, while

Fökeç = Phocæa which appears as a capital in the Genoese report, *ibid.*, p. 47 is probably an error of the writer and is not to be corrected to Mughla) and in İbu Battuta (ed. Deffremery and Sanguinetti, II. 278 sqq.) also, who here enjoyed the hospitality of the Akhi gild (on a *Futūwāt-nāme* written in Milas at the end of the sixteenth century see Taeschner, in *Islamica*, IV, 40) and admires the wealth of the town in gardens and orchards and gives the name of the lord of the country as Shudjā al-Dīn Utkhan b. Menteshe, whom he visited in his capital Peçin, not far away. The Menteshe built very little in Milas as they were engaged in embellishing their residence. It is noteworthy that the two mosques of this period lie outside the old town, still largely enclosed in its old walls; one to the south, in the Haddjī İlyas quarter, the little Şalāh al-Dīn Džami'i with outer court and stepped minaret, built under Utkhan Bey in 1330; the other just outside the walls to the east, the mosque of Ahmed Ghāzī built in 1378, which with its entrance in the narrow side (without an outer court) and the stepped minaret built above it (İsmā'il Hakki, *Kitahiler*, Istanbul 1929, fig. 47) looks as if it had once been a church (cf. Walsinger, *Die Pirus-Moschee zu Milas*, in *Festschr. d. Techn. Hochschule in Karlsruhe*, 1925, p. 10 of the reprint). The minbar of this mosque also dated 780 (1378) is now in the Çinili Kiosk in Constantinople. From the position of these mosques, it may be deduced that the old town remained in the occupation of the Christians, who still held the most of it in quite recent times. The only mosque in the old town, just in its centre, and in the highest part of it, the Sütlend Džami'i, seems also to have been a church and was probably used by the garrison, if it is old. The medrese of Khodja Bedr al-Dīn, which dates from the period of the Menteshe, unfortunately cannot be exactly dated (*Rev. Hist.*, v, 58).

Milas received its first important building from the first Ottoman governor Firuz, whom Bayazid I appointed over Menteshe-ili (*Düsturnāme-i Evleri*, ed. Mükrimin Hilal, Istanbul 1928, p. 88) after the conquest (792 = 1390) (the date given by most Turkish sources is supported by Bayazid's confirmation of the Venetian privileges for Balat of May 21, 1390, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Livianum*, Venice 1899, II, No. 134). The Menteshe who fled to Egypt (*Düsturnāme*, I, c.) was probably the prince of the house ruling in Balat, while the senior Ahmed Ghāzī may have held out in Milas and Peçin till July 1391 (according to his tombstone he died in Peçin in Sha'ban 793 as *shahid*). In 1394 Firuz built to the north of the old town and outside of it a splendid mosque in the style of the Brass private mosques (cf. Walsinger's monograph). Ottoman rule was interrupted by Timur who passed through Milas on his return from Smyrna in the winter after the battle of Angora (1402) (Ducas, p. 76, Bonn ed.), for about twenty years by the restoration of the former dynasty. This last period of the Menteshe-oghlu has left no memorials in Milas or Peçin. The Ottoman commanders then made their headquarters in Peçin, after which this part of the Menteshe sandjak was long called (Abū Bakr b. Bahram in Haddjī Khalifa, *Džihān-nāma*, p. 638, i. e. the second half of the xvth century) and only moved

to Milas at a later date, when a magnificent official residence was erected, with defensive towers, and is still partly inhabited.

From the second half of the xviiith century we have Ewliya's description of the town (in the unprinted vol. ix. of his *Seyahat-nâme*, MS. Beşir Agha, N^o. 452, fol. 51). He says the town had 4 mosques, 3 madrasas and two large khans. At this time the garrison was still in Peçin. He praises the gardens of the town but rightly describes the climate as unhealthy. Among the products he mentions tobacco, with which Milas supplied the whole of Anatolia. Among the holy places mentioned by him, we may note that of Şaikh Şuâhiert because it probably belongs to the Baba al-Shâhiert met here by Ibn Battûta. Ewliya's description of the old ruins is much exaggerated, although he saw a good deal more than now exists. Pococke (*Travels*, ii. 2, ch. 6) at the end of the eighteenth century was still able to sketch a temple of Augustus and Roma here. All that now survives in addition to the town walls is the Balta Kapu (a Corinthian gateway with the Carian double-axe) and a mausoleum called Gülmüşkesen (filigree-worker) (Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman*, i. 234 *seq.*, pl. 85—92). In the adjacent village of Şaikh Koy is the *türbe* of Şaikh Bedr al-Din b. Şaikh Kâim, who died at Bursa in 884 (1479) and is buried here, a *khalifa* of Saiyid Muhammad al-Bukhârî (see *Rev. Hist.*, v. 311 *seq.*), on the site of a church of St. Xenoc, who died here (*Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, xiv. 616 *seq.*).

The capital of the Menteshe, already mentioned several times, Peçin (Gr. Petsona) consists of an imposing citadel built over ancient foundations and Byzantine masonry and an extensive town lying south of it. The citadel with its walls and towers crowns a steep rock that rises out of the southern end of the plain of Milas (Ismâ'il Hakkî, fig. 40) and is accessible only at the south side by a great door flanked by a tower adorned with lions carved upon it. Inside the fortress, where there now is a miserable little village, the only architectural remains are the foundations of a church. Opposite to the entrance to the citadel, on a plateau surrounded by walls, some of which still stand, lie the palace and its annexes, now mostly in ruins. All that survives is the charming medrese, built of stone, of Ahmed (d. 777 = 1375) (Ismâ'il Hakkî, fig. 51—54). In the *Avân*, the arch of which is flanked in the spandrels by reliefs of lions holding flags, the founder is buried (see above); opposite the medrese stands a mosque built by Urkhan Bey in 731 (1337), in ruins except for the gateway of Byzantine doorways and fragments of ambones (the inscription is given in Ewliya), probably the one that Ibn Battûta saw being built on his visit to Peçin (Bardjin). There is also a mosque and medrese, a bath and a palatial *serai*, all in ruins. Exceptionally finely carved tombstones give the names of important people who lived here down to the xvth century. Ewliya, who still found about one hundred houses here, thought there must once have been a great town here. Peçin is mentioned by Kalkaşandî, *Sûk al-A'âd*, viii. 18, as the possession of a certain Emir Müsâ, lord of Balâj and Bardjin (رحم) (who is known from a coin in the collection of J. H. Mordtmann). A native of Bardjin was Mahmûd b. Mehmed, who about the middle of the xivth

century dedicated his "Book of the Falconer" (*Bânuşma*) written in Turkish to a Menteshe-oghlu (v. Hammer, *Falsharher*, Vienna 1840; Thüry, *Türk nyswennlich* a XIV. u. 29). On October 17, 1414 in Petsona the Menteshe-oghlu İlyâs Bey concluded a treaty with the Venetians (*Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, ii. N^o. 166).

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text: V. Caignet, *Turquid d'Asie*, iii. 666 *seq.*; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, Paris 1872, p. 648; Heyd, *Geogr. d. Levanthandels im M.A.*, i. 584 (Fr. ed., i. 535). I was unable to consult the work mentioned by Haduck, *Christianity and Islam*, ii. 596 entitled I. Koukoulis, *Tâ Nis Mâkara*, in *Zeitschr.*, iii. 448 *seq.* For the Muslim inscriptions see A. Tawhid, in *Rev. Hist.* (Constantinople), ii. 761; iii. 1146, also Hâfi, Kadri (*ibid.*, v. 57, 308) and Isma'il Hakkî, *Kitâbeller*, Istanbul 1929, p. 155 *seq.* (P. WITTEK).

MILK (أ), possession, property. The word is not found in the *Kur'ân*, but is in regular use in legal terminology. The double meaning of the word shows that the usual distinction in our legal language between the conceptions of possession and property are not found in the *fiqh*. There is, it is true, a special term for the actual power over a thing, what we call possession in the narrower sense, namely *yad*, lit. "hand", but the distinction between a judicial ownership and the actual control is not found in Muslim jurisprudence and there is not a word for property which takes into account the actual ownership, either from the positive or the negative point of view. As a result we find, for example, that the ownership of a thing passes directly by an agreement if this was intended, even if the thing in question is not at once handed over. On the other hand, not only things but also rights can be owned.

The following are excluded from the possibility of being property and subject to legal regulations: 1. useless things (e.g. wild animals); 2. things the use of which is prohibited by religion (e.g. wine-grapes); 3. things which are ritually impure or have become polluted to such an extent that they cannot be purified (e.g. swine, dung etc.) so long as they are not essential parts of a pure or permitted thing. If such things, however, are acquired, one takes not of *milk* but of *ihkâmât*, a special claim upon them; legal transactions relating to such things have a special vocabulary of their own.

Kamâl al-milk is a necessary preliminary for the property of an owner being liable to *zakkât* (q.v.).

Bibliography: The articles "أ", "مِلْك", "مِلْكَة", "مِلْكَة" and the literature there given; Jaynboll, *Handwörterbuch* (1920), 560 and given; al-Ghazâlî, *al-Wad'ia*, the references there given; al-Ghazâlî, *ibid.*, i. 85 *seq.* (M. PLEHNKE).

MİLLA (أ), religion, rite. However obvious it may be to connect this word with the Hebrew and Jewish-Aramaic *milla*, Hebrew and Jewish-Aramaic *milla*, "utterance, word", it has not been satisfactorily proved how and where it received the meaning which is taken for granted in the *Kur'ân*: religion or rite. Nor is it known whether it is a purely Arabic word or a loanword adopted by Muhammad or others before him (Nöldeke, *Z. D. M. G.*, lvi. 413 seems to hold that it is Arabic for he refers to the 4th form *amalla* or *amla* "to dictate"). In the *Kur'ân* it always means (even in

the somewhat obscure passage, Sūra xxxviii. 6) "religion" and it is used of the heathen religions (vii. 36 sq.; xiv. 16; xviii. 19) as well as of those of the Jews and Christians (ii. 114), and of the true religion of the fathers (xii. 38). The word acquired a special significance in the Medina sections where the Prophet in his polemic against the Jews speaks of "Abraham's *milla*", by which he means the original revelation in its purity, which it was his duty to restore (ii. 124; iii. 89; xvi. 124; xxi. 77 sq.; cf. iv. 124; vi. 162; xii. 37). Muslim literature follows this Kor'anic usage but the word is not in frequent use. With the article, *al-milla* means the true religion revealed by Muhammad and is occasionally used elliptically for *ahl al-milla*, the followers of the Muhammadan religion (Tabari, iii. 813, 35, 885, 4), just as its opposite *al-dhimma* is an abbreviation for *ahl al-dhimma*, the non-Muhammadans who are under the protection of Islam; e.g., Ibn Sa'd, iii/1, 238, 21; cf. also the derivative *milli* opposed to *dhimmi*, client (Baihaqi, ed. Schwally, p. 121 infra).

Bibliography: Nöldeke, *Orientalische Studien*, p. 40; Z. D. M. G., lvii. 413; Tabari, ed. de Goeje, *Glossar*, s. v.; Snouck Hargronje, *Het Mekkaanische Feest*, p. 30 sqq. (F. Durr.)

MIM, 24th letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value of forty. On different forms of the letter cf. ARABIA, plate 1. In some dialects of Southern Arabia and of tribes coming from that region, mim was and is used as the article of determination, side by side with *l*. A well known tradition is put into the mouth of a man from Southern Arabia in the following form: *Laiza min am-hirri am-qiyann fi 'm-safar*. Cf. Ibn Ya'ish, ed. Jahn, ii. 1331; Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, ii/ii. 281—290. (A. J. WEXSINCK)

MINA, later often pronounced *Mina*, a place in the hills east of Mecca on the road from it to 'Arafa (q. v.). The distance between the two is given by Muḥaddas as one parasang, while Wavell calls it five miles and says the continuation to 'Arafa is nine miles. Mina lies in a narrow valley running from west to east, 1,500 paces long according to Burckhardt, surrounded by steep barren granite cliffs. On the north side rises a hill called Thabir. Travellers from Mecca come down into the valley by a hill path with steps in it; this is the 'Aḡaba (q. v.) which became famous in connection with Muhammad's negotiations with the Madinians. The town consists of stone houses of fair size which form two long streets. Close beside the 'Aḡaba is a rudely hewn short pillar leaning against a wall: this is the "great ḡamra" or the "Aḡaba ḡamra", at which the pilgrims cast stones (cf. ḤAJJRA). A little to the east in the middle of the street is the "middle ḡamra" also marked by a pillar and lastly at a similar distance the third (the so-called "first ḡamra"). As one approaches the east end of the valley, there is on the right of the road a square mosque surrounded by a wall, the Masjid al-Khaif, which was rebuilt by Saladin and in 874 (1467) reconstructed by the Mamlik Sultan Ka'it Bey. Along the west side of the surrounding wall is a colonnade with three rows of pillars, but there is none on the other sides. It was different earlier, for Ibn Rusta (c. 300 A. H.) tells us that the mosque had 168 pillars of which only seventy-eight supported the west wing. The north side of the wall

is pierced by several doors. In the centre of the court of the mosque is a little domed building with a minaret built over a fountain. There is another dome over the colonnade on the west side (see the illustrations, ii. 256).

The most striking feature of Mina is the very great difference, noted already by Muḥaddas, between the quiet and empty streets of the greater part of the year and the tremendous throng and bustle of the pilgrimage month when, as Wavell says, half a million people with heavily laden beasts of burden hope to cover nine miles in the period between sunrise and 10 a.m. Every spot in the valley is then covered with tents in which the pilgrims spend the night. Muḥaddas talks of fine houses built of teak and stone (among them was a frequently mentioned Dār al-Isfara), and large stone buildings are still to be found in Mina; but these are usually empty and are only let at the pilgrimage to the more wealthy pilgrims and even among these many prefer to live in tents. This depopulation of the city has been a subject for discussion among the legists, for some held that this circumstance enables Mina and Mecca to be regarded as one city (*miḡra*), a view which others reject. But another circumstance must have contributed to prevent a permanent settlement of the town, which is also true of other places on the pilgrims' route, namely the incredible filth and dreadful stench which is caused by such masses of humanity at the Ḥajj. Complaints are made even of the uncleanness of the Masjid al-Khaif and at Mina there are further the decomposing remains of the countless animals sacrificed.

The Ḥajj ceremonies in Mina date back to the old pagan period (cf. ḤAJJ), for Muhammad, as usual in taking over old customs, contented himself with cutting out the too obviously pagan elements, the result being that we can no longer reconstruct the old forms with certainty. The old poets make only passing references to them (cf. ḤAJJRA); that they were similar to the Muslim practices is evident, for example, from an interesting passage in the Medina poet Ka'it b. Khatim (ed. Kowalski, No. 4, p. 1 sqq.) where there is a reference to the "three days in Mina" and where we further learn that the festival held there offered an occasion for entering into and carrying on love-affairs. The stone throwing is certainly very ancient; its significance is quite unintelligible in Islam, although it is doubtful if there were already three heaps of stones in the pre-Islamic period (cf. ḤAJJRA). It is also clear that the ceremonies in Mina formed the conclusion of the Ḥajj even in ancient times. Muhammad however made some serious alterations here, for he inserted a visit to Mecca before the stay in Mina, whereby the ceremony first received its legitimate Muhammadan character; but the old elements remained the important factors, for the Ḥajj ends not in Mecca but, as before, in Mina, to which the pilgrims return after the digression to Mecca. A survival of the pagan period probably exists in the slaughtering place preferred by the majority on the southern slopes of Thabir "the place of sacrifice of the ram" (cf. Sūra xxxvii. 101 sqq.), as its association with the story of Abraham probably enabled an old pagan sacred spot to be adopted into Islam. From Barton's description it is a square rocky platform reached by a few steps. Muhammad himself did not directly forbid the use

of the pagan place of slaughter, but deprived it of its importance by saying that all Minā is a place of sacrifice; a clever procedure which he also followed at 'Arafāt and Muzdalifa.

According to the law of Islām, the pilgrims who arrive in Mecca on the 8th Dhū l-Hijja should leave this town in time to be able to perform the mid-day *saḥr* in Minā and remain there till sunrise on the 9th and only then go on to 'Arafāt. The majority however do not do this but go on the 8th straight on to 'Arafāt where they arrive in the evening. After performing the ceremonies of the pilgrimage in 'Arafāt and Muzdalifa (q. v.), they go before sunrise on the 10th to Minā to celebrate the day of the great sacrifice (*yawm al-aḥīd* or *yawm al-nahr*) (in contrast to the pre-Islamic practice, which was to start only after sunrise). Here the concluding rites are gone through, the slaughtering, the clipping of the hair and nails and the lapidation. There is not complete agreement on the order of these ceremonies, which one tradition (Wākidi, transl. Wellhausen, p. 429) makes Muḥammad declare to be quite irrelevant. The modification of the stone throwing is noteworthy, for on the day of sacrifice it is only done at the 'Aḥāba heap, while on the three following days each pilgrim daily throws seven little stones on all three heaps (cf. the illustrations above, ii. 256 and Burton, ii. 205). The conclusion of the whole pilgrimage is the three Minā or *taḥrīr* days, the 11th, 12th and 13th Dhū l-Hijja (cf. above, ii. 199 and the article TAḤRĪR). They are days of rejoicing which are celebrated with great jubilation, illumination and the firing of shots. All the pilgrims however do not wait for these three days but set off on their return journey before then.

Bibliography: Wākidi, transl. Wellhausen, p. 423, 426, 428; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, i/f. 125; al-Mukaddasī, *B.G.A.*, iii. 76; Ibn Rusta, *ibid.*, vii. 55; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 642-17; Burckhardt, *Reisen in Arabien*, p. 415-431; Burton, *A Pilgrimage to al-Madīnah and Meccah*, Memorial Edition, 1893, ii. 203-222; al-Batānī, *al-Niḥā al-Hijāzīya*, Cairo 1329; Wavell, *A modern Pilgrim*, p. 153-171; Wellhausen, *Reise arabischen Heidentums*, p. 80, 88; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkanische Feest*, Leyden 1880, esp. p. 158-167; Juyaboll, *Handbuch*, p. 151-157; Gauderoy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mecque*, 1923, p. 238-295; cf. the Bibl. to the article MAMRA, and add: Houtsma, *Het Scheptieme en het Steenwerpen te Minā*, in *Verh. Med. Ak. Amst., Afd. Letterkunde*, 4. Reeks, vi. 104-217; Chaurin, *Le fit de pierre et le pèlerinage de Mecca*, in *Annales de l'Acad. d'Archéologie de Belgique*, ser. v., vol. 4, p. 272-299; Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Mus. Tradition*, s. v. where also are given the passages from Hadīth referring to the prohibition of fasting during the days of Minā, and to the order to stay in Minā during the "nights of M."

(FR. BURL.)

MINARET. [See MANARA.]

MINBAR (A.), pulpit [cf. MAQJID]. On the origin of the form of the minbar the reader may be referred to C. H. Becker's exhaustive study *Die Kammal im Kultus der alten Islam* (*Nalidke-Festschrift und Islamstudien*). Becker refers to the earliest historical statement which says that the Prophet in the year 7 A. H. made his minbar

us which he used to preach to the people; it had two steps and a seat (*maḥad*). The minbar was therefore originally a raised seat or throne. On the morning after the death of the Prophet, after stormy disputes, Abū Bakr took his seat on the Prophet's minbar in a solemn assembly and received the general homage here. The later caliphs followed this tradition, as did the governors, who ascended the pulpit on their accession to office and on their resignation. The minbar in the early period was therefore not at all specially associated with worship but was the seat of the ruler in the council. The pulpit only gradually grew out of it with the development of public worship. According to Becker, the date of the change from the ruler's or judge's seat to the simple pulpit coincides with the end of the Omayyad dynasty. In 132 A. H. all the mosques in the provinces of Egypt were provided with minbars, about the same period probably in the other lands of Islām also. At the beginning of the 'Abbāsid period the minbar was already a pulpit exclusively. The first tendency to its use as a pulpit is seen by Becker in the introduction of the minbar into the divine service at the Muḥallā in Medina, which is ascribed to Mu'awiyah or to his governor. The Prophet did not have a minbar at the Muḥallā and nothing but divine service could have been held there.

The typical form of the minbar as a pulpit, which is placed to the right of the mihrāb and of the spectator, is an erection on steps with a portal with or without a door at the entrance to the steps and a ciboriumlike canopy to the platform. This form is peculiar to the minbar of wood, which is the most usual. The variants in stone and brick are more simple and frequently are only a bare platform reached by three to five steps. The fine series of minbars of wood begins with that most famous of all in the history of art, the minbar in the great mosque in Kairawān. On the occasion of the extension of the mosque by Ibrāhīm II Ibn Aghliah (261-289 = 874-902) it is said to have been brought with the lustre tiles of the mihrāb wall from Baghdad and set up. It is made of plane-tree wood and is in the canonical minbar shape with a staircase—here of 17 steps—to the preacher's platform. The pulpit, however, has not yet the stylized structure of the later wooden minbar. It has not the portal nor the canopy at the top. Its composition of about 200 carved panels and narrow strips of unequal size, is simply a primitive agglomeration of profuse ornamentation, still very nomadic in feeling, such as would hardly ever have been found in Baghdad, and even in Kairawān can scarcely be regarded as original. Salafin has pointed out that the pulpit must have been restored after Kairawān had been sacked by the troops of the Fajmīd Mustansir Abū Tamīm in 441 (1049). In any case it has several times suffered damage and undergone restoration so that its present general appearance cannot be dealt with critically until we have a thorough monograph based on exact investigation on the spot. The ornamentation must, as Kāhnel observes, be regarded as Omayyad (Springer's *Kunstgeschichte*, vi. 385).

The vine branches of the frame-strips and the panels filled with floral patterns and leaves resemble the decoration at Maḥallā (q. v.) and some of the geometrical patterns, which are of all imaginable combinations, are already found on the shafts of

pre-Islamic columns in Diyār Bakr (cf. van Berchem-Strzygowski, *Amida*). The archaistic combination of designs on the minbar has no connection with the decoration which since Samarā we call 'Abšād. We have here a phenomenon comparable to *Majatta* since here also ornamentations from different sources are combined to form a general scheme whose common denominator is formed by the formal quality of the chiaroscuro common to them all. We do not even know how long the nucleus of these carved strips and latticed panels may have previously existed in Baghdād and they may have there belonged to an Omayyad minbar before the pieces were brought to Kairawān and supplemented by copies and additions of local workmanship.

The few pulpits that have survived from the Fātimid period follow the Syro-Egyptian style of woodwork of the period with their system of frames filled with foliage. The tendrils were prevented from over-running the whole surface by being placed within small polygonal areas which were grouped together in cassettes (Kühnel, Springer's *Kunstgeschichte*, vi. 406). The wooden mihrāb of the 11th century from Cairo illustrated in the article *mihrāb* illustrates this style, which is also represented by the minbar made in 1091 A.D. for the mosque in 'Aḡālān and now in Hebron, and by the pulpit of 1155 A.D. in the mosque of 'Amr in Kūs on the upper Nile.

During the Fātimid period the pulpit developed its canonical form as represented in the minbar of the Masjid al-Aḡḡ in Jerusalem, which was gifted in 1168 A.D. by Nūr al-Dīn to Aleppo and later taken by Saladin to Jerusalem (Saladin, *Manuscript*, fig. 28). It henceforth appears with the door way and the domed canopy. The main decorative motives are 8-pointed stars and the polygonal and star-shaped subsidiary panels show carving in relief inlaid with ivory and mother-of-pearl. Of the minbar of Sulṭān Lādīn in the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn of the year 1269 A.D. little more is left than the framework, while the panels are preserved in the Arab Museum in Cairo and in the South Kensington Museum (cf. *Descriptive Catalogue of the Arab Museum*, Cairo). That wooden minbars were sometimes copied in stone is shown by the stone pulpit in the mosque-madrasa of Sulṭān Ḥasan (757—764 = 1356—1363). The miḡarnas in the door case and soon after found on the dome also, here as in the mihrāb goes back to Turkish influence transmitted through Syria. Like the mihrāb, the minbar also attained its finest workmanship in Cairo under the second Mamlūk dynasty in the 14th century and later. No essential alteration was later made in its canonical form and its embellishment remained standardised and varied only in details. A fine example of this fully developed Cairo type is in the South Kensington Museum. According to the inscription, it was presented by Ka'it Bey (1468—1495) and has finely carved ivory panels and traces of painting on the wooden parts. The small star pattern is replaced by a smooth surface. The gilt onion-shaped dome with its finial and crescent on the stucco cornices are, as Briggs observes, characteristic of the period (Briggs, *Moslem Art in Egypt and Palestine*, p. 217).

After the Turkish conquest, the general deterioration in craftsmanship in Cairo affected the minbar also, but exceptions, like the finely-worked pulpit of the mosque of al-Burdānī, however show that the good old tradition still survived. Ḥakīm II's

minbar in Cordoba has not survived but from the descriptions of the Arab writers it must have been a peculiarly valuable piece of work, for according to al-Maḡkarrī it cost 35,705 dinars. It could be moved on wheels and contained the caliph 'Umar's Qur'ān. In the mosque of 'Alā' al-Dīn in Konya is a minbar of hazelwood, according to an inscription on the posts supporting the upper part, the work of an artist of Aḡhlāl of the year 550 (1155). Two inscriptions on the door of the pulpit mention Sulṭān Ma'ūd I (510—551 = 1116—1156) and Kāilgī Arslān II (551—584 = 1156—1188) (cf. J. H. Loyned, *Konia* and F. Sarre, *Seldschukische Kleinplastik*, p. 27 fig. pl. vi.—viii.). Inscriptions from the Qur'ān decorate the frames of the balustrades of the steps. The pulpit is of the traditional Syro-Egyptian form, but is, however, distinguished from them by its vigorous structure. Polygonal and star-shaped panels fill the sideframes, together with the same tendril patterns symmetrically interwoven, as we find naturalised in all the eastern lands of Islām from the beginning of the eleventh century (detailed illustration in Sarre, *op. cit.*, fig. 24).

In Persia and Afghanistan all the old minbars seem to have been destroyed during the Mongol invasion. On the other hand, the minbar illustrated here in the mosque of Lashwar Shāh Aḡha in the sanctuary of the Imām Rida in Meḡhbed which was built about 840—850 (1436—1446) is original in ornamentation and an example of the Tīmūrid minbar. The structural motive is thrust into the background by the profuse covering of small pentagonal and star-shaped wooden panels with tendrils carved in relief after the style of the contemporary tiles; the effect is that of a carpet. Nothing is known of old minbars in Turkestan. In India, pulpits were built almost exclusively of stone. Many, some of them richly carved, still exist in the Muslim provinces and towns of India. The pavilion on four pillars, common and popular in India, which gives a charm to buildings for Muslim worship as a decorative finish to the roof, was also used here for the stone minbar. Indeed one might even wonder whether this originally Indian structure was carried by the Eastern Turks to Central Asian lands and adopted by them for the minbar. Minbars with such canopies are frequently found in the mosques of the province of Guḡarat and in Aḡmadshāh (cf. these volumes in the *Arch. Survey of India, Western India*). The mosque of Hilāl Khān Ḥāḡī of 1335 A.D. in Dhulka, for example, has a stone minbar with seven steps and a canopy on pillars on the roof, but no entrance gate. The triangular side walls are divided into square areas which are carved in relief (*Arch. Survey of India, Western India*, vol. vi., Guḡarat, pl. xxviii., xxx.). In Haidarābād, the Muslim state of the south, on the other hand, the minbars are more simple and heavier, and have no canopy (cf. illustration from Osmānshāh).

Bibliography: M. S. Briggs, *Muhammadian Architecture in Egypt and Palestine*, Oxford 1924; E. Kühnel, *Die islamische Kunst*, Springer's *Handbuch der Kunstgesch.*, vol. vi.; J. H. Loyned, *Konia*, *Inchriften der seldschukischen Bauten*, Berlin 1907; F. Sarre, *Seldschukische Kleinplastik*, Leipzig 1909; J. Strzygowski, *Altiran* (ornamentation of the minbar in Kairawān); *Arch. Survey of India, Western India*, vol. vi., Guḡarat, vol. vii., Aḡmadshāh.

(E. Durr)



Fig. 1. Minbar in the Salt 'Ukba Mosque in Kairawan.



Fig. 3. Minbar in the Sultan Hasan Mosque in Cairo.



Fig. 2. Mihnar in the Paranda Mosque in Ushaknabad.

Skil, the eighteenth station of the moon *Kail al-Akrab*, and the nineteenth station of the moon *al-Shawla* ("Sting of the Scorpion"). The stars ϵ and τ to the right and left of *Kail al-Akrab*, are called *al-Niyaf*.

9. *al-Rami*, the Archer (*Sagittarius*) or *al-Kawr*, the Bow or *al-Sahn*, the Arrow. 31 essential and no unessential stars; the face with bow and arrow is turned to the west, the hind-part of the horse's body to the east. (The fresco on the dome at Kuşair 'Amra on the other hand shows the upper part of the body of the archer turned towards the hind-part of the horse's body, and aiming with the bow over this to the west. The stars γ (on the point of the arrow), δ (on the bow-grip) ϵ (at the south end of the bow), η (on the right fore-foot) are called *al-Na'im al-wairid*, ϵ (on the left shoulder), ϕ (on the notch of the arrow), τ (on the shoulder blade) and ζ (under the shoulder) *al-Na'im al-qadir*. Both constellations together form the twentieth station of the moon, *al-Na'im*. μ and λ *Sagittarii* on the northern bend of the bow are called *al-Zaimani*, α (on the knee), and $\beta_1 \beta_2$ (on the shin-bone) are together called *al-Suradani*. The space almost void of stars at π *Sagittarii* marks the twenty-first station of the moon, *al-Balda* or *Baidat al-Thalab*.

10. *al-Djady*, the Goat (*Capricornus*). 28 essential, no unessential stars: the figure is conceived of as looking to the west. α and β on the eastern horn form the twenty-second station of the moon *Sa'd al-Dhulh* γ and δ on the tail are called *al-muhibbani*.

11. *Sahib al-Ma'* or *al-Suqi*, the water-carrier (*Aquarius*) or *al-Dafn*, the pail. 42 essential and 3 unessential stars: the head of *Aquarius* points to the N. W., the feet S. E. α and β on the right shoulder are called *Sa'd al-Malik* or *Sa'd al-Mulk*. The two (or three) stars on the left hand (μ , ν or μ , ν , ξ) form the twenty-third station of the moon, *Sa'd al-Bula'*, β and ζ on the left shoulder together with ϵ_1 and ϵ_2 *Capricorni* form the twenty-fourth station of the moon *Sa'd al-Sa'id*. The four stars γ , ξ , π and η on the right fore-arm and the right hand are called *Sa'd al-Akhiya* and form the twenty-fifth station of the moon.

12. *al-Samakani*, the two Fishes (*Pisces*) or *al-Hut*, the Fish. 34 essential and 4 unessential stars; the figure is conceived as two fishes, the western in the south of the back of *Pegasus*, the eastern in the south of *Andromeda*. The two fishes are connected by a band of stars. *al-Kazwini* does not mention any outstanding stars.

It is evident, then, that by far the greater part of the 28 *manadil* fall into the area of the 12 *buruj* and form part of them. Only the following four do not belong to them: No. 5 *al-Ho'la* (λ , ϕ_1 , ϕ_2 *Orionis*), No. 26 *al-Fargh al-awwal* (α , β *Pegasi*), No. 27 *al-Fargh al-thani* (γ *Pegasi*, α *Andromedae*), No. 28 *Batu al-Hut* or *al-Rishd* (a large number of stars forming a fish in the neighbourhood of β *Andromedae*).

The zodiacal figures No. 1, *al-Hamal*, No. 4, *al-Sarafan*, No. 7, *al-Mizan* and No. 10, *al-Djady* are known together as *Baraj* *manhaliba*, Greek *Zeus xporos*; No. 2, *al-Thawr*, No. 5, *al-Awad*, No. 8, *al-Akrab* and No. 11, *al-Dafn* under *Baraj* *thabita*, *Zeus xporos*; No. 3, *al-Djauz*, No. 6, *al-Adha'*, No. 9, *al-Rami* and No. 12, *al-Suma-*

kani under *Baraj* *thabita* *al-Djauzain*, *Zeus xporos* (i.e. "Signa bicornora", "Double figures": Twins, Virgin and Ear of corn, Archer with Horse's body and the two Fishes).

al-Kazwini gives from Ptolemy the extent of the *Mintaka* as 486.259.721 $\frac{1}{4}$ *Mil*, the length of each *Baraj* as 39.388.310 $\frac{1}{2}$ *Mil*, and the breadth as 1.322.943 $\frac{1}{3}$ *Mil*.

Mintaka in Astrology.

Muthallathat.

By *al-muthallathat* (sg. *al-muthallath*) are meant in Arab astrology the Greek *τριπλάτης*, Lat. *trigona* or *triquetra*, which in the middle ages were usually translated by *triplicitates*.

The twelve signs of the zodiac are here arranged in threes at the angles of four intersecting equilateral triangles of which one is allotted to each of the four elements. Each triangle is given two of the seven planets as its rulers (*rabb*, pl. *arbab*, Greek *ἐκαστοῦ* or *ἐκαστοῦ*), one for the day and another for the night; a third is associated with the two others as "companion".

The arrangement is as follows:

1. *Muthallath* — Element: Fire.

Zodiacal sign: *al-Hamal*, *al-Awad* and *al-Rami* (No. 1, 5 and 9).

Ruler: by day *al-Shams* (Sun), by night *Muthari* (Jupiter).

Companion: *Zuhā* (Saturn).

2. *Muthallath* — Element: Earth.

Zodiacal sign: *al-Thawr*, *al-Adha'* and *al-Djady* (No. 2, 6 and 10).

Ruler: by day *Zuhā* (Venus), by night *al-Kamar* (Moon).

Companion: *Mirrith* (Mars).

3. *Muthallath* — Element: Air.

Zodiacal sign: *al-Djauz*, *al-Mizan* and *al-Dafn* (No. 3, 7 and 11).

Ruler: by day *Zuhā* (Saturn), by night *Ufari* (Mercury).

Companion: *Muthari* (Jupiter).

4. *Muthallath* — Element: Water.

Zodiacal sign: *al-Sarafan*, *al-Akrab* and *al-Samakani* (No. 4, 8 and 12).

Ruler: by day *Zuhā* (Venus), by night *Mirrith* (Mars).

Companion: *al-Kamar* (Moon).

The distribution of the *Muthallathat* has been settled since the time of Ptolemy (*τριπλάτης*).

Wuḡūḡ or *Sumar*. By dividing each *buraj* into three we get 36 decans each of 10°, which in Arabic are called *wuḡūḡ* (sing. *wuḡūḡ*), *sumar* (sing. *sumar*) or *dahijān* (from the Indian *ārkhaṇa*, a loanword from the Greek) or *dahaj* (Pers.), in Greek *δεκάσι* or *δεκάσι*, in mediaeval Latin *facies*, more rarely *decans*. The astrological significance is the same as with the Greeks, who in their turn go back to Egyptian models. The decans are not mentioned in Ptolemy. *al-Sumar* means properly the *parametallonta* of the Babylonian *Tenkra*, the constellations which rise at the same time as the separate decans according to his list. *Abd Ma'ghar* and other Arab authors took over the list of the *parametallonta* from *Tenkra* un-

altered, but not the astrological interpretations associated with them.

Bayāt. The Greek *stax* or *stora*, Lat. *domicilia* or (mediaeval) *domus*, are called in Arabic *bayūt* (sg. *bayt*). The sun and moon are each ruler (*ṣāḥib*, *raḥib*, Greek *ἀρχαρχήτης* [cf. above *archallachāṭ*]) over one sign of the zodiac; each of the other five planets rules over two signs at the same time, according to the following scheme, also already laid down in the *ṣarfāḥiyya*:

Lion — Sun	Archer	Jupiter
Crab — Moon	Fishes	Jupiter
Scales	Goat	Saturn
Bull	Water-carrier	Saturn
Scorpion	Virgin	Mercury
Ram	Twins	Mercury
	Mars	

The *ḥurūf* from the Lion to the Goat are day-houses, the rest night-houses. If a planet is in its day-house during the hours of day or in its night-house at night, it is credited with particularly powerful astrological influence.

Sharaf and *Hubūt*. By *Sharaf* (pl. *ashraf*) we understand the *diapusa* of the Greeks, *sublimitas* of Ptolemy, *altitude* of Firmicus Maternus, *exaltatio* in mediaeval Latin; *Hubūt* is the Greek *καταβύσις*, *katavysis*, more rarely *αλτυσμα*, class. Lat. *directio*, med. Lat. *causus*.

A planet attains its maximum astrological influence in its *Sharaf*; its influence is least in the *hubūt*, i.e. the point in the heavens diametrically opposite the *Sharaf* of the circle of the ecliptic.

Planet	<i>Sharaf</i>	<i>Hubūt</i>
Sun	Ram 19°	Scales 19°
Moon	Bull 3°	Scorpion 3°
Saturn	Scales 21° (20°)	Ram 21°
Jupiter	Crab 15°	Goat 15°
Mars	Goat 28°	Crab 28°
Venus	Fishes 27°	Virgin 27°
Mercury	Virgin 15°	Fishes 15°

The only inaccuracy in the list of exaltations, already fixed in ancient times, is giving 20° instead of 21° to the Scales for Saturn, which however goes back to a very old error; it is also found in Ptolemy, Firmicus and in the Hindu astronomer Varāha-Mihira.

al-Baḥāmī assumed that at the time of the creation of the world the planets were in their *ashraf*.

Various Arab writers since Abū Maḥḥar also ascribe exaltations and dejections to the nodes of the moon (*ʿaḥḍān* or *ʿaḥḍānī*, scil. *al-ḥamar*) ascending node (*raʿs*) as *Sharaf* the Twins 3°, and as *Hubūt*, the Archer 3°; *raʿs* *verus* to the descending node (*ḥanṣā*) as *Sharaf* the Archer 3°; as *Hubūt* the Twins 3°. This allocation is not known to the Greek astrologers.

Hubūd. Each of the five planets (excluding the sun and moon) possesses in each of the 12 *ḥurūf* a sphere of influence covering several degrees of the ecliptic. The *Hubūd* of the planets (Arab. *ḥūdūd*, pl. *ḥūdūd*, Greek *ἄνω*, Lat. *anor*, med. Latin *terminus*) which has the same astrological significance as the planet itself and can represent it at any time in horoscopes. On the distribution of these spheres of influence within the zodiacal circle opinions differed widely and unanimity could never be attained. Ptolemy added one more to the Egyptian and Chaldean divisions already in existence. (The various systems are

fully expounded in the *ṣarfāḥiyya*, i. 20, fol. 43: Holi has studied this question very fully in *Neues zur babylonischen Planetenrechnung*, Z. A., xxxviii. [1913], p. 340 seq.). The Arab astrologers used almost exclusively the Egyptian system, which makes the different spheres of very unequal sizes.

Mintaka in Astronomy.

The Mintaka is, as in the Greek astronomy, the fundamental basis for all calculations. It is divided into 360° degrees (*ḍuʿ*, pl. *aḍiʿ* or *ḍaradja*, coll. *ḍaradja*, pl. *ḍaradjaʿ*), each degree into 60 minutes (*ḍakika*, pl. *ḍakikaʿ*), each minute into 60 seconds (*ḥanṣiya*, pl. *ḥanṣiyaʿ*), each second into 60 thirds (*ḥanṣiya*, pl. *ḥanṣiyaʿ*) and so on.

The points of intersection of the ecliptic with the equator (*ḍiʿra* or *falak muʿaddil al-nahār*) define the two equinoxes (*al-ʿiḍāʿ*), the points of the greatest northerly and southerly declination the two solstices (*al-ḥiḍāʿ*). The position of a fixed star or planet with respect to the Mintaka is defined by giving its longitude (*ḥuḍūd*, pl. *ḥuḍūd*) or in al-Battānī *al-ḥuḍūd* *alladhī fī al-ḥawāḥ* and latitude (*ʿarḍ*, pl. *ʿarḍ*). The longitudes are numbered from the vernal point (*al-ḥanṣiyat al-waḥḥiya*). The axis erected perpendicular to the plane of the ecliptic meets the sphere of the fixed stars in the two poles of the ecliptic (*ḥuḍūd al-ḥurūf*).

On Arab star-maps and globes, we frequently find a mixed ecliptical and equatorial system of coordinates used (cf. the remarks above on the fresco on the dome at Kūsair 'Amra), which consists of ecliptical circles of longitude through the poles of the ecliptic and equatorial parallel circles.

Precession (in al-Battānī *ḥawāḥ al-ḥawāḥ al-ḥabib*, in later authors more precisely *Muḥaddarat naḥḥat al-ʿiḍāʿ*). Among the Arab astronomers supporters were found for the theory of Ptolemy, who explained the precession as a continual revolution of the whole heavens around the pole of the ecliptic with a period of 36,000 years, as well as for that handed down by Theon of Alexandria (Iḥwān al-Iḥsanīyā) from older sources, according to which the process of the precessions consisted of an oscillation to and from around the "nodes of the path of the sun". The greatest amount of the precession according to this theory is 8° west or east of the nodes; the retrogression amounts to 1° in 80 years so that the whole phenomenon repeats itself after 2,560 years. The latter theory found particular approval in India and was further developed there. Thābit b. Qurra gave an explanation for it which at the same time took into account the (more suspected than observed) diminution in the obliquity of the ecliptic and calculated the length of the period at 4171½ years. al-Battānī attacked and refuted this oscillation hypothesis of Theon and of the *Ajāḥ al-filāḥiyya* (astronomers); on a basis of new and comparative observations he found that the precession amounted to 1° in 66 years, which corresponds to a period of 23,760 years, which is roughly 10% too small. The very accurate estimate of 1° in 70 years is also occasionally, if rarely, given in Arabic literature, according to E. Zinner, *Geschichte der Sternkunde*, p. 289.

Obliquity (*ḥawāḥ al-ḥurūf* or *al-ḥurūf* in contrast to *al-ḥurūf al-ḥurūf*, "declination of the separate points in the Mintaka", cf. al-Aghḥarī, p. 21). The pro-

blem of estimating the obliquity of the ecliptic was during the classical period a centre of interest for the Muslim astronomers. As a first attempt at an exact estimate in the Muslim period, Ibn Yunus (ch. ix., p. 222 of the Leyden Codex or of the Paris Codex, N^o. 2475) mentions an observation of the period between 778 and 786 which gave the value $\epsilon = 23^{\circ} 31'$. We have an unusually large number of observations of later dates. (For details see Nallino's notes on al-Battānī's *Opus Astronomicum*, i. 157-192.)

al-Battānī in his observations used a parallactic ruler (triquetrum, *iqāda fawān*) as well as a finely divided wall quadrant (*libra*). He ascertained with these instruments in al-Raqqa the smallest zenith distance of the sun at $12^{\circ} 26'$, the greatest at

$59^{\circ} 36'$; this gave $\epsilon = \frac{47^{\circ} 10'}{2} = 23^{\circ} 35'$. This

value is at the basis of all al-Battānī's calculations and tables and has been adopted by many other Arab astronomers.

The question whether the amount of obliquity remains constant at all times or is subject to a secular diminution was answered in different ways by different students. As a matter of fact the degree of accuracy of observation was not sufficient to settle this point and the old Hindu value of $\epsilon = 24^{\circ}$, on which these investigations were often based, was based not on observations but only on a statement of Euclid's according to which astrologers of his time used to estimate the obliquity as a fifteenth part of the circumference of the circle.

The following table gives a survey of the Arab values for the obliquity of the ecliptic (cf. Nallino, *al-Battānī, Opus Astronomicum*, loc. cit.). The column "average obliquity" gives by Bessel's formula:

$$\epsilon = 23^{\circ} 28' 18''.6 - 0''.48368 t -$$

$$0''.00000272295 t^2 \quad (t = \text{years after 1750})$$

the true values calculated for the periods in question. The years given in brackets are only approximate, i.e. not given by the authors themselves.

Bibliography: al-Battānī, *K. al-Zīj al-Shāh* (*Opus Astronomicum*), ed. C. A. Nallino, vol. i-iii, Milan 1899, 1903, 1907; al-Kāzwinī, *Aghār al-Bilād wa-Ahḥād al-Ḥād* (**Cosmography**), ed. Wustenfeld, table i., 9 and 10 (Göttingen 1849); al-Kāzwinī, *Kosmographie*, transl. H. Eise, vol. i (Leipzig 1868); Fr. Boll, *Sphaera* (Leipzig 1903); Holi-Bezold, *Sternkunde und Sternentstehung*, ed. by W. Guntel (Leipzig 1906); F. K. Guntel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, vol. i. (Leipzig 1906); A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geistes-kultur*, p. 201-228 (Berlin and Leipzig 1919); K. Zinner, *Geschichte der Sternkunde*, Berlin 1931, p. 288, 289, 292, 293.

(WILLY HARTNER)

MINICOY, a coral island in the Arabian Sea midway between the Laccadive and the Maldiv Islands; it belongs like the former to the Al Rāḥ of Cannanore but ethnographically and geographically has more claim to be attached to the Maldiv group. It is six miles long but very narrow, being only $1\frac{3}{4}$ square miles in area. The population is about 3,000. The people, who are probably of Singhalese origin, have been Muhammadans since the sixth century. The language is Mahli but the Arabic character is used. They are strictly monogamous. A girl's consent is required for her marriage and she brings no dowry, but receives presents from the bridegroom. The women go unveiled. There are three castes in the island. The inhabitants all live in one village which is divided into ten quarters in each of which the men and women are separately organised with their own headmen and headwomen. All work on land is done by women. The men are sailors and fishermen. Most of the island's food supply has to be imported. The chief exports are coconuts, coir, cowries and dried fish. The important position held by women in Minicoy has suggested its identification with Marco Polo's "Female Island" (ed. Vule, ii. 404).

Comparative table of the Arab values for the Obliquity of the Ecliptic

Observer	Place	Year	Obliquity observed	Average obliquity	Error
Eratothenes	Alexandria	(230 B.C.)	23° 51' 20"	23° 43' 45"	+ 7' 35"
Hipparchus	Rhodes	(130 B.C.)		42' 57"	+ 8' 23"
Ptolemy	Alexandria	(140 A.D.)		41' 10"	+ 10' 10"
Tabulae Probatae (<i>al-Zīj al-mumtāz</i>)	Baghdād	829	33'	35' 41"	- 2' 41"
Other observers under al-Ma'nūn	Damascus	832	33' 52"	35' 40"	- 1' 48"
Banū Mubā	Baghdād	(860)	35'	35' 26"	- 0' 26"
al-Battānī	al-Raqqa	(880)	35'	35' 17"	- 0' 17"
Banū Amādiyya	?	(918)	35'	35' 0"	0' 0"
Abd al-Rahmān al-Sūfī	Baghdād?	(965)	33' 43"	34' 35"	- 0' 50"
Abu 'l-Wafā	Baghdād	987	35'	34' 25"	+ 0' 35"
Widjān b. Rustam al-Kūhī	Baghdād	988	51' 1"	34' 25"	+ 16' 36"
Ibn Yūnus	Cairo	1001	34' 52"	34' 19"	+ 0' 33"
al-Bīrūnī	Ghazni	(1019)	35'	34' 10"	+ 0' 50"
Alphonsonian Tables	Toledo	(1230)	32' 29"	32' 19"	+ 0' 10"
Ibn al-Shāṭir	Damascus	(1363)	34'	31' 25"	- 0' 25"
Ulugh Beg	Samarqand	(1437)	30' 17"	30' 49"	- 0' 32"

Bibliography: Account of the Island of Minicoy, in *The General Report of the Trigonometrical Survey of India 1869-70*, p. xxvi-xxxii; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, v. 7; *Blackwood's Magazine*, 1889, p. 197-213, 307-323; *Report on Minicoy* by W. Logan (1870) and by H. M. Winterbotham (1876); W. Logan, *Malabar*, i. 285-287. (J. ALLAN)

MINŪCIHRĪ, ABU 'L-NADJIM AHMAD B. VA'KŪR, Persian poet, nicknamed *Shast-gilla* = "sixty-herds", because of the wealth he accumulated in horses and cattle; but some say the name should be read *Shast-kul* or *Shast-kula* i.e. "crooked-thumb". He was a native of Dāmghān, calling himself "Dāmghāni" in his verse although Dawlatshāh says he came from Halkh. He was a younger contemporary and imitator of 'Unsurī (q. v.), but he is considered to have excelled his model in poetic power. After completing his studies under Abu 'l-Faraj of Sīstān (d. circa 392 = 1003) he enrolled himself in the service of the Amir Minūcihr b. Kabūs b. Washmīr, ruler of Djurdjān and vassal of Mahmūd of Ghazna, and from the name of this first patron he took his *takhalluq*. Presumably through the influence of 'Unsurī he later became attached to Mahmūd's entourage of literary men at Ghazna, and wrote *ḡazals* in praise of his new patron and of his sons Muhammad (who reigned for less than a year) and Mas'ūd who succeeded to the Ghaznawid throne. The latter was assassinated in 432 (1041), and Minūcihr did not long survive him (Rizā-kull Khān, *Majma' al-Fuṣṣal*, i. 543, says he died in the same year and quotes 'Awfi as having called him "short-lived"). In his work Minūcihr shows himself to be a skilled versifier, displaying a clever felicity of rhyme and very often a refreshing simplicity and straightforwardness of language. Also he did not hesitate to use new forms for his verse, and he is the earliest Persian writer we know of to have used the strophic form of the *musammat*, which, as used by him, consists of a series of *miṣrā'a* or *stichoi*, in groups of six. All six may rhyme together, or only five; in the latter case the last line rhymes with the last lines of the other strophes. In spite of his qualities as a versifier, Minūcihr cannot be regarded as a great poet, even for his day. His themes, — wine, love, springtime and the virtues of patrons — are of the stock pattern, and his *ḡazals* are deliberately moulded on the Arabic form, with all its artificialities. In flattery of his patrons he is as servile as any in the whole range of Persian panegyrics and his conceit of himself as it appears in his work is sometimes ludicrous in its effect (cf. No. 48 in Hiberstein-Karimovskiy's edition, Paris 1886).

Bibliography: works quoted above and Eithé, in *Généralités d'Iran. Philologie*. A Tihon ed. of the *Divān* was published in 1297 A. H. (K. LEVY)

MIR, a Persian title abbreviated from the Arabic *amir* and approximating in meaning both to it and to the title *mirān* (q. v.). (For the dropping of the initial *alif*, cf. Bā Sahl for Abū Sahl etc.). Like *amir* the title is applied to princes (Minūcihr, ed. Hiberstein-Karimovskiy, 1886, p. 96, speaks of Mas'ūd, Sultan of Ghazna, as "Mir"), but it is also borne by poets and other men of letters (e.g. Mir 'Alī Shīr, Mir Khwānd, Mir Muḥsin; cf. the following art.). In India, Sāyids sometimes call themselves by the title. As a common noun, it is used as an equivalent of *ḡāzib*, e.g. *mir famā*,

mir ḡāzib. In Turkish there was derived from it the colloquial adjective *mīrī* ("belonging to the government"), which gave rise to *al-mīrī* ("the government") in the colloquial Arabic of Iraq.

(K. LEVY)

MĪR, the poetical designation of MĪR MUHAMMAD TAQĪ b. MĪR 'ABD ALLAH, was a native of Akharshād. After the death of his father he went to Dihli during the reign of Shāh 'Alam (1173-1221 = 1759-1806) and became a pupil of Sirāj al-Dīn 'Alī Khān Arzū. In 1190 (1776) he left Dihli for Lucknow, where he spent the remaining portion of his life. He is recognised to be the most eminent poet of the Urdu language. He died at Lucknow in 1225 (1810) when he was nearly 100 years old. He is the author of six *diwāns* which have been repeatedly printed in India, and a biography of Urdu poets, entitled *Nuḥāt al-Shu'arā'*.

Bibliography: Shifā, *Gulshani Bihār*, fol. 167-176; Azād, *Abi Hayāt*, Lahore 1913, p. 203-241; Kathir al-Dīn, *Ta'rikhi Shu'arā-i Urdu*, Dihli 1848, p. 115-120.

(M. HADAYET HOSAIN)

MĪR AMMĀN. [See AMMĀN.]

MĪR DJUMLA. [See MUHAMMAD BĀ'D.]

MĪRĀDJ (s.), originally *Isādīr*, later "ascent", especially Muhammad's ascension to heaven. In the *Qur'ān*, Sūra lxxxi. 19-25 and lii. 1-12, a vision is described in which a heavenly messenger appears to Muhammad and Sūra lii. 12-18 deals with a second message of a similar kind. In both cases the Prophet sees a heavenly figure approach him from the distance but there is no suggestion that he himself was carried off. It is otherwise with the experience alluded to in Sūra xvii. 1: "Praise him, who travelled in one night with his servant from the Masjid al-Haram to the Masjid al-Akṣā, whose surroundings we blessed, in order to show him our signs". That Muhammad is meant by the "servant" is generally assumed and there is no reason to doubt it (Schrieke, *Islam*, vi. 13, note 6; Bevan, *J. A. S. P.*, xvii. 53 ff.); that the Masjid al-Haram is the Meccan sanctuary is certain from Qur'anic usage (Horowitz, *Koran. Unters.*, p. 140); but what is the Masjid al-Akṣā? According to the traditional explanation, but not the only one recognised in Hadith (see Schrieke, *op. cit.*, p. 12, 14 and above, s. v. *MĪRĀ'*) it would mean Jerusalem, but how could Muhammad, who in Sūra xxx. 1 speaks of Palestine as *adha 'l-ard*, call a sanctuary situated in Jerusalem *al-masjid al-akṣā*? The age of this explanation is not quite certain; perhaps it was already known to 'Umar b. Abi Rābī'a (ed. Schwab, xcl.) and Abū Sahl (Linder *der Haddisat*, ed. Wellhausen, cclxv. 24); but even these belong only to the Umayyad period (contrary to Lammen, *Sanctuaries*, p. 72, this is true also of Abū Sahl, who according to *Aḡḡāl*, xii. 94 was a partisan of the Banū Marwān and panegyrist of 'Abd al-Malik). Muhammad probably meant by al-Masjid al-Akṣā a place in heaven, such as the place in the highest of the seven heavens in which the angels sing praises of Allāh and we would then have in Sūra xvii. 1, evidence from the Prophet himself about his nocturnal ascension into the heavenly spheres (Schrieke, *op. cit.*, p. 13 ff.; Horowitz, *ibid.*, ix. 161 ff.), testimony which is however content with the mention of the experience itself and says nothing about its course. The question

of the possibility of an ascent to heaven is several times touched on in the *Qur'ān*. In *Sūra* xi. 38 Fir'awn gives Hāmūn orders to build a palace so that he can reach the cords of heaven and climb up to the god of Mūsā (cf. also *Sūra* xxviii. 3). In *Sūra* lii. 38, the calumniators are asked whether they had perchance a ladder (*ṣullām*) so that they could hear the heavenly voice and in *Sūra* vi. 35 the consequences are considered which the signs brought by the Prophet with the help of a ladder to heaven might have on his hearers. The old poets also talk of ascending to heaven by a ladder, as a means of escaping something one wants to avoid (*Zuhair*, *Mu'allafā*, p. 54; *A'shā*, xv. 32).

Hadīth gives further details of the Prophet's ascension. Here the ascension is usually associated with the nocturnal journey to Jerusalem, so that the ascent to heaven takes place from this sanctuary. We also have accounts preserved which make the ascension start from Mecca and make no mention of the journey to Jerusalem. In one of these the ascension takes place immediately after the "purification of the heart" (see Bukhārī, *Ṣulāt*, liib. 1; *Ḥaḍīṣ*, liib. 76; *Manāẓih*, bāb 42; Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Muṣnad*, iv. 207, v. 143; Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 2157 sq.). In the last mentioned passage we read: "When the Prophet had received his revelation and was sleeping at the Ka'ba, as the *Qur'ān* used to do, the angels Gabriel and Michael came to him and said: With regard to whom have we received the order? Whereupon they themselves answered: With regard to their lord. Thereupon they went away but came back the next night, three of them. When they found him sleeping they laid him on his back, opened his body, brought water from the Zamzam well and washed away all that they found within his body of doubt, idolatry, paganism and error. They then brought a golden vessel which was filled with wisdom and belief and then his body was filled with wisdom and belief. Thereupon he was taken up to the lowest heaven". The other versions of the same story show many additions and variants; according to one, for example, Gabriel came to Muhammad through the roof of his house which opened to receive him; according to another, it was Gabriel alone who appeared to him and there are many similar variants. All these versions however put Muhammad's ascension at an early period and make it a kind of dedication of him as a Prophet, for which the purification of the heart had paved the way. Ethnographical parallels (Schrieke, *op. cit.*, p. 2-4) show other instances of a purification being preliminary to an ascension. Similar stories are found in pagan Arabia (Horowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 171 sqq.) and also in Christian legends (*op. cit.*, p. 170 sqq.). Another story (Ibn Sa'd, i. 143) says that the ascension took place from Mecca although it does not associate it with "the purification of the heart" which it puts back to the childhood of the Prophet (cf. HALLAM).

How did it come about however that this, obviously the earlier, tradition of Mecca as the starting point of the ascension was ousted by the other which made it take place from Jerusalem? The localisation of the *Qur'ān*ic Masjid al-Akṣā in Jerusalem is by some connected with the efforts of 'Abd al-Malik to raise Jerusalem to a place of special esteem in the eyes of believers (Schrieke, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Horowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 165 sqq.; do., in

Islamic Culture, ii. 35 sqq.) and in any case it cannot be proved that this identification is older than the time of 'Abd al-Malik. It might all the easier obtain currency as Jerusalem to the Christians was the starting point of Christ's ascension and from the fourth century Jesus's footprint had been shown to pilgrims in the Basilica of the Ascension; as now, perhaps as early as the time of 'Abd al-Malik, that of their Prophet was shown to Muslim pilgrims (Horowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 167 sq.). The idea of the "heavenly Jerusalem" may have had some influence on the development of the *isrā'* legends; when Muhammad meets Ibrāhīm, Mūsā and 'Isā in Jerusalem, the presence of these prophets in the earthly Jerusalem is not at once intelligible, but it loses any remarkable features if Bait al-Makdis (Ibn Hishām, p. 267) from the first meant the "Heavenly Jerusalem" (Horowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 168, another explanation cf. ii. 604). Perhaps also the phrase *allāhū ḥaraknā ḥawlahu* was taken to support the reference to Jerusalem; when these words occur elsewhere in the *Qur'ān* they refer to sites in the holy land (Lammens, *op. cit.*, p. 72, note). While the stories quoted above only say that Gabriel took the Prophet up to the heights of heaven, but are silent as to how, others add that a ladder (*mi'rādj*) was used for the ascent (see Ibn Hishām, p. 268; Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv. 10; Ibn Sa'd, i. 143); this ladder was of splendid appearance; it is the one to which the dying turn their eyes and with the help of which the souls of men ascend to heaven. The ladder is probably identical with Jacob's ladder in Genesis, xxviii. 12; the Ethiopic Book of Jubilees, xxvii. 21 calls this *mi'rādj* and *Sūra* lxx. 3, 4 calls Allāh *Ḍū 'l-Mi'rādj* "to whom the angels and the spirit ascend" (*ṣi'rādj*). According to *Sūra* xxiii. 4, the *amr* rises to Allāh; according to *Sūra* lvii. 4 and xxxiv. 2, Allāh knows "what descends from heaven and what ascends to it", and in *Sūra* xliii. 32 there is a reference to steps (*mi'rādj*) in the houses of men. Muhammad therefore already knew the word, which is presumably taken from Ethiopic (Horowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 174 sqq.). Among the Mandaeans also the ladder (*ṣimlā*) is the means of ascending to heaven (*Ginza*, transl. Lidzbarski, p. 49, 208, 490) and there are parallels to the ladder of the dead in the mysteries of Mithras (see Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds*, p. 45; Wetter, *Pap.*, p. 114, note 2); the Manichaean *amūd al-sabb* (*Fihrist*, p. 335, v) by means of which the dead man is taken to the sphere of the toon is a more distant parallel (Bevan, *op. cit.*, p. 59).

Just as the *mi'rādj* is associated with the ascension, so *Burāk* is originally connected with the night journey to Jerusalem; it found its way however at an early date into the legend of the ascension (see Bukhārī, *Manāẓih*, bāb 42; Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Muṣnad*, iv. 207; v. 387; Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv. 12). The prophets earlier than Muhammad had used *Burāk* as their steed (Ibn Hishām, p. 263; Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rikh al-Akṣamī*, i. 349), in particular Ibrāhīm ('Adḍūdī, ed. Ahlwardt, xlv. 48-52; Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv. 5; Tha'labī, *Arṣād*, p. 63; Hāshī, i. 369). This idea of an animal used by the different prophets is borrowed; according to the Midrashic statement, late it is true (*Yalḥūf* on Zachariah, ix. N^o. 875; *Pirke de R. Eliezer*, xii.), the ass which Abraham rode (Genesis xxii. 3) is the same as that used by Zipporah and her sons (Exodus, iv. 20) and is that on which

the Messiah will make his entrance (cf. also Ibn Sa'd, *l.ii.* 176). The recollection that this steed was an ass survives in Muslim tradition so that Burāk is described as "smaller than a mule and larger than an ass" (Bukhārī, *Manāzil*, bāb 43; similarly Ibn Hishām, p. 264; Ibn Sa'd, *l.ii.* 143). Ibn Sa'd already describes Burāk as a female beast and, as early as a story attributed by Ibn Ishāq to al-Ḥasan al-Basrī, Burāk is given wings (Ibn Hishām, *loc. cit.*). The 'ahs seems to be the first who speaks of Burāk's human face (in Halālī, i. 370); in the miniatures dealt with fully by Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, p. 118 *app.*, al-Burāk usually has a woman's head.

At the gate of each of the seven heavens through which he wanders with the Prophet, Gabriel is asked for his own name and that of his companion (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, bāb 1, Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, xv. 4; *Annales*, ed. de Gozje, I. 1157). After he gives these he is next asked if Muḥammad has already been sent as a prophet (*awāḥid bi-ḥiṣṣa ḥaṣṣi*, correction for the original *awāḥid bi-ḥiṣṣa* found in Ṭabari, *Annales*, i. 1158; see Snouck Hurgronje, *l.ii.* vi. 5, note 4); this also indicates that the ascension originally belonged to the period immediately after his call (Schrieke, *op. cit.*, p. 6). In each heaven they meet one of the earlier messengers of God, usually Adam in the first, Nūḥ and 'Isā in the second, Yūsuf in the third, Idrīs in the fourth, Hārūn in the fifth, Mūsā in the sixth and Ibrāhīm in the seventh heaven; there are also variations and Adam appears as judge over the spirits of the dead (Andrae, p. 44 *sq.*; Schrieke, p. 17; Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, *Muṣannaf*, v. 143; cf. *Apece. Maris*, p. 37). Of the other messengers of God we are only told — in addition to being given a description of their personal appearance — that they greeted Muḥammad; Mūsā is an exception who expressly says that Muḥammad is higher in the esteem of Allāh than himself and that the number of his followers surpasses his own (Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, xv. 11). On another occasion, Muḥammad engages in a conversation with Mūsā after Allāh had imposed upon him 50 ṣalāts a day as obligatory prayers for the faithful. On Mūsā's advice, Muḥammad asks several times for an alleviation and each time Allāh grants it; but when Mūsā says 3 ṣalāts are still too many, the Prophet refuses to ask for less (on *Genesis*, xviii. 23 *app.* as the prototype of this episode; cf. Goldziher, *Studien*, i. 36; Schrieke, p. 19; Andrae, p. 82). According to some versions, Mūsā dwells in the seventh heaven and the conversation seems to be more natural there. To the ascension belong the visits to paradise and to hell. Paradise according to many versions is in the seventh heaven, according to others in the first; in some it is not mentioned at all. The statements about its rivers are contradictory (Schrieke, p. 19; cf. above KAWTHAR), the *Sīrat al-Muḥammad* is usually placed in the seventh heaven (Bevan, p. 59; Schrieke, p. 18). In one description hell is put below the first heaven (Ibn Hishām, p. 269; Ṭabari, *Tafsīr*, vi. 10). According to another, the place of punishment of the damned is on the way between heaven and earth and Muḥammad sees it on his journey to the Rait al-Muḥammad (Ṭabari, xv. 101, also Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, *Muṣannaf*, i. 257; ii. 333; iii. 120, 182, 224, 231, 239). On the punishment in hell cf. Schrieke, p. 17; Andrae, p. 44; Horowitz, p. 173; Reizenstein, *Das menschliche Glück der Geister*, p. 81 *app.*; Lidzbarski, *Johannistuch*, p. 98 *app.*; Ginz, p. 183.

That Muḥammad appeared before Allāh's throne in the seventh heaven and that the conversation about the obligatory prayers took place there, is already recorded in the oldest stories (see above) but only rarely do they extend the conversation between Allāh and the Prophet to other subjects (Ṭabari, xviii. 26; *Muṣannaf*, iv. 66 as a dream; Andrae, p. 70). But objection was raised to the assertion that Muḥammad on this occasion saw Allāh face to face (Andrae, p. 71 *app.*), and the question was also raised at an early date whether the ascension was a dream or a reality, whether only the soul of the Prophet was carried up or also his body (Caetani, *Annali*, Intr. § 320; Andrae, p. 72; Bevan, p. 60; Schrieke, p. 15, note 1). The *Ḥalīl* contains, besides these, other details which Asin (*Escatologia*, Madrid 1919, p. 7—52; do., *Dante y el Islam*, Madrid 1927, p. 25—71) has discussed. In developing the story of the Prophet's ascension Muḥammadan writers have used models afforded them by the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses. A few features may also come from the Parsees from the Aḥdā Viraf; cf. the works already mentioned by Andrae, Bevan, Schrieke, Horowitz and W. Bousset, in *A.R.W.*, iv. 136—169.

Later accounts (Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, xi. 207 *app.*; Asin, *Escatologia*, p. 53 *app.*; do., *Dante* etc., p. 72 *app.*; Nallino, in *R.S.O.*, viii. 802) collect and systematise the material scattered in the older sources; they only increase the matter without however increasing the depth of its thought. Among the Mir'ādī-books which have become popular in modern times that of al-Ḥaṣṣi may be mentioned (this is the current form, see Nallino, *op. cit.*, p. 813) on which Daudī (d. 1201) wrote a *Ḥaṣṣi*; also that of Barzanjī (d. 1179). In the non-Arab lands of Islam, Persian, Turkish, Hindustāni and Malay versions of the legend have contributed to its dispersion (see Chauvin, *loc. cit.*).

The ascension of the Prophet later served as a model for the description of the journey of the soul of the deceased to the throne of the divine judge (Asin, *Escatologia*, p. 59 *sq.*); for the Sūfis however, it is a symbol of the rise of the soul from the bonds of sensuality to the heights of mystic knowledge. Ibn al-Arabī thus expounds it in his work *Kitāb al-Isrā' ilā Maḥim al-Arḥ* (Asin, p. 61 *app.*; Andrae, p. 81 *sq.*), and in his *Futūḥāt*, ii. 356—375 he makes a believer and a philosopher make the journey together but the philosopher only reaches the seventh heaven, while no secret remains hidden from the pious Muslim (Asin, p. 63 *app.*). Abu 'l-'Alī al-Ma'arrī's *Risālat al-Ghufarān* is a parody on the traditional accounts of the Mir'ādī (Asin, p. 71 *app.*). Asin in his two books quoted has dealt with the knowledge of Muslim legends of the ascension possessed by the Christian middle ages and their influence on Dante. In a separate work (*La escatologia musulmana en la divina comedia*, Madrid 1924) he has collected and discussed the literature produced by his *Escatologia* down to 1923.

According to Ibn Sa'd, *l.ii.* 147 the *isrā'* took place on the 17th Rabi' I, the ascension on the 17th Ramaḍān. For centuries however, the night before the 27th Ramaḍān — a date also significant in the history of Mecca (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mecca*, ii. 71) — has been regarded by the pious as the *Lailat al-Mir'ādī*, and the eve is like the *Mamlūḥ al-Nahī* devoted to reading the legend of the feast

(see al-Abdārī, *Mudhhal*, i. 143 *et seq.*; Herklots, *Quæres & Irans*, p. 165; Lane, *Manners and Customs*, London 1896, p. 474 *et seq.*; Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i. 219; Asin, *Excavologia*, p. 97).

Bibliography: is given in the article; cf. also R. Hartmann, in *Bibliothek-Warburg, Vorträge 1928-1929* (Leipzig 1930), p. 42-65. (J. HOROVITZ)

MIRĀNDJĪ, whose full name was Mir Muhammad b. Kāfi Sā'in-dāw b. Kāfi Kalandar, commonly called Miyān Mir or Miyāndjī, born 938 (1531) in Siwastān, Sind. He traced his origin to the caliph 'Umar and spent the last 60 years of his life in great sanctity at Lāhūr. He died in 1045 (1635). But according to the *Bādshāh-Nāma* of 'Abd al-Hamid, i. 330, his death took place in 1044 (1634). Shāh Dīshān repeatedly visited the saint and Prince Dīr Shikūh erected a splendid dome over his tomb. The Prince also wrote a work called *Safinat al-Awliyā'* in which he described fully the lives of this Indian saint and his disciples.

Bibliography: *Safinat al-Awliyā'* p. 70; *Khatimat al-Ashyā'*, p. 154; 'Abd al-Hamid, *Bādshāh-Nāma*, i. 329; Rieu, *Cat. Persian MSS. British Museum*, i. 358.

(M. Hidayat Hosain)

MIRĀN MUHAMMAD SHĀH I., of Khāndesh, was the eleventh prince of the Fāruqī dynasty. He belonged to the younger branch of that line, which had taken refuge in Gujjarāt, and his ancestors had lived in that kingdom and had married princesses of the Muzaffarī family until Mahmūd I of Gujjarāt had, on the extinction of the elder branch of the Fāruqīs, placed 'Adil Khān III, Muhammad's father, on the throne of Khāndesh. Muhammad, who was, through his mother, the great-grandson of Mahmūd, and the grandson of his son, Muzaffar II, succeeded his father in Khāndesh in 1520, and in 1527 incautiously intervened in the case of 'Ala' al-Dīn 'Imād Shāh of Barār by aiding him against his enemy, Burhān Nizām Shāh I of Ahmadnagar. He was defeated and driven back into Khāndesh, but succeeded in persuading his uncle, Bahādūr of Gujjarāt, to intervene, and with him invaded the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. The campaign was only partially successful, but Muhammad was indemnified by Burhān I for his losses. He accompanied his uncle in the campaign which ended, in 1531, in the capture of Mūndū and the annexation of Māwa to Gujjarāt, and on Bahādūr's death in 1537, was summoned, in his mother's right, to the throne of Gujjarāt, but died on his way to Ahmadābād.

Bibliography: Muhammad Kāsim Firāhta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīm*, Bombay 1832; *An Arabic History of Gujjarāt*, ed. E. Denison Ross (*Indian Texts Series*); T. W. Haig, *The Fāruqī Dynasty of Khāndesh* (*The Indian Antiquary*, 1918).

(T. W. Haig)

MIRĀTH (A.), inheritance (pl. *mawāriṭh*), *mawriṭh* legator, *mawriṭh* heir.

1. The law of inheritance (*'Uṣ al-far'īd*, 'the science of dispositions', i.e. of the quotas laid down in accordance with Sūra iv. 16, which is called after its most important and most difficult part) is one of the branches of Muhammadan law in which Muhammad more deeply modified earlier practice by legislation. Although the Qur'anic regulations are fairly detailed, the task of deducing

all necessary conclusions from them, to which lawyers turned with particular enthusiasm, gave rise to a great mass of traditions and considerable divergences of opinion on questions not expressly decided in the Qur'an. In the law of inheritance we can also still trace fundamental old Arabian pre-Islamic features.

2. In the period before the rise of Islam, in keeping with the patriarchal system prevailing among the Arabs, the estate of a deceased tribesman went, if he died intestate, to the nearest male relative(s); the order of succession in which these relatives, the so-called *'aṣaba* (corresponding to *agnati*), were called upon to inherit survives systematised in its order in the Muslim law of inheritance (cf. below). Minors were, as incapable of bearing arms, excluded from the succession as were female relatives: widows also were not entitled to inherit, and originally no doubt themselves formed a part of the estate, a view which survived in the levirate marriage usual among the Arabs, to which Sūra iv. 23 (cf. below) refers in forbidding it. There is no evidence of any preferential treatment of the first-born, which we find elsewhere in Semitic law. This, the original legal position, had by Muhammad's time most certainly altered somewhat in favour of women; in cases where the deceased left no male relatives his daughters seem frequently to have obtained the estate; but women had by no means equal treatment with men, as is clear from Muhammad's regulations. In addition to these principal heirs the pre-Islamic Arabs had also secondary heirs who correspond to the later so-called quota-heirs (*ḥuṣṣ* *'l-far'īd*) and received a part of the estate, the bulk of which went to the *'aṣaba*. From Qur'an ii. 176 and iv. 37 which confirm this arrangement, we can see that these included the parents, the "relatives" — apparently so far as they were not *'aṣaba* — and the so-called confederates (*ḥalif*, plur. *ḥalifā'*): the settlement of the portions falling to them was done in accordance with Sūra ii. 176 — at least in part — according to the last will of the testator.

3. Muhammad modified this system considerably in details, the main point being the improvement in the treatment of women as in his innovations with regard to the laws of family life generally (cf. TALĀḤ); at the same time there is a clear endeavour to fix in legal form the practice which had varied considerably in heathen times. The main lines of the system and the general conceptions as above briefly outlined were retained by the Prophet. One provision which had been made under special circumstances he was not able later to keep in force; immediately after the *Hijra*, he had ordered that those who migrated with him (the *muhājirūn*) and the believers in Medina (the *anṣār*) should regard themselves as brethren and therefore able to inherit from one another, while all bonds of relationship between the *muhājirūn* and their relatives left in Mecca, even if they were believers, were to be regarded as broken (Sūra viii. 73, with the limitation imposed in viii. 76); but this was expressly revoked by Sūra xxxiii. 6. Tradition regards this fraternisation as a special case of confederacy (*ḥalifa*); cf. above, section 2). For the rest, Muhammad in his first Medina period confirmed the system of secondary heirs and the whole general practice in regard to inheritance (cf. *ibid.*; Sūra ii. 176 is probably to be dated in Ramaḍān of the year 2, and iv. 37, of which the first view in

al-ḥaḍḥat is undoubtedly the right one, cannot be much later); that in ii. 176 he expressly makes the fair treatment of the secondary heirs a duty, already reveals the direction which later ordinances were to take. Connected with this is the probably contemporary ii. 241 *q.*, which secures the wife, if she survives her husband, a legacy of maintenance for a year. Not much later, about the year 3, is Sūra iv. 23: "Ye, who are believers, are not permitted to inherit women against their will"; this is a prohibition against the *ʿapala* forcing the widow of the deceased into a levirate marriage and generally assuming the position of *waḥ* over her which belongs only to her male relatives; this is not meant as a regular legal ordinance but is part of Muḥammad's endeavour to improve the position of women (cf. TAL. 35). Very soon after the battle of Uhud, when numerous Muslims had fallen, we have — as a result of it — the final Qur'anic ordinance of Sūra iv. 8—18: "To the men belongs a share of what their parents and relatives leave, and to the women belongs a share of what their parents and relatives leave — whether it be much or little — as a definite share. 9. If the relatives (not entitled to inherit), the orphans and the poor are present at the division, give them some of it and speak kindly to them (verses 10 *q.* go on to deal with the treatment of orphans). 12. Allāh commands you, as regards your children, as follows: to the boy belongs as much as the share of two girls; if however there are (only) girls (and) more than two, two-thirds of the estate belongs to them and if there is one (girl) to her belongs the half. And the parents shall each have a sixth if (the legator) had children, and if he had no children and (only) his parents inherit from him, his mother shall have a third. If however he have brothers, his mother shall have a sixth. (All this) after deducting any bequests he may have made or a debt. Ye know not whether your parents or your children be of greater use to you. (This is) an ordinance of Allāh and Allāh is all-knowing and wise. 13. To you belongs the half of the estate of your wives, if they have no children; but if they have children you shall receive a fourth of their estate — after deducting any bequest that they may have made or any debt. 14. To them belongs a fourth of your estate, if you have no children; but if you have children an eighth of your estate belongs to them — after deducting any bequest that you may have made or any debt. 15. If distant relatives inherit from a legator, male or female, and he has a brother or a sister, each shall have a sixth; but if there are more, they shall have a third among them after deducting any bequest which he may have made or debt. 16. Without prejudice (this is) an ordinance of Allāh. Allāh is all-knowing and gracious" (Verse 17 *q.* contain promises and threats). As the settlement of the succession in indirect lines left questions undecided, Sūra iv. 175 supplemented the above: "They ask thee for a decision. Say: Allāh gives you the following decision for remoter kindred: if a man die childless and have a sister, half of what he has is hers and if she die childless, he is her heir; if there be two sisters, two-thirds of the estate belongs to them; but if there be both brothers and sisters, the brother shall have as much as two sisters..." The object of these regulations is simply to supplement the law regarding the rights of the *ʿapala*; they are not a reorganisation of the whole law. Each of the persons named is

therefore only allotted a definite portion. The remainder, and this is as a rule the major portion, of the estate falls as before to the *ʿapala*. There is a distinct tendency to give female relatives half the share of male relatives of the same degree; even in the case when there are daughters but no sons (and correspondingly sisters but no brothers), they do not receive all that would belong to the sons or brothers; but as regards a few smaller portions the two sexes rank equally. The quotas here given abolished the testamentary settlement of the portions usual in the heathen period, which was still approved by Sūra ii. 176; this is the historical starting point for the tradition — early interpreted in another sense — that a legacy in favour of the heirs is not valid. Sūra ii. 241 *q.* (cf. above) is probably rightly regarded as abrogated by the settling of the widow's portion in tradition. There is a slight difficulty in interpretation only in iv. 15; but there can be no doubt that this verse refers to half-sisters on the mother's side, as indeed it has always been interpreted; the text of Ubai' even inserts an addition to this effect (cf. Nöldeke-Bergsträsser, *Geschichte des Qur'ān*, ii. 85, 93, note 5). The verse iv. 175 on the other hand refers to full sisters; how the Qur'an wished half-sisters on the father's side to be dealt with, is difficult to say. In iv. 12 "more than two" (girls) is to be interpreted, as the sense requires, as "two and more"; similarly, in the case in which the mother is allotted a third of the estate, it is presumed that the father gets the other two-thirds.

4. The full details which tradition is able to give regarding the causes of the revelation of the regulation of the law of inheritance are not historical; on internal grounds all we can say is that it took place soon after the battle of Uhud (cf. above, section 3). The numerous *ḥadīths* which simply repeat the Qur'anic regulations may be neglected here. Tradition can only record very few actual divergences from the prescriptions of the Qur'an: one of these is that a woman received back as her inheritance a slave whom she had presented to her mother and who represented the latter's whole estate (in a parallel case it is a man who has given his mother a garden; by this alteration the divergence is disposed of). According to another story, the Prophet is said to have laid it down that the wives of the *muḥajirūn* should inherit the houses of their husbands; according to the wording, it cannot have been a temporary arrangement which was abolished by the final settlement. While nothing can be quoted in favour of the first *ḥadīth*, the second, which does not seem to be intended as a foundation for any legal clause, may have a grain of historical truth in it.

5. The prescriptions of the Qur'an are supplemented and developed in countless traditions among which a comparatively large number relate not decisions of the Prophet himself, but of his Companions (we may cite Ibn Ḥanbal, v. 279 *q.* as a typical mixed form); in reality they must not for a moment be regarded as fact, but only as anonymous evidence of the first developments of the Qur'anic law of inheritance. At this stage of development it is already firmly established that an unbeliever cannot inherit from a Muslim; the right of a Muslim to inherit from an unbeliever is finally also denied, although there is some opposition to this view; on the question

of inheritance of a *muradd*, unity was not attained. Excluded from the right of inheritance is also one who has killed the legator; according to one view always, according to another only if the slaying was deliberate (with *'amā*; cf. article 5471). That a slave has no right of inheritance is taken for granted. Legal relationship is necessary for the right of inheritance; thus illegitimate children or those whose paternity has been disputed by *ifān* (q. v.) have no legal claim on the estates of their father and his relations. The patron (*manāfā*, q. v.) is included among the *'aqaba*, who are placed in the order which had been handed down from the pre-Islamic period and continued to hold good: the patron and the manumitted slave inherit from one another and according to one view, the same right is granted to the *manāfā*, meaning the man before whom the person concerned has adopted Islam. After the *manāfā* come — although some oppose this — the *dhawī 'arḥām*, i. e. persons related to the legator in the female line, whose representative is usually the *khāl* or maternal uncle. In case all these heirs should not exist, the fellow-tribesmen are named. The law in Sūra iv. 14 is also extended to the widow whose husband dies before the consummation of the marriage; on the question what should be the share of two daughters, we have the answer two-thirds, doubtless in keeping with the sense of Sūra iv. 12, but also that based on the literal interpretation (the half); finally half-brothers on the father's side, about whom the Qur'ān lays down nothing definitely, are excluded from inheriting by full brothers. With certain modifications which occur again in the later teaching, a son's daughters are treated like daughters and grandparents like parents, but this regulation only won recognition after opposition and varying practice in details. Here arises the problem of the different shares of the grandfather along with the brothers when he appears with them as *'aqaba*, which goes back to his varying position in the series (cf. below sect 66); along with other views we find quoted also the one that later prevailed but it does not seem to be the earliest. The Qur'ān lays it down that before dividing the estate the amount of any legacies and debts should be deducted; and in early times — probably in literal interpretation of the Qur'anic passages — the legacies often were given preference to debts; after some opposition the opposite teaching prevailed. The *ḥays* (q. v.) to be paid for a slain man was in itself subject to the usual laws as part of his estate; but in early times the wife was not allowed a share in the *ḥays* of her slain husband, which goes back to old Arab conceptions of the family; the other view ultimately prevailed. In addition there are numerous, often contradictory, views on separate points which show the eager interest taken in the matter. The interest taken in early Islam in the law of inheritance is reflected in Hadith; there are traditions in which the Prophet orders the law of inheritance to be taught and learned, calling it "the half of knowledge" on account of its difficulty and expressing the fear that this subject, so difficult to remember, might in time disappear from the memory of his community.

6. The law of inheritance attained its full development in the system of *fiqh*; the following are its principles according to the Shāfi'i teaching (for the most important divergences in the other schools cf. below sect. 7).

a. The law of intestacy in general. According to Muslim law, there is no fusion between the property of the legator and that of the heir. The creditors of the estate can therefore only assert their claims against the estate; on the other hand, the heirs have no claim on the estate until all debts are paid. The *fiqh* has therefore no special teaching on the rejection of legacies, the different ways of succeeding to an inheritance, etc. In addition to pledges entered into by the deceased, the debts of the estate include the funeral expenses and the religious duties omitted by the deceased so far as they consist of concrete things (e. g. unpaid *ṣalāt*) or can be atoned for by payment (e. g. neglected fasts [*ṣawm*]) or can be carried through at the expense of the estate by a deputy (e. g. the *ḥajj* if omitted without good reason); in the opinion of a minority of Shāfi'i legists, omitted *ṣalāt* may also be included in these. After the debts any legacies have to be paid (cf. *waṣīya*); the remainder passes to the heirs. A necessary condition for inheriting is that the heir has survived the testator; in doubtful cases, when persons who would inherit from one another have died without its being certain which died first, as a rule no inheritance passes between them (this decision is already found in Tradition; there was a very old difference of opinion on the point). The heir must also have existed when the testator died; only in the case where a man leaves a pregnant widow or *umm al-ḥalāl*, is a child's share reserved for the unborn child (Tradition is not agreed on this point). If a man is missing long enough to be considered dead, the *kaḥl* can declare him "presumably dead" at the request of the heirs after investigating the circumstances; the heirs thus receive the right to take possession of the estate for the time. Excluded from succession are the following: one who has caused the death of the deceased, the *muradd*, an unbeliever from the succession to a Muslim and vice versa, the *ḥarām* (the unbelieving member of a state with which the Muslim stands in no treaty relation) and the slave. As in old Arab law the succession of the *'aqaba* is the basis of the law of inheritance in the case of an intestate; the *'aqaba* are the usual heirs, inheritance by others is only an exception from the general rule; on the order of succession among the *'aqaba* cf. under A. The *'aqaba* receive the whole estate after the deduction of the portions set aside for the quota-heirs by the Qur'ān (cf. under c). If there are no *'aqaba*, that portion of the estate which remains after the deduction of the portions of the quota-heirs goes to the state treasury (*ḥaṭt al-mill*); a notable change from the view found in traditions — cf. section 5 —; even 'Omar II is said to have decided otherwise, cf. *al-Maṣnūʿ*, *Faṣṣṭ*, *bāḥ* 56); it being presumed that this is administered according to law for the benefit of the Muslims; otherwise the Qur'anic quota-heirs receive the remainder of the estate in proportion to their quota by the so-called law of reversion, with the exception of the widower or widow if they are not also at the same time blood-relations of the deceased (here also as in the case of the exclusion of the widow from sharing in the *ḥays* of her slain husband, the basis is the old Arab family law). Only if there are neither *'aqaba* nor quota-heirs and the state treasury is not being administered in accordance with the law are the *dhawī 'arḥām* — i. e. persons related to the deceased in the female line as well as those

female relatives who cannot be quota-heirs — called upon to inherit (there are two theories regarding their order of succession). If there are none of these relatives, any Muslim may take possession of the estate, if he is capable and ready to administer it for the general good of Muslims.

A. Rights of the *'apāh*. The *'apāh* are called upon to inherit in the following order which in essentials already existed in the pre-Muhammadan period: 1. The male descendants of the legator in the male line, a nearer excluding the more distant relatives from the succession. 2. The nearest male relative in the ascending male line with the provision that the father, but not the grandfather (and remoter ascendant), of the deceased inherits before his brothers; the grandfather shares with the brothers (cf. below). 3. The nearest male relative in the male line in the descendants of the father: first the full brother, then the half-brother on the father's side, then the descendants of the full brother, then those of the half-brother on the father's side. 4. The nearest male relative in the male line among the descendants of the grandfather (as under 3) etc.; 5. lastly the *maridā*, i.e. the patron (or patroness), if the deceased was a freed man, and then his *'apāh*. — The brothers of the deceased inherit only with the grandfather as *'apāh* in equal shares with him, but if there are more than two brothers there, the grandfather receives one-third of what is to be divided between him and the brothers. If there are also quota-heirs, the grandfather is allowed in addition at least a sixth of the estate (which he would inherit as a quota-heir; cf. below c). He can then choose the most favourable of the three arrangements. This rule seems to be a compromise between the two earlier contradictory views that the grandfather excluded the brothers or *vice versa* was excluded by them (cf. above section 5). — **Female *'apāh*.** If the deceased left sons as well as daughters they inherit jointly, the share of a son being twice as large as that of a daughter (according to Sūra iv. 12) while the quota allotted to the daughters (*ihdā'*) is dropped, as is intended by the spirit of the Qur'anic law. The daughter who inherits along with a son is therefore also called *'apāh* and in order to distinguish her from the male *'apāh*, the *'apāh bi-mafsihi* ('*'apāh* by themselves'), she is called *'apāh bi-'iḡhair* ('become *'apāh* through another'). The daughter of a son of the legator is similarly treated, inheriting along with the son of a son; and the full sister who inherits along with a full brother (by Sūra iv. 175); finally it applies also to the half-sister on the father's side who inherits with a half-brother on the father's side (the grandfather makes the full sister as well as the half-sister on the mother's side *'apāh bi-'iḡhair*). — If the full sister and the half-sister on the father's side inherit along with a daughter of the deceased or of a son, they do not receive their Qur'anic quota (Sūra iv. 175) which in this case goes to the daughter or son's daughter (according to Sūra iv. 12), but the rest of the estate after deduction of all quotas that have to be paid; they are in this case therefore called *'apāh ma'a-'iḡhair* ('inheriting with one another as *'apāh*').

c. Rights of the quota-heirs (*ḥamū 'iḡfā'id*; cf. the article FARĀ'ID). The regulations in this connection are in general based on literal interpretation of the Qur'anic regulations. It is

true that here only the daughters, parents, husband and wife, and brothers and sisters are allotted a quota but (with some limitations) the rules holding for the daughters have been extended to the daughters of the son and those for the parents to the grandparents; in addition, a distinction has been made among the sisters between the full sister, the half-sister on the father's side and the half-sister on the mother's side. The total number of quota-heirs has thus been raised to twelve: 1. The daughter is entitled to half the estate, two or more daughters get two-thirds, but if daughters inherit along with sons, their claim to the quota drops and sons and daughters receive the whole after deduction of the quotas to be paid; in this case the daughter's share is half a son's. 2. The daughter of a son is subject to the same rules as a daughter; inheriting along with the son of a son she receives half as much as he as *'apāh bi-'iḡhair*. As the son's daughter is related to the son through him, she is excluded from participation when a son of the legator inherits. A daughter on the other hand does not exclude a son's daughter from the succession; as however daughters and son's daughters together have only two-thirds of the estate as their quota, a son's daughter has only a sixth if there is one daughter, and nothing if there are two or more, unless she inherits in these cases along with a son's son as *'apāh bi-'iḡhair*. 3. The father's quota is always a sixth of the estate; in addition he appears as *'apāh* and receives as his quota also any residuum of the estate after deducting all quotas, unless male descendants of the legator inherit jointly with him. 4. The paternal grandfather (in default of him, the remoter ascendants) also receives one sixth of the estate as his quota but is excluded by the father; he also appears as *'apāh* (like the father) if there are no male descendants nor father of the deceased. But if in addition to him there are also brothers of the legator, he appears with them as *'apāh* (on the share which falls to the grandfather in this case and in the case where there are also quota-heirs cf. above b). 5. The mother by Sūra iv. 12, receives one-sixth of the estate if there are children, son's children or two or more brothers or sisters of the legator; otherwise a third (on the meaning of the Qur'anic rule cf. above; in practice the father in this case as a rule receives two-thirds, i.e. according to the scheme, one sixth as quota-heir and the rest as *'apāh*; on the exceptions cf. below under d). 6. The quota of the grandmother is always a sixth; from this the mother's mother is excluded by the mother, and the father's mother by the father and mother; all other female ascendants of the legator rank equally with the grandmothers on both sides if there is no father and mother, so far as they are not related to the deceased by a male descendant not entitled to inherit (therefore for example the mother of the maternal grandfather inherits nothing). 7. A full sister receives half, two or more such sisters receive together two-thirds of the estate (Sūra iv. 175). Along with a full brother or grandfather she becomes *'apāh bi-'iḡhair* and receives the half of the brother's share (Sūra iv. 175). Along with the daughter or son's daughter she becomes *'apāh ma'a-'iḡhair* (cf. above b); sons, sons' sons and the father exclude her from succession. She has a claim to the quota only when the legator has died without leaving de-

ascendants or male ascendants. 8. The treatment of the half-sister on the father's side in general corresponds to that of the full sister; along with a half-brother on the father's side or the grandfather, she becomes *'apaḥ bi 'l-ghairi*, with the daughter or son's daughter *'apaḥ wa 'l-ghairi* (cf. above 6); sons, sons' sons, father and full brothers exclude her from the succession. Full sisters exclude her only in so far as two or more full sisters receive together two-thirds of the estate, so that nothing is left for the half-sisters; if however the half-sister inherits along with one full sister they receive together two-thirds, the full sister getting a half and the half-sister a sixth; unless she in these cases inherits along with a half-brother on the father's side as *'apaḥ bi 'l-ghairi* (i.e. the same rule as with daughters and sons' daughters; cf. above). 9 and 10. The rights of the half-brother on the mother's side and of the half-sister on the mother's side are based on Sūra iv. 15: each of them receives a sixth, two or more together share a third among them; they are excluded from the succession by descendants and male ascendants. 11. By Sūra iv. 13 the widower receives half of the estate, but only a quarter if there is a son or son's child; it is indifferent whether these are his wife's or his own descendants. 12. The widow, by Sūra iv. 14, receives the half of what a widower would receive under the same circumstances; if the deceased leaves more than one widow they share equally the quota allotted to the widow. During the *'idda* (period of waiting; q.v.) after a revocable *ṭalāq* a man and woman are still regarded as man and wife for purposes of inheritance.

4. Exceptions from the general rules. Although the quota-heirs can never all inherit together and in particular the collateral relatives are excluded from their quotas by those in the direct line, the number of qualified quota-heirs may sometimes be so large that the sum of their shares is larger than the whole estate; in this case their shares are proportionately reduced (cf. 'AWL). Otherwise, the occurrence of a number of heirs makes no change from the main rules necessary, except in a few particular cases which have special names; these are cases in which, if the main rules were strictly carried through, the inheritances would be in a proportion to one another which would be contrary to the law; e.g. in the case of the so-called *ghurthāṭin*: if some one dies leaving a husband or wife and both parents, the mother would receive in this case a third, the father's share however, which is usually two-thirds (cf. above c 3), would be here reduced by the quota either of the widow i.e. a quarter or of the widower, i.e. the half and thus reduced to five-twelfths or to a sixth; according to tradition, it was 'Omar who decided in this case that father and mother should share, in the proportion of two to one, what remains after deducting the portion of the widow or widower, an arrangement which is doubtless in the spirit of the Qur'anic rule. Another case, the so-called *wasṭarrah*, is that in which a wife leaves her husband, her mother, two or more half-brothers on the mother's side and also one or more full brothers; as the quotas in this case make up the whole estate, nothing would be left for the full brothers as *'apaḥ*, and they are more closely related to the legator than the half-brothers; in this case, which is also said to have been

decided by 'Omar, the law lays down that the full brothers have the same rights as the half-brothers so that all inherit in equal shares the third originally set aside for the half-brothers. On a third case of this kind cf. *AKHĀḌĪYA*.

7. The most important points of difference among the *madhāhib*, including the early legists, are the following. It is unanimously agreed that an unbeliever cannot inherit from a Muslim nor a Muslim from an unbeliever; but Sa'id b. al-Musayyib and Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'i recognised the right to inherit in the latter case. Unbelievers who belong to different religions cannot inherit from one another according to Mālik and Ibn Hanbal, but they can according to Abū Hanīfa and al-Shāfi'i. There are three views regarding ability to inherit from the *mawālī* according to Mālik, al-Shāfi'i and Ibn Hanbal: his whole estate goes to the state treasury; according to Abū Yūsuf and al-Shāfi'i it goes to his Muslim heirs; according to Abū Hanīfa what he has made while a Muslim goes to his Muslim heirs, but what he made after his apostasy goes to the treasury. If a legator has been deliberately (with *'amd*) and illegally slain, his slayer, it is unanimously agreed, is excluded from inheriting. Abū Hanīfa, al-Shāfi'i and Ibn Hanbal, but not Mālik, also exclude one who has killed him without design (with *ḥafsa*; q.v.). One who is a slave to some degree can, according to Abū Hanīfa, Mālik and al-Shāfi'i, neither inherit nor bequeath; according to Ibn Hanbal, Abū Yūsuf, al-Shāfi'i and al-Muzani he can inherit or bequeath in the proportion he is free. According to Abū Hanīfa and Ibn Hanbal, if there are no *'apaḥ* and quota-heirs, the *gharab* *'asāḥim* inherit; according to Mālik and al-Shāfi'i (cf. above 6a) as well as Zuhri, al-Awā'i and Dawūd al-Zahiri, in this case the treasury steps in. If there are only quota-heirs, according to Mālik and al-Shāfi'i the remainder goes to the treasury, according to Abū Hanīfa and Ibn Hanbal however also to the quota-heirs; according to Sa'id b. al-Musayyib the maternal uncle inherits along with the daughters. The relationship of *amwal*, which is produced by some one attaching himself to the tribe (usually on the adoption of Islam by a non-Arab; cf. above, sect. 5) and which results in the patron becoming surety for the *diya* [q.v.] of the client, does not, according to the usual view, give any right to inherit. Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'i and Abū Hanīfa take the opposite view but hold but it may be dissolved at any time by either side so long as the patron has not paid a *diya* for his client. The paternal grandmother is not excluded from the succession by the father, according to Ibn Hanbal only; in his view, in this case she inherits a sixth either alone or shared equally with the mother. Among female ascendants, according to Mālik, only the mothers of the two grandmothers inherit, likewise their mothers and so on; but according to Abū Hanīfa also the mothers of all male ascendants and their mothers again, and so on; both views are quoted by al-Shāfi'i, but the latter is best known and has established itself in the *muṣhḥab*. According to Mālik and al-Shāfi'i, the female ascendants on the father's and mother's side share in equal portions the sixth allotted to the grandmother who is nearer of the two to the legator. According to Abū Hanīfa, however, the nearer female ascendant on the father's side excludes the remoter on the

LUZAC & CO.

Oriental and Foreign Booksellers.

Agents of the Royal Asiatic Society, School of Oriental Studies, London; Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta; Siam Society, Bangkok; etc. etc., can supply, at shortest notice, and on most favourable terms, all English, Foreign and Oriental books and periodicals. A large number of second-hand books on all Oriental subjects always in stock. Catalogues on application.

SOME NEW AND STANDARD PUBLICATIONS.

ELIAS (ELIAS A.) Modern Dictionary, Arabic—English. Second edn, revised and enlarged.
Roy. 8vo, cloth, pp. 3, 744. Price 18/6

— **Modern Dictionary, English—Arabic.** Entirely revised and enlarged. Atlas.
Roy. 8vo, half bound, pp. 702. Price 18/6

SPIRO BEY (S.) An English—Arabic Vocabulary of the modern and colloquial Arabic of Egypt.
Third edition revised and considerably enlarged.
8vo, cloth, pp. 394, 323. Price 12/—

TABET'S ENGLISH—ARABIC DICTIONARY.
8vo, cloth, pp. ix, 526. Price 10/—

LUZAC'S ORIENTAL LIST AND BOOK REVIEW. A Record of Original Notes and News, containing a classified bibliography of all new Oriental Works published in England, on the Continent, in the East, and in America. Now in its forty-second year of issue. Published every Quarter. Annual subscription. Price 3s

All the books recommended for the study of Oriental languages are kept in stock.

Illuminated and Illustrated Oriental MSS. a Speciality.

Indian and Persian Miniature Paintings and other objects of Eastern Art.

INSPECTION INVITED.

WRITE FOR OUR CATALOGUES STATING SUBJECT.

Libraries or small Collections of Books bought for cash.

LUZAC & Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1.
(OPPOSITE THE BRITISH MUSEUM)

LUZAC & CO.
46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C. 1.
ORIENTAL BOOKSELLERS AND PUBLISHERS.

RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

THE ETHIOPIC TEXT OF THE
BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES

EDITED BY
SAMUEL A. B. MERCER,
M.A., Ph.D., D.D.

*Professor of Semitic Languages and Egyptian in Trinity College,
University of Toronto, Lectral de l'Académie Française, Fellow of the
Royal Asiatic Society, Director of the Society of Oriental Research.*

With Four Plates.

8vo. cloth, pp. xl, 11, 63.

Price 8s. 6d.

(ORIENTAL RESEARCH SERIES, 6.)

THE DAMASCUS CHRONICLE
OF THE CRUSADES

Part 1 - From 1097 to 1132. Part 2 - 1132 to 1161.

Extracted and translated from the *Cronique of the al-Qutubis.*

8vo. cloth.

By **H. A. R. GIBB.**

Price 15s.

MEKKA

in the latter part of the 19th Century

Daily life, customs and teaching of the Muslims of the Four Indian Archipelago

BY

C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE, Litt.D.

Professor of the Leyden University.

TRANSLATED BY

J. H. MONAHAN.

Formerly W. M. B. Consul at Jeddah.

With twenty Plates and two Maps.

8vo. cloth, pp. vi, 302.

Price 30s.

THE BUDDHA'S GOLDEN PATH

A manual of practical Buddhism, based on the teachings and practices of
the Zen Sect, but interpreted and adapted to meet modern conditions.

BY

DWIGHT GODDARD.

Revised Second Edition.

With three plates and a frontispiece.

12mo. cloth, pp. x, 214.

Price 4s.

LATEST CATALOGUE ISSUED. BIBLIOTHECA ORIENTALIS XXXIII.
Catalogue of New and Second-hand books on the Languages, Literature,
People, History, and Geography of the Far East. (Gratis on application).

LUZAC & Co. 46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C. 1.
(OPPOSITE THE BRITISH MUSEUM)

7. 11. 32
20. 5. 32

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

A DICTIONARY OF THE GEOGRAPHY,
ETHNOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY OF THE
MUHAMMADAN PEOPLES

PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF LEADING ORIENTALISTS

EDITED BY

M. TH. HOUTSMA, A. J. WENSINCK

H. A. R. GIBB, W. HEFFENING and E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL

NUMBER 45

MIRATH — MOREA

LEYDEN
LATE E. J. BRILL, LTD
PUBLISHERS AND PRINTERS

1932

LONDON
LUZAC & CO
46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET

mother's side from the succession. Whichever of the two sides is entitled to inherit a quota in-herits, according to Mālik and al-Shāfi'i, only on ground of "stronger" relationship, according to Abū Hanīfa and the Hanbal on ground of both respects (this case, particularly frequent in the marriages of the Persians, has been decided in various ways in Tradition; cf. al-Tirmidī, *Faṭāwā*, lib. 42); in the case of two cousins on the father's side, of which one is also the brother on the mother's side, the latter, it is unanimously agreed, receives a sixth and the remainder falls to the two as *ʿaṣāb* in equal portions, while Abū Thawr and al-Haṣan of Baṣra make him inherit the whole. The estate of a child, whose parentage has been disputed by *ʿAṭa*, as well as that of an illegitimate child, pass in default of other heirs, according to Abū Hanīfa, entirely to the mother (a third as *Kurʾānī* quota and the remainder as *quṣṣa-ʿaṣāb*), according to Mālik and al-Shāfi'i the mother receives a third as *Kurʾānī* quota and the remainder goes to the treasury; according to one view transmitted from the Hanbal the *ʿaṣāb* of his mother are regarded as his *ʿaṣāb*, and receive the remainder, the other view corresponds to that of Abū Hanīfa. In the special case of the so-called *maṣṣarāḥ*, Mālik's view agrees with that of al-Shāfi'i (cf. above 6 a); this is also the opinion of al-Zahri and of Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib and others; according to Abū Hanīfa and his followers, Ibn Hanbal and Dawūd al-Zahiri, the full brothers actually receive nothing.

8 c. The law of the Indians (Twelve-Shāʿis) as regards inheritance is based on the same principles as that of the Sunnis but in its practice shows a number of features of its own, which already can for the most part be traced in the traditions, i.e. in the earliest post-Kurʾānī development. Among the divergences — apart from differences in terminology and presentation — are the classing of the *ʿaṣāb* and the *ḥawāṣ* *ḥarām* together into one group of relatives, which is divided into three classes: 1. the ascendants to the first degree and the descendants; 2. the other ascendants and the descendants of the ascendants of the first degree; 3. the maternal and paternal uncles and aunts. Each of these classes excludes the following ones from the succession and within the two extraneous of the two first classes the relative of the nearest degree excludes all others of a remoter degree of relationship, i.e. for example the daughter excludes the son's son; within the third class a distinction is made between the uncles and aunts of the legator and their descendants, the uncles and aunts of his parents, and their descendants etc., and here also the member of a nearer degree excludes those of a remoter degree. Within the same grade all full relatives (male or female) exclude all relatives on the father's (not the mother's) side, i.e. full sisters exclude half-brothers; the relatives on the mother's side are excluded only from a share in the residuary estate by all other relatives of the same degree. If relatives whose relationships with the legator is traced through several persons inherit jointly, the proportion of their shares is settled by the (hypothetical) shares of the person through whom they are related to the deceased. If, for example, paternal and maternal uncles inherit together, the former divide two-thirds of the estate (i.e. the father's hypothetical share), the latter a third (i.e. the mother's hypothetical share).

correspondingly; son's children and daughters children, children of brothers and children of sisters, and ascendants on the mother's and father's side. The rules applying to the brothers and sisters of a legator are also applied to his father's brothers and sisters and so on, if the latter are called upon to inherit; if, for example, father's full brothers and sisters (uncles and aunts), and father's brothers and sisters on the mother's side exist together, the latter are not excluded by the former but receive a third (if there is only one, a sixth) which is divided equally among them (*Sūra* iv. 13), and the former receive the remaining two-thirds (or five-sixths as the case may be) of which each uncle gets twice the share of an aunt; the process is similar when their children take the place of uncles and aunts; the grandfather (and if the case arises the remoter ascendants) also inherits equally with the brothers of the legator. Within similar groups the male inherits double so much as the female, so far as there are no special regulations to the contrary (cf. above); for the rest the male relative on the father's side is not specially privileged before the others, as among the Sunnis. Besides these heirs by blood, there are "heirs for special reasons", i.e. the husband and the patron (*marḥūm*), namely 1. a patron who has released the legator from slavery; 2. a patron before whom the legator has become a Muslim, or who has pledged himself to pay the *diya* for him; 3. the *ṣāḥib*, who here takes the place of the state treasury, and who, as the general protector of all Muslims, is entitled to inherit in the last resort. — In both main groups there are simple heirs and such as have a claim to a *Kurʾānī* quota. If the estate does not suffice to satisfy all the quotas, the shares are correspondingly reduced to the paternal relatives only, never to the maternal. What is left over after satisfying the quotas is given to relatives by blood according to the above rule; but if there are no blood relatives entitled to inherit, the quota-heirs, with the exception of the husband or wife, receive the residuary also by the residuary law (cf. however above); if there are no heirs by blood the patron comes in, in the order given, so that the *ṣāḥib*, i.e. the treasury, inherits only in the last resort. — These general rules are sufficient to cause the distribution of an estate to look very different among the Shāʿis from among the Sunnis. But there are in addition differences in detail, of which the most important are the following: The Muslim can inherit from the unbeliever (and apostate), even the remotest Muslim heir of an unbeliever has a preference over all non-Muslim heirs; unbelievers of all sects inherit from one another; the succession of the heirs to the estate of an apostate who was born a Muslim begins from his apostasy. The accidental killing of a legator does not exclude the slayer from inheriting. If the sole existing heir is a slave, he is purchased at the expense of the estate (his owner cannot refuse to sell him), dies becomes free and inherits what is left; if the parents of the legator are slaves, they must in all cases be purchased at the expense of the estate, according to some the children also (this is disputed) and according to others every heir (this has not been accepted). The purchased slave inherits to the degree in which he is free. One who has a claim to an inheritance from two sides inherits on both grounds. Of the estate of a child whose parentage has been disputed by *ʿAṭa*, the mother receives a third as the *Kurʾānī* quota

and the remainder as *qumī-ʿapba*, according to the more usual view; according to the other the remainder goes to the *imām*. There are no legal relationships between an illegitimate child and his ascendants (including his mother and her relatives), only between him and his descendants; if there are none, the estate goes to the *imām*. In the special case of the so-called *gharibāt* (cf. above 6 d), there is no divergence from the general principles. — On the whole then the Shīʿi law of inheritance represents an independent systematisation of the common principles found in the Qurʾān and Tradition but diverging further from the old Arab pre-Islamic principles; whether and how far it the Sunni system already presupposes (as has been proved for the Zaidis; cf. Bergsträsser, *O. L. Z.*, vol. xxv, p. 124) has not yet been investigated.

8. On the law of the Shīʿi Zaidis cf. Strothmann, *l.c.*, vol. xiii, p. 36 sqq.

9. The most important peculiarities of the law of inheritance among the Kharijī Ibadīs are the following: the paternal grandfather inherits as *qumī-hair* a sixth of the estate if there are descendants of the legator; otherwise he inherits as *ʿapba*, thus excluding the brothers, just as he himself is excluded by the father. The grandmother is only excluded by the mother. Female descendants, like husband or wife, have no right in the residuum. Manumission confers no rights of inheritance; freedmen, negroes, Indians, Abyssinians or Nubians can inherit from another if there are no other heirs (cf. above, sect. 5). If there are no heirs at all, the estate is given away in charity. The special case of the so-called *wasṭaraka* is settled as among the Shīʿis (cf. above 6 d). — The dependence of this system on the Sunni is apparent.

10. The law of inheritance, as a branch of family law and as possessing a peculiarly religious character from its very full regulation in the Qurʾān, has always been one of the chapters of Muslim law most carefully observed in practice (cf. *ʿAḍā and ʿSharʿa*). As in the long run it must lead inevitably to the splitting up of even the largest estates, various endeavours have been made to avoid this result, which was considered undesirable. A plan, frequently adopted, was to constitute considerable portions of the estate religious endowments (cf. *waḳf*) the proceeds of which could be disposed of by the grantor as he pleased; but most endowments in course of time became much broken up. Another way adopted in the French Indies is, in keeping with the local *ʿāda*, to admit only a portion of the actual estate to division among the heirs; we also frequently find an estate divided already in a lifetime by gift or friendly arrangement, and not infrequently some member of the family, according to circumstances, simply takes over the estate and obligations of the decedent; lands here are taken out of the control of Muslim law. So far only a very few Indian modernists (notably Khudā Bukhsh) have dared to criticise the Muslim law of inheritance and demand its abolition. It is the general practice of Muslim lands and is used by the *sharīʿa* tribunals, which also undertake the distribution of the estate, a thing too difficult for a layman to attempt. The Muslim law of inheritance is also applied to members of other creeds, when they come with problems to be settled to the *Sharīʿa* tribunals, which often happens in Muslim countries.

Bibliography (so far as not already quoted), in addition to the Muslim sources: On sect. 2: Robertson-Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 65 sqq. — On sect. 3 (chronology of the Qurʾān passages): Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qurʾān*, vol. I. — On sect. 4 and 5: Wensinck, *Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, s.v. Heitz, Feltier, *Le Livre des Testaments du 'Chah* 'Abdolkābir; al-Shawkānī, *Nuṣṣ al-Aṣṣṣ*, in *Kutub al-Furūd*. — On sect. 6 and 7 (for the earlier period the two recensions of Malik's *al-Muwattaʿ* are a valuable source): Juybolli, *Handbuch*, p. 232 sqq.; do., *Handlung*, p. 241 sqq.; Sachau, *Moslems und islamisches Recht*, p. 151 sqq. (Shāfiʿi); Baillie, *The Muhammadan Law of Inheritance*; do., *A Digest of Muhammadan Law*, vol. I. (Hanafi); Gault and Santillana, *Il muṣṣṣ al-Hall al-Ṣābiq*; Sánchez Pérez, *Partición de herencias entre los musulmanes* (Maliki); Hirsch, *Abd ul-Kadir Madsoud: Wissenschaft der Erbrechts* (Hanafi and Shāfiʿi). — On sect. 8a: Query, *Dr. Muhammad*, vol. II, p. 326 sqq.; Baillie, *A Digest of Muhammadan Law*, vol. II. — On sect. 8: Sachau, *Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1894, p. 159 sqq. — On sect. 9: Juybolli, *Handlung*, p. 250 sq. Further references there given p. 406.

(JOSEPH SCHACHT)

MIRDĀS B. UDĀIYA, Kharijī leader in Bagra, killed in 61 (680–681). He belonged to the Kharīʿa b. Hanzala b. Malik b. Zaidamān (called Rabīʿa al-Waḥī, *Nafʿ al-Id*, ed. Beran, p. 185, s. = 699, s. 1; *Musaddad*, ed. Lyall, p. 123, s. 772), a branch of the tribe of Tamim which supplied so many leaders to the Kharijī movement. His father was called Hudāʿ b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd b. Kaʿb and Udāiyya was his mother's or grandmother's name; she belonged to the tribe of Muḥṣib b. Khayṣa (Ibn Thuraif, *Kitaḥ al-Fihri*, ed. Wustenfeld, p. 134; Ibn Kāṭilā, *Kitaḥ al-Maʿrif*, ed. Wustenfeld, p. 209; Tabari, *Maṭṭarad*, Baghdad, cf. *l.c.*). He is often called by his *ḥusn* Abū Bilāl.

His brother ʿUrwa b. Udāiyya had been one of the instigators of the Kharijī movement of secession at the battle of Siffin; he himself had taken part in the movement and had fought against the Caliph ʿAlī at al-Nahrawān (38 A.H.); after this defeat he gave up all political activity although, like his brother, he remained faithful to his old opinions; but he declared himself against armed insurrection, political assassination (*ḥudūd*) and the participation of women in the Kharijī movement. These moderate views, which Mirdās retained till the end of the caliphate of Maʿwiyā and which caused the extremists to class him among the *ḥudūd* (quietists) of the Kharijīs, made it all the more remarkable when he came out openly and actively against the excesses of the governor of Bagra, ʿUṣayd al-Ḥakīm, in his repression of Kharijism. A woman named al-Balḥa or al-Balḥaḥ (the latter form, given by Ibn al-Athīr from al-Balḥat, seems to be wrong) had been cruelly martyred by the governor. Mirdās's indignation was so aroused that he left Bagra with 40 of his followers and went to al-Aḥḥa on the Fāra frontier, where he held out for a long time without committing any of those acts of fanaticism seen among the Kharijīs and confined himself to imposing a levy equal in value to the position

(*q.v.*) which was legally due to him and his companions (60 A. H.). 'Uthayd b. Ziyād went against Mirdās the Khilāfī chief Āsham b. Zur'a (this is the best authenticated form; al-Jahūz in the first of the two versions which he quotes has Ibn Hishām al-Dimashqī: Āsham b. Nabī'a; Yāqūt: Ma'bad b. Āsham) at the head of 2,000 men. They met near a village called Anāk (or Māyā, according to a verse quoted by Yāqūt, l. 712—713) but the Khilāfīs, in spite of their greatly inferior number, defeated him. In the following year, a second expedition of 4,000 men under the Tāmid 'Abdā b. Akhdar was organised by Ibn Ziyād; he found the Khilāfīs encamped in front of Darbajīd. It was a Friday and the two parties agreed to finish their prayers before fighting. But the government troops, breaking the oath they had sworn, fell upon the Khilāfīs while they were still praying and massacred them. Mirdās's head was cut off and taken to Ibn Ziyād.

This episode, insignificant in itself, provoked a tremendous reaction throughout the 'Irāq in view of the fame which the piety and moderation of Mirdās had brought him. His death was promptly avenged by 'Abdā b. Hūdā, who was later to become one of the leaders of the Aḥmādī isag, and it was in the name of Mirdās that Khilāfīs rebelled again on the death of the Caliph Ya'qūb (65 A. H.). The heroism and death of Mirdās were sung by several poets, notably the famous 'Imrān b. 'Alī (q. v.); his memory was cherished for long in Khilāfī circles and especially in 'Omā, the centre of the Sufiyya (al-Mubarrad, p. 333, l. 14 = *Agāthi*, xvi, 154). The latter, whose intolerance is much less marked than that of the Aḥmādīs, may rightly regard Mirdās as their predecessor (cf. Haasbrücker, *al-Schara'it al-Naligompartheism und Philosophen-Schulen*, II, 406, from the *Kitaḥ al-Taḥṣīl* & *al-Din al-Shaḥīr* b. Ṭahīr al-Iḥṣānī (Bruck, I, 387)); on the other hand, the Mu'asillīs held that Mirdās had only rebelled under compulsion (*muḥṣṣ*) and the Shī'īs even denied that he was a true Khilāfī (al-Mubarrad, p. 360—361).

Mirdās's brother, 'Uway b. Udaya, does not seem to have taken part in the movement; but this did not save him from persecution by Ibn Ziyād, who had him arrested and executed shortly after the death of Mirdās; the version which puts his execution before the rising of Mirdās in 58 A. H. (Ṭahīr, II, 185) is less probable.

Bibliography: The fullest and most complete account is that of al-Mubarrad, *al-Aḥmādī*, ed. Wright, p. 384—396, without indication of source; al-Balādhurī, *Anṣab al-Ashraf*, Constantinople MS. 'Ashir Zaydī, p. 366—387, is very close to but not identical with al-Mubarrad's and quotes a large number of verses. He also omits the *inṣāḥ* al-Ṭahīrī, *Anṣab*, ed. de Goeje, II, 186—187, 390—391 relies on two sources, Wahb b. Munabbih and an anonymous one, of which the former does not seem very reliable and the latter follows al-Mubarrad and al-Balādhurī, but is much shorter; Yāqūt, *Mo'jam al-Buldan*, ed. Wüstenfeld, I, 61—62 (cf. also I, 434, l. 1) seems to have used an independent source. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Aḥmādī*, ed. Tornberg, III, 428—430, IV, 81—82 harmonises al-Ṭahīrī and al-Balādhurī, and follows al-Mubarrad, p. 391 for the death of 'Uway; al-Dimashqī, *al-Aḥmādī al-Iḥṣānī*, ed. Gurgas, p. 278—279 knows the episode, but

wrongly attributes it to the Aḥmādīs (sic!) and does not even mention Mirdās. — Cf. also Wellhausen, *Die ar.-pal. Oppositumpartien* (Abh. G. M. Göt., phil.-hist. Kl., N. F. V., 2, 1901), p. 25—27. (G. LATT. DELLA VITA)

MIRDĀSIOS, an Arab dynasty in Syria. The Mirdāsīs took their name from the leader of the Beduin tribe of the Khilāfīs, Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās. We know nothing of Mirdās himself. On Ṣāliḥ cf. the art. and on his successor Shihāb al-Dawla, the art.; for the other members of the dynasty cf. *QALĀḤ*.

In the beginning of the fifth (eleventh) century the Khilāfīs migrated from the 'Irāq to the region of Aleppo. In 412 (1023) their leader Ṣāliḥ took the town. The dynasty, at first so strong, gradually became so feeble that its last representative Ṣāliḥ exchanged the town in 472 (1079) in spite of his brothers' protest for a few smaller towns with the then powerful Beduin chief Muslim b. Ḥarīth.

The importance of the Mirdāsīs, the second last Arab ruling family of Syria, lies in the fact that they successfully defended the northern province of Aleppo by arms and policy against the Byzantines and Turks. Lane-Poole gives the genealogy in his *Muslims and Dynasties*, London 1804; Shihāb al-Dawla Nī'ī (2) had also a son Mubārak and Roshīd al-Dawla Maḥmūd (4) had also sons Shahrī and Wathāb.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(M. SOBERNHEIM)

MIRJAM. [See MARYAM.]

MIR KHĀWAND, historian, author of the *Sawā'ir al-Safā'* ('Garden of Purity'). He was son of Barīd al-Dīn Khāwānd Shāh, native of Transoxiana, and, apparently, of Baghdad. He lived much in Herāt and died there on June 22, 1498, aged 66. His work is a universal history in seven volumes, beginning with the Creative and ending at the death of Sulṭān Ḥumām of Herāt in 1505. The last volume, however, is really the work of his grandson, Khāwāndī (q. v.). His work is not so interesting as his grandson's *Ḥaṭṭ al-Sayr*, for it is a compilation and wants the personal note. The style too is bombastic, and there is little historical criticism. But it is a work of great industry and has a high reputation in the East. It was lithographed in Bombay 1848, in Thibet 1852; a Turkish translation appeared at Constantinople in 1822; partial translations were made by Junnich, Mischakik, Wilken, Vellert, Sber (O. T. F. series), Rehatsek (T. F. series), Jourdain and Silvestre de Sacy (*Journal de Savants*, 1837).

Bibliography: *Quintessence* (*Journal de Savants*, 1843, p. 127, 170); Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS. British Museum*, I, 87; Elms-Dawson, IV, 127 (and the authorities quoted there, p. 132 ff.); Ethé (n. v. Mirkhūnd), *Enc. Brit.*, 11th ed., vol. xviii. (H. HAYWARD)

AL-MIRRIKH, the planet Mars. The etymology of the name is unknown. The sphere of Mars is the fifth sphere of the planets. It is bounded on the inner side by the sphere of the sun and on the outer side by the sphere of Jupiter, and its breadth is according to Ptolemy (II, 376) 908 miles. Its period of revolution is estimated at 1 year, 10 months and 12 days. In about 27 years, after 9 revolutions, Mars comes back to the same spot in the heavens; it spends about 40 days in each sign of the zodiac and covers about 40

minutes each day. It is said to be one and half times the size of the earth.

Astrologers call Mars *al-Najm al-aghbar*, the minor misfortune. It is the planet, which next to Saturn is credited with the most ominous omens and effects, war, revolutions, death, conflagration etc. The character of those born under Mars is in keeping with this.

Bibliography: al-Kāzinī, *Adwā'id al-Mahbūbāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, I, 26; A. Hauber, *Planetenschilder und Sternbilder*, Strassburg 1916, passim; *Rasā'il Iḥwān al-Safā*, Section III, IV. (J. RUSKA)

MIRZĀ or **MIRZĀ**, a Persian title, from *Mir-zāda* or *Amir-zāda*, and originally meaning "born of a prince" (cf. *Malik-zāda* and *Ferhang-zāda*, which occur in Sa'di etc.). The title, in addition to bearing its original significance, was also given to noblemen and others of good birth, thus corresponding to the Turkish *Agha*. Since the time of Nadir Shāh's conquest of India it has been further applied to educated men outside of the class of *mullās* or *ulamās*. In modern times the title is placed after the name of a prince, and before the name of other persons bearing it; e.g. *Husain Mirzā* "Prince Husain", whereas *Mirzā Husain* is practically equivalent to "Mr. Husain". (R. LEVY)

MIRZAPUR, a district (and town) in India in the Benares division of the Central Provinces: area 5,240 square miles. The population is nearly 1,100,000 of whom barely 7% are Muhammadans. The latter show a tendency to increase in proportion to the Hindus, owing to their greater vitality, containing as they do a smaller proportion of the very poor. The district is however a stronghold of Hinduism, and Islam makes little progress by conversion. Nothing is known of the early history of the district. It was occupied by Rājputs in the eleventh century A.D. and in the next century passed into the power of the Muslim rulers of Džawnpūr. Down to the Moghul conquest, the district played an important part in the military history of India, as it contained the great stronghold of Cunnār which guarded the gateway of the east.

At Rasulpur near Alnaura is the tomb of a Muslim martyr called Saiyid Ashraf 'Alī which is a place of pilgrimage. Near the gateway of the fort of Rājagarh is shown the tomb of Saiyid Zām al-'Abidin, the saint who miraculously took the stronghold for Sher Shāh. The town of Cunnār contains two mosques at one of which are preserved garments said to have belonged to Hasan and Husain. The tomb of the Afghan saint Shāh Kāsim Sulaimānī (1545—1606) with those of his family forms a group of buildings of architectural interest. His festival is celebrated on the 17th—21st Džumādā I.

Mirzāpur city is the capital of the district of the same name. It has a population of 80,000 of whom a sixth are Muslims. It is a Moghul foundation dating from late in the xvth century: in the xvith and early sixteenth centuries it attained great prosperity as a trading centre, being at the junction of important roads and at the highest point on the Ganges reached by the larger ships. In 1864 the opening of the East India Railway left the town isolated; since then it has declined, as the railway now carries the trade with which it used to deal.

Among the mosques is one founded in the middle

of the sixteenth century by a Muslim lady named Ganga Bibi who also left funds to build a sarai. The town contains the celebrated Hindu shrine of Vināibavart, much visited by pilgrims and formerly held in special veneration by Thugs.

Bibliography: D. L. Drake-Brockman, *District Gazetteer of Mirzāpur*, Allahabad 1911.

(J. ALLAN)

MIRZĀ TAQĪ KHĀN, *Amir-i Nigām* or *Amir-i Kalir*, was born at Farāhān of humble parents, his father having been first the cook and then the steward of the *Kā'im Maḥmūd*, Mirzā Abū 'l-Kāsim, who ended his life as the first minister of Muḥammad Shāh Kādūr (1834—1848). In 1829, as a young menial, Taqī Khān accompanied the Persian Commander-in-Chief on the Mission which was sent to St. Petersburg after the murder at Tihān of the Russian ambassador Grebailodoff. On his return to Persia after this visit to Europe, he was promoted to be a *mirzā* or writer, and subsequently was advanced to the rank of *khān*. By the time his master and patron died the young official had achieved distinction enough to be made war-responsible for the army in Adharbāidjān. Still further honours came, when, during the negotiations at Erzerūm for the settling of outstanding disputes between Persia and Turkey, he was sent to represent his own country in place of the Mughlī al-Dawla, who had fallen ill after his appointment as plenipotentiary. On the conclusion of the Treaty of Erzerūm, Mirzā Taqī returned to Tihān and was then commissioned to accompany the young Wālī 'Abd, Nāsir al-Dīn Mirzā, to Tabriz, to which the latter was sent as governor of Adharbāidjān. In 1848, Taqī Khān's master became Shāh, and on the way back to Tihān he appointed his lieutenant to the post of Prime Minister. It is said that either modesty or prudence caused him to refuse the title of *Sadr-i A'zam* which is bestowed on the holders of the office, but, in any event, he contented himself with the less imposing one of *Amir-i Nigām*, which he had held in Adharbāidjān as Commander-in-Chief. As a mark of the royal favour he was given the sister of the Shāh in marriage, and found in her a wife who displayed the utmost devotion to him for the short remainder of his life.

In office he had the rare distinction in Persia of being inamenable to bribery, and he had a regard for his country which led him to resent interference from foreign powers in its affairs. Moreover, recognising the reactionary influence of the *ulamā*, he attempted in such ways as were open to him to counteract their activities. He reorganised the army in spite of attempts by his enemies to rouse certain sections of the troops into revolt against him, he made efforts to improve the fiscal system of the country and he had some success in making the provincial treasuries self-supporting. Trade, both internal and external, was encouraged by him, and it was he that equipped Tihān with the fine bazars which it now has. As has been indicated, his period of office was not a peaceful one. In 1850 occurred the execution of the "Bāb" [q.v.] at Tabriz, the revolts of the Bābis at Yazd and Zindjān and the execution of the "Seven (Hāsh) Martyrs" at Tihān. The risings were put down with great cruelty, and in consequence an attempt was made by the Bābis on the life of the *Amir-i Nigām*, whom they regarded as responsible. Almost from the begin-

ning of his period of office he had aroused by his influence over the Shāh the jealousy of the latter's mother and of possible rivals, and their secret attacks were helped by his overbearing character. In November 1851 his enemies succeeded in securing his dismissal, after which the ill-judged attempt of the Russian ambassador to give the fallen minister his protection roused the anger of the Shāh who ordered him to retire in disgrace to Kāshān. There, on January 9, 1852, he met his death at the hands of the sovereign's *farrāsh-bāshā*.

Bibliography. Lady Sheil, *Glimpses of Persia* (London 1856), p. 201 ff., 248—252; R. G. Watson, *History of Persia* (London 1866), p. 364—404; Muḥammad Taqī, *Tārīkh-i Ādābīyāt* (Tihān n. d. not pagged), part III, folios 135, 143, 26. (R. LEVY)

MISĀHA (science of measurement, plane and solid geometry) is the name given by the Arabs to the science of comparing magnitudes and its methods. In the wider sense it covers the measurement of all things which can or need be measured, mainly lengths, areas, volumes, weights and numbers; in particular however, the *Ilm al-misāha* deals with geometry, with definitions of solids and geometrical figures as well as the laying down of rules for the calculation of lengths, areas and volumes of the different figures in elementary plane and solid geometry. The conception *misāha* therefore includes only a portion of what we call measurement in the wider sense, or practical or technical geometry (i. e. the measurement of things having length, breadth and volume); in particular it excludes mensuration in the narrow sense, gnomonics. The Arabs possessed special treatises dealing with the problems of gnomonics. They therefore make the same distinction between theoretical and applied measurement, which had developed among the Greeks from the time of Aristotle and is most clearly expressed by Hero in his *Metreus* and *Dioptra*.

The definitions given by the Arabs themselves of the conception *misāha* are very varied. Some authors give a very wide one (e. g. al-'Umarī: "Measurement consists in ascertaining an unknown quantity by means of a known one. The result gives the amount of the unknown quantity in units of the quantity used for measuring"); most of them mean by it the measurement of length, area and volume. Al-Shīrāzī makes a clear distinction between direct measurement, "the test of coincidence" (*al-istisā*), and indirect measurement by calculating from certain formulae.

We find treatises on geometry throughout the whole period in which the Arabs acted as the transmitters of the ancient culture with which they had become acquainted, from the earliest beginnings of their literary activity at the beginning of the ninth century A. D. to the decline of Arab mathematics about 1600. The purpose of such works was to give the future surveyor, architect or soldier the necessary equipment, the theoretical foundation for his profession. Three groups of these treatises can be distinguished according to their method of treatment:

a. those which are quite like our modern collections of formulae, are made as brief as possible, give only the usual methods of calculation and contain no examples (e. g. that of Ibn al-Bannā);

b. those which contain examples, completely worked out, illustrating the process of calculation (e. g. that of al-Baghdiādī);

c. those which only contain a series of fully worked out problems, and are a kind of exercise book (e. g. that of Abū Bakr).

On the method of exposition in these works it should be noted that we cannot of course speak of mathematical formulae in our sense of the word among the Arabs. They, especially the eastern Arabs, had no language of mathematical formulae; it was only late among the western Arabs and probably only in the field of algebra that a technical language was developed. The rules for measuring were always written out fully in words, sometimes even the figures occurring in the text.

The matter of the works on *misāha*, especially the larger ones, as a rule comprises introductory remarks, rules for calculating areas and volumes and the most important lengths found on them, and occasionally also practical exercises.

4. Introductory remarks. These are as a rule

1. Definition of the term *misāha*.
2. Explanation, description and systematic classification of the geometrical figures to be discussed.
3. Definition and list of the most common units of measurement.

B. Rules for calculation.

1. Plane surfaces (and the lengths occurring on them).

1. Quadrilaterals (square, rectangle, rhomboid, trapezium, trapezoid, quadrilateral with salient angle).
2. Triangles (equilateral, isosceles, scalene, right-angled, acute-angled and obtuse-angled).
3. Polygons (regular, irregular, "drum-shaped figure" (*maṣṣab*), "hollow figure" (*maḥṣab*), "step-shaped figure" (*maḥṣab*)). "Drum-shaped" and "hollow" figures are formed by the combination of two congruent trapeziums in such a way that in the former the shorter, in the latter, the longer parallel sides coincide; a number of varieties are distinguished. The step-shaped figure is formed by placing together a number of rectangles of the same length but different breadth, in which the proportions of the breadths form an arithmetical progression.

4. Circle, segments of a circle (semi-circle, segment, sector, circumference) and related areas (horseshoe or crescent (*al-ḥalq*), egg-shape, bean- or lentil-shaped, or oval figures).

The crescent is formed by the subtraction of two segments of circles of different radius with a common chord, egg-shape and bean-shape by the addition of two congruous segments which in the egg-shape are less, in the bean-shape greater than the semi-circle. The area of the oval (ellipse) is given by Savasorda as $\frac{1}{4} (\pi + \pi^2)$.

II. Solids (and the areas, especially superficies, and lengths that occur on them).

1. Prism (ordinary straight and oblique prism, square column, rectangular column, dice, triangular prism, obliquely cut prism, *cepus simile domui* in Abū Bakr as translated by Gerard of Cremona).
2. Cylinder.

3. Pyramids (straight and oblique pyramids, sections of pyramids).

4. Cones (straight and oblique cone, section of cone).

5. Sphere and section of a sphere, hemisphere, segment, sector and zone.

6. Regular and semi-regular bodies (the five Platonic and two Archimedean are treated at any length only in al-Kāshī).

7. Other bodies [cylindrical vault (*ṣāḥib*) and *ḥāḥ*]; the only difference between them is the length hollow dome (*ḥubb*), roof-shape (*corpus simile cubi* in Abū Bakr), wreaths and discs (hollow cylinder), terrace-shaped figures).

C. Practical exercises.

These are generally speaking rare in works on *miṣāha*. We frequently find exercises in dividing fields modelled on Hero and Euclid. Savasorda has a number of exercises on fields on slopes, in hollows and on summits and on the calculation of the heights of hills; al-Hanbalī has some on the measurement of inaccessible pieces of ground, the depth of wells and breadth of rivers. Of other problems may be mentioned, for example, the calculation of the number of pieces of stone or bricks required to build a house or a roof, the ascertainment of the height of a wall.

It must not however be supposed that the subject matter as above described is fully contained in any work on *miṣāha*. The individual works differ in subject matter according to the inclinations and abilities of their authors, just as our text-books of geometry do at the present day. We find works planned on a very comprehensive scale (by al-Hanbalī and al-Kāshī), alongside of very brief ones, often dealing only with portions of the subject (e.g. the anonymous Berlin MS. No. 3954 which contains only formulae for calculating plane surfaces), or even only a single problem (like the treatise by al-Shihāwī). We therefore often find expositions which are only put into works on geometry in order to show the author's special knowledge or results of his research in a particular field.

Among remarkable examples of this kind are the insertion by Djamshīd al-Kāshī in a work on *miṣāha* of a treatment of regular and some semi-regular bodies (the calculation worked out by him in sexagesimal fractions to the fifths is so accurate that it only begins to differ from the correct figure in the tenth decimal place); the formulae for the area of a surface given by al-Umawī $P = \sqrt{a \cdot b \cdot c \cdot d}$ for trapezoids with a right angle and his improvement of Hero's formulae for the segments of a circle; the formula for an arc given by al-Kāshī; the formula $d^2 = \frac{1}{9} [n(n-1) + 6] s^2$ where d is the diameter of the circle around a regular polygon of n sides of length s given by the same author and al-Baghdādī (the same formula is found in Nemorarius and Regiomontanus and attributed by the latter to the Hindus; it is however, so far as we know, not found in any Hindu mathematical work yet published); also the application of algebra in geometry by Abū Bakr and Ibn al-Bannā'. The former uses the algebraical solution for problems of areas in order to show the application of equations of the first and second degree to the six cases distinguished by al-Khwārizmī; the latter uses combinatorial analysis to investigate the different possibilities of stating the problem.

The methods of calculating the volume are the same as we find among the Greeks and Egyptians. When it is not a question of matter that has been taken over from them, in which case the formulae are directly adopted, the obtaining of results is purely inductive and empirical. Al-Kāshī for example for the volume of a sphere gives, in addition to the formulae $d^3 \frac{11}{14}$, on the method of obtaining which he says nothing, also $d^3 \frac{28}{45}$ which he gets by comparing the weight of a cube of wax with the weight of a sphere, which is made out of the cube of wax and whose diameter is equal to the edge of the cube. al-Baghdādī deals with a method of ascertaining the volume from the weight and specific gravity. al-Kāshī knows the method of immersion of Archimedes mentioned by Hero. The direct method of measuring the length of areas by laying a thread along them is still recommended as the most reliable by al-Kāshī and Bakh' al-Dīn. It is evident that such methods must lead to approximative results and formulae of approximation, the typical feature of practical geometry, continue to be used by the Arabs in measuring long after they obviously knew of their inaccuracy. Ibn Mammūth criticises the usual formulae for the area of a triangle $\frac{1}{2} (a+b) \frac{1}{2} c$ and $\frac{1}{2} (a+b) \frac{1}{2} c$. al-Baghdādī the formula for a quadrilateral $\frac{1}{2} (a+c) \frac{1}{2} (b+d)$ which comes from the Egyptians.

The reasons for the long survival of such rules are partly that the formulae gave in practice quite useful results and partly that the practical men who were concerned with measurement in the exercise of their trade wanted values easy to calculate rather than great mathematical accuracy and took no note of slight errors, especially if they thereby avoided calculations with roots. For similar reasons and in keeping with the traditional practice, almost all works of *miṣāha* give no scientific geometrical proofs of the accuracy of the formulae they quote. Only the book of the Jew Abraham Savasorda, who may be reckoned among the western Arabs, gives logically worked out proofs in any number; we occasionally find references to early mathematicians (especially Euclid) in Ibn al-Bannā' and Ibn al-Hanbalī. Probably inspection was quite sufficient (Abū al-'Aziz for example draws plane figures in a network of squares each of one unit and counts the squares and their parts within this area) or a simple demonstration in some form or a calculation to prove the correctness of the procedure, which was frequently illustrated also by examples completely worked out.

A further peculiarity of Arabic authors was to give formulae which agree completely in substance in different algebraical forms. The Berlin MS. No. 3954 gives for example for the calculation of the section of the hypotenuse q in the right angled triangle the following formulae: $q = \frac{1}{2} (a + (c^2 - b^2) : a) = \frac{1}{2} (a + (c + b)(c - b) : a) = \frac{1}{2} (a + (c + b) : \frac{a}{c-b}) = \frac{1}{2} (a^2 + (c^2 - b^2) : a)$. This differentiation was probably only intended to give as many forms as possible of the relations between the known and unknown magnitudes so as to afford the practical man a choice of different correct formulae of which one might suit the special case better than another.

The sources of Arab geometry are to be sought among the Greeks and Hindus. The form and

substance of the rules are almost entirely Greek, especially in the older authors. Hero's "elaborations" in particular, which in turn go back to Egypt, seem to have been the model for Arab works on geometry. To Egypt may be traced the prefacing of a metrological section (found in many books on *miṣḥar*), the problems on dividing fields, the formula for the trapezoid, the special name for the upper side of a quadrilateral (*ra's al-'arṣ*). Hindu are the values for π in al-Bḥārīzmi, the formula $V = \frac{1}{2} a b c d$, for the quadrilateral inscribed in a circle, the terms are, perpendicular from the summit of an arc and chord, the marking of lengths in Hindu figures, the use of algebra to solve geometrical problems (equations, method of double error, combinatorial analysis). The chief teachers were however the Greeks, whose achievements the Arabs generally speaking never surpassed; the requirements of practical mensuration gave them no new problems and practical geometry remained down to quite modern times elementary, the majority of the problems of which had been finally settled long ago by the Greeks.

The services of the Arabs to geometry lie less in the extension of the field by ascertaining new, hitherto unknown facts, although in the *miṣḥar* works we do find a series of new and novel rules, than in their enrichment of this science by new methods of calculation and teaching and especially in their preserving the inheritance of the ancients and handing it down to the western world. Although Hero's geometry first became known in northwestern Europe through Roman surveyors, it was mainly the Arab sources which gave new life to this subject which had become stagnant in its old form. Arabic original works were made accessible to the west in Latin translations. Leonardo of Pisa in his *Practica geometria*, which remained a standard work for three centuries, depended closely on Savasorda, who must probably owe a great deal to Abū Bakr as there are striking similarities between the *Liber embaderum* and the *Liber mensurationis*; down to late in the xvth century we continually come across writings on practical geometry, which in form and content show to what originals they go back.

Bibliography: a. I. Manuscripts: Arabic authors translated into Latin: 1. *Liber in quo terrarum et corporum continentur mensurationes Arabum* (author presumably Abū Bakr, † 1055; cf. H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber* etc., *Abhdlg. z. Gesch. d. math. Wissensch.*, xlv., 10. Heft, 1900, No. 224), Cambridge, Univ. Library, Mm. ii. 18, fol. 69^v—76^v; 2. *Liber Sayid al-Bukhārī* (author presumably Zaid Abū 'Othmān, † 1052; Suter, No. 222); do., fol. 76^v—77^v; 3. *Liber asfarī* (author presumably 'Omar al-Hadrami, † 1057; Suter, No. 227), do., fol. 77^v—77^v.

b. II. Arabic works (the titles are given as translated by E. Wiedemann and J. Rucka): 1. *Ilm al-Dijāz* (c. 1150). "Records of the measurement of surfaces", Escorial, old No. 924, fol. 1^a—70^b; 2. *Imād al-Dīn al-Baghḍādī* († 1335; Suter, No. 494), "Work on the science of measurement and the sharing of difficulties", Berlin 5976, fol. 17^a—26^a; 3. *Ilm al-Banna'* († 1339—1340; Suter, No. 399), "Treatise on the doctrine of measurement", Berlin 5945, fol. 50^a—73^a; 4. anonymous, "Treatise on the principles of the doctrine of measurement" (written in 1355), Berlin

5953, fol. 56^a—59^a; 5. anonymous, "Treatise on the doctrine of measurement", Berlin 5954, fol. 85^a—95^b; 6. *Djāhid b. Ma'ad al-Kaḥḥ* († 1436—1437; Suter, No. 429), "Keys for the calculator in the science of arithmetic", Berlin 5992, fol. 27^a—48^b; 7. *Yā'ish b. Ibrahim al-Umawī* (c. 1490; Suter, No. 453), "Abolition of difficulties in measurement", Berlin 5949, fol. 73^a—79^a; 8. *Ilm al-Hantall* († 1563; Suter, No. 464), "Marks of beauty in the problems of geometry", Paris 2474, fol. 1^a—53^a; 9. *Abd Allāh al-Shihāwī* († 1590—1591; Suter, No. 472), "Comfort to the eyes in measuring the vessel which holds two balls", Berlin 5951, fol. 1—121; Gothic 1078, 1 and 1079.

b. Editions: 1. M. Curtze, *Der Liber Embaderum des Abraham bar Chija Savasorda in der Übersetzung des Plato von Tivoli*, *Abhdlg. z. Gesch. d. math. Wissensch.*, Heft xii., 1902; 2. A. Hochheim, "Kāfi fi l-Hisāb" des Abū Bihār al-Karḥī, 9—11. Programm d. hoh. Gewerbeschule Magdeburg, 1878—1880; 3. A. Marre, *Le miṣḥar de Mohammed ben Moussa al-Kādhiri*, in *Annali di Matematica*, Rome 1865, vol. 7, p. 269 sq.; 4. G. H. F. Nesselmann, *Excerpta der Rechnungen von Mohammed Bihār al-Dīn ben Alḥawānī*, Berlin 1843; 5. Fr. Rosen, *The Algebra of Moh. b. Musa*, London 1831; 6. J. Rucka, *Zur ältesten arabischen Algebra und Rechnkunst*, *Sitzg.-Ber. d. Heidelberger Akad. d. Wissensch.*, Heidelberg 1917; 7. E. Wiedemann, *Über die Geometrie und Arithmetik nach den Maßstäben al-Uṭūm*, *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Naturwissensch.*, xiv., S.B.P.M., See. Erlangen, vol. 40, Erlangen 1908; 8. do., *Über das Messen nach Ibn al-Haṣṣam*, *Beiträge*, xvii., S.B.P.M., See. Erl., vol. 41, Erlangen 1909; 9. do., *Über Vermessung nach Ibn Mammātī*, *Beiträge*, xxi., S.B.P.M., See. Erl., vol. 42, Erlangen 1910. (H. SCHÜRER)

MIS'AR B. MUHALHIL AND DULAF AL-KHARADJĪ AL-YAKUBĪ, an Arabic poet who lived at the court of the Sāmīd Nays II b. Ahmad (301—331 = 913—942) and in 331 was sent by him to conduct a Chinese embassy back to their land and on his return visited India. He later gained the favour of the Bīdīd vizier al-Balāh al-Talḥīnī (so al-Sam'ānī, *Ansab*, fol. 363^b) Ism'īl b. 'Abād (d. 385 = 995). To him he devoted a long *ḥazida* on the thieves' dialect of the Banū Sāmā, which his patron so much admired that he himself wrote a commentary upon it (extracts in *The'ālibh, Yafina*, iii. 176—194). The dates of his birth and death are nowhere exactly given. To his long journeys he alludes in his verses quoted by *The'ālibh*, *op. cit.*, iii. 174. The only authentic information has been preserved by the author of the *Fihrist*; on p. 346, 20 *off.* (where *wa-Adna al-Jawāhid* is of course not to be translated as Flügel does [note 182] "there was a ramour current" but "he was a great traveller") he gives his account of a temple in Mukrīn said to be of gold, and on p. 350, 13 *off.* a description of the capital of China. A comparison of these with the corresponding account of his journey attributed to Abū Dulaf al-Vāḥī, *Mu'jam*, iii. 457, = 296, 451, 35 *off.* shows that the latter is a late falsification (cf. Marquart in the *Festschrift* for Sachau, p. 192). This is confirmed by an internal criticism of his statements. The first country to be entered after leaving Muslim territory is, he

says (Vélut, iii. 449, f.), al-Khargah, i.e. as Marquart, *S.B.B.A.*, 1912, p. 492 has recognised, the Persian translation of the Turkish name for Kāshghar, Ordukānd. Of this kingdom of the Boghrākhāns however, this author (p. 447 *seq.*) talks as if it belonged to the tribe of Boghrā, whose ruler was a descendant of 'Alī, as the East Turkish legend of Satok Boghrā Khān says of his grandson. The story is therefore compiled from various sources. Marquart (*Sachau, Festschrift*, p. 271—272) has also recognised that the alleged ruler of Sadjjetān whom the author claims (*op. cit.*, p. 458, f.) to have met, Abū Dja'far Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Laith, son of Bannī, a sister of Ya'qūb b. Laith, is identical with Khulaf b. Ahmad son of Bannī, a granddaughter of 'Amr b. Laith, who was taken prisoner by Muḥammad of Ghazna in 1002—1003 and died in 1008. The geographical information given by the compiler is therefore quite unreliable in detail. His story is also preserved in the second version of Kazwini's *Cosmography* in the Gothic Mss. 1506 (Möller, No. 2316) and has been edited from it by Schlözer.

Bibliography: al-Tha'libī, *Yatimat al-Dahr*, iii. 174—194; F. Wüstenfeld, *Der Abu Dulf Misar Bericht über die türkischen Horden*, *Zeitschr. für vergl. Erdkunde*, I. Jahrg., vol. 2, Heft 9, Magdeburg 1842; *Abu Dulf Misar ben Mchallaf de itinere suo asiaticis commentariis*, ed. C. Schlözer, Berlin 1845; W. Grigorieff, *Ob arabiskom putestitvenniiu X. iaka Abu Dulf i stranitsennii ego no ordnei Auti*, in *Žurnal ministerstva narodnogo praziplenii*, vol. cixiii/2 (1872), p. 1—45.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

MISBAHA. [See SURBA.]

MISKIN, poor, a loanword which has shown remarkable vitality. It goes back to the Assyrian *miskinu*, "poor" (in the Laws of Hammurabi it is a name for a class between those enjoying full citizenship and slaves; according to L. W. King: freemen who do not belong to the ruling race). In the meaning "poor" it has passed into Aramaic (*miskin*), Hebrew (*miskin*), North Arabic (*miskīn* or, against analogy, *maskin*), into Southern Arabic and Ethiopic (*miskin*). It has passed from Arabic into Italian as *miskino* and into French as *mesquin*. In Arabic, on the analogy of the form *miskūl*, it is usually of common gender but the feminine form *miskina* is also found with plural *miskinat*. Muḥammad often uses the word in the Qur'an in the list of persons whom it was a duty for believers to support. As in Sūra ix. 60 it is found alongside of *fuqarā*, commentators and jurists have felt that some distinction must be made between the two. They usually explain *miskin* as needy, but not absolutely without possessions like the *fuqarā*, and refer to Sūra xviii. 78, where there is a reference to poor people who possess a ship among them. How uncertain this is, is however evident from the fact that the Mālikites in opposition to the Shāfi'ites take the other view and regard the *miskinūna* as the most needy; cf. also the various definitions collected by Lane, *Lisān al-Arab* in Sūra xc. 16 does not help us. From the meaning "poor" gradually developed that of "humble, miserable", also in the moral sense, cf. e.g. Ibn Sa'd, iii/1. 6 alt. where Abū Sufyān's wife Hind is called *al-Miskina*. On the other hand, the word can mean "humble" as in the words attributed to Muḥammad: "Let me live as a *miskin*

and die as a *miskin* and include me among the *miskinūna*".

Bibliography: On the Assyrian cf. the references in Gesenius, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch*, and King, *History of Babylon*, p. 164; for Arabic: Lane, i. 1305; Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzi, *Tanbih*, ed. Juyānoli, i. 879, f. 12; Th. W. Juyānoli, *Handbuch der islamischen Geographie*, p. 106.

(F. B. BUN)

MISR, a proper name denoting the synonym of Egypt, the ancestor of the Berbers and the Copts. In accordance with the Biblical genealogy (Genesis x. 1 *seq.*) Misr is called the son of Hām, the son of Nūḥ. The Biblical origin of the pedigree appears clearly in the form *Misrām* or *Misram* (cf. Hebrew *Misraim*) which is found side by side with Misr.

In some genealogies between Hām and Misr there is inserted Baiṣar, a name of which the origin is unknown to me.

There exists, however, also quite a different genealogy, according to which *Misram* is a son of Tubli, one of the early heroes (*djahlōira*), who ruled Egypt after the Deluge.

Bibliography: al-Jaharī, *Tarīkh*, ed. de Goëje, i. 217; al-Ya'qūbi, *Tarīkh*, ed. Houtsma, i. 210; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, Paris ed., ii. 394; Ibn Khurḍādhbih, *B.G.A.*, vi. 80; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, i. 58; al-Sayyidī, *Uzun al-Mubāraka*, Bulāq, p. 15; Muḥ. 'Abd al-Ma'ī al-Manṣūrī, *Kitāb Akhbār al-Duwal*, Cairo 1311, p. 5;

b. a proper name denoting Egypt as a country. It may be supposed that Misr was already the name of Egypt among the Arabs in pre-Islamic times as it is used in the Qur'an (e.g. sūra x. 87; xii. 21, 100; xliii. 50), where the Biblical form *Misraim* does not occur. It has remained the Arabic name of Egypt [q.v.] up to the present day.

c. a proper name denoting the capital of Egypt, i.e. at present and since its foundation Cairo, which with its full name is called Misr al-Kāhira [cf. CAIRO]. Misr occurs, however, already as the name of the city or the cities situated southwest of later Cairo; when the name had been transferred to this city, the name Misr al-Kāhira (Old Misr) clung to the old settlement, situated between the mosque of 'Amr and the right bank of the Nile (cf. Butler, *Babylon of Egypt*, p. 16).

In the period between the Arab conquest and the foundation of Cairo the name Misr is regularly applied to the settlement just mentioned (Ibn Khurḍādhbih, *B.G.A.*, vi. 247, 251; Ibn Rostah, *B.G.A.*, vii. 115 *seq.*; al-Bukhārī, *Furq al-Khams*, bāb 13; Abū Dawūd, *Taḥṣīr*, bāb 74). We are, however, not able to decide which of its parts (Babylon, Fustāt or the Tullunid capital) is especially denoted by it. It may be supposed that the combination of Fustāt Misr "Fustāt in Egypt" (cf. e.g. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, *B.G.A.*, viii. 358; Maḥriri, *Khāṭat*, i. 285, opposes Fustāt Misr to *ard Misr*) forms the link between the application of the name Misr to the country and to the capital. After the conquest of Egypt by the Muslims there were two settlements only on the right bank of the Nile where it divides, viz. Babylon and Fustāt. The papyri never mention Misr as the name of either of these settlements. Yet in the latter part of the seventh century A.D. the application of the name Misr to one or to the other or to both

must have begun, as is attested by John of Nikiu who at least once uses *Misr* as the name of a city, where he speaks of "the gates of *Misr*" (p. 25). In other passages *Misr* appears as the name of the country (p. 201, 209).

The statement that the name *Misr* as the name of a town arose after the Muslim conquest only, is in opposition to Butler, who maintains that at least since the age of Diocletian there existed on the right bank of the Nile, to the South of the later Babylon, a city called *Misr* (cf. Butler, *Babylon of Egypt*, p. 15; do., *The Arab Conquest*, p. 221 note). Caetani (*Annali*, n. n. 19, § 47) has already pointed to the fact, that the traditions concerning the Arab conquest of Egypt do not give the slightest credit to the existence of a city bearing the name of *Misr*. Butler's reference to the Synaxary proves nothing, as this work was composed many centuries after the conquest. — The Coptic name of Babylon was *Keme*.

Bibliography: A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last thirty Years of the Roman Dominion*, Oxford 1902; do., *Babylon of Egypt*, Oxford 1924; Maspero and Wiet, *Mémoires pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte*, in *M.F.F.A.O.*, vol. xxvi, p. 168 sqq.; *Chronique de Jean le Cécopie de Nikiu, texte éthiopien publié et trad. par H. Zotenberg*, Paris 1883, register.

d. a common noun, denoting a town; it is used especially in connection with the capitals of the provinces in the times of the conquests, e.g. in the tradition: "The *amṣār* will be conquered at your hands" (Abū Dawūd, *Ḍiḥād*, bāb 28). *Haṣra* and *Kufa* are often called "the two *misr*" (Bukhārī, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 13; Yāqūt, *Muḥḍam*, iv. 454). Further any town may be called *misr* (e.g. Bukhārī, *Ḍiḥād*, bāb 2; Aḡaḡī, bāb 15; *Idān*, bāb 25; Tirmidhī, *Nihāy*, bāb 32 etc.). This *misr* is a genuine Semitic word, cf. *Liṣān al-ʿArab*, s. v. and the Jewish-Aramaic *misr*, *misra*, which have the same meaning, viz. that of a house or a field as an exactly delineated and demarcated territory (cf. J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*; do., *Neuhebräischer-chaldäischer Wörterbuch*).

It may be supposed that the geographical name *Misr* (cf. above, a—c.) comes from the same root and has originally a meaning akin to that of the common noun. (A. J. WENDT)

MISRĀ, a term in Arabic prosody applied to a hemistich or half line (*ḥalf*); the first hemistich is called *ṣaḥ* and the second *ʿarf*. Each has two, three or four feet, *ṭaʿīl* or *ḡun*. The last foot of the first hemistich is called *ʿarḍ* and the last of the second *ḡarḥ*. As a general rule, and in the first verse of a poem, the *ʿarḍ* foot should have the same measure (*ṭaʿīl*) and rhyme (*ṭaḥḥiya*) as the *ḡarḥ* foot.

(MOR. HAN CHEN)

MISRĪ. [See *NYRĪ*.]

MISSIS, Arab. al-Maṣṣiṣa, a town in Cilicia on the *Ḍiḥān*.

In antiquity it was called *Μέσση Ἰερία* a name, which (like that of *Μέσση ἑρεια* in the Cilician passes) is derived from the cult of the legendary seer Mopsos (cf. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altert.*, iii. 2, § 483). In ancient times, the town was chiefly famous for its bishop Theodorus (d. 428), the teacher of Nestorius and friend of the suffragan bishop and inventor of the Armenian alphabet,

Maḡt'oē (Pretors, *Revue des Études Armén.*, 12, Paris 1929, p. 210; on him cf. e.g. al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 152; Mich. Syr., transl. Chabot, ii. 3; Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, I. 133; Theophanes, *Chron.*, ed. de Boor, I. 77, 209, 96, 3). In the reign of Justinian a synod was held in Mopsuestia in June 550 to see that his name was removed from the diptychs of the bishops (Mansi, *Acta Concil.*, ix., col. 275-289; Hefele, *Konciliengeschichte*, ii. 2, 832-834). At a later date the name of the town was usually written *Μεμπεστρία* (pronounced: Mōsbustria); cf. *Append. ad Fides Siculi hist. Manich.*, ed. Gieseler, p. 63; i. Wilh. Schulte, *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforsch.*, xxxiii, new series, xiii, 1895, p. 372; references in Gelzer in Georg. Kypr. 819; Syr. Mopsuestia: Noldeke, *W. Z. K. M.*, iii, 1889, p. 356; Severus Antioch., *Epist.*, v. 6, ed. Brooks, p. 338; Arab. *Māsbūṣiyyā* in Ibn Khardādhbāh, ed. de Goeje, p. 99. As early as the end of classical times we already find the popular forms *Mompistia* (Tab. Pent.), Byzant. *Μαπίστρα* (Michael Glykas, *Annal.*, Bonn. Corpus, p. 570, 4; Anna Komnena, ed. Reifferscheid, ii. 140, 3; in al-Iḍrīṣī, ed. Gildemeister in *Z. D. P. V.*, viii, 24; *Mōnistri*); the Byzantine work on "Towns with later altered names", ed. Burckhardt, Hierokles, *Synhedem.*, Leipzig 1893, p. 62, Appendix I, N°. 29, wrongly says: *Kαράβλα Κίρκιας ἢ ὡς Μαύρρα*; the former is rather the modern *Badrūm Ka'ē*, *Maṣiṣa* (Theodosius, *De situ terrar. incert.*, c. 34, ed. Geyer in *Corp. Script. Eccl.*, Lat., xxxii, 150, 6; i. e. Syriac *Maṣṣiṣa* (*Notitia Antiochena*, ed. Rahmani, *I fatti dello schisma patriarcale Antiochena*, Rome 1920, p. v.; Byzant. *Zucker*, xxv. 74, 84), from which the Arabic al-Maṣṣiṣa, Armen. *Misr* and Turk. *Misr* or *Misra* have arisen.

The emperor Heraclius is said to have removed the inhabitants and laid waste the district between Antioch and Mopsuestia on the advance of the Arabs, in order to create a desert zone between them (al-Tabari, i. 2396; al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 163; between al-Iḥṣān and Tarsūs), and under the Ḥmāyids all the towns taken by the Arabs from al-Maṣṣiṣa to the fourth Armenia (Malayya) are said to have been left unfortified and uninhabited as a result of the incursions of the Mardaites (Theoph., ed. de Boor, I. 363, 27). According to Abū l-Ḥaṣṣib al-ʿAsdi (in al-Balādhuri, p. 164), the Arabs conquered al-Maṣṣiṣa and Tarsūs under Abū l-Ḥaṣṣib, who was sent by him and who thereafter advanced as far as Zanda (in 16 = 637; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, iii. 805, § 311). Mu'āwīya on his campaign against Amṣuriya in 25 A. H. found all the fortresses abandoned between Antiochia and Tarsūs (see above). According to the *Maḡāzī Mu'āwīya* he himself destroyed all the Byzantine fortresses up to Antiochia in 31 (651-652) on his return from Darawitza (*Maḡāzī* in Phrygia) (al-Balādhuri, p. 164 sq.). After the Syrian rebellion against 'Abd al-Malik, the emperor Constantine IV Pogonatus in 65 (684-685 A. D.) advanced against the town and regained it (al-Ya'qūbi, ed. Houtsma, ii. 321). Yahyā b. al-Ḥakam in 77 marched against Mardj al-Shahm between Malayya and al-Maṣṣiṣa (al-Ya'qūbi, ii. 337). It was only in 84 (703) that 'Abd al-Malik's son 'Abd Allāh retook the town and had the citadel rebuilt on its old foundations (Balādhuri, p. 165; Ya'qūbi, ii. 466; Waḡidī in Tihārī, ii.

1127; Ibn al-Athir, ed. Torberg, iv. 398; Theophan., *Chron.*, ed. de Boor, p. 372, 4; Mich. Syr., transl. Chabot, ii. 477; Elias Nisibeni, *Opus chronologicum*, ed. Brooks, p. 156; transl., p. 75; *Script. Syri.*, *chronica minora*, ed. Guidi, p. 232, transl., p. 176, under 1015 Sel. year; Well, *Geogr. d. Chalifen*, i. 472. In the following year, he installed a garrison in the fortress, including 300 specially-picked soldiers, and built a mosque on the citadel hill (Tell al-Hijr); a Christian church was turned into a granary (*kurran*, *kurra* = *horreum*, *horrea*; al-Baladhuri, p. 165; Ibn al-Shihna, ed. Haurat, p. 179). To the same event no doubt refers the wrongly dated reference in the *Chronicle of the Armenian Samuel of Ani* of the year 692 A.D. to the fortification with strong walls of the town of "Mamestia, i. e. Masi" by the Muslims under 'Abd al-Malik (*Katho. imperium uetus ad eum antatem presbyteri Samuelis Anisanti*, in Euseb. Pamphil., *Chron.*, ed. A. Mai and I. Zohrab, Mediolani 1818, App. p. 57; Alihan, *Siswanan*, p. 286). Every year from 1,500 to 2,000 men of the corps (*janāzī*) of Antakhiya used to winter in the town. According to Michael Syrus (transl. Chabot, iii. 478), 'Abd al-Malik died in 1017 Sel. (705 A.D.) in al-Maṣṣa. 'Umar II is said to have intended to destroy the town and all the fortifications between it and Antioch and to have been either prevented by his own death (Baladhuri, p. 167) or dissuaded by his advisers; according to this version, he then had a large mosque built in the suburb of Kafarbiya in which there was a cistern with his inscription. It was called the "Citadel Mosque" and kept up till the time of al-Mu'tasim (al-Baladhuri, p. 165; but Kafarbiya was probably not really built till the time of al-Mahdi or Harun al-Rashid; [see below] Yazid b. Qutayba ("Aḥḥad 4 vol. Xaver") in 704 A.D. attacked Sis (22 *Ḥisāb adras*; in al-Tabari and Ibn al-Athir: *Sisana* in the Nihaya of al-Maṣṣa) but was driven off by Heraclius, the emperor's brother (Theophan., ed. de Boor, p. 372, 23; A. M. 6196; according to al-Tabari, ii. 185; and Ibn al-Athir, iv. 419, wrongly not till 87 A.D.). Hishām built the suburb (al-Rahab), Marwan II the quarter of al-Khuzā, east of the Dīlān, which he surrounded with a wall with a wooden door and a ditch. The bridge of Dīlār al-Walid between al-Maṣṣa and Adhann, 9 *mil* from the former, was built in 125 (742–743 A.D.) and restored in 225 (840) by al-Mu'tasim (al-Baladhuri, p. 168; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wittenfeld, ii. 82; Saif al-Din, *Murāṣid*, ed. Jaynoll, i. 255). In the first half of the viii century the caliphs al-Walid II and Yazid III brought the gipsy tribe of the Zutt, who had been deported to Baysa by Mu'awiya in 670 A.D., and settled them with great herds of buffalo in the region of al-Maṣṣa in order to fight the plague of lions in the district of the Djabal al-Lukkm (al-Baladhuri, p. 168; De Goeje, *Hydrage tot de Geschiedenis der Zigeuners*, 1875, p. 17–22). The first 'Abbasid, Abu 'l-'Abbas al-Saffar, on his accession strengthened the garrison by 400 men, to whom he gave lands; the same estates were later allotted to them by al-Mansur. The latter in 139 (756–757) restored the wall, which had been damaged by an earthquake in the preceding year, and increased with 8,000 settlers the much diminished population of the town, which he called al-Maṣṣa (al-Baladhuri, p. 166; Ibn al-Athir, v. 382; Yāqūt iv. 379, s.v. *al-Maṣṣa*; Ibn Shihna,

p. 179). On the site of a heathen temple he built a large mosque which far surpassed the mosque of 'Umar in size. When 'Abd Allah b. Tahir was governor of Maghrib (i. e. 211 = 826), it was enlarged by al-Ma'mun. Al-Mansur increased the garrison to 1,000 men and settled in the town the inhabitants of al-Khuzā, Persians, Slavs and Christian Arabs (Nabataetana), whom Marwan had transplanted thither (see above), and gave them allotments of land. It is probably that to the same event the story refers that Salih b. 'Ali, when in the 'Abbasid period the inhabitants of al-Maṣṣa, harassed by the Byzantines, resolved to migrate, sent Djabir b. Yahya al-Budjali al-Khuzāni in 140 (757–758) to rebuild the town and settle it with Muslim inhabitants (al-Baladhuri, p. 166; according to al-Tabari, ii. 135 in the year 141). Under al-Mahdi the garrison was increased to 2,000; in addition there was the Antakhiya corps of almost the same size which wintered here regularly until Salim of Barullus became their wali and increased the garrison by 500 men instead. There is a brief reference in the Syriac inscription of 'Enesh to a raid by al-Mahdi to the Dīlān (Syr. Gihon) in 780 A.D. (1091 Sel.; Chabot, in *J. A.*, ser. ix., xvi., 1900, p. 287; Pognon, *Inscr. émit. de la Syrie et de la Mésop.*, p. 148–150, N° 84). Harun al-Rashid built Kafarbiya or according to another story, altered the plans for this suburb prepared by al-Mahdi and fortified it with a ditch; he also built walls which were only completed after his death by al-Mu'tasim. In 187 (803) an earthquake laid waste the town (al-Tabari, iii. 688). In the following year, the Byzantines invaded and pillaged the region of al-Maṣṣa and 'Ain Zarba and carried off the inhabitants of Turus into captivity, whereupon Harun al-Rashid attacked and defeated them (Mich. Syr., iii. 16). According to al-Tabari (ii. 709) and Ibn al-Athir (vi. 135), the Byzantines in 190 (806) invaded 'Ain Zarba and Kamsat al-Sawd and took prisoners there; but the people of al-Maṣṣa regained all their lost from them. If, as it seems, the curious story in the Byzantine chroniclers (Theophan., *Chron.*, ed. de Boor, p. 446, 1; Georg. Kedren., *Bonn. Corpus*, ii. 17) that in 771–772 (A. M. 6264) 'Aḥḥad b. Badr, i. e. al-Fadl b. Dīnār, who had 500 Byzantine prisoners with him, lost 1,000 men and all his booty through a sortie of the *Muslawar*, refers to the same events, the latter would appear to be wrongly reported and wrongly dated.

On the 13th Hishri 122 Sel. (811 A.D.) the walls and many houses in the town and three adjoining villages fell in a great earthquake; near al-Maṣṣa the course of the Dīlān was dammed for a week so that the boats lay on the dry bed (Mich. Syr., iii. 17). In 198 (813–814) Thabit b. Nafi al-Khuzā'i was fighting in the Syrian marches of al-Maṣṣa and Adhann (Yāqūt, ii. 541). On his campaign into Bilad al-Ram, al-Ma'mun passed through al-Maṣṣa and Turus in Muharram 215 (March 830; al-Tabari, iii. 1103; Ibn al-Athir, vi. 294; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Annals Muslim.*, ed. Reiske, ii. 152; Well, *Geogr. d. Chal.*, ii. 239). In revenge the emperor Theophilus in 316 (831) raided the lands around these two towns and slew or took prisoner 2,000 men (al-Tabari, iii. 1104; Ibn al-Athir, vi. 295).

After the emperor's campaign against Zibatra (837 A.D.) in which he also defeated the *Muslawar* (Const. Porphyrog., *De caerim.*, ed.

Bonn, p. 303; Vasilev, *Fiantiya i Aseri*, in *Zapiski ist.-fil. fak. imp. S.-Pb. Univ.*, East ivi, 1900, p. 88 ff., note 4). al-Mu'tasim bi 'l-lah in the following year attacked 'Amulīya; his general Baghrat commanded a part of the army which included the Mas'isa contingents (Mich. Syr., iii, 96). In 245 (859) the town was again visited by an earthquake which destroyed many places in Syria, Mesopotamia and Cilicia (al-Yak'ubi, iii, 1440). The Caliph al-Mu'tasim after restoring order in the Thughūr al-Shāmīya (287=900) returned from al-Mas'isa via Fandak al-Husain, al-Iskanderīya and Baghras to Antakīya, Halab and al-Raqqa (al-Tabari, iii, 2198—2200; al-Fauḍī, a place in the Thughūr near al-Mas'isa; Yāqūt, iii, 918; Saif al-Dīn, *Marāsid*, ii, 365).

When in 302 (904—905) the Byzantine Andronikos invaded the district of Mar'ash, the people of al-Mas'isa and Tarsūs met him but were defeated and lost their leader Abu 'l-Riḍā b. Abi Bakkar (al-Tabari, iii, 2252; Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 371; Vasilev, *Zap. ist.-fil. fak. imp. S.-Pb. Univ.*, East lvi, 1902, p. 154, note 2).

In 344 (955—956) the Hamdanid Saif al-Dawla was visited by horsemen from the frontier towns of Tarsūs, Adana and al-Mas'isa and with them an envoy from the Greek king who concluded a truce with him (al-Nuwairi and Kamāl al-Dīn in Freytag, *Z.D.M.G.*, xl, p. 192; Ibn Zafir al-Azfi, *Kiṭāb al-Dumal al-Munajjid*, transl. Vasilev, *op. cit.*, Prilozhen., p. 86). Defeated by Leo Phocas in 349 (960) in the pass of al-Kūzūk, Saif al-Dawla spent the night in al-Hawānīf and returned to Halab via al-Mas'isa (Kamāl al-Dīn in Freytag, *op. cit.*, p. 196; Yahyā b. Sa'īd, *Tārīkh*, ed. Krackovskiy-Vasilev, in *Patrol. Orient.*, xiii, 1924, p. 782).

In 352 the emperor Nicephorus took Adana, the inhabitants of which fled to al-Mas'isa, and sent the Domestic John Trimisces (Yānis b. al-Shimshīkī al-Dumastīk) against this town. The latter besieged it for several days but had to withdraw as his supplies were running short, and after laying waste the country round burned the adjoining al-Mallin (Ma'asīf) at the mouth of the Djalhān (Yahyā b. Sa'īd, *op. cit.*, p. 793 ff.). The emperor himself came again in Dhū 'l-Kā'da 353 (Nov. 964) to the marches (al-Thaghr) and besieged al-Mas'isa for over 50 days but had again to abandon the siege owing to shortage of supplies and retired to winter in Kaisariya. Finally the town was stormed by John Trimisces (Arn. Kūf Zān) on Thursday the 11th Raddjah 354 (July 13, 965). The inhabitants set it on fire and fled to Kafarhāya. After a desperate struggle on the bridge between the two towns the Greeks took this suburb also and carried off all the inhabitants into captivity (Yahyā b. Sa'īd, *op. cit.*, p. 793; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 408—411; Abu 'l-Fid'ī, *Ann. Mus.*, ed. Reiske, ii, 482 ff.; Mich. Syr., iii, 128; Elias Nisibēn, ed. Brooks, p. 218; transl. p. 106; Georg. Cedren., ed. Bonn, ii, 362; Leon Diakon., ed. Bonn, p. 52 ff.; Mattēos Urhmayec', ed. Balakier in *Rec. hist. orient. Docum. Arm.*, i, 3; Step'an Asolīk of Taron, *Armen. Gesch.*, transl. H. Guler and A. Burekhardt, Leipzig 1907, p. 134, 24). They went to the number of 200,000, it is said, led past the gates of Tarsūs, which at that time was being besieged by the emperor's brother Leo, to terrify the people of the town (Ibn Shihna, *Rawafat al-Munāzir*, in Freytag, *Z.D.M.G.*, Elias Nisibēn, *op. cit.*). The gates of

Tarsūs and of al-Mas'isa were gilded and taken as trophies to Constantinople, where one set was put in the citadel and the others on the wall of the Golden Gate (Georg. Cedren., ii, 363).

The town remained for over a century in the hands of the Byzantines; the Emperor Basil II Bulgaroktonos stayed for six months in the region of al-Mas'isa and Tarsūs before going to Armenia after the death (March 31, 1000 A.D.) of the Kuropalates David of Taji' to take possession of his lands by inheritance (Yahyā b. Sa'īd, *Tārīkh*, ed. Rosen, p. 39, in *Zap. imp. Akad. Nauk*, xiv, St. Petersburg 1883). In 1042 the Armenian prince Apłgharib, son of Hasan and grandson of Khā'ik of the house of the Arzunians, was sent by the emperor Constantine Monomachos as governor to Cilicia (St. Martin, *Mém. sur l'Arm.*, i, 199). In 1085 A.D. Philaretos Brachomios, who was appointed in Constantinople perhaps Sebastos (Mich. Syr., iii, 173) or at least Kuropalates (Mich. Attal., Bonn ed., p. 301) and whose ephemeral kingdom comprised the land from Tarsūs to Malatya, Urfa and Antakīya, held al-Mas'isa (Mich. Syr., *loc. cit.*; Laurent, *Byzance et Antioche sous le curopalate Philarte, Rev. des Et. Arm.*, ix, 1929, p. 61—72). Shortly before the arrival of the Crusaders, the Seljuḥ Turks took Tarsūs, al-Mas'isa, 'Ain Zarba and the other towns of Cilicia (Mich. Syr., iii, 179). About the end of Sept. 1097 the Franks under Tancred, who had been invited thither from Lathrum by Ḫashim III, took the town which was stormed after a day's siege: the inhabitants were slain and rich booty fell into the hands of the victor (Albert. Aquena., iii, 15 ff., in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, clxvi, col. 446 ff.; Radulf. Cadom., *Gesta Tancredi*, c. 39 ff.). William of Tyre describes al-Mas'isa on this occasion (iii, 21, in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, ccl, col. 295): "Erant autem Mamistra una de nobilissimis eisdem provincie civitatibus, muro et multorum incolatus insignis, sed optima agro et gleba ubere et amoenitate præcipua commendabilis". Count Baldwin, who had quarrelled with Tancred, followed him along with the admiral Winimar of Boulogne and encamped in a meadow near the Djalhān bridge; Winimar left him there and went with his fleet to al-Ladhikiya, while the two rivals had a desperate fight, after which Baldwin withdrew to the east (Albert. Aquena., iii, c. 15, 59, in Migne, *op. cit.*, col. 446, 472). Tancred followed him, after he had imposed on the city "plus paucos quam principis leges" (Radulf. Cadom., c. 44). The Byzantine general Tatikios, who had joined the Crusaders to take over their conquests in name of the emperor, left them in the lurch in the beginning of Feb. 1098 at the siege of Antakīya and ceded to Bohemund the town of Tursūs (Tarsūs), Mamistra and Adana (Adana) (Raymond of Agiles, in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Hanover 1611, p. 146, 5). Bohemund only took possession of the towns of Tarsūs, 'Ain Zarba and al-Mas'isa in August (Will. of Tyre, vii, 2). After the town had again fallen to the Greeks for a period Tancred again took it in 1101 (Rad. Cad., c. 143), but had to hand it over with Tarsūs, Adana and 'Ain Zarba to Bohemund on his return from captivity in 1103 (Will. of Tyre, vii, 2, in Migne, *op. cit.*, col. 379). In the following year however, Longinus, Tarsūs, Adana and Māsurra were regained for Byzantium by the campaign of the general Monestras (Anna Comnena, *AAētiac*, ed. Reifferscheid, ii, 140, 1, who apparently did not recognise the identity of Māsurra with Mōlōv

series which she mentions several times). In the treaty between Bohemund and the emperor Alexios of Sept. 1108 the town was promised to the former (Anna Comnena, *op. cit.*, II. 218). Tancred having taken it in the preceding year with 10,000 men from the Byzantine general, the Armenian Aspietes (Anna Comnena, II. 247). At this time, of the quarters of the town one (probably Kafarbaia) was in ruins (Anna Comnena, *op. cit.*). Baldwin of Burg and Jocelin of Courtenay, who allied themselves against Tancred with Kogh Vasil of Kaisium, were supported by the latter with a detachment of 800 men and a body of Pechenegs, who were stationed in al-Masissa as Greek mercenaries (Matth. Edess., transl. Dulaurier, p. 266 sq. = *Rec. Hist. Crois., Doc. Arm.*, I. 86). The great earthquake of 1114 destroyed the town like many others in Cilicia and Syria (Smbat, in *Docum. Arm.*, I. 614).

Under the Frankish patriarchate of Antioch, Mopuestia-Mamistra was separated from the ecclesiastical province of Anazarbos and made an autocephalous metropolis (Michael Syrus, III. 191; recensions of the *Notitia Antiochena* of the Crusading period, MS. of Chalki [now in Leningrad, Russ. Publ. Libr., MS. Gr. 716, cf. Beneshevitz, *Bys.-Neugriech. Jahrb.*, V, 1927, p. 103, note], ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, in *Ελλην. Φιλολ. Σύλλογ., Μεμνημένα*, 1884, p. 65; *ἡ Μοψουεστία ἀποσπασθεῖσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀναζαρβῶς καὶ τῆς γῆς ἀντιοχείας*; cf. cod. Paris. suppl. grec. 1226, ed. Nau, *R. O. C.*, p. 235; Vatie, gr. 1455, ed. Gelzer, *Bys. Zeitschr.*, I, p. 250, N^o 165 and pass.). The *ἡσπία Μοψουεστίας* stretched (according to a work on the boundaries of the Antiochene dioceses, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *op. cit.*, p. 67) from Seleucia in Syria and Adana ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου ἑσπερταίου (now Osler in Kahat-lai) *ὡς τοῦ μεγάλου τετραπύλου ποταμοῦ*. The latter is undoubtedly identical with *αὐτὸς ὁ μέγας τετραπύλος Ἀδανῶς*, the Saitân, for the name Dajihân (probably first found in the 'Unaliyad court poet Adî b. al-Rikâ' c. 710 A.D.; Noldeke, *Z.D.M.G.*, XLIV, 1890, p. 699 sq.) and Saitân for Pyramos and Saros are no doubt derived from the names of the Biblical rivers Gihôn and Pijihôn (*Gen.*, II. 12) (wrongly explained from the Persian Dajihân in Comm. *Kyros et Jeanne en Asie Mineure*, Nancy 1904, p. 278, s.).

In 1132/33 the Rûpîd Levon I (Ἀρβόνας), son of Constantine, took the town (Arm. Mss., Msses, Mamestiz or Mamuestia from the Greeks (Cinnamos, I. 7; III. 14; Smbat Sparapet, *Chronicle*, in *Docum. Arm.*, I. 615). The brother of the emperor John II Comnenus went to him and Levon gave his sons his daughters as wives with the towns of al-Masissa and Adana as dowries. But when they quarrelled he took back from the Greeks all that he had given them, and Isaac had to flee with his sons to Sultân Ma'ad (Michel, *Syr.*, II. 230). Levon, falling through treachery into the hands of Raymond of Poitiers, had to cede (1136-1137) al-Masissa, Adana and Sarvantik'at (now Sawran Kal'e), but regained his liberty in a couple of months; he very soon retook these towns (*Docum. Arm.*, I. 152 sq. = *Chron. de Matthieu d'Edesse*, transl. Dulaurier, p. 457; Smbat, *op. cit.*, p. 616). The emperor John in 1137 (1448 Sel.) had his revenge on Levon. He invaded Cilicia, took Tarsus, Adana and al-Masissa, seized Levon himself with his wife and children and took them to Constantinople, where Levon subsequently died (Ibn al-Athîr, XI. 35;

Michael Syrus, III. 245; Gregor. presbyt., *Forts. d. Chronik des Mattheu*, transl. Dulaurier, p. 323; cf. *Docum. arm.*, I, p. xxxii, 1 and 153, 4; Will. of Tyr., XIV. 24; Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, p. 211). John installed Coloman (Colomannus), son of Boris and grandson of king Coloman of Hungary, as governor of Cilicia (Will. Tyr., XIV. 24, XII. 9, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, cci, col. 603, 756; a "Dux Ciliciæ" mentioned in *Regum et principum epistolæ*, N^o. 24, in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Franc.*, p. 1182, l. 46 and *passim*). When the emperor John died at Marj al-Dibâd) on April 8, 1143 (Will. of Tyr., XV. 22 sq.; Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, p. 228, 4), his successor Manuel I Comnenos had his body brought by boat from Mopuestia down the Pyramos to the sea and taken by sea to the capital (Nikeas Choniates, *Man. Komn.*, I, Bonn ed., p. 67).

Thoros II, the son of Levon who had escaped home from his confinement in Constantinople, was again able to cast off the Byzantine yoke. When in 1151 he took Maa and T'il (Tall Hamidin) from the Byzantines (Smbat, in *Doc. Arm.*, I. 619) and made their general Thomas prisoner, the emperor Manuel in the following year sent against him with 12,000 cavalry Andronikos Comnenos, whom he had appointed governor of Tarsus and al-Masissa (Gregor. presbyt., in *Doc. Arm.*, I. 167 = Matth. Edess., transl. Dulaurier, p. 334; Smbat, *Chron.*, in *Doc. arm.*, I. 619). Andronikos, who did not recognise Thoros as ruler of Asia Minor, advanced against al-Masissa but was surprised by the Armenians and put to an ignominious flight with his 12,000 men. Thus not only the town, which was very well supplied with provisions and military material of all kinds, fell into his hands, but also a great part of Cilicia (Gregor. presbyt., transl. Dulaurier, p. 334-336 = *Doc. Arm.*, I. 167 sq.; Smbat, *op. cit.*). The emperor, himself too weak to avenge the insult, twice induced by gifts the Sultân Kildj Arslân II (Gregor. wrongly: Ma'ad) of Konia to attack Thoros. The Sultân, who on the first occasion (1153 A.D.) was content with the defeat of the Armenians and the return of the lands taken from the Greeks, again attacked al-Masissa, 'Ain Zarba and Tall Hamidin (Arm. Tllu Hamtinoy) in 1156 but could do nothing against them and had finally to retire after heavy losses (Gregor., *op. cit.*, p. 338 = *Doc. Arm.*, I. 171).

The emperor Manuel himself passed through Cilicia in 1159 with a large army to the assistance of the Crusaders. Thoros had already retired to Valika in the desolate mountains (*Armen. Rhyma Chron.*, in *Doc. Arm.*, I. 505) when the emperor entered al-Masissa at the beginning of November, but he did no injury to any one there (Gregor., transl. Dulaurier, p. 353 sq. = *Doc. Arm.*, I. 187). The Frankish kings led by Baldwin came to pay homage to him in the town or on the adjoining *pratum palliorum* (as Will. of Tyr., III. 27 translates Marj al-Dibâd) where his court was held in camp for 7 months (Gregor., transl. Dulaurier, p. 358; Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, p. 298). Thoros was also able with great tact to become reconciled with him, and on acknowledging Byzantine suzerainty and ceding several towns in Cilicia, was recognised as "Sebastos" of Maa, Anazarbos and Valga (*Doc. Arm.*, I. 186; Smbat, *ibid.*, p. 622). His brother Mleh, who attempted his life while out hunting between al-Masissa and

Adana, was banished by Thoros and given by Nur al-Din the town of Kyrrus (Kyrrhos; Smbat, *loc. cit.*). After the death of Thoros of Msis (1168-1169; Smbat, p. 623), Mich (Arab. Malt) b. Liwan al-Armavir succeeded him and at first ruled only over the district of the passes (*Sifad al-Durūḥ*). In 1171 he surprised Count Stephen of Blois at Mamistra and plundered him (Will. of Tyre, x, 25-28). In 1172-1173, supported by troops of his ally Nur al-Din, he took from the Greeks Adana, al-Masyia and Tarsus (Ibn al-Athir, xi, 255; Kamāl al-Din, transl. in Röhrich, in *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge*, I, Berlin 1874, p. 336).

When Mich's successor Rūpēn III fell through treachery into the hands of Bohemund of Antioch, his brother Levon (II) obtained his release in 1184 by ceding al-Masyia, Adana and Tall Hamdūn (Tiln) and paying 3,000 dinars; immediately afterwards, Rūpēn retook these strongholds from the Franks (Mich. Syr., iii, 397; *Doc. arm.*, i, 194).

He'um, the nephew of the Catholicos Grigor IV and son of Cortvand of Tarsus, who came to Cilicia in 1189 with his brother Shahinshah, received from Levon II (1185-1219) his niece Aline, daughter of Rūpēn III, in marriage and the town of Msis, but died in the same year (Smbat, in *Doc. arm.*, i, 629; Marquart, *Südarmanien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, p. 481 sq.). The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in 1190 (1190) was about to go to Syria via Tarsus and al-Masyia when he met his tragic end in the Kalykainos (alleged [?]) letter of the Armenian Catholicos in the Shaddad, in *Rec. Hist. Orient. des Crois.*, iii, 162; a portion of his army thereupon went to Antioch via Tarsus, Mamistra and Thagis (Ilyā al-Muḥakkab; not *Portella*, the Syrian passes, with which Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerus.*, p. 530, identifies it).

Willbrand of Oldenburg who visited the East in the train of Duke Leopold VII of Austria and Steiermark and the Teutonic Grandmaster Hermann von Salza, came in the beginning of 1212 to Mamistra which he describes as follows: (Willbr., c. 18, ed. Laurent, *Pergrinationes*, Leipzig 1864, p. 175): „Hanc est civitas bona, super flumen riu, satis amena, unum habens circa se turritum, sed antiquitate corruum, paucos in quodam respectu habens inhabitatores, quibus omnibus rex illius terras imperat et dominatur". In the vicinity lay „quoddam castrum quod erat de patrimonio beati Pauli". . . . „et nunc temporis possidetur a Graecis". „In hac civitate [Mamistra] habetur sepulchrum beati Paulatensis. Ipse vere distat a Cammelle (cf. Tonnaschek, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1891, app. viii, p. 71) magnam distans". Levon II granted the republics of Genoa and Venice the privilege of having their own trading centres in al-Masyia, which could be reached by ship from the sea before the mouth of the Djahān became silted up (Alīshān, *Sisuman on Armenia-Cilicia*, p. 287). The attempt of Raymond Rūpēn of Antioch to seize the throne of Armenia after Levon's death in 1219 failed; he was, it is true, able to take Tarsus and attack al-Masyia but he was taken prisoner by Constantine of Barsberd and died in prison in 1222 (*Doc. arm.*, i, 514; Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerus.*, p. 741 sq.).

For a century the Rūpēnids ruled almost undisturbed in the town. Their glory reached its height under the splendour-loving He'um I (1219-1270). Here were held the annual festivals of the

Church at which numerous princes and nobles used to gather down to the last and difficult years of the king. Here was held the brilliant ceremony at which his 20-year old son Levon was dubbed knight. Hither the king brought the seat of government after the destruction of Sis (Alīshān, *Sisuman*, p. 287 sq.).

Bahars sent a punitive expedition against He'um in 664 (1266) under al-Malik al-Mansūr of Hama, who advanced as far as Ka'at al-'Amūdāin and into the district of Sis, while Saif al-Din Kils'ān took al-Masyia, Adana, Ayās and Tarsus (al-Makrizi, *Hist. d. Sult. Maml.*, transl. Quatremère, i/ii, 34 sq.; Abu 'l-Fida', *Annal. Musl.*, ed. Reiske, v, 18; al-Nuwayri, in Weil, *Geogr. d. Chal.*, iv, 56). Three years later (1269), the district of al-Masyia was visited by an earthquake (al-Suyūṭi, in *Doc. arm.*, ii, 1906, p. 772, note 1). Bahars (Aṭm. *Futūḥāt* = Arab. *Bundūḥāt*) himself in 673 (spring of 1275) took the field against Levon III, son of He'um, laid waste the whole of Cilicia as far as Konikos and stormed al-Masyia and Sis, the former on 26th March. The inhabitants were massacred, almost all the houses burned and the great bridge destroyed (Armen. *Kandaxayn Misyay*, i.e. *Kantarat al-Masyia*; cf. al-Makrizi, i/ii, 125 sq. with note 154; Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Fida', *Geogr. d. Mamlūk Sultanat*, ed. Blochet, in *Patrol. Orient.*, xiv, 389; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 531, 6; Smbat, *Chronik*, in *Doc. arm.*, i, 653; Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, p. 667; van Berchem, *C. I. A.*, i, 688, note 2). When in 697 (1297-1298) an army under the emir Saif al-Din Kipčak, the Na'ib of Dimashk, Fāris al-Din libek al-Sayt al-Zahiri, the Na'ib of Safad, Saif al-Din Bislār al-Mansūr and Saif al-Din 'Aṭa al-Salibi invaded the land of Sis, al-Masyia is not specially emphasised among the unimportant places taken like Tall Hamdūn, Hammū (Hunaimin), Ka'at Nadjma, al-Masyia, Sirfandikar, Hadjar Shughlān, al-Nukair and Zangjara (al-Makrizi, i/ii, 60-65; Muḥammad, *op. cit.*, p. 602; al-Nuwayri, in Blochet, *ibid.*). In 1322, the Egyptians crossed the Djahān by a bridge of boats, got behind the Armenians who had retired to Msis and inflicted a severe defeat upon them; among those who fell are mentioned the barons He'um of Diknuc, his brother Constantine, Wahram Lotik, Ōshin, the son of the marshal, along with 21 knights and many men (Smbat's Continuator, in *Doc. arm.*, i, 668). This authority also mentions a raid by an Egyptian force against al-Masyia (Mamvestia), Adana, al-Mallān (Mlun) and Tarsus in 1334-1335 (*Doc. arm.*, i, 671; Tonnaschek, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1891, part viii, p. 68). The last Egyptian invasion took place in 823 (1373-1374). Among the towns destroyed were Sis, Adana, al-Masyia and 'Ain Zarba, and Levon IV had to surrender in 1375 after a siege of nine months in Ghaban (*Doc. arm.*, i, 686, note 3). The town thus passed nominally into the *Futūḥāt al-Djahanīya* of the Mamlūk empire; it had, it is true, by now sunk into insignificance and it is not mentioned, for example, among the towns taken by Shahruwār in 1467 (Alīshān, *Sisuman*, p. 290).

Armenian sources mention 8 archbishops of the town from 1175 to 1370 (1175-1206 David, 1215 Johannes, 1266 Sina, 1306 Constantine 1316 John, 1332 Stephen, 1342 Basil, 1362-1370 unnamed; cf. Alīshān, *op. cit.*, p. 200). Michael Syrus knows only Job of about 800 A. D. (*Chron.*, transl.

Chabot, iii. 23 sq., 451, N^o. 27) and the Frankish writers from 1100 onwards Bartholomaeus, before 1234 Radulphus and in the years from 1162-1238 three or four more unnamed bishops (Albert Aquna, is. 16; Will. of Tyre, xiv. 10; Le Quien, *Oris. Christianus*, iii. 1198-1200; Röhrich, *Geogr. d. Kgr. Jerusalem*, p. 42, 202). On account of the many Egyptian invasions the Latin archbishopric was removed to Aylas by Pope John XXII in 1320 (Alighan, *Siswan*, p. 290).

After the fall of the kingdom of Little Armenia, the power of the Ramadân-Oghlu and Lijûn 'I-Kadr-Oghlu gradually spread in Cilicia. Selim I on his campaign against Egypt in 922 (1516) and on his return also preferred to keep to the east of their land (Tamschner, *Anatol. Wogenet.*, ii. 32). Missis has been Ottoman since that year, in which the decisive battle was fought on Mardj al-Dabik.

In Kafarbaiya a khân was built for caravans passing through in 1542 and restored in 1830 by Hasan Pasha. The Djahân bridge became useless in 1736 when the central arch collapsed; in 1766 this was repaired but it was blown up in 1832 on the retreat of the Turkish troops from the fighting at Balûn in order to hold up the advance of Ibrahim Pasha's pursuing army. As late as the middle of the sixteenth century it could only be crossed by an improvised wooden footbridge.

In modern times Missis is mentioned only by eastern pilgrims and travellers who at a rare only spent a short time there. Thus it was visited in 1432 by the Burgundian Bertrandon de la Brocquière ("Missis-rur-Jihân"), in the xvth century by P. Belon, 1682 the Mecca pilgrim Mehmed Edib, 1695 the Armenian Patriarch of Antiochia Makarios, 1704 Paul Lucas, 1736 Chevalier Otter, 1766 the Dane Carsten Niebuhr, 1813 Macd. Kinnear, 1834 Aocher Eloy, 1836 Colonel Chesney, 1840 Ainsworth, 1853 Victor Langlois, whose reports were exhaustively used by Carl Ritter (*Erkenntnis*, xix. 66-115). The "Meiges Gallien" visited by Ludwig von Rauter on July 8, 1568, is not (as in Röhrich-Meiser, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Al. Lande*, 1880, p. 434, note 43) al-Massisa, but Merket Kal'at on the Hâb Iskanderûn (Cilic.-Syr. passes). Somewhat fuller descriptions of the modern Missis and its ancient and mediæval ruins were given in the sixteenth century by Langlois, Alighan and at the beginning of the xath by Cousin (see *Bibliography*).

The stretch of the Baghdad railway from Derak south of the Taurus via Adana and Missis to Ma'mûra at the foot of the Amanus was opened on April 27, 1912. As a station on the railway (the station is actually 1½ miles N.W. of the place) the town gained a certain strategic importance in the Cilician campaign of the French in 1919-1920 (1919: settlement of about 1,2-1,500 Armenians; May 27-28, 1920: futile Turkish blockade of the garrison there, about a company strong; end of July: withdrawal of the troops to Adana; cf. E. Brémont, *La Cilicie en 1919-1920*, in *Rev. Érud. Arm.*, Paris 1920, I, p. 311, 360, 363, 365). After the Turkish occupation the newly settled Armenians were probably exterminated in the usual way. The importance of the town has now passed to the neighbouring Ijihan.

According to the Arab geographers, al-Massisa lay on the Djahân (Taurus, sometimes confused by the Byzantine authors with the Euphr. Arab.

Sulhân, with which it seems to have had at one time a common mouth: George Cedren, ii. 362; Anna Comm., ii. 147), 1-2 days' journey from Baiyâs and one from 'Aln Zarba and Adhana, 12 mil from the Mediterranean coast. The sea could be seen from the Friday mosque in the town; in front of the town lay a beautiful fertile plain (the ancient 'Akhin *radîa*). Al-Massisa lying on the right bank was connected with Kafarbaiya by an ancient stone bridge built by Constantine and restored by Justinian. The country round was rich in gardens and cornfields, watered by the Djahân. According to Yâqût, the town originally had a wall with 3 gates and Kafarbaiya, one with 4 gates. A speciality of the town were the valuable fur-cloaks exported all over the world. Ten miles from al-Massisa, which is somewhat inaccurately placed by Ibn Khurdâdhbih, Yâqût and others on the Djahân al-Lukkâm (Ammos), was the plain of Mardj al-Dabik, which is often mentioned in the records of the fighting between the Mamlûks and Little Armenia (probably the "ager Megumentiar" on which Cicero encamped: *ad fam.*, iii. 8). In it, N.E. of the town on the road to Sin, was the fort of al-'Amûdâin (al-Mağrist, ed. Quatremère, ii. 61; cf. Kal'at al-'Amûdâin in Abu 'l-Fidâ', *Ann. Mus.*, ed. Reiske, v. 18; located by Alighan, *Siswan*, p. 225 sq. 100 far east in "Hémétie-Kaléssi"). A field of Mardj al-Atrâkhûn is also mentioned near al-Massisa (Yâqût, iv. 487; Saif al-Din, *Murâjîd*, iii. 74). Tall Hâmid, a strong fortress of the Dughlûr al-Massisa, corresponds to the modern Hâmidîye, now called Dîhân (*Z.D.M.G.*, xi. 191, 200; Yâqût, i. 866; Saif al-Din, *Murâjîd*, i. 211; Ibn al-Shihna, *Bairut* ed., p. 339). There also was Tall Hûm (Yâqût, i. 867; *Murâjîd*, i. 211; Ibn al-Shihna, *ibid.*; exact site unknown). Al-'Ain at the foot of the Djahân al-Lukkâm, over which went the Darb al-'Ain pass, was also one of the forts of al-Massisa (Yâqût, iii. 756; *Murâjîd*, ii. 293); on the frontier against Halab lay Miha (q.v.; cf. van Berchem, *Voyage en Syrie*, i, p. 257, s). Hîsa Sinân (al-Balâdhuri, p. 165; Yâqût, iii. 155) is probably also to be sought near al-Massisa. A pass called Thaniyat al-'Uhab, to be distinguished from that of the same name near Damascus, was in the region of al-Massisa (Yâqût, i. 936; *Murâjîd*, i. 230). Even the remote fortress of Samûlû (on its site cf. Tomaschek, *Festungskritik f. H. Kiepert*, p. 144) was sometimes reckoned in the Syrian Dughlûr and located near al-Massisa and al-Tarûs (Balâdhuri, p. 170; Dhamâlû; Yâqût, iii. 416; *Murâjîd*, ii. 167; Byzantine *re xarpov Tapaλoβoc*). al-Safâf on the present Sûgûdîlû (Z.D.M.G., xi. 180; Reiske on Abu 'l-Fidâ', *Ann.*, ii. 649, note 76 according to Hâdîdî Khâlîfa: "Hîsa Safâf, that is Sûgûd") is also reckoned by Yâqût (iii. 401) to the marches of al-Massisa. Not far from the town was a Syrian monastery, Gawkâth (mentioned about 1200 A.D.: Barhebr., *Chron. eccl.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i. 624; in Alighan, *Siswan*, p. 295; Qokkath, probably identical with *Joekith*). The neighbouring fortress of Adamodana (now Tamlu-Kal'e) and Cumbetfort ("in territorio Melon", i.e. of Milu, Arabic: al-Mallûn) were according to Willbrand of Oldenburg (*op. cit.*) about 1212 in the possession of the Teutonic Order (*Allemani*). The Venetians had a church in al-Massisa (*Gestes des Chiprois*, in *Doc. arm.*, ii. 831). Armenian authors mention there the churches of St. Sarkis, Thomas and Stephan (Alighan, p. 288 sq.).

The present Missis, (frequently also written Missis,

cf. Taeschner, *Türk. Bibl.*, xxii., pl. 16 and 17), is an insignificant village lying on almost exactly 37° N. Lat. (pict. in Alihan, p. 283), which is striches along the heights of the right bank of the Džahān-lai. A stone bridge with nine arches (in Baderker, *Konstantinopel*, 1914, p. 303 wrongly: "five arched") the foundations of which are in part ancient (pict. in Alihan, *Sinuous*, p. 289; Lohmann, *Im Kloster zu Sir*, p. 13), leads to the left bank where pieces of walls and inscriptions still mark the site of the ancient Mopruheria. Here lay the medieval Kafarbaia; while this form is the one in general use in Arabic texts and in modern authors, al-Idrisi (transl. Jaubert, ii. 133) and Hāšid al-Khalifa (*Zihān-namā*, Constantinople 1145 [1732], p. 602) have Kafarbiā (Taeschner, *Türk. Bibl.*, xxii., p. 145, 1), as Langlois (*Voyage*, p. 462) and others apparently heard on the spot. The name is unknown there now (Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, xlv. part vi., p. 11 sq.; the Turkish General Staff map in the German version of July 1913, Sheet Adams, calls the two halves of the town "Missis Nahije" and "Haranije"). According to Ibn al-Shihna (Bairūt ed., p. 179), Kafarbaia was also called "Little Baghdad".

Missis lies where the river emerges from a gorge with walls of yellow loess at which the last foothills of the highlands between the Saihān (now Saihūn) and Džahān (now Džahān-lai) in the N.W. and the Džahān Nūr (Nūr Digh, 2,200 feet; pict. in Alihan, p. 284), a part of the Džahān Miya (*Stadiarum*, *sur. magn.*; *Itāqes* 802), in the southeast meet. This ridge, which takes its name from the town, lying in the centre of the Cilician plain on the left bank of the lower Džahān and linked up with the Amanos in the east, is celebrated, particularly in the Džahān Nūr, for its rich flora, which was studied by the Austrian Theodor Kotschy on 24th–26th April 1859. On account of its medicinal herbs, Ibn al-Rūmiya in his commentary on the book of Dioscorides says that many writers took al-Māsiya to be the city of the wise Hippocrates (Ibnkrat) who, however, according to others, belonged to Hims (Mafaddal b. Abi 'l-Fadā'il, in *Fatrah. Orient.*, xiv. 393; Ibn al-Shihna, Bairūt, p. 180).

Near the mouth of the Džahān, which at one time was navigable for small ships up to al-Māsiya, lay al-Mallān, the site of which is not known (Māsiya; now rather Bebell than Karateh; cf. R. Kiepert, *Form. orb. antiqua*, viii., text p. 19). The Frankish writers also speak of a "portus de Malmistia" (Raimundus de Aguilera, *Historia Francorum qui cepit Jerusalem*, c. xi.; cf. *Doc. arm.*, i., p. xlv, note 1), probably on the "fauces fluminis Malmistia", where al-Idrisi mentions the place al-Buḡd (*Z. D. P. V.*, viii. 141; Tomaschek, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, xxiv., 1891, fig. viii., p. 69 writes al-Buḡd).

Bibliography: al-Khāziri, *Kitaḥ Sūrat al-Aḡḡ*, ed. v. Mik, in *Bibl. arab. Hiter. u. Geogr.*, iii., Leipzig 1926, p. 20 (Nº. 275); al-Battāni, *al-Ziḡ*, ed. Nallino, ii. 173; iii. 337 (Nº. 121); al-Iṣṭakhri, *B. G. A.*, i. 63; Ibn Hawkal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 122; al-Māhḍi, *B. G. A.*, iii. 22, 35; Ibn al-Fāhḥ, *B. G. A.*, v. 7, 25, 112 sq., 116, 118, 123, 295, 300; Ibn Khurdādhbih, *B. G. A.*, vi. 99, 108, 170, 173, 177; Kudāma, *ibid.*, p. 229, 233, 258; Ibn Rusta, *B. G. A.*, vii. 83, 91, 97, 107; al-Ya'qūbi, *ibid.*, p. 238, 362; al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitaḥ al-Tawārikh*, *B. G. A.*, viii. 58, 152; do., *Murūḡ al-Džahān*, ed. Defremery-Sanguinetti, viii. 295; al-Hamdāni, *Sifat Džahān al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, i. 2; al-Idrisi,

ed. Gildemeister, in *Z. D. P. V.*, viii. 24; al-Idrisi, ed. Mehten, p. 224; Abu 'l-Fida', ed. Reinaud, p. 251; al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Bulḍān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 165 sq., 168; Ibn al-Athir, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, Indices, ii. 809; al-Tahari, *Ar.*, Indices, p. 778; al-Ya'qūbi, *Tawārikh*, ed. Hostama, ii. 321, 337, 460, 541; Ya'qut, *Muḡam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 82; iv. 287, 558, 579; Saḥ al-Din, *Marāḡid al-ʿIḡḡ*, ed. Juybol, i. 255; ii. 502; iii. 112, 124; Hamū Allāh al-Muḡawī, *Nashat al-ʿIḡḡ*, ed. Le Strange, p. 209, transl. p. 201; al-Makrizi, *Hist. des Sult. Mamlouks de l'Égypte*, ed. Quatremère, i/ii., 1840, p. 123, 124, note 154; ii/ii., 1842, p. 260; al-Khalqandari, *Saḡ al-ʿIḡḡ*, Cairo, iii. 237; iv. 77, 82, 134, transl. in Gaudesroy-Demonbynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamlouks*, Paris 1923, p. cvi., 9, 19, 100; Ibn al-Shihna, *al-Durr al-munīḡḡḡ fī Ta'rikh al-ʿIḡḡ*, ed. Sarkis, Bairūt 1909, p. 178–181, cf. Index, p. 292; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 26 sq., 37 sq., 62 sq., 78, 82, 505; do., *Eastern Caliphate*, p. 128, 130–132, 141; *Résumé hist. arabe*, *Docum. armen.*, i., Index, p. 824; K. Ritter, *Erdbunde*, xix., Berlin 1859, p. 96–115 (the older travellers are given); Salut Martin, *Mém. Hist. et géogr. sur l'Arménie*, i., Paris 1818, p. 199 (according to F. Cramér, *Armen. Geogr.*, ii. 995; iii. 50, 157, 335); Leake, *Journal of a tour in Asia Minor*, London 1824, p. 217; Barker, *Lares and Penates*, London 1853, p. 34, note 2, 111; J. v. Hammer, *Geogr. der Hebräer*, i., Darmstadt 1842, p. 291; Viet. Langlois, *Voyage en Cilicie, Mopruheria*, in *Rev. Arch.*, xii., 1855, p. 410–420; F. X. Schaller, *Cilicia*, in *Peterm. Mitteil.*, Erg.-H., cxli. 40; C. Favre and B. Mandrot, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 1878, Jan.-Febr., and in *Globus*, xxiv., 1878, p. 236; Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, 1890, p. 385 and Index, p. 483; Tomaschek, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, 1891, part viii., p. 68–71, 76; V. Caillet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii., Paris 1891, p. 42 sq.; Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, xlv., 1896, part vi., p. 11 sq.; Levond Alihan, *Sinuous en l'Arménie-Cilicie*, Venise 1899; Ernst Lohmann, *Im Kloster zu Sir*, Striegau 1904, p. 3, 15, 31; A. Janke, *Auf Alexanders d. Gr. Pfaden*, Berlin 1904, p. 76; G. Cousin, *Kyros le Jeune en Asie Mineure*, Nancy 1904 (Paris, these Let. 1904–1905), p. 277 sq., 436–438; G. L. Bell, *Rev. Arch.*, iv., ser. vii., 1906, p. 586; Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen*, i. (*Türk. Biblioth.*, xxii.), 1924, p. 102, 145, 151; ii. (*ibid.*, xxiii.), 1926, p. 30; do., *al-Umarī's Bericht über Anatalien in seinem Werke Muḡḡḡ al-ʿIḡḡ fī mamālik al-ʿIḡḡ*, i., Leipzig 1929, p. 66.

(E. HONIGMANN)

MISWAK (A.), a term denoting the tooth-brush as well as the tooth-pick. The more usual term is *siḡḡ* (plural *siḡḡ*) which means also the set of cleansing the teeth. Neither of the two terms occurs in the *Kurʿān*. In *Hadīth* *miḡḡ* is not used, *siḡḡ*, on the other hand, frequently. In order to understand its use, it is necessary to know that the instrument consists of a piece of smooth wood, the end of which is incised so as to make it similar to a brush to some extent. The piece of wood used as a tooth-pick must have been smaller and thinner,

as appears e.g. from the tradition in which it is related that Muhammad one day received a visitor and kept the tooth-pick "at the end of his tongue" (Mir, *Tahara*, trad. 45).

Concerning Zaid b. Khālid it is related that he used to sit in the mosque keeping the tooth-pick behind his ear, "just as a writer will keep his pen" (Abū Dāwūd, *Tahara*, bāb 25; al-Tirmidhī, *Tahara*, bāb 18). When Muhammad was in his last hours, there entered a man with a piece of wood fit for a *miswak*; 'Alīsh took and chewed it, so as to make it smooth (Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, bāb 83).

In general Hadith emphasises the value attached by Muhammad to the *miswak*. When he entered his house, his first movement was towards it (Muslim, *Tahara*, trad. 43; Abū Dāwūd, *Tahara*, bāb 27). His servant 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd has received the epithet of *ghāṣṣ al-miswak* "he who used to take care of Muhammad's *miswak*" (Bukhārī, *Faṣṣat al-Salāh*, bāb 20). When Muhammad awoke at night, he cleansed his mouth by means of the *miswak* before he washed himself and performed night-prayer (Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 8; *Wuḍū'*, bāb 73; *Tahafī-ḡud*, bāb 9; Abū Dāwūd, *Tahara*, bāb 30; Muslim, *Tahara*, trad. 46, 47). When fasting, Muhammad also made use of the *miswak* (Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii, 445, 446).

The *miswak* is chiefly used before *wuḍū'* as a preparation before the *ṣalāt*. It is said that this was the practice of Muhammad (Muslim, *Tahara*, trad. 48) who attached so great a value to it, that he would have declared it obligatory before every *ṣalāt*, were it not that he feared thereby to overburden his community (Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 8; Muslim, *Tahara*, trad. 42; Abū Dāwūd, *Tahara*, bāb 25; Tirmidhī, *Tahara*, bāb 18). In one tradition it is said, as a matter of fact, that the obligatory use of the *miswak* before every *ṣalāt* was introduced by Muhammad as a compensation for the abolition of the obligatory *wuḍū'* before every *ṣalāt* (Abū Dāwūd, *Tahara*, bāb 25). In another tradition (Nasā'ī, *Ḍuḥā*, bāb 66) the use of the *miswak* is called obligatory before the Friday-service.

The appreciation of the *miswak* which appears from all these traditions culminates in the fact that it belongs to the customs of the "natural religion" (*fiṣṣa*: Abū Dāwūd, *Tahara*, bāb 29) or to the ordinances of the Apostles (Tirmidhī, *Nisā'*, bāb 1).

Nevertheless Fih does not declare the use of the *miswak* obligatory in any case. There is general agreement on this point. According to some traditions, however, the Zāhirites did declare the use of the *miswak* obligatory before the *ṣalāt*, but these traditions are not generally accepted. According to Fih the use of the *miswak* is recommended at all times, especially in 3 cases: in connection with the *ṣalāt*, under all circumstances; in connection with the *ṣawā'*; with the recitation of the *Kur'ān*; after sleep; and as often as the mouth has lost its freshness, e.g. after long silence.

According to the school of Shāfi' the use of the *miswak* is blamable (*makrūh*) between noon and sunset at the time of fasting; for the nasty smell (*ḥalāṭ*) of the faster's breath is believed by Allāh (cf. Nasā'ī, *Tahara*, bāb 6).

It is recommended to use a *miswak* of arid-wood of medium hardness, neither too dry nor too moist; to cleanse the palate as well as all sides of the teeth, beginning from the right side of the mouth, moving the *miswak* upwards and downwards in order not to hurt the alveoles.

Bibliography: References to Hadith in Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Mus. Tradition*, s.v. Tooth-brush; the juridical points of view in al-Nawawī's commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, Bihāq 1290, i, 325; Wellhausen, *Reise arab. Heidentums*, 2nd ed., p. 172; Goldschmidt, in *E. H. R.*, xliii, 15-19; Buḥārī, *Das Leben Muhammads*, p. 354, note 94. (A. J. WENSINCK) MITA. [See MUR'A.]

MITHKĀL (مِثْكَال), the weight of a thing; this is the meaning of the word in the *Kur'ān*; a particular weight for weighing precious metals, jewels, drugs, etc., probably the oldest unit in the Arab Troy system. The *mithkāl* corresponds to the Roman solidus of the Constantinian system which the Arabs adopted in Syria. 'Abd al-Malik took it over for his unit of gold when he reformed the currency in 77 (696). His *dirham* weighed a *mithkāl* of 65.5 grains (4.25 grammes), hence *mithkāl* is used as a synonym for *dirham*. The silver *dirham* weighed $\frac{7}{10}$ of a *mithkāl* and the *mithkāl* contains 24 *ḳirāts*. Slight variations in weight are found in the different parts of the Muhammadan world.

Bibliography: See the bibliographies to the articles *DIRHAM* and *ḌARHĀ*. (J. ALLAN)

MI'WADH. [See HAMĀ'IL.]

MI'ZAF, **MI'ZAFĀ** (مِزَاف, plur. *Ma'zāif*). Among the various classes of musical instruments dealt with by Arabic, Persian and Turkish writers on music is one which embraces those with "open strings" (*awṣar musṭafā*) such as the lyre or *chithara*, harp, psaltery and dulcimer. Among them are instruments grouped as *ma'zāif*. Nowadays, this term refers to all stringed and wind instruments (*M. F. O. B.*, vi, 28) but in the Middle Ages it had a more restricted meaning and stood for "instruments of open strings". Al-Djawharī (d. ca. 1003) and al-Saghānī (d. 1061) define them as "musical instruments which you beat upon as in the 'ūd (lute), *ṭunbūr* (pandore) and the like", meaning by this that *ma'zāif* were played with the fingers or plectrum in the same way as the 'ūd and *ṭunbūr* were. The *Taḥf al-Arūs* includes the *tanbur* among the *ma'zāif*, but it is an erroneous deduction from the saying of Umar, *marra bi-'aṣf duffin* ("he passed by the sounding of the *duff*"), which has misled many writers (cf. Sachse, *Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente*, s.v.). The author of *Maṣābiḥ al-Uṣm* (xth cent.) states that the *ma'zafa* was "a stringed instrument belonging to the people of al-'Irāk" (p. 237), whilst al-Mutarriṣī (xiith cent.) says that the *ma'zaf* was "made by the people of al-Yaman", a provenance which Ibn Khurdaḡbīh (d. 912) also gives the instrument (al-Mas'ūdi, viii, 95). A more precise classification is allowed by al-Shāhīn who includes the *ma'zaf* among barbitons (*barābīf*) and lyres (*ṣayrān*), which agrees with our oldest authority, al-Lāṭif b. al-Muḥaffar (viiith cent.), who says that both *ma'zaf* and *ma'zafa* were terms given to "an instrument of many strings", whilst al-Fārābī (d. 950) specifically denominates *ma'zāif* as instruments of "open strings" (Kösegarten, *Lib. cant.*, p. 77, 110). In the *Kitāb al-Aghāni* the *ma'zafa* is rarely placed in the hands of the minstrels, probably because it was of inartistic merit. One performer on the instrument, Muhammad b. al-Hārith b. Baskhīr (ixth cent.), was asked sarcastically if it were a rat-trap (*Aghāni*², x, 153).

Tradition avers that *ma'zāif* were "invented" by Jilāl the daughter of Lamak, who was of the

seventh generation from Adam (Al-Mas'ūdi, viii, 89). Since there was a *ḥadīth* condemning *ma'āzif* as signs of the end of the world (al-Tirmidhi, ii, 33) it is quite likely that the *fuḡāḡ* thought it consistent with policy to make *ḥīlāl* or *ḥīlāl* ("error, destruction") the originator of these *ma'āzif* or "forbidden pleasures". On the other hand, we read that "David the Prophet laid a *ma'āzif* on which he used to play when he recited the psalms" (*ḥīlāl al-Farid*, iii, 189), which was an echo of the Jewish tradition that he was an adept on the *kinār* (I Samuel, xvi, 16, 23). The name may be a survival from the days of belief in sympathetic magic. The voice of the *ḥīlāl* was termed the *ḥīlāl*, and the spiritual world could be conjured by the sounds of the *ma'āzif*. In Islāmic times musicians claimed that their music was inspired by the *ḥīlāl*. The Greek *μάγισσις* was an instrument of the same class as the *ma'āzif*. It was of Lydian origin and the name is suspiciously like the Semitic one.

Lyre and cithara. Although we see these instruments in the hands of the ancient Semites on the monuments they do not appear to have had acceptance among the musicians of Islāmic times except with the *fallāḥin*, unless the seven-stringed *manāḡ* (= *manāḡ*) of Khurāsān was such an instrument (al-Mas'ūdi, viii, 90). Both words are of Greek origin and they appear in Arabic as *lūr* and *ḥīḡāra* generally. In Palestine and Egypt to-day, a primitive type of lyre is known under the name of *ḡubūra ḡubūriya* or *ḡubūra (kinnara) ḡubūriya*. Villoteau (*Descr. de l'Égypte, état mod.*, i, 918) and Saint-Saens (Lavigueur, *Encyc. de la musique*, i, 528) have shown that much of the ancient Greek method of lyre-playing still obtains in the modern Egyptian *ḡubūra*-playing. It is worthy of notice that the Arabic word for striking the *ḡubūra* strings is *ḡarraka*, and this is practically identical with the Greek *ḡarra*.

Harp. Whilst we possess an actual example of a Sumerian harp with the sound-chest below the strings, this type does not seem to have had any vogue with the Arabs or Persians in artistic music, and is only found among the peasantry. In Palestine and Upper Egypt to-day it is called the *ḡubūra ḡubūriya* and *nanga*. The harp with the sound-chest above the strings has been a far more important instrument with the Semites and is to be found in the Assyrian sculptures (cf. the Assyrian word *ḡarraka* and the Ethiopic *ḡarraka*). That extremely chatty Turkish writer Ewliya Celebi says that this instrument, which the Persians called the *ḡang*, was "invented" by Pythagoras to solace Solomon (*Travels*, i/ii, 227), and even al-Shālhi says that it was of Byzantine (*Rūm*) origin (fol. 15). Yet Ibn Khurdādhbih and al-ḡirāḡ show that it was peculiar to the Persians and, indeed, the type may be found on the Sāsānian sculptures (Ker Porter, *Travels*, ii, 175). The Arabs called it the *ḡank* and/or *ḡanj* (cf. al-ḡawālīqī, ed. Sachau, p. 97). It may be that the *ḡank* and *ḡanj* were different types of harp, the Persian and Arabian. There were certainly two types, the straight sound-chest and the crooked. In the *Maḡāzī al-ʿUḡūm* the Byzantine *ḡalḡāḡ* (*ḡaḡḡāḡ*) and *lūr (ḡāḡā)* are likened to the *ḡank* and *ḡanj* respectively. Among the Arabs the *ḡank* is mentioned as early as al-Aḡḡā Maimūn (d. ca. 629). Al-Fārābī devotes a section in his *Kḡawāḡ al-Mūsīqī* to *ma'āzif*, *ḡubūḡ* and/or *ḡubūḡ*, and

other instruments "in which there is made to every note, according to its state, a solitary string", and he shows them strung with both fifteen (diatonic) and twenty-five (chromatic) strings (Kosegarten, l. c.). Both Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037) and Ibn Zayla (d. 1048) deal with the *ḡanj*, whilst in the *Kana al-Tuḡaf* (xivth century) and the works of Ibn ḡhāḡī (d. 1435) the *ḡang* is fully described. The oblique sound-chest was 109 cm. long, and the handle (*ḡastā*) 81 cm. long. From the sound-chest to the horizontal bar below twenty-four or twenty-five strings of goat's hair were stretched, being fastened to metal pegs (*maḡḡāḡ*). Some players even used thirty-five strings so as to embrace the scale of the Systematists. The face of the sound-chest was of skin, but the remainder of the framework was of vine or plum tree wood. The handle was placed under the left arm (cf. the pictures in MSS.) and the fingers of both hands were used in performance, plectra (*ḡalḡāḡ*) being fastened to the finger tips. Nowadays the harp has fallen into complete desuetude among the Arabs and Turks. Even among the Persians it has become rare, and in its modern form it was little different from the occidental instrument (Advielle, *La musique chez les Persans*, p. 13), whilst the instrument shown by Kaempfer (xviii century) under this name was a zither. In 1638 Ewliya Celebi found only twelve players of the *ḡang* in Constantinople because, he said, it was a difficult instrument to play (*Travels*, i/ii, 234). At this time the Turkish *ḡang* had forty strings, and a very large instrument of the xvth (not xvii) century is given by Engel (*Mus. Instr. in the South Kensington Museum*, p. 59).

Although the "humped back" of the *ḡang* or *ḡank* became a favourite theme for poets, and it was certainly the best known type, yet an instrument with a "straight back" was also to be found. A more pronounced "hump" existed in a type mentioned by Ibn ḡhāḡī and called, probably on account of this feature, the *ḡirī*. It was strung similarly to the *ḡang* but had a wooden instead of a skin face on the sound-chest, and its tuning-pegs were also of wood.

A Byzantine harp called the *ḡalḡāḡ* (erroneously written *ḡalyāḡ*, *ḡalyāḡ* [cf. the art. *SHALYAK*, which clashes with the opinion of the present writer, Red.], or *ḡallāḡ* in most dictionaries and MSS.) was also known to the Arabs. It was actually a survival of the old Greek *ḡaḡḡāḡ*, and is described in the *Maḡāzī al-ʿUḡūm* as "an instrument of the Greeks (*Yūḡāḡāḡ*) and Byzantium (*Rūm*) resembling the *ḡank*" (p. 236). According to Ibn Khurdādhbih it had twenty-four strings (al-Mas'ūdi, viii, 91; cf. Farmer, *Byzantine musical instruments in the ninth century*, p. 49). Ibn Sīnā classes it with the *ḡanj* among the instruments with "open strings" stretched across a space.

Psalttery. In describing these instruments with "open strings" stretched across a surface, both Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zayla mention a particular type named the *ḡaḡḡāḡ*. Whilst the name suggests a "long necked" instrument, the details given of strings of different lengths but identically situated bridges (*ḡawālīqī*), compel one to recognize in it a trapezoidal psalttery, one species of which was known later as the *ḡaḡḡāḡ*. The word *ḡaḡḡāḡ* also stood for "phoenix", and we know that the Greeks of old had an instrument called the *ḡaḡḡāḡ*. This

may account for both the instrument and the name among the Arabs. It is not mentioned however, after the 11th century.

The *ḥanūn* [q. v.], the present-day psaltery of the Arabs and Turks, is said by Ibn Ghāibī to have been invented by Plato, although the instrument as known in the 12th century is attributed to al-Fārābī (Ibn Khallikān, *Biog. Dict.*, iii, 309). The word itself is derived from the Greek *ḥanōn*. Although the instrument is delineated in the various MSS. of the Syriac lexicon of Bar Bahlūl (11th century) sub "kithara", yet the name *ḥanūn* is not given. It is mentioned in the *Thesaurus* and *One Night* (ed. Macnaghten, 49th and 149th nights), and in one place is designated the *ḥanūn miṣrī* ("Egyptian psaltery"). In Spain it was particularly favoured and al-Shaḥūdī (d. 1231) includes it among the Andalusian instruments manufactured at Seville (al-Makkārī, *Analekter*, ii, 143—144). In the Persian *Kanz al-Tuhaf* and in Ibn Ghāibī it is described in detail. The shallow, flat, trapezoidal sound-chest, 9 cm. deep, was made of vine or plum tree wood. The lengths of the bass and treble sides were 81 and 40.5 cm. respectively, whilst the oblique side was 74.25 cm. It was mounted with sixty-four strings (seventy-two) in Ibn Ghāibī, arranged trichordally. Although the *ḥanūn* has fallen into disuse in Persia, it is still a great favourite in the Maghrib, Egypt, Syria and Turkey, where it is to be found strung trichordally with from fifty-one to seventy-five strings.

A rectangular type of psaltery of greater compass was the *anṣab*. It was invented by Ḥafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min (d. 1294) and a design is sometimes to be found in his *Kitāb al-Awāl* (see Farmer, *Arabic musical instr. in the Bodleian Library*, frontispiece). Its features are also fully discussed in the *Kanz al-Tuhaf* and by Ibn Ghāibī. Its dimensions were 74.25 × 54 cm., whilst the depth of the sound-chest was 27 cm. 108 strings were mounted on the instrument.

Dulcimer. Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zayla describe an instrument with "open strings" played on with beating rods (*maṣṣūṭ*) which is called the *ḥanūn* [Chinese *san*]. This is clearly the dulcimer, later to be generally known as the *sanfur* or *sanfur* (also written *sanfur*, *sanfur* and *sanfur*), a word derived immediately from the Aramaic, but probably finally traceable to the Greek *ψαλτήριον*. Indeed, it is invariably found in the hands of Jews and Greeks. It is of similar structure to the *ḥanūn*, but with two of its sides oblique instead of one. The strings, which are mounted dichordally in Egypt, are of metal and are beaten with sticks (*maṣṣūṭ*) instead of plectra as in the *ḥanūn*. We find it mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) and al-Haithamī (d. 1163), but its popularity was but faint among the Arabs. In the 17th century it is doubtfully acknowledged by Russell (i, 152) and Niebuhr (*symphonies*). In Egypt, both Villotenu and Lane show that it was only to be found in the hands of Jews, Greeks and other foreign residents, whilst native writers like Mugharā and Darwish Muḥammad make no mention of it. To-day it is practically unknown in Syria and Egypt. In the Maghrib it is unnoticed by Huet, Christianowitch and Salvador-Daniel, and although it is dealt with by Delphin and Guin, it is scarcely known to-day. In Persia however, it obtained greater recognition. In the 17th century it is mentioned by Chardin,

but not by Kaempfer, whilst Advielle in the 18th century gives both a design and a description. In Turkey, whilst the word is registered in the 17th century by Meninski, it is not mentioned by Ḥajjī Khalīfa nor described by Ewliyā Çelebi, in their lists of Turkish musical instruments. In the next century however, it is recognised by Toderini, and to-day the *sanfur* is one of the most esteemed instruments in the country, where it may be seen in two forms: the *sanfur turkī* and the *sanfur fransīzī*. The former, exclusively used by the Jews, has 160 strings, grouped in fives, giving thirty-two notes, a two octave chromatic scale. The latter, which is confined to the Turks, was introduced from the West about the middle of the last century by a certain Hilmi Bey. It is mounted with 105 strings, also grouped in fives, which are placed on the sound-chest in the Occidental way.

Bibliography: Farmer, *History of Arabian music*, London 1929; do., *Studies in oriental musical instruments*, London 1931; do., *Historical facts for the Arabian musical influence*, London 1931; Kosegarten, *Alī ḥafanīnīn liber cantilinarum magnus*, Greifswald 1840—1842; Land, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la gamme arabe*, Leyden 1884; D'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, I, al-Fārābī, Paris 1930; Ibn Ibn Sīnā, *al-Shifā'* (India Office MS., No. 1811, fol. 173); Ibn Zayla (British Museum MS. Or., No. 2361, fol. 235v.); *Kanz al-Tuhaf* (British Museum MS. Or., No. 2361, fol. 263—264v.); Ibn Ghāibī (Bodleian Library MS., Marsh, No. 828, fol. 78); al-Mas'ūdī, Paris ed., see above; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, Cairo 1887—1888, as cited above; Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique*; al-Shalīḥī (Madrid MS., No. 603); Z. D. P. V., Leipzig 1927, c. 19; al-Haithamī, *Staats. Bibl.*, Berlin, No. 5517, fol. 24v; Niebuhr, *Reise in Arabie*, Amst. 1776—1780, p. 143; Kaempfer, *Amoen. Exot.*, Lemgo 1712; Russell, *Natural hist. of Aleppo*, London 1794; Ibn Khaldūn, N.E., xx, 412; *Liber Majnūn al-Olīm*, ed. Van Vloten, Leyden 1895; and authorities quoted in the article. For other works see those quoted by Farmer, *Studies in oriental musical instruments*, p. 6. (H. G. FARMER)

AL-MIZAN, the balance, is the nomen instrumenti from *māzanā* "to weigh", which means to weigh in the ordinary sense and also to test the level of, like the Latin *libra*. Here we shall discuss:

1. The various instruments used for weighing in the ordinary sense; brief notes are added on the ascertainment of specific gravities. 2. Levelling instruments.

F. BALANCES.

The steelyard (*al-ḥarāṣūn*, q. v.) has already been dealt with; the general principles of the balance are also discussed in that article. — The usual balance with two arms of equal length had the same shape among the Muslims as in ancient times and at all periods in the west; this we know from extant specimens and illustrations in various works, notably in al-Khazini, in a manuscript of al-Khawarizmi with reference to the constellation *Libra* (fig. 1), in a manuscript of Hariri, in the *ʿAṣn-i ʿAshārī* of Abū ʿI-Faḍl (fig. 2). In the beautiful manuscript from which Ch. Schefer published the *Sefer Names* of Naṣr-i Khawar,

on p. 88 in the illustration of the Masūd al-Akṣā there is a balance labelled *ṭarāz* (*Safer Namāh*, *Relation du voyage de Nassirī Khawran*, vii. Ch.

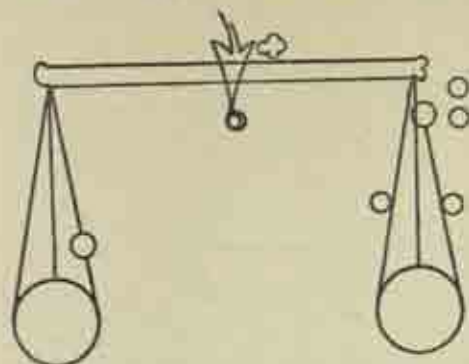


Fig. 1.

Schefer, *Publications de l'école des langues orientales vivantes*, ii. ser., i., Paris 1881). The common balance is called *mīzān* but in the Qur'ān we also

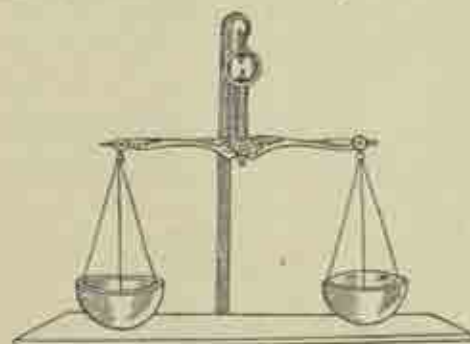


Fig. 2.

find *ḥusfā*, which, according to al-Tha'labī, is a loanword. Other names are *shākin*, which does not only mean the beam and tongue of the balance

and is contrasted by the *ḥawān al-ṣafā* to the *ḥabībān* (steelyard), also *ḥarī* from the Persian *harīzū*, then *mīḥnāt* for scales for gold and *ḥabba* for beam and tongue. *Mīḥnāt* means the tongue and also the beam. According to J. Ruska, *ḥab-bān* seems to be used for scales (for gold). On the expressions connected with *ḥarīzū*, see that article. Al-Makḍī mentions Ḥarrān as a place where balances were made, in his work *Aḥṣā al-Taḥṣīl fi Ma'rifa al-ʿAlām*, p. 141; in this town many very skilful mechanics were engaged in making astronomical instruments. The accuracy of the balances made in Ḥarrān was proverbial.

The Arabs devoted special attention to the construction of balances used to identify metals and jewels from their specific gravity, to distinguish false from genuine and pure and to ascertain the composition of alloys of two metals by the use of the principle of Archimedes. They called these balances *mīzān al-māʾ*, "water" (hydrostatic) balances. Of makers of these, al-Khāzini (c. 1100, q. v.) mentions: Sanad (Sind) b. ʿAlī (c. 250 = 864), Muḥammad b. Zakariyā al-Rāzī († 320 = 932 = 933), Ibn al-ʿAmīd († 359 = 969 = 970), Vuhaynā b. Yūsuf (perhaps al-Kāsi, d. c. 370 = 980 = 981), Ibn Sīnā († 428 = 1037), Aḥmad al-Faḍl al-Masāḥ (the "measurer", also mentioned by al-Bīrūnī without the "Masāḥ"), Abū Ḥafṣ ʿOnīr al-Khāzini (as the celebrated mathematician is never called Abū Ḥafṣ, it is doubtful whether he is the individual mentioned by al-Khāzini). The balances made by these men are still fairly simple as only two, or at most three, scales were used in them. A contemporary of al-Khāzini, namely Abū Ḥakīm al-Muḥaffar Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Aḥṣārī (d. before 515 = 1121) added two more scales; these and other improvements made the scales much more convenient to use. Of him al-Baiḥaqī says (E. Wiedemann, *Beitr.*, xx., *Einige Biographien nach al-Baiḥaqī*, in *S. B. P. M. S. Erg.*, xlii., 1910, p. 17): "He constructed the balance of Archimedes with which one ascertains forgeries. The treasurer of the great sultan feared that his frauds would thus be discovered. He therefore broke the balance and destroyed its parts. Al-Muḥaffar died of grief as a result". Al-Khāzini then took up al-Muḥaffar's work and made the balance a

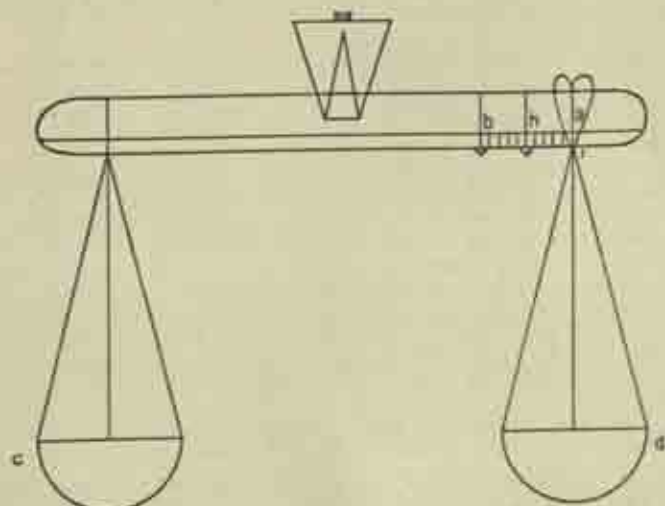


Fig. 3.

most accurate means of measuring; he called it the universal balance, *al-mizân al-ʿāmm*. But, no doubt in memory of his predecessor, he called his book *Kitāb Mizân al-ʿIlm*.

in the physical (*ṣafīʿ*) balance of Muḥammad b. Zakarīyā al-Rāzī (fig. 3); it goes back to Greek models, e. g. of Archimedes (fig. 4; cf. al-Khāzinī, *op. cit.*).

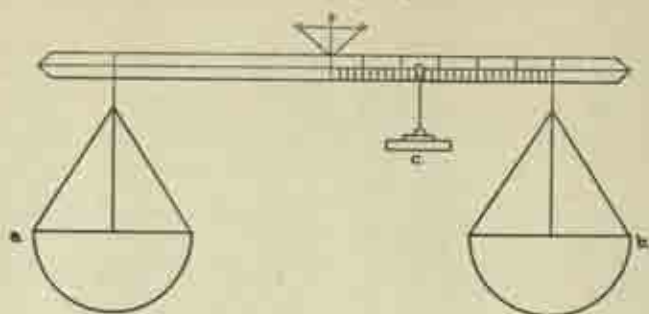


Fig. 4.

For special purposes such as the examination of gold and silver and their alloys, many contrivances were made with balances and the movable scales and running weights on the beams, for example

Here we shall describe somewhat more fully the "balance of wisdom" ¹⁾ of al-Khāzinī.

Al-Khāzinī gives the beam *A* of the balance (fig. 5) a thickness of six cm. and a length of

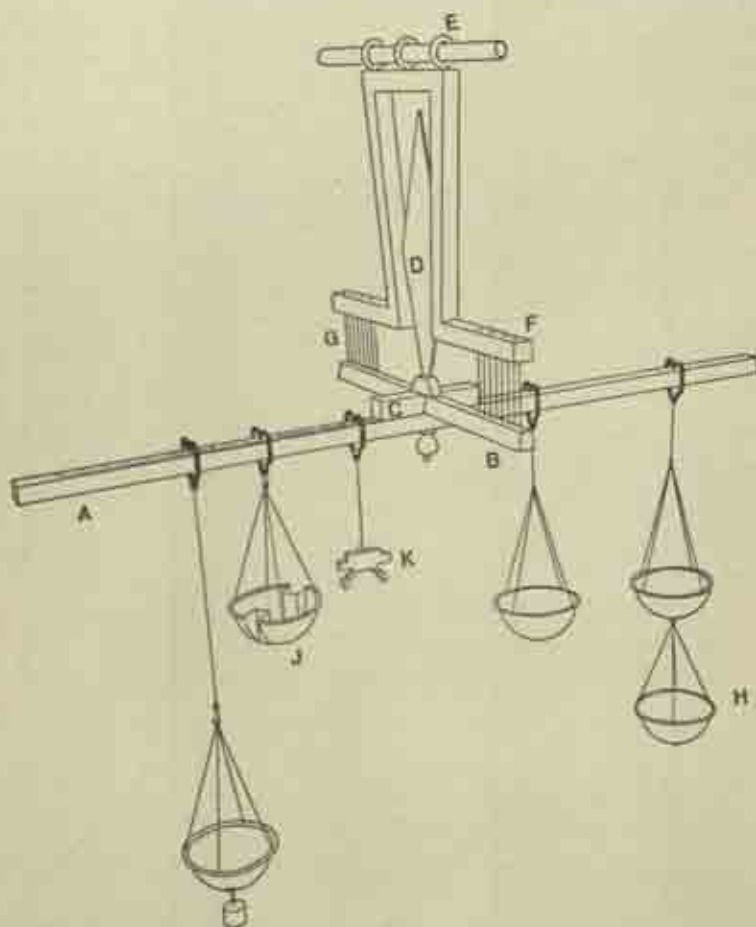


Fig. 5.

¹⁾ H. Branner (Zur Geschichte des spez. Gewichtes im Altertum und Mittelalter, Dissertation, Erlangen 1913) has reconstructed the "balance of wisdom", as nearly as possible following the data of the original. Reproductions are in Erlangen and the German Museum in Munich. The illustration is taken from a photograph. In the original right and left are reversed.

two m. In the centre it is strengthened by an additional piece *C*, obviously intended to avoid any bending at this point. A cross-piece *H* ('*arīḍa*') is let in here. Corresponding to it is a similar cross-piece *F* on the lower part of the tongue, in which moves the tongue *D*, itself about 50 cm. long. The upper cross-piece *B* is hung by rings to a rod which is fastened somewhere. Pegs or small holes are placed at exactly opposite places of the cross-pieces *B* and *F* to which threads are tied or drawn through. The friction at an axis is thus avoided, which, in view of the great weight of the beam, is quite considerable. The knob visible below the beam under its centre is used to secure the tongue to the beam or to take it out in order to adjust it evenly. The tongue has for this purpose a peg at the foot which goes through a hole in the beam. Al-Khāzini also observes that one could also take shorter beams but then all the other dimensions must be proportionately smaller. The beam is divided not on one side only, as in the illustration, but on both. The scales are hung on very delicate rings of steel (*ghurāḥ* "rings") the points of which fit into little niches on the upper surface of the beam. Five scales are used in ascertaining specific gravities, i.e. in investigating alloys and examining precious stones. Of these the scale *H* (fig. 5^a) is called the cone-shaped or *al-ḥāḥim*, the judge, as it is used to distinguish false from true. It goes into the water and in order to meet with less resistance in sinking is cone-shaped and pointed below. The scale *I* is called the winged (*mudjannah*, fig. 5^b and 5^c, side and top view). It has indented sides so that it can be

Fig. 5^a.Fig. 5^b.Fig. 5^c.

brought very close to the adjoining scales. It is also called the movable (*munāḥḥal*). There is also a movable running weight *K* (*al-rummāna al-majāra*) which serves, if necessary, to adjust the weight of the lighter beam; it is therefore also called the *rummāna* of the adjustment (*al-ta'dīl*). The other scales are used to hold weights. Al-Khāzini attained an extraordinary degree of accuracy with his balance. This was the result of the length of the beam, the peculiar method of suspension, the fact that the centre of gravity and axis of oscillation were very close to each other, and of the obviously very accurate construction of the whole. Al-Khāzini himself says that when the instrument was weighing 1,000 mithkāl, it could show a difference of 1 habba = $\frac{1}{100}$ mithkāl, i.e. about 75 centigrammes in 4.5 kilogrammes. We thus have accuracy to $\frac{1}{60,000}$.

Al-Khāzini used his scales for the most varied purposes. Firstly for ordinary weighing, then for

all purposes connected with the taking of specific gravities, distinguishing of genuine (*ṣamīa*) and false metals, examining the composition of alloys, changing of dirhams to dinars and countless other business transactions. In all these processes the scales are moved about until equilibrium is obtained and the desired magnitudes in many cases can at once be read on the divisions on the beam.

False balances. That as early as the time of Muhammad balances showing false weights were used for fraudulent purposes is shown by various passages in the *Ḳurʾān* (*Sūra* xvi. 182; vii. 13; xvii. 37). We read for example: "Weigh with the just (or upright, *muṣṭafim*) balance". Al-Djāwharī (middle of the xiiith century; cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, iv., *Über Waagen bei den Arabern*, in *S.B.P.M.S. Erg.*, vol. xxxvii, 1905, p. 388) describes two such arrangements. In the one the beam of the balance consisted of a hollow reed closed at the ends in which there was some quicksilver; by a slight inclination of the beam this could be made to flow as desired to the side of the weights or of the articles and thus make the one or other appear heavier. A balance like this was used in Cairo in the time of E. W. Lane by a dishonest police inspector (*muḥtāsib*). In the second pair of scales the tongue was of iron and the merchant had a ring with a magnetic stone. By bringing the ring close to it the balance went down to right or left.

The balance or the principles applying to it were used for many purposes besides weighing. Contrivances turning on an axis in which sometimes one and sometimes the other side becomes lighter or heavier, especially by the admission or release of water, were used to produce automatic movements; they are often called *al-mawā* (cf. e.g. the writings of the Hanū Mūsā and of al-Djazarī; e.g. in F. Hauser, *Über das Kifāḥ al-Hiyāl. Das Werk über die sinnreichen Anordnungen der Hanū Mūsā*, Abh. 2, *Geich. der Naturwissenschaften und Med.*, Heft II, 1922; E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser, *Über die Uhren im Bereich der islamischen Kultur*, in *Nova Acta der Kais. Leop.-Carol. Akademie*, vol. c., 1915, No. 5 and other passages). In the hour balance used to measure time, a container filled with sand or water is hung at one end of a lever poised with arms equal and has a hole in the bottom. The equilibrium disturbed by the gradual loss of sand or water is compensated for by weights which move along the other arm. From their weight and position one can calculate the time that has passed (E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, xxxvii.: *Über die Stundenwaage*, in *S.B.P.M.S. Erg.*, xvi., 1914, p. 27; a full description is given by Prof. F. Hauser in E. von Ruzsersmann-Jordan, *Die Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Uhren*).

Most artisans also describe as "scales" *al-mispara*, i.e. ruler, *al-berka*, the compasses, *al-ḥāniyā*, set square and level, as they serve to show lapses from the straight etc. — *Miqyāl*, ell, *ḥāḥim*, *ḥāḥim* are "scales" with which one measures whether things are correct or over measure in business transactions (*Kaṣṣ'at Ṭḥāwīn al-Safā*, Bombay 1305, f. 128).

For a few further meanings of *al-misāl* see Dory, *Supplément*, x. v. *waṣana*. — In mathematics the balance is used to elucidate certain mathematical processes. The steelyard is used to illustrate the inverse relation: the weights are in inverse proportion to the length of the arms (cf. e.g. Th. Ibn. Iḥel, *Die Waage im Altertum und Mittelalter*, in *Programm Forchheim*, 1905–1906, p. 93; *Rasā'il*

Ikhtār al-Safā, Bombay 1305, 1/4. 10 and other places). Al-Bīrūnī uses the balance to explain the procedure in solving equations (*al-Jabr wa'l-Muqābalā*) (*Kitāb Taḥṣīl* etc., Berlin, N^o. 5665, fol. 9^b). The method of the double error is also called the "process with the use of the beam".

One knows whether a number is divisible by nine by casting out the nines: to do this one adds up the figures in a number and takes away 9's from the total until 9 or another number is left; the number left is called *miṣṭān*. The word *miṣṭān* also means testing the correctness of any calculation (cf. Bahā' al-Dīn, *Kitāb al-Ḥisāb*, ed. G. H. F. Nesselmann, Berlin 1843).

In magic squares the sum of the largest and smallest figure is called *al-miṣṭān*; it is half the total of the vertical row, horizontal row or of the diagonals (G. Bergsträsser, *Zu den magischen Quadraten*, in *Idl.*, 1922, p. 223).

Alchemy is often called 'ilm al-miṣṭān, the science of the scales, or of accurate measurement, as in the preparation of the elixir etc. the choice of the right proportion of the ingredients is an important matter.

Among other uses of the word *miṣṭān* may be mentioned that a tree on a boundary near Bāniyās at the source of the Jordan was called "tree of the balance" (*miṣṭān*). We may also note that on the day of judgment a balance with a very long beam will be erected (on it cf. e.g. M. Wolff, *Muhammadianische Eschatologie*, Leipzig 1872, text, p. 81, transl., p. 148 and al-Ghazālī, *al-Durra al-fakhira fi Kashf 'Ilm al-Ākhira*, ed. L. Gautier, Leipzig 1878, text, p. 67, transl., p. 79).

Specific Gravity. We have already mentioned that the "balance of wisdom" and other scales were used to test the purity of metals etc. and to ascertain the composition of alloys; we shall now briefly discuss the work of the Arabs on this subject. Two magnitudes have to be considered. The weights of equal volumes are compared, which corresponds to an investigation of the specific gravities¹⁾; al-Bīrūnī, for example, takes hemispheres of the different metals or rods of equal size and compares their weights, or the volumes of equal weights are compared by finding those of any weights and then comparing the specific volumes (i.e. the volumes of the unit of weight). For these measurements one used either methods based on the principle of Archimedes, according to which a body loses in a liquid as much weight as the volume of the fluid displaced by it, or one measures the fluid displaced by the body itself. For this purpose al-Bīrūnī constructed a cone-shaped vessel (*al-ḥāt al-maḥṣūr*) (fig. 6). This vessel is filled with water until it begins to run out by a pipe at the side; then a definite mass, as large as possible, of the substance (weight P_1) is weighed, as is the scale P_2 placed under the outlet pipe. The substance is then put in the vessel and the pan

with the water displaced weighed (P_3), so that from $P_3 - P_2$ we get the volume of water corresponding to the mass P_1 , which is then calculated by al-Bīrūnī for a weight of 100 mithqāls. As almost always,

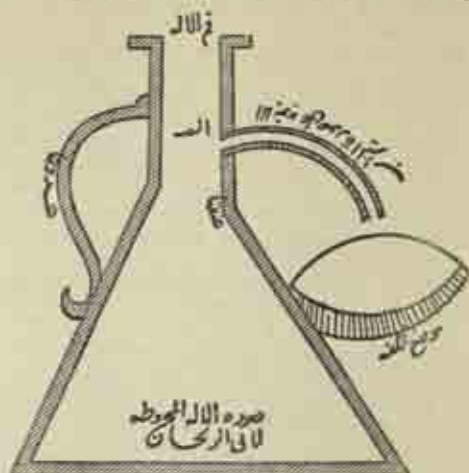


Fig. 6.

in ascertaining the specific gravity the Arabs rely on the ancients, particularly on the work of Menelaus "on the artifice by which one ascertains the quantity of each of a number of mixed bodies", *Fi Ḥikmat al-ḥikma wa'l-ḥikma* (Mishār kull māhid min 'idda al-ḥikma muḥṣalāt) (from the Escorial MSS.) and *Ma'rifa al-Kawfiyat Tamayyuz al-Adrām al-muḥṣalāt* (according to Ibn al-Kifī, p. 321; Professor Dr. Wirsching is giving an edition of this work in *Philologus*). In al-Bīrūnī's work, Archimedes himself is mentioned and a certain Manṣūfīya (according to Nöldeke, probably *Mansur*). The Muslims however did not slavishly take over the statements of the ancients. Al-Bīrūnī, for example, emphasises that one can ascertain the composition of an alloy of two components but not of one of three, as Menelaus says. Among the Muslims it was certainly al-Bīrūnī who did most in this field, in his work "on the relations which exist between metals and jewels in volume" (*Makāla fī 'l-Nisab allati bain al-Fitrat wa 'l-Djāwahir fī 'l-Haḍim*, cf. also al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, text, p. xxxiv), which still exists, and also in another work, which only survives in fragments quoted by al-Khāzini. Al-Bīrūnī was induced to compose the first named by the difficulties encountered by goldsmiths in ascertaining the quantities of metals necessary to copy a given article. As predecessors he mentions Saḥāb b. 'Alī, Yuhannā b. Yūsuf, Ahmad al-Faḥl al-Baghārī. So far as we know he was followed and his results were used by Abū Ḥafṣ 'Omar al-Khāzini (see above), al-Aḥfārī (see above), al-Khāzini (see above), Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn 'Omar al-Rāzī († 1210, Suter, N^o. 328), and Abū 'l-Faḍl Allāmī, Eṭyā Mīrskī, a work ascribed to Plato which was composed in the time of Bāzānī by a slave of a son of Sūnū, a Turkish work by al-Ghaffārī, and a Persian by Muḥammad b. Manṣūr (on these works, as on mineralogical literature in general, see E. Wiedemann, *Berlin*, xxx.: *Zur Mineralogie des Islam*, in *S.P.M.S. Est.*, xlv., 1912, p. 205). We must also mention the study by Abū Manṣūr al-Nairī who is not to be confused with the commentator on Euclid, and the work on the measurement of bodies which are compounded of

1) It is to be noted that expressions like specific gravity and specific volume, which refer to the unit of weight and the unit of volume are not found among the Arabs. Al-Bīrūnī, for example, gives the amount of water displaced by 100 mithqāls of various substances corresponding to their volume and the weights of the metals which have the same volume as 100 mithqāls of gold and in the case of other substances the same volume as 100 mithqāls of blue *zaffar*.

other substances, in order to ascertain the unknown amounts of the separate constituents: *Mishar fi Mithqat al-Adiyam al-muhtasalat* H. 'atishrady Mithqat madkhalat by Sam'ū'il b. Yahyā b. Abīlā al-Maghribī al-Andalusī (d. 1174-1175 at Maghara; a. Ibn al-Kifī, p. 309; Suter, N° 302).

The statements on specific gravities refer to: A. Metals: gold, mercury, lazur (zifer), copper, brass (*qibh*), iron, tin (*raṣṣ*), lead (*asraf* and *arraf*). B. Precious stones: blue *yāḥūt*, red *yāḥūt*, ruby, emerald, lapis lazuli, pearl, coral, corallian, onyx and rock crystal. C. Other substances: Pharaonic glass, clay from Siminyān, pure salt, salt earth (*asakāḥ*), sandarach, enamel (*maḥā*), amber, pitch, wax, ivory, bakkam wood, willow wood.

The weights of equal volumes of liquids and the volumes of equal weights of liquid are sometimes found directly, sometimes ascertained with the areometer of Pappus. The former magnitude plays an important part in the liquids used in every day life like oil and wine. The second was of more scientific interest. It is especially interesting that the Arabs found that hot water and hot urine had a larger volume than equal weights cold. They also knew that ice had a larger volume than the same weight of water.

The facts ascertained with the areometer of Pappus for fluids refer to cold fresh water, hot water,

ice (does not properly belong to this connection), sea water, vinegar, wine, sesame oil, olive oil, cow's milk, hen's egg, blood of a healthy man, warm and cold urine.

Fig. 7. shows the areometer reconstructed by H. Baureiss from al-Khazini. A is a massive cone used to make the instrument heavy. There are inscriptions corresponding to the Roman numerals. For details the reader may be referred to H. Baureiss's article. — The principle that floating bodies of the same weight sink in water to the same depth finds application in a juristic trick cited in the *Kutub al-Hisāl* p. 1-Fikā of Abū Hātim al-Kāsimī. The weight of a camel is ascertained by putting it in a boat and noting how deep the boat sinks. The camel is then replaced by iron weights until the boat sinks to the same level (cf. J. Schacht in G. Bergsträsser, *Beitr. zur arabischen Philologie und Linguistik*).

In medical works and treatises on weights and measures, figures are given for the weights of equal volumes of wine, oil and honey (cf. Baureiss, *op. cit.*).

So far as it is a question of particular bodies, the values as ascertained by the Arabs agree very well with those obtained by modern science and even surpass in accuracy those obtained by it up till the beginning of the last century.

Bibliography. This is given in the article AL-KARASTUN.

2. LEVELLING (*wasasa*, to weigh, corresponding to the Latin *librare*).

The Arabs certainly adopted a large number of methods of levelling and testing levels from other

peoples, either the Byzantines or the Persians. The statements in Ibn Wahshiyā (see below) about the making of canals etc. agree with those of Vitruvius, who in turn drew on Greek sources. The Arabs learned partly from Greek works; for example we are told that according to Philon (according to M. Steinschneider: Philon), the incline in canals must be at least 5:1,000; but they also utilized data gained from the practical experience of land owners, canal builders etc. Whether the Arabs were acquainted with the standard works of Hero on this subject, the *Metrica* and the "On the Dioptra" (Hero, *Opera omnia*, ed. H. Schöne, III., Leipzig 1903), is not known, for no corresponding title is found in the biographical or bibliographical works. But the writing mentioned in the *Fiḥrist* "On the use of the astrolabe" may have dealt with geodetic problems. Many problems in the Arabic sources are very similar to those dealt with in the work "On the Dioptra"; only the Arabs use the astrolabe or quadrant instead of the dioptra. Whether one or other of the methods described below was discovered independently by the Arabs and by whom, cannot be established from the authors on the subject, who were mainly practical men. They are described in the most different places.

In levelling, one is faced with two problems: firstly to make a surface exactly level and horizontal or to place a rod or a surface exactly perpendicular, and secondly to ascertain the point on the same level as a given one, or to ascertain the difference in height between two points.

I. A surface is made level and horizontal in the following way:

A ruler with a straight edge is moved over the surface and one sees whether it touches it everywhere so perfectly that light penetrates nowhere between ruler and surface; in this case the surface is perfectly smooth (al-Shirāṭ, see below).

That the ruler itself is straight is ascertained by seeing if a thread stretched along it and fastened to it at one end can be lifted the same height from the ruler along its whole length. Whether three rulers are straight is tested by putting them side by side and exchanging their sides (Ibn Yūnus, in K. Schuy, see below).

To examine if a surface was perfectly horizontal, the following tests were adopted:

1. Water is poured over the surface and it is observed whether this flows equally in all directions; this is one of the most usual methods. The same plan is given by Proclus in his *Hypotyposis* (ed. K. Manitius, Leipzig 1909; p. 30, 31). According to him, one pushes supports in under a level surface on all sides till it shows no slope anywhere; this is the case when water poured on it remains standing without running to one side.

2. An object which can roll is placed on one side; if it does not roll off but only oscillates, the surface is horizontal (al-Shirāṭ, see below).

3. Water is poured into a plate or dish (*ḥaṣa*, fig. 8) with an edge which is parallel to the surface and of the same height all the way round,



Fig. 8.

and it is observed whether the water comes exactly up to the edges on all sides (Ibn Luyūn, see

below). An exactly straight ruler is laid on the plate and one looks over this.

Ibn Sinā (Cod. Leidensis, N^o. 1061) in order to test whether the upper surface of the base of a theodolite is horizontal, makes a cavity in it with exactly perpendicular walls, pours water in and proceeds as in the case of the plate. To test whether a large ring is absolutely smooth, al-Urdī used a process which he called *al-afḍāin*. This is not a ready made instrument but an apparatus to be put together from case to case. The ring to be tested is first of all placed exactly horizontal with the ground by means of the level (fig. 9). Inside the ring on its concave side a circular

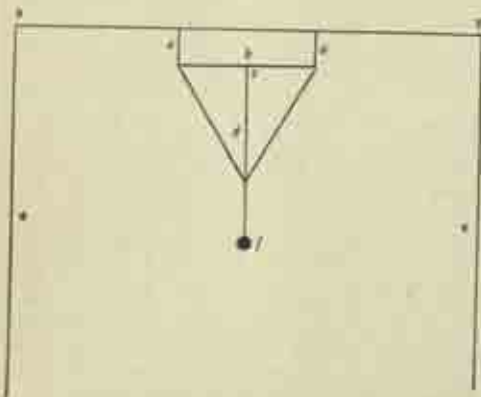


Fig. 9.

In the original the rod is at *a*, the rope at *a*, *b* & *c* *murqīḥ*, it is a triangle of wood, at *d* thread, at *f* *ḥaḥḥāla*, weight.

gutter of potter's clay is built. Its outer edge comes up to the level of the surface of the ring while its inner edge is a little higher. The gutter is filled with water and some light ashes are scattered on it. If the water flows over the ring the depressions in the ring are filled with it, while the ashes remain on the raised parts of it. The inequalities in the surface of the ring are thus brought out (fig. 10). Al-Urdī em-

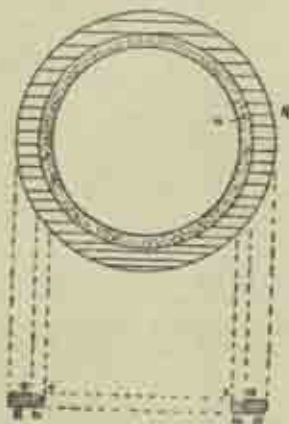


Fig. 10.

phasises that the test must be made in absolute calm.

Al-Urdī also used the same method in order to see that the outlets for water in a distribution system at Damascus were all of the same level. In the centre of the reservoir he put a gutter like this and deepened or raised the bottoms of the channels running out of it until the water from the gutter spread equally over the channels which revealed any inequalities (fig. 11). Cf. H. J. Seemann, in *S. B. P. M. S. Erg.*, ix, 1928, p. 49, 81 and J. Frank, in *Zeitschr. f. Instrumentenkunde*, xlviii, 1929.

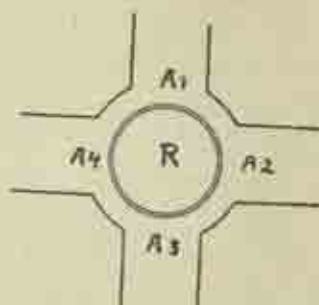


Fig. 11.

4. A plumb-line (*ḥaḥḥāla*, *ḥaḥḥāla*, *ḥaḥḥāla* [from *ḥaḥḥā*], *ḥaḥḥāla*) is dropped from the apex (fig. 12) of a isosceles triangle, made for example of wood, with

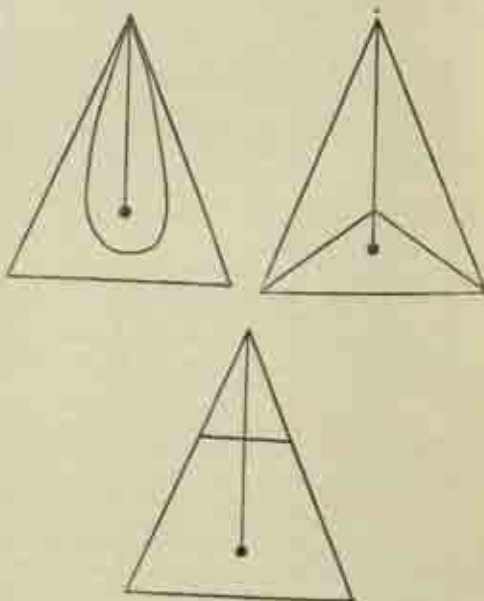


Fig. 12.

its perpendicular marked; a piece is sometimes left open in the centre of the under side for the weight of the plumb-line. If the plumb-line coincides with the perpendicular, the surface is horizontal (the figures go back to al-Shirāzī and al-Ḥaḥḥāli). Such drawings have led to the erroneous idea that Muslim students were already acquainted with the pendulum (cf. E. Wiedemann, in *Verh. d. d. Phys. Ges.*, 1919, p. 663; the apparatus is called *al-fāḍin* [e. g. in al-Shirāzī, al-Urdī, see below], Dozy, *op. cit.*, also *al-fāḍin*).

In the architect's balance (fig. 13), according to Ibn Luyūn or al-Tighnārī (see below), a quadrangular piece of wood is placed on the beam aa to be

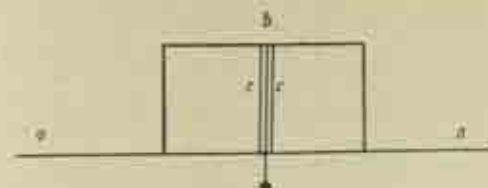


Fig. 13.

examined; in the middle of it, a perpendicular line ba is drawn before which a plumb-line is hung; according to the original figure, it seems to be two parallel lines between which the plumb-line hangs.

Al-Marrākushī (see below) has described a more perfect form (fig. 14). In the figure ab , ac and de are rods, and $ab=ac$ and ade is an equilateral triangle; de is pierced in the centre. A plumb-line

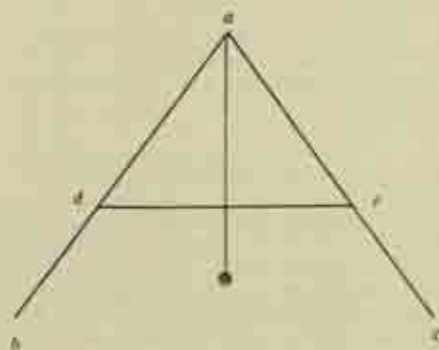


Fig. 14.

is hung from e through the hole. If the surface on which b and c are put is horizontal, the thread of the plumb-line goes through the centre of the hole.

Whether the levels and other similar instruments are themselves correct, whether for example the plumb-line from the apex to the base is perpendicular, is tested in this way: After the plumb-line comes to rest in one position of the level, the latter is put in various positions on some horizontal surface, particularly in one perpendicular to the first, and in one in which left and right have places exchanged. If the plumb-line always comes to rest the level is correct but if it only does so in the former case the error can be corrected by adjusting the position of the surface and that of the level.

The level here described is usually called *dhūyā* (շույա); the word, however, is also used for the wooden set square, as used by carpenters (s. *Mafāṭih al-ʿUlūm*, ed. v. Vloten, p. 255) and land surveyors like Abu 'l-Wafā' (s. *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und Medizin*, Heft iv., 1922, p. 98). A synonym is according to al-Shirāzī (*Nihāyat al-Ishrāk fī Dirāyat al-Aḥkām*, Mah. 2, chap. 13): *afṣaḥ*. From the same root we have in Ibn Wahshiyā (Cod. Leidensis, N^o. 1279, p. 527) *fawḍān*, in Dozy (*Supplément*, ii., p. 246) *fūḍin* and *fūḍim*. Connected with this is *fawḍān*, dual of *fawḍ*.

Sometimes one finds it stated that levelling is

done with the *dhūyā*; e.g. in al-Battānī (ed. Nallino, text, 1903, p. 137): *muḥṣan bi 'l-dhūyā*, and an exactly similar statement is made by Ibn Sīnā (Cod. Leidensis, N^o. 1061). A set square is either brought up to the plumb-line and a perpendicular dropped on the surface from it, or the *dhūyā* is used for the level, the essential part of which is the plummet.

On larger surfaces, such as roofs, etc., a long rod (*ḥuṭfā* = cubitale) is first of all laid down and on it the apparatus for testing the level is placed; this is called *shūḥ al-izār* (or *al-hannūṭin* of the architects; cf. Ibn Luyūn, see below).

5. At the apex of a three-sided pyramid built on a surface by 3 rods of equal length, a plumb-line with a sharp point in the plummet is hung. This ought to hang over the centre of the surface (al-Khāzinī, see below).

6. On the apexes A and B (fig. 15) of two sharp pointed tetrahedra of equal height $AIHK$, and $BLMN$, a rod of some length AB is laid

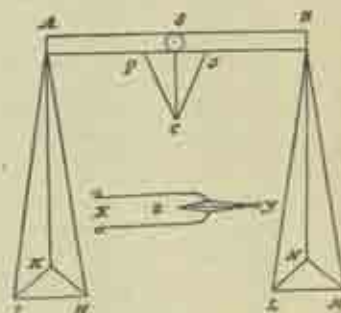


Fig. 15.

on which is fixed a triangle with a plumb-line hanging from it or an arrangement such as is already described for the scale-beam. If the plumb-line or the tongue comes to rest, the rod and therefore the surface is horizontal (al-Marrākushī, see below).

The necessity of making surfaces exactly level continually crops up in building, and also in putting up astronomical instruments, and in constructing the Indian circle with which the meridian and then the direction of the *qibla* is ascertained. In this case the level surface is usually not prepared on the ground but on a firm foundation, perhaps of stone. The construction for the Indian circle is already described in the *Hypotyposis* of Proclus (*loc. cit.*) in the same way as by the Arabs.

We now deal with the tests used to see if a thing is perpendicular:

1. The simplest method is to hang a plumb-line beside it. In the case of level perpendicular surfaces, this must touch it all the way down if its point of suspension is on it. This method is always recommended in working with the quadrant (s. also below).

2. If the point of suspension is a little in front of the surface the thread must be equidistant from it all the way down.

3. In the side of the gnomon, a perpendicular rod, often with a cone-shaped top, Ibn Yūnus (see below) cut out a groove which ended in a hemispherical cavity. In the groove a thread is hung from the top of the gnomon with a ball shaped weight. If this comes to rest in the hollow, the gnomon is perpendicular.

4. The gnomon is moved backwards and forwards (turned about on its foot: *maḥḥil wa-muḥḥil*); its shadow must only move so far on the level surface, on which it stands, as is in keeping with the movement of the sun during the turning (Ibn Yūnus, see below).

5. A circle is described at the foot of the rod and a pair of compasses used to test whether the distance of the top of the gnomon is the same from all points of the circle.

8. Ibn Sina drills a small hole through the gnomon parallel to its base, puts it in a vessel with a horizontal bottom which is filled with muddy water and examines whether the surface exactly coincides with the level of the hole.

7. In order to examine whether a level surface is standing exactly perpendicular, two exactly equal parallelepipedal blocks of wood (fig. 16) are placed

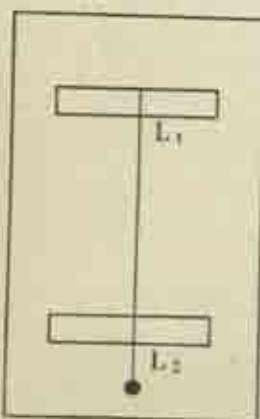


Fig. 16.

on it, L_1 and L_2 , one above the other. From the upper edge of L_1 a plumb-line is hung; one watches whether its thread exactly touches L_2 ; the best plan is to place a very thin ruler between L_2 and the plummet and test the position of the thread with respect to L_2 (al-Marḥūḡī, see below).

II. In order to ascertain the difference in height between two points x_1 and x_2 which are at a distance a from one another, as is necessary in making

a canal for example, one looks horizontally from x_1 with an apparatus which is at a height h from the ground to a vertical rod at x_2 and ascertains the height h_2 at which the point observed is above the ground. A mark can be made on it (in modern mensuration, the rod at x_2 has divisions marked on it). The difference in height is $h_2 - h$. According to fig. 19, the Arabs, like Hero, seem to have used something similar. Ibn al-Awwām (see below) uses a square board on which are marked a number of circles touching one another, which are distinguished by different colours or have different centres. In order to place the rods absolutely perpendicular, plumb-lines are hung beside them (fig. 17).

The horizontal line of vision is obtained in various ways:

1. A rod (e.g. an ell long) with square sides is put up in such a way that the upper surface appears horizontal to the eye and one looks along this surface.

2. The rod (*ḥuḍūf*) is put on the above mentioned dish or plate (fig. 8) and one looks along it.

3. At the end of the rod nails are fastened at the same height and their heads are pierced and one looks through the holes.

4. For a rough examination, one can put, at the two places, two tube-shaped bricks which for convenience may be made each out of two half-pipes (Ibn al-Awwām, see below).

5. An astrolabe is put in a horizontal place such as the edge of a well or on its cover and one looks through the eyepiece.

Other methods of ascertaining differences of level are as follows:

1. An assistant is sent from the higher position to the lower holding a rod of a known length vertically until one sees just the end of it; if h then is the level of the eye, $h - h$ is the difference in height. If the distance is too great for the top of the rod to be distinguished, a light is put on it, for example a lighted candle and the observation is made by night.

2. If it is a question of ascertaining whether a place outside a well is lower than the level of water in the well, the distance of the latter from the surface of the ground or from the edge is ascertained by letting a rod and thread down with a shining heavy object at the end and used in calculation.

Two apparatuses, closely connected with each other, are the following:

3. To a rod (fig. 17) the triangle with the plumb-line is attached. To its two ends two threads with weights at the ends are attached, a and b .



Fig. 17.

Two posts y and z are erected at the points, the difference in level of which is to be ascertained. The one thread is fastened to the end of the lower post z and the other hung along and over the post y until its weight comes to rest. The amount of shifting of the thread measures the difference in height (al-Khazini, see below).

4. The *murḥḥāl* (the bat, fig. 18) consists of an equilateral triangle with a plumb-line which hangs from the middle of one side. The triangle is suspended by this side. Two rods, an ell in length, are erected 20 ells apart;

a rope is passed from the top of one to the top of the other and by two threads a the *murḥḥāl* is suspended in its centre. If the plumb-line goes through the apex of the triangle, both places are on the same level, if not, one is raised by putting stones below it for example; but the end of the rope can, as in 3, be moved along (Ibn Luytū, see below).

5. In the Paris manuscript No. 2408, an unknown author describes 3 apparatuses for levelling (fig. 19a-c). In the first (*al-maḥḥāl*, the known) a rod of wood an ell in length is bored through its entire length and tongs with a tongue suspended from its centre (fig. 19a). Through the hole a rope some 15 ells long is drawn which is fastened to the two vertical rods already mentioned. The second apparatus (fig. 19b: *al-ḥaḥḥā*, the similar) corresponds to the *murḥḥāl*; only the two threads a and

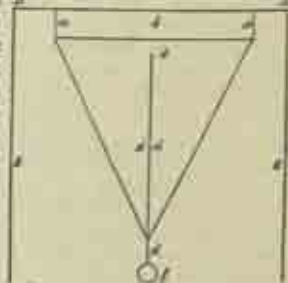


Fig. 18.

parties (*Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, xvii.), and in the viii century it is one of the martial instruments of the Jewish tribes of al-Hijāz (*Aḡḡānī*, ii. 172). When Islām came, an anathema was placed on reed-pipes mainly, it would seem, on account of the female reed-pipe player (*sumḍra*) who, as was common in the East, was looked upon as a courtesan, and, indeed, the terms *sumḍra* and *sūniya* became almost synonymous. It is improbable that the Prophet Muḥammad could have referred to a reed-pipe (*mizmār*) in the well-known *ḥadīth* in praise of the chanting (*ḥirā'a*) of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī. The reference was rather to "a *mizmār* (Hebr. *mizmor* "psalm") from the *mizmār* of the House of David" (cf. my *Hist. of Arabian music*, p. 33). In early days, what the Arabs called the *mizmār*, the Persians called the *nāy*, and the latter distinguished the flute by the name *nāy nār* (soft *nāy*). Later they called the reed-pipe the *nāy siyāh* (black *nāy*) and the flute the *nāy safid* (white *nāy*) because of the colour of the instruments. About the beginning of the ixth century, a musician at the 'Abbāsid court named Zuhayr invented a reed-pipe which was named after him the *nāy zunūmī* or *zunūmī* (*Taḡf al-Arūs*). What the invention was we can only conjecture. It may have been the cylinder used for altering the pitch of the instrument, or perhaps it was the introduction of a conical tube (see my *Studies*, p. 79, 82). At this period we have no information whether the various reed-pipes had cylindrical or conical tubes or whether they were played with single or double beating reeds. The word *zunūmī* was accorded little recognition in the East, whatever favour the invention itself found. In the West, where the name eventually became vulgarized into *sulṭānī*, it became the most important reed-pipe not only in Spain as we know from al-Shakundī (d. 1231; al-Maḡḡarī, *Moḡ. Dyn.*, i. 59), but also in the Maghrib (Ibn Khaldūn, ii. 353). It became the *ṣulṭān* of the Spaniards (see also Schiaparelli, s. v.).

The *mizmār* (= *mizmar* *nāḥāt*) is described and delineated by al-Fārisī (d. 950). It had eight holes for fingering, giving a complete octave. He also describes a smaller reed-pipe called the *ṣunūmī* (Köngarten, p. 95; Lamb, p. 122; D'Erlanger, p. 262). One special feature of this instrument was called the *ḡa'ira*. In the *Mufaḍḍaliyāt* (p. 237) we read: "The *ḡa'ira* of the *mizmār* is its head, and it is that by which it is made narrow and wide [in compass]". It was actually the cylinder inserted into the head of the instrument which lowered the pitch when required (see my *Studies*, p. 82), a device called later the *ṣunḡ* (*Kanz al-Tuḡaf*) or *ṣunḡ* (Villoteau). It was called the *ḡa'ira* perhaps on account of the button at the top of the cylinder which was turned round. The word *ṣunūmī* came to be modified into *ṣunūy* and then *ṣunūy*. Popular etymology opined that the word was derived from *ṣun* "fete" and *nāy* "reed", but this form only appears in the lexicons (*Ḥurūf al-Ḥāḡ*). Some moderns even write *ṣunūy*. The *ṣunūy* found its way into martial music as early as the beginning of the ixth century (*Aḡḡānī*, xvi. 139; the text has *ṣunūy*).

In the xth century, Ibn Zayl shows how, by devices in the fingering and embouchure, other notes were obtained on the reed-pipe (Pers. *nāy*). In the Persian *Kanz al-Tuḡaf* (xivth cent.) the *mizmār*, also called the *nāy siyāh*, is both de-

scribed and delineated. More valuable is the explanation of the actual making of the beating reed with which the instrument was played, from which we learn that it was a double reed. In the next century a Turkish author Ahmad Ughlu Shukrullāh copied extensively from this work (Lavignac, i. 3012). Ibn Ghāib (d. 1435) says that all the notes could be obtained on the *ṣunūy siyāh* by accommodating the fingering and the embouchure. The smaller instrument, the *ṣunūy*, was defective in the upper octave he says. A similar type of reed-pipe to the latter called the *ḡalābān* is also mentioned by him. Ewliya Çelebi says that it came from Shirāz. In the Muḥammad b. Murīd Treatise (xvth cent.) we learn that the *nāy ṣunūy* (= *nāy siyāh* = *mizmār*) was 27 cm. long.

With the Turks, the Persian word *ṣunūy* had been altered to *ṣunūy* and the term had become common to both the *ṣunūy* (= *mizmār*) and *ṣunūy* in the East. Ewliya Çelebi (xviith century) mentions among the Turkish reed-pipes of his day the *ḡalābān* or *ḡalābān*, the *ḡalābān*, the *ḡalābān*, and the *ḡalābān* (a Moroccan reed-pipe). He also speaks of the *ḡalābān* which, he says, was an English invention (i. 642). If this is the same as the *ḡalābān*, it was the clarinet, an instrument which Denner is said to have "invented" about 1690, which is after its mention by Ewliya Çelebi. The Persians still continued to call their reed-pipe the *ṣunūy*, and a xviith century design of the instrument is given by Kaempfer. Both Russell in Syria (i. 155) and Villoteau in Egypt (i. 356 sq.) refer to several kinds of reed-pipes in use in the xviiith century.

The latter delineates these and describes them fully. They are three, the *ḡalābān* or *ṣunūy al-ḡalābān*, the *ṣunūy* or *ṣunūy*, and the *ṣunūy al-ḡalābān*, the first being 58.3 cm. and the last 31.2 cm. in length. The modern instrument is also delineated by Lavignac, p. 2793; Sachs, p. 428. For specimens see Brussels, Nos. 122, 355, 357; New York, No. 1331.

In the West also we find a new name, or instrument, the *ḡalābān* or *ḡalābān* (q. v.). It is said to have been introduced by the Turks (Delphin and Guin, p. 48) but the name is mentioned by Ibn Battūṭa (d. 1377) who likens the Mesopotamian *ṣunūy* to the Maghribian *ḡalābān* (ii. 126). There are, however, two kinds of *ḡalābān*, one — a cylindrical tube blown with a single reed, and another — a conical tube blown with a double reed. This may explain why *ḡalābān* does not always equate with *ṣunūy* and *mizmār* in the West (*Taḡḡirāt al-Nisṡān*, p. 93; Muḥammad al-Saḡḡir, p. 34). The cylindrical tube instrument is known in Egypt as the *ḡalābān*. For details see Bū 'Alī, p. 103; Delphin and Guin, p. 47. For specimens and designs see Hüet, p. 261, tab. xxxi.; Brussels, No. 351; New York, Nos. 402, 2824; Lavignac, p. 2921.

A reed-pipe that became quite famous in Western Europe was the *ḡalābān* played with a reed. The original *ḡalābān* (q. v.) was a horn or clarion, and was made of horn or metal. Pierced with holes for fingering, and played with a reed, a new type of instrument, somewhat similar to the modern saxophone, was evolved. In the xth century, this *ḡalābān* was "improved" by the Andalusian Caliph al-Hakam II (*Bibl. de auteurs Espān.*, ii. 410). Ibn Khaldūn, who describes it, says that it was the best instrument of the *ṣunūy* family (ii. 353). Ibn Ghāib,

in his holograph MS. in the Bodleian Library, writes *ḥṣḥ*, but adds, "also called *ḥṣḥ*", but the latter remark has been deleted. It appears to be delineated in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Riaño, fig. 41, b.).

Another interesting instrument is the *ṭrāṭṭya* or *ṭrāṭṭya*, which may have been the forerunner of the European *sackbut*. It has a cylindrical pipe and is played with a double reed. It is probably the descendant of the *Nay al-ṭrāṭṭi* that al-Ghazālī (d. 1111 A.D.) speaks of. It is delineated and fully described by Villoteau (l. 943.29). Examples are given at Brussels, N^o. 124; New York, N^o. 2861.

With Islamic peoples, reed-pipes belong to outdoor music. Just as we see them in the *Alf Laila wa-Laila* as being essential to folk, ceremonial, processional, and martial music, so they are today, and probably have always been.

Double reed-pipes. Ibn Khurdādhbih says that the Persians "invented" the double reed-pipe called the *ḍiyūmā* (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, viii. 90), the earliest instrument of this type that we know by name in Arabic literature, although it appears in the viiith century frescoes at Kafir Amrū (Muill, pl. xxiv.). It has been suggested that the word should be *dūmār*, but *ḍiyūmā* is also given by al-Fārābī (see my *Studies*, p. 57), who describes and delineates the instrument which, he says, was also called the *mizmār al-muthannā* or *muthannā*. The two pipes were of equal length and each was pierced by five finger-holes, which gave an octave between them. Probably the instrument known in the Middle Ages as the *summāra* (vulg. *summāra*) was actually the old *ḍiyūmā*, although it merely equates with *ḥṣḥ* in the *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (xith century) and the *Vocabulista* (xiiith century). As early as the xiiith century we read of the *maṣṣūf* in Egypt (al-Maqrīzī, l. 136). The name itself means "joined" (see my *Studies*, p. 78), and it was doubtless a double reed-pipe. Since the xviiith century at least, *summāra* has been the name for this instrument in the East (cf. Niebuhr, l. 145), and Lane (p. 367) describes and delineates it. It has cylindrical tubes and is played with single beating reeds. It is to be found with a varying number of finger-holes and is named accordingly (Sachs, p. 433). In the Maghrib it is called the *maḥṣṣān* and *maḥṣṣāna* (Lavignac, p. 2793; R. A., 1866), whilst in Syria it is given a vulgarized or metathetical form of the old *muthannā* (cf. Sachs, p. 257; Dalman, *Pal. Dicton*). For specimens and descriptions see Brussels, Nos. 115-118; New York, Nos. 2167, 2633; and Z.D.P.V., 1927, p. 19. Specimens in my collection range from 18 to 43 cm. in length.

Another type of double reed-pipe has only one pipe pierced with finger-holes, whilst the other serves as a drone. This also carries the name of *summāra* when the two pipes are of the same length (cf. Niebuhr, l. 145). When the drone pipe is longer than the chanter pipe it is known as *ṣarḥūn*, the *argḥūn* (*argḥūn*, Maḥāraka, p. 29; *ṣarḥūn*, Lavignac, p. 2812) in modern times (cf. Freytag, *Christ. Arab.*, 1834, p. 34) in Egypt and Syria. Villoteau (l. 962) gives a detailed description with scales and designs of three sizes, 107, 82.6 and 38.6 cm. in length. (In South Kensington Museum there is one 144 cm. long). Like the preceding instrument it is played with single beating reeds. The drone pipe is furnished with additional tubes (*ḥayḥāḥ*) which are affixed to lower the pitch.

In Syria the smaller type of *argḥūn* is named the *maḥṣṣāra*, a most significant name, in spite of it being ignored in the lexicons. Lane (p. 367) figures a six finger-holed instrument which, he says, was used at *ḥayra*, and by Nile boatmen. For specimens see Brussels, Nos. 342-346; Z.D.P.V., 1927, pl. 2.

Bagpipe. An ancient instrument in the Orient. Just prior to Islam we have it figured on Sāsānian sculptures (Ker Porter, *Travels*, ii., pl. 64). We do not know its ancient Semitic name, but Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zayla mention it as the *mizmār al-ḥirāb*, describing it as being played by "an artificial contrivance". Although Niebuhr (l. 146) calls it the *summāra al-ḥirāb*, and Lane, p. 386 names it the *summāra al-ḥirāb*, the more general term used in Arabic speaking countries is *zakra*, although we find *mizmar* used in Tunisia (Von Harabüstel, p. 4). The word *zakra* is given variations by some European writers as in the *zakhara* of Villoteau (l. 970) and the *zakhara* of Roussier (Lavignac, p. 2812). In Persia, the bagpipe has long been known as the *āyā anḥā* and *āyā māḥḥ* or *maḥḥāb* (*Buchān-i ẓāṭ*) from whence the Hindūstānī name *maḥḥ* or *maḥḥāb* (Tagore, p. 24; Day, p. 151). In Turkey, the older word was *fulm*, *fulm* or *tulum* (Meninski, Sachs; cf. Ewliya Celebi, i. 642: *fulm dūdūk*), but *ghayda* would appear to be equally popular, and this name is to be found throughout the Balkan countries (cf. Arab. *ghayda*; Span. *gaita*; Engl. *wayghte*).

The bagpipe used by Islamic peoples is generally equipped with a chanter pipe (with five or six finger-holes) and mouthpiece, but rarely with a drone pipe. The chanter, terminating in a horn bell (Schallstück), is often double, a feature which was probably the original reason for the term *summāra* being used with the bagpipe. The wood-work is sometimes inlaid with metal, whilst another feature is the adornment of the instrument with tassels, beads, shells, and other frippery. Designs may be found in Niebuhr (tab. xvi.) and Sachs (p. 434), and actual specimens in Brussels, N^o. 372.

Instrument of free reeds. The Chinese *ching* is such an instrument. Probably it was not used by Islamic peoples although known to them. The *ching* is described in the *Mafatih al-Ulum* as follows: "The *musṭaf* is a musical instrument of the Chinese. It is made of compounded tubes (*anḥāḥ*), and its name in Persian is *ḥiḥa musṭafā*" (p. 237). We get a little more information from Ibn Ghali who informs us that the *ḥiḥā* or *musṭaf-i ḥiḥā*, was made of tubes of reed joined together. It was blown through a tube and the notes were obtained by finger-holes. For description and designs see Van Asiet, *Chinese Music*, p. 80.

A Pipe-blown type. — The flutes of the Arabs, Persians and Turks, unlike those of Western Europe, are played vertically, a current of air being blown across the orifice (*maṣṣāḥ*) at its head. Ewliya Celebi (i. 623, 636, 642 read *قوال* *قوال*) is not sure whether it was Pythagoras or Moses who "invented" the first instrument of this type, the shepherd's flute, called the *ḥamāl* (cf. *ḥamāl*). Ibn Khurdādhbih says that it originated with the Kurds (*al-Mas'ūdī*, viii. 90), and Ibn Ghali (*Ḥiḥā al-Adab*) says that this instrument was the *āyā aḥyā* (white *āyā*). We know from Ibn al-A'rābi (d. 846) that the Arabs called

this flute or reed-pipe the *ḥayrā*. A characteristic of the Arab flute was its length, hence the ancient Greek proverb which likened a talkative person to an Arabian flute (*Memnandri Fragm.*).

In the early days of Islam, the Arabs called their flute the *ḥayrā* (later modified into *ḥayrā*), and this is the name used by the poets al-Aḥḥā (d. 629) and Ruḥa b. al-ʿAdīdī (viiith century). These terms fell into desuetude in the East when Persian musical influences were at their height. The Persians called their flute the *nāy narm* (soft nāy) so as to distinguish it from the *nāy* proper and the *zurāy*, which were reed-pipes, and so the Arabs of the East called their flute the *nāy*, although in the West the old word *ḥayrā* or *ḥayrā* was retained. Another term for the flute in early days, perhaps a different kind, was *yārā* (*Mufaṭṭḥ al-Ulūm*, p. 236), and in the 15th century *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* it equates with *calamantula*. In the 15th century it was still a common name with Saḥī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Maʿmūn (p. 9) in the East, and with al-Shakundī in the West (al-Maḥḥarī, i. 59; read *yārā* not *burā*). In the contemporary *Vocabulaire in Arabica* it (*yārā*) agrees with *flutula*. The words *ḥayrā* and *ḥayrā* (al-Dhawharī, al-Firāḥānī) would appear to be vulgar forms of *yārā*.

Whilst the diminutive *ḥayrā* (*ḥayrā*) sometimes occurs in reference to a small flute, *ḥayrā* and *ḥayrā* (*Vocabulaire* "to grow up") were the more general terms used in Iraq (*Iḥṣān al-Safā*, i. 97), Egypt (al-Maḥḥarī, i. 136), Spain (al-Shalūḥī, *Poet. in Arab.*), and the Maghrib (Ibn Khaldūn, ii. 352). It became the *ḥayrā* of Western Europe. Another name for a small flute was *ḥayrā*, and this word also found a place with the Latins as the *fisch* (Du Cange). In Persia, the small flute was called the *ḥayrā* (*Kunz al-Tuhaf*), hence the Balkan *ḥayrā* and *ḥayrā*.

We read of the *nāy* in the *Aghāni* (ix. 71) but we cannot be sure whether it was a flute or a reed-pipe. Al-Fārābī (Kosogarten, p. 45) ignores the flute (*nāy*) and says that it was inferior (*ḥayrā*) to the *mizmār* (reed-pipe), but it soon gained wide recognition in chamber music probably by reason of *ḥayrā* appraisal and the *ḥayrā* of the *ḥayrā*. Saḥī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Maʿmūn (d. 1294) describes the *nāy* with eight holes for fingering, the thumb-hole at the back being called the *ḥayrā* ("vehement"), its name revealing its function. In the Persian *Kunz al-Tuhaf* (xivth cent.) we find two very small flutes mentioned, but in the *Ḥayrā al-ʿAdīdī* (xvth cent.) we find that the *nāy ḥayrā* was normally 63 cm. long. Five larger sizes are given, the longest being 99 cm., with two smaller sizes, the limit being 31.5 cm. Ibn Ḥaytham also registers several varieties including the *nāy ḥayrā* of 67.5 cm. approximating in pitch to the *ḥayrā* string of the lute, and the *nāy ḥayrā* of 33.75 cm. approximating to the *ḥayrā* string. Ewliyā Celabī (xviiith cent.) gives the names of a number of Turkish flutes (i. 623) including the *ḥayrā mizmār*, the *ḥayrā*, and the *ḥayrā*. Villoteau (i. 954) describes and delineates the Egyptian instruments of the late xviiith century. The largest, 77 cm. long, was the *nāy ḥayrā* (= *ḥayrā nāy*), and the smallest, 48.8 cm. long, was the *nāy ḥayrā*, the *ḥayrā* of modern Syria (Mushārḥa, p. 39). Other flutes named by him are the *nāy ḥayrā*, the *nāy ḥayrā* (I. *ḥayrā*), the *nāy ḥayrā*, and the *nāy ḥayrā*. In Turkey the *ḥayrā* is the smallest

flute used in chamber music (Lariguet, p. 3019). Turkish and Egyptian flutes are usually well made, with a head to support the lips. In Palestine and the Maghrib they still retain, more or less, a primitive appearance, and although the seven-holed flute is common (Christianoowitch, pl. 2), the five and six-holed instrument has acceptance (Delphin et Guin, p. 45: *Z. D. P. V.*, 1927, pl. 1). In the Maghrib the flutes in the orchestras still retain the name of *ḥayrā* (vulg. *ḥayrā*), and they are generally about 40 cm. long, whilst the *ḥayrā* or *ḥayrā* (*ḥayrā*) is smaller. In the interior, longer flutes like the *ḥayrā* and *ḥayrā* may be found. Delphin and Guin give an account of these.

The recorder, or flute à bec, also found favour in the East. This is the Arabic *nāy ḥayrā* (mouth nāy), the Persian *ḥayrā*, the Turkish *ḥayrā*, and the Hindustānī *ḥayrā*. As early as the *Iḥṣān al-Safā* and the *Mufaṭṭḥ al-Ulūm* (xth cent.) we read of the *ḥayrā*, which was doubtless a flute à bec (see my *Studier*, p. 83). Villoteau (i. 951) says that it was an instrument of this type in his day in Egypt. The *ḥayrā* or *ḥayrā* is mentioned by Ewliyā Celabī in nine different species (i. 642), and is also mentioned by Ḥādīdī Khalīfa (i. 400). The *ḥayrā* would appear to have been a small three-holed recorder such as was common with pipe and tabor players in Mediaeval Western Europe. It was played with the fingers of one hand, the other hand being used for beating the *ḥayrā* or drum, hence the phrase in al-Ḥayrā: "the *ḥayrā* of the drummer (*ḥayrā*)".

Panpipes are also common to the folk. Both Pythagoras and Moses are credited by Ewliyā Celabī (i. 624, 636) with the "invention" of the *mizmār* or panpipes. Although the word stands for "a composer of melodies" in the *Mufaṭṭḥ al-Ulūm* (see also Meninski), it referred to a musical instrument in the xvth century (*N. E.*, xiv. 312). A contemporary writer, Ibn Ḥaytham, says that "the *mizmār* is one of the [wind instruments with] free pipes. Its notes are determined by size [of pipes]. The longest have the low notes, and the shortest the high notes". We find the instrument called *mizmār* (*Farhang-i Sāʿatī*) whilst Ḥādīdī Khalīfa (i. 400) has *mizmār*, and Toderini (i. 237) *mizmār*, which probably gave birth to the Roumanian *mizmār*. The term *mizmār* survived up to modern times (Villoteau, i. 963), but the more general word used today (Mushārḥa, p. 29) is *ḥayrā*. (Pedro de Alcalá [1503] mentions a harp by this name, but perhaps he confused the name with *ḥayrā*). Russell (*The Natural History of Aleppo*, i. 156) writing in Syria in the xviiith century says that panpipes were to be found with from three to twenty-three pipes. Kaempfer, p. 743, delineates a xviiith century Persian instrument.

The names of instruments in the *mizmār* group in Arabic are legion. Many of those not mentioned in this article are regional and are of folk origin, their source being often discernable, such as in the *mizmār* and *mizmār*, to name only two. More interesting however, are the older words like *ḥayrā*, *ḥayrā* and *ḥayrā*. The first two occur in al-Firāḥānī (d. 1414), and *ḥayrā*, which equates with *mizmār*, reminds us of the much debated passage in *Ezekiel*, xxviii. 13. *Zanah* occurs in al-Azhārī (d. 981) and even earlier (cf. Lane). The Greek *ḥayrā* and the Latin *ḥayrā* were stringed instruments, and Isidore of Seville's *ḥayrā* as a "wood-wind" instrument has long been

suspect, but since *sandāh* is to be found in Arabic equating with *samādā* and *mizmār* there would appear to be good reason for accepting Isidoro of Seville.

Bibliography: Farmer, *A history of Arabian Music to the thirteenth century*...; do., *Studies in Oriental musical instruments*...; do., *The Organ of the Ancients from Eastern Sources*...; do., *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*; Ibn Sinā, *al-Shifā'*, India Office, MS. 1811; *al-Naḡmā*, Bodleian MS., Marsh N^o 521; *Dāniḡ-nāma*, Brit. Museum, N^o 16059; *al-ḡhānī*, *Mafāḡih al-Uḡm*, ed. v. Vloten, II, xiii; Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique*; Ewliya Celebi, *Siyāhat-nāma*; *Kitāb al-Aḡlān* (ed. Balāḡ); al-Maḡkarr, *The history of the Mohammedan dynasties in Spain*, transl. by P. de Gayangos; Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomena*, N.E., xvi-xviii; Schiaparelli, *Vocabulista in Arabes*; Rosegarten, *Ali Ispahanensis liber cantilinarum magnus*; Land, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la gamme arabe* (*Actes du V^{ème} Congrès Intern. des Orient.*, 1883); D'Erlanger, *La musique Arabe*, tome I, *al-Fāḡh*; *Kam al-Taḡf*, Brit. Museum, MS. Or., N^o 2361; Ibn Zaila, *Kitāb al-Kāfī fī l-Mūsīqī*, Brit. Museum, MS. Or., N^o 2361; Muḡammad b. Muḡarrā's *Treatise*, Brit. Museum, MS., N^o 2361; Ibn ḡhaibī, *Djāmi' al-Aḡlān*, Bodleian MS., Marsh N^o 828; Kämpfer, *Amoenitatum exoticarum*...; Villotenu, *Deur. de l'Égypte, état mod.*; Sacha, *Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente*; Delphin et Guin, *Notes sur la poésie et de la musique arabe*; Bū 'Alī, *Kitāb Kaḡf al-Kīnā'*; Hist., *Nachrichten von Märchen und Fik.*; Riaño, *Notes on early Spanish music*; ḡhazālī, *J.R.A.S.* (1901-2); Seybold, *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum*; al-Maḡrīnī, *Hist. des sultans mamlūk*, transl. Quatremère; Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie* (1776); Muḡarrā, *M.F.O.B.*, vi.; Lane, *Modern Egyptians* (5th ed.); Von Hornbostel, *S.I.M.G.*, viii, 1; *Rasā'il*... *Iḡwān al-Safā'* (Bombay ed.); al-Shalāḡhī, *Kitāb al-Uḡm*, Madrid MS., N^o 603; Saḡī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'mīn, *al-Sharāfiyā*, Bodleian MS., Marsh N^o 115; ḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡ, *Kaḡf al-Zunūn* (ed. Flügel); Toderini, *Lettatura Turchica*; Christianowitch, *Enquête historique de la musique arabe*.

For specimens of instruments: Brunsela, *Catalogue descriptif du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire royal de Musique*; New York, *Catalogue of the Crosby Brown collection of musical instruments* (1st ed.).

(H. G. FARMER)

MIZWÄR, arabicised form of the Berber *amzwar*, he who precedes, he who is placed at the head, equivalent to the Arabic *muhaddam* and like this frequently has in North Africa the meaning of chief of a religious brotherhood (*tarīḡa*), the superintendent of a *sawīya* (q.v.) or the chief of a body of *ḡhorfā* (q.v., dialect form from the class. plur. *ḡhorafā*). In those districts of the Maghrib, where the old Berber organisation has survived, mainly in the Great Atlas and Central Atlas, *amzwar* is sometimes the equivalent of *amḡān*, the political adviser to a body; cf. R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc* (Paris 1939, p. 222).

The term *mizmār* (or *mawzār*) is early found in the histories of the Maghrib in connection with Almohad institutions. There it means the head of a faction and the corresponding office seems

at this time to be often confused with those of *ḡḡḡ* and *mukhtāḡ* (q.v.). In the time of the Mu'minid Caliph Abū Yūsuf Ya'ḡḡūb (q.v.) al-Manḡār, each of the twenty-one Almohad tribes had two *mizwārs* "one for the first rank of the hierarchy, i.e. the earliest recruits of the Almohads, and another for those who had joined them later (*ḡḡḡḡḡ*)". (*Kitāb al-Anḡāḡ*, in F. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928, p. 70; cf. also p. 63-64 and M. Gaudemey-Denombaynes, introduction to the translation of the *Masālik al-Aḡḡār* of Ibn Paḡl Alḡḡ al-Uḡmī, Paris 1927, p. xxxvi).

At the present day, *mizmār* is in constant use in Fās for the *mukhtāḡ* (q.v.) of the principal Sharḡfian groups who live in this capital.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MÖBEDH, a Persian word which passed into

Arabic in the form *موبد* or *موبد*; we also find in Arabic the Persian plural, *mubadhān*, but usually combined with *mubadh* in the expression *mubadhān mubadh*, which means "chief of the *mubadh*", "grand *mubadh*". It is also found alone (*mubadhān*) standing for *mubadhān mubadh*. The Arabic plural is *mawbadh*. The word is derived from the Pehlevi *magpat*, which means "chief of the *mag*" and therefore indicates a priestly office; according to al-Ma'ḡḡī, *Kitāb al-Tanḡīḡ wa l-Liḡḡāf*, B.G.A., vii, 103, the word would mean *ḡḡḡ al-dīn* and be derived from *mag* = "religion" and *pat* = "protector", and according to al-Ya'ḡḡūbī (*Tarīḡh*, i, 207) 'alim al-*ulamā'*. In Armenian texts the word is rendered by *magpat*, in the Greek acts of martyrs by *magpatas* *magpatas* *magpatas* *magpatas*; in Syriac and especially in the acts of the Persian martyrs not only by *ܡܘܒܕܐ*, but also by *ܡܘܒܕܐܢ*; in one passage (Hoffmann, *Aussage*, p. 88, cf. below), the word *ܡܘܒܕܐ* is used immediately before *ܡܘܒܕܐܢ*.

The Syriac has also *ܡܘܒܕܐܢ* or *ܡܘܒܕܐܢ* corresponding to the Greek *μαγπατος μαγπατος* *μαγπατος*. We have no satisfactory information regarding the functions of the *mubadh*; we know more about those of the chief of the *mubadh* or *mubadhān mubadh*. The information given below relates to the Sāsānian period, a period in which the clergy were reorganised and which is reflected in the Arabic and Persian Muslim sources.

In the later *Avesta* we find references to the sacerdotal organisation but the names do not agree with those of the Sāsānian period; for example the principal office, that given in the Sāsānian period to the *mubadhān mubadh*, is called *Zoroastrotoma*, and had judicial functions like the chief of the *mubadh*. The term *magpat* is only found in the Pehlevi commentaries on the *Avesta*.

The sources from which we can extract information about the *mubadh*, and the *mubadhān mubadh* or chief of the *mubadh*, are of course Pehlevi or go back to Pehlevi texts. Among the former which have come down to us is the *Bundahishn* which among other things contains a list of *mubadhān mubadh*: the *Arāḡ Witrāf Nāmāḡ*; the *Kānāmāḡ Artaḡhastār-i Pāpakān* (transl. by Nöldeke in the *Briefe-Peischrist* = *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, iv., 1878, and by Pagliaro in *L'Epica e il Romanzo nel Medio Evo persiano*, Florence 1927; a part of the text 1-3 is reprinted in the *Hilfsbuch für das Pehlevi* by Nyberg); the *Mātkān-i kūr* *Dāto*

stān, a legal work studied by Bartholomae in *Zum iranischen Recht, Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, 1922, is valuable for our knowledge of the judicial functions of the *mōbeds* and *mōbedhān mōbeds*; a few short moral treatises preserving traces of law (cf. Pagliaro in *R.S.O.*, x., 1925, p. 468—577) etc. The numerous references to the *mōbeds* and the *mōbedhān mōbeds* which we find in Persian and Arabic sources come from lost Pehlevi sources or Arabic and Persian versions of them. Thus the *Book of Kings*—especially in the latter part contains some information about the *mōbeds* but nothing very full or precise about their functions; the matter of the *Šāhnāma* is taken, as we know, from a Persian prose version of the *Khwaddīnāmeh*. The version which we have of the letter of Tansar (publ. and transl. by Darmesteter in *J.A.*, 1904, I.) gives very interesting information about the Sāsānian hierarchy and also about the *mōbeds*; it comes from a Pehlevi document which, according to Christensen, goes back not to the time of Ardashir but rather to that of Khusrow the Great (cf. *Empire des Sassanides*, 111—112, and more recently Abercrombie in *Acta Orientalia*, x. 43 1927).

The numerous writers in Arabic and Persian whose works give us notes on the *mōbeds* derive their matter, as regards Persia, from information supplied directly by contemporary *mōbeds* or grand *mōbeds*, from Pehlevi works translated into Arabic (especially the translations of Ibn al-Mukaffā) which no longer exist, such as the *Khwaddīnāmeh* and the *‘A’in-nāma* or “book of offices” (*Kitāb al-Rusūm*; cf. below). Of great importance is the *Kitāb al-Tawq* or *Akhūsh al-Mulūk* by al-Jāhiz (cf. F. Gabrieli, in *R.S.O.*, x. [1928], p. 232—308) and others written by al-Jāhiz himself and the *Kitāb al-Maḥāsin wa ‘l-‘Aḍdād* which is attributed to him; very important also are the works of the historians, chroniclers, geographers and polygraphers or men of letters like al-Ya‘qūbī, Ibn Qutaiba, al-Dīnawarī, al-Jahiz, al-Mas‘ūdī, Hamza al-Isfahānī, al-Tha‘ālibī, al-Nuwairī, al-Shahrastānī, etc.

Of course all these sources bear different relations to the Pehlevi originals or to one another and they differ greatly in value, apart from the fact that they frequently combine legendary matter with accurate statements, e.g. some concerning certain of the functions of the *mōbeds*.

Information of value can also be extracted from Syriac, Greek (especially Acts of Martyrs) and Armenian (historians etc.) sources.

Even by combining all these sources it is not possible to give a precise account of the office of *mōbeds* in the Sāsānian ecclesiastical hierarchy as laid down in the organisation of the kingdom attributed to Ardashir (cf. *Kitāb al-Tawq*, p. 23—30) nor to follow its developments (cf. the letter from Tansar, al-Mas‘ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 103—104 and *Murūf*, ii. 156; al-Ya‘qūbī, *Historiat*, i. 202; al-Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, p. 193; transl. Haarbrücker, i. 292). Nothing definite can be deduced from the Pami hierarchy of the present day as the ecclesiastical organisation has profoundly changed. But we may assume that high priests regularly called *mōbeds* were given the task of supervising in the different divisions of the empire (one might say dioceses) the very varied work of the hereditary clergy, the *magi*, who had so great an influence over the lives of the Persians; that is to say not only the very elaborate ceremonies of worship, the sacrifices, the care of the pyres, but also the cure of souls

and the education of the people. These *mōbeds* and their chief (cf. below) were like all priests the repositories of learning, profane as well as sacred (cf. *Tanbih*, p. 97, where there is an allusion to the unbounded knowledge of the *mōbeds* and *hōrbeds*) and the Arab writers must also have obtained information from *mōbeds* (cf. Inostranetz, *Etudes sassanides*, p. 10). The *mōbeds* had also judicial functions (cf. below); in the Acts of the martyrs they appear vested with executive power; but since courts of inquiry were composed of lay officers and priests, it is probable that this power was exercised by the whole college or by delegation. It is also certain that the title of *mōbeds* is not applied exclusively to these heads of administrative divisions or dioceses (of whom it is nevertheless characteristic) because at the court of the king, according to the sources, especially the *Šāhnāma*, there were many high priests called *mōbeds* or *hōrbeds* who formed a kind of council around the grand *mōbeds* (cf. below) or who had other special offices. Gradually the name *mōbeds* must have come to mean, as at the present day, a priest fully qualified to do everything in connection with worship. The other terms for Persian priests seem to refer rather to their dignity (e.g. *dastūr*) or to functions occasionally performed by them [cf. ZOROASTRIANISM]. *Rai* and *magus* are sometimes put on the same level. The relation of the *mōbeds* to the other degrees of the hierarchy like the *hōrbeds*, another office (perhaps teacher) having supervision over a body of priests, is not clear. Al-Mas‘ūdī says in the *Tanbih*, p. 103, that *hōrbeds* were lower in rank than *mōbeds*.

At the head of the hierarchy of priests were no doubt the *hōrbedhān hōrbeds* or chief of the *hōrbeds* and the *mōbedhān mōbeds* or chief of the *mōbeds*. Tansar, the writer of the famous letter, is called by the *Dīnkart*: *hōrbedhān hōrbeds*, according to Darmesteter “chief of the religion”, while al-Mas‘ūdī (*Tanbih*, p. 99) calls him better the *mōbeds* of Ardashir. Indeed it is quite certain from our sources that the supreme head of the ecclesiastical hierarchy was the chief of the *mōbeds* (*mōbedhān mōbeds*) who was also the first dignitary of the court; all the power of the Zoroastrian clergy which constituted a state within the state was concentrated in this pontiff. Al-Mas‘ūdī in the *Tanbih*, p. 103, says of his rank that it was almost equal to that of a prophet.

In accounts of the ceremonial of the Sāsānids, he is always given first place and he frequently appears surrounded by a council of high priests, *hōrbeds* or *mōbeds*. Besides all the functions which he exercised as head of the clergy, i.e. the supervision of the whole religious life of the country, the settlement of theological questions, of problems of ecclesiastical policy, the appointment and dismissal of ecclesiastical officials, he had others which we must outline. Christensen thinks he can deduce from several sources (letter of Tansar, al-Mas‘ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 103—104; Ya‘qūbī, *Historiat*, p. 4—202), that four or five high officials formed with the king a kind of ministry, the composition and number of members of which perhaps changed from time to time but which always included the *mōbedhān mōbeds* (cf. e.g. the *Šāhnāma*, ed. Mohl, vi. 223 where the *mōbeds* is called the king’s vizier). But he was also supreme judge as head of the *mōbeds* of the administrative divisions, as the latter were the

Judges of higher degree in their respective areas. It is evident from the studies of Bartholomae on Pehlevi legal texts (and especially on the *Arštān-i-kawr Dāstān*; cf. *Zam Sasanidischen Recht*, p. 34, etc.) that in the different districts there were judges of first instance and of two degrees (the lower, the higher), above whom was the *mōbedh* of the district. The supreme judge was ultimately the *mōbedhān mōbedh* whose final sentence could not be disputed. For the judicial functions of the *mōbedh* it is interesting to consult the acts of the Persian martyrs in Syriac and Greek (cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880; the texts of Bedjan, etc., in *Patrologia Orientalis*, etc.). The Arab writers also give us a pretty clear idea, especially as regards the *mōbedhān mōbedh*; for example in Tabari, i. 952; Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser und Araber*, p. 230, the *mōbedhān mōbedh* in advising the king in the matter of the son of Dhu Yazan, lays particular stress on the young man's right to have his prayer granted; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (ii. 156) and *Tanbih*, p. 103, calls him *ḥāfi' i-ḥuqūq*; in the *Murūj* also (ii. 211) we are told in connection with the abuses of Hormuz son of Khuraw that, having abolished the jurisdiction of the *mōbedh*, the good old tradition and the ancient laws fell into desuetude. In al-Tha'alibi, *Hist. Pers.*, p. 506-7, we find two answers which are interesting in this connection; they were given by the *mōbedhān mōbedh* to the king, who had consulted him with regard to the sentence of death to be pronounced against his chief wife and his son; in the *Kitāb al-Taḍf*, p. 78 it is related that king Kawādḥ, full of admiration for a subtle answer given by the *mōbedh* exclaimed: "It is with justice that kings have given you the first place and that they have entrusted you with the control of jurisdiction!"

Some Arabic sources also allude to the court of justice which was held on the occasion of the great festivals of the *Nawrūz* and the *Mihredjān* (e.g. *Kitāb al-Taḍf*, p. 159-63; *al-Maḥāsin wa'l-Aghād*, p. 359-65; al-Birūnī, *al-Aḥkām al-baḥiyya*, ed. Sachau, p. 215-219, 222-223; *Siyar-nāma*, ed. Schafer, p. 38-40, etc.). According to these stories, the people on those days had the right to bring any complaint against the king before a commission of which the grand *mōbedh* was the most important member; the first complaint was judged by the grand *mōbedh* who thus had the right to condemn the king, the latter having pronounced a formula of submission, kneeling before him. The complaints that followed were judged by the king. According to al-Nuwayrī, the *mōbedh* also offered to the king on these ceremonial occasions a basket of fruits over which he had uttered a prayer. Tansar's letter (*J. A.*, 1904, p. 544-545) informs us that in the procedure laid down by Ardāshīr for designating the heir to the throne the grand *mōbedh* played the most important part, that is to say he proclaimed the new heir chosen by divine inspiration should it happen that the other dignitaries summoned to deliberate with him were not in agreement. The position of the grand *mōbedh* as intimate councillor and mentor of the king who placed complete confidence in him (he is often called "councillor of the king") is very clear in the *Sāh-nāma* as well as in the Arabic and Persian sources (cf. al-Tha'alibi, p. 504-505; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii. 171 where Bahrām son of Bahrām, son of Hormuz, addresses

the grand *mōbedh*: "Thou, support of religion, councillor of the king and the man who directs his attention to affairs of state neglected by him"). According to al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 104, only the *mōbedh* and a few other high officials of state possessed a copy of the *Gāh-nāma* or register of offices, a very large book, forming part of the *Āin-nāma* (an *Āin-nāma* was translated by Ibn al-Muqaffā with the title *Kitāb al-Kutām*).

Among the details which are preserved in the sources about the grand *mōbedh*, we are told that he was one of the three who shared the king's table in time of war when the royal meals were very frugal; and that when a victory was won, he along with other dignitaries pronounced a discourse (*Kitāb al-Taḍf*, p. 173-174). A very marked feature in the sources is the wisdom of the grand *mōbedh* and indeed of all the *mōbedh* (cf. below). In the *Sāh-nāma* (we pick out only a few of the more interesting episodes) the Byzantine ambassador who was, the grand *mōbedh* tells Khuraw, of the school of Plato, puts seven questions to the *mōbedh* which he answers (Mohl, vi. 3 199) and thus excites the admiration of the king. In this story, as usual, the grand *mōbedh* appears surrounded by other priests called *mōbedh* or *herbedh* as the case may be, and he is also given the title *dastūr*. Cf. also the questions put by the grand *mōbedh* to Khuraw Anāsharwān (Mohl, vi. 394 199) and the assembly of the *mōbedh* under the presidency of the grand *mōbedh* to put questions to Hormuz son of Anāsharwān (*ibid.*, p. 424-430). Another passage (Mohl, vi. 442 199) describes the heroic piety of the grand *mōbedh* who consoles a high official, a victim of king Hurmuz, and is poisoned by the latter. The grand *mōbedh* is also represented as interpreting the language of birds (cf. also al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ii. 169-170: the dialogue of the owls denouncing the cruelty of king Bahrām son of Bahrām son of Hormuz [270-293 A. D.]), and in al-Tabari (ii. 965; Nöldeke, p. 250) he explains the invasion of jackals in the reign of Khuraw as a punishment for the impiety of the land.

This story is very well known among the Arabs of the dream of the grand *mōbedh* in the night of the birth of the Prophet and his interpretation of other marvellous happenings of the same night (al-Tabari, i. 982 199; Nöldeke, p. 253; *Annals dell' Islam*, i. 150); Hamza al-Isfahānī (ed. Gottwaldt, p. 27) quotes a list of Sasanian kings drawn up by the *mōbedh* Bahrām son of Mardānshāh (Nöldeke, p. 401).

In religious discussions the steps to be taken against heretics, in the persecutions and inquisitions against the Christians, the *mōbedh* and the grand *mōbedh* are always most prominent (Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, texts of Bedjan; *Patrologia Orientalis*, etc.). Cf. also the articles MAZDAK, ZENITH.

A list of grand *mōbedh* of the Sasanian period and of *mōbedh* contemporary with the last editors of the book is found in the *Bundahishn*, ch. 33 (Christensen, *Empire des Sasanides*, p. 35). The first grand *mōbedh* appointed by Ardāshīr was, according to Tabari (Nöldeke, p. 9), a man named *Paār* (?). The *mōbedhān mōbedh* Aturpūt-i Zartuštān lived, according to the Pehlevi sources, 150 years and was grand *mōbedh* for 90. Elisée (Langlois, ii. 230) mentions a grand *mōbedh*, who had the honorific title of Hamakdōn ("he who knows all religion") on account of his vast theological learning; this title seems to have been often given to the

mōdrān. A number of names of grand *mōdrān* are given in various sources, among them the Acts of the Martyrs in Syriac, Greek and Armenian; some are also preserved on the seals published by Herzfeld in his work on the monument of Paikuli. Mazdak was according to some texts *mōdrān* or even grand *mōdrān*. In Ibn al-Fakih, p. 216, we have a description in verse of pictures representing with other dignitaries "their *mōdrān* and their *hōdrān*" who judges ignorantly and iniquitously. On the *somamān* cf. the article ZOROASTRIANISM and Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. 170 and al-Ljāhiz, *Bayān*, ed. Sandhu, Cairo 1927, iii. 7, on the *Šū'ābiya*. It is known that the Zoroastrian clergy played an important part in the *Šū'ābiya* movement (Inostranov, *Études sassanides*, St. Petersburg 1909, p. 10—15).

After the Muhammadan conquest the importance of the grand *mōdrān* and of the *mōdrān* diminished in proportion as Islām spread; our sources of course continue to mention them and Arab writers give information obtained directly from *mōdrān* (al-Jaharī, i. 2874, year 31 A.H., mentions the *mōdrān* who advised the governor Mūhawilī not to kill king Yazdgird; al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitaḥ al-Tanbih*, p. 104 gives the name of the *mōdrān* of all Persia in 345 A.H. etc.).

The organisation of the Parān at the present day is different; *mōdrān* means a priest qualified to perform all the offices of worship. This, however, is beyond the scope of this article.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the article see especially: Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden 1879; A. Christensen, *L'Empire des Sassanides*, D. Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selsk. Skrifte, 7 Raekke, Copenhagen 1907; Chr. Barbolomae, *Zum sassanidischen Recht*, iv, *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, 1922; A. Pagliaro, *Tracce di diritto sassanide nei trattati morali Pehlavi*, in *R.S.O.*, x, 1925, p. 468—477; F. Gabrieli, *Etichetta di corte e costumi Sassanidi nel Kitāb Aḥkām al-Mulūk di al-Ghāzī*, in *R.S.O.*, xi, 1928, p. 292—305.

MODON, a town in the Morea on the south-west point of Messenia, about 20 miles N.W. of Cape Akritas, opposite the island of Sapienza at the foot of Mount Tomeus. Modon is frequently mentioned in ancient times under the names *Mōdrōn* and *Mōdrōn*; from the latter comes the Italian name of the town, Modon, under which it has been known since the middle ages in Europe. In the middle ages it was of much greater importance than in antiquity. The good harbour of the town, sheltered by cliffs of varying heights, has long been a haven of refuge and of supply for ships going from the west to the Levant. Hence pilgrims frequently mention the town and their accounts of their travels even contain maps.

The Arab Idriṣī, in his geographical work finished in 548 (1153) for Roger II of Sicily, enumerates many ports and towns on the mainland of Greece. Among these is Modon of which he reports that it is a fortified town and has a citadel which commands the sea (*Géographie d'Idriṣī*, ed. A. Jaubert, Paris 1846, p. 305). By the treaty of 1199 with the Byzantine emperor Alexius III, Venice was allowed to trade freely in Modon. The town had suffered severely at the hands of the Venetians in 1125 and again of the Normans in 1146 but

was recovering again slowly. After the taking of Constantinople by the Crusaders (1204) and the division of the lands which had previously formed the Byzantine empire, Modon fell to the Venetians, under whose rule it remained for nearly three centuries. It is this period that marks the golden age of the town, which, carefully administered by her merchant princes, developed a new prosperity and became an important and secure centre for trading with Egypt and Syria, while previously it had often been a nest of pirates. In the xvth century the population of Modon was a mixed one of Greeks, Jews, Albanians, Turks, Gipsies and Western Europeans. The Turks of the neighbourhood reared swine which they sold to the townspeople. According to some sources, at the end of the xvth century five thousand swine were exported annually from Modon to Venice. About the same time a settlement of gipsies in Modon is mentioned, who came from Gyppe, a district about forty miles from Modon, from which they said they had fled — for the sake of the Christian faith — and were seeking refuge in all lands with a letter of recommendation from the Pope (cf. *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff*, ed. E. v. Groote, Cologne 1860, p. xxviii, 67 sq.; *Z.D.P.V.*, xvii, 1894, p. 144). The fact is, however, that the gipsies of Modon after 1500 went over *en masse* to Islam, about the end of the xvth century were again mainly Christians, outwardly at least, after 1715 again became Muslim and finally after 1821 became Christians again.

During the second half of the xivth century the population of Modon increased considerably for many Christians and Jews of the Peloponnese, seeking to escape the Turkish yoke, took refuge here. While the town itself was immune, the country round, which was flat, suffered a great deal from the Turks. Thus for example about 1486, the Turks raided this plain and destroyed by fire the olive-trees there. In the last decades of the xvth century, the Venetian republic had much anxiety about Modon and her other possessions in the East, which the Turks had long coveted. In 1499 the Admiral Antonio Grimani was ordered by his government to see to the defence of Modon against the Turks. In July of this year, the Turkish fleet came to the vicinity of Modon and soon afterwards several naval encounters with the Venetian fleet took place. In a naval battle fought on Aug. 8, 1499, outside Modon, the heroic Venetian Andreas Loredano, governor of Corfu, was taken by the Turks and put to death. Another Venetian admiral, Melchior Trevisano, was now entrusted by the Venetian republic with the defence of Modon and her other possessions in the East. At the same time the republic endeavoured to make peace with Turkey, but the negotiations broke down in face of the impossible conditions laid down by Bāyazīd II. Among other things he insisted on the surrender of Modon. In the meanwhile on March 23, 1500, the Turks had occupied Merona, a little town near Modon. Marcus Gabrieli, the commander of Modon, had previously, on February 18, 1500, reported to the Venetian government the great straits of the town. According to his report, the garrison was not sufficient to defend the town against the Turks, and for a successful defence it would require four thousand trained men, in addition to artillery, arms, munitions and gunpowder, which the town lacked. In spite of her difficult financial

situation, Venice managed to provide the town with money, troops and artillery. But the Turkish fleet again appeared before Modon while Bayazid II advanced on the town by land at the head of a well equipped army. An attempt by the Venetian fleet under Admiral Hieronymus Contarini to raise the blockade on July 24, 1500 failed with heavy losses. The Turkish fleet, according to the Venetian admiral, had very good artillery. In the meanwhile famine had broken out in the garrison so that they could hold out no longer. Four Venetian galleys were able to steal through the Turkish fleet into the harbour and bring the garrison food, munitions and men, but this could not avert the fate of the town. After a siege of twenty-eight days during which the town was bombarded by heavy artillery, the Turks stormed it. On Sunday, August 9, 1500, the Venetian garrison had to yield to this onslaught.

The lot of the surviving garrison and other inhabitants of the town was a hard one. They were either massacred in most inhuman fashion or sent into slavery. Very few of them succeeded in escaping. But the number of people captured did not come up to the expectation of the Turks, because the Venetian authorities had earlier sent thousands of old men, women and children from Modon to Crete and Zante. Among those who fell at the capture of the town was the Roman Catholic bishop of Modon, Andreas Falcus, a number of prominent Venetians and high officials of other origin. When the news of the capture of Modon by the Turks reached Venice, it was plunged into deep mourning. This is reflected in a letter which the Doge Augustino Barbarigo sent on September 7 to the Pope and several European rulers with reference to the catastrophe. The sole consolation of the Venetians was the deceitful hope that their fleet might succeed in retaking Modon. The Venetian Senate at once saw to the settlement of a number of the refugees from Modon in Cephalonia. Sultân Bayazid II regarded the conquest of Modon, at the fortifications of which he was rightly amazed, as a gift from God. When he entered the town as a victorious conqueror, it had already been partly consumed by fire which had been begun by the defenders themselves. The fugitives from Modon, who had taken refuge in Zante, watched the flames that were destroying their homes burn for several days. Sultân Bayazid II promoted the first janissary to leap over the walls of Modon to the rank of Sarak-bey. He had two towers built of the skulls of the fallen and massacred Christians and turned the cathedral of the town, the venerable church of St. John, into a mosque. On August 14, 1500, he went to the new mosque to return his thanks to prayer. He then saw to the resettlement of Modon, the walls of which were rebuilt. By imperial decrees, each Peloponnesian village had to send five families to become permanent settlers in Modon, the revenues of which were allotted to Mecca. After a brief stay, Sultân Bayazid left his new conquest. He took with him as a prisoner the last Venetian defender of the town, Marcus Gabriel, whose life he had spared with the intention of using him for his own purposes later. The historian Sali, a native of Sinope, wrote some time before 1521 an account of the taking of Lepanto (Nanpactos) and Modon (*Fethnames-i Amakaddi wa-Modon*). The brief description of the capture of Modon written by Münshi Seyid Mehmed also gives details of the sultân's treatment

of the town (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, Leipzig 1909, p. 49).

In 1531 the Knights of St. John endeavoured to take Modon from the Turks and to establish themselves there. To do this they equipped a small fleet under the command of the Abbot Fra Bernardo Salbiati, a nephew of Pope Clement VII. Two Greeks employed in the harbour of Modon and Johannes Skandalis, a Greek from Zante, whose father was a customs officer in Modon, were to assist the enterprise. The fleet, led by Salbiati with two merchant ships, which also concealed soldiers, sailed for Sapienza. The warships were hidden in the vicinity of this island, while the two merchant ships under the guidance of Johannes Skandalis, made for the harbour of Modon. Permission to land was given without trouble to the crews of the two ships, who gave themselves out to be some merchants and some janissaries, and they were allowed to spend the night in the tower at the harbour. Johannes Skandalis and his little body of followers then succeeded in overpowering the Turkish guard at the tower and taking nearly the whole town. The rest of the Turkish garrison shut themselves in the palace which had once housed the Venetian governors of the town, and offered a stubborn resistance. In order to overcome the Turkish garrison the warships hidden at Sapienza were necessary. These now came up, although very late, and bombarded the town with their guns. Scarcely had they begun when a strong Turkish fleet appeared. The Knights and John Skandalis therefore abandoned Modon but not without carrying off some sixteen hundred prisoners.

The years 1532-1534, during which a Spanish force in the service of Charles V occupied the adjoining Coroni, were a critical period for the Turks in Modon. But after this, it was left in peace for a considerable period. The *Travels* of Ewliya Çelebi who visited the Morea in 1667 to 1668 contain valuable notes on Modon and its vicinity, while Hâdîdjî Khalifa (d. 1658) contains nothing essential.

During the war which broke out in 1684 between Turks and Venetians in which Germans, Poles and Russians also shared as allies, Modon with the whole of the Morea was restored to the Venetians. General Francesco Morosini in 1686 broke the resistance of the Turkish garrison with the help of Greek and German troops and secured it for the Adriatic republic. The chief mosque of the city, i.e. the old cathedral, was once more dedicated to Christian worship. Only in 1699 after the peace of Carlowitz, did the Turks recognise the Venetian claim to Modon. Venice now did her utmost to restore the city which, with its commerce, had much declined during the Turkish occupation. Of the seven administrative divisions (*cameras*) into which the Venetians had divided the Morea, the third was that of Modon. This district was again divided into four areas (Fanari, Arcadia, Navarino and Modon). From a Venetian record of September 29, 1690, giving the results of a census by the Venetian officials, we see that the district of Modon had been depopulated to an incredible degree. The 218 villages detailed in this list were inhabited by only 11,202 souls. Modon itself, including the citadel, had only 256 inhabitants of whom some must have been Muhammadans. A large number of villages which at the turn of the xviii-xviii centuries belonged to the district of Modon, have

Turkish names, some of which survive to this day. These villages were originally fiefs granted to Turks whose names in time passed to the village (cf. S. P. Lambros, in *Deltion*, publication of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece, vol. II., 1885, p. 686—710, pl. vii.; thereon *ἱστορικὴ Μεσσηνία*, Athens 1884, p. 114 sqq.; Pier' Antonio Pacifico, *Breve descrizione corografica del Peloponneso e' Morza*, Venice 1704, p. 125 sqq.).

After the conquest by Morosini whose services to Modon are commemorated in inscriptions still in existence, the town remained for some nineteen years under Venetian rule. In 1715 the grand vizier 'Ali Kamurli with the help of a number of Greeks took not only Modon but almost the whole of the Morea from the Venetians in a very short time. The Venetian garrisons of Navarino and Koroni as well as the inhabitants abandoned them when the Turkish army approached in the summer of 1715, in order to take refuge in Modon, which was much more strongly fortified. Soon afterwards the Turkish fleet and army began the siege of the town. After a brief resistance Modon surrendered voluntarily. After the capture of the town the grand vizier ordered a general slaughter of the Christians. Many in the district thereupon adopted Islam in order to save life and property in this way. The Turks who had formerly owned property in Modon or the neighbourhood were allowed by imperial edict to resume possession of it. The peace of Passarowitz (1718) finally ceded Modon to Turkey. The town recovered from the catastrophe of 1715. From 1725 onwards a busy trade developed between Modon and the lands of North Africa, especially Algeria and Tunis; this trade had existed previously but not to the same extent. Modon played a certain part during the war between Turkey and Russia in 1768—1774. The Russian vice-general Georg Vladimir Dolgoraki in 1769 with 500 Russians, 150 Montenegrins and 100 Greeks (mainly Mainotes) besieged Modon. The Turkish garrison of Modon consisted of 800 janissaries and a large number of Turks of the town and vicinity able to bear arms. The walls of the citadel were in good condition, and the supply of food and munitions ample. The siege lasted a long time; the fighting was conducted mainly by the artillery on both sides. The Russians had also two warships co-operating on the sea. At the end of May 1769, Turks and Albanians from the interior of the Morea came to the help of the besieged who undertook a valiant sortie, when they learned of the approach of help. In the battle that now developed the Russians suffered heavily. They were forced to abandon most of their artillery and to escape to Navarino, from which they sailed with the rest of the Russian army and a few Greek notables. A few years later, the Turks in Modon were still displaying the guns which they had taken from the Russians in 1769. According to reliable sources, the Turkish population of Modon about 1820 was four to five hundred fighting men. About the same time 'Ali Agha was prominent among the Turks of the town for his wealth and in other respects also. The vicinity of Modon was almost exclusively inhabited by Greeks who cultivated the land, which mainly belonged to the Turks, and were despised by them as contemptible menials. During the Greek War of Independence of 1821—1827, all

the attempts of the Greeks to take the town failed. At the end of March 1821, a Peloponnesian force led by the orthodox patriarch of Methone, named Gregory, and other notables, besieged Modon and the adjoining towns of Koroni and Neokastron. The besiegers were joined in the spring by Greeks from the Ionian islands and later by Philhellenes from Europe. On May 18, 1821, Greek ships, under the captains of the Speziots, Nikolaon Mpotaxis and Anastasios Koladritsos blockaded Modon. But neither the Turkish garrison nor the armed Turkish civilians in the town were the least dismayed. On the contrary, they undertook raids in all directions and did their best to impede the progress of Greek emancipation. Many fierce encounters took place between the Turks of Modon and their besiegers. In July 1821, Turkish ships re-provisioned Modon but they were not successful in their attempt to reprovision Neokastron, the garrison of which was in dire straits from want of food and even water. On August 8, 1821, the Turks of Modon decided to attempt the relief of their compatriots in Neokastron, who had in the meanwhile been forced to capitulate to their Greek besiegers. On the road between Modon and Neokastron a battle was fought on August 5, 1821, in which the valiant chief Constantine Pierrakos Mawromichalis, a member of a notable Mainote family, fell. On the same day, the Greeks took Neokastron; but they gradually abandoned the siege of Modon. The town was able to continue to hold out, only, however, with the frequent help of the Turkish fleet.

When Ibrahim Pasha, the adopted son of Mehmed 'Ali, undertook to suppress the Greek rising and to pacify the Morea, Modon and its neighbourhood formed his main base. There he landed troops on February 24, 1825, and dug entrenchments. Modon became an important base for Ibrahim Pasha's operations. On October 8, 1828 the town was taken from him by the French General Maison. Not before 1853 the French left and Modon has since then belonged to the Greeks.

Bibliography: (so far as not given above): Ant. G. Monferatos, *Μεσσηνία καὶ Κορώνη ἐπὶ Ἑσπεριαίης ὑπὸ κυριακήν, πολιτικὴ καὶ δημοκρατικὴ ἱστορία*, Athens 1914; K. Hopf, *Geschichte Griechenlands im Mittelalter*, Leipzig 1867—1868, i. and ii., *passim*; W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908 (cf. also the Greek translation with additional notes and connections by S. P. Lambros, Athens 1909—10), *passim*; R. Röhrich—H. Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem heiligen Lande*, Berlin 1880, p. 689; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, Leipzig 1885, i. and ii., *passim*; S. P. Lambros, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνημονεύμας* (periodical), index vol., Athens 1930, p. 420; C. N. Sathas, *Monumenta Hellenica historica*, I—ix., Paris 1880—1890 (esp. iv. and vi.); C. L. F. Tafel—R. Predelli, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum* (1300—1454), I. and II., Venice 1880, 1899; E. Gerland, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Erzbistums Patras*, Leipzig 1903 (these three books contain many documents relating to Modon); Sanudo, *Diarii*, iii., *passim*, esp. p. 688—694; P. Bembo, *Rerum Venetarum historia*, Basel 1556, fol. 110—114; F. Sansovino, *Historia universale dell' origine et imperio de' Turchi*, Venice 1573, fol. 201; *Historia politica*, Bonn ed., p. 56—58; *Echtesis Chronica*, ed. S. P. Lambros, London

1902, p. 22 sqq., 43; G. Cogo, *La guerra di Venezia contro i Turchi* (1499—1501), in *Nuovo archivio Veneto*, vol. xviii. (1888), p. 25 sqq.; Spandugino in C. N. Sathas, *loc. cit.*, vol. ix., p. 193—194; G. Bosio, *Dell'istoria della Sacra Religione et illustrissima Militia di S. Giovanni Gerolimitano*, Rome 1594, p. 75—76, 103—117; *Hajji Khalifa's Fumeli and Basma*, transl. v. Hammer, Vienna 1812, p. 112, 120 sqq.; Ewliya Celebi, *Siyahatnâmesi*, vii., Stambul 1928, p. 334 sqq.; K. N. Sathas, *Τουρκαγαπομένη Έλλάς*, Athens 1869, *passim*; P. M. Kontogiannis, *Οι Έλληνες κατά τον πρώτον επί Ανατολής & Περσικού πολέμου* (1768—1774), Athens 1903, p. 170, 174 sqq., 185 sqq.; A. Komnenos Hypellantis, *Τὰ μετὰ τὴν Άλωσιν*, Constantinople 1870, p. 31, 299, 462; Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, vi., Paris 1826, p. 61 sqq.; W. M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, i., London 1830, p. 208, 438 sqq.; J. Philemon, *Δούλευσιν Ιεροσολύμων καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἑκκαταστάσεως* i.—iv., Athens 1859—1861, *passim*; K. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, *Geschichte Griechenlands von der Eroberung Konstantinopels durch die Türken ... bis auf unsere Tage*, part i. and ii., Leipzig 1870—1870, *passim*; J. A. Buchon, *La Grèce continentale et la Morée*, Paris 1843, p. 97. (NIKOS A. BEES) [B&W]

MOGADOR, a town in Morocco on the Atlantic coast. The Bay of Mogador, protected against the north winds by the rocky promontory on which the town is built, against those from the west by an island about 1,000 yards in length, forms a natural harbour which, although not large and inaccessible for ships of large tonnage, has however the merit of being accessible at all seasons, an advantage which secures it a favourable place among the anchorages of the Atlantic coast of Morocco which is, generally speaking, inhospitable. This favoured situation was taken advantage of at a very early period. In spite of the lack of precision in the sources, it is probable that we should seek at Mogador the site of one of the five Phoenician colonies founded by Hanno (vth century). The island seems to have been known as the island of Hera or of Juno. Pliny records that at the end of the first century B.C. the king Julia II founded purple dye-works on the *Purpurariae Insulae*, islands in the Ocean, "opposite the Autololes", a Getulic people who lived in the north of the High Atlas. Getulic purple, which was celebrated at Rome, was supplied by the molluscs abundant on this coast. It is only at Mogador that we find an island and islets which can be identified as the *Purpurariae Insulae*, but no archaeological discovery has yet been made to confirm the deductions made from the ancient geographers.

In the xth century of the Christian era, according to al-Bakri (who finished his book in 1068), Amogadul, a very safe anchorage, was the port for all the province of Sâa. We see in the name that of a local saint, Sidi Mogdûl, still venerated in this region, whose tomb is on the bank near the mouth of the Wâdi 'I-Ksôb. It is however possible that the saint, of whom we know nothing, gets his name from an old Berber place-name. Mogador is only a Spanish or Portuguese transcription of Mogdûl, through the forms Mogodal, Mogodor, which we sometimes find in the texts. The harbour and the island bear the name Mogodor or Mongodor on a series of portolans of the xivth and xvth century

(publ. by Ch. de la Roncière, *La Découverte de l'Afrique au Moyen-Âge*, 1925) but there was not a town here, when in Sept. 1506, the king of Portugal Dom Manuel I commanded a gentleman of his court, Diogo d'Azambuja, to build a fortress here which was called *Castello Real* of Mogador. Built with great difficulty in face of the hostility of the natives, the Portuguese stronghold did not long resist them. While at Safi and Santa Cruz of Cape Guer (Agadir), the state of anarchy in which the tribes lived favoured the rapid progress of the Portuguese, it seems that at Mogador they came up against strong resistance probably organised by the old Berber marabout body of the Râgrâga. The garrison had to remain blockaded in *Castello Real*, revictualled with difficulty from Portugal and Madeira, until in October or November 1510, the tribes were strong enough to seize the fortress in circumstances which we do not know.

A sketch of the xvith century and plans of the xvith leave no doubt as to the site of *Castello Real*. It was situated, not at the mouth of the Wâdi 'I-Ksôb, where is now shown an alleged Portuguese fort which however only dates from the end of the xvith century, but on the shore of the northern passage opposite the island, on the rocky point which supports the mole west of the present harbour. Sometimes abandoned, sometimes more or less restored by the rulers of Morocco, who from time to time kept a small garrison there, the old Portuguese castle survived till 1764 or 1765 and was only destroyed when the town was built.

In spite of the lack of success of the Portuguese attempt, this privileged situation continued to attract the envy of European nations. At the beginning of the xvith century, Spain, fearing that Moroccan, Algerian or even European corsairs would establish themselves at Mogador, thought of seizing it herself to protect the route to the Indies. At the same time, English agents were thinking of making Mogador a base against Spain. The Sultân Mawlay Zaidân in 1611—1612 and his son 'Abd al-Malik in 1628 drew up a scheme to fortify the place to prevent foreigners from establishing themselves there. This was the time when in France Richelieu and Père Joseph were drawing up schemes for a colonial policy. The Chevalier de Razilly in 1626 suggested to them the occupation of Mogador and the organisation of a factory and fisheries there. He had it reconnoitred in 1629 but found it impossible to take it by surprise.

In spite of so many projects and attempts against it, the island and the shores remained practically deserted. Ships however frequented the roadstead. It was through Mogador that in the first quarter of the xvith century, the greater part of the trade between Marrâkush and Holland took place. Later, in the time of Mawlay Ismâ'îl, the harbour was mainly used as a refuge for corsairs who came there to rest and repair their vessels.

In 1751, Sidi Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah, then *khallîf* of his father for the district of Marrâkush, desiring to develop commercial relations between his subjects and Europe, ceded the island of Mogador to a Danish company, which however preferred to establish a centre at Agadir and was not successful there. A few years later on becoming sultân and having made Marrâkush his capital, Sidi Muhammad decided himself to found a town at Mogador and to conduct all the commerce of

the south of his kingdom through it, to the greater benefit of the royal treasury, which would obtain not only the customs from this increased trade but also profit by the rents of the buildings, most of which had been built by the sovereign and were his private property. The harbour also served as a base for the corsairs who, through the income they offered to the fleets of Europe, forced the Christian nations to conclude treaties with the sultan by which he received valuable presents and even sums of money. In order to populate the town and start business in it, he demanded that European consuls and merchants should settle there and have homes built at their own expense.

By 1760 he had begun work but it is from the autumn of 1764 that the foundation of the town really dates; it was given the name al-Suwayra (Sourra), the little fortress, by which it is known to the natives; the name Mogador is only used by Europeans. We also find a Berberised form (*Tamir*). The sultan went in person to choose and distribute the sites for the buildings. He had asked the English to send him an architect. They sent him a French "engineer", a native of Avignon, called Nicolas Couraut, who had made the plans for the fortifications of some places in Roussillon. He was an adventurer who, after working in France as a contractor, had entered the English service during the Seven Years' War. He was living at Gibraltar where he entered Sidi Muhammad's service. The sultan did not gain much by his services and sent him back to France at the beginning of 1767. None of the present buildings in Mogador can be attributed with certainty to Couraut, for after him a number of European architects and masons worked for the sultan, notably a Genoese architect who built the battery called the *skafa* situated on the western rampart facing the sea. Mogador owed to its builders the narrow streets, massive gateways and bastions of European type, the like of which cannot be found in other Moroccan towns and which give it quite a specific character. Sidi Muhammad also built outside the town a country palace which still stands half buried in sand opposite the little village of Diyabât.

The dreams of the sultan were only imperfectly realised. The merchants, attracted to Mogador by the promise of a reduction in the export duties on goods, were soon undeceived when they saw that the sovereign did not keep his promises but constantly imposed new burdens on trade. The prosperity of Mogador remained insignificant under Sidi Muhammad and declined under his successors. The situation of the town, a long way from great cities and main roads, made it frequently used in the sixteenth century as a political prison and compulsory place of residence for high officials in disgrace. Mogador remained however the starting-place for the caravans to Sûs, Mauritania and the Sūdān and has retained from this position a certain commercial importance, to which the opening of the port of Agadir to commerce will now do considerable harm.

On August 15, 1844, after the battle of Isly, a French squadron commanded by the Prince de Joinville, who had just bombarded Tangier, came and bombarded Mogador. It was intended to make an impression on Sultan Mawlay 'Aïd al-Rahmān by striking at a town which belonged to him personally and from which he drew considerable revenues. A three hours' bombardment silenced the batteries; the French army then disembarked on

the island, the garrison of which, entrenched in the mosque, made a vigorous defence until the next morning. On August 16, a detachment of 600 men went to spike the guns, throw the gunpowder into the sea and destroy the last defences of Mogador. The town, which had suffered very little from the French shot, but had been evacuated by the inhabitants, was burned and plundered by the tribes of the country round (Shiyādma and Hāha).

Mogador is now the headquarters of a *contrôle civil*. It had 18,401 inhabitants at the census of 1926. The Jewish element is particularly large, numbering 7,730.

The extremely temperate climate is remarkably equable; but it is spoiled by the wind which blows almost incessantly, laden with the sand from the neighbouring dunes.

Bibliography. Cf. the index to R. Roget, *Le Maroc chez les auteurs anciens*, 1924; St. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*; al-Bakri, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. and transl. Slane, 1911-1913; Damião de Góla, *Crónica do felicíssimo rei D. Manuel*, ed. D. Lopes, Coimbra 1926; H. de Castries, *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*; al-Zayāni, ed. and transl. Hoardas, 1886; al-Nāṣiri, *Kitāb al-Itihāz*, transl. Fumey, in *Archives Marocaines*, vol. ix. and x.; cf. also: Duarte Pacheco Pereira, *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, ed. Epiphanius da Silva Dias (transl. R. Ricard, in *Hispania*, 1927, p. 249); [Bibé de Maurville], *Relation de l'affaire de Larache*, Amsterdam 1775, p. 224; G. Host, *Nachrichten von Marokko und Fez*, Copenhagen 1781 and *Den Marokkaniske Kæiser Mohammed ben Abdallah's Historie*, Copenhagen 1791; Chénier, *Recherches historiques sur les Maures*, 1787, vol. iii.; Lemprière, *Voyage dans l'Empire de Maroc*, transl. Sainte-Suzanne, 1801; Jackson, *An Account of the empire of Morocco*, London 1809; H. de Castries, *Le Danemark et le Maroc*, in *Hispania*, 1926, p. 342-345; Doute, *En tribu*, 1914, p. 352-358; Latreille, *La Campagne de 1844 au Maroc*. (P. DE CERVAL)

MOGHUL. [See MUḠHAL.]

MOHUR, an Indian gold coin. The name is the Persian *mahr*, which is a loanword from the Sanskrit *mudrā*, seal or die. The earliest occurrence of the word on coins is on the forced currency of Muhammad b. Tughlak where it has the literal meaning of "sealed" or "stamped". By the 15th century it had come to be used as a popular rather than precise name for gold coins in general.

Very little gold had been issued in India for two centuries before the reign of Akbar. One of his reforms was the issue of an extensive coinage in gold. In addition to many pieces which had only a brief circulation, he revived the old gold tanka (q. v.) of the Sultāns of Dehli on a standard of 170 grains (11.02 grammes) to which he gave the name *mahr*. That the name at first could be applied to any gold coin is shown by Dīkhāṅgī's reference in his *Memoirs* (transl. A. Rogers, *O.T.F.*, vol. xix., p. 10) to mahrs of 100, 50, 20, 10, 5 and 1 tola. After the numismatic experiments of Akbar and Dīkhāṅgī, only one gold piece was struck, occasionally with subdivisions so that the general name acquired a particular meaning, especially among the English merchants in India. Mohurs continued to be struck to the end of the Mughal Empire and by the states into which it broke up in the 17th and 18th centuries. Akbar and Dīkhāṅgī issued

square as well as round pieces and the former also struck a few *muharr* pieces, so called from their shape. Of the numerous large denominations recorded by Abu 'l-Fazl and Tajikagir, only 5 *muh* pieces of Akbar and of Tajikagir are known to exist.

As the silver rupee was the standard coin of India the value of the mohur fluctuated with the price of gold. In the latter half of the xviiith and early sixteenth centuries, the East India Company endeavoured to make gold the standard of India and issued mohurs (called gold rupees in Bombay) with the legends of the Mughal Emperor. None of their attempts to keep gold and silver in currency at a fixed rate were successful. When in 1835 a uniform currency was introduced for British India a gold mohur or 15 rupee piece with English types was struck in name of William IV but never attained general circulation; this was the last attempt to restore the mohur to circulation. The mohurs occasionally seen of Victoria of 1861, 1862 and other dates are patterns.

Bibliography: R. Chalmers, *A History of Currency in the British Colonies*, London 1893, p. 336—348; *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Oxford 1907), iv. 513—521; S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Moghul Coins in the British Museum* (London 1892), p. lxxii—lxxviii; E. Thurston, *History of Coinage of the East India Company* (Madras 1890) (J. ALLAN)

MOHĀ, a small seaport on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea in 13° 19' 50" N. Lat. and 43° 12' 10" East Long. (Greenwich).

The once imposing town lies on a small bay between two promontories with forts on each about one and a half miles apart. The wall which surrounds the town in a semicircle is pierced by four gates. In the north the Bab al-Hamūdiya leads to the citadel of the town and to a tongue of land which runs out into the sea; in the east roughly in the centre of the wall is the Bab al-Shādhili through which the fort of al-Bardh is reached and to the east the road to al-Ta'izz from it, while the road to al-Hodeida runs north via Bar al-Fakh. In the south the Bab al-Sandili admits to the fort of al-Bahr and the road to 'Aden; in the west through the Bab al-Bahr the harbour is reached; its stone breakwater is now much decayed. This also holds of the wall which connects the city-gates. Seen from the sea the town, which covers an area of about half a square mile, still looks very fine; the white mass of houses stands brightly out from the dark blue waters of the Red Sea. But as one approaches, the damage which wars, dilapidation and turbulent times have done to the often sore tried town, is apparent; the houses are for the most part deserted, while the inhabitants, consisting of Arabs, Somalis, Danakil, Jews and a few Parsees, have settled in huts outside the town. East of the Bab al-Shādhili, for example, there is a large group of huts, inhabited by Arabs, south of this another group belonging to Somalis, while farther south and on the other side of the Wadi 'l-Kohr is the Jewish quarter (Ka' al-Yahūd). In the north lies the great cemetery and a white-washed mosque which contains the tomb of the patron saint of the town, Shaikh 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Shādhili; in the east of the town is a second important mosque with a minaret 118 feet high, which forms a landmark visible from a considerable distance, along with several smaller ones. The country round is barren. Drinking water is brought

by a conduit from the Mawaz² twenty-four miles to the north. The population has varied considerably in the last hundred years. In 1824 it was 20,000, in 1878—1879: 5—8,000, in 1882 it was put at 1,500 beside the town and in 1901 it had sunk to about 400.

al-Mokhā is briefly mentioned by al-Hamdāni in connection with al-Mandab as lying in the land of the Banū Madhā; al-Mas'ūdī also refers to it briefly in his geographical work. The Portuguese gave the town the name by which it has become known in Europe: Moca. P. Manoel d'Almeida calls it *Mogā* in his *Historia geral de Ethiopia a alia por B. Itzazar Telles* (Coimbra 1660).

About 850 years ago Mokhā was an insignificant village, but rapidly grew in importance when Shaikh Shādhili discovered the peculiar qualities of the coffee bean and introduced the habit of drinking coffee. In 1513 Alfonso Albuquerque found Mokhā still a modest place but by 1610 it had become the most important port for trade with Abyssinia, and England was endeavouring to trade with it while the Dutch had a factory here. Coffee was the chief article of export along with other specialities of the Yemen, and received its name from the town. As late as 1763 Niebuhr found the town very prosperous; but the capture of 'Aden by the English put an end to its prosperity. 'Aden and al-Hodeida attracted all the trade of Southern Yemen. Under Turkish rule Mokhā was a *kaḍi* in the sanjak of Ta'izz but its trade was insignificant. In 1916 for example, only about £ 10,000 worth of coffee was sent to 'Aden. There is a minimum of industrial activity and that only to supply local needs. Indigo dyeing and the manufacture of spirits may be mentioned; the latter is in the hand of Jews. Mokhā is connected by telegraph with San'a' (via Ta'izz), al-Hodeida (via Zabīd), Shaikh Sa'īd and Perim. Mokhā has acquired a new importance by the creation of the imāmate of al-Yemen and is now beginning to share the trade with al-Hodeida.

Bibliography: al-Hamdāni, *Sifa Djastral al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leyden 1884—1891, p. 119; al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, B. G. A., viii. 260; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 221 sq.; R. Manzoni, *El Yemen, tre anni nell' Arabia felice*, Roma 1884, p. 149—351; G. W. Bury, *Arabia Infelix or the Turks in Yemen*, London 1915, p. 24, 119; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftgebiet*, (Osten und Orient, Forschungen vol. iv., Vienna 1922), p. 4, 102; ii. (Brünn 1931), p. 51, 114; *A Handbook of Arabia*, vol. 1, General, compiled by the geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, Naval Staff Admiralty, London (L. D. 1128), p. 158, 169, 172, 224, 499.

(A. GROHMANN)

MOLLĀ. [See MAWLĀ.]

MOLLĀ KHUSRAW. [See MUHAMMAD b. FARĀMAKZ.]

MOMBASA (مومباسا, anciently Mvita), an island and town on the east coast of Africa, in Lat. 4° S., Long. 39° E. The island, about 3 miles in length from north to south and nearly the same distance from east to west, is remarkably compact in shape and is so placed in the deep inlet formed by the converging of several creeks as to be almost entirely surrounded by the mainland, only presenting its south-eastern angle

to the Indian Ocean. This peculiarity of its situation suggested to the late W. E. Taylor the derivation of the name *Mvita* (the "Curtailed Headland") from *(n)ita* "point". The more usual derivation from *vita* "war" seems inadmissible on phonetic grounds; another explanation connects it with *ita* "hidden", either from its hidden position, or from the inhabitants, as it is said, having hidden themselves in the bush during a raid from Pate.

The town of Mombasa is situated at the eastern end of the island and, being the terminus of the Uganda railway and the only port of the colony, is of considerable commercial importance. The population, according to the latest information available, is something over 44,000, of whom 26,906 are classed as "Africans" (i.e. the permanent residents, mostly Swahili, and a floating contingent of labourers belonging to other tribes). The remainder includes 7,523 Arabs, 7,556 Indians, 1,000 Europeans, and a proportion of "other races". The Arabs, Swahili and many of the Indians are Moslems; the two former chiefly Sunnis of the Shāfi'ī sect, though a few of the older men belong to the Ibadīya. There are several mosques, very plain buildings, as a rule, and devoid of minarets; the *masjid al-dhīn* stands on the flat roof to give the call to prayer. The largest and most imposing of these structures is that belonging to the Khōdjas.

The origin of Mombasa is involved in some obscurity. It is certain that Arab trading stations existed on the East African coast at the beginning of the Christian era, and we learn from the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* that the traders frequently married native women. This indicates a fairly early origin for the Swahili race. The first permanent settlements, however, seem to have been post-Islamic: 69 (689) is given as the date for the settlement of Pate; and, as Lamu is said by native tradition to have been founded by colonists sent out by 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (A.D. 684-705), these two towns were no doubt contemporary. There is no mention of Mombasa in the traditions of Lamu or Pate, at this period, except for a statement made to the late Captain Stigand (*Land of Zinj*, p. 29), that 'Abd al-Malik sent out Syrians, who "built the cities of Pate, Malindi, Zanzibar, Mombasa, Lamu and Kilwa". Other authorities place the founding of Kilwa much later, viz. 365 (976). The *Chronicle of Kilwa* states that 'Ali b. Hasan of Shirāz, the founder and first "Sultān", installed one of his sons as ruler of Mombasa, no doubt the first of the "Shirāzi Shaikh", the last of whom was deposed by the Portuguese. It would appear that Mombasa was for some time under the suzerainty of Kilwa; but how far the "King of the Zandji" described by Idrisi and, later, by Ibn Sa'īd as residing at Mombasa, was independent, is not clear. The names of the twelve tribes (called indifferently *fabila* or *qabila*) said by native authorities to make up the Swahili population indicate a composite origin and possibly a late one, as the bulk of the people came from settlements already founded. It is possible that the Wamvita (who either take their name from the city or gave theirs to it) go back to the alleged foundation under 'Abd al-Malik; but against this is the assertion, repeatedly made, that the Wachangwao, Wakilindini and Watangana are the *taifa tatu*, "the three" — i.e. the three aboriginal — "tribes". Some native authorities give these three as "Kilindini", separate from Mombasa. Changamwe

is a village on the mainland, a mile or two from the crossing at Makupa; Kilindini (now important as the principal harbour for steamers from Europe) is at the western end of the island. Tradition says that Kilindini was a city before Mombasa existed, and, in fact, the jungle near the present port contains numerous ruins of uncertain date, which, so far as I know, have not yet been competently examined. Tangana is on the island of Mombasa, now included in the town. The remaining tribes are those of Kilifi¹ (a town to the north of Mombasa; its inhabitants are said to have come from "Shirāzi", either Shirāz in Persia or a town of the same name in Tanganyika Territory, a colony from the original Shirāz), Pate, Para (or Faza, in the island of Pate), Shaka (a Persian settlement near the mouth of the Tana), Mtwapa (between Mombasa and Takungu), Jomvu (on the creek known as Port Tudor), the Wagunya (the people on the mainland north of the Lamu archipelago) and the Wakatwa (the Somali). Another account omits this last name and substitutes that of the Wamalindi. Krupf (*Dictionary*, p. 240) mentions a tradition that the town was built (not on the present site, but at the place known as Kwa Mashekh, a little to the north) by one Shebe Mvita, whose tomb was pointed out to him; but it seems probable that this eponymus was invented to account for the name. When that of Mombasa was introduced we have no information, but it was used by the Arab geographers as far back as the thirteenth century. It is mentioned, as already stated, by Idrisi. Ibn Sa'īd speaks of "a great estuary" to the west of Mombasa, by which must be meant the creek now known as "Port Tudor", and says it is distant about one degree from Malindi. Ibn Battūta, who spent one night there, on his way to Kilwa, describes it as "a large island, two days' journey by sea from the Sawahil country. It possesses no territory on the mainland. They have fruit-trees on the island, but no cereals, which have to be brought to them from the Sawahil. Their food consists chiefly of bananas and fish. The inhabitants are pious, honourable and upright, and they have well-built wooden mosques". This would imply that the coast opposite Mombasa was not reckoned as part of the Sawahil. Present-day Swahilis restrict the term "Swahilini" to the strip of coast between Malindi and Lamu, which they look upon as the cradle of their race and this might be taken as intended by Ibn Battūta, but for his reference to cereals being brought from "Sawahil", which would place it in the south, since the dhows laden with millet come up from that quarter with the S.W. monsoon (cf. Taylor, *Aphorisms*, § 128).

The first European to reach Mombasa was Vasco da Gama, who touched there, April 7, 1498, but did not land, owing to the real or suspected treachery of the Arab pilot sent by the Shaikh. He went on to the rival state of Malindi and established friendly relations with its ruler, who hoped to find in him an ally against Mombasa. Mombasa — after the city had been repeatedly destroyed, in whole or in part, by Almeida in 1505, by Nuno da Cunha in 1528 and by Continho in 1589 — was rendered tributary to the Portuguese in or about 1590, after the adventurer Mir 'Ali Bey had induced the Shaikh to tender his allegiance to the Turkish Sultān and had been

¹ In these names of places, I omit the *wa-*, which is the prefix indicating plurality of persons.

driven off by Continho's fleet. At the same time occurred the invasion of the Zimbas, an unidentified tribe who had spread desolation on their march north-eastward, "probably from some locality on or near the West coast" (cf. Theal, I, 352). From Mombasa they passed on to Malindi, where the Portuguese garrison, with the help of native allies, effectually resisted them, and, if not exterminated, they ceased to exist as a tribe. The fort, still in existence, was erected between 1593 and 1595, and Mombasa was held by the Portuguese for some sixty years. The last Shirazi Shaikh, Shaho Mahamud b. Hisham, was deposed and the Shaikh of Malindi, Ahmad, installed in his stead with the title of Sultān. Immigration from Portugal was encouraged, but in 1615 the settlers, apart from the garrison, only numbered 50 (cf. Strander, p. 173). In 1605, a convent of Augustinian monks was founded, which, with other ecclesiastical establishments, was under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa till 1612. In that year a separate diocese of Mozambique was created. Shaikh Ahmad died in 1609 and was succeeded by his son Hasan, whose treatment by the Portuguese authorities ranks among the scandals of Colonial history. He was finally murdered, at the instigation of the governor, De Mello Pereira (1615). His son, Yūsuf, aged seven, was sent to Goa to be educated and there baptised by the name of Geronimo Chinguita. After an inquiry held at Lisbon in 1618, the highest ecclesiastical tribunal in Portugal pronounced Hasan innocent and decreed that Yūsuf should be restored to his inheritance. In 1630 he was sent home and installed as Sultān, continued for a time to profess Christianity, but, being accused of apostasy because he had been seen praying at his father's tomb and apprehensive of being sent to Goa (the seat of the Inquisition), revolted, openly declared himself a Moslem and massacred all the Portuguese in Mombasa (cf. Faria y Sousa, vol. iii, iv, I, p. 391). His example was followed by Tanga, Mwangata and some other towns (1631). Mombasa was besieged for three months by F. de Mowra, with a fleet from Goa, but without success. Yūsuf, however, probably seeing that he would be unable to hold out permanently, retreated to Arabia after dismantling the fort and destroying the town. The new governor, Seixas de Cabreira, subdued the revolted towns and repaired the fort, as recorded in the inscription still legible above the gateway. The Portuguese rule becoming more and more oppressive, the Coast Arabs appealed in or about 1660 to Sultān b. Seif al-Ya'arubi, Imām of 'Omān, who had already expelled the Portuguese from Maskat. He took Mombasa after a long siege and various operations; and though it was retaken shortly afterwards, the power of Portugal was already on the wane, and Seif b. Sultān again captured Mombasa in 1698 and installed Nasir b. 'Abd Allāh al-Mazrui as governor. Internal quarrels and a revolt against this governor laid the town open to a last Portuguese attack, in 1728, when Luis de Mello Sampayo seized it, with the help of Bwana Tamm Mkuu (Abū Bakr b. Muhammad), Sultān of Pate. This occupation lasted but a short time and was terminated by another massacre, probably that commemorated in the tradition recorded by Taylor (*Aphorisms*, § 401). A period of anarchy ensued, which became so intolerable that not only the "Twelve Tribes" of Mombasa but the chiefs of the pagan Wanyika on

the mainland, appealed to Seif b. Sultān for help. He sent three ships and appointed a governor. In 1739 this office was held by Muhammad b. 'Othmān al-Mazrui, the first of a line who became practically independent rulers of Mombasa. When the Ya'arubi Imāms were ousted by the Al Bū Sa'idi, the Mazrui refused to recognise the new dynasty. They were left undisturbed for a considerable time, but the more energetic policy pursued by Sa'id b. Sultān (1804—1856) induced them to seek British protection in 1823. This was provisionally granted by Captain Owen, but withdrawn three years later, as the Home government refused to sanction it. Sa'id finally gained possession of Mombasa in 1837, when the leading Mazrui were captured by treachery and deported to Bander 'Abbās. From that time till the establishment of the British protectorate in 1890, Mombasa remained subject to the Saliyid (now called Sultān) of Zanzibar, who indeed retains a certain jurisdiction over the ten-mile strip of coast leased from him by the British East Africa Company in 1887. The principal event in its history since that date is the rising of the Mazrui in 1895, coincident with, but not caused by the proclamation of the British protectorate over the mainland territory, which was taken over from the Company by the Imperial Government. Since then the completion of the Uganda Railway and the harbour works at Kilindini have noticeably changed the character of Mombasa, which is now a flourishing seaport, much frequented by European shipping.

The dialect of Swahili spoken at Mombasa was considered by the late W. E. Taylor "the truly central" language, "the best fitted for accurate statement and grave discussion"; though that of Zanzibar has now attained a wider currency. The art of poetry was, till recently, much cultivated there; the best known of the native poets are Mnyaka b. Mwinyi Haji, Mwafimu Sikujua (died 1891), and Hemedi b. Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Maimbassi, who was still living during the last decade of the sixteenth century (since deceased), Muhammad b. Ahmad, 'Abd Allāh Borashidi, Mwinyi Mugwama.

Bibliography: R. F. Burton, *Zanzibar*, 2 vols., London; Sir Charles Elliot, *The East Africa Protectorate*, London 1905; Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*; G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient, du VIII^e au XVIII^e siècles*, Traduits, revus et annotés, Paris 1913—1914; Guillaum, *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le Commerce de l'Afrique Orientale*, 3 vols., Paris 1856; Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa*, transl. and selected by H. A. R. Gibb, London 1929; J. L. Krapf, *Reisen in Ostafrika, ausgeführt in den Jahren 1837—1855*, Kornthal and Stuttgart 1858; do., *Dictionary of the Swahili Language*, London 1882; W. F. W. Owen, *Narrative of Voyages to explore the shores of Africa, Arabia and Madagascar, performed in H. M. Ships Leven and Barracatta, under the direction of Captain W. F. W. Owen, R.N. By Command of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty*, 2 vols., London 1833; W. H. Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, Translated from the Greek and annotated*, London 1912; C. H. Stigand, *The Land of Zinj*, London 1913; W. E. Taylor, *A Grammar of Dialectic Changes in the Swahili Language*.

With an Introduction and a Revision and Poetical Translation of the Poem Inshikah, a Swahili Speculum Mundi, Cambridge 1915; Justus Strandes, *Die Portugiesenszeit von Deutsch- und Englisch-Ostafrika*, Berlin 1899; S. Arthur Strong, *History of Kihoa*, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 385—430; W. E. Taylor, *African Aphorisms, or Sayings from Swahiland*, London 1891; A. Werner, *A Swahili History of Paté*, Translated and annotated, in *J. Afr. Soc.*, 1915. The Arabic chronicle of Mombasa, of which translations appear in Guillain and Owen, was also translated into German by Krapf, in *Das Ausland*, 1858.

(A. WERNER)

MONASTIR (pronounced *Muastir*, *Muſtir*; ethnic *Muastiri*), a town in the Šehel, the eastern coast of Tunisia, on the site of the ancient Ruspina at the end of a cape which runs out to the south-east of Sūsā. The Arabic name raises a problem which is not yet solved. The name clearly conceals the Greek word *μοναστήριον* which suggests that there was an important Christian monastery here at one time. This is however a pure hypothesis, supported by no text, although Tissot (*Géographie comparée de la province d'Afrique*, II, 165—166) seems to take it for granted. If on the other hand we remember that the Arab Monastir from the end of the eighth century was a great Muslim monastery and probably the first to be founded in the west, it is tempting to accept the explanation (suggested by Si Haasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb) that the name was given to the Muslim foundation by the Greeks of the country or Berbers speaking Greek, still Christians or recently converted to Islam.

It was in 180 (796) that Harthama b. 'Aiyān, who ruled the province of Ifrīkiya in the name of the 'Abbasid caliph Hārūn al-Rashid, founded the *ribāṭ* of Monastir. This fortified monastery attained considerable importance in Western Islam. A century after its foundation, *ḥadīths* were quoted which proclaimed its great importance and promised the highest rewards to those who came there to fight the infidel or to prepare themselves for the holy war. The Prophet foreseeing the foundation of al-Monastir is said to have said: "On the coast of Ifrīkiya, there is one of the gates of Paradise which is called al-Monastir; one enters it by the grace of God's mercy and leaves it by the effect of his pardon"; or again: "He who keeps watch in the frontier town of al-Monastir for three days has the right to Paradise" (cf. Abu 'l-'Arab, *Classes des savants de l'Ifrīqiya*, transl. Ben Cheueh, 5, 7, 9, 14, 15; Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, transl. Fagnan, I, 1). In the 13th century al-Bakrī gives a description of Monastir, the substance of which is taken from al-Warrāḳ (d. 973) and which is not quite clear to us. It is a large fortress (*ḥaṣr*), he says, which contains a quarter (*ṣabakh*) of considerable size. In the middle of this quarter stands a citadel (*ḥiṣn*) which contains suites of rooms, oratories and castles (*ḥiṣḥ*) of several stories. To the south of this citadel is a great court (*ṣūḥn*) with *ḥubbās*, called *ḥubbās ḡūm*, around which women who wish to devote themselves to religion come to live. It seems that the "fortress" was the town itself with its ramparts, still known by the name, common in Tunisia, of *ḥad*. Outside the *ḥad* is the quarter also encircled by ramparts and turrets in which we have the *ribāṭ*. This occupies the north-east angle of this "suburb"; its walls and high tower called *maḥḥa* dominate with their proud silhouette

the shore and the country round. To the south is a courtyard with tombs; here no doubt we have to locate the abodes of the pious women mentioned by al-Warrāḳ. The interior of the *ribāṭ* shows traces of frequent attention and repairs which makes its plan singularly complicated. We can however perhaps recognise the general arrangements of which the *ribāṭ* of Sūsā, founded twenty-five years later, gives us a clearer scheme on a smaller scale: a central rectangular court surrounded by two storeys of cells. On the first floor on the south side, the cells are replaced by a hall for prayer of no great height, very simple with cradle vaulting. It is probably the same as is mentioned by al-Bakrī: "On the first storey is a mosque where there is always a *shaykh* of great virtue and merit, who has the direction of the community". The signal tower, circular in plan, occupies almost the same position as that which dominates the *ribāṭ* of Sūsā. In addition to the dwellings of the marabouts there are reservoirs, baths and "Persian mills" in the monastery. Every year a great fair was held at Monastir on the 'Ashūrā day when the pious began their temporary withdrawals from the world. Some, however, shut themselves up for life and devoted themselves entirely to prayer and the defence of the lands of Islam. The people of Kairawān supplied them with provisions, in itself a pious work.

The ninth century was undoubtedly the golden age of the *ribāṭ* of Monastir. Its importance however must have diminished somewhat as a result of the foundation in 821 of the *ribāṭ* of Sūsā, which was the starting point for the expedition to Sicily. Al-Bakrī would regard the *ribāṭ* of Monastir as a dependency on that of Sūsā. It was nevertheless, as well as the land around it, an auspicious place. We can date to about 1000 A.D. the building of the Great Mosque, close to the *ribāṭ*, and that of the little mosque of the Saiyida, both of which have preserved *mihrābs* of a very curious transitional style. It is probable that the "Lady" whose tomb has given its name to the oratory of the Saiyida was a princess of the family of the Zirids of Kairawān. Monastir was, especially after the Hilālī invasion (middle of the 11th century), the St. Denis of the Šahbādīja rulers. According to al-Idrīsī (11th century), the dead were brought there by boat (the roads were by no means safe at this time) from the town of Mahdiyya. The tombs of this period are numerous in the cemetery in which the patron saint of Monastir, Sīdī al-Mīzārī, is buried.

Although Monastir did not play a great part in history after this period, the town and the *ribāṭ* continued to be an object of care to various Tunisian dynasties. From the Hafsid al-Mustanṣir (1260) date the two gates of the *ḥad*: Bab al-Darb and Bab al-Sēr. As to the *ribāṭ*, one of the gates was rebuilt by the Hafsid Abū Fārīn in 828 (1424); another dates from 1058 (1648) and is the work of the Turks.

Monastir is at the present day a town of some 7,000 inhabitants. Three little islands, one of which contains a number of puzzling artificial caves, shelter the roadstead outside, which is frequented by a considerable number of ships at the tunny and sardine fishing season.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-'Arab, *Classés des savants de l'Ifrīqiya*, text and transl. by Moḥammed Ben Cheueh, Algiers 1920, *passim*; Yāqūt, *Mo'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, IV, 661; Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān al-Mughrib*, ed. Dozy, I, 1, 80; transl.

E. Fagnan, I. 1, 127; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, transl. de Slane, IV. 100; al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1911, p. 36; transl. de Slane, Algiers 1913, p. 78—80; Ibn Hawqāl, transl. de Slane, *J. A.*, 1842, I. 176; al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. de Goeje, p. 108, transl. p. 127; al-Tijānī, *Rihla*, transl. Rousseau, *J. A.*, 1852, II. 111; al-Kairawānī (Ibn Abi Dīnār), *Histoire de l'Afrique*, transl. Pellissier and Kémsat, p. 157; B. Roy, *Inscriptions arabes de Monastir*, in *Revue tunisienne*, 1918; H. H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Extraits relatifs à l'histoire de l'Afrique du nord et de la Sicile*, in *Cronario di Michele Amari*, II., p. 492—493; G. Marçais, *Note sur les ribāṭ en Berberie*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, II. 395—399; do., *Manuel d'art musulman*, I. 50, 109—112; II. 573. (GEORGES MARÇAIS)

MONTENEGRO (Turk. KARA DAĞI, Serbo-Croat: CRNA GORA) is in its heart a steep rocky citadel, the interior of which is difficult of passage and much cut up orographically and hydrographically; it has only a gateway in the south from Lake Skutari and in the north from the Herzegovina; these two gateways are connected by a corridor, the valley of the Zeta. This route which, as the main line of communication, has been the scene of fierce fighting between the natives and invaders and is also the dividing line between western and eastern Montenegro or Crna Gora in the narrow sense, the oldest part of the modern state on the one hand and the eastern districts called Brda on the other, is formed by the undulating plain of Zeta on the lower course of the Morača, which flows into Lake Skutari, by its right tributary the Zeta, the large but little fertile basin of the Nikšić and the depression of the Duga passes. Crna Gora and an adjoining strip of the Brda running north and south belong to the most desolate and poorest parts of the Dinaric or Illyrian limestone region which runs along the Adriatic, the forests of which, still existing down to modern times, have been sacrificed to get pasture land, lime, charcoal and tar (C. Patasch, *Historische Wanderungen im Karst und an der Adria*, I., Vienna 1912, p. 28) and which, with a poor water supply, have only a little arable land in little hollows and cups on their cold rocky highlands, on which we also have the few little villages and towns of which Cetinje at the eastern foot of the Lovćen (5,750 feet) with 5,473 inhabitants is the largest. It is not till we come east of the Brda to the valleys of the Piva and Tara with their deep ravines, which join to form the Drina on the northern frontier, and on the Lim, around the massif of the Durmitor (7,200 feet) and Kom (8,000 feet), where the soil is of gravel, that we have favourable conditions with a regular water supply, extensive forests of pine and other woods, rich meadows which enable cattle to be reared in large numbers; in many places in this region bread is dearer than meat. A very small fruit-growing region is the alluvial plain of Crmnica, the "garden of Montenegro" which lies around the Višpazar on the north-western shores of Lake Skutari, which is full of fish, with a Mediterranean climate and vegetation, which is also found in the narrow strip of land along the Karst river Crnojevića Rijeka, to the north.

1. The oldest known inhabitants of the country were the Illyrian tribes of the Docleates and Labiates, of whom the former lived in the wilds

of Montenegro and the latter in the Mediterranean area around Lake Skutari down to the coast. After the destruction in 168 B.C. of the Illyrian kingdom of the Ardiaei whose last capital was Skutari, to which they, along with the Herzegovina, Southern Dalmatia and Northern Albania, had belonged, they came under the rule of the Romans and later formed part of the province of Dalmatia. In the first century A.D. we find the two tribal areas replaced each by a town organised on Roman lines with the old tribal territories attached to them, but ill defined: Doclea, at the corner formed by the junction of the Morača and Zeta, and Scodra, now Skutari, which latter, in the division of Dalmatia under Diocletian, became the capital of the provincia Praevalitana or Praenalis and has maintained a dominating position almost down to the present time [cf. SKUTARI]. Doclea, on the other hand, is representative for Montenegro of the economic and cultural decline of south-west Europe since ancient times. In spite of the step-motherly nature of the country, we know from the ruins of public and private buildings bleaching in the miserable desert of the Karst and from epigraphic evidence that it was once a prosperous city with considerable trade with the interior across Lake Skutari and on the Boyana which flows out of it (Patasch, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopädie der Klass. Altertumswissenschaft*, v. 1251 199). It suffered severely in 395 when the Balkans suffered so much at the hand of the Teutons at the time of the migration of the Visigoths, but in spite of the plundering of the Adriatic territory which followed at other hands also, it was still the see of a bishop in 602, in the period when the towns of the peninsula were finally destroyed as a result of the raids of the Avars and Slavs and the permanent settlement of the latter, who having no understanding of town life, retained in their new homes their traditional poor and primitive mode of life, for the most part in family groups settled on the land and mainly engaged in cattle-rearing.

II. Its situation and tradition, from traces in place-names, remnants of the old population and the city walls, now much decayed, preserved for the ruined town of Doclea which hitherto had held the position later occupied by Montenegro, its old ecclesiastical position — there is a record of a bishopric of Durazzo — and seem also to have given it a military and political preponderance, since the little Slav state which later grew up here bore after it the name of Dioclia, Slav Dikliči down to the 15th century. This originally comprised only southern Montenegro and the stretch of territory called Kravina along the west bank of the Lake Skutari. The littoral itself (with Cattaro, Budua, Antivari and Delcigno) and Northern Albania, with many Roman towns like Skutari and Drivasto, remained Byzantine on the contrary, as part of the theme (province) of Dyrrachion down to the 10th century, while eastern and northern Montenegro belonged to Serbia and the north-west to the principality of Travunia (capital Trebinje).

Of the early obscure pre-history of Dioclia all that we have is a Byzantine seal of a ruler of probably the tenth century: ΠΑΡΑΥ ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΔΙΑΚΛΙΑΣ; the country was then not only ecclesiastically and culturally but also politically under Greek influence like the larger Slav Adriatic states. From 1000 A.D. our information is fuller, if not absolutely reliable

Prince John Vladimir, a figure much obscured by legend, is inextricably associated with the last efforts of the Western Bulgar state. First a prisoner, then the son-in-law of the Czar Samuel (d. 1014), he was murdered (drowned in Lake Prespa) by the last Czar John Vladislav (1015—1018) in the Bulgar capital. Remembered in Montenegro as a saint by Christians and Muslims alike, he now rests in the monastery of Shen Jon near Elbassan in Central Albania.

In the years that followed, Byzantium, after the Bulgars, its opponents for centuries, had been finally disposed of by the Emperor Basil II Bulgaroktonos in 1018, being again in possession of the greater part of the Balkan Peninsula, enforced its suzerainty to the northwest also. Dioclia under three able rulers not only survived this danger but attained an importance never reached by Montenegro itself in its best days. Prince Stephan Voyislav — it is not known in what relationship he stood to John Vladimir — in spite of great opposition from the Byzantines (1036—1042) obtained Travunia (see above), Zachlunia adjoining it (on the central and lower Narenta), almost the whole Adriatic coast between the Narenta and Boyana along with Cattaro and Antivari as well as Northern Albania with Skutari and established the still existing Latin bishopric in Antivari, out of political hostility to Byzantinism. His son Michael was the first to take the title of king; the choice of his son Constantine Bodin as Bulgar Czar by rebels in Macedonia (1073) ended however in a — temporary — humiliation of Dioclia. Michael and Bodin, who succeeded his father presumably in 1082, made an alliance with the Normans in Italy and supported Robert Guiscard in his fighting in the west of the Balkan peninsula (1081—1085) with Alexius I Comnenus. Bodin succeeded at the same time in extending his rule over Bosnia also (then practically only the territory on the lower course of the Bosna, the Vrbas and the Narenta) and Serbia or Rascia (in the modern north and eastern Montenegro, the sandjak of Novi Pazar, S. W. Serbia and S. E. Bosnia). The kingdom of Dioclia attained its greatest extent with the conquests of Stephan Voyislav — but only for a brief period. Bodin's good fortune faded away. After the restoration of Byzantine rule on the Adriatic, reprisals were begun (1085—1094) under the personal direction of the emperor Alexius. The king was defeated; the links that bound the various parts of his kingdom together were loosened and quarrels broke out within the royal family itself. In 1096 Bodin could still receive Crusaders in his capital Skutari: Provençals under Raymond of Toulouse, who had marched through Dalmatia and probably through the Zeta valley (cf. above) and were making for Durazzo in order to reach Constantinople from there by the old Via Egnatia. After this we have no certain information about him and his successors. All that is certain is that Dioclia was driven from the coast and out of Northern Albania by the Byzantines and became tributary to them, while Serbia, which had hitherto been politically insignificant in comparison, began to expand at the expense of Dioclia under the Grand Župan Vukan, Bodin's governor, and his successors, especially after the Byzantine empire fell steadily into decline from 1180 onwards. The Grand Župan Stephan Nemanja, a native of Dioclia, deprived it of the former possessions of Dioclia in

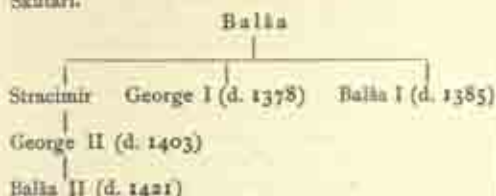
Northern Albania and on the coast from the eastern shore of Lake Skutari to Cattaro, disposed of the last Dioclian prince Michael in 1189, and united his territory with Serbia. From the 13th century the old name of the country was replaced by that of the river Zeta (Latin: Zenta, Genta).

III. Under Nemanja's dynasty Zeta (with Northern Albania and the coast) remained for 170 years under Serbia and was frequently governed by princes, repeatedly by heirs to the throne. Widows of kings also had estates on this sunny strip of coast. A benefactress of the land as a builder was Helena (d. 1314), the French wife of Stephan Uroš I (1243—1276). She had the towns on Lake Skutari restored, which had suffered severely from the Mongol storm which in 1242 had swept southwards along the Adriatic, and built and repaired numerous churches and monasteries in the predominantly Roman Catholic territory around the Lake and on the coast which was under the bishops of Antivari and numerous suffragan bishops, including also the great Benedictine Abbey of St. Sergius and Bacchus on the Boyana (now the ruins of Kisha e Shiritit), at which there was an important trading centre with much visited animal markets. St. Sava (d. 1236) created an Eastern Greek bishopric for the Zeta on the island of Prevlaka on the Gulf of Cattaro; the land also had many well-endowed monasteries of this creed on the islands in the Lake Skutari (like Vranjina), and what fertile soil existed elsewhere belonged for the most part to monasteries in Serbia, on Athos and in Jerusalem, granted by the, in this respect, extravagant Serbian ruler. The population received a considerable admixture, now completely absorbed, by the immigration of Wallachians and Albanians.

A grave danger to Serbia was the power of the nobles, which had increased out of all proportion as a result of the constant feuds in the royal family. When after the death of the Czar Stephan Dušan (d. 1355) a general collapse of the great but only loosely knit state began, the centrifugal forces led in Zeta also (1360) to the formation once more of an independent principality by the brothers Stracimir, George and Balša, sons of Balša, a nobleman of Wallachian origin, to whom the government of the country was entrusted.

IV. The break-up of Serbia took place just at the time when the Ottomans were vigorously extending their power in the Balkan peninsula. Their victories at Čirmen on the Marica (1371) and at Kosovo ("field of the blackbird", 1389) destroyed the independence of the petty Serbian states in Macedonia and reduced Serbia itself to the district of the Morava, where it however not only maintained itself till 1459 but, as a result of the Turkish defeat at the hands of the Mongols at Angora (1402), was able for a time to rise to considerable power again. In spite of the danger which threatened Zeta also, George and Balša exhausted their strength in continual feuds with their neighbours over pieces of land, and in the reign of George II the turbulent nobles, among whom the most prominent were the Crnojević or Gyurašević between Budva, Cattaro and the lower Morava, broke the kingdom up into little baronies. The result was that when the Ottomans under Khair al-Din entered Albania from Macedonia, Balša in 1385 lost a battle and his life north of Valona, and George II after fighting with varying

fortune, realising his own weakness, handed over his Albanian possessions in the south and east of Lake Skutari as far as Tuzi (S. E. of Podgorica) for an annual pension of 1,000 ducats (1396) to Venice, who thus became till 1479 the southern defender of Zeta against the Ottomans. George retained Dulcigno, Antivari and Budna for himself as well as the lands west and north of Lake Skutari.



But even this reduced territory found no peace. Under Balša II, the last of his warlike but unimportant house, two long and trying wars with Venice were fought; during the second, the prince died (1421) and left his lands to the despot (Duke) of Serbia, Stephan Lazarević, who lost Dulcigno to the republic.

V. The second period of Serbian rule very soon alienated the sympathy with which it was at first received and had to fight increasing difficulties caused by the influential Crnojević (see above). In addition there was an inroad by the Turks in 1430 and the demands of Venice. The latter took Antivari and Budna and appointed the wulwood Stephan Crnojević its salaried governor in the little mountain country now quite cut off from the coast; he (1455) induced the people to take the oath of fealty to the republic in the island monastery of Vranjina (cf. above). The end of Serbia (1459) seemed to secure Venice complete possession of the lands round Lake Skutari, but soon afterwards the Ottomans surrounded this land on all sides, for the conquest of Bosnia (1463) was followed (1466) by the annexation of the Herzegovina and of the present Northern Montenegro as far as Nikšić, which then belonged to it.

Like Stephan Crnojević (d. 1465) his son Ivan (1465—1490) who called himself Gospodar Zetski (lord of Zeta), was also a vassal of Venice, who gave him so little support in the wars with Muhammad II over Upper Albania that, after the evacuation of Skutari (1479), he had to fly to Italy, and Zeta was occupied by the Turks, which was the beginning of their long rule here. The contest for the throne after the Sultan's death (1481) induced Ivan to return and renew the struggle, which however ended in 1482 with the recognition of Turkish suzerainty. His youngest son Stanika, a hostage in Constantinople, adopted Islam in 1485, and took the name Skender Beg. Ivan, also called Ivan Beg — his country was also known as Ivanbegovina — resided in Cetinje where he built a small monastery in 1484—1485, to which the Eastern Greek bishop of Zeta (see to above) moved. The state suffered from the great independence of the tribes, who had strong separatist tendencies, like the Nyeguši, Bijelice, Ozrinići, and Čeklići; each formed a political entity with a well-defined territory, its own chief chosen for life, courts, tribal and family feuds, blood-vengeance, etc., institutions which survived in Montenegro down to the sixteenth century and existed in the north Albanian highlands until quite recently.

Not even the greatest submissiveness earned for

Ivan's elder sons, at constant enmity with one another, the goodwill of the Turks. George (1490—1496) who introduced the printing-press into Cetinje and in 1493—95 printed beautiful Cyrillic ecclesiastical works, died in Asia Minor in exile. Stephan (1496—1499) was interned in Skutari, where he is said to have ended his days as a monk. On the other hand in 1514, a separate sandžak with capital Žabljak (to the north of Lake Skutari) was created for the Muslim Stanika Skender Beg Crnojević out of Zeta, which had been incorporated in the sandžak of Skutari. The latter did not deny his descent; he was also tolerant in matters of religion, used his Slav mother-tongue in his correspondence and was in regular communication with Venice, although their relations were occasionally overclouded; in Venice Božidar Vuković of Podgorica (d. 1540) and others from 1519 printed Cyrillic ecclesiastical works. Skender Beg's title Sandžak Crnogorski naturalised the name Crna Gora for the country, which we find as early as 1435 and as Montenegro in 1496 for the highlands above Cattaro. In 1528 all notices of this remarkable Montenegrin-Turkish ruler cease. Crna Gora again becomes a *kadi* of the sandžak of Skutari.

Montenegro under Turkey, under the unassuming ecclesiastical suzerainty of the bishop or Vlatika of Cetinje chosen by the tribal chiefs, formed five *nahiya*s or districts in the shape of a small triangle between Cattaro, Podgorica and the N.W. end of Lake Skutari, which in 1614 contained 90 villages with 3,524 houses and 8,027 men capable of bearing arms, of whom however only 1,000 had guns. The poll-tax was readily paid and they shared in the wars of the Porte against Venice and in suppressing rebellions in the adjoining lands, such as the closely related Brda, which had much more desire for independence. This long stereotyped monotony did not change till 1688 when the Montenegrins with the Vlatika Visarion placed themselves under the protection of Venice, whose lands marched with those of the Turks, and who since the failure of the siege of Venice had been fighting with the Turks from 1684 to the peace of Carlowitz (1699). After the failure of his first attacks Selaiman Pasha, Sandžak of Skutari, as a punishment destroyed Cetinje in 1692 with the support of a number of Montenegrin tribes.

VI. The process of liberation thus begun found vigorous support in the warlike Vlatika Danilo I Petrović Nyeguš (1697—1735)¹ after whom the dignity of bishop became hereditary in the family, and its holder gradually increased his importance at the expense of the tribal chiefs. In 1711 an embassy from Peter the Great introduced relations with Russia, which however were only occasionally of benefit to the land. Even in the joint war on the Porte which immediately followed, Montenegro was left in the lurch at the peace of the Pruth (1711). The protection which fugitive Montenegrins found in Dalmatia was used in 1714 as a pretext by Turkey for declaring war on Venice. In the same year Nu'man Pasha Koprulü laid waste Montenegro entirely, Cetinje which had been rebuilt in 1704 being once more destroyed. As a result of the peace of Passarowitz (1718) more peaceful conditions

¹ The story that all Muhammadans in Montenegro who would not be baptised or leave the country were put to death as partisans of Turkey on Christmas Eve 1707 is however a patriotic fable.

began to prevail except for the almost daily guerilla fighting on the frontiers. Danilo took advantage of the peace to build up the country again after the overthrow of the Turkish administration, with the help of Venetian subsidies, so far as the poverty and the intractable nature of the people permitted. In 1724 Cetinje was rebuilt.

Under his incapable successor Sava Petrović Nyegul (1735—1782), there was a complete relapse into the previous barbarism: no authority, clan and blood feuds, murders. No one dared to leave his house unarmed. The whole people lived by murder and robbery. In addition there were secret conspiracies with the Turks against their own countrymen, abject appeals to Venice and journeys of appeal to St. Petersburg, notably that of the able but powerless episcopal coadjutor Vasilije (d. 1766).

In the general distress the Vladika only thought of enriching himself. Some relief was afforded Montenegro in 1767 by the south Slav Šćepan Mali (Little Stephen), the Latin (false) Czar, who was accepted as the Czar Peter III murdered in 1762, and received such general recognition, out of respect for Russia, that in spite of his unmasking by the mission of prince Yuri Volodimirovič Dolgorukij (1769), he was tolerated by Russia also until he was murdered by a servant in 1773. Able, unselfish, strict and just, he restored for a time unwonted order and security.

There was no considerable war with Turkey for a long period. All the more serious then were the relations with the suzerain in the reign of Peter I the Saint (1782—1830). The hereditary war of Skutari, Kara Mahmūd Pāshā Bushaili, taking advantage of tribal feuds, laid waste the whole country in 1785, forced it to pay the poll-tax again and burned down Cetinje. During the Austro-Russo-Turkish war of 1787—1792, there were only trifling encounters, for which in 1793 Kara Mahmūd Pāshā again threatened serious reprisals. He was however defeated in 1796 at Slatina and later killed in the great battle of Kruse; his head was long preserved as a trophy in Cetinje, in keeping with the Montenegrin head-hunting custom which had become a regular practice in war. The consequence was that the tribes of Biyelopavličići and Piperi, in the Brda east of the Zeta valley, joined Montenegro.

A welcome and more profitable change were the wars of 1806—1808 and 1813—1814 in alliance first with the inhabitants of the Bocche di Cattaro and the Russians, later with the English against the French, who had occupied Dalmatia under General Marmont after the peace of Presburg (1805). Numerous ruins stretching as far as Ragusa still testify to the thirst of the Montenegrins for destruction and plunder even on Christian soil.

Peter I, a cultured ecclesiastic educated in Russia, full of good intentions, endeavoured throughout his life by legislative (1798 and 1803) and personal effort to unite his people, raise their moral tone and avert distress by introducing the potato, but in spite of great patience he met with bitter hostility, contributed to also by Russia which, only after being appealed to for a long time, in 1799 granted 1,000 ducats a year for public purposes but did not pay it regularly.

The first ruler over the Montenegrins, Gospodar Crnogorski i Brdski, was Peter II (1830—51), a highly gifted man of the world, bishop only in

name, one of the greatest of Serbian poets and also of unbending vigour which did not hesitate at severe punishments and death sentences. The Radonyić family which claimed secular (*gubernador*) power for itself had to leave the country. Supported by Russia from 1837 by a grant of 9,000 ducats yearly and occasional gifts of grain, and on this account more highly esteemed by his covetous countrymen, he concentrated the government in his own hands. The powers of the tribal chiefs were restricted. A senate of 12 regularly paid members under the presidency of the Vladika henceforth formed the supreme governing body and court of justice: its authority was enforced by well-paid troops stationed throughout the country, the *Guardiya*, in addition to whom the head of the state had a bodyguard, *Pryaniri*. The building of the first public school and a small state printing-press in the capital, the purchase of two cannons and the building of a powder mill, show the small scale of the state but mark the desire for progress. The innovations, and still more poverty and a great increase of population, as in earlier times led to the emigration of numerous families to Serbia and Russia.

Foreign politics were mainly characterised by troubles on the Austrian frontier, continual fighting, celebrated in song, with the neighbouring Muhammadans, especially in the Herzegovina, which was then ruled by 'Alī Pāshā Riavanbegović (d. 1851) as a practically independent sovereign, under whom Smail Aga Čengić (d. 1840) distinguished himself in the fighting.

VII. Centralisation and reforms generally formed the programme of the next two reigns, which was firmly and successfully carried through in spite of much opposition. Under Danilo II (1852—60) the clan system was dealt a shattering blow, when the chiefs were replaced by captains of princely birth and legislation regulated by the code of 1855. His accession however marks the close of a period in as much as a hereditary secular power now replaced a theocracy. Danilo renounced his spiritual rank and with the approval of Russia and Austria had himself proclaimed Knyaz i Gospodar Crne Gore i Brda. The attempt of the Porte to obtain by force under Serdar Ekrem 'Omar Pāshā in 1852—1853 recognition of her suzerainty thus threatened was vigorously opposed by Austria after giving ample assistance in 1853 through Feldmarschall-Lieutenant Count Leiningen's mission to Constantinople. During the Crimean War (1853—1856) Danilo remained neutral to the discontent of his people. On the other hand, he became involved in a war in 1858 because he supported the rebels in the Herzegovina; this ended in the defeat of the Turks in the valley of Grahovo (north of Risano) and in an enlargement of Montenegrin territory in 1859. In 1860 the ruler, who had previously had to put down conspiracies, some led by relatives, was murdered in Cattaro by a Montenegrin emigrant.

His able nephew Nikola I (1860—1918, d. March 1, 1921) who had been educated in Trieste and in France, son of the doughty Voivod Mirko (d. 1867), completed the building of the state. By long steady work, first as an absolute and from 1905 as a constitutional ruler, and by very skilfully managing foreign relations, he created out of the ill-famed, unfertile, rocky little country a kingdom which was enlarged by the addition

of fertile valleys with its own sea coast, good communications and post routes, a busy economic life, modest prosperity increased by emigration to America, more law abiding and secure since the institution of the civil code of 1888, with a good system of education and a well organised soldiery with modern equipment to be reckoned with in Balkan questions. Relationship by marriage, notably with the courts of Russia and Italy, gave reflected glory to the pretty little capital of Cetinje which had also become a centre of culture; 1910 crowned the work by raising Montenegro to be a kingdom.

While interested great powers, notably Russia, gave grants of money, arms, munitions, etc., which were readily accepted and also requested, this development was conducted mainly at the expense of Turkey, with whom three wars were waged at longer intervals in addition to minor friction in 1869—1870, 1872, 1874—1875, 1895, 1898, 1911, 1912. The first (1862), a combined attack by Derwish Pasha from the north and Serdar Ekrem 'Omar Pasha from the south in the Zeta valley as a reprisal for the support given to the rising led by Luka Vukalović in the eastern Herzegovina, forced Nikola by the threat to Cetinje to conclude an unsuccessful peace in Skutari. The second war was declared in 1876 by Montenegro in alliance with Serbia in order to profit by the new insurrection in the Herzegovina which had begun in the summer of 1875 in Nevesinje. His victory over Muktar Pasha at Verbica and at Bileća and the defeat of Serbs were followed by a truce and the intervention of Russia in 1877. Sulaiman Pasha succeeded at heavy cost in fighting his way out of the Herzegovina through the Zeta valley into Albania, but in 1877 Nikola took Nikšić and Antivari and in 1878 Dulcigno. The Treaty of Berlin (July 13, 1878, Articles 26—33) recognised the independence of Montenegro and granted it, after cutting down very much the terms of the preliminary peace of San Stefano, a broad ring of land around the original land of Montenegro with Antivari, Nikšić, Banyani, Piva, Kolashin, Spuz, Podgorica, Zahlyak and the district of Gusinje. The latter, as a result of the opposition of the Albanians, was exchanged for Dulcigno in 1880. The area was increased from 4,366 to 9,080 square kilometres with over 200,000 inhabitants, including 12,500 Catholic Albanians; there was on the other hand a considerable emigration of Muslims from the new territories.

The third war with Turkey was the first Balkan War, which Montenegro began on Oct. 8, 1912, before its allies, Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece; but while the sandjak of Novi Pazar and Upper Albania were easily occupied, Skutari, the main objective, was only taken after a long siege and with the help of treachery on April 23, 1913. After the allies had quarrelled among themselves, Montenegro also took part in the second Balkan War against Bulgaria. By the peace of Bukarest (Aug. 10, 1913) it received the south-western half of the sandjak of Novi Pazar (with Plyevye, Biyevo Polje and Berane), the greater part of the Metohia plain (with Peč and Gyakova), the valley of Gusinje and lands round Lake Skutari, increasing its area by 5,937 square kilometres to 15,017 square kilometres, with 437,000 inhabitants.

In the Great War, king Nikola reluctantly declared war on Austria-Hungary on Aug. 5, 1914. After the capture of the Lovćen (see above) the Monte-

negrins laid down their arms unconditionally on Jan. 16, 1916 and the country, which had gone back a great deal since 1912, was administered by an Austrian military general-gouvernement. The king went first to Italy, then to France, never to return again, for after the War he was deposed along with his sons on Nov. 29, 1918 by an assembly in Podgorica on the charge of treachery.

Bibliography: P. Rovinskij, *Černogorija. Sbornik otdelenija ruskogo jazyka i slovarnitsi Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk*, [St. Petersburg] xlv. [1888], lxiii. [1897], lxix. [1901], lxxx. [1905], lxxxvi. [1909]; K. Hassert, *Reise durch Montenegro nebst Bemerkungen über Land und Leute*, Vienna 1893 and *Beiträge zur physischen Geographie von Montenegro*, Gotha 1895; K. Kayser, *Westmontenegro, Eine Kulturgeographische Vorstellung*, Stuttgart 1931; P. Silcotti, *Die römische Stadt Dulaia in Montenegro*, Vienna 1913; G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantin*, Paris 1884, p. 433 sq., No. 4; C. Jireček, *Černa Hora. Otvor domaćih nauka*, vi. 602 sqq., Prag 1893 (succinct) and *Geschichte der Serben*, I, ii/1, Gotha 1911, 1918 (reliable, but very scattered material with very full bibliography). The monographs by S. Milutinović (1835), Vuk Karadžić (1837), M. Medaković (1850), A. Andrić (1853), D. Milaković (1856) etc. are obsolete; Sp. Gopčević, *Geschichte von Montenegro und Albanien*, Gotha 1914, dilettantish, full of chauvinistic distortions; F. Genthe, *Montenegro, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte seines Fürstenhauses*, Berlin 1912, a mechanical compilation from accounts of travellers; P. Chotch, *Bibliographia del Montenegro*, Naples 1924, very defective; J. Marković, *Dukljanskohercegovačka metropolija*, Agram 1902; F. Miklosich, *Die serbischen Dynastien Crnojević*, Vienna 1886; J. Tomić, *Crnojevići i Crna Gora (1479—1528)*, Belgrade 1901; Mariano Bolizza, *Relatione et descriptione del sangiacato di Scutari. Starina XII* (Agram 1880), p. 168 sqq.; J. Kuvarac, *Montenegrina*, Carlowitz 1898 and Tomić, *Politički odnos Crne Gore prema Turskoj*, 1528—1684 god., Belgrade 1904, two works of fundamental importance; *Tagebuch der militärisch-politischen Expedition der Fürsten J. V. Dolgorukij nach Montenegro*, in *Russisch Archiv*, 1886, I. 403 sqq. (very valuable for Kulturgeschichte); S. Ijubić, *Spomenici i Šćepanu Malom*, Belgrade 1870; P. Pšani, *La Dalmatie de 1797 à 1815*, Paris 1893; M. Dragović, *Materijali za istoriju Crne Gore Glavni Srpskog ulenog društva*, I, lxv., lxiii., Belgrade 1884, 1886, 1891 and *Prilozi za istoriju Crne Gore i Boke Kotorske početkom XIX. stoljeća*, *Spomenik Srpske Kralj. Akademije*, xxi., Belgrade 1898; VI. Gjorgjević, *Crna Gora i Austrija u XVIII. veku*, Belgrade 1912; *Ispiti iz balkijskih dravnih arhiva*, Belgrade 1913; *Crna Gora i Austrija (1814—1894)*, Belgrade 1924 and *Crna Gora i Rusija (1784—1814)*, Belgrade 1914; M. Rešetar, *Gorski Vijenac vladike crnogorskog Petra Petrovića Njegoša*, Zara 1905; Patsch, *Aus Herzogovinas letzter Feudalzeit*, in *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, lxiv. (1922), 153 sqq.; Hassert, *Die räumliche Entwicklung Montenegros*, in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, lvi/ii. (1910), 113 sqq.; *Oplti imovinski zakonik za knježevinu Crnu Goru*, Cetinje 1888 by B. Bogišić; A. Shek, *Allgemeines Gesetzbuch über das Vermögen für das Fürstentum Montenegro*,

Berlin 1893 (with an introduction on legal history); C. von Sax, *Geschichte der Machtverhältnisse der Türkei*, Vienna 1913.

(C. PATSCH)

MOORS, a rather vague name still applied in the sixteenth century to certain elements in the Muslim town population of various countries and especially to the inhabitants of the Mediterranean ports of North Africa. The word, presumably of Phoenician origin, corresponds to the ancient local name of the natives of Barbary reproduced by the Romans as *Mauri*, *Mauri* and by the Greeks as *Μαυριοι* (Strabo, vii. 825). The term *Mauri* used by the Romans in a general way for the Berbers passed into Spain in the form *Moro*, and it was by the name of *Moros* that the people of the Iberian peninsula throughout the whole period of Muslim rule knew the Arab conquerors and arabised Berbers who had come to settle in Spain from the other side of the Strait of Gibraltar. The name *Moros* passed into various European languages: French *Moor*, English *Moor*, German *Moor*. At the time of the "Reconquista" the name *Moriscos* was applied in Spain to these Muslims (usually crypto-Muslims) who had remained in the country until their final expulsion in 1610. The *Moriscos* went mainly to North Africa, where they were known to the natives as *Andalus* while Christian travellers gave them the general name of *Moors*.

In modern times the *Moors* to the European were therefore the urban population of the North African ports, irrespective of the proportion of immigrants from Spain. Since then the word has been generally used with the meaning Muslim of the towns of the western end of the Mediterranean (cf. such expressions in "Moorish bath", "Moorish coffee" etc.).

The name *Moors* has also been given to the Arab or Berber peoples, pure or mixed with negro blood, who live to the north in the Senegal in the province to which the French now give the ancient name of Mauritania (see below), and to the offspring of the marriages of Arabs from South Arabia and Cingalese who form an important Muslim colony in Ceylon (c. 200,000).

(E. LÉVY-PROVENÇAL)

The land of the *Moors* is MAURITANIA or MAURITANIA. This name which has been derived either from a Phoenician word *Maṣārim* "the Westerns" or with more probability from the name of a tribe living before the Christian era in North Africa, was applied in ancient times to northern Morocco (Mauretania Tingitana) and to the north-west of Algeria (Caesarian Mauretania). At a later date, by extending the application, Europeans have given the general name of *Moors* to the Arabo-Berber peoples of Mediterranean and Saharan Africa. Then gradually they came to distinguish out of this mass the groups with which they came more frequently into contact (Tripolitans, Tunisians, Algerians, Moroccans), so that the name *Moors* came to be limited to the people of Spanish (Muslim), Jewish or Turkish origin of North Africa and particularly to the nomads of the western Sahara, who traverse what Ahmad al-Shinqiti (in *al-Waṣṭ*, Cairo 1329 A.H.) calls the "land of Shinqiti", from the name of its chief village; this country is bounded, says the author, by the Atlantic Ocean, the valley of the *Sahat al-Humra*, the plain of the *Haiba* (plain

of the *Brākna*) on the right bank of the Senegal and by the two towns of *Walāta* and *Na'ma* (Nema); if, like him, we take into account all inhabited areas, we ought to extend it to the east as far as the meridian of Timbuktu.

Mauritania, which now forms one of the eight colonies of French West Africa, is only a part of this vast area. It lies to the north of the Senegal between this river, the Atlantic Ocean and the marigot of Karakoro; to the north and east, a frontier settled by agreements separates it from the Spanish Sahara (June 27, 1900; Oct. 3, 1904; Nov. 27, 1912) and from the territories of the south of Algeria (agreement of June 7, 1905) and from the French Soudan (decree of 23rd April, 1913). It has an area of 835,000 square kilometres, 289,000 inhabitants, the density of population being 0.34.

Except for the banks of the Senegal, the country is steppe or desert, and only suitable for stock rearing. To be brief, it is a military frontier district defending on the north the more favoured lands of the Senegal rather than a country suitable for development by colonisation.

I. GEOGRAPHY.

A semi-circular range of hills of no great height, worn by erosion but often difficult of access, starts as it were out of the ocean to the south of the Rio de Oro and reaches the middle course of the Senegal after running round the contours of an ancient gulf of the quaternary period. The Adrar Tnuar and the Tāgant separated by the depression of the Khat form as it were the cornerstones of this system and are continued to the north-west in the "petrified sea" (a plain scattered over with rocky islets) of the Tiris and by the arêtes of the Adrar Sufof, to the south by the Rgaiba and Asaba.

The interior of this gulf consists almost entirely of sands, brought from the desert by the predominating north-east winds. The dunes in the south are all fixed and are called "dead"; in the north they are "alive" and constantly changing. Like the other dunes of the western Sahara they run in the direction of the wind, N.E.-S.W., and are separated from one another by contours of firmer soil along which traffic can go.

The Shamamah is a plain, formed of lands of alluvial origin, along the lower Senegal and as such particularly suitable for cultivation; as we go up the river it is known as Litama and then as Gidimaka. Other plains, those of the Brākna and the Gorgol, are more remote from the river; they contain permanent pools of water to which their girdles of high trees gave a characteristic appearance (*tāmurt*). To the north of the Shamamah and the land of the Brākna stretches a series of dunes among which may be mentioned those of Amatligh. The contour of the Inshiri continued by that of the Amsalga separates the latter from the similar ranges, the Akahar and the Arefal, which stretch to the Tiris; they are difficult to cross, but between them the Tijrit supplies an easy route. Beyond to the north-west, the Tassast and the Swthel al-Abyad are great plains of denudation.

On their convex face, the Adrar and Tāgant are prolonged to the north in the massif of the Kudiat Ijel and by that of the Zemmur, separated by the Tizel-kaf, towards the north-east by the cliffs of the Qhar Adrar and the Hank and by the plateau of the Eglab, which stretches to the

great sand-dunes of the Igidi, to the east by the *Uhar Tighit* which runs to Walata. Between these lines of rock, great ridges of moving dunes make passage difficult but provide good pasturage for the flocks; these are from north to south, the Erg *al-Hamami*, the *Mukteir*, the *Waran*, the *Adafet* and the *Aukar*. Lastly, to the north of all these masses of sand, the *Ghallauman*, *Karet* and *Yetti* are "taneruffa" without water, of hard and flat soil, which run as far as the *Hammada* of the Dra.

The coast consists of dunes and plateaux with numerous *sabkhas* or salt lakes. There is usually a large sand-bar; nevertheless the sea, which is very rich in fish, gives a livelihood to a population of fishermen.

The Sahara in the proper sense of the word hardly extends beyond a line marked by Cape Timiri, *Mejriya* (Moudjeria), the northern bank of the *Tigant* (depression of Khat), the southern margin of the *Adafet* and *Walata*. It is especially dry on both sides of the *Adrar*: to the west in the region of *Port Etienne* and in the dunes bordering on the *Tiris*, and especially to the east where to the south of *Walata*, the *Mraya*, *Lyaf* and the western part of the *Erg Shegh*, still almost unknown, form a waterless no man's-land; this district is visited only by antelopes, gazelles and ostriches, and by the *Nuadi*, hunters who can manage to go for days without water and live like their game on green stuffs.

To the south of the line above given, the steppe gradually changes to forest as we near the river. The climate is very hot; the influence of the sea is not felt beyond a score of miles inland. Subtropical rains fall as far as the north of the *Adrar*.

II. POPULATION.

At the earliest period to which the chronicles and native traditions go back, Mauritania seems to have been peopled by negroes. Later, in the course of centuries, it received various immigrations of Berbers, especially *Sanhadjia* and *Zanata*, Arabs and probably also of Jews. The *Sanhadjia* came first, certainly before the *Hijra*; later the development of Trans-Saharan commerce brought to the few towns that had been built, merchants of varied origin (Arabs, Berbers, *Zanata*, *Nafusa*, *Lwata*, *Nafawa*, etc.); at different periods also, Jews came there to seek refuge from persecutions, the last of which drove them out of *Tuât* at the end of the xvth century; lastly the Arabs belonging to the *Ma'il* group in their turn invaded the country from the xvth century onwards, bringing with them more *Zanata* or driving them in front of them.

The Jews have been completely absorbed into the Berbers (they form, it is believed, the foundation of the caste of smiths, *ma'allentin*) or into the Fula, so that it is not possible to estimate their numbers at the present day. The negroes, who have been gradually driven towards the river, are now represented by approximately 36,000 *Tuculors* (Tukulor), 21,000 *Sarakole* and 13,000 *Wolof*, *Fula* and *Bambara*. The Arabo-Berber Moors number about 216,000.

III. HISTORY.

a. Prehistory. Such researches as have been made in Mauritania, notably in the *Adrar* and in the *Aukar*, have revealed there, as throughout the

Sahara, the existence of important prehistoric sites; if it is not possible to date them, they are at least evidence of a very early population whose remains seem to connect them with the negroes. These conclusions are further confirmed by the native chronicles and traditions, and perhaps we ought to connect with these remote inhabitants of the country the *Bafar*, to whom the Moors attribute the creation of the palm-groves of the *Adrar* and who are said to have built a town, the "city of the dogs", on the site of the present *Aruggi*, ten miles N. W. of *Apar*. What seems probable in any case is that these black Mauritanians were more or less subjects of the first kingdoms known to the southwest of the desert: that of *Takrur*, which ruled Senegalese Futa, that of *Ghana*, the capital of which was on the site of the modern *Kumbi*, 100 miles S. W. of *Walata* and that of *Diara* which succeeded them and ruled the whole of the western Sudan. To the north, the lands of the negroes no doubt marched with the lands in which the *Sanhadjia* and *Zanaga* Berbers led a nomadic life in the south of Morocco.

A. The *Sanhadjia* invasion. We do not know at what date the *Sanhadjia* invaded Mauritania; but it was certainly a very early one. It is possible that expeditions by the Arab emirs to *al-Maghrib al-Akbar*, beginning in the latter years of the seventh century, which marked the first contact of the *Sanhadjia* with Islam, may have driven them to the south but their first incursions into the *Tiris*, into the *Adrar* and to the *Tigant* were probably much earlier. Their conquest of the country, it is true, seems to have been fairly slow and it was not, it appears, till the xth century that they succeeded in reaching the banks of the *Senegal* for the first time.

z. The first *Sanhadjia* kingdom. At the beginning of the ninth century, a certain number of *Sanhadjia* tribes (among them the *Lamtuna*, the *Qaddala* and the *Beni Wurel*) occupied the *Adrar*, with their advanced posts in the *Tigant*, and made raids into the *Hawd* (Hodh) against the negro *Soninke* empire of *Ghana*. The *Lamtuna* supplied them with chiefs at this time, and one of them, *Tilatan* (d. in 836 or 837), succeeded in imposing his authority on all the Berbers and making twenty negro kings pay tribute to him. The chief towns of his dominion were *Aruggi* and especially *Andaghuat*, forty miles N. E. of the site of the modern *Kiffa* (*Kiffa*). *Andaghuat* seems to have been founded in the seventh century by the *Soninke* and its fame as a centre of trans-Saharan trade brought it a large foreign population, already in part converted to Islam: Berbers of different branches and Arabs. In spite of this brilliant start, this *Lamtuna* dynasty lasted only a short time and disappeared in 919. Each tribe then led an independent existence and the emperors of *Ghana* were able to extend their power towards the *Tigant* and to take *Andaghuat* at the end of the tenth century.

3. The second *Sanhadjia* kingdom. Towards 1020, the chiefs of the various *Sanhadjia* tribes agreed to combine again as in the time of *Tilatan* and thus to resist the encroachments of the *Soninke*. The power was placed in the hands of a *Lamtuna* called *Tamima*, who seems to have been the first really Muslim *Zanaga* ruler. He went to Mecca and his enthusiasm as a new convert led him to a holy war on the negroes, in which he lost his life (1023). His son-in-law *Yahya* b.

Ibrāhīm of the tribe of the Gaddāla succeeded him, according to the custom which made the supreme command go to the two tribes alternately. Like Tarsina, he was a zealot and on returning from the pilgrimage, he brought from Morocco a holy man, 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn, to whom he entrusted the task of educating his brothers, who were still very ignorant of the principles of Islām. The saint was at first well received by the Sanhādja and he made them build the town of Aret-nons near the site of the modern Tishit. But soon his commands appeared too difficult for the nomads, who rebelled against him. He sought refuge with his disciples in a *ribāṭ* or fortified monastery on an island in the ocean (sometimes identified with Tidra) and they were henceforth known as the *al-Murābiṭūn* (the men of the *ribāṭ*), a word which has been corrupted in Europe to Almoravids under which name they have become famous.

c. The Almoravids. Their reputation for sanctity spread very rapidly and attracted many disciples to them. When 'Abd Allāh had gathered around him a sufficiently large body of men, he led them against their rebellious brethren and against the negroes. In a few years they subdued the whole of the western Sahara, from Tašlāh and the Dra to the Senegal. In 1050, Yahyā b. Ibrāhīm died, and Yahyā b. 'Umar, chief of the Lemfūna, became the political head of the confederation, 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn remaining the religious chief. While the first recaptured and plundered Aulaghust, the second attempted the conquest of the Maghrib. But soon they were both slain, Yahyā in a rising in the Adrar in which the negroes of the Takrūt tried in vain to help him, and 'Abd Allāh in fighting the Barghawāta heretics of the plains of Morocco. Abū Bakr, brother of Yahyā, was then for some time supreme chief of the Almoravids, then to gratify his ambitious nephew Yūsuf b. Tāshīn he handed over to him his conquests in North Africa, keeping only to himself the sovereignty of the south. He devoted himself to a holy war against the negroes and to their conversion to Islām. He succeeded in driving them back towards the river and in taking Ghana in 1076 and the capital of the Takrūt in 1080, extending his teaching, the tradition says, as far as the lands of a Mandingo prince of the Upper Niger. He was slain in the Tāgant in 1087 and his death marked the break up of the Sanhādja confederation in Mauritania; each tribe regained its independence.

f. The Tashumsha and the negro reaction. Between this date and the end of the sixth century we know very little of the history of Mauritania. We only suspect that the influence of the negro kingdom of Mali must have extended up to the Adrar and Tāgant and that a new Marabout Berber element formed by the Tashumsha of Sūs, came and settled in the country.

The Tashumsha seem to have at first taken up the mantle of the Almoravids and to have made themselves the champions of the *ḡīkād* against the negroes. But after a few successes, they were driven back from the region of the river and fell back upon the Tiris and Adrar, where they gave up fighting and devoted themselves to study and religious devotions. The successes of the negroes then became serious. Wolofs, Soninkes and Tadjors conquered a whole part of Mauritania and might

perhaps have succeeded in subjecting the Berbers, who were exhausted by their campaigns of conquest in the Mediterranean region, if the coming of the Ma'kil Arabs had not checked them.

g. The Ma'kil invasion. It is not possible to date this new invasion exactly; it is, however, certain that it was not a single effort. It went on almost down to the nineteenth century with little groups filtering into the Sanhādja encampments and at length submerging them.

Setting out from Egypt, the Ma'kil passed along the northern border of the desert and reached the Ocean to the south of Morocco in the first half of the xith century. They then entered the service of the Marinid rulers of Fās, who used them to keep in subjection the provinces beyond the Atlas and to collect taxes. These undisciplined nomads very soon took advantage of their privileged position. Measures had to be taken against their brigandage and their threats to overrun Morocco, and military expeditions were sent against them. Either as a result of these reprisals, or because they were called in by the Sanhādja to help them against the negroes, or because a year of drought drove them in search of new pasturage, some of them, belonging to the confederation of the Dwi Ḥasan or Beni Ḥasan, went down towards Mauritania. But the chronicles do not say why. In any case, having helped to drive the negroes back towards the river, supported by the Zanāta Kunta who came from Tuat at the same time as the first of them, they reduced to vassalage the Sanhādja of Upper Mauritania (Ijēl and Zemmur) in the xvth century. Western Mauritania, Wadān and Tāgant in the xvth and the Adrar and Lower Mauritania in the xvth century. Throughout the long period from the xvth century to the present day, we find the authority in the hands of a certain number of Udaya tribes: the Ulād Rirg, the Mghāfra Ulād Mūrk, the Brākna, the Trāza and the Ulād Yahyā b. Uḥmān. Other Beni Ḥasan also went south, but barely reached Mauritania. The Ulād Dīm have always remained in the desert zone and the Brābīth seem to have passed some years a little to the north of the Senegal before migrating to the region of Timbuktu.

h. The Ma'kil and the Sultāns of Morocco. From their first sojourn in the south of Morocco, these Ma'kil long retained the character of Maghreb tribes; under the Sa'dians and 'Alaws, many of them supplied contingents to the *ḡīkād* tribes. This status gave their migration southwards the appearance of a conquest in name of the Sultāns. This was no doubt the legal justification of the tribute which they exacted from the conquered Bedouins; it also explains why the rulers of Fās or Marrakech sometimes claimed as theirs the territory of Mauritania, why they sent several expeditions there in the xvth and xviiith centuries, why they granted investiture to certain chiefs and lastly why the author of *al-Warīṭ*, after consulting several learned men, thought that the "land of Shīghr" should be included with the Maghrib and not with the Sūdān.

i. The Sanhādja reaction. Whatever was the actual success of the Arab conquests in Mauritania, it were not effected without violent reaction on the part of the Sanhādja. The poverty of the Tashumsha, the negro danger and the looseness of links between the various bodies of invaders facilitated the settlement of the early Arab invaders. But the tyranny of the Ma'kil towards the Berbers

brought them in the xviiith century to such desperation that a general rising broke out in the form of an attempted restoration of the Almoravids led by Najir al-Din, a marabout descendant of the Lamtuna. This individual, who camped in western Mauritania, first preached a holy war there against the negroes, being sure of re-uniting the various contingents against the traditional enemy. Then having given the troops sufficient training in a campaign which brought them across the river to plunder the left bank, he turned openly against the Arabs. This was the celebrated "War of Babbar", in the course of which the Arabs were held in check for thirty years; but in the end quarrels within the Sanhadj ranks destroyed their strength and in 1674 the defeat at Tin Yehud doomed them to vassalage.

In much the same way in 1745 the Ideighili Berbers of the Adrar had to bow before the Ma'kil and at the end of the xixth century we find them again rising against the Arab amir and assassinating him. Finally in the Tagant, the Sanhadj Id'ash well led by their chief Muhammad Shein regained their independence at the end of the xviiith century. They almost succeeded in seizing the Adrar in 1892, drove the Zanata Kunta out of the Tagant and extended their power to the Senegal, under the able rule of amirs who are still reigning and claim to be true descendants of the Almoravids.

5. The rule of the amirs. All over, from the xviiith century, the political situation of the tribes became stabilised, and regular little nomad states seem to have been formed, usually under Arab chiefs. Thus we now find the dynasty of the Ulad Ahmad b. Daman ruling among the Trarza with distinguished sovereigns like 'Ali Shandura (1703-1727) who, supported by Sultan Mas'ud luma'li, delivered his tribe from Brakna domination, and especially Muhammad al-Habib (1827-1860) whose long reign is marked by the first Moorish resistance to European penetration. Among the Brakna also, the Ulad 'Abd Allah amirs played a preponderating role after the war of Babbar and their possessions extended from the Tagant to the Ocean. Later, and particularly from the sixteenth century, their power declined, in spite of the brilliant reign of Ahmadu I (1818-1841), and their desperate resistance to the advance of the French caused them to disappear from the political scene. In Adrar the Ulad Yahya b. 'Uthman also furnished great leaders: Ahmad uld Muhammad (1871-1891) who was able to keep his turbulent subjects at peace with their neighbours and who tried to develop trans-Saharan commerce, and Ahmad uld Sidi Ahmad (1891-1899) who by his military successes earned the title of "amir of war". Lastly in the person of Bakar uld Soud Ahmad, a descendant of Muhammad Shein, the Tagant produced the greatest Moorish ruler of the xixth century.

The rule of these amirs was continually beset with great difficulties, produced by their rivalries, the lack of discipline, rebellion and intrigues among their subjects, by the warlike raids of the negroes, and particularly by the efforts of Europeans to establish their rule on the Atlantic coast and on the banks of the river.

2. European rivalries on the coast of Mauritania. It was in the first half of the xvth century that the Portuguese visited the coast of Mauritania and the north of the Senegal for the

first time. At the instigation of the infante Henry the Navigator, expeditions followed which brought back slaves, gold and gums. After João Fernandes had gone to Wadan in the eastern Adrar, where he spent some months among the Sanhadj in 1446, a permanent settlement was founded in 1448 on the island of Arguin, which afforded excellent conditions of security. From there the Portuguese endeavoured to extend their power into the interior and to command the great caravan routes which led from the Sudan to Morocco; to them are attributed the fortresses, now in ruins, near Wadan and at Aznggi. But if it is certain that for a short time they extended their relations as far as the capital of the negro empire of Mali on the Upper Niger, it seems that they did not own factories for any length of time except on the coast.

The trade of Arguin flourished for two centuries in the hands of the Portuguese, then of the Spaniards and it extended as far as Lower Mauritania through Portendik (corruption of "Port d'Addi" from the name of an emir of Trarza), a not very good roadstead where baster was carried on. The French at a later date established themselves at the mouth of the Senegal (1626), the Dutch at war with Spain took Arguin in 1638, while the English took from them in 1665 and a struggle for influence began among these three nations which lasted for a century. Arguin and Portendik continually changed hands, while France developed her trade along the Senegal by building factories. Finally the Treaty of Versailles (Sept. 3, 1763) recognised her exclusive sovereignty over the Atlantic coast from Cape Blanc to the mouth of the Salum. The wars at the beginning of the sixteenth century brought the English back there for a time, and it was only in 1817, three years after the treaty of Paris, that France definitely took possession of the country. Arguin and Portendik had in the meantime been almost completely ruined as a result of these vicissitudes.

3. The French conquest. Down to 1857 England retained the right to trade at Portendik, which allowed the Trarza chiefs and in particular Muhammad al-Habib to play off against one another the two nations who seemed to threaten her independence, and thus to gain a footing on the left bank of the Senegal. The position of the Europeans with regard to the natives was however difficult and trade with them was permitted only on payment of heavy customs dues. It was only in 1854 with the appointment of Faidherbe as governor of Senegal that a more vigorous policy was introduced into Lower Mauritania. In four years he reduced Walo on the left bank to submission and drove the Moors out of it and forced the emirs of Trarza and Brakna to sign a treaty, which if it did not abolish the customs, at least recognised that France had a right of suzerainty over the peoples living near the river and guaranteed freedom of trade there.

For nearly fifty years, these treaties were respected and the Moorish chiefs, too much occupied in maintaining peace among their subjects and in defending themselves from the intrigues of pretenders, no longer thought of coming into conflict with French troops; commercial agreements were made which extended as far as with the Id'ash of the Tagant and one treaty was even made with the emir of the Adrar. This period also saw a great deal of exploration of the interior; after

Mungo Park (1795-1796), Caillie (1815), Caillie (1843) and Panet (1850), Vincent, Du al-Mughdal, Bannet, Allan Sal, Mage, Fulcrand, Aubé, Solleillet, Quiroga and Cervera, Doula, Soller, Fabert, Donnet, Blanchet, Gravel and Chudeau contributed to our knowledge of this country and prepared the way for its occupation.

In the last years of the sixteenth century the troubles of which Lower Mauritania was the centre finally had repercussions on the trading centres on the river which became daily more serious. The insecurity hampered commerce and in proportion as the memory of the vigorous policy of Faïdherbe became obliterated, marauders ravaged the country down to the left bank of the river, right into the administered country. The conquest of Mauritania had to be planned in order to protect effectively the colony of Senegal and with this object an endeavour was made to use the influence of the marabouts, tired of a perpetual warfare, of which too often they bore the expense. The diplomatic action of M. Coppolani, Commissaire Général of the government since 1902, judiciously supported by police operations, brought about the occupation of the Tiris country in 1903, of the Brakna country in 1904 and of the Tagant in 1905.

This rapid advance, however, was checked before the anti-foreign propaganda of a marabout of the Hawd, Ma' al-Amin, son of Muhammad Fagil, who after spending a long period in Upper Mauritania, had been settled for some years at Smara near Sagiat al-Hamra'. His prestige as a magician, supported by the veneration shown him by the Moroccan sultans, was not long in winning him the support of the greater number of the Moorish tribes and especially of those of the Adrar, the emir of which had been brought up in his entourage. At his instigation, Coppolani was assassinated and a cousin of the Sultan Ma' al-Amin came to lead the *ghilâd* in Mauritania. A success gained by him at Nyamulan led to nothing, but on the return of a delegation of Moorish chiefs who had gone to seek help from the sovereign of Morocco, a general offensive was begun against the French troops (1908). To put an end to an agitation which threatened to become dangerous, Colonel Gouraud conquered the Adrar in 1909 and his victory was completed in 1910 by the death of Ma' al-Amin and in 1912 by the capture of Tighit and joining up with the troops of the Hawd. The conquest of Mauritania by the French was thus practically completed. The march of el-Heïba, son of Ma' al-Amin, on Marrakech in 1912 revived some inclination to rebel among the Moors, but the destruction of Smara in 1913 checked this, and France now only had to secure the protection of her colony from raiders from the Sahara.

IV. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE.

The negroes are settled agriculturists who have their villages mainly in the Shammah and the Gorgol and in the oasis they belong rather to Senegal than to Mauritania.

The Moors have a few villages (the principal are Atar, Shingiti, Wadan, Tijigis, Tishit) with palm groves and a few farms in the Adrar, the Tagant and the Ouar. They are great nomads who live under cone-shaped tents of camel-skin and follow the rainfall with their flocks. Those who wander in the zone of the steppes oscillate

between the river and the desert, except the Tiris of western Mauritania, who, on account of the dryness of their country, move over a much greater area and sometimes even reach Tiris and Adrar Sout. The people of the Adrar go down as far as Tagant, and on the north at one time were in contact with the Tekna of the south of Morocco around the Sagiat al-Hamra'. Their supply of meat is very scanty and it is not an exaggeration when Faïdherbe calls them "the most wretched of mankind".

Their groups have been much gradated by the constant influx of Moroccans. Before French rule, the *Hasan*, pure Arabs, formed the noble and warrior class who protected the encampments and lived by cattle-rearing and marauding. The *Zwaya* or marabouts, generally *Sanhâja* or *Zanâta* Berbers, paid an annual sum called *ghâser* to the *Hasan* for their security; they were likewise breeders of cattle, but also included among them merchants and men of letters who were regular travelling universities; the more or less open practice of sorcery served them as a means of defence against the exactions of the *Hasan*. The *Zwaya* or tributaries (*ahmas*), *Sanhâja* Berbers, were the exploited. The feudal dues which they paid to the Arabs (*ghorma*) did not always exempt them from periodical payments to the marabouts nor from arbitrary sums levied upon them by one or the other. They were in part agriculturists. The *Harâfa*, freed slaves, formed tribes of serfs, usually better treated than the preceding. Finally the *Hasan* and the marabouts owned numerous slaves in which they did a busy trade. On the fringes of all these groups, the *Ma'illamin*, the griots (*gnaou*) and the *Nmadi* were respectively the workmen, poets and singers and hunters who supplied the encampments of eastern Mauritania with meat.

The barriers between these castes were in theory rigid. A certain number of marabouts, however, and even of *Zwaya* succeeded in escaping from Arab tutelage, like the *Idrâ'ish* of the Tagant, and devoted themselves to the adventurous life of the *Nmadi* hunter (*ghâser*) just as "penitent" *Hasan* sometimes adopted the pious life of the *Zwaya* (*Tiyab*).

French administration has left this traditional organisation intact, only suppressing slavery; it has, however, checked the abuses of the *Hasan* by putting a stop almost everywhere to the payment of the *ghorma* and *ghâfers*.

Economic life. Mauritania has only one port, Port-Etienne, on the peninsula of Cape Blanc; it is, however, only a fishing centre. The course of the Senegal is used as far as Podor in the dry season, as far as Bakel in the winter months. No road has yet been made, but the important points are linked up by automobile or caravan services. The telephone is in use only in the south, but its place is taken by the wireless, which connects Mauritania with Dakar, Casablanca, Agadir, Bamako and Timbuktu.

The principal source of wealth of the country is stock-breeding: 51,000 camels, 3,800 horses, 239,000 cattle, 2,000,000 goats and sheep, 66,000 asses. The abundant game (antelope, gazelle, ostriches, guinea fowl and bustards) supplies further food for the inhabitants. Among agricultural products, special mention may be made of the date-palm in the north (3,000 tons of date a year), along the river and in a few favoured valleys of

the plateaus, millet, rice, maize, wheat and barley. In the south gum is a traditional article of export (1,250—2,500 tons a year).

The natural resources of the country have hardly been investigated as yet. We may mention, however, the salt of the Sebket eljel, which has for long supplied the caravans to the south: along the coast a few salt-pans are worked by the Moors. The annual export is 4,700 tons.

Industry is in a very rudimentary stage and confined almost entirely to the manufacture of leather goods which form the equipment of the camel and the furniture of his tent. Fishing supplies the encampments near the coast.

A certain number of caravans transport merchandise from the north to the south along the coast and through the Adrar and Tagant to the trading centres on the river and the Sâdân. They take with them animals, gums, salt, dates, ostrich feathers, skins and leather, and bring back cloth, arms, powder, candles, sugar, tea, spices and cereals, and supply the markets of Atar, Shingiti, Wadân and Tijigja. As a result of the insecurity in the desert there is no longer any regular trans-Saharan trade.

V. POLITICAL LIFE.

The negroes are ruled by their village headmen and chiefs of districts. The Moors are grouped in tribes under the authority of a sheikh assisted by a council of notables or *ajman*. Sometimes several tribes are combined in a hereditary amirate, the ruler of which surrounds himself with a regular court generally recruited from among the Zaïgas or Heratîn. The sheikh or amir is practically all-powerful; only the right to judge in civil matters is not completely his; the *kadis* exercise it. The amir further reserves to himself a kind of right to supervise their judgments through the intermediary of his private *kadi* who forms a court of appeal.

The French administration has been superimposed on this traditional organisation. A Lieutenant-Governor, residing at St. Louis, on the right bank of the river, is the head of the colony and is assisted by a military commandant, an inspector of administrative affairs, a secretary for military and political affairs, a secretary for finance and a department of public works. The local administration carried out by administrators or officers is divided into eight districts (Tefara, Brûkna, Gorgol, Gidimaka, Assaba, Tagant, Adrar and Baïda Lévrier) and seventeen sub-divisions or administrative posts. It controls the native administrative and judicial organisation.

The Moors pay the Koranic taxes (*zakât* and *shûr*) from which their riding-camels and gums alone are exempt. The negroes pay a poll-tax and a tax on cattle. Indirect contributions are paid by the markets, the salt-pans, the carrying of arms, the exploitation of the woods and ferries. The Budget for Mauritania for 1930 was 14,623,000 francs.

VI. LANGUAGE.

The language spoken in Mauritania is Arabic, the *haouania* or language of the *haïtân*, the "whites". Some 7,000 Zaïgas in the south have retained a Berber dialect related to that of the dialects of southern Morocco. At Wadân and Tijigja, the language *assûr* (Amr) which is a form of Soudanese

is now spoken only by a few individuals. Lastly the negroes of the river have retained their own language.

VII. RELIGIOUS AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE.

History does not tell us what was the religion of the Sushadja before their conversion to Islâm; we can only think that they had to some extent been influenced by a monotheistic faith like Judaism or even Christianity. Their first contact with Islâm probably dates from 'Ukba b. Nâf's expedition to the south of Morocco (681), but it is certain that their real conversion was much later and can hardly have been earlier than the energetic proselytising campaign of 'Abd Allâh b. Yâsin.

At the present day all the inhabitants of Mauritania are Muslims of the Maliki rite, but many of them and more particularly the warriors and the *Nmadi* have only a very superficial acquaintance with their religion and take little interest in it; superstitions and sorcery further corrupt their Islâm almost everywhere, revealing the primitive state of the people and negro influence. Islâm is not really known and practised, except among the tribes of marabouts; among the latter, a mystical tradition and a fairly advanced culture have always made themselves felt and for this reason they play in Moorish society the part of a kind of sacerdotal body such as is found nowhere else in the Muslim world of the west. This is no doubt a remote consequence of the Almoravid movement, revived for a time in the war of Habbah, and of the peculiar situation of these Muslim nomads, who have here long been the advance-guard of the white race, face to face with the negro fetish-worshippers of the Senegal and Sâdân. Perhaps, like Reman and Psichari, we ought also to give credit to the influence of *religiosité* of the desert. In any case in thus assuming a kind of sacred character and surrounding it with a magic prestige, certain Herbers have had a regular revenge of their amour-propre on the pride of race of the Arab invaders and have opposed to their tyranny and brigandage a defensive weapon which has not been without effect.

The principal brotherhoods of Mauritania are those of the Tijâniya and of the Kâdiriya; their influence extends into the lands of the negroes. The first are represented by the *Ida* u 'Ali of the Tefara, of the Tagant and of the Adrar, who claim to be *sharfa* and say they came from Tâbel-bala at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Since the early years of the sixteenth century they have been connected with the branch of the Tijâniya in Fâs. The second are much more numerous and influential; they have several branches; that of the Bekkâya dates from the xvth—xvith centuries and is represented from the bend of the Niger to the Tagant and Adrar by the tribe of the Kunta. About a century ago it received fresh impulse in a new "path" and its autonomy in Lower Mauritania was secured by the great prestige of the Shaikh Sidiya, of the Ulud Biri (d. 1924). We may also mention the branch of the Fâqiliya, founded in the early years of the sixteenth century, which enjoyed particular fame some 20 years ago under the direction of Ma' al-'Aïna and his brother the Shaikh Sa'd Bâ. These two branches have lost their importance since the deaths of these famous individuals. Lastly the Kâdiriya are still represented by the same 600 members of the

Qadāya brotherhood, whose practices are regarded as heretical by the other Muslims.

Shingitj, benefiting by its situation on the routes of the caravans which came from western Morocco or Sokkhet Ijjet down to the Hawd or the Senegal was at one period an intellectual centre, the reputation of which extended to all the western Sahara and to the Sūdān. We see this in the fact that it was able to give its name to all the Moorish tribes (*Shingitja*) and to the territory in which they led their nomadic life and that the tradition of the country makes it one of the "seven holy cities" of Iālām. It has now lost its old prestige. In the xvth century the fame of the moderns of Timbuktu must have offered serious competition to it. At the present day Shingitj is seriously threatened by the sands of the Waran and its trade is much reduced. Atar is assuming an increasing importance; the insecurity and eccentric development of North Africa and the Sūdān have led to the almost complete disappearance of the trans-Saharan trade by which it lived and in particular, as is natural in a land of nomads, it has been rather under tents and particularly in the marabout encampments of western Mauritania that intellectual culture has developed. Universities have been created there where the teaching of the Qur'ān, theology, law, grammar and logic still flourishes. Some of them have known outbursts of glory under famous teachers, who have sometimes created schools of mystic initiation, like those directed by the *Shaykh* Sidiya, M^r al-'Ainān or Sa'd Bā or like that of the Ahl Muhammad Sālem, which is a kind of university in the Tiris which produces almost all the jurists of Mauritania.

A whole original literature has been able to develop. Qur'ānic matter, Hadith, law according to Sidi Khalil and his commentators, are its essential elements; with the doctrines of the Sūfīs and their mysticism. But historical studies have also had and still have their eager followers, especially among the tribe of the Ullā Daman (Tlāma). Lastly poetry is held in honour among all the tribes, warrior and marabout alike, and supports a whole caste of troubadours, the griots, who enjoy the favour of the courts of the emirs.

Bibliography: A complete bibliography of Mauritania is given in *Actes du V^{ème} Congrès de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines* (Heugré, vol. 21, Paris 1930). Cf. also the collections in the *Bulletin du Comité d'Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l'A.O.F.*, in the *Revue du Monde Musulman*, in the *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique Française* and in *La Géographie*. — Only the more important studies need be mentioned here: Ahmad al-Shingitj, *al-Warā* (monography of Mauritania), Cairo 1329 (1911); *Annuaire du Gouvernement Général de l'A.O.F.*, Paris 1912; *Notes sur la Mauritanie*; R. Basset, *Mission au Sénégal*, vol. 1: *Étude sur le dialecte Zenaga, Notes sur le Hassania, Recherches historiques sur les Maures*, Paris 1909; Général Faidherbe, *La Zenaga des tribus sahariennes, Contribution à l'étude de la langue berbère*, Paris 1877; Cdt. Gillier, *Les populations de la Mauritanie*, in *Rev. des Tr. coloniales*, Nov.—Dec. 1924, Jan.—Feb. and March—April 1925; do., *La pénétration en Mauritanie*, Paris 1926; A. Gravel and R. Chudeau, *A travers la Mauritanie occidentale (de Saint-Louis à Port-Étienne)*, Paris 1909—1911; J. Hamet, *Chréti-*

ques de la Mauritanie saharienne, Paris 1911; P. Marty, *Études sur l'Islam Maure*, Chéikh Sidiya, les Fadelin, *Les Idā en Aḥl*, Paris 1916; do., *L'Emirat des Trarza*, Paris 1919; do., *Études sur l'Islam et les tribus maures. Les Brakna*, Paris 1920; do., *Tentatives commerciales anglaises à Portendik et en Mauritanie*, in *Rev. de l'hist. des colon. franç.*, 1922; L. Massignon, *Mauritanie*, in *Annuaire du Monde musulman*, 3rd ed., 1929; *La Mauritanie*, in *Notices publiées par le Gouvernement Général de l'A.O.F. à l'occasion de l'Exp. colon. de Marseille*, Carbeil 1907; G. Poulet, *Les Maures de l'Afrique occidentale française*, Paris 1904; E. Psichari, *Les voix qui crient dans le désert*, Paris 1919; E. Richet, *La Mauritanie*, Paris 1920.

(F. DE LA CHAPELLE).

MORĀDĀBĀD (Marādābād), a district in the Rohilkhand division of the United Provinces of India and also the chief town in it. The district has an area of about 2,300 square miles and a population of 1,200,000 of whom over 420,000 are Muhammadans. Nothing is known of the early history of the district. In the Muhammadan period it was successively ruled by the Sultāns of Delhi, from whom it was occasionally taken by the Sultāns of Dāwarpūr, the Moghuls, the Rohillas, and the Nawās of Oudh until it was ceded to the British in 1801.

Morādābād is the principal town in the district; it is situated on the Delhi-Bareilly road and on the main line of the Oudh-Rohilkhand railway. It has a population of 75,000 of whom over half are Muslims. The town is a Moghul foundation of the second quarter of the xvth century. Its founder was Rustam Khān who also built the Dāmī Masjīd, as an inscription testifies, in 1632. The town takes its name from Murād Baksh, the ill-fated son of Shāh Jahan. It rapidly ousted Samball from its place as the chief town of the district. Its industries are flourishing (chiefly textiles and brass-work). It was a mint of the Moghul Emperors and also of Ahmad Shāh Durrāni during his invasion of India in 1760. Samball is a very ancient site but has lost much of the importance it possessed in mediæval times. It has an old mosque, an interesting example of Pathan architecture which has even been claimed as a converted Hindu temple. It is said to have been built by Bābur but it is undoubtedly earlier. Amroha is the great Muhammadan centre of the district, the majority of its population being Shaikhs and Saiyids. The chief saint of the Saiyids is Sharaf al-Dīn Shāh Wilāyat, a descendant of the tenth Imām, who came here about 1300. His tomb is still shown here. The Dāmī Masjīd is a Hindu temple converted into a mosque in the reign of Kalikubād. It is much visited by pilgrims, mainly Hindus who seek relief from mental diseases through the power of Sadr al-Dīn, a former *mu'adhdhin* of the mosque, whose virtues are still believed to be efficacious. There are over a hundred other mosques in the town.

Bibliography: H. R. Nevill, *District Gazetteer of Morādābād*, Allahabad 1911.

(J. ALLAN)

MOREA is the usual name in mediæval and modern times for the peninsula of the Peloponnesus which was regarded in ancient times as the citadel of Greece. The name Moēs is first found in 1114 A.D. in the inscription to fol. 143^v of the Greek manuscript Brit. Mus. Add.

28816 (cf. M. Vogel—V. Gerdthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Leipzig 1909, p. 28, 466, and also *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, ix, 72). Originally the name Morea did not apply to the whole Peloponnese but only to the outer mountains of Isthia and the lands around them as well as the whole district of Elis. Reliable references show us that even in the xivth century the place-name Morea was equivalent to Elis; later the name became gradually extended to the whole Peloponnese and with this meaning it is still used not only by the Greeks but also by other peoples of east and west.

Alongside of the original form *Mōra* (ἡ Μορία, with synesis *Mōrias*, *Μορίας*) we find other divergent forms in Greek literature: ἡ *Μορσία*, ἡ *Μορσία*, ἡ *Μορσία*, ἡ *Μορία*, ἡ *Μορία*. In eastern sources of the mediæval and modern period along with the predominant form *Amorea* (mainly in Latin-Italian documents of the xiiith—xivth century), *la Morea* (properly Italian), *la Morie* (French) we also find: *Amoria*, *la Mourie* (in French documents as early as the xiiith century). The origin of all these forms is to be traced to an inaccurate separation of the article from the noun: *la Moria-Amoria*.

In Muhammadan texts we find seven main forms of the name Morea = Peloponnese: *Lamuria*, *Lamuria*, *Almora*, *al-Mora*, *Moria*, *Mora* and *Morh*. The first five are properly Arabic, the last Arabic-Turkish. There are however Arabic texts, which have the old classical name of the peninsula although with certain variants (cf. below).

As to the derivation of the name Morea, it has puzzled students greatly for centuries. Some scholars of the xvth century wanted to connect the name with *Moors* (Ital. *Mori*). These were said to have settled in the Peloponnese at our time. This derivation of the place-name, which has even been adopted by modern scholars, agrees neither with historical tradition nor with philological laws. At one time the suggestion put forward by Emerson (*History of Modern Greece*, I, 60) and adopted by Fallmerayer found many supporters: it connected Morea with the Slav word *mora* = sea. This view has been challenged by Kopitar (*Wiener Jahrbücher der Literatur*, I, [1830], 111—120) and again by Zinkeisen and Hopf as decidedly "misleading and fanciful" and rejected by several later Greek and Slavonic scholars. At the present day it is generally thought that Morea is derived from the Greek word *μωρία* = "mulberry-tree", as Prof. G. N. Hatridakis (in the periodical *Ἀρχαία*, vol. v, 1894, p. 230, 401, 549, *Παρολιθολογικὴ Μελέτη*, Athens 1900, p. 29 sqq.) has brilliantly shown on the basis of philological arguments. In Elis where — as already mentioned — the name Morea, now applied to the whole of the Peloponnese for some centuries, first appeared, the planting of the fields with mulberry-trees is said to have been very common in the middle ages. These trees were indispensable for the silk industry which was at one time very flourishing in the Peloponnese and no less in Patras. Authors of the Empire (Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, xiv, 4; Pausanias, vii, 5, 2; vi, 26, 1; vii, 21, 7) also tell us that Elis in those days produced *serica*, i.e. a material related to silk. In any case, as early as the xvth century, the Greeks thought that the place-name Morea was connected

with the mulberry-tree. This is evident for example from Joh. Leunclavius (*Anales Sultanorum Ottomanidarum a Turcis sua lingua scripti*, 1596, p. 63): "Nomen ipsum (= Morea) derivant Graeci nunc ab arbore mora quod tota regione scilicet arbor haec frequens est".

In the mediæval Muslim writers there is a confusion between *Amuria* = Amorion in Phrygia and *Lamuria* = Morea, Peloponnese. But *Amuria* (or *Amuria*, *Amuria*, *Amuria* etc.) in Abu 'l-Kāsim Firdaws can only be Amorion, which used to be described as the capital and "eye of the kingdom" of the Rūm. In the geographical tables of Naṣir al-Dīn al-Tūsī (middle of the xiiith century) and of Ulugh Beg, *Amuria* should rather be identified with Amorion than with Morea = Peloponnese (cf. P. Karolida, in *Wissenschaftliches Jahrbuch [Exemplar] der Universität Athen*, iii, 1909, p. 288—297; A. Hanstris, in *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, ix, 1951, p. 65 sqq.). In the little map by the Arab Idrisi, of the year 1192 A. D., *Belbūss* = Peloponnese is given (i.e. the old classical name of the peninsula). On the other hand, we find *Moria* = Morea = Peloponnese (i.e. its mediæval and modern name) in the Arabic geographical table of the Paris MS. 2214, which is supposed to contain the cosmography of Ibn Sa'īd of the year 1276 A. D. based for the most part on Idrisi (1154 A. D.; cf. K. Miller, *Mappe Arabica*, I, Stuttgart 1926).

The Muhammadan peoples really only became acquainted with the Morea in the xiiith century A. D. Hellenistic culture was long extinct there and Christianity had become predominant. At the end of the fourth century (395 A. D.), Alaric had laid almost the whole of the Morea waste and destroyed many towns and sanctuaries famed in ancient times. About two centuries later, c. 589 A. D., the Avars (a Turkish nomadic people) allied with Slav tribes are said to have invaded the Morea and settled permanently. It should be expressly noted that it is only late and tendentious sources which tell us this. What scholars of the sixth century put forward as a historical fact, namely that an independent Avar or Avar-Slav Kingdom, intractable to Byzantine or Greek Christian influence, existed in the western half of the Morea for 218 years (589—807), must be relegated to the realm of fable (cf. E. Curtius, *Peloponnes*, I, Götting 1851, p. 86). It is certain, however, that considerable ethnological changes took place in the middle ages in the Morea. In the viiith century in the reign of the Byzantine emperor Constantine V (741—775), if not earlier, numerous Slav tribes had pushed their way into the Morea, which had been much depopulated from 746 by a terrible pestilence. This epidemic had also made great gaps in the population of Constantinople, which Constantine V is said to have endeavoured to fill with people from the Morea; this imperial edict must have further contributed to reduce the Greek element in the peninsula. It may be assumed that the Slavs who at this time were settling mainly in Arcadia and Messenia, Elis and Laconia, sought and found new homes in the Morea, which had been favoured by nature with a milder climate, not only as hostile robber borders but also as peaceful colonies from the north.

According to Schafarik (*Slavische Altertümer*, German transl. by Witke, vol. ii, p. 192), the spread of the Slavs over the Morea can be fixed

between 746 and 799. Nevertheless there can be no question of a complete slavisation of the country nor of a complete annihilation of the Greek element in it — as Fallmerayer and his followers hold. The immigrant Slavs in Greece proper cannot have been very numerous. They were really nomad herdsmen and peasants, who settled here and there in the open country. Their level of culture much have been very low. On the other hand, the Hellenic element in Greece proper and no less in the Morea had always had control of the coasts and of the towns and fortresses in the interior, and it was moreover strong enough as regards culture to assert itself through the centuries and even to leave its mark on the foreign Slavs. The Slav settlers often caused trouble to the Byzantine government, so that the latter found themselves forced to send expeditions against them. For example in 783 A.D. the Athenian empress Irene ordered the Patriarch Staurakios to punish the Slav tribes of the Morea and the rest of the mainland of Greece. He appears to have had numerous troops at his command and was able to carry out his task satisfactorily in a few months. He subdued the Slavs and forced them to pay an annual tribute to the imperial treasury. He returned to Constantinople with many prisoners and considerable booty and celebrated a triumph in the Hippodrome there.

After some time, the Slavs again rose in the Morea against Byzantine authority. They became a great danger and even threatened the towns on the coast. Supported by Saracens from Africa, the Slavs in 807 (805 by another reckoning) blockaded Patras from the land. The citizens of this important town defended themselves bravely in spite of a shortage of provisions, water and other supplies. When the help sought from the imperial strategos in Corinth did not come, the citizens of Patras made a vigorous sortie. They put the enemy to flight and drove them far from their town. Greek superstition seems to have ascribed the victory won at Patras over the Slav hordes to St. Andrew, the patron saint of the town. Nothing is recorded of the fate of the Saracen allies of the Slav besiegers of Patras. It is supposed that it was they who ravaged not only Patras but also Rhodes and other islands by the caliph's order in 807 A.D. With the defeat at Patras the strength of the Slavs of the Morea was broken. It is true that they again and again attempted to win their independence of the Byzantines by force of arms but without success. In 850 A.D., the doughty Byzantine general Theoktistos Bryennios subdued all the Slav districts of the Morea as far as the mountains on the Taggetos and Parnon, where two rebel Slav tribes, the Esclites and Melinges, had settled. These two tribes survived longest, sometimes as vassals of the Byzantines and sometimes as their open enemies. As early as the ninth century A.D. began the conversions of the Slavs to Christianity to which is due also their gradual hellenisation. The intermixture of the Greek Moreotes (Turk. Moralis) with the Slavs undoubtedly contributed considerably to the former process.

The Normans in Sicily in the following period disturbed not only the coasts of the mainland of Greece but also the interior of various Balkan provinces of the Byzantine empire. The Norman king Roger II in his campaign in 1146 against Greece sailed round the Morea and occupied with-

out a blow — after successfully storming the strongly fortified Malvasia — Corinth, celebrated for and prosperous from its trade and industries. It was for this same king, that the Arab Idrisi composed his *Nusbat al-Musharrif*, finished about 1153 A.D. According to this work, Morea (*Bilbonitika*), a flourishing and prosperous island of the Mediterranean, had 13 large and important towns, many citadels or fortified places and villages. Of the towns of the Morea Idrisi mentions the following among others: Corinth, "a large and populous city"; Patra (= Patras), "situated on a promontory"; has a "famous" church (of the apostle St. Andrew); Arcadia (= the ancient Kyparissia), "a large and thickly populated town", whose harbour is visited by many ships; Irouda (= Navarino) with "a very commodious harbour"; Motonia (= Modon; q.v.), "a fortified town"; it was protected by a fort which commanded the sea; Koronia (= Koron), "a little town" with a citadel commanding the sea; el-Kedemona (= Lacedaemonia, the mediaeval Sparta), "a flourishing and important town, six miles from the sea"; Malissa (= Monembasia, Malvasia), "a town defended by a very high citadel commanding the sea, from which the island of Crete can be seen"; Argho (= Argos), "a famous place and beautiful country"; Anaboli (= Nauplia, Napoli de Romania). According to Idrisi, Morea (the extent of which he puts at 1,000 miles) is connected with the mainland "only by an isthmus, the length of which is six miles" (= Hexamilion, cf. below). Only small ships could be taken through the isthmus from the Gulf of Corinth into that of Saron; ships of larger size had to sail all round the peninsula of Morea. The confusion in Idrisi between the promontory of Malea and Tainaron is not peculiar in mediaeval works. Idrisi's statements are not based to any extent on his own observations (cf. *Géographie d'Edrisi*, transl. by A. Jaubert, II, 1840, p. 122 and also Th. Luc. Fe. Tafel, *De provinciis regni bysantini liber secundus Europa*, Tübingen 1845, p. 27 199).

We get much and varied information supplementing the Arab geographer's account of the Morea from various 12th century sources, e.g. the *Travels* of Benjamin of Tudela (d. 1173) who starting from Saragossa visited the Greek east and other lands in order to become acquainted with the Jewish diaspora.

The conquest of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204 and the resulting division of the Byzantine empire, which had now collapsed, had a great influence on the future of the Morea. Boniface of Montferat in 1204 founded the kingdom of Thessalonica in Macedonia which he took in exchange for Asia Minor allotted to him by treaty. By a comparatively slight effort he and his followers were able from Thessalonica to conquer within a year a great part of the mainland of Greece as well as the Morea. Two knights, William of Champlitte, Count of Champagne, and Godfrey of Villehardouin the younger, may be regarded as the men who brought the Morea under Frankish rule. When William of Champlitte had to leave the Morea in 1209, Godfrey of Villehardouin continued the work of conquest alone and organised the Frankish administration of the country which was henceforth known as the principality of Achaia to Europeans. Soon after the Frankish occupation of the country, it was reorganised on western lines. But the feudal system did not find

its way into the Morea only 'after 1204. It had already existed in the country in the time of the Comneni.

The Frankish rulers built new citadels and forts in the plains and on the mountains, most of which survived into the period of Turkish rule. A number of fiefs which were formed by the Franks in 1205 became after the middle of the 13th century hereditary possessions of the Ottomans.

It must also be pointed out that the Venetians after the Fourth Crusade had secured important trading centres and depots on the Morea. The Republic in this way acquired the province of Lacedaemonia, Kalabryta, Modon and Patras, and in the case of the last two seaports, some of the surrounding country including the possessions of a number of distinguished families of the Byzantine aristocracy. During this period, Venice succeeded in extending her territory and commercial influence and privileges further in the Morea and even in taking possession of the whole of it (cf. below). The fourth prince of Achaia (Morea), William of Villehardouin (1245—1278), the second son of the above-mentioned Godfrey, had vigorously completed the conquest of the country. In 1245 he forced Monembasia, which had so far remained independent in alliance with the Greek kings of Nicaea, to capitulate under certain conditions. The same ruler also conquered a number of Morean tribes who had shown themselves hostile to Frankish rule and who played a prominent part in later times when the Turks occupied the country. To keep in check the wild tribes of Zaconia and Laconia, William II of Villehardouin in 1249 built near the ancient Sparta, on a hill jutting out in front of the Taygetos, Mystra (Mystra), the fortress of the same name. A Frankish-Byzantine town soon grew up around this fortress which became a centre of art and classical studies. The town of Mystra was destined to be the capital of the later despots of the Morea, and even in the period of Turkish rule it did not completely lose its old importance. Frankish rule in the Morea, which reached its zenith under William II, was destined to suffer a severe reverse within his reign. In October 1259 a fierce battle was fought between Castoria and Monastiri (Pelagonia) at Longos Vorilla. In this battle fought the armies of the Despot of Epirus Michael Angelos and of the king of Nicaea and later Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Palaeologos. As a result of treachery on the part of an illegitimate son of the despot Michael Angelos, the Sebastokrator Johannes, the troops and allies of the former suffered a reverse. Even William II of Villehardouin sought safety in flight only to be shortly afterwards enticed from his hiding-place and captured. He was not released till 1262, after taking the oath of vassalage to the Byzantine emperor and ceding him four important fortresses of the Morea: Mystra, Maina, Geraki and Monembasia, as well as a considerable part of Laconia. The Byzantines thus gained important bases in S. E. Morea from which they were able to reconquer the whole peninsula, which was all the more necessary as William II of Villehardouin only kept his pledge of fealty for a short time.

Relations between the Muslim peoples and the Morea now became closer. At the end of 1262 the Sebastokrator Constantine, a step-brother of the Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologos, landed in the Morea at

the head of a large army which consisted mainly of Macedonians and Turks. This step-brother of the Emperor came to the Morea as administrator of the Byzantine lands there and occupied all the citadels which William of Villehardouin had been forced to cede in order to secure his release. The Byzantine governor took up his residence in Mystra. Soon afterwards open war broke out between the Franks and Byzantines. To strengthen the latter there landed at Monembasia in the spring of 1263 a new Turkish army corps of 5,000 (according to others 3,000) mercenaries in the service of Michael VIII Palaeologos, led by two men named Malik and Shalik. We have no accurate record of the origin and descent of these Turkish chiefs who, so far as we know, were the first to appear in the Morea. They must have been either Seldjûks or Turks of other descent who had no shame about selling their services to Christian rulers. The Turkish mercenaries under Malik and Shalik contributed greatly to the successes which the Sebastokrator Constantine gained over the Franks at the beginning of 1263. Along with Greeks, mainly from Zaconia and other provinces of the east, Slavs from the Morea, Dasmals (of Greek-Frankish descent), the Turkish mercenaries attacked from Laconia Elis, which was the capital of the Frankish principality. The bands of Malik and Shalik then pressed into the highlands of Skorta. Here they ravaged at their will. With the approval of the Sebastokrator Constantine, they plundered the country, carried off and slaughtered the cattle. In these circumstances the Skortinians were forced to pay homage to the Byzantine emperor and to operate with his army against the Franks. Constantine's army, composed of so many different racial stocks, occupied the market-town of Velligosti (near Megalopolis) and burned it, without however being able to take its citadel: they then conquered Kalabryta and burned the famous Latin monastery of Isova. But soon afterwards they suffered a terrible defeat not far from Olympia.

In the spring of the year following (1264), the Sebastokrator Constantine continued the war on the Franks. He had no success and also quarrelled with his Turkish allies, whose pay was six months in arrears. Malik and Shalik at once left him with their men for this reason and retreated undisturbed to the district of Karytaina. Constantine tried to win them over again but they went to William of Villehardouin who accepted their assistance. Thereupon Malik and Shalik with their followers went over to the camp of the, as they thought, generous Frankish leader in the conviction that the latter would keep his word. By the accession to the Franks of this Turkish force, the tide was turned in their favour. The Turkish chiefs who were inspired by an ardent desire to avenge themselves in battle on their false employers, now advised William II of Villehardouin's knights to meet the imperial Byzantine army on the frontiers of Messenia and Arcadia. While the Frankish-Turkish army was going through the pass of Makryplagi (between Megalopolis and Kalamata, i.e. the line of the modern railway), they were attacked by an ambush of the Byzantine army, whose leader was no longer the Sebastokrator Constantine but the strategoi Alexius Phyllis, Makrenos and Alexius Kabellarios. Twice the vanguard of the Frankish-Turkish force led by Anselm de Toucy had to give way before the numerous Byzantines who occupied the heights of the pass of Makryplagi, but finally they won the

hotly contested summit of the pass, from which they ousted the enemy. The Turks under Malik and Shalik followed up and completed the victory. The leaders of the army so disastrously defeated sought refuge in the neighbouring caves of Gardiki where they were besieged by the Turks. The latter took the caves and led their occupants prisoners to William II of Villehardouin. The latter thereupon ordered the Turks to raid and plunder the districts of Morea previously occupied by the Byzantines, notably the districts of Zaconia, Helos, Vatisa and Monembasia.

After the battle in the Makryplagi pass came the news that Skortinians had again taken up arms against the Franks and stormed the fortress of Bachelet (Araklovo) and Karytaina. As the valiant Godfrey Bruneres, Baron of Karytaina, who had always been able to keep the turbulent Skortinians in check, was no longer in the Morea, William II of Villehardouin ordered the Turkish leader Malik and his men to go to Skorta to put down the rising. Terrified by the ravages and cruelties of the Turkish mercenaries, the surviving Skortinians submitted to the Prince of the Morea and begged for mercy which was granted them.

The *Chronicle of the Morea*, which has survived in four languages (Greek, French, Catalan and Italian), is the only source which tells us of the activities of the Turkish mercenaries in the Morea (1262-1265). The same *Chronicle* adds that the Turks in 1265 sought permission to leave the Morea and to be allowed to return to their Asiatic home. Malik took his leave in the friendliest fashion from the Prince of the Morea and began his journey home. The *Chronicle* however specially mentions that individual Turks preferred to settle in the Morea. They were baptised and married morean women. About the first half of the thirteenth century, there were still descendants of Malik's followers there, baptised Turks settled in Elis. It is natural to think that the modern villages in N.W. Morea of Maliki (Demos Vapradon) and Turkochori (= "village of the Turks", Demos Tritaia) owe their names to the Turkish settlers in the time of William II of Villehardouin. This prince gave two of Malik's followers who remained in the Morea the rank of knighthood and even granted them fiefs. According to the Catalan version of the *Chronicle of the Morea*, Malik himself married a noble Frankish lady, a widow, through the intermediary of William II of Villehardouin. It is a historical fact that Turkish-Morean relations date from the second half of the thirteenth century. After the death of William II in 1278 we find a reference to estates which this prince had given to his Turkish allies and which were occupied about 1280 by the soldiers of Galeazzo d'Ivry, who acted for a time as governor of the Morea for Charles of Naples and Sicily. Charles I and his immediate successors in rule over the Morea had not infrequently Turkish warriors in their service. From the beginning of the thirteenth century it not infrequently happened that Muhammadan pirates from Asia Minor raided and plundered the coastlands of the Morea. Sometimes they had allies of the Christian faith, notably Catalans.

About the middle of the thirteenth century, an important change took place in the administration of the Byzantine possessions in the Morea. The Emperor Johannes Kantakuzenos in 1349 created

an appanage for his second son out of these lands which he called the despotate of Mystra and which lasted till the Ottoman conquest (1349-1380). In this period fell the rule of the first despot of Mystra, Manuel Kantakuzenos, the second son of the Emperor. He assisted the Franks of the Morea to ward off the Turkish attacks, which had reduced the once flourishing Corinth and the country round to such misery that the Corinthians in 1358 were forced to send an urgent appeal for assistance to their sovereign, the titular Emperor of Constantinople and prince of Achaia, Robert II. The latter gave a ready ear to their appeal. On April 23, 1358, he gave the Florentine Grand Seneschal Niccolò Acciajoli and his descendants the extensive district of Corinth as a hereditary barony. The princely family of the Acciajoli survived in the Morea and on the mainland of Greece for two centuries, during which they had much to do with Muslim peoples. A series of circumstances, including the irruptions of the Turks as early as the middle of the thirteenth century and the advance of the Ottomans, whose strength was steadily increasing, brought numerous Albanians to Greece. The first despot of Mystra, Manuel Kantakuzenos, had them settled in various deserted regions where they became distinguished as warriors, agriculturists and as huntsmen. Thus we find them in Arcadia and Laconia where they seem to have come in large numbers. Later another 10,000 Albanian families were peacefully settled by another despot of Mystra, namely Theodoros I Palaeologos (1384-1407), son of the Byzantine Emperor John V. According to reliable sources, these 10,000 families left Thessaly and Acarnania with their cattle and goods and chattels on account of the Turkish raids and for other reasons and reached the isthmus. There they pitched their camp and sent messengers to Theodore I with the request that they might be allowed to settle in his Morean territory. Theodore I acceded to their request and allowed them to spread over a considerable portion of the Morea. The story of G. Bosio (*Dell' istoria della Sacra Religione et illustrissima Militia di J. Gio. Girolimitano*, vol. II, Rome 1594, p. 126-129) to the effect that the Turks had occupied Patras by 1378 and conquered the Morea shortly before must be relegated to the realm of fable. About this time, there were again great changes in the Morea. The Company of Navarre, which in 1380 had entered the service of the titular Emperor Jacob de Baux of Constantinople and prince of Achaia and were seeking their fortune on Greek soil, became after the death of the Emperor in Tarso in 1383 absolute masters of a great part of the Morea. In 1386 the Company made Captain Pierre de St. Exupery (Bordo of S. Superan) their leader. The latter was able to extend his power and influence in the Morea by inciting the Turks and also the Greek archons against Theodore I. During the period 1396-1402 he even bore the title of hereditary prince of Achaia (which was given him instead of money by king Ladislaus of Naples). Sometime before, a vigorous and enterprising Florentine, Nerio I Acciajoli (Sept. 29, 1394), had been playing an important part on the mainland of Greece. This man, a nephew of the Niccolò I Acciajoli, already mentioned, had acquired considerable territory in the Morea, partly by inheritance and partly by purchase.

Shortly before his death he attained the height of his glory when he was appointed by king

Ladislaus of Naples as hereditary Duke of Athens and the lands belonging to it. In 1389 the Venetians occupied the important fortress of Nauplion and set about the conquest of Argos. The despot of Mystra, Theodoros I Palaeologos, the son-in-law of Nerio I Acciajoli, at his father-in-law's instigation anticipated the Venetians and occupied Argos. As a result, hostilities broke out among the Christian states, which could end only to the advantage of the Turks. The despot of Mystra replied to the demands of Venice to give up Argos by saying he could only do so with the Sultan's approval. Later the Venetians joined up with the Navarrese. Through treachery Bordo of S. Superan succeeded in taking Nerio I Acciajoli prisoner on Sept. 10, 1389. The latter remained for nearly a year in the hands of the leader of the Navarrese but in the end obtained his freedom.

An epoch-making event was the great battle on the field of the blackbird (June 15, 1389) at Pristina, which decided Turkish rule for centuries in the Balkans. A Turkish army appeared in the Morea at the end of 1392 under Ewrenos Beg in order to aid, at their request, the Navarrese against the despot of Mystra. The Turks thereupon occupied a number of strongholds in the peninsula. Nerio I Acciajoli, who had been appointed governor of the Morea, now pledged himself to pay tribute to Sultan Bayazid and to be his vassal. After the death of Nerio I Acciajoli, a fatal quarrel broke out between his sons-in-law Theodore I of Mystra and Charles Tocco, during which the Turks won important successes on the mainland of Greece. The fear of the danger from the Turks probably induced Charles Tocco and Theodore I to make up their quarrel. After long negotiations with the Greek national party in Athens, who hated the Latins, Turkish forces under the Pasha Timurtash entered Attica from Thessaly. At the end of 1394 or in the first seven weeks of 1395, the Venetians occupied Athens including the Acropolis, after driving back the Turkish besiegers. Theodoros prepared to advance against the Turks on the isthmus. The latter, however, defeated on Sept. 28, 1396 at Nicopolis the flower of the chivalry of Hungary, Germany, and France and thus laid the foundations for their dominion over the lands below the Danube. Bayazid thereupon decided to attack the remnants of the Byzantine empire as well as the little principalities of the mainland of Greece. He therefore sent his generals Ya'qub, Pasha of Rumelia, and the already mentioned Ewrenos Beg with an army of 50,000 men to cross the isthmus again. Ya'qub occupied Argos; Ewrenos Beg at the same time fell upon the Venetian possessions in Messenia. The prince of Achaea, Bordo of S. Superan, and Theodoros I of Mystra found themselves forced as a result of the Turkish successes to pay tribute to the Porte. Laden with incalculable booty the armies of Ya'qub Pasha and Ewrenos Beg returned across the isthmus and in 1397 even occupied Athens for a brief period. In addition to Greek sources, Turkish writers record that the "city of the wise", as Athens is frequently called in Muslim works, was taken by Sultan Bayazid's men (cf. J. H. Mordtmann, in *Byzant. Neugriech. Jahrb.*, iv, [1923], 346 sqq.). As a result of his troubles, especially the Turkish raids, Theodoros I of Mystra became utterly tired of his position. He therefore resolved to sell his towns and citadels to the knights of St. John of Rhodes, who after negotiations readily

purchased Corinth, Kalahryta and Mystra in the years 1400—1402. But they could not establish themselves permanently in the Morea, for the Greek national party in the country, especially in Mystra, rebelled against the sale, which the Sultan, the suzerain of Theodoros of Mystra, also declined to recognise. Theodoros therefore cancelled the sale and compensated the knights partly in money and partly by ceding the county of Salona and the barony of Zituni. Theodoros I had been able to take these lands from the Ottomans after their defeat at Angora in 1402.

Sultan Sulaiman I (1403—1411) abandoned any claim to suzerainty over the Morea. At this time the influence and power of the Venetian colonies in the Morea were increasing. In 1407 the Venetians occupied Lepanto. In the following year, they seized Patras and the country round it and from these two strongholds which lay opposite one another, the so-called little Dardanelles, they were able to keep in check the Turkish pirates who made the Gulf of Corinth unsafe. At an earlier date, the Albanian family of Spata had settled in Lepanto and had occasionally made common cause with the Turks. Patras at this time was ruled by the archbishop Stephan Zaccaria in name of the Pope. As he suffered a great deal from the Turks, he pledged the town and the country round it with the Venetians. The latter also occupied the seaport of Astros in Zaconia. They restored the fortifications of Nauplia and other strongholds in their possession. The Republic of St. Mark in 1406 and 1411 concluded treaties with Sultan Sulaiman I, by virtue of which they secured their colonies in the Morea and the East generally. But in the reign of Murad II (1421—1451) danger again threatened from the Turks. The Venetians were however able to take the necessary measures for the defence of their possessions in the Morea. In the districts of Nauplia and Argos as well as in their flourishing Messenian colonies they settled numerous Albanians who loved fighting. In Corinth and Attica also the Albanians were welcomed by the Acciajoli. The Albanian element was therefore very strongly represented in the Morea in the first half of the xvth century; later they spread to the islands around the Morea. In the wars of the Greeks and Venetians against the Ottomans, the Albanians frequently distinguished themselves; on the other hand, their morals left much to be desired. To this day we still can find descendants of these Albanian colonists in the Morea and in the adjoining territories.

After the battle of Angora, at the time when Frankish power in the Morea was declining, the Byzantines vigorously resumed their efforts to reconquer the whole peninsula. Theodoros I of Mystra had previously wanted, with Venetian support, to erect on the isthmus a great bulwark against the Turks which would make access to the Morea impossible for them. Manuel II Palaeologos again took up Theodoros's plan and began to put it into execution with vigour. Not far from Corinth on the isthmus, which was usually called "Hexamilion" in the middle ages, he built a wall 24 stadia long from sea to sea with castles at each end and in the middle and no less than 155 strong towers besides deep ditches. The building material was taken from older walls and defences. In the course of 25 days (April 8—May 3, 1415), i.e. at a most rapid rate, the great wall was completed which, like the

isthmus itself, was called "Hexamilion"; the greatest hopes were built upon it, but they soon proved deceitful. The Turks usually called the wall *Gemehisar*. In 1416, Manuel II left the Morea after reimposing his suzerainty upon the prince of Achaia Centurione II Zaccaria and humbling several Greek and Albanian archons, some of whom he carried off with him to Constantinople.

The peaceful relations which had existed between the Byzantines and the Ottomans under Sulaiman I and Bayazid suddenly ceased when Murad II ascended the throne. In 1423 he ordered the celebrated Pasha Turakhân to clear up the small states. With an army of 25,000 men, which was joined by the Duke of Attica Antonio I as the Sultan's vassal, Turakhân set out from Thessaly to obey his master's orders. The celebrated Hexamilion wall proved an insufficient bulwark against the onslaught of the Janissaries. Turakhân had the most of it destroyed and advanced into the Morea. The despot Theodoros II of Mystra could scarcely have checked the Ottoman flood which swept into his land, plundering and murdering. Mystra, Lontari, Gardiki (on the Makryplagi pass) and other Byzantine and Latin towns fell into Turakhân's hands. But he suffered one serious reverse. The Moreotes caught a portion of his army in the pass of Lonsari, where they were victorious and took much booty and, to be more accurate, recaptured their own property. In the Arcadian town of Tavia (the modern Dawia, on the road from Triboliza to Wytina), the Albanians assembled and chose one of themselves as their leader and decided to attack Turakhân on his way back from the south. In the battle that followed, the Albanians did not stand their ground but fled. Turakhân pursued them and slew many besides taking some 800 prisoners. These he put to death and, according to the Turkish practice, built towers of their skulls. Heavily laden with plunder, Turakhân returned soon afterwards across the isthmus to Thessaly. He had however in 1423 not yet completed Murad's order to subdue the Christian states of the Morea.

Soon after the withdrawal of the Ottomans, Manuel II Palaeologos besought Murad II for peace and concluded a treaty with him, by which the despot of Mystra was to pay an annual tribute of 100,000 hyperpyra to the Sultan and further to declare his readiness to give up the Hexamilion wall. Venice, whose colonies in the Morea had suffered much from Turakhân's raid in 1423 and were continually troubled by Muslim pirates, recommended all the Christian powers interested to form a united front. This appeal for unity, however, fell on deaf ears. The various Christian rulers of the Morea quarrelled among themselves in spite of the critical times and even took up arms against one another. The Albanian inhabitants followed their own inclinations entirely and even began separatist movements of a political nature.

It is remarkable that the Greek political consciousness was strengthened in the Morea in this period of political confusion. Mystra became the centre of a kind of renaissance and a centre of learning and study of classical antiquity. In this period there appeared in the Morea a great scholar who was a philosopher of the Platonic school and also a fervent patriot of radical tendencies in social and political reforms. He was Georgios Gemistos or as he called himself "Plethon". His teaching was of a mystical nature. It was directed against Christi-

anity, indeed against every positive religion. His followers who are said to have been numerous, formed a secret society. Plethon (d. between Feb. 1449 and July 1450) had also lived in Brussa where he had as a teacher a Jew named Elissaios, who rejected Christianity, Judaism and Islam as the positive religions. In the reign of Sultan Bayazid, he was burned at the stake as a heretic about 1390. It is supposed that the teaching of Plethon and the secret society thus formed was suggested by a similar school of thought in old Turkey, that of the "akhihs" (cf. Fr. Taeschner, in *Isl.*, xviii, [1929], 236-243; *Islamica*, iv, [1929], 199; *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, viii, [1929-1930], 100-113 and Nikos A. Bees, *ibid.*, vii [1928-1929], 237). Plethon's works were disseminated not only in the Christian west and Greek east but also among the Turks. The MS. Enderum 1896 in the library of the Top Kapu Serai contains an Arabic translation of a fragment of Plethon's chief work *Nomo*. This translation is said to have been made by order of Sultan Mehmed II and is anonymous (cf. Ahmad Zeki Pasha, *Sur une Traduction de Vemistot [Plethon]*, in *Bull. de l'Inst. d'Egypte*).

The son and successor of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II, Johannes Palaeologos (1425-1448), concluded a treaty with Murad II. The Turkish danger now threatened the Morea more seriously than ever. Since Nov. 1427 the despot Constantine Palaeologos had been ruling there. Alongside of this vigorous, enterprising and self-sacrificing ruler (afterwards Byzantine emperor), we find at this time also his brothers Thomas and Demetrius as princes in the Morea. They had less ability and strength of character and facilitated the conquest of the peninsula by the Turks. The three brothers, especially Constantine, succeeded in bringing the whole Morea except the Venetian colonies under Greek rule; but there was no unity among them. In 1429-1430 Constantine took Patras, which at this time was held by the archbishop and clerical prince Pandolf Malatesta as a vassal of Murad II. The Sultan protested but Constantine was able to dispose of the claims of the Sultan and his advisers by a skilful ambassador. This envoy was Georgios Phrantzes, whose chronicle is an exceedingly important source for Greek and Turkish history in the xvth century. In 1431 Turakhân again reached the northern frontier of the Morea to destroy the Hexamilion wall a second time, for it had been restored by the Palaeologos. The first care of Constantine who now ruled over the greater part of the Morea and cherished ambitious plans, had been to restore the defences of the isthmus. His aim was to unite the Morea with the mainland of Greece and if possible to found a Greek national state. In the west a new league had been formed against the Turks by Pope Eugenius IV, Venice and Hungary. At the same time the rising of the Albanians under Skandarbeg roused a strong feeling against the Turks and encouraged the Christians. Constantine Palaeologos who at the request of the Pope, Venice and Hungary had joined their league against the Ottomans in 1444, crossed the isthmus with a well equipped army to invade the mainland of Greece. He had considerable success. He forced the Duke of Athens Nerio II Acciajoli, who was a vassal of the Sultan, to recognise his suzerainty and to pay an annual tribute. He occupied many towns (including Thebes, Livadia, Zituni and Lidoriki) and encouraged the Christians of the Pindus to take up arms against

by its citizens. The garrison left in its citadel did not dare to offer resistance. The Sultān treated the town of Patras very generously. By July 1458 Muhammad II had reached Corinth after taking Hostira (Aegion) on the way. On Aug. 6, 1458, its commanders left the citadel to negotiate its surrender with the Sultān. The loss of Corinth to the Turks seriously alarmed the Palaeologoi. The negotiations for peace, which were now begun, were conducted by Mathaios Asanis. The Sultān then made peace with the despots of Morea but the price was a high one. In the beginning of the autumn of 1458, Muhammad II left the Morea to return to the north via Athens, which shortly before had passed into his hands. The sources do not agree regarding his activity in the Morea in this year. As a rule, Muhammad's campaign in the Morea in 1458 is regarded, by modern historians also, as one of destruction. It is true, he was generous to the people of Patras and left the Corinthians unharmed after taking their city. He carried off however a large number of Christians to Constantinople and its neighbourhood. These settled there as artisans and peasants and formed the productive element in the capital of the Ottoman empire.

In the year 1458 Muhammad II for administrative purposes combined his possessions in the Morea with Thessaly and placed the newly constituted province under the governorship of Turakhān's son Omar. The Sultān had hardly left the country when the Palaeologoi again began to stir up trouble. Muhammad therefore deprived Omar of his office in Thessaly and the Morea and decided to go in person to the Morea again in order to be done with the Palaeologoi once and for all and make the whole peninsula a Turkish province. Demetrius Palaeologos was not the man who could defend and save Mystra. He did shut himself up in the citadel with the intention of defending it, but very soon surrendered it to the Turks. Demetrius after many adventures died as the monk Dorotheos in Adrianople in 1470 (cf. Th. Spandugino, *I Commentarii di... de l'Origine de principi Turchi*, Florence 1551, p. 43 sq.). After disposing of Demetrius, the Sultān turned his attention to his brother Thomas. After the Turks had occupied Mystra he had not dared to do anything to defend his lands. He was rather seeking to leave a way open to escape from the Morea, if necessary. One town after the other fell almost without resistance into the hands of the Ottomans. Thomas Palaeologos embarked with his family at Porto Longo (at Navarino) for Corfu, which he reached on July 28, 1460 but went on 3 months later to Rome where he died on May 12, 1465. After the disappearance of his chief opponents, Muhammad II continued his victorious march from Messenia to Northern Morea. He left the Morea towards the end of summer 1460. The plan which he had decided on when he entered the Morea, was practically carried through. Except for a few places, the peninsula was now Turkish territory. Zaganos Pasha was installed as governor of the Morea by the Sultān and entrusted with the reorganisation of the peninsula, which had become much depopulated and was a great deal poorer economically. In 1458 and again in 1460 Muhammad II combined the Morea with Thessaly for administrative purposes. This union was later dissolved. As early as the xvth century we already find the Morea a *sandjak* by

itself with 109 *siamets* and 342 *timar*. Down to about 1570, the residence of the governor was by turns in Coriath, Londari or Mystra, then in Nauplion and in 1786—1821 in Tropolitza (cf. below). The division of the country under Turkish rule, usual from the middle of the xvth century, into 22 or 25 provinces or *beyliks* is partly suggested by nature and partly a survival of the older Byzantine organisation.

There is no doubt that the Turks introduced their own feudal system after their occupation of the Morea. The Turkish-Muslim element in the country was thus able to expand. Even during the first period of Turkish rule (1458—1687), other factors contributed to this, like the immigration into the Morea of Muslims from other parts of the Ottoman empire, the conversion of Christian Moreotes to Islam, the carrying off of Christian women into Turkish harems, etc. While in the north of the Balkan Peninsula and in Asia Minor, countless Christians had adopted Islam either voluntarily or under compulsion, the Christian element in the Morea at the time of the Turkish conquest was morally strong enough to remain in the mass faithful to the Christian religion. Comparatively few Moreotes became Muslims, and these were principally Albanians, who always adopted Islam more readily (cf. thereon: C. Jirelek, *Studien zur Geschichte und Geographie Albanien im Mittelalter*, Budapest 1916). As in Asia Minor, Bosnia, Crete etc., so in the Morea also members of the nobility and middle classes, especially those of Frankish origin, had adopted Islam in order to retain possession of their estates. There were also in the Morea crypto-Christians, as well as people whose Islam was very superficial. These were usually called *muḥaddat* (impure) in the Morea. These superficial Muslims, who continued to retain much that related to Christian worship, lived mainly in what is now the province of Olympia and were almost all exterminated during the Greek War of Liberation (cf. the articles by Photios Chrysanthopoulos-Photakos in the Athens periodical *Εβδομαχία*, vol. II, 1886, p. 1). The Bardaniots were also for the most part superficially Muslims. As to the survival of the Greek Moreote element, there are theories current in modern literature which can hardly be right. It is said for example that Sultān Muhammad II's ordinance regulating the relations of the Christian subjects to the Ottoman empire benefitted also the Christian Moreotes. But it is wrong to credit Muhammad II with any such ordinance (cf. Fr. Giese, in *Sl.*, xix., 1931, p. 204 sqq.). It is however a historical fact that the Greek Orthodox Church contributed a great deal to maintain the Christian element in the Morea as in the East generally. The Christian clergy of the Morea were frequently able to maintain a privileged attitude towards the Turkish officials and thus to further the interests of their co-religionists. The Christian Moreotes were also often cleverly able to avoid having their children taken by the Turks for the Janissaries. The Christians of the Morea held this, the "blood tax", to be the greatest degradation they suffered under the Turkish yoke and a dreadful disgrace to their race. After the death of Sultān Sulaimān the Magnificent (1566), the lot of the Christian Moreotes gradually became worse. Ownerless lands were confiscated by the Sultān and given to his soldiers or allotted to the mosques as *waqfs* or given to private individuals as gifts. During the

long period of Turkish rule in the Morea, the largest and best part of the land was in Turkish hands. As a rule, Christians were not allowed to own large estates. The peasants had to pay over annually the fifth of the produce of the land and pay all kinds of annual taxes, were never sure of their property, nor even of their wives and children, and suffered unspeakably in every way from arbitrary Turkish rule.

In view of the abuses of the Turkish authorities, the Christian Moreote preferred to abandon the fertile regions and retire to barren lands and into the mountains, where he could breathe more freely and more easily escape the despotism of his rulers and shape his course of life a little more pleasantly. We thus find that within the period 1460-1821 the mountains of the Morea were predominantly inhabited by Christians. Of the factors which contributed to the survival of Greek culture in the Morea during Turkish rule special stress must be laid on the political concessions which were made to them by the Ottomans. These lay mainly in the freedom to govern their own communities. Greek local government, as we find it during Turkish rule, is said to have been a continuation of old Greek institutions. In the period from 1715 to 1821, if not earlier, the freedom of the Greek community was not infrequently limited by the Turkish authorities. They interfered indirectly in the appointment of local officials and made propaganda for their favourites. It even happened that the *Kodjabashis*, through the influence of the Turks, were not only appointed for a number of years, but were also able to hand down their offices to children and grandchildren. Undoubtedly, those Moreotes were better off who lived in towns or villages which were allotted to the sacred places of Islam or to members of the Ottoman imperial family. The town of Dimitzani in Gortynia for example was originally a *sağ* of Mecca under the protection of the Sultan's mother.

The peace between the Turkish rulers and Christians could only be external. In the Morea also there were the so-called "Klefts" who would not submit to the existing government and took up arms against it. Against them the Turks used the *Armatoli* force, a gendarmerie of Christians organised on military lines. In the period from 1715-1821 the Turks for the security of the country built watchhouses (*derbent*) in which a garrison was stationed to watch those who passed, especially at the passes. The *Derbenekia* (*küçük derbent*) between Corinth and Argos and the *Derbenia* of Loutari, the passes between Arcadia and Messenia (*Makriplagi*; cf. above) were all very important. The *Mainotes* in their wild mountains felt little of the Turkish yoke which weighed heavily on the rest of the Morea. The *Mainote* tribes who were distinguished for their valour, were from 1460 to 1821 in constant rebellion against every foreign power. The Porte found itself forced to recognise officially the independence of Maina, in return for which the *Mainotes* were to pay tribute, but did not always do so. Although the Christians in the Morea were exempt from military service, the warlike spirit which they had so often displayed in the Frankish period continued to survive. An eloquent testimony to their love of freedom was the fact that they continually took up arms against their Turkish oppressors, sometimes alone, sometimes with allies.

For a long period after the year 1460, when

Sultan Muhammad II had made the greater part of the Morea a province of his empire, this land became the scene of desperate fighting between Turks and Venetians, in which the latter had the majority of the Christian population on their side. The great champion of the Christians, Skanderbeg [q.v.], the leader of the Venetian mercenaries, died in 1468. Two years later, Turkish rule over Euboea was firmly established and they could record further successes in the Morea.

In the spring of 1499 a new war between Venice and Turkey broke out. On Aug. 29-30, 1499, Lepanto had to surrender to the Turks. In 1500 Sultan Bayazid II ordered Yakkub Pasha to blockade Modon with his fleet, while he himself set out by land from Constantinople with a well-equipped army for the Morea. On Aug. 9, 1500 (according to Haddaji Khalifa: on 14th Muharram 916), Modon [q.v.] fell after a long siege in the presence of the Sultan. Bayazid II turned the cathedrals at Modon and Koron into mosques and offered up thanks in them and gave these towns to Mecca as *wakfa*. He then paid attention to the defences of the newly acquired towns and to the repopulation of Modon. In 1502-1503 Venice concluded a treaty of peace with Turkey in which she surrendered her Messenian colonies and also Maina, which had in the meanwhile been taken by a son of Krokondilos Kladas in name of the Republic. In 1532 the Morea became the scene of notable battles. The emperor Charles V had decided to intervene in the Morea. A considerable fleet assembled in Messina in June 1532. The Pope and the Knights of St. John, the Genoese and the Sicilians also showed a readiness to join in the expedition, the leader of which was the Genoese Andreas Doria (Turkish: *Andrevirius*). After repeated and costly attacks, the allies succeeded in taking a considerable part of the lower town of Koron. The Turks who had retired into the citadel of Koron were forced to capitulate. From Koron Andreas Doria turned his attention to Patras, which also capitulated. He then returned with rich booty. Sulaiman I, who was now on the throne, gave the sandjak of the Morea to Muhammad Beg, a son of Yahya Pasha and commissioned him to reconquer the fortresses taken by Andreas Doria. Sulaiman I declared war on Venice in 1537. Kâsim Pasha, the sandjak-beg of the Morea, was commissioned to conquer the Venetian colonies in the Morea. Nur al-Din Barbarossa had inflicted several defeats on Venice in her colonies, and she had besides every reason to complain of her allies, the Pope Paul III and the Emperor Charles V. In the summer of 1540 Venice made peace with Sulaiman I in order to save what was left of her possessions. The majority of the Venetian colonies in the East, including Nauplion and Monembasia, was the price paid. The Turks endeavoured to populate once more their new possessions in the Morea. About 1550, there were about 42,000 Christian families in the whole Morea. We know nothing definite of the Muslim population at this time. It may be assumed however that, then as later, Muslims were in a minority. Even when Ottoman power was at its height, the oppressed Moreotes, always desirous of liberty, rose against their oppressors. In the xviiith century the lot of the Christians in the Morea is said to have been unbearable. Two Turkish sources of the xviiith century are of considerable importance for the history of the Morea. These are the "Survey of

the World" (*Dişken-nemâ*) of Hâdîdî Khalîfa (d. Oct. 1657) and the Travels (*Siyâhat-nâme*) of Ewliyâ Çelebi, who visited the Morea in 1668 and 1670. There is no fuller work on the Morea than the latter among Muslim sources. Ewliyâ Çelebi's narrative was based on personal observation and enquiry and is distinguished by a vividness of description and to some extent by a tendency to exaggerate. In the treatment of the Morea, given in his vol. viii, it is hardly possible to trace his literary sources. What he tells us about Muslim buildings and religious orders is of importance, and his account of the Christians is also of value. He naturally takes the Ottoman point of view (cf. Ewliyâ Çelebi, *Siyâhat-nâmesi*, vol. viii, Stambul 1925; Fr. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 219 *ff.*; Fr. Taeschner, in *Id.*, vol. xviii, 1928, p. 299 *ff.*). When Ewliyâ Çelebi visited the Morea, various Muslim orders and corporations had settled there. They included *futuwwa* brotherhoods, dervish orders, some of which were anti-Islamic, and Shî'i Bektashîye. The existence of such brotherhoods, which were widely disseminated in the Greek east from the xth century, can be proved for the Morea as late as 1828 (cf. F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, vols. I—II, Oxford 1929).

At the end of 1683 another coalition against the Porte was formed by Venice, Poland, Germany, Russia and the Pope. Francesco Morosini was appointed by his government to begin operations against the Turks as speedily as possible. He was given command of the allied naval forces. After 43 days of fighting by land and sea, Koron was stormed by Morosini. In the period from the late summer of 1685 to July 1686 Morosini, Count Otto Wilhelm von Königsmark and Hannibal von Degenfeld took from the Turks Old and New Navarino, Kalamata, Modon, Zarnata, Passava, Celefa and Vitylo as well as other fortified places in southern Morea. The Serasker Ismâ'il Pasha was defeated in several battles and had to retire to the interior of the Morea. Hasan Pasha, who was in Maina, negotiated with Morosini and surrendered voluntarily. The Turkish garrisons of many towns, on the other hand, offered a desperate resistance. It cost the Venetians and their allies much time and heavy sacrifices to take Nauplion. The capture of the latter contributed a great deal to increase their confidence. By the end of 1687 Morea up to Monemvasia was Venetian. Continual Turkish raids, however, continued to disturb the security of the peninsula. By the peace of Carlowitz (Jan. 26, 1699), the Porte had to cede the Morea to Venice. The seas of the Morea and of the mainland of Greece were now open to Turkey as well as to Venice. For the last period of Venetian rule in the Morea (1669—1715 or 1718), the reader may be referred to L. Ranke, *Zur venezianischen Geschichte*, Leipzig 1878, p. 277—361. The services of Venice to the peninsula in the period 1688—1714 must not be underestimated, especially as she had found it at a very low level.

The occupation of the Morea by the Venetians now attracted the attention of western scholars to the celebrated peninsula. The Turkish empire, which had been able to profit a good deal by the troubles in Europe at the beginning of the xviiith century, resolved at the end of 1714 to reconquer the Morea. Many Greeks felt that the Venetians had not respected their rights in religious and family

matters, were hostile to their own government and even wanted the Turks back again (cf. De la Montray, *Voyage*, vol. I, p. 462). Except for a few larger towns which offered a resistance, the land was easily taken by the Turks and so the Morea once again became Turkish. The history of this conquest was written by several contemporary writers.

The peace of Passarowitz (June 10, 1718) ceded Morea finally to the Turks. We are most fully informed about their rule from 1718 to 1821. The extant sources, especially in Greek, enable us to study the period to the smallest detail. After 1715 many Christians again adopted Islam. A census taken in 1720 gave 60,000 male Christians of 11 years of age and over. The Muhammadan inhabitants are said to have been in the minority at this time. On the other hand, the Turkish element increased in the period 1769—1780 while the number of Christians diminished considerably, as did the total number of the population. From 1715 to ca. 1780 the Morea was governed by a Pasha, the Morowalesi, who had three *jugat* and the title of *muir*; his period of office was indefinite. He was usually assisted by two other Pashas, who were under him and were granted two *jugat*. A change was made in 1780. From this date to 1821 the government of the Morea was no longer given to a particular Pasha but to a simple *muhafiz* of the Porte, who was however given the title of Pasha. The higher offices were held by a *muhafiz*, a *defterdar* and a Christian dragoman. Under the official system of administrative divisions, the Morea was divided into 22 districts. In this period Christian local autonomy gained more strength. After the many disappointments they had suffered from the western powers, the Moreotes now looked to Russia to liberate them from the Turkish yoke. From the time of Peter the Great the bonds between Greeks and Russians had been growing stronger. In the middle of the xviiith century, Russian propaganda increased very much among the Orthodox of the Balkans. Under Catherine II, the Russians easily succeeded, with the help of Greek agents, in stirring up Greek notables and clergy in the Morea to rebel against the Turks. Among these the most distinguished was the influential and wealthy Panayotis Mpenakis of Kalamata. This secret propaganda did not escape the Turks. By 1767—1768 the Christians were preparing for rebellion. On Oct. 15, 1768, Turkey declared war on Russia. Russian fleets, whose equipment left much to be desired, appeared in the Mediterranean. On Feb. 17, 1770, Theodoros Orloff landed at Vitylo and received a warm welcome from the Mainotes; but as the ships had neither sufficient men, guns or munitions, the first enthusiasm of the Greeks soon died down. On July 21, 1774, a treaty of peace was concluded at Küçük Kainardji between Russia and Turkey. Full religious liberty and other concessions were granted to the Christian subjects of the Turks. About three months later, the Porte granted a general amnesty to the Christians of the Morea and resolved to clear the land of Albanian bandits. After 1770 the Porte had confiscated a number of Christian estates in the Morea and granted them to mosques and *imarets*. By the treaties of Küçük Kainardji and Kainali Kanak (10th March 1779), the Turks now promised to return these or to compensate their owners, but the promises were not kept. Nevertheless, the Moreote

LUZAC & CO.
46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W. C. 1.
ORIENTAL BOOKSELLERS AND PUBLISHERS.

RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

THE ETHIOPIIC TEXT OF THE
BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES

EDITED BY
SAMUEL A. B. MERCER,
M.A., Ph.D., D.D.

Professor of Semitic Languages and Egyptology in Trinity College,
University of Toronto, Lauréal de l'Académie Française, Fellow of the
Royal Asiatic Society, Rector of the Society of Oriental Research.

With Four Plates. 8vo, cloth, pp. xi, 11, 93. Price 8s. 6d.
(ORIENTAL RESEARCH SERIES, 6.)

**THE DAMASCUS CHRONICLE
OF THE CRUSADES**

Part 1 - From 1097 to 1132. Part 2 - 1132 to 1180.

Extracted and translated from the Chronicle of the al-Qatalani.

8vo, cloth. BY **H. A. R. GIBB.** Price 15s.

MEKKA

in the latter part of the 19th Century

Daily life, customs and learning of the Moslems of the East-Indian Archipelago

BY
C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE, Litt.D.
Professor at the Leyden University.

TRANSLATED BY
J. H. MONAHAN,
formerly H. M. B. Consul at Jeddah.

With twenty Plates and two Maps. 8vo, cloth, pp. vi, 300. Price 20s.

THE BUDDHA'S GOLDEN PATH

A manual of practical Buddhism, based on the teachings and practices of
the Zen Sect, but interpreted and adapted to meet modern conditions.

BY
DWIGHT GODDARD.

Revised Second Edition.

With three plates and a frontispiece. 12mo, cloth, pp. x, 214. Price 4s.

LATEST CATALOGUE ISSUED, BIBLIOTHECA ORIENTALIS XXXIII
Catalogue of New and Second-hand books on the Languages, Literature,
People, History, and Geography of the Far East. (Gratis on application).

LUZAC & Co. 46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.1.
(OPPOSITE THE BRITISH MUSEUM)

Additions and Corrections

- B. 233^b, l. 12 at *infra*, add: According to Ibn al-Athir (ed. Turnberg, i. 314, 373, of *YAHR*, iv. 294) Kirmānī designated al-Munqidh by Mu' al-Sana' because of his refusal to accept Manichaeism and appointed in his place the Kirmānī al-Murīd b. 'Aim, who had embraced the new faith. Whatever may be the truth, the relations between the king of Persia and the Arabs have been influenced by Manichaeism.
- P. 296^b, line 12, 12 at *infra*, read: Those who stayed in Hahā (Milet) as has been found. Sogdians in the winter after the battle of Aspers (1402) (*ibidem*, p. 26, s.d. 800, various reading).
- P. 297^b, at: *Notes, Bibliography*. A complete discussion of the ruins of Pichā by H. M. Bakhshi will appear in the forthcoming *Journal of Archaeology, Teheran* (discussion of the inscriptions by P. Wittek).
- P. 297^b, l. 19: instead of *Arak*, read *Arak*.

C37

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

A DICTIONARY OF THE GEOGRAPHY,
ETHNOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY OF THE
MUHAMMADAN PEOPLES

PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF LEADING ORIENTALISTS

EDITED BY

M. TH. HOUTSMA, A. J. WENSINCK

H. A. R. GIBB, W. HEFFENER and E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL

NUMBER 48

MOKEA — MUHALLAB

LEYDEN
LATE E. J. BRILL LTD 1932
PUBLISHERS AND PRINTERS

LONDON
LUZAC & CO
40 GREAT RUSSELL STREET

- [illegible]

Christians benefited considerably by the treaties between Russia and Turkey; this was not however the case with the treaties later concluded (June 10, 1783 and Dec. 29, 1791). The right given the Christians of the Morea to trade under the Russian flag contributed to their economic expansion in the period 1775—1821. Intellectual relations between western Europe and the Greeks of the Morea became closer and closer after 1790. A new generation grew up among the Greeks of the Morea and other provinces. Since the peace of Paris of 1815, the Moreotes and other Greeks had become convinced that only their own efforts could relieve them of the Turkish yoke. Careful preparations were made in anticipation of the right moment. In the spring of 1821 open rebellion broke out among the Greeks of the Morea, when the Turkish governor Khurshid Pasha was besieging the rebel 'Ali Pasha at Yanina. Soon after the beginning of the rising, in which a prominent part was played by Theodoros Kolokotronis of a famous Kleft family, the Moreotes were masters of the lowlands and even occupied several strongholds. At the end of 1824 however, the Porte commissioned Ibrahim Pasha, the adopted son of Mehmed 'Ali of Egypt, to put down the Greek rising. Ibrahim Pasha landed his forces in Messenia. He was able to restore Turkish rule over most of the Morea, but he failed to put down the Greek rebellion. In the meanwhile, philhellenism had made progress in Europe and America, and it thus came about that the cabinets of Europe began to take an interest in the question of Greek freedom. On July 6, 1827, England, France and Russia concluded a treaty in London, by which the Morea and other parts of the Greek mainland were to form an independent principality but to pay tribute to the Porte. The Turks insisted on their point of view and declined the intervention of the great powers as regards the rebel Greeks. On Oct. 20, 1827, the combined fleets of the above mentioned powers destroyed the Turko-Egyptian fleet at Navarino. On Jan. 18, 1828, Johannes Kapodistrias came to Nauplion, having been elected President of the Greek Free State by the National Assembly at Troezen. On Aug. 6, 1828, England concluded a treaty with Mehmed 'Ali of Egypt for the evacuation of the Morea by the Egyptian troops. French troops, led by General N. J. Maison, soon afterwards landed in Messenia by order of Charles X to drive the Turko-Egyptian troops out of the Morea. In the autumn of 1828 Ibrahim Pasha withdrew to Egypt after turning the Morea into a heap of ruins during his 3½ years in the Peninsula. After long diplomatic negotiations, much quarrelling among the great powers and disagreement between the Moreotes and the other Greeks, Prince Otto, the second son of the philhellene Ludwig of Bavaria, landed at Nauplion on Feb. 6, 1833 as the first king of Greece. Henceforth the Morea formed a part of the kingdom of Greece. During the rising of 1821—1827 and later, many Moreote Muslims adopted Christianity. To this day, many buildings and inscriptions and especially place-names recall the days when the Morea was under the Crescent.

Bibliography: (selection): in addition to works already mentioned: J. v. Hammer, *G.O.* 87; J. Ph. Fallmerayer, *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters*, vol. I—II, Stuttgart-Tübingen 1830—1836; Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Göttingen 1840—1863; J. A. Boisson, *Recherches et matériaux*

pour servir à une histoire de la domination française en Orient, vol. I—II, Paris 1811—1840; *Recherches historiques sur la Principauté française de Morée*, vol. I—II, Paris 1845; *Nouvelles recherches historiques sur la Principauté française de Morée*, Paris 1845; *Histoire des conquêtes et de l'établissement des Français dans les États de l'ancienne Grèce*, Paris 1846; K. Hoff, *Geschichte Griechenlands im Mittelalter*, vol. I—II, Leipzig 1867—1868; W. Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantehandels im Mittelalter*, vol. I—II, Stuttgart 1879; F. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart 1889; E. Gerland, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Erbsitzes Patras*, Leipzig 1903; Kennell Rodd, *The Princes of Achaia and the Chronicle of Morea*, vol. I—II, London 1907; W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908 (also Greek translation with additions by S. P. Lambros, vol. I—II, Athens 1909—1910); A. Struck, *Misra, Vienna-Leipzig 1910; Nachricht vom russischen Seehiege wider die Türken in den Jahren 1769—1773* (= F. Gedlicke, J. E. Bieser, *Böhmische Monatschrift*, vol. I—XII, 1787—1788); R. Chandler, *Reise in Griechenland*, Leipzig 1777; Sonnini, *Voyages en Grèce et en Turquie*, Paris 1801; W. Eton, *A Survey of the Turkish Empire*, London 1798; A. L. Castellan, *Lettres sur la Morée et les îles de Crète, Hydra et Zante*, I—II, Paris 1808; Olivier, *Voyage dans l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1801; D. and N. Stephanopoli, *Voyage*, Paris 1800; Pouqueville, *Voyage en Morée, à Constantinople et en Albanie*, Paris 1805; *Voyage de la Grèce*, I—VI, Paris 1826—1827; W. M. Leake, *Travels in Morea*, I—III, London 1830; *Peloponnesica*, London 1846; W. Gell, *Narrative of a Journey in the Morea*, London 1823; K. Koumas, *Ἱστορία τῆς ἀπομάχου τῆς Μορέας*, I—XII, Vienna 1832; K. N. Sathas, *Τοιχοκροτούμεν Ἑλλάς*, Athens 1896; P. M. Kontogiannis, *Οἱ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τὸν πᾶντος ἐπὶ Ἀλεξανδρίαν ὁ Ρωσσο-τουρκικὸν πόλεμον*, Athens 1903; A. Liguori, *Ἱστορικὸν Ἀρχαίων Ἑλλάδος*, I—XIV, Pisa 1921—1930; T. Kandilaros, *Ὁ Ἀρκατολισμός τῆς Πελοποννήσου*, Athens 1924; Ambrosios Vranizis, *Ἐκτενρὴς ἱστορία τῆς ἀπομαχῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, vol. I—III, Athens 1839; Sp. Trikoupi, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπανάστασης*, vol. I—IV, London 1864; N. Spiliadis, *Ἀπομνημονεύματα*, vol. I—III, Athens 1850—1857; M. Oikonomos, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Παύσης*, Athens 1873; Maucet, *Das griechische Volk*, Heidelberg 1853; A. Sorel, *La question d'Orient au 18ème siècle*, Paris 1889; Sp. G. Papas, *La France et la Grèce à l'époque du Directoire*, Athens 1907.

(NIXON A. REES) [1895]

MORISCOS, (MOARSCOS), the name given in Spain to the Muslims who remained in the country after the capture of Granada by the Catholic Kings, Ferdinand and Isabella, on Jan. 2, 1492 and the enthronement of the last ruler of the Nasrid dynasty.

It is mainly from Spanish sources that we learn the history of the Moriscos down to their final expulsion from Spain. Arabic texts relating to them are very rare: the only record at all detailed is that of the Maghribi al-Makkari, a contemporary of the exodus of the Moriscos, in his *Nafḥ al-Fīḥ*.

In proportion as the Spanish "reconquest" proceeded, groups of Muslims gradually increasing in

number found themselves under Christian rule. These Muslims for the most part remained attached to their religion and the largest bodies of them were in Aragon and the district of Valencia; they kept up relations with their co-religionists of the kingdom of Granada. But the latter were suddenly placed in the same position with the fall of the capital of the Nasrid kingdom. The treaty for the capitulation of Granada contained, it is true, a large number of clauses safeguarding the liberty and property of Muslims, granting freedom for their beliefs and for the practice of the Muslim religion. But these clauses were not long respected and very soon attempts were made to convert the people of Granada under the stimulus of the Cardinal de Cisneros and the Archbishop Hernando de Talavera. Cisneros in particular began his work in 1499: he tried persuasion at first, then he tried to withdraw from circulation by burning them as many Arabic books as possible dealing with different branches of Muslim learning. His efforts did produce a few voluntary converts, but also caused a rising which began in Granada itself in the Albaicín quarter (*al-Baiyūta*) and soon spread throughout the hilly country of Alpujarras (*al-Buḡārāt*, q. v.) between the southern slopes of the Sierra Nevada and the Mediterranean, and spread to the towns of Almería, Baza and Guadix and the Serranía of Ronda. The result was in 1501 the promulgation of a law which gave Muslims a choice between leaving Spain and adopting Christianity. It does not seem however to have been strictly applied and the Moriscos of the kingdom of Granada, retreating to the mountains, enjoyed practical independence for over half a century.

But this first edict brought about the conversion of the majority of the Muslims of Castile. As to the Moriscos of Aragon, in spite of a few restrictions on their status they were not much disturbed and orders were given to this effect to the Inquisition. Nevertheless in the early years of the 16th century we find the Muslims of Albarracín, Teruel and Manises being converted en masse. The reaction became stronger, encouraged by John the Foolish, then by Charles I. In 1526 the Moriscos of Valencia received their order of expulsion. The situation remained somewhat confused down to 1556, a date at which a series of venetian measures were decided upon in Madrid and began to be applied against the Moriscos who still remained in Spain: the use of the Arabic language was forbidden them; it was in any case losing ground daily, even among the communities which remained Muslim; they were also ordered to abandon their worship, their costume and to modify their manner of life. This time the Moriscos of Granada and Alpujarras did not hesitate to rebel openly. The rising once again started in the Albaicín of Granada in 1568 and spread to the mountains; it was at first led by an individual named Ibn Umayya, the Abenhamayya of the Spanish chroniclers and afterwards by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbā (Abenahao). It took costly expeditions to put down this movement, and the war lasted for several years, conducted successively by the Marquis of Mondéjar and Don John of Austria.

The final decree of expulsion was not issued by Philip II although he had the intention of doing so in 1582. It was Philip III who signed it in 1609 and in this and the following years, a large number of Moriscos — estimated at half a million — had to cross the sea without hope of returning.

Islam was definitely uprooted from Iberian soil.

According to the Arab authors, the great studies at the beginning of the 17th century was a most cruel hardship for the Moriscos. A large number died on their enforced journey. Many went to France, from which they tried to reach Muslim lands. A few colonies of Muslims from Spain settled in Egypt and Constantinople. But the majority went direct from Spanish ports to North Africa, their nearest refuge, where they were known as *Andalus* and where they were not always welcomed, at least in Morocco, with open arms. The principal settlements were those at Salé and Rabât on the one hand and Tetuán on the other, where their descendants still form the most prosperous and most industrious section of the population. The *Andalus* of the seaports of the Atlantic coast of Morocco soon began to devote themselves to piracy: the celebrated Moroccan corsairs were almost all Moriscos, who had retained the use of the Spanish language. On the other hand, the Moroccan Sultans organised corps of picked troops from the *Andalus* and they played a prominent part under the Sa'adians, especially in the conquest of the Sūdān. There was also very soon a large colony of Moriscos in Fās. In Algeria, a number settled in the towns of Tlemcen, Oran and Algiers. At Tunis they were well received by the Uey 'Uthmān: they settled together in two quarters which took their name (cf. TUNIS, iv, p. 886). Those who had not been town-dwellers settled in little villages which soon became prosperous and still have a characteristic Spanish look. Such are the villages of Solimān, Grāmbilla, Djedida, Zaghwān, Tebarba, Testur and Gafet el-Andalus (*Ḥafat al-Andalus*).

Bibliography: The two oldest Spanish sources are: L. del Maenal Carvajal, *Historia de la rebelión y castigo de los moriscos del Reyno de Granada*, Málaga 1600; F. M. de Guadalupe y Xavier, *Memorable expulsión y justísimo destierro de los moriscos de España*, Pamplona 1613. Among more recent studies we may mention: A. L. Rochas, *Die Moriscos in Spanien*, Leipzig 1853; F. Janer, *Condición social de los moriscos en España*, Madrid 1857 (Fr. transl. by J. G. Maguabail, Paris 1859); R. Contreiras, *Nuevos datos sobre la guerra y expulsión de los moriscos*, in *Revista de España*, 1879, lxxviii, 185–209; M. Danvila y Collado, *La expulsión de los moriscos españoles*, Madrid 1889; L. Dolfus, *Moriques et Chrétiens de 1492 à 1570*, in *R.H.R.*, xx, 1889 Nov; P. Borouat y Barnachim, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión*, Valencia 1901; H. C. Lea, *The Moriscos in Spain; their conversion and expulsion*, Philadelphia 1901; F. Valladar, *Los moriscos granadinos*, in *La Alhambra*, Granada 1909, xii, 343–346; P. Longus, *Vida religiosa de los moriscos*, Madrid 1915; R. Sánchez Alonso, *Fuente de la historia española*, Madrid 1919, N.º. 3312–3342; R. de Castries, *Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc. I. Le zèle*, France, vol. iii, Paris 1911, 187–199; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1925, p. 95–98.

Arabic sources, in addition to al-Maḡkarrī, *Nafḥ al-Bḥ* (*Analecs*, ed. Dozy, Dugnat, Kiehl and Wright, ii, 812–815); Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir Ibn 'Ashūr, *Majma' al-Andalusīya*, in *Nashrat al-Djumiyyat al-ʿAhdūniya*, Tunis 1930, p. 16–26.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENCAL)

MOROCCO, a country and Muslim state of northern Africa. The name (Spanish *Marruecos*, French *Maroc*) is a corruption of *Marrakush*, the largest town in southern Morocco [see the article *MARRAKUSH*].

GEOGRAPHY.

Morocco occupies the western part of Barbary; it corresponds to the Maghrib al-Akṣā of the Arab geographers [see the article *MAGHRIB*]. Lying between 5° and 15° W. longitude (Greenwich) on the one hand and between 36° and 28° N. latitude on the other, it covers approximately an area of between 300,000 and 550,000 square kilometres. On the North it is bounded by the Mediterranean, on the West by the Atlantic and on the South by the Sahara. On the eastern side it stretches to the Tell and to the plateau of Oran. The boundary which separates it from Algeria is quite conventional and fixed definitely only on the northern side, for a length of 80 miles, from the mouth of the Wādī Kis to Tlemet al-Sāi.

Although Morocco forms one with the northern part of Africa it is chiefly oriented to the West. It is, one might say, the Atlantic slope of Barbary; it is nevertheless a continental country. The coast does not lend itself to a maritime population; the Mediterranean coast is steep and inhospitable, the Atlantic coastline straight and lacking in natural shelters. The estuaries of the rivers are of very little value because of the sandbars which obstruct their entrances. The geological structure is somewhat complicated. Below the folds of the primary age, of which there still exists much eroded evidence covered by secondary deposits, have risen strata contemporary with the Alps. The actual relief which has resulted from these movements of the earth's surface and from these successive modifications consists of folded mountain chains, plateaux and plains. The chains are two in number, the Rif and the Atlas. The Rif is the continuation from the other side of the Strait of Gibraltar of the Baetic Cordillera [cf. *RIF*]. The Atlas chain forms the backbone of Morocco. It breaks into the High Atlas oriented West-North-East, linked by the volcanic massif of Sirwa to the Anti-Atlas which lies more to the South, and also to the Middle Atlas running in a diagonal line from the South-West to the North-East, as far as the country of the outer foothills of the Rif, from which it is separated by the corridor of Tizi [see the article *ATLAS*]. From these different chains stretch plateaux. Those of the east connect the High Atlas to the Saharan Atlas of Algeria; those of the West gradually descend towards the Atlantic. Amongst the latter some are only the vestiges of the primary layer raised and eroded; others are composed of sedimentary deposits of varying origins.

In consequence of the oblique orientation of the middle Atlas, which gradually draws away from the coast, the plains, which occupy in Morocco a more important place than in the rest of Barbary, lie mainly on the Atlantic side. They are composed of two series, the one stretching diagonally from the mouth of the Wādī Tensift to that of the Mulaya (the sub-Atlantic plains, the plain of Sebā, the corridor of Tizi, the plain of the lower Mulaya). The other stretches to the foot of the High Atlas (Hawā of Marrakush) and disappears in the heart of the middle Atlas.

Climate. The climate of Morocco has been defined as "an Atlantic variety of the Mediterranean climate" (Gentil). This however must not be taken to apply to the whole of the country; the different regions differ as much in regard to temperature as in the distribution of rain. On the Atlantic coast the climate is relatively mild in winter and cool in summer; only small differences are recorded between the coldest month and the warmest (5° at Mogador and 10° at Rabat). In the interior on the other hand, the seasonal variations are even the daily ones increase the further one goes inland. They become excessive in character in eastern Morocco where the climate is distinctly continental. The rainfall is equally lacking in uniformity. Brought by the West and S.-W. winds, the rains are abundant in the autumn, the winter and the beginning of spring but they are very rare during the summer. The Atlantic coast has everywhere a copious rainfall although the quantity which falls decreases as one goes from North to South (Tangier: 32 inches, Casablanca: 16 inches). It also enjoys the benefit of an atmosphere which is saturated with moisture even in summer. The interior is not so well served. The rains diminish in quantity from West to East. The mountain massifs always form an exception. They condense the moisture in the form of rain and even snow which, although it is by no means perpetual, nevertheless covers the high summits of the Atlas mountains until the beginning of the summer. Eastern Morocco on the other hand, isolated by the barrier of the Middle Atlas, is not subject to oceanic influences and only receives, except in the immediate neighbourhood of the Mediterranean, rare and irregular downfalls of rain.

The flora reveals in striking fashion these variations of climate. Forests of evergreen oak, of oak and of cedar clothe the peaks of the High and the Middle Atlas and of the Rif. The cork tree is found in extensive forests in the massifs of the Za'ir and Zayān and as far as the region of the Atlantic (forest of the Ma'nīra). The thuya and the arganier (a tree peculiar to the S.-W. of Morocco) are already more disseminated. Poplars, willows, elms and tamarisks form a fringe of verdure along the wādīs. The olive tree is met almost everywhere in its wild state. But, as the rainfall decreases, the forest gives place to scrub where the jujube tree and the mastic abound, then to prairie and steppes. The prairie, which hardly goes beyond the limits of the maritime plain, is the home of plants which are used for fodder and of bulbous plants. The steppe is the home of shrubs and bushes (artemisia, drin, alfa) which are adapted to a dry soil and to extreme variations in temperature. The steppes cover a part of the interior plains of Western Morocco and practically the whole of Eastern Morocco, where they extend to the neighbourhood of the Mediterranean. As regards the desert, it is devoid of vegetation in the *hamada* [see *SAHARA*], although the oases form spots of verdure in the midst of the general desolation.

Hydrography. The structure of the country and the relative abundance of rainfall affect the hydrography. Morocco is much richer in running streams and in subterranean waters than any other country in Northern Africa. Wādīs (wells) are here more numerous; their courses are longer and their volume larger. A number of them even deserve the name of rivers. The waters flow in three different

directions: towards the Atlantic, towards the Mediterranean and towards the basin of the Sahara. The Atlantic rivers are in all respects the most important. They can be divided into three groups: those of the North (Lakkos and Sebū), those of the centre (Bū Rāgrag and Umm al-Rabī'), and those of the South (Tensift and Sūs). The Lakkos drains the districts of the Gharb; the Sebū, those of the Middle Atlas, of the Zahrān, and the southern slope of the Rif. On emerging from the mountains it takes numerous turns and windings across the alluvial plain and reaches the ocean after a course of 300 miles. Although subject to considerable variation in volume, according to the season, it never dries up completely. It is even navigable in its lower course. The Bū Rāgrag and the Umm al-Rabī' run for a part of their course through the Central Plateau, the Moroccan "Meseta". The irregularity of their courses makes them useless for navigation. The Tensift, to the North of the High Atlas, the Wādī Sūs to the South, which are much less in volume approach more nearly to the classic type of wādī of Northern Africa. The watercourses of the Sahara (Wādī Gh, Wādī Zīr, Wādī Dar'a) diminish in volume as they go farther away from the mountains and end by disappearing in the sand. The Dar'a alone reaches the Atlantic, but it only flows intermittently in its lower course (see the article DAR'A). As for the Mediterranean rivers, they are only torrents with violent and rapid floods. The Muluya alone forms an exception. It collects water from the slopes of the Middle Atlas but only reaches the sea in much diminished volume on account of the loss it suffers in crossing the steppes.

Although the common characteristics of all the countries of Barbery are found in Morocco, the greater or less differences in relief, the differences in climate, the peculiarities of vegetation bring in their train a diversity more marked than in Algeria or Tunisia. The combination of these different elements determines the existence of regions which differ the one from the other in their configuration, their resources, the density and manner of existence of their population. We may distinguish six such regions: Northern Morocco, the basin of the Sebū, Central Morocco, the country of the Atlas, Eastern Morocco, and Moroccan Sahara.

Northern Morocco. Northern Morocco comprises a mountainous zone (the mountains of the Rif properly so-called which are to the North-West continued in the "domes" of the Djebāla as far as the Strait of Gibraltar) and regions less rugged in character which to the South-East and the West form the transition into the adjoining countries. The mountains, split into deep ravines by the courses of the wādīs, for the most part only leave between their last escarpment and the sea-shore a narrow strip, or a few bays enclosed between the rocky promontories. A few cuttings which run across the ranges afford communication between the two watersheds. The Rif, therefore, must seem to be a world very little accessible to influences from without. Arab influence has scarcely grazed it. The population has always vigorously opposed the political measures of the sultans as well as the attempts of Europeans to settle themselves there. Crowded into a limited territory, since the highest parts of the mountains are useless, the Rifans find their chief means of subsistence in the cultivation of vegetables and fruits. A number of them gain from temporary emigration in addition to their

resources. They are not nomadic but inhabit villages perched on the slopes. Towns are represented only by Sūsfiāwān and Wazzān, religious and commercial centres, situated the one on the northern side and the other on the southern side of the Djebāla. Towards the South-East, plains interspersed with mountain masses extend as far as the Muluya. The lack of rain gives to these plains (Salwān, Gāret) the aspect of steppes more fitted to a pastoral life than to agriculture and a settled life. Towards the West the lowlying coastland, still a very narrow border at the strait of Gibraltar, increases gradually from the North to the South between the Atlantic coast and the last slopes of the Djebāla. This district commonly called the Gharb is a corridor. It still keeps in this respect its historical significance, but its economic value is diminished by the stagnation of its waters in the hollows in the flat bottoms of the valleys, and by the insecurity resulting from the proximity of the warlike tribes of the high mountains. A few townships have however succeeded in establishing themselves, either at the crossing of roads such as al-Rasr al-Kabir [q. v.] or in proximity to the coast like Ceuta, Tangier and Larache (see the articles TĠTĠAWĠN, CEUTA, TANGIER, al-'ARĠ'ĠĠ).

The valley of the Sebū. The valley of the Sebū lies between the Rif, the Middle Atlas, Moroccan Meseta and the Atlantic. The situation of the region, the abundance and variety of its natural resources makes it of exceptional value. The Sebū links up the whole of it. Through its tributary the Innāwān, the valley of which leads to the pass of Tāfā, it makes communication with the rest of Barbary easy. The mountain masses there (Zahrān, Zālagh, mountains of Gerwān) offer no inseparable obstacles to communication. The high plains of Sūs and Meknes are contrasted with the lower plains of the Shārdā and the alluvial plains of the lower course of the Sebū. The influence of the Atlantic is felt far into the interior and combines with the numerous streams that flow into the Sebū and its tributaries and the subterranean waters to promote the development of all forms of vegetation. Forests cover the higher slopes of the mountains; fruit-trees flourish on the sunny slopes and cereals on the high plains; the *mergās*, temporary marshes produced by the Sebū, in its lower course are used for grazing until they are sufficiently dry to be of use to agriculture. This combination of circumstances, so auspicious for human habitation, has made the valley of the Sebū a centre of intensive settlement. The most diverse ethnic elements have settled together and mixed there. All types of habitation are found as well as all degrees of attachment to the soil from a nomadic to settled town life. Human activities are displayed in the most varied forms (grazing, agriculture, arboriculture, commerce, industry). The country villages, douars of "nuwālas" in the plains, villages of houses of clay in the mountains, are numerous, the towns are flourishing. Mawlaī Idīs is the sacred city of Morocco, Sebū on the borders of the plain of Sūs and the high limestone plateau lives by trading with the people of the mountains and the industry of its weavers and makers of slippers. Fēs and Meknes are among the great cities of Morocco.

The first of these towns has remained to this day the political, religious, intellectual and economic centre of Morocco. It has resisted all the usual

causes of decline. From all time the ownership of the high plains of the Sebû has been bitterly contested. Their possession has been the condition for the establishment and survival of the dynasties which have succeeded one another in Morocco. Their political significance and role in history corresponds very exactly to their geographical position and economic value.

Central Morocco. Between the valley of the Sebû, the ranges of the Atlas and the Atlantic, covering about a quarter of habitable Morocco, lies the region called by the geologists the Moroccan Meseta. It includes districts of very different character, the only feature uniting them being the possession of a common substratum, the Hercynian peneplain covered almost everywhere by sedimentary horizontal formations. Differences of structure and of climate distinguish clearly the various parts: the Atlantic plain, the plateaux of the centre, and the interior plain of the Hawz. The maritime plain lies along the Ocean from Rabat to Mogador. Very narrow at its northern and southern ends, it broadens near the centre (Dukkâla, Shûrwiya) to a width of 50 miles. To the rains and the constant moisture from the vicinity of the Atlantic, the abundance of running streams and subterranean waters, the natural fertility of the soil further adds to the conditions for prosperity. The *terres* or black lands which run in an unbroken line behind the coast from the Bâ Ragra to Tensift are admirably suited for the growth of cereals. The rural population, almost everywhere settled, is therefore considerable. The land of the Dukkâla has 40 people to the square kilometre, a density very much greater than that of the other districts of Morocco. The towns of the coast, Salé, Rabat, Casablanca, Mazagan, Azemmûr, Safi, Mogador [q. v.], benefit by the richness of the hinterland. The exportation of agricultural produce has at all times been a branch of commerce, and has been much developed since the settlement of Europeans there. While facility for communications and the continental relations with the valley of the Sebû opened the plain to Arab influences, the ports of the coast maintained contact with abroad and permitted the infiltration of European influences.

The interior is much more broken. The ground rises gradually up to a height of 2,000-2,500 feet. The predominant formation is plateaux terminating on the north in the very old massifs of the Za'ir and Zayân, which are really mountains in character, in the south in the equally old but less elevated massif of the Rahâma. These plateaux deeply cut into by the course of the Umm Rabi' overlook on the west side the lowlying coastslands from the top of cliffs, and slope gently on the S.E. to the plain of Tadla. This is a depression, over 120 miles in length, running to the north into the heart of the Middle Atlas where it terminates in a cul de sac, while it broadens greatly in its southern part. A low pass enables communication to be made between the Tadla and the Hawz of Marrîkush, a basin shut in by the High Atlas in the south, the Middle Atlas in the east, the Djiblit in the north and the hills of the Shiyâma in the west. The economic value of this inner region is very unequal. On the mountains of the north the rains and streams support forests and the natives devote themselves to cattle-rearing. The plateaux of the centre covered with a surface of limestone have great stretches of bare rock and cultivation

is barely possible. The Tadla is no better favoured except in the zone adjoining the Atlas, watered by torrents descending from the mountains. The plain of the Hawz would also suffer disastrously from drought, if human industry had not averted this danger. An ingenious system of irrigation has transformed the country round Marrîkush into a vast palmgrove and resulted in a particularly dense population (100 to the square kilometre). Comparatively large towns (Anamir, Dennaï, Tâmaq-ahet) and especially Marrîkush [q. v.] have been enabled to rise and prosper. Between this region, already half Saharan, and the high lying plains of the Sebû, the plateaux of the centre and the mountains of the north which come down to within a short distance of the shore, interpose a barrier which the attitude of its inhabitants makes still more difficult to cross. The Zayân, the Za'ir, the Zemmûr, over whom the authority of the Makken has never been very securely exercised, have more than once cut direct communication between Fâs and Marrîkush. These two cities have been at different periods the capitals of distinct and even hostile kingdoms.

The region of the Atlas. In spite of the marked differences between the different elements of the Atlas, the whole region nevertheless has general characteristics of its own. Between Atlantic Morocco on the one hand and Saharan Morocco on the other, the Atlas lies as an almost continuous barrier. Only the few transverse fractures in the Middle Atlas permit passage between the basin of the Sebû and the Saharan oases, while in the High Atlas valleys running right into the heart of the massif give access to passes opening on the valleys of Sûs and the Wâdi Dar'a. Moist and colder, the Middle Atlas is covered with forests which are denser and more extensive than those of the High Atlas. Both however are great watersheds. From the Middle Atlas come the great rivers of the Atlantic slope (Sebû, Gîga, Umm Rabi', Wâdi L'Ahidj), from the High Atlas the Tââat and the Tensift. The lands of the Atlas are nevertheless poor. The high mountains offer little to support mankind. Human activities are found mainly in the zones of contact between the mountains and the plains (*ds*) of the Middle Atlas and in some specially favoured valleys of the High Atlas. Except in the Middle Atlas, where the nomadic mode of life results in the exodus in the bad season of the inhabitants who lead a pastoral life, and on the plateaux of the High Atlas on the Atlantic side (Hâha, Shiyâma) the inhabitants of which are mainly engaged in cattle-rearing, the natives are settled. They live in villages perched on the slopes and terraces between wadis or scattered along the valleys. There is nothing approaching a town in size. These regions, defended by the nature of the country, have almost completely escaped outside influence: they are still almost exclusively the domain of Berber tribes (Berber in the Middle Atlas and Shûh in the High Atlas). The customs and institutions peculiar to this people [cf. BERBERS] have survived to a greater extent here than in any other region of North Africa. In particular their political organisation is still most rudimentary: municipal republics administered by a *ghamâ'a* in the Middle Atlas, feudal lordships ruled in patriarchal and despotic fashion by a few powerful families in the High Atlas. The people of these regions have also always opposed vigorously the

central power; the authority of the Makhzen over the Berbers of the High Atlas has never been exerted except through the local chiefs. As to the tribes of the Middle Atlas they have retained to the present day almost complete independence. Even the most vigorous sultans have never succeeded in forcing them into obedience for any length of time.

Eastern Morocco. Eastern Morocco may be described as the continuation of the Central Maghrib of which it has the distinctive characteristics. In it, as in Orania, we have a *tell* zone and a zone rising by successive stages up to 6,000 feet. The upper valley of the Muluya separates them from the Middle Atlas. The monotony of these vast spaces is only broken by the outcrops of *ghar*, flat beds of rocks cut up by erosion and by the depressions of the *shott* [q. v.]. Beaten by the winds, exposed to the rigours of an extreme climate, these lands are only fit for the pastoral life led by the nomads who raise sheep. The valley of the Muluya is no better favoured, except in the vicinity of the Atlas, where villages surrounded by vineyards with a settled population are found along the tributaries of the river. As to the Tell, hills of no very great height (the most important being that of the Bent Salsen which does not exceed 5,000 feet) divide it up into compartments occupied by plains (plains of the Awiṣd Mansr, on the coast, of the Trifa, of the Angād which in the south reaches the cliffs in which the high plateaux end). The dryness of the climate frequently gives these plains a steppe-like character; only the western part of the plain of the Angād with a fertile and well watered soil lends itself to cultivation. The nomads come here to procure grain. But this region owes its importance less to its natural resources than to its situation on the natural route between Atlantic Morocco and the rest of Barbary. Ujda [q. v.] which commands the passage, has thus been enabled to escape various causes of decay that have threatened it. A border district, eastern Morocco has always been a disputed region, a march for which the lords of Tlemcen and Fās have contended. The authority of the latter was never solidly enough established here to impose itself on the settled inhabitants of the mountains and on the nomads of the plateaux and plains. Down to the French occupation the country was left to anarchy and disorder.

The Moroccan Sahara. The Moroccan Sahara is the N.W. corner of the Sahara. There we find the general characteristics of this desert region [cf. SAHARA]. Only the parts adjoining the Atlantic and the threshold of the mountains offer favourable conditions for man. In the plain of Sūs [q. v.] shut in between the Atlas and the Anti-Atlas, the rivers and the irrigation canals enable shrubs to grow. The Dar'a, Za and Gir are in their upper courses fringed by a thin border of cultivated land, pasturage, vineyards, and in their middle course assure the growth of palmgroves of which the best known, if not the most prosperous, is that of Tafilalet [q. v.]. The richness — only relative it is true — of these oases is in contrast with the desolation of the rocky plateaux (*hamāda*) which form the greater part of the Moroccan Sahara. These natural conditions determine the mode of life of the inhabitants. Some lead a nomadic life and drive their flocks up and down the plateaux; others are permanently settled on the Sūs, in the high valleys and in the oases. Sūs contains numerous villages and

even towns (Agādiz, Tizit, Tafilalt), the oases have a settled population in the *zāwī*. Those of Tafilalet, Tamgrūt, Bu Dail and Figig carry on a certain amount of commerce between Atlantic Morocco and the Sahara. But this very circumstance has prevented them escaping as completely as the lands of the Atlas from the political and intellectual influence of Western Morocco, especially Tafilalet where considerable groups of Arab *ghaz* have been long established in the midst of Berber populations. But, although the present dynasty actually came from Tafilalet, the people of this region have frequently escaped Sharifian authority.

Begun in the last years of the sixteenth century, methodically pursued since the French occupation, the scientific exploration of Morocco is not yet completed. From the results so far attained one thing is clear: the lack of uniformity in the country. Thus its geography may explain to some extent the historical development of the country.

Bibliography. A. Arab authors. Ibn Khurdaḍbih, text and transl. by de Goeje (*B.G.A.*, vii.); al-Ya'qūbī, *Kitaḥ al-Bulḍān*, ed. Jaynab, Leyden 1861 and *Sifat al-Maghrib*, text and Lat. transl. (*Description al-Maghrib*) by de Goeje, Leyden 1860; Ibn Hawkal, ed. de Goeje (*B.G.A.*, ii.); *Description de la Barbarie*, transl. de Slane, in *J.A.*, 1842; al-Isakhari, ed. de Goeje (*B.G.A.*, i.); al-Bakri, *Maṣālik, Kitaḥ al-Maghrib*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1857, transl. do., *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Paris 1859; al-Fazārī(?), *Djaghāfiya*, transl. R. Basset (*Documents géographiques sur l'Afrique septentrionale*, Paris 1898); Idrisi, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, text and transl. by Dux and de Goeje, Leyden 1866; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taqwīm al-Bulḍān*, transl. Reinaud and Stan. Guyard, Paris 1848; Ibn Khuldūn, *Kitaḥ al-'Iṣār, Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1847-1851, transl. do., Algiers 1852; Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb* (Ibn Sa'īd, Abū Hamūd Andalusi, etc.), Algiers 1924; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Schefer, vol. 3, Paris 1896; ed. Robert Brown, vol. 3, London 1896.

B. European Authors. Marmol (Luis de), *Description general de Africa*, Granada 1573; Host, *Nachrichten von Marokko und Fez*, Copenhagen 1781; Chénier, *Recherches historiques sur les Maures*, Paris 1787; 'Alī Bey el-Ablāsi, *Voyage en Afrique et en Asie*, Paris 1814; Gräberg di Hemsoo, *Specimen geographico et statistico dell' imperio di Marocco*, Genua 1832-1834; Renou, *Description du Maroc*, Paris 1846 (in *Exploration scientifique de l'Algérie*, vol. viii.); Ch. de Foucauld, *Reconnaissance du Maroc*, Paris 1888; Le Châtelier, *Notes sur les villes et tribus du Maroc*, Paris 1902-1903; Moalieras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, Oran 1895-1902; de Segonzac, *Voyages au Maroc*, Paris 1904; do., *À la source de l'Atlas*, Paris 1910; Budgett Meakin, *The Moorish Empire*, London 1899; Maignon, *Le Maroc dans les premières années du XVI^e siècle*, Paris 1906; Th. Fischer, *Zur Klimatologie von Marokko*, Berlin 1908; A. Brives, *Voyages au Maroc*, Algiers 1909; L. Gentil, *Le Maroc physique*, Paris 1912; V. Piquet, *Le Maroc*, Paris 1917; Russo, *La terre marocaine*, Oudjda 1921; A. Bernard, *Le Maroc*, Paris 1921; Hardy and Célérier, *Les grandes lignes de la géographie du Maroc*, Paris 1922. — Cf. also: *Archives Marocaines*; *Villes et tribus*

du Maroc (in *Publications de la Mission scientifique du Maroc*); *Hespéris*: *Publication de l'Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines de Rabat*; *Revue de géographie marocaine*; *Afrique française* (in *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française et du Comité du Maroc*).

II. HISTORY.

Morocco before Islām. Morocco, like the other parts of North Africa, has probably been inhabited from a very remote period. We know, however, nothing definite about its earliest inhabitants. The traces which they have left, weapons and tools of chipped flint, pottery, rock-paintings, some of which represent animals of the quaternary period, now extinct, megalithic monuments identical with those found all round the Mediterranean basin, give us no information in this respect. At most, we may suppose that the primitive population consisted of emigrants from southern Europe, the Sahara and perhaps from Egypt. The fusion of these diverse elements gave birth to a race, the members of which, frequently different in type and physical features, were united by a community of language. The ancient writers called them Libyans and Moors. They were the ancestors of the present Berbers [q.v.].

The first historical fact known, and that only imperfectly, is the appearance in the 5th century B.C. of the Phoenicians on the Moroccan coast. The sailors of Tyre and Sidon built factories there, where they exchanged goods of eastern origin for local products (cattle, wool, hides) and slaves. But Phoenician influence was exercised mainly through the intermediary of Carthage when it in turn had become the metropolis of a great maritime empire. The Carthaginians rebuilt the ruined factories and added new ones. In the middle of the 5th century, Hanno in the course of his celebrated "periplus" established on the Atlantic coast seven colonies of which one was at the mouth of the Sebū. Rusaddir (Melilla), Septem (Ceuta), Tingis (Tangier), Lixus (Larache), Sala (Salé) were the principal Carthaginian establishments. It does not seem, however, that Carthage sought to extend her power into the interior. She was content no doubt to conclude treaties with the native chiefs and to recruit mercenaries from the country. Morocco remained independent, but the tribes who inhabited it were not organised into states, except perhaps in the east, where ancient writers mention in the period of the Punic Wars the existence of a kingdom of Mauretania or Maurusia, extending along both banks of the Muluya.

The destruction of the Carthaginian empire hardly altered this state of affairs. For two centuries Rome administered only the "Province of Africa" directly and left the other regions of Barbary in the hands of native chiefs under a more or less severe protectorate. Northern Morocco shared the fate of Mauretania down to the annexation of this kingdom in 42 A.D. The region to the east of the Muluya formed part of Caesarean Mauretania. The lands stretching from the Muluya to the ocean formed Mauretania Tingitana, an imperial province governed by a procurator. When the empire was reorganised by Diocletian, it was attached to Spain.

Roman Morocco never covered more than a small portion of the modern Morocco. On the

Atlantic coast, it barely extended beyond the mouth of the Rū Rāgag, and in the interior to the massif of the Zarlūn. The plateaux and sub-Atlantic plains and the mountains of the Rif, Middle and High Atlas escaped the authority of Rome. It was the same with the Sahara. The expedition of Suetonius Paulinus, who in 41 A.D. advanced as far as the wādī Gīr, remained an isolated incident.

To defend herself against the rebellions of her own subjects and to protect the country from Berber invasions, Rome had to keep in Tingitana an army of ten thousand men, to build strategic roads and to establish fortified posts on the sides of the triangle: Sala, Zarlūn, Tingis. With the exception of Volubilis, the importance of which has been revealed by its ruins, methodically excavated in recent years, and which was undoubtedly a centre of influence of Roman culture on the people of the interior as well as a military base, the towns were all on the coast. They were Lixus and Tingis raised to the rank of "colonias", and Ceuta. They owed their prosperity mainly to trade with Spain to which were exported oil and wheat, the two main products of the country. On the whole, however, Rome's influence on Morocco was superficial and has left little trace.

Without any really firm hold on the country, weakened by native risings and by the quarrels between the donatists and the orthodox, Roman rule was to collapse suddenly at the beginning of the 5th century. Germanic invaders, the Vandals, came from Spain and in 429 A.D. conquered without opposition Tingitana which they gave back a few years later to the Romans. Soon afterwards the western empire disappeared and the natives seized the opportunity to become independent. The Byzantines, who in the 6th century destroyed the Vandal kingdom, were content to re-occupy the two strongholds of Ceuta and Tangier. The rest of Morocco was in the hands of the Berbers. The latter were divided into a large number of tribes, of whom the principal were the Ghomāra on the Mediterranean coast, the Barghawāta [q.v.] on the Atlantic coast between the strait of Gibraltar and the mouth of the Sebū, the Miknāsa, in the central district, the Majmūda, on the western slope of the High Atlas and on the coast from the Sebū to the Sūs; the Haskūra between the Sūs and the Dm'a; the Lamja and Lamfina on the left bank of the Dm'a. These Berbers were all of Sanhājia stock; some professed Christianity or Judaism but the majority still followed the old nature worship. The Arab conquest brought them a new religion: Islām.

The introduction of Islām. The Arabs appeared in the extreme Maghrib at the end of the 7th century A.D. Tradition relates that Sīdī 'Okba, the founder of Kairawān, in 684-685 undertook an expedition which carried him as far as the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. This raid, however, if it ever took place, was too transitory to have any permanent results. But at the beginning of the following century, Mūsā b. Nuṣair [q.v.] who had just completed the conquest of Ifrīkiya, took Tangier, installed a governor there and set himself to conquer and convert the natives. He succeeded without much trouble. Attracted by the hopes of gain, the Berbers adopted Islām and enrolled themselves in the armies which were invading Spain. They were not long, however, in

rising against the Arabs. Dissatisfied with the share allotted them of lands taken from the Christians in the Peninsula, and exasperated by the exactions of the governors of Tangier, they took up arms in 740 on the call of the porter Maizra [q. v.]. The rebellion was both religious and political in character. With the same readiness with which they had adopted Islām, the Berbers adopted Khāridjī doctrines from the east, teachings which also appealed to their equalitarian tendencies and to their spirit of independence. The army sent from Syria to establish order was destroyed on the banks of the Sebū (742) and the extreme Maghrib was lost at one stroke to the caliph and to orthodoxy. Berber principalities were organised in the Rif [see *SIĞILMĀSA*]; in the west, the Barghawāta [q. v.] recognised the authority of a certain Sālik, founder of a rival religion to Islām, who had composed a *Kur'ān*, that is a sacred book, in Berber. None of these little states was strong enough to impose its authority on the others and to collect all the Berber tribes under one rule.

It looked for a time as if the Idrisid dynasty [q. v.] were to play this part. Idris I and his successor Idris II, actually enforced their authority over the greater part of the tribes of northern Morocco and successful expeditions extended their kingdom from the shores of the Mediterranean to the High Atlas and from the Atlantic to beyond Tlemcen. Ardent champions of Islām, they imposed their religion on those peoples who did not yet practise it or who had abandoned it after once adopting it. The conversion of the extreme Maghrib to Islām is their work much more than that of the Arab conquerors. Zealous defenders of orthodoxy, in spite of their 'Alid origin, they fought the Khāridjīs with the same vigour but did not, however, succeed in completely extirpating the heresy. It is not without good reason that legend has transformed these rude warriors into saints, the one Idris I, patron saint of Morocco, the other Idris II, the patron saint of the city of Fās [q. v.] which he had founded. The building of this city had enduring results. It gave northern Morocco a religious, political and economic centre which it had lacked since the disappearance of Roman rule. Favoured by its position, Fās prospered rapidly. It survived all causes of decline, even the collapse of the Idrisid power.

The Idrisids indeed rapidly declined. The various groups which had recognised the authority of the founders of the dynasty were not long in casting it off and fighting with one another. These rivalries were taken advantage of by the Fātimids of Ifrīkiya and the Umayyads of Spain, who during the tenth century A. D. disputed the possession of the extreme Maghrib. With the assistance of the Miknās, the Umayyads in the end remained masters of the country. They were in their turn ousted by the Maghrāwa [q. v.], whose chief Ziri b. 'Atiya, abandoning the cause of the Umayyads, seized Fās where his descendants ruled for three quarters of a century.

The Almoravids and the Almohads. The extreme Maghrib seemed to be condemned to anarchy and to be broken up among small factions when the Almoravid invasion came (cf. *ALMORAVIDS*). After having first of all subjected all the lands south of the High Atlas, then established themselves solidly on the northern slopes, at the foot of which Yūsuf b. Taḥfin founded Marrā-

kush [q. v.] in 1062, these Saharan hordes turned to the centre, east and north of Morocco, sweeping everything before them: Fās, Tangier, the Rif, Oran and Ténés fell before them. The Berber principalities of the Maghrāwa, the Barghawāta and Banū Ifren disappeared. In less than twenty years, Yūsuf b. Taḥfin became sole master of the extreme Maghrib as far as Algiers. To these territories, already vast, was soon to be added half of Spain. Summoned by the Muslim emirs who were threatened by the king of Castille, Yūsuf b. Taḥfin checked the Christian advance at Zallāka (1086), then dispossessed the petty Muslim rulers to his own advantage. Morocco was thus extended across the Straits of Gibraltar as far as the Ebro and to the Balearic Islands. The fortunes of the Almoravids were, it is true, as ephemeral as they were brilliant. In contact with Andalusian civilization, the Saharans rapidly became decadent. The rigid orthodoxy, which had been their strength, relaxed; they in their turn were regarded as infidels, "anthropomorphists" (*muḡassimūn*), whom it was lawful and even meritorious to fight. It was in the name of orthodoxy that the Maḡmūda and the Hintāta of the High Atlas under the leadership of Ibn Tūmart and 'Abd al-Mu'min entered into the struggle against the Almoravids.

This struggle ended in the displacement of the Almoravids by the Almohads [see *ALMOHADS* and *'ABD AL-MU'MIN*]. In seven years (1139-1146 A. D.) 'Abd al-Mu'min conquered all Morocco; Siḡilmāsa, Oran, Tlemcen, and Ceuta fell one after the other into his hands. Next came the turn of Salé, Fās, and finally of Marrākush, the gates of which were opened to him by the treachery of the Christian mercenaries. Muslim Spain was also conquered with the exception of the Balearic Islands. Even in Africa, the Hammādid kingdom of Bougie was conquered in 545-546 (1152-1153). A few years later (554-555 = 1159-1160) a new expedition led 'Abd al-Mu'min into Ifrīkiya and secured him possession of the interior and of the coast, which he took from the Normans of Sicily who had occupied it some time before. Morocco in the strict sense of the word was now merely a province in the vast Berber empire. The unification of these territories under one ruler had important consequences for the Maghrib. It facilitated the diffusion in North Africa of the Hispano-Moorish civilization, which was to be perpetuated in Morocco after it had disappeared from the Peninsula itself. Further it brought into the extreme Maghrib a new ethnic element: the Arab. 'Abd al-Mu'min, as well as his successors, on several occasions deported Hilālī tribes from the Central Maghrib and Ifrīkiya, where they continually created unrest, to the sub-Atlantic plains where other groups of Arabs joined them of their own free will.

The Almohad empire was too vast, it comprised regions of too different a nature, peoples too foreign to one another to last long united. The Almohad caliphs were powerless to restrain the separatist tendencies which revealed themselves on all sides. In the first half of the thirteenth century A. D., the Almohad empire broke up. Ifrīkiya and the Central Maghrib recovered their independence; local dynasties set up in Tunisia (Hafṣids) and Tlemcen ('Abd al-Wādiids). The extreme Maghrib ended by slipping away from the descendants of 'Abd al-Mu'min who were replaced by the Merinids [q. v.].

The Merinids. Berbers of Zanāta stock, driven by the Hilālī Arabs on to the plateaux of Oran and into the central valley of the Mulaya, the Banū Merin had at first entered the service of the Almohads, then turned against them, when the power of the dynasty began to decline. By repeated *razzas* they made themselves masters of almost all northern Morocco. After the death of the caliph al-Sa'id, who had been able to arrest their progress for a time, their leader Abū Yahyā (1243-1258) seized Fās, Meknes, Rabat and Sijilmāsa. The capture of Marrākush (1269) by Abū Yūsuf, successor of Yahyā, marked the final triumph of the Merinids. Heirs of the Almohads, the first Merinids endeavoured to reconstitute the empire of their predecessors. In Spain, they enforced their authority on the Muslims of Andalusia. In Africa, they endeavoured to take the central Maghrib from the 'Abd al-Wādids. They were successful when Tlemcen, besieged seven times in sixty years, finally fell into the hands of Sulṭān Abū 'l-Ḥasan (1337 A.D.). Ten years later, the same ruler took Bougie, Constantine and Tunis, but his hold on these was very insecure. At the end of barely a year, Abū 'l-Ḥasan, defeated by the Arabs, found himself forced to abandon Ifrīkiya, the Hafsids returned to Tunis and the 'Abd al-Wādids to Tlemcen, while the sulṭān's own son Abū 'Inān rose against him in Morocco. Attaining to power, Abū 'Inān renewed his father's efforts. He re-occupied Tlemcen and Tunis, it is true, but could not retain them (1360 A.D.). The Hafsids and 'Abd al-Wādids recovered their kingdoms almost at once.

Separatist tendencies thus triumphed and on this occasion in a most definite fashion. The extreme Maghrib, the history of which had hitherto been so often that of Barbary, began to live its own life. The Merinid kingdom, while its boundaries in the east were still vague and changing, already corresponded roughly to modern Morocco and the Merinids may be regarded as the first strictly Moroccan rulers. Lacking the religious prestige of their predecessors, they endeavoured to secure the moral authority which they lacked by taking as their patron saints the apostles of Islām in the Maghrib. The cult of Mawlaī Idrīs in the xivth and particularly the xvth century assumed an importance which it has retained to the present day. No less characteristic is the development of intellectual life and the arts. The Hispano-Moorish civilisation never flourished more brilliantly in Morocco than in the Merinid period. The rulers attracted to their court the poets, men of letters and lawyers of the Iberian Peninsula and of the Maghrib. The university of al-Karawiyya attracted students from all the lands of the western Muslim world. Fās, which the Merinids, abandoning Marrākush and Rabat, the capitals of their predecessors, chose as their royal residence, was given splendid buildings by them, palaces, mosques and madrasas. It was at the same time a commercial city in which African and Spanish merchants mixed with Christian traders.

This brilliant exterior, however, was quite deceptive. Merinid Morocco was never able to organise itself on a solid basis. The central power was very weak and did not succeed in imposing its authority everywhere. The accession of each sulṭān was an occasion for outbreaks. The pretenders who arose always found supporters readily, either

among the Arabs or the Berbers. Powerless in the interior, the sulṭāns were no more fortunate in their enterprises against their neighbours of the Central Maghrib or against the kings of Granada. Their prestige and their authority could not survive these checks. The Merinids in the strict sense disappeared from the scene in 1465, after the assassination of the sulṭān by an Idrisid sharif. The Banū Wattās, descended from a collateral branch, the chief of whom seized the power in 1470, had themselves a wretched existence. Their kingdom broke up into a large number of independent little groups, principalities at Fās and Marrākush, Berber republics in the Atlas, Marabout fiefs in the Rif, the Gharb and in Darfa and Sūs. The sulṭāns were quite powerless to prevent this decomposition.

The Christian offensive and the revival of Islām. Of all the causes which combined to enfeeble and discredit these rulers, the principal was undoubtedly their impotence against the offensive of the Christians against the Maghrib. In 1415 the Portuguese took Ceuta, in 1465 al-Kāz al-Saghir, in 1471 Tangiers. They thus secured themselves a base of operations in the north while by the occupation of Asilā and Anfa (Casablanca; q.v.) they secured a footing on the Atlantic coast. In the early years of the xvth century, they built fortified posts at Santa Cruz (Agadir) and Mazagan (q.v.) and took by force of arms Safi and Arzemmūr (q.v.). Holding all places of importance except Larache (see AL-ANAKH) they brought under their protectorate all the lands near the coast (Shawiya, Hāḥa, Dukkāla), forced the natives to pay them tribute and to hand over to them strategic points up to the environs of Marrākush. Their expeditions had no other aim than plunder, no other result than to exasperate the inhabitants who saw their towns destroyed, their houses burned, their women and children massacred or sold as slaves.

Menaced in the west by the Portuguese, Morocco was threatened in the east by the Spaniards also. The latter completed the *reconquista* by the taking of Granada (1492). Thus free to go further afield, and still fired with the religious enthusiasm of Ximenes, they too went over to fight the Muslims on African soil. The occupation of al-Marsā al-Kabir (1507) and of Oran (1509) and the establishment of a Spanish protectorate over the kingdom of Tlemcen constituted a serious danger to the Muslims of Morocco.

The threat from the Christians produced an awakening of religious sentiment. This renaissance of Islām in the xvth and xvth centuries, the results of which are still to be felt at the present day, is beyond question the great event in the history of Morocco since the Idrisid period. The way for it had, moreover, been prepared by the Sufi teachings imported from the east and by the development of the brotherhoods in which the adepts of these doctrines were organised. It also found a favourable soil owing to the persistence of maraboutism among the Berbers. The *bahāli* or the charlatan, who had always been an object of public consideration, became readily identified with the shaykh, the possessor of the *baraka*. Co-operating with one another, these pious individuals became the religious leaders of the people of Morocco. They strengthened orthodoxy, excited the zeal of the faithful, preached the holy war, and led the defenders of the faith into battle. The ascendancy

which they exercised, the wealth they accumulated in their *zāwiya*, made them independent of the sultan. They thus became temporal leaders also, all the more readily as the sovereigns could not fulfil their office of defenders of Islam owing to lack of energy and also of means. The activity of these religious leaders was always of a local nature; it was only effectively exercised within a limited area and did not extend over the country generally. The religious solidarity thus established, the kind of common conscience thus created, did not put a check to the political decline until the time when the Sa'dian shorfa took direction of the movement and exploited it for their own benefit.

The Shariffian dynasties. A. The Sa'dians (q. v.). The Sa'dian shorfa benefited by the prestige which the religious awakening had restored to the descendants, real or presumed, of Fātima, the daughter of the Prophet. Coming from Arabia at the end of the sixth century and settling in the valley of the wādī Dar'a, while another branch of the family settled at Tāfilalt (Hasani or 'Alid shorfa), they were not long in acquiring a considerable influence over the tribes of the south. Thus they were naturally led to support the people of the south, who were exposed to the attacks of the Portuguese of Santa Cruz. In 1511, the sharif of Tāgnādāret, requested by the Muslims to put himself at their head against the Christians, agreed to do so. Supported by the marabouts who gave him valuable assistance, he began hostilities against the Portuguese. The holy war regularly waged secured to his sons, Ahmad al-A'raji and Muhammad al-Mahdi, the possession of the whole of southern Morocco up to the Umm al-Rahf. The intervention of the Merinid sultan in the quarrels which broke out between the two brothers only resulted in his own downfall being hastened. Muhammad al-Mahdi took Fās in 1550; the foiling of an attempt to restore the Merinids in 1554, with the help of the Turks of Algiers, secured the definite triumph of the Sa'dians.

The coming of the Sa'dians meant a regular reconstitution of Morocco. Muhammad al-Mahdi and his successors imposed their authority on the whole country, protected it against foreign foes and increased the extent of their territory by distant conquests. They finally triumphed over the difficulties created by the Turks of Algiers, and at the battle of al-Kaṣr al-Kabir in 1578 arrested a counter-offensive of the Portuguese. Ahmad al-Manṣūr (1578-1610) occupied Timbuktu (q. v.) and destroyed the Askia empire of Gao. For half a century the Moroccans were masters of the Western Sudan, from the banks of the Senegal as far as Bornu. The plunder taken on this campaign of conquest enabled the sultan to keep a splendid court, the hierarchy of which was modelled on the Ottoman court, and to adorn his capital Marrākuṣh with magnificent monuments.

To the same period also belongs the organisation of the *wakhs* (q. v.). The early Sa'dians had relied for support on the Arab tribes of the south. To these al-Manṣūr added the Arab tribes of the region of Tlemcen and Ujdja driven into Morocco by the Turkish conquest. These *sharā*, as they were called, received lands around Fās in return for the military service they were forced to give. Reinforced by a regular army formed of renegades, Spanish Moors and negroes, trained by Turkish deserters, the *wakhs* provided the

sultan with the means of preserving order and levying taxes; it was thus the essential instrument of shariffian government and tended to become the government itself.

This instrument proved sufficient in the hands of an energetic ruler but was inefficacious in weaker hands and in moments of crisis. The Sa'dians very soon found this out. The tendencies to disruption which had been held in check by the energy of al-Manṣūr broke out again on his death. The dispute for the throne set his sons against one another. One of them, Zaidān, ended by triumphing over his rivals but could not prevent the break-up of the empire. Larache was occupied by the Spaniards; Fās cast off shariffian authority. The Andalus of Rabat and Salé (q. v.), enriched by their piracy, formed an independent republic. Finally the Sa'dians, although they had owed their elevation to the religious movement, now found the marabouts rising against them. Delivered from the restraints which the distrust of al-Mahdi and his successors had placed upon them, the latter began to gain more and more hold over the people and contributed to the ruin of the shariffian authority. Sās was in the control of one of them, Sidi 'Alī; Tāfilalt was under the Hasani shorfa, the Gharb under al-A'yāshī, leader of the "volunteers of the faith". In the centre, the power of the marabout of Dila' (a *zāwiya* on the upper course of the Wādī l-'Abid) increased. Muhammad al-Hādidi, their leader, victorious over the Sa'dians and over al-A'yāshī, lord of Salé and Fās, seemed on the point of founding a new Berber empire from the Atlantic to the Mulaya. Incapable, in spite of the support given them by the English and Dutch, of disposing of their adversaries, the Sa'dians now held only Marrākuṣh and its immediate environs. The last representative of the dynasty died in 1660, assassinated by the *shaykh* of the tribe of Shabbānāt.

B. The Hasani Shorfa. The disintegration of Morocco was arrested by the coming of the Hasani Shorfa. The latter had taken advantage of the disorder to assert their authority in Tāfilalt, then by expeditions, which partook of the nature of brigandage as much as of warfare, they had conquered eastern Morocco. One of them, Mawli Muhammad, had even tried, without success, it is true, to take Fās from the Dila'is. His successor Mawli al-Rashid (1660-1672) was more successful. He took Fās, disposed of Ghallān, an adventurer who had established himself securely in the Gharb, destroyed the *zāwiya* of Dila', reconquered Marrākuṣh, thus rebuilding as it were piece by piece the shariffian empire. Installed by force of arms, the new dynasty recognised the necessity of securing the moral prestige which their origin could not give them. They therefore sought to attract to their side the shariffian families. They heaped favours on the shorfa of Warṣān, whose patronage was a guarantee even for the rulers.

The work begun by Mawli al-Rashid was continued and brought to a successful conclusion by his successor Ima'il (1672-1729). During the first fifteen years of his reign, he did not cease to wage war on the rivals who disputed the districts of Marrākuṣh and Sās with him. While fighting his enemies, he was engaged in building up an army which would work his will. To the *wakhs* formed by the *sharā* and Ujdja he added a body of black slaves, the 'Abid al-Bukhārī (Bukhar), the property

of the sultān; their children were specially trained for military service. The number of effectives in this corps by the end of the reign numbered one hundred and fifty thousand men. The sultān was thus able to reduce to obedience the Berbers of the Atlas and the upper Muluja. Defeated and disarmed, the latter were kept in control by garrisons placed in *kaḥbas* built at the exits to the valleys or commanding the lines of communication. The notables whom the sultān had taken into his service or united to himself by matrimonial alliances forced their tribesmen to live in peace. The *bilād al-maghzen*, i.e. the country where tribute was regularly paid, extended over almost the whole of the extreme Maghrib. The pacification of the interior did not cause Mawlaī Ismā'īl to forget the obligations imposed on every Muslim ruler to fight the infidels. He therefore continued the holy war against the Christians of the coast. He recaptured al-Mah-diya, Larache, Asilā, and Tangier, evicted by the English in 1684, but could not take Ceuta from the Spaniards in spite of a siege or rather uninterrupted blockade for seventeen years. He was no more successful in his enterprise against the Turks of Algiers, who disputed with the Moroccans the possession of the plains of eastern Morocco and the *ḡhar* of southern Oran. The expeditions which he directed against the Algerians ended in failure, and the lower course of the Muluja continued to be the boundary of the sharifian empire. In spite of his lack of success here, Mawlaī Ismā'īl is nevertheless the great figure of the Ḥasanī dynasty, the model the Moroccan sultāns have set themselves to the present day. Morocco, however, remained what it was before, i.e. an aggregation of different groups, the cohesion of which depended on the personal energy of the sovereign. The processes of administration were in no way altered; the sharif enforced obedience by drastic executions, he squeezed his subjects to the utmost to get the money necessary for the building of his capital Meknes [q. v.], the palaces of which were built by the forced labour of the natives and of Christian slaves.

On the death of Mawlaī Ismā'īl, a reaction set in. For thirty years his sons fought with one another. The real masters of the situation were the 'Abid who made and unmade sultāns as they pleased. One of them, Mawlaī 'Abd Allāh, was proclaimed and deposed six times. He succeeded, however, in triumphing over his competitors by playing the Berbers off against the 'Abid, the importance of whom gradually diminished with the wars. The remedy, however, was not much better than the disease. This period was for Morocco one of misery and ruin. The authority of the sharifs emerged much weakened from it.

Mawlaī Muḥammad (1757—1792) succeeded, however, in restoring it. Inheriting the energy and vigour of his grandfather Ismā'īl, he brought the rebel Berbers back to their allegiance, and by the taking of Marrākuš in 1769 destroyed the last trace of Portuguese power on the Atlantic coast. Convinced, on the other hand, that the weakness of the central power was mainly due to a lack of financial resources, he endeavoured to procure money by encouraging the development of foreign trade. He inaugurated a mercantile policy, concluded treaties of commerce with Denmark, Sweden, England, and France and endeavoured to attract foreign merchants to his kingdom by founding for them the town of

Mogador [q. v.] in 1764. Heavy taxes, however, severely impeded the progress of this policy. Morocco remained a poor country and did not open itself, as had been hoped, to European penetration. It also remained in a perpetual turmoil. Under Mawlaī Yazīd (1792—1794) the country was once more handed over to anarchy. Mawlaī Slimān (Slimān) (1794—1822), after at first being able to restore order, had to spend the last ten years of his reign in putting down the continual risings of the Berbers of the middle Atlas; in the course of one of these expeditions he actually fell into the hands of the rebels. This rebelliousness caused the sultān much misgiving; he also wanted to prevent the infiltration of foreign and anti-Muslim influences which he believed would aggravate it. He forbade his subjects to leave the country and restricted to a minimum their intercourse with Christians. The diplomatic and consular agents were relegated to Tangier, and access to the interior was made almost impossible for Europeans. His successors followed his example. Down to the end of the 19th century, Morocco was more rigorously closed than it had been in the time of the Merinids and Sa'dians and even in the early days of the Ḥasanī sharifs. In spite of this systematic isolation, the sultāns had nevertheless to face the same difficulties as Mawlaī Slimān and had no more success than he in overcoming them.

For half a century the domestic history of Morocco was a series of rebellions which the sovereigns had great difficulty in suppressing. The regions remote from the centre, Rif, Taffilaīt, Figig, eastern Morocco, escaped the authority of the *makhzen*. In the very heart of the country, the Berbers cut communications between Fez and Marrākuš, forcing the sultāns when they wanted to move from one capital to the other to make a great detour by Rabat. The empire broke up more and more. Mawlaī al-Ḥasan (1875—1894) postponed for a few years the inevitable collapse. His reign resembled that of Mawlaī Ismā'īl. At the head of his army, the artillery of which had been reorganised by a French military mission, he was continually in the field raiding the rebels and tearing down *kaḥbas*. He re-established order in the region of Ujda, forced the people of Sūs to recognise his *ḡida*, reduced to obedience the Za'ir and Zayān, endeavoured to extend the *makhzen* country by expeditions against the independent Berbers, endeavoured to develop his influence in the Saharan regions and to restore his authority in Tuat. But he died before completing his task and all had to be begun again.

Morocco and the Christian powers. The situation was the more critical that the fate of Morocco could no longer be a matter of indifference to the European powers. It increased the cupidity of some and aroused the cupidity of others. In spite of their desire for isolation, the sultāns had not been able to break every link with Europe. They had also to take account of the proximity of Spain, established for three centuries in the 'presidios' of the Mediterranean coast, and of the French who had replaced the Turks in Algeria [q. v.]. The conquest of the old Regency, destroying all the sharifs' hopes of extension eastwards, had caused great irritation in Morocco. 'Abd al-Kādir [q. v.] found followers among the peoples of this country and support hardly disguised on the part of the *makhzen*. This hostile

attitude resulted in the Franco-Moroccan war of 1844. The *sharifian* army was crushed at the battle of Isly, the ports of Tangier and Mogador bombarded. The moderation of France alone enabled the *makhzen* to come fairly well out of this unfortunate escapade. Henceforth the relations between France and Morocco remained peaceful, although the impotence of the *sharifian* government to guarantee security on its borders forced France to military demonstrations like the R. Salsen campaign (1859) and the wadi Gir expedition (1870). Spain in turn being unable to obtain satisfaction from the attacks directed against her garrisons decided also to resort to arms. The campaign of 1859—1860, ended by the victory of O'Donnell, revealed the military weakness of Morocco. The treaty of Tetuán (1860) granted to Spain, along with some trifling territorial aggrandisement, an indemnity of 100,000,000 reals. To pay this debt, the *sharifian* government had to raise a loan in London on the security of the Moroccan customs and to accept the control of European commissioners. For the first time foreigners intervened in the domestic administration of the empire. The breach thus made was continually enlarged. The exercise of the right of protection, the erection of a lighthouse on Cape Spartel, served as a pretext for diplomatic negotiations and for the extension of international control. European ambitions were not dissimulated. In order to protect itself against them, the *makhzen* tried to play one off against the other and confined itself to granting, as it did at the conference of Madrid (1880), concessions devoid of all practical significance. Mawli al-Hasan excelled in this difficult game and the vizier Ibn Ahmad, who directed affairs during the early years of the reign of 'Abd al-'Aziz, Mawli al-Hasan's successor, displayed no less skill. Morocco was thus the object of a very keen struggle for influence. England wanted to maintain her economic preponderance along with the control of the Strait; France wanted to ensure the security of her Algerian possessions and of the roads leading to the Saharan oases occupied in 1901—1902; Spain appealed to her "historic rights"; Germany lastly was preparing to seize the opportunity to acquire openings for her commerce and emigration.

The Moroccan crisis and the establishment of the French protectorate. Such a position could not last. The imprudences of Sultán 'Abd al-'Aziz precipitated the crisis. The whims of the sovereign and his immoderate desire for European innovations displeased the stricter Muslims. The modifications in the fiscal policy made by the *tarikh* disturbed the people already taxed to the utmost. Rebellion broke out everywhere. A pretender, the *sâgh* Ibn Hamam, rose in the region of Tâza and routed an army sent against him. It was in vain that France by the agreements of 1901 and 1902 endeavoured to organise the activities of the *makhzen* against the rebels and to postpone the inevitable catastrophe. On the failure of this effort, France decided to arrange with England and Spain to settle the Moroccan question and prevent the dismemberment of the empire. In return for recognition of the protectorate *de facto* exercised by England in Egypt and the granting to Spain of a sphere of influence in northern Morocco, these two powers recognised the right of France to act as her interests best demanded. France hastened to propose to the

sultán a plan for reforming the *sharifian* administration. The intervention of Germany prevented its realisation. On March 31, 1905, William II landed at Tangier and in a sensational speech posed as the defender of the independence of the sultán. On the advice of the German representative, 'Abd al-'Aziz appealed for the constitution of an international conference to study the reforms to be introduced into the Maghrib. The conference met at Algiers (Jan. 15—April 7, 1906) and affirmed the three principles of the sovereignty of the sultán, the territorial integrity and economic freedom of Morocco. It did not, however, settle the Moroccan question. The two international bodies which it decided to set up, the police for the ports and the state bank, both capable of being of great service, could not take the place of the general reforms necessary for the salvation of the empire. Disorders continued, acts of hostility against Europeans in Morocco itself and acts of brigandage on the frontiers increased in number. Not being able to obtain satisfaction for outrages on its subjects, the French government ordered the occupation of Ujda and Casablanca in 1907. The country was then pacified around these two centres and order restored in eastern Morocco and in the *Shawiya* to the great benefit of the natives themselves. The Spaniards in their turn for similar reasons intervened in 1908 in the adjoining region of Melilla and after a severe campaign in 1909 occupied Salwán and a number of strategic points.

During this period war broke out between 'Abd al-'Aziz and his brother Mawli 'Abd al-Hafiz, proclaimed sultán at Marrakush and then at Fés. Supported by the anti-foreign party, the pretender was victorious. All the powers, including France and Spain, recognised him, after he had promised to respect the agreement of Algiers, the international treaties and all the engagements entered into by his predecessors. France and Spain announced their intention of not prolonging their occupation of *sharifian* territory. The Franco-Moroccan agreements of March 4, 1910, and the Hispano-Moroccan of Nov. 19 of the same year, stipulated that the occupation should cease as soon as the *makhzen* should have a force sufficient to guarantee the security of life and property and peace within its frontiers. This settlement seemed all the more desirable as there had been occasional friction between France and Germany which had only been smoothed over with great difficulty, the most serious being the affair of the deserters from Casablanca in Sept. 1908. A disquieting state of tension remained between these two powers, although France had endeavoured to give satisfaction to Germany in signifying, by the agreement of Feb. 8, 1909, her willingness not to impede the economic freedom nor hinder the development of German interests.

The aggravation of the situation in the interior hastened the dénouement. The sultán's rule was no more effective than that of his predecessors; the exactions of the *sharifian* agents in the spring of 1911 provoked a rising of the Arab and Berber tribes in the region of Fés. Besieged in his capital and on the point of succumbing, the sultán appealed to the French. They decided to send an expeditionary force to the help of the sultán but ordered its commander to avoid any injury to the independence of the sultán and any occupation of new territory. Vigorously commanded by General

Morocco, the military operations had the desired effect. Fes was relieved on May 21, and after certain police operations necessary to secure the peace of the district, the expeditionary force returned to the coast. But, while the danger was thus banished from the interior, unexpected complications resulted. Spain, taking advantage of the occasion to take possession of the sphere of influence reserved for her by the agreement of 1904, established herself in Larache and al-Ksar. Germany, feeling the moment was decisive, claimed compensation in her turn and sent a warship to Agadir. This demonstration provoked the greatest alarm in France and in Europe generally. In the end, however, a peaceful settlement was reached. After four months of difficult negotiations, the agreement of Nov. 4, 1911 put an end to the dispute. Germany abandoned all political claims to Morocco and admitted with certain reservations, chiefly of an economic nature, the principle of the French protectorate. There was no longer any obstacle to the establishment of this régime, which the sultan accepted by the treaty of March 30, 1912. This diplomatic document stipulated the maintenance of the sovereignty of the sultan, the representation of and protection by French diplomatic and consular agents of Moroccan subjects and interests abroad, the carrying out, with the collaboration of and under the direction of France, of a number of administrative reforms, judicial, financial and military, intended to "give the sharifian empire a new régime, while safeguarding the traditional prestige and honour of the sultan, the practice of the Muslim faith and the institutions of religion".

The French protectorate now extends over the whole of Morocco, but the Spanish sphere of influence enjoys by the agreement of Nov. 27, 1912 complete autonomy from the administrative and military point of view, while Tangier and its environs form an international zone, the status of which is not yet definitely regulated.

The establishment of the protectorate was to have had as its first result the restoration of the authority of the sharif, whose support was essential for the carrying out of the reforms. This could only be attained by a considerable effort. The central power was weaker than it had ever been at the time when the conclusion of the protectorate treaty put an end to the crisis. The *shirâ al-makhzen* was almost non-existent. France had to conquer Morocco for the sultan. The name of Maréchal Lyautey, appointed High Commissioner and Resident-General, will remain inseparable from the history of the pacification of Morocco, like that of Bugeaud in the history of the conquest of Algeria. Very difficult in itself, for it brought the French into contact with warlike tribes, some of whom had never recognised the authority of the makhzen, the task was further complicated by events abroad. Order had hardly been restored around the chief towns, Fes, Meknes, Marrakech and communication restored between eastern and western Morocco, when the War of 1914 broke out. For a moment it was feared that the French were going to abandon the interior and fall back on the coast, but the progress of the pacification of the country was only slowed down, not interrupted. All the conquered positions were retained and the rebels held on all fronts. The counter-offensives of the rebels in the Tizt corridor, along the Middle Atlas and in Sfis were crushed. The War finished,

the offensive was resumed to reduce the districts still unsubdued (Middle Atlas, south of the High Atlas, upper valley of the Moulouya). Three years of difficult fighting (1921-1924) ended in the occupation of "all Morocco of value", i. e. those regions of economic, political or military importance. The Rifan offensive in 1925, however, threatened to compromise all the success achieved. A Rifan chief, 'Abd al-Karim, had gathered around him the greater part of the tribes of northern Morocco and inflicted serious reverses on the Spaniards and forced them to abandon a portion of the territory which they had occupied. Crossing the Spanish zone, he invaded the valley of the Wargha and threatened Fes. The resistance of the posts echeloned along the frontier gave reinforcements time to reach the scene of hostilities. Checked in the autumn, the Rifan advance was definitely crushed in the spring of 1926 thanks to the combined action of France and Spain. At the moment of writing, the conquest may be regarded as completed: only a few tribes of the Central Atlas and of the oases of the Sahara have not yet been reached by the French, but their reduction is only a matter of time.

The administrative reorganisation has kept pace with the pacification. The old machinery has been retained but submitted to a control which guarantees the natives against abuse of their power and excesses by the agents of the makhzen. Technical services have been created to give the country the works necessary for its economic life. The remarkable results obtained in all fields have been facilitated by the influx of European immigrants and capital. Morocco seemed condemned to vegetate. Now it is being completely transformed. A new epoch is beginning, very different from any that have preceded it.

Bibliography: Lambert Playfair and R. Brown, *A Bibliography of Morocco*, London 1898.

Arab authors: Ibn al-Athir, *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, transl. Fagnan, Algiers 1901; Ibn 'Idhari, *al-Bayân al-Maghribi*, ed. Dozy, Leyden 1848, transl. Fagnan, Algiers 1904; Ibn Abi Zayd, *Rawd al-Qirât*, ed. and transl. (*Annales regnes Mauritaniae*) Tornberg, Upsala 1845-1846; Ibn Khaldun, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1847-1851, transl. do., Algiers 1855; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1896; al-Ifrahi, *Nuzhat al-Hadi*, ed. and transl. (*Histoire de la dynastie saadienne au Maroc*) Hondas, Paris 1888-1889; al-Zaylani, *al-Tarjuman al-Mu'rib*, ed. and transl. (*Le Maroc de 1632 à 1812*) Hondas, Paris 1886; al-Najiri al-Sakawi, *Kutub al-Istikhâr*, text, Cairo 1312 (1895), transl. Fumey, (*Chronique de la dynastie alawite au Maroc, Archives Marocaines*), 1906 and 1907; Graulles, Colin and I. Hamet, *ibid.*

European authors: Alhîn, *Le camp d'Agadir*, Paris 1912; Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1904; A. Bernard, *Le Maroc*, Paris 1921; do., *Les confins algéro-marocains*, Paris 1911; J. Becker, *Historia de Marruecos*, Madrid 1915; Braithwaite, *The history of the revolutions in the empire of Morocco*, London 1729; Badgett Meakin, *The Moorish Empire*, London 1899; Carotte, *Recherches sur les origines et les migrations des principales tribus de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Paris 1858; M. P. Castellanos, *Descripción histórica de Marruecos*, Santiago 1878; de Castries, *Les sources inédites*

de l'histoire du Maroc de 1550 à 1645, Paris 1905—1927; L. de Chénier, *Recherches historiques sur les Maures*, Paris 1787; le Père Dan, *Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsaires*, Paris 1637, 2nd ed., 1649; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, Leyden 1861; Erckmann, *Le Maroc moderne*; E. F. Gautier, *Les siècles obscurs du Maghreb*, Paris 1927; Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1913 sqq.; Fournel, *Les Berbères*, Paris 1875—1881; Godard, *Description et histoire du Maroc*, Paris 1860; Ismaël Hamet, *Histoire du Maghreb*, Paris 1923; Hardy and Aurès, *Les grandes étapes de l'histoire du Maroc*, Paris 1923; Ch. A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1931; R. Kahn, *Le protectorat marocain*, Paris 1921; de la Martinière, *Souvenir du Maroc*, Paris 1919; La Martinière and Lacroix, *Documents sur le nord-ouest africain*, Lille n.d.; Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chérifs*, Paris 1922; G. Margais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie*, Paris 1913; Marmol Caravajal, *Description general de Africa*, Malaga 1573; A. G. P. Martin, *Quatre siècles d'histoire marocaine*, *Au Sahara de 1504 à 1902*, *Au Maroc de 1894 à 1912*, Paris 1923; do., *Le Maroc et l'Europe*, Paris 1928; E. Mercier, *Histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Paris 1888; R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen*, Paris 1930; Mouette, *Histoire des conquêtes de Moulay Arçhy et de Moulay Ismaël*, Paris 1685; Rouard de Card, *Les traités entre la France et le Maroc*, Paris 1900; do., *Documents diplomatiques pour servir à l'histoire de la question marocaine*; do., *Traité et accords concernant le protectorat de la France au Maroc*, 1914; A. Tardieu, *La conférence d'Algésiras*, Paris 1907; do., *Le mystère d'Agadir*, Paris 1912; Thomassy, *Le Maroc et ses caravanes*, Paris 1845; Tinnot, *Recherches sur la géographie comparée de la Mauritanie tingitane*, Paris 1878; Diego de Torres, *Relacion del origen y sucesso de los xerifes*, Sevilla 1535; Weiss, *The Shaikhs of Morocco in the xvth century*, Edinburgh 1905; A. Cour, *L'établissement des dynasties des chérifs au Maroc et leur rivalité avec les Turcs de la Régence d'Alger (1509—1830)*, Paris 1904; do., *La dynastie marocaine des Beni Wattas (1420—1554)*, Constantine 1920.

Periodicals: *Bulletin du comité de l'Afrique française et du comité du Maroc*; *Archives marocaines*; *Archives berbères*; *Hesperis*.

Cf. also the bibliography to the articles: IDRISSIS, ALMORAVIDS, ALMOHADS, MERINIDS, and on the individuals mentioned in the article.

(G. YVER).

III. POPULATION.

a. Total population and density. It is difficult to fix with any precision the total population of Morocco. The attempts made at a census in recent years in the parts subject to the shari'fian makhzen enable, it is true, comparatively accurate estimates to be made for the greater part of the country and corroborate for most districts the estimates made by European travellers before the establishment of the French protectorate. But the parts of the shari'fian empire still outside the authority of the makhzen and those whose southern boundaries are not exactly known have not been seriously investigated from this point of view, and until they have been scientifically studied it will not

be possible to estimate the total population of Morocco to within a few hundred thousands.

The total usually given is 5,000,000, of whom a tenth, 500,000, are in the zone of the Spanish protectorate. This population is very unequally distributed and its density varies with geographical conditions. The most thickly populated part is that of the plains of western Morocco between the massif of the Djibla in the north and the Great Atlas in the south: Gharb, Shāwīya, Tādla, Dukkāla and 'Abda. The density of the population also varies with the fertility of the soil. The population of this region is estimated at two fifths of the total. The mountainous regions, Djibla, Rif, Middle Atlas are not thickly populated, as we might have expected from the comparatively dense population of Kabylia, in another mountainous region of North Africa. As to the Saharan zone, outside the belts of oases in the Wādī Gtr, the Wādī Zis (Tāfīlāt) and the Wādī Dar'a (Dra), it is very sparsely inhabited.

b. Elements of the population. The population of Morocco consists for the most part of Berbers and Arabs, the former being the older element and the latter invaders. As to the Berbers, who do not seem to be a homogeneous race and whose origin is obscure, see the separate article on them. As to the Arabs, they are in a minority, but it is often difficult to attribute an exact ethnic origin to certain tribes or confederations, so much have the Arabs and Berbers become mixed since the Muslim conquest, and intermingled either by peaceful or warlike methods. It will be more prudent and will give a more accurate result if we distinguish in Morocco between those who speak Arabic and those who speak Berber (see below VII. LANGUAGES). The former live entirely in the plains, while with the exception of the massif of the Djibla, the inhabitants of the mountains speak Berber.

1. Berbers. Three main groups may be distinguished among the Berbers of Morocco: in the north the Rifans and the Beni Zu'āsen; in the centre the Znāga (Sanhādja) and the Brūber (Barabir), who form the population of the Middle Atlas; the third group is that of the Shlūh [cf. the article SHILUH] who occupy the western part of the High Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas, as well the plain of Sūs. In addition to these main groups, we may mention the Djibla, arabicised Berbers, to the N.W. of Fās, and the Harātin (plur. of the Arabic *ḥarfām*), who seem to be regarded as an intermixture of Berbers and Sūdānese and form the basis of the settled population of the zone of the Saharan oases.

2. Arabs. The early invasions at the time of the Muslim conquest do not seem to have appreciably modified the ethnology of the country. Down to the xiiith century A.D., the country districts of Morocco were almost completely Berber; it was the great Almohad ruler 'Abd al-Mu'min [q.v.] who was the first to introduce into Morocco Hilālī Arab tribes hitherto settled in the Central Maghrib or in Ifrikiya; these importations, continued by the successors of this prince and by the Merinid dynasty, soon drove the Berber element into the mountains or absorbed and arabicised it. Evidence of such assimilation is still found in the fact that tribes with clearly Arab names contain sections whose names show their Berber origin.

These Arab tribes, who are all settled in the

plain, may be divided into two main ethnic groups: the Banu Hilal [q. v.] and the Ma'kil. The latter occupies almost exclusively the valley of the Upper Muluya as well as the lands south of the Atlas. The Banu Hilal occupy the sub-Atlantic plains and the steppes of Eastern Morocco.

3. **Jews.** There are about 150,000 Jews in Morocco, mainly living in the towns. There are also a considerable number among the tribes of the Great Atlas. They also form the principal element in the population of the two little towns of Dehdu and Demnat [q. v.]. The origin of the earliest elements in this Jewish population is obscure: it is difficult to ascertain whether they were Jews who had migrated from Palestine or were Judaized Berbers. The modern element is made up of Jews who fled from Spain to Morocco in the xvth century. The former call themselves *shahidim* (Palestinians) and are called *forasteros* (foreigners) by the Spanish immigrants, who are practically all settled in the towns of the coast and are rapidly becoming Europeanised.

4. **Miscellaneous elements.** The negroes, of whom there are considerable numbers in Morocco, do not however form a distinct group there. In the north we find many, who are almost all of slave origin. The predilection of the townsmen of Morocco for black concubines, noted for their domestic virtues, has brought into the population, especially in bourgeois circles, a very considerable amount of negro blood. To the south of the Atlas in the oases, the intermarriage of negroes and Berbers has produced the *Haratin*. Finally the negroes of the Sudan, since the Middle Ages, have always been esteemed as mercenaries to form the imperial guards, especially since the taking of Timbuktu by the armies of the Sa'dian Sultan Ahmad al-Mansur [q. v.].

Large numbers of Muslims from Spain, whether of Arab origin or descendants of Christian inhabitants of the Peninsula, have contributed to form the population of the towns at various times: Cordovans banished by al-Hakam I at the beginning of the third century A. D. after the "revolt of the suburb" and Muslims expelled from Spain at the "Reconquista".

We must not omit the influence that may have been exercised on the population of Morocco by Europeans (reconquered, who had adopted Islam, mercenaries recruited outside Morocco and settled in the country), and finally we may note that frequently the sultans have purchased women for their harems in Constantinople.

IV. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE.

a. **Country.** The population of Morocco, although for the most part rural, nevertheless has a larger proportion of town-dwellers than Central Barbary and, like the rest of North Africa, might be divided into nomadic and settled; this division does not at all coincide with that into Arabs and Berbers; there are still nomadic Berbers, while certain Arab tribes are becoming settled on the lands which they cultivate.

It has been shown that the nomadic or settled life of the country-people in North Africa does not depend, as was long thought, on ethnic factors, but is entirely conditioned by geographical considerations. It is the rule for dwellers in the mountains to be settled while the people of the desert steppes, forced to move about in search

of pasture for their flocks, are nomads. There are however means between these two extremes and especially in Morocco, where we find many semi-nomads, who move only short distances, principally on the borders of the various mountains of the centre and south. But generally nomadism is the outcome of pastoral migration and its geographical area is in direct relation to the rainfall and therefore to the nature of the vegetation.

It is in eastern Morocco, in the steppes which lie to the east of the Muluya, and to the south of the Great Atlas, towards the Sahara, that we find the principal groups of nomads in Morocco. In eastern Morocco, we may mention among the large tribes which lead a nomadic life the confederation of the Bent Gil, between Bergeat and Figig; on the other side of the Atlas, the Ait Seddrat, the Ait Djallal, the Ids-U-Hill, the Ait-U-Mribet; lastly to the south of the Dar'a (Dra) country, the Rgiba, the Shkarna and the Awlad Dlim. As to the semi-nomads, we find them, outside the Middle Atlas, in the great plains of the Gharb, in the north, the Khanna and the Shya'ima, in the south, where a pastoral life has not yet completely disappeared before a more settled state of society.

Nevertheless Morocco is, of the three countries of Barbary, that which has in its rural population the largest proportion of settled people, of fixed habitat and living not only in tents but also in houses. The latter are rarely found isolated in the country, but on the contrary are grouped into villages of more or less importance and more or less near one another, according to the density of the population.

The type of dwelling varies with the district. In the mountains we find houses built of unbaked bricks or stone with a gabled thatch or a flat flat roof. In the plains, the tent predominates, more or less fixed to the spot, and with it we find more and more the hut of branches with a conical roof called *numuda*. In the Saharan oases, the population collects within a walled area or *hjar* (sg. *hjar*, from the class. *hjar*); these conglomerations sometimes possess the elements of town-life. The villages are called *duar* (*dwawur*) in the plains, and *dyhar* in the mountains. In some hill regions we find survivals of cave-dwelling.

b. **Town.** Among the towns of his country, the Moroccan distinguishes a certain number that he definitely regards as cities (*hagaraya*). These are Fes, Rabat-Sale and Tetuan, which have been more than others subjected to the influence of Spanish culture. It must however be noted that in the majority of the other towns we can still find traces of the existence of colonies formed by Muslims from Spain, especially from the xvth century onwards. The population of the non-*hagaraya* towns is found to be composed of rustic elements but little urbanised. This is the case with Ujda and Mazagan (country Beduins) and also with Tangier (countrymen from the hills). Marrakush and Meknes owe their special urban character to the fact that as capitals they have contained the courts of two Sharifian dynasties, both of Beduin origin; they are *makharaya* towns in which the standard of civilization does not reach the refinement of the *hagaraya* Spanish towns. The ports Tangier, Larache, Mazagan, Safi and Mogador were for long the only points of contact between Morocco and European influences, politically as well as commercially. Lastly in the mountains,

little towns like Shefshawen, Wazzn, Šefrū, Debdū, Demnūt owe their existence to political reasons. The two first were founded as bulwarks against the Portuguese advance in northern Morocco in the xvth century. Demnūt and Debdū are mainly Jewish towns. As to Šefrū, it seems probable that it is a survival of an old Berber town. We may also mention as towns of secondary importance, on the Mediterranean coast, Ceuta, completely europeanised for several centuries, on the Atlantic coast Arzila (Azila), Casablanca, which owes its origin to the little port of Anfā, Azemmūr, Agādīr. In the interior, al-Ksar al-Kabīr (el-Ksar, Spanish spelling: Alcazarquivir), Tāzā, Tūfūdīnt. Several ancient towns have now disappeared, e.g. Nakar and Bādīs on the Mediterranean, Tīt to the south of Mazagan, the two Aghmāt and Tinnallal to the south of Marrākush and several others, descriptions of which have been given by the geographers like al-Bakrī, al-Idrīsī and Leo Africanus.

As a rule, the Moroccan town is grouped round a citadel or *ḥaṣaba* (pop. *ḥaṣba*) which is the seat of authority. Under the protection of the citadel lies the *millāḥ* or Jewish quarter. All around spreads the town proper or *madīna* with its great mosque, markets and *ḥaṣariya* [q.v.]. It is surrounded by a rampart (*ḥūr*) beyond which there are usually the suburbs more or less rural in character. The town itself is divided into quarters (*ḥamma*) with streets (*ṣanṣa*), alleys (*darḥ*) and squares (*raḥḥa*).

c. Economic Life. The country people, whether settled or nomadic, who form at least four fifths of the population of Morocco, live on the land, either by agriculture or stock-raising, most often combining the two. Those in the highlands grow cereals (wheat, barley), certain leguminosae (broad beans, chick-peas, vetches) and fruit-trees. They also exploit their forests in a very primitive fashion (thuyas, cedars). The people of the plains devote themselves mainly to cereals and the rearing of cattle, sheep, camels, horses and asses. In the oases of the south, the population cultivates the date-palm and understands the art of irrigating the land.

The rural industries are very primitive. They are limited to supplying the necessary implements of agriculture, and weaving wool into the material for garments, tents and carpets. The Berbers of Sūs show a certain aptitude at metal-working (arms and jewels). Sūs no longer exports the cane-sugar and copper, which formed considerable articles of trade under the Sa'dians.

Each tribe has a certain number of markets (*ṣūḥ*) which are held in the open country and bear the name of the day on which they are held. It is in the *ṣūḥ* that the peasant sells his produce and buys the manufactured articles that are brought by the merchants from the towns. Cereals are preserved in siloes (*maṣmūra*); in the Great Atlas and to the south of it we find fortified storehouses, which belong to the community and are called *agādīr*.

It is in the towns that we find industrial activity concentrated. Each trade, which originally formed a *gild* (*ḥunfa*), is grouped in one street which bears its name. In it the articles are made and sold. The stocks are kept in the *funduks* (Ar. *fundaḥ*) which correspond to the *khān* and *wakīlah* of the east. Some products, like grain, oil, coal, wool, are sold in special places called *raḥḥa*.

The monopolies of exporting (*ṣāḥa*) corn and hides established by the sultāns at the end of the xivth century have now been abolished. Several European products have become of the first necessity in Morocco and form the subjects of an important traffic: cotton goods, tea and sugar and candles. For the history of the weights, measures and coins in use in Morocco before the establishment of the protectorate see the works by Massignon and Michaux-Bellaire quoted in the *Bibliography*. The very vivid picture drawn by Leo Africanus of the commercial and industrial activity of Fās in the Middle Ages is still very valuable.

The Jews, who devote themselves specially to certain trades that flourish in larger centres (gold-smiths, embroiderers), also play an important part as brokers. The citizens of Fās, who have a large number of converted Jews among their number, had almost a monopoly of the import trade of Morocco, especially from England, and for this reason had little colonies in the sea-ports.

The Berbers of Sūs like to settle in the towns as grocers (*ḥaḥḥāl*) and having made their fortunes return to the country. Since the war of 1914—1918 a large number of them have migrated to France as labourers and they settle in groups, according to their original tribes, in the suburbs of certain large industrial towns.

V. POLITICAL ORGANISATION.

It is only at rare intervals and for short periods that Morocco has been entirely under the authority of the sultān: whence the distinction between the territory subjected to the government (*bilād al-maḥḥzen*) and the territory unsubjected (*bilād al-raiba*). As a rule, the *maḥḥzen* territory included the towns, valleys and plains. The mountains, on the other hand, remained more or less independent, according to the degree of power possessed by the sovereign. For further details cf. the article *MAḤḤZEN*.

Outside the towns the population is grouped into tribes (*ḥabīla*). Several are sometimes grouped together under a common name, without however being a confederation in the strict sense of the word; this is the case with the Ghumāra in the north, the Hāḥa, the Dukkāla, the Šāwīya in the south. The tribe is subdivided into sections (*ruḥ*, *ḥkumr*, *fakḥḥa*), which are subdivided into sub-sections comprising a certain number of villages of tents or houses.

The tribes who own the sultān's sway are governed by a *ḥā'id* appointed by the *maḥḥzen*. His duty is to allot and levy the taxes, to raise contingents of soldiers and keep good order. He has under his command a *ḥaḥḥa* for each section under whom are the *maḥḥdām* of the sub-sections.

For the distinction between *maḥḥzen*, *ḥaḥḥa* (vulg. *ḥaḥḥa*) and *nā'iba* tribes see the article *MAḤḤZEN*.

In the tribes not subject to the *maḥḥzen*, political activity is confined to the *ḥamā'a*, i.e. an assembly of men able to bear arms. The *ḥamā'a* deals with all the business of the tribe, civil, criminal, financial and political. It administers justice following local custom (Arabic *urf*, Berber *irif*). It elects a *ḥaḥḥa* (Berber *amghār*) who is only an agent to carry out its decisions. Alongside of the *ḥamā'a* of the tribe, there are *ḥamā'a*s of the sections and sub-sections but their powers are limited.

All the tribes of the *bilād al-raiba* are divided into opposing factions or *laḥḥ*. When a tribe of

a certain *laff* is attacked, those neighbouring tribes who belong to the same faction take up arms and come to its assistance.

In the towns, the *makhzen* is represented by a governor whose official title is *ḥā'id* but in certain large towns he is often called *ḥā'id*. The title of *'amīl* has been sometimes given to the governor of Ujda. The *ḥā'id* of the town, generally speaking, has the same powers as the *ḥā'id* of the tribe and acts as judge in case of any violation of the law. He has an assistant or *ḥā'ifa*. Alongside of him, the *muhtasib* supervises the corporations, fixes their average prices and looks after public morals.

The *ḥā'id* has under his orders the *muḥaddam* of the quarter and his police (*makhzanīya*) carrying out his instructions. Among the officials sent by the *makhzen* to each town may also be mentioned the *naḍir* or inspector of endowments (*ḥabūs*), the trustee of vacant inheritances (*waḥīl al-ghurabā'*), popularly *ḥā-mwāreth* = *abu 'l-mawāriṭh*), the collector of local taxes and market-dues (*amin al-mustafād*). Lastly in the harbour and frontier towns, the customs are collected by officials called *amanā'* (sg. *amin*).

Justice is administered by the *ḥā'id* or by the *ḥā'id*, as the case may be. The latter deals with questions of personal law; official reports on the cases are drawn up by the *'udāl*. In technical cases he appeals to experts: master-masons, agriculturalists, veterinary surgeons (*muwālīn en-naḍar*), *arḥāb et-turḥā*, *fallāḥ*, *ḥā'if*. The legal opinions (*fatwā*) given by eminent jurists on the same question being often contradictory, the Sharifian government has recently created a court of appeal (*maḥkama al-isti'nāf*) at Rabat.

Landed property takes a number of different forms. In the first place, there are the state-domains; they are either managed directly by the *makhzen* (crown-lands) or they are allotted to *ghāz*-tribes in return for the military service for which they are liable; others of these lands may be granted in temporary or definite ownership to private individuals by imperial edict (*paḥl* or *tanḥīḥ*).

The *ḥabūs* lands may be urban or rural. In the towns, they not infrequently cover half the area. They are let out under special conditions which give the tenants special privileges, *maḥḥā* and *gā* (class. Ar. *ghazā'*). In the country, the *ḥabūs* lands consist mainly of fields and orchards. In all cases, the revenue from these lands is set aside for the maintenance of buildings of a religious character or of public utility (mosques, colleges, schools, fountains) and for the payment of the officials attached to these establishments.

In Morocco, there are vast tracts of land which are not the property of any one individual, either as a result of the insecurity prevailing or of the sparsity of the population. These lands belong undivided to the whole tribe; they are called common lands (*ḥā'id al-ghumra*).

Lastly, lands which have come to belong to private individuals (*mulūk*) by inheritance or purchase have their character confirmed by a certificate of ownership (*mulkiya*).

The old Muslim imposts (*nakhs* and *'uḥḥ*) have recently been merged into a single tax, the *zerḥ*. In addition to this tax, from which the state draws the essential part of its revenues, we may mention the duties levied at the gates of towns and in the markets (*maḥḥ*), unpopular with the

people and not countenanced by religion, and the urban tax on buildings (*ḥarība*). In addition to these, the main taxes, there is the *ḥadīya* or present offered to the sultan on the occasion of the three great Muslim festivals. The *ghāya* or poll-tax paid by non-Muslims and the *naḥḥ* or payment for exemption from military service by certain Arab tribes have been abolished.

VI. RELIGIOUS LIFE.

a. The Berbers before Islam. For lack of documents it is difficult to get any accurate idea of the religious beliefs and practices of the Berbers of Morocco, before their conversion to Islam and it is only from the survival of animistic cults which can still be observed in the country, that we can guess what the primitive religion was. The figures on two carved stones found in Morocco seem to be evidence of the existence of a solar worship. On animistic practices surviving in modern Islam in Morocco see below d. Islam in Modern Morocco.

b. Conversion to Islam. At the time of their invasion, the Arabs found that in the districts around the towns the people were more or less under the influence of Jewish and Christian teachings; but there is little doubt that they did not practise these religions in their true form. It will be more correct to think of them as professing Judaism or Christianity rather than as real Jews or Christians. It seems evident that these influences had prepared the Berber population around the mountains to adopt the new monotheistic religion, which the invaders imposed upon them. The two earliest invasions, that of 'Uḥḥ b. Naḥḥ in 640 and that of Mūsā b. Nuḥḥ in 711, could result only in a very partial and superficial Islamisation, for very few Arab elements remained in the country. Islam, a town religion, was for long confined to larger centres. The Berbers generally became converted in the hope of escaping the exactions of the conquerors; but when the latter wanted to treat them simply as tributaries, they did not hesitate to apostatise, on seven different occasions, if we may believe the Arab historians. One thing is certain, that while remaining Muslims, they were not long in trying to cast off the authority of the caliphs of Baghdad by adopting the heterodox doctrines of the Khāridjīs (q. v. and the article AL-SUFRIYA). The Berbers of Morocco went even further when new local religions arose among them more or less based on Islam, with their own prophets and Qur'āns. After the attempt at rebellion by the Berber of Tangier, Maḥḥ (q. v.), which was quickly suppressed, the Barghawāta recognised as their prophet one of their number, Ḥalīl b. Ṭarīf, who gave them a religion and a Qur'ān in the Berber language. This religion, the progress of which was opposed by the early Moroccan dynasties, seems only to have been finally exterminated by the Almohad rulers of the thirteenth century. This Barghawāta movement was the most lasting; we also note that which was created by Ḥā'id-Mim (d. 313 A. H.) among the Ghumra, near Tetwan.

In spite of these reactions, Islam, having become the official religion of increasingly powerful dynasties, gradually gained ground and penetrated slowly into the Berber mountains, but it is only from the death of 'Abd al-Mu'min, who destroyed the religion of the Barghawāta and put an end to the rule of the "anthropomorphist" (*muḥajjimūn*) Almo-

raids, that we can date the complete unification of Islam in Morocco. Till then, Islam had had in Morocco champions who were soldiers rather than theologians, and who after forcing the people to adopt Islam at the point of the sword, were little fitted to instruct them in it. It required a Berber of the Great Atlas, Ibn Tūmart [q. v.], a theologian who had been educated in the east, to come back to his country and to secure the devoted support of a mass of followers in order to found the movement, which was political as well as religious, of the Almohads [q. v.] or "preachers of *lawḥid*" [q. v.].

If the Almohad reformation was only temporary in Morocco, it was nevertheless strong enough while it lasted to obliterate in the country all trace of schism or heresy and to establish thoroughly in it the school of Mālik b. Anas [q. v.] which it still follows.

c. Evolution of Moroccan Islam. From the time of the fall of the Almohad dynasty, Moroccan Islam rapidly acquired features of its own. Islam, defeated in Spain, was gradually driven out of it, then attacked in Morocco itself by the Christians of the Peninsula. The western frontier of the *Dār al-Islām* was brought back to its own territory and then thrust farther back. Islam in Morocco, attacked by Christianity and forced to *ḡihād*, became an active principle. It required all the moral forces of the country, even those of which the orthodoxy seemed doubtful; in order to utilise them, it did not hesitate to absorb them by covering them with a more or less superficial veneer of orthodoxy. It was at this period that the cult of dead and living saints, and to a certain point Sharifism, which had hitherto only existed alongside of Islam in Morocco, were adopted into it and received a kind of official recognition from the makhzen.

Before the Marinids, Islam had required the constant assistance of the temporal power to maintain itself and advance. From the time of this dynasty, sprung from a Berber nomad tribe, the roles are inverted; it is now the sovereigns who utilise Islam to increase their own power, and try to monopolise it by creating official colleges for religious instruction (*madrasa*); the first of these (*Madrasat al-Ṣūfīyīn*) was founded in 679 (1280) by the Sultān Abū Yūsuf at Fās, the capital of the dynasty, which made it the great centre of Muslim culture in Western Barbary [cf. *FXs*]. The immediate successors of the Marinids, the Banū Wattās, established in the same town the cult of their founder Idrīs II. The mausoleum in which he is said to be buried was henceforth an object of great veneration. He is the earliest in date and the most important of the innumerable canonised Muslims who are the objects of a regular cult in Morocco, even on the part of the religious leaders and the aristocracy. When the cult of Idrīs was established, his descendants — more or less authentic — claimed the title of *sharīf* and soon played a preponderating part in Moroccan society, as a political and moral influence. The power of the Idrisid *sharīf* was soon reinforced by that of other *sharīf* descended from 'Alī through al-Ḥasan and this is the origin of the two great groups of *sharīfs* in Morocco, the Idrisid and the 'Alid. To the latter belong the two Sharifan dynasties, the Sa'dian and Fīlālī, the latter still in power. From the moment of their accession to the throne, the

influence of the *sharīf* on the destinies of the country became more and more preponderant.

The phenomenon of *sharīfism* is closely connected on the other hand with the development of religious brotherhoods [cf. the article *TARIQA*]. Although we find evidence of their existence at the end of the Almohad dynasty (Hindjād), Māghirīyān, Amghārīyān), it is only as a result of al-Djazzālī's (q. v., d. 1645 A.D.) campaign in favour of a *ḡihād* against the Portuguese, that we find the principles of the brotherhoods, as we know them to-day, first coming into existence.

d. Islam in Modern Morocco. Here we will only give a survey of the principal points of detail in which the people of Morocco differ from the rest of the Muslim community as regards the practice of their religion. With the exception of a few isolated groups, still little studied, who are credited with heterodox or heretical practices (Zkāra, in the neighbourhood of the Bni Znāsen, in eastern Morocco; Bdādwa, in the Ḡharb, not far from al-Ḳsar al-Kabīr), all the Muslims of Morocco are Sunnis and since the Almoravid period have followed the Mālikī rite, which prevailed in the west over that of al-Awāzī. It is in the towns that the population observes most strictly the duties of religion. The Beduins of the plains and the Berbers of the mountains are rather lukewarm Muslims. The Djāzā, however, between Fās and Tangier, are very devoted to Islam, show great piety, and Qur'anic studies are very much in favour with them; it is from them that are recruited a great number of schoolmasters who practise their calling in the plains [cf. *ḡharāṭ*]. It is also practically only among the hillmen of the north and south that we find a mosque in every village.

In spite of the great distance they have to traverse, the Moroccans like to accomplish the canonical pilgrimage. A considerable number settle in the east (there are Moroccan colonies in Alexandria and Cairo); the importance of these colonies had even induced the Sultān 'Abd al-Azīz to appoint a Moroccan consul, *amīn al-Maghāriba*, for Egypt.

In addition to the two canonical festivals of Islam (*id kabīr* and *id ṣagīr*), the Moroccans celebrate the festival of the birth of the Prophet (*mīlād*, class. *mawlid*) and that of 'Ashūrā' (10th Muḥarram). The *mīlād*, established in Morocco by the Marinids, has become a kind of national festival, since the accession to power of sovereigns claiming descent from the Prophet; this festival in Morocco almost surpasses in importance the two canonical feasts.

The peculiarities just mentioned would not be sufficient to give Moroccan Islam a special character, nor would its religious brotherhoods, if the latter were confined to the practices of religion or exaltation of the faith and to satisfying the need for an elevated mysticism among their adepts. These religious brotherhoods are fairly numerous: Tijāniya, Dargāwa, Ṭayyibīya-Tuhāma, Kattāniya [q. v.] etc. But alongside of these brotherhoods, whose members are almost exclusively recruited from the literate or well-to-do classes of the towns and country, there are popular brotherhoods in considerable numbers, in which preoccupation with religion gives place to charlatanism practices and sanguinary displays. Such are the Djāzā, the 'Isāwa, the Imādgha, the Dghāghīya. Some of these brotherhoods recruit their members ex-

clusively from a particular class of society; thus the *rumā* (class. *rumā*) is a brotherhood of marksmen, and the *Gūwā*, a negro brotherhood. All these brotherhoods have this feature in common that their founder has become a famous saint (*wali*).

The cult of saints is highly developed in Morocco and undoubtedly was so before the introduction of Islām, which found itself obliged to tolerate it. There are however very different categories of saints, from the venerated patron saint of a capital or of a district to the local holy man whose name is forgotten, between whom comes the *saïyid* whose tomb is marked by a *ḥabba* (chapel surmounted by a dome), more or less elaborate. The more humble saints are recognised by the circular wall (*ḥawāḍ*) which surrounds their tombs.

These venerated individuals, male and female, have attained sanctity by very different ways, some in their lifetime, by their learning, devotion, asceticism, miraculous powers (*ḥaraka*), sometimes even by more or less mystic mania (*maḥḍūb*); the others, after their deaths, have been distinguished by miracles, apparitions etc. The warrior in the holy war (*ḡhīkāt, ribāt*), slain fighting against the infidel is frequently beatified — hence his name of *murābiṭ* (pop. *mrābiṭ* — French and English "marabout"). But the early significance of this term was frequently lost sight of and the term *murābiṭ* came to be generally applied to saints, who never took part in a *ḡhīkāt* in their lifetime. *Murābiṭ* thus came into general use as a synonym of the other words used for saint in Morocco: *wali, saïyid, ḡlīlī*. But it is the only one applied to the descendants of a saint, who possess the *ḥaraka* of their ancestor. Among the Berbers, the saint is called *agurram*. The names of great saints have *mawlaī* prefixed, the others the title *sīdī*, while women saints of Berber origin are called *lalla*.

The saint to whom sanctuaries are most frequently dedicated — modest though they are (*maḥām, ḥabba*) — was not a native of the country but the famous patron saint of Baghdād, 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Gilānī, popularly called al-Djilālī, who undoubtedly never visited Morocco. But the saint whose cult is surrounded with the greatest splendour is the famous Mawlaī Idrīs, founder and patron saint of Fās. Among the other great Moroccan saints may be mentioned: Mawlaī 'Abd al-Salām Ibn Maḥḥib, patron of the Djāla, buried on the Djabal al-'Alam; Mawlaī Abū Salhām, in the Qharb; Mawlaī Abū 'I-Shīṭa' al-Khammār (Mawlaī Būshḡṭa), in the north of Fās; Sīdī Muḥammad b. 'Isā, patron of Meknes and founder of the brotherhood of the 'Isāwa; Mawlaī Abū Shu'ayb (Būsh'ib), at Asemmur; Mawlaī Abū Ya'azzā (Bū'azzā), in the Tādla; Sīdī Abū 'I-Abbās al-Sabū (Sīdī Bel-'Abbās), born at Ceuta and patron of Marrākush. All these and others less famous are the subjects of a hagiographical literature which will be dealt with later.

Devotion to individuals canonised in their lifetime or after their death is in Morocco not confined to Muslims. The Jews have also their saints, relatively as numerous as the Muslim saints. Some of the Jewish saints have acquired a reputation so great that even Muslims revere their tombs: e.g. those of the Rabbi 'Amrīn in Aïjen, near Wazzān and of Rabbi Ben Zentro at Safī. On the other hand, the Jews of Morocco show a special

reverence for certain of the great Muslim saints of the country.

The area, surrounding the tomb of each of the principal saints is sacred (*ḥurm*) and hence regarded as an inviolable asylum; among the best known are the *ḥurm* of Mawlaī Idrīs in Fās and that of Mawlaī 'Abd al-Salām b. Maḥḥib in the mountains of the northwest. These pieces of ground are the exclusive property of the families who are descended or claim to be descended from the saint. They are exempt from state taxes; more than that, the descendants of the saints have the right to levy for their own benefit certain special dues, by a privilege officially recognised by the sultān. The levying of these dues is not the only way by which the saint's chapel benefits his descendants. The principal source of revenue is the offerings of pilgrims when visiting the tomb; this is the *ziyāra*. In general once a year, there is a kind of patronal festival at the tomb of the saint which is called *mawm* (class. Ar. *mawsim*); a vast crowd, some of them from a considerable distance, gather there to pay their devotions to the *saïyid* and to see the display of fireworks given in his honour. On this occasion the offerings flow in and are shared among themselves by the saint's descendants.

In these circumstances, it is usual for every sanctuary of any importance to be regularly organised. The chapel which contains the tomb and the buildings attached to it, an oratory and guest-house, is called the *sūwaya*. It is superintended by a *mukaddam* who collects and distributes the revenues. These do not come entirely from the *ziyāra*. The *sūwaya* often owns lands, sometimes extensive, which are let out and the profits shared with the tenants. They are called *asib* and the tenants are called *asāb*. These farms, sometimes acquired by purchase, often come from bequests or donations (*ḥabbā*) from pious private individuals.

We can thus see how certain famous and wealthy *sūwayas* may exert a moral and political influence in the country round them, independent of their religious influence. The latter is however also very important. The great Moroccan *sūwayas* are centres of orthodoxy and give life and vigour to Islām in the country. Some are centres of mysticism and they are always centres of religious instruction. This explains the enviable position occupied in Moroccan society by any group of descendants of a famous saint, or of marabouts. If their ancestor had, in addition to the virtues for which he was canonised, the honour to be a descendant of the Prophet, they are at the same time *sharīf*, which further increases their material privileges. The descendants of a saint who was not a *sharīf* try to claim this origin for him by inventing more or less fictitious genealogies. The marabouts who have in this way "infiltrated" into the social category of the *sharīf* are very numerous in Morocco. A Moroccan *sūwaya* is not only a centre of hagiolatry; it is also in the majority of cases a body of *sharīf* and the centre of a religious brotherhood or of a branch of one, or of a secondary order affiliated to a brotherhood. The *sūwaya* itself may have offshoots. Many of the establishments of this name are daughters of a mother *sūwaya* and are sometimes at a considerable distance from it.

Hagiolatry, religious brotherhoods and *sharīfism* thus form three special aspects of Islām in Morocco, which are profoundly intermingled, and it is diffi-

cult to study them separately. For a detailed account of the principal families of *shorfa* in Morocco of genuine sharif origin or simply marabouts see the article *SHORFA*. Here we shall only mention the principal ones whose origin is considered authentic by the Moroccan genealogists. They are descended from al-Hasan and 'Abd Allāh al-Kāmil through the latter's three sons, Idrīs, Muḥammad al-Naṣī al-Zakīya and Mūsā al-Djawn. The descendants of Idrīs or Idrīsids, are subdivided into Djūṭiyyūn (Shabīhiyyūn, 'Imrāniyyūn, Tālibiyyūn, Ghālibiyyūn), Dabbāghiyyūn, Kattāniyyūn, 'Alamiyyūn (descendants of Mawlāi 'Abd al-Salām Ibn Maḥshī, buried on the Djabal al-'Alam, whence their name, and are themselves divided into Shafāḥawāniyyūn, Raṣāniyyūn, Raḥmāniyyūn and Lihyāniyyūn). The descendants of Muḥammad al-Naṣī al-Zakīya are the *shorfa* of Sijilmāsa or Filāla (Filāliyyūn; *nisba* from Taḥlālāt), i.e. those of the reigning Sharifian dynasty; lastly, the descendants of Mūsā al-Djawn are the *shorfa* Kādīriyyūn, who take their name from the great saint of Islām 'Abd al-Kādīr al-Gillāni. We also find in Morocco, but in small numbers, Husainid *shorfa*, also descended from 'Alī through al-Husain, the brother of al-Hasan; these are the *shorfa* called Šikīliyyūn and 'Irākiyyūn, who came from Andalus. The great marabout families are that of the Nāṣiriya from Tāmgrūt in Dar'a, the Sharḳāwa [q.v.] in Tādla, the Darḳāwa and Wazzāniyyūn to the northwest of Fās. The *shorfa* Wazzāniyyūn (sharīfs of Wazzān), whose chief is also head of the great brotherhood of the 'Iṣyibīya-Tūḥāma (cf. above), have for long played a considerable part in politics and have been the object of particular attention from the *makhzen*. Even more than the other representatives of the great marabout families, they have in fact rendered great services to the central power by using for its benefit the great moral and political influence which they possess among that part of the population, which is lukewarm or hostile to the *makhzen*. They have mediated in the most successful fashion between the sultān and the unsubjected body of the people.

The *shorfa* are thus at the head of Moroccan society. Some have assumed the power, others are the auxiliaries of the ruler, who in return shows them great deference. We shall see that they have occupied a very high place in the intellectual life of Morocco since the end of the middle ages. Lastly *sharīfism*, an important social factor, has been able still further to strengthen itself by the support which maraboutism has brought it, by incorporating itself in it, and the religious brotherhoods which very frequently spring directly from it.

2. *Survivals of Berber cults.* The cult of saints, accepted and even recognised, as we have seen above, by Islām, is in Morocco much earlier than the introduction of this religion. Indeed, alongside of saints of note, there are others who are essentially popular, in the country as well as in the towns. In the large cities like Fās, the great *saiyids* venerated by all classes of society rub shoulders with humble marabouts whose names show clearly their popular origin; these are Sidi 'I-Mukhlī (Rev. the Hidden One), Sidi Amza 'I-Khair (Rev. Good Evening) or Sidi Kādī Hādja (the reverend gentleman who procures what is wanted) and notices are given of them by hagiographers like the author of the *Salawat al-Anṣār* (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chorfā*,

p. 383 *infra*). The humble, often anonymous *sharīfs*, which abound in Morocco, undoubtedly are to be connected with earlier mythical individuals, already worshipped in the same place before the coming of Islām. Besides this devotion to popular saints, there are the animistic cults, which we see everywhere in Morocco observed by the lower classes of the population: worship of high places, of caves, springs, trees and rocks. These cults are now being seriously studied and the results will perhaps enable us to reconstruct without too great risk of error, the type of religion practised by the Berbers before the introduction into their land of the three great monotheistic religions.

It is hardly possible to separate from these animistic cults that of Mawlāi Yaḥyā in Morocco, who always has a *ḥubb* beside thermal springs whose curative virtues are recognised.

Survivals of paganism in every case completely foreign to orthodox Islām may be found everywhere in Morocco; they are hardly distinguishable from what one finds in other parts of Barbary. The rites which accompany birth and the ceremonies connected with it (giving of the name and circumcision), marriage and death are now beginning to be well known. They constitute practices quite foreign to the prescriptions of the Sunna but they are not regarded by those who follow them as in any way heterodox.

It is especially in the life of the country people that we see most clearly traces of pre-Islamic practices. Many of them are strangely like agricultural customs of the Romans. The Moroccan peasant has retained the use of the Julian calendar, no doubt introduced into the country by the Romans; it is of course much more suitable for the needs of agriculture than the Muslim lunar calendar. The names of the months are retained in their Latin form with little change: January is *yennār* from the Latin *ianuar(ius)*. The beginning of the solar year in Morocco is the occasion of a festival celebrated, especially in the country, under the name of *ḥaḡḡa*; the festival of the summer solstice (*amra*) is also celebrated and on that day it is usual to have fireworks. Similarly the agrarian rites, which are still scrupulously observed by the peasants of Morocco, are completely foreign to the canonical prescriptions of Islām. They are mainly ceremonies of inauguration (of death and rebirth of the land, first day of labour, first day of harvest); rites to protect the crops from the evil eye, or to preserve the *ḥaraka* which they contain while standing, finally special rites to secure rain and good weather. These various ceremonies, to which ethnographers like Biarnay and Westermarck have already devoted detailed studies to which the reader may be referred, are sometimes closely linked up with ceremonies prescribed by Islām; thus the different pagan rites for producing rain (carnival processions, a large spoon dressed in women's clothes and solemnly carried round) do not exclude the worship of saints specially noted as rain-makers like Mawlāi Būḥaḡta, nor the celebration of the orthodox ceremony of *ṭarīḡā*.

It is also in the worship of spirits (*ḡinn*, pop. *ḡinn*, plur. *ḡinnūn*) that we find ceremonies of a strongly Islamic stamp associated with quite profane rites. This cult is especially practised by the lower classes of society, and in the towns

particularly by women. The djinns are regarded as supernatural powers, who have to be conciliated to avert their evil influence or fought when one is attacked by them. The rites which deal with them are either propitiatory or intended to overcome harm done. In spite of the many sacred formulae of Islam, which are found in the celebration of these two kinds of rites, one gets a strong impression of paganism from them; they undoubtedly remain practically what they were before the introduction of Islam into Morocco.

Bibliography: For the general bibliography of Morocco down to 1891 cf. R. L. Playfair and R. Brown, *A Bibliography of Morocco from the earliest times to the end of 1891*, London 1893. A very complete annual bibliography of Morocco has been given since 1921 in *Hespéris*, publ. by the Institut des Hautes-Études Marocaines de Rabat (bibliography begun by MM. P. de Cenival and C. Funck-Brentano). Cf. also the learned and the popular periodicals dealing with Morocco, *Archives Marocaines*, *Archives Berbères*, *Hespéris*, *l'Afrique française*, *France-Maroc*, *Bulletin de l'Enseignement public au Maroc*; also the monographs of the *Section Sociologique du Maroc* entitled *Villes et tribus du Maroc*. — Here we shall only give in alphabetical order the essential works dealing with sections iii., iv., v. and vi.; E. Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1907; H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920; do., *Le Culte des Grottes au Maroc*, Algiers 1920; do. and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chilla, une nécropole mûrénide*, Paris 1923 (iv., legends and cultes); A. Bel, *Comp d'ail sur l'Islam en Berbérie*, Paris 1920; A. Bernard, *Le Maroc*, Paris 1921; do. and P. Moussard, *Arabophones et berbérophones au Maroc*, in *Annales de Géographie*, Paris 1924, p. 267—282; S. Biatnay, *Notes d'ethnographie et de linguistique nord-africaines*, Paris 1924; J. Bourtilly and E. Laoust, *Stèles funéraires marocaines*, Paris 1927; R. Brunel, *Essai sur la confrérie religieuse des Aissoua au Maroc*, Paris 1926; L. Brunot, *La mer dans les traditions et les industries indigènes à Rabat et Salé*, Paris 1921; Budgett Meakin, *The land of the Moors*, London 1901; do., *The Moors*, London 1902; do., *Life in Morocco*, London 1905; O. Depont and J. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1867; E. Doutté, *Notes sur l'Islam maghrébin*, *Les Morabouls*, Paris 1900; do., *Merrakech*, Paris 1905; do., *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909; do., *En tribu*, Paris 1914; J. Drummond Hay, *Le Maroc et ses tribus nomades*, Paris 1844; J. Erckmann, *Le Maroc moderne*, Paris 1885; de Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc (1883—1884)*, Paris 1888; Gaillard, *Une ville de l'Islam: Fès*, Paris 1905; M. Gaudfroy-Demombynes and L. Mercier, *Manuel d'arabe marocain*, Paris n.d. (introduction); J. Goulsen, *Les Mellahs de Rabat-Salé*, Paris 1927; G. Hardy and L. Brunot, *L'enfant marocain*, Paris 1925; L. Justiniard, *Les Chleuh de la banlieue de Fès*, in *Revue Études Islamiques*, Paris 1928, p. 477—480; E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères*, Paris 1920; do., *Noms et cérémonies des feux de joie chez les Berbères du Haut et de l'Anti-Atlas*, in *Hespéris*, Paris 1921; N. Larras, *La population du Maroc*, in *la Géographie*, Paris 1906, p. 337—348;

Doctoresse Légey, *Essai de folklore marocain*, Paris 1926; do., *Contes et légendes populaires du Maroc*, Paris 1926; A. R. de Lens, *Pratiques des Harems marocains*, Paris 1925; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chérifs*, Paris 1922; do., *Notes d'ethnographie marocaine*, Paris 1920; G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XI^{ème} au XIV^{ème} siècles*, Paris 1913; L. Massignon, *Le Maroc dans les premières années du XV^{ème} siècle*, *Tableau géographique d'après Léon l'Africain*, Algiers 1906; do., *Enquêtes sur les corporations musulmanes d'artisans et de commerçants au Maroc*, Paris 1925; E. Michaux-Bellaire, *Maroc*, in *Nouveau Dictionnaire de Pédagogie*, Paris 1911, p. 1230—1240; do., *Les Confréries religieuses au Maroc*, Rabat 1923; do., *Conférences (A. M., vol. xviii.)*, Paris 1928; do., in *Archives Marocaines*, *passim*; L. Milliot, *Les terres collectives au Maroc*, Paris 1922; do., *Démembrements du Habous*, Paris 1918; E. Moutet, *Les confréries religieuses de l'Islam marocain*, Paris 1902; do., *Le culte des saints dans l'Afrique du Nord et plus spécialement au Maroc*, Genova 1909; A. Moulières, *Le Maroc inconnu*, Oran-Paris 1895—1899; S. Nouvel, *Nomades et sédentaires au Maroc*, Paris 1919; P. Odinet, *Le monde marocain*, Paris 1926; M. L. Ortega, *Los Hebreos en Marruecos*, Madrid 1919; V. Piquet, *Le Maroc*, Paris 1920; do., *Le groupe marocain*, Paris 1925; Quadenfeldt, *Division et répartition de la population berbère au Maroc* (transl. Simon), Algiers 1904; P. Ricard, *Maroc (Guides Bleus)*, Paris 1919; *Rif et Jbala*, Paris 1926; G. Salmon, in *Archives marocaines*, *passim*; de Segonzac, *Au cœur de l'Atlas, Missions au Maroc (1903—1905)*, Paris 1910; N. Sloucha, *Étude sur l'histoire des Juifs au Maroc*, Paris 1905; do., *Hébreux-Phéniciens et Juifs-Berberes*, Paris 1908; Ubach and Rackow, *Sitte und Recht in Nordafrika*, Stuttgart 1923; T. H. Weir, *The Shaikhs of Morocco*, Edinburgh, 1904; E. Westermarck, *Sul culto dei santi nel Marocco*, Rome 1899 (XII^{ème} Congrès Int. Or., vol. iii., part I., p. 151—178); do., *Marriage ceremonies in Morocco*, London 1914 (Fr. transl. by J. Arin, *Les cérémonies du mariage au Maroc*, Paris 1921); do., *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, London 1926. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL and G. S. COLIN)

VII. LINGUISTIC SURVEY.

Two languages are spoken in Morocco: Berber and dialects of Arabic. Berber is the oldest language attested in Morocco and we have no evidence of an earlier language being used; as to Arabic, it was introduced by the Muslim conquest of the viiith and viiith centuries. But until the arrival in Morocco of the Banu Hilal and of the Sulaim (xith century), it seems that Arabic, the language of an essentially urban culture, was spoken mainly in the towns while the country people continued to talk Berber; it was only after the occupation of the plains by the Arab tribes that their language spread there. With the exception of the region of the Jbala to be mentioned later, the highlands of Morocco alone have remained faithful to the Berber language, while the towns and lowlands are at the present day almost completely Arabic speaking.

In his *Annuaire du Monde Musulman* (p. 162) L. Massignon gives a proportion of 60% of Berber speakers (3,200,000 to 2,200,000). A. Bernard

thinks this exaggerated and reduces it to 40% (cf. *Arabophones et Berbérophones au Maroc*, 1924, p. 278).

A. Berber.

1. Berber dialects. According to the works of E. Destaing, the Berber dialects of Morocco can be divided into two main groups.

The first is the northern group which includes the dialects of the Rif, those of the Bni Znâsen and of the Berber speaking tribes of the neighbourhood and those of the Ait Seghrâshshen, Marmûgha, Ait Warain etc. to the north of the Middle Atlas. These dialects are characterised phonetically by their strong tendency to spirantisation of the dentals and palatals. In comparing these dialects with those which in Algeria the natives call *Znâtiya*, E. Destaing has been led to describe the group as the group of *Zanâta* dialects.

The second or southern group includes, according to the same author, the remainder of the Berber dialects of Morocco; he distinguishes two sub-groups:

a. that of the *Tamasight*, the dialect spoken by the Brâber of the Central Atlas, from the vicinity of Meknes to the edge of the Great Atlas; the dialects of the north are also distinguished from those of the south. It is with this sub-group that we should connect the dialect of the *Sanhâdja* d-es-Srâir, an important highland confederation to the northeast of Fâs, and perhaps also the language of the sections of the *Ghumâra* who still speak Berber.

b. Sub-group of the *Tashtit*, the dialect once spoken by the Maqmûda of the Great Atlas and by the Shlûh (usual French orthography: *Chleuh*) of Sûs and the Anti-Atlas.

The three groups of Moroccan Berber dialects seem to correspond very exactly to the three main ethnic divisions of the Berbers of the country: *Zanâta* in the N.E., *Sanhâdja-Zanaga* in the centre and *Maqmûda* in the south. Going back to the old division of the Berbers given by Ibn Khaldûn, E. Destaing proposes to make the first group correspond to the Butr tribes and the two others to the Barânîs tribes.

For the bibliography of Berber studies see the list of works given by E. Lanoat at the beginning of his *Mots et Choses Berbères*, Paris 1920, p. xvii; since that date see the Moroccan bibliography annually published by *Herpès*. A map showing the division of Morocco between Arabic and Berber is given in the articles by A. Bernard and P. Mousard, *Arabophones and Berbérophones au Maroc* (in *Annales Soc. Gêogr.*, vol. 33, Paris 1924). For the north, there is a more accurate map by R. Montagne and Pennès published at the end of the *Manuel de berbère marocain (dialecte rifain)* by Justinaud (Paris 1926).

There is no evidence of the existence of another language before Berber in Morocco. Very few of those "Libyan" inscriptions have been found which, although they are not yet read, are admitted to be in old Berber; one was found in the Roman ruins of Tamuda, a few miles S.W. of Tetuân, and is preserved in the museum of the latter town. Other Libyan inscriptions have been found in the region of PelliJean.

The earliest evidence of the use of Berber in Morocco is given by the *Geography* of al-Bakrî (xth century) who says that the prophet Hâ-Mim, killed

in 927 A.D., had given the Berbers a *Kur'ân* written "in their own language". This can only refer to their Berber speech; the same author tells us that the *Baraghwâta* had also a Berber *Kur'ân* from their prophet Sâlih (d. in 750). For the beginning of the Almohad period, a passage in *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, p. 67, says that at this time Berber was spoken on the Umm Rabi'. It is in the same work that we find the earliest recorded phrases in Moroccan Berber (*Tashtit* dialect) transcribed in Arabic characters (cf. p. 26, 30, 36, 38, 39, 67, 117).

Ibn Khaldûn seems to have been the first to interest himself in the creation of a scientific system of transliteration of Berber into Arabic characters. Using certain graphic methods used by specialists in *tafwid*, he invented compound characters to render sounds peculiar to Berber (g, f [f emphatic] and 3). Unfortunately Ibn Khaldûn, who in his *Muqaddima* gives interesting chapters on the urban and Beduin Arabic dialects, does not seem to have devoted any attention to the Berber language; one of the few passages to be noted in his book, as far as Morocco is concerned, is his reference to the existence of Berber speaking peoples among the *Sanhâdja* tribes settled in the valley of the Wargha and around the fortress of Amargh (cf. *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, text, I, p. 273, l. 11). For the beginning of the xvth century, Leo Africanus (p. 28) gives us more detailed information. The five Berber ethnic groups (*Sanhâdja*, *Maqmûda*, *Zanâta*, *Hawwâra* and *Ghumâra*) have a special language which they call *uqel amarig* (= *awil amarig*), i.e. "noble language" (cf. the present name of the *Tamasight* dialect) (ed. Schefer, i.). Berber was still the language of a part of the *Ghumâra*, for, he says, Arabic is used by almost all the people (op. cit., i. 29). It even looks as if the *Shâwiya* ("Soava") of the Tîmasân still spoke Berber ("African language") like all the other *Shâwiya* of North Africa with the exception of some who lived to the south of Tunis (op. cit., i. p. 83).

We have to come down to the Danish Consul G. Host, in the xviiith century, to find the first Moroccan Berber vocabulary collected from a *fâlek* of "Tamenari", a place probably in the region of Agadir (cf. *Efterretninger om Marokko og Fes*, Copenhagen 1779, p. 128-133).

2. Berber literature of Morocco. Although Berber was the language of the Moroccan dynasties who followed between the Idriids and the Sa'dians, it does not seem that, contrary to what was done in Egypt for the Turkish of the Mamlûks, Berber was made the subject of grammatical studies in Morocco, nor that it was used for the purpose of literary expression. A passage in the *Kur'ân* recalls the fact that *khutbas* were pronounced in Berber in the great mosque of Fâs but the text of them has not been preserved. The celebrated Almohad reformer Ibn Tûmart is said to have composed in Berber theological and legal treatises which have now disappeared. The Berber *Kur'âns* of the *Ghumâra* and *Baraghwâta* have also disappeared although al-Bakrî has fortunately preserved some extracts in an Arabic translation. The only texts which we now have are translations or commentaries on religious works of the type of the *Risâla* of al-Kairawân or of the *Mashâwar* of Khallî; all these Berber texts come without exception from Sûs, whether because this region

had a more advanced culture or its dialect with a more occlusive consonant system and clearer vowel system was better suited than others for transcription in the Arabic alphabet. The Moroccan Berbers have a large stock of fables, legends, songs of love, war and work etc., many of which have already been collected by French and German students of Berber (on Berber literature, written and oral cf. Henri Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920).

Among Arab authors the Berber language is *ʿaḡamiya*, the non-Arab language; *barbariya*, Berber; *rafāʿa*, "jargon"; in the *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade* we several times come across the expression *al-lisān al-gharbi*, "the Moroccan language". In Moroccan Arabic, Berber is usually called *ash-shilha*.

B. Arabic.

The Arabic dialects. The Arabic language was introduced into Morocco in at least two stages: first in the eighth century at the time of the first Muslim conquest, then in the 11th at the coming of the Banū Hilāl and the Sulaim. Down to the coming of the latter, who were brought to Morocco by the Almohad ruler Yaḥyā al-Manṣūr, Arabic seems to have been spoken almost exclusively in the large towns of the north, where it was used by a considerable Arab population who enjoyed a double prestige, religious and political. It was the language of religion and law. From the towns Arabic spread among the people of the surrounding country, and al-Idrīsī (*Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, text p. 79, transl. p. 90) already notes that in the 11th century the Berber tribes of the southern hinterland of Fās (Banū Yūsuf, Fandalāwa, Bahlūl, Zawāwa, Maggāsa, Ghayāta and Salālgūn) spoke Arabic.

It is this linguistic influence exerted by the towns on the country around them that explains the arabisation of the mountainous country of the Jbāla (plur. of *jibla*, "highlander") while the rest of the Moroccan highlands remained Berber speaking. The land of the Jbāla, in the wide sense, stretches in the form of a crescent from Tangier to Taza. It was surrounded by a cordon of towns: Nakūr, Bādis, Tigiāsa, Tetwān, Ceuta, al-Ḳaṣr al-Saghīr, Tangier, Arrīla, al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr, Hayra, Azdjen, Banū Tāwudā, Walīl, Fās, and Taza, which were the only ports or markets available for the tribes of the region; besides, the massif itself was traversed by the most important commercial routes of Northern Morocco: the roads from Fās to Tangier, to Ceuta, to Bādis, to Nakūr and to Ghassāsa; it was therefore natural that being subject to the direct and indirect influences of the towns, the highlands of Jbāla should be the first region of Morocco to be arabised. The process was further favoured by several other factors: 1. the existence in the mountains of numerous large villages, almost towns, which became secondary centres of Qurʾānic culture; 2. the settlement almost everywhere in the 11th century among the Jbāla of Idrīsīd sharifs who, driven from Fās by Mūsā b. Abī l-ʿĀfiya al-Miknās, founded independent principalities in the mountains, which became centres of Muslim urban culture; 3. the tribes of the Jbāla furnished a considerable part of the contingents which went to wage the holy war in Spain and returned home after being more or less arabised by contact with the great Muslim towns of Andalus; 4. lastly the rebellions and civil wars

which so frequently disturbed Muslim Spain, the emigrations or expulsions caused by the progress of the Christian reconquest, brought to Africa, from the rising at Cordova (in 814) down to the 15th century, an important element which settled in the region of the Jbāla either in the towns around the mountains or in the villages of the highlands (settlement of Tetwān, foundation of Shafshāwan) bringing there along with the Arabic language, the prestige of their cultural, intellectual and material superiority.

This rapid sketch of the spread of the Arabic language in Morocco explains why, after studying the question, three categories of Arabic dialects have been distinguished:

a. Urban dialects; b. highland dialects; c. Beduin dialects; and we may add: d. the Jewish dialects.

a. Urban dialects. In Morocco not all the town dialects are "urban dialects". There are towns like Casablanca, Mazagan, Safi and Mogador (and to a certain degree Miknās and Marrākush) the population of which is entirely or for the most part of rural origin and where the absence of an old nucleus of town-dwellers has not enabled them to become urbanised. The Moroccans however distinguish quite clearly such places from towns with a really urban culture, more or less influenced by Andalusian culture. The principal towns with urban dialects are Fās, Rabat-Salé, Tetwān, Taza, al-Ḳaṣr al-Kabīr; Tangier, Wazzān and Shafshāwan also have urban dialects but these are much contaminated by the surrounding highland dialects. Miknās and Marrākush have been influenced by the Beduin elements introduced by the *maḥāzen* groups into the dialects of these two old capitals. It is interesting to note the case of Azemmūr where the old town (Azemmūr al-Hajar) has an urban dialect, while the new town, which has in recent years grown up beside it around the sanctuary of Mawīy Abū Shuʿaib (*ouïgo* Bu Shuʿaib), uses a Berber dialect. The urban dialects of Morocco form one group with those of the western part of the Central Maghrib, notably with those of Tlemcen, Nedroma and Algiers. Their phonetic characteristics are the loss of the interdental of the classical language, the affricative pronunciation (*r*) of *ṣ*, the frequent attenuation of *ḥāf* to *hamca*. In Fās, *h*, *m*, *z*, *g* and *ḡim* assimilate the *lām* of the article and are treated as "solars"; the simple *ḡim* is pronounced like the French *j* (= Persian *z*), but when it is geminated, it gives *ḡ* in Fās and *ḡ* in Tangier. The *ṣ* is often pronounced very close to the French uvular *r*.

As peculiarities of the dialect of Fās, we may note the construction *ketbetu* "she has written it" for *ketbet* + *a*, and the use of an invariable relative *di* representing the old dialectal *dhā*. Tangier and Tetwān have a preposition *u-*, "to" which is used before nouns (*med-dār* "to the house") but not before suffixed pronouns. To translate "of", Marrākush uses *u-*; the dialect of this town uses certain Berber adverbs: *uḡān* "because", *helli* "only".

All the urban dialects use the characteristic prefix of the present indicative: *ka-* in the north, *ta-* in the south. Fās uses one almost as much as the other.

A. Highland dialects. These are at least as well known as those of the towns. In 1920 I published notes on that of the Tsūl and the

Brânes in the north of Taza; in 1922, E. Lévi-Provençal published texts, prefaced by a grammatical sketch, of the dialects of the middle valley of the Wargha; since then I have had an opportunity of studying those of the Bni Hâmmar (near Tetuân), of the Mesâssa (near Bâdes) and of the Ghizwa (near Shafshâwan).

The highland dialects are of course more differentiated than the urban dialects. The tribes which use them belong to two political classes probably originally of different racial origin: the Ghumâra, the old inhabitants, and the Šanhâdja, the invaders. In the present state of our knowledge it does not seem possible to make the dialects coincide with political or racial boundaries; but we can nevertheless recognise two main groups of highland dialects:

1. The northern dialects, extending from the Straits of Gibraltar to the south of Shafshâwan and embracing in the east the confederation of the Ghumâra; 2. the southern dialects, from Wazzân to Taza, used by two great classes of tribes: first, the Šanhâdja tribes of the valley of the Wargha: Šanhâdja of the Central Wargha, Šanhâdja of the Sun and of the Shade, of Mošbâh and of Gheddo; secondly, the Butr tribes, more or less closely related to the Zanâta and occupying the lands north of the region of Taza: Mornin, Brânes, Taïl, Maghrâwa and Meknâsa. It seems to be a historical fact that these Zanâta and Šanhâdja peoples only settled in their present habitats long after the first Arab conquest; the Šanhâdja of the Central Wargha certainly now occupy lands which before the Almoravid period were peopled by the Ghumâra. We should therefore regard these southern highland dialects as younger than those of the northern group. The slight differences noted between the two groups may then be due to two main causes: 1. an evolution of the neighbouring urban dialects which would have taken place during the period between the arabicisation of the Ghumâra and that of the Šanhâdja-Zanâta; 2. the non-identity of the Berber substrata.

To the two main groups: Ghumâra and Šanhâdja-Zanâta, we may perhaps add two little islands in the south: the highlanders of the region of Sefrû to the south of Fâs (Bhâllil, Bni Yağha etc.), and the Ghîyyâta to the south of Taza; they probably constitute the last vestiges of a continuous Arabic-speaking bloc which stretched to the south of the Fâs-Taza corridor, the existence of which in the XIIIth century we know from al-Idrîsî.

Phonetically, the Moroccan highland dialects are characterised by the profound changes undergone by the Arabic consonantal system as a result of the spirantisation of the dental and post-palatal occlusives. We find the interdentalals *ṭh* and *ḏh*, which do not represent the classical interdentalals; *ṭh*-*ṭhâ* and *ḏh*-*ḏhâ* have given in these dialects *t* and *d* respectively, which remain occlusive only at the beginning of the word or after a consonant or geminated; but after a vowel we have *ṭh* and *ḏh*: *ḥent* "daughter", plur. *ḥuṭṭh*; after a vowel also *kṣf* is pronounced as a spirant like the *χ* of modern Greek. The representative of the group *ṣḥ* of the classical language is usually *ṣ*, sometimes hardened to *ṣ̣*; but among the Ghumâra we have *ṣh* (= emphatic *ṣḥ*). The sound *ṭh* is fairly common. The short vowels are commoner than in the towns; many of the short vowels *i*

and *u* of the classical language are preserved; this is how we find a considerable number of imperfects *iR*¹, *R*² *uR*² and a few *iR*¹, *R*² *iR*².

As to morphology, the fem. personal suffixes *-a* (<-*ā*) and pl. *-im* (<-*ām*) are characteristic: they are the complement of the series begun by the masc. *-u*, *-u* (<-*ū*). Among the northern Jhâla we find the use of a suffix *-ā* marking the plural: it seems really to be a borrowing from Latin. The dual, reserved for names of parts of the body which occur in pairs and for names of various measurements (of weight, length, volume and time) is in *-ayn*: *ṣḥāṣayn* "two months", *yiddāh* "his hands". The relative, pronoun and adjective, is *d*. The classical construct state (*idāfa*) is very rare and is only found in a few stereotyped phrases; it is in general replaced by analytical constructions in which the preposition *d* "of" is used, expressing possession as well as the material of a thing.

Almost everywhere the prefixes of the 2nd pers. com. and of the 3rd pers. fem. of the aorist are *te-* (and not *ta-*): *ṭektek* "thou writest, she writes". The passive participle of hollow verbs is often of the type *meṣṣāl*: *meṣṣūl* "sold", *meṣṣūm* "filled up". Finally we may note a few traces of a passive of the form *fāṭ-yefāl*: *ṭāṭ* "to be taken". As evidence of conservatism, we may mention that in these dialects we have the word *fā* "mouth" which seems to have disappeared since old Arabic.

Just as the urban dialects of Morocco may be linked with a number of urban dialects of Algeria, so have the highland dialects of Morocco correspondents in the latter country. W. Marçais, who is the first to have isolated and described this group of Maghribi dialects and prefers to use the name of "parlers villageois" for them, classes along with the dialects of the Moroccan Jhâla two other similar groups, also characterised by the defacement of the Arabic consonant system (liquidation, affrication, spirantisation), by the use of turns of syntax and structural forms taken from Berber and by the juxtaposition in the vocabulary of Arabic elements sometimes strangely archaic and very abundant Berber elements. These are firstly the Oran group of the Trâra in the country which extends from Lalla Maghniya to the sea, a mountainous country traversed by the roads connecting Tlemcen, the capital of the Baou 'Abd al-Wad, with the ports of Hunain and Arghân. It is with the dialects of the Trâra that the dialects of these Moroccan Jhâla show most agreement.

The second group, which differs more, is that of the highland dialects of Eastern Kabylia, a mountainous region of the department of Constantine, traversed by the roads connecting Constantine with the ports of Djidjelli and Collo; this was also the old habitat of the Kutâma, whom their support of the Fatimid movement must have caused to be rapidly arabicised. Alongside of these three groups of highland dialects (Jhâla, Trâra, Eastern Kabylia), W. Marçais classes a fourth in the villages of the Tausian Sâhel, which lie in the coast zone traversed by the roads which connect Kairouân with the ports of Sûs, Maâdiya and Monastir. These Tunisian dialects, of which that of Takrûna, studied by W. Marçais, is a specimen, are however much arabicised and hardly seem to have been subjected in their phonetics, morphology, syntax and vocabulary to the profound

Berber influences which characterise the first three groups.

In spite of their divergencies, which are due mainly to pronunciation and to the local use of words and phrases corresponding to two very distinct forms of culture, the urban dialects and the highland dialects cannot be either historically or linguistically separated. The fundamental disparity is that which exists between the urban and highland group and the Beduin group. It is the townsmen who have taught the highlanders to speak Arabic, but the urban dialects, used by individuals whose intellectual activity is greater, have evolved more rapidly. They are also more sensitive to external influence, literary and political. These facts added to the predominance of Berber blood in the highlands suffice to explain why the dialects of the jibla still seem coarse and quaint to the townsmen. On the other hand, the towns have been frequently repopulated, wholly or in part by people from the neighbouring hills. All this explains the family resemblance which the linguist finds between the dialects of the towns and those of the hills; perhaps the latter, being more conservative, are also the more interesting for the history of the language. W. Marçais regards them as valuable representatives of the Arabic spoken in the country district of the Maghrib before the coming of the Banū Hilāl and the Sulaim (cf. W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takrouna*, vol. I, preface, p. xxviii.).

The principal features which are common to the urban-highland group and which distinguish it from the Beduin group are the following:

- loss of the classical interdentals;
- pronunciation of *ḥāf* as *ḥ* or *hamza* (and not *g* as among the Beduins);
- tendency to the syllabic grouping *R¹ R²* *R³*, when *R²* is not a laryngeal nor a sonant;
- rarity of the construct state;
- suffix of the 3rd pers. masc. sing. in -u, -o (and not -ā, as among the Beduins);
- relative rarity of the addition of personal suffixes, but regular use of the analytical phrase with *dyāl*: *ra-dūr dyāl-l*, "my house";
- diminutive of *R¹ R² R³* becomes *R¹ R² iyye R³*: *ḥiyyeb*, "little dog";
- diminutive of adjectives of the types *R¹ R² R³* (< class.: *af'al*) and *R¹ R² R³* becomes *R¹ R² R³ R⁴*: *ḥimier*, "a little red"; *ḥiḥer*, "a little large";
- plural of the adjectives *R¹ R² R³* (< class.: *af'al*) becomes *R¹ R² R³ R⁴*: *ḥiḥal*, "black" (plur.);
- reductions of the plurals *C¹ C² C³ C⁴* to *C¹ C² C³ C⁴*: *af'alak*, "keys";
- use of a verbal prefix to mark the indicative present: *ta-* or *tu-* in the towns and *ta-*, *tu-*, *u-* in the hills;
- in the singular of the perfect, the feminine possessive is in general used for the masculine: e.g. *ḥiḥbi*, "thou hast written" (m.), whence we find in Rabat for the plural, an analogous form *ḥiḥbiḥ*, "you have written";
- in the vocabulary, *ḥiḥal*, "how much"; *ḥiḥa*, "now"; *ḥiḥ* (or *ḥiḥ*), "to do", are characteristic;
- in the imperfect of the defective verbs, the plural is formed on analogy of the singular: *yuhḥim*, "they remain"; *yuhḥim*, "they weep".

4. *Beduin dialects.* These are in Morocco the dialects of the plains: the Atlantic plain from Azila to Mogador with its continuations into the interior, the valley of the Mulḥya, the plateaus of eastern Morocco and the region of the Moroccan Sahara (Wād Gbir, Wād Ziz etc.); they are still little known; only that of the Hawwara of Sūs has been studied, but only in Europe and from authorities who had already travelled a good deal elsewhere. That of the Dukkāla of the north (Ulād Bz 'Asa, Ulād Frej), have myself examined it corresponds in almost all its details to the dialect of the Ulād Brthum of Saïda (Orania) on which W. Marçais has written a monograph. There is no doubt that on examination one can divide the Beduin dialects into groups characterised by more or less conservatism; should those of the Maḥil perhaps be separated from those of the Banū Hilāl? Perhaps a distinction should also be made between the dialects of the purely Arab tribes and those of the Atlantic regions where powerful Berber tribes (Hāba, Rāgrā, Dukkāla, Barmghwā) have been arabicised and more or less submerged by the Beduins. It should be remembered that in the historical period the latter have been infinitely less stable than the tribes of Berber origin (speaking Arabic or Berber); whether because they were taken to form the *gizā*, which guards each large town (environs of Fās, Meknes, Rabat-Sale and Marrāknish) or because they were transported far from their original homes as a measure of repression (case of the Shūfāda), the Arab tribes of the Atlantic plains have become much broken up and mixed. The Beduin dialects which have most chance of having preserved their original character are those of the tribes of the Saharan steppes who have remained relatively stable and intact: Bni Gil, Mhūya, Iḥwi Maḥ, Ulād Iḥri etc. In any case, the following are the main characteristics of these dialects: firstly the *ḥāf* is pronounced as *g* (= *ḥāf muḥḥāda*), and it is already this pronunciation which for Ibn Khaldūn characterises the Beduin dialects of his time. The *ḥāf*, *ḥiḥ* and *ḥiḥ-ḥiḥ* are retained with their interidental value. The short vowels are indistinct: the sound *i* is almost completely absent and many short unaccented vowels sound practically like a labial *e*. Characteristic are the appearance of an extremely short transitional vowel of a character, which is developed after *k*, *g*, *ḥ* and *ḥ* placed before a consonant or an *ā*; e.g. *ḥiḥer*, "great" (plur.), *ḥiḥed*, "he sits down", *ḥiḥḥa*, "tale", *ḥiḥḥi*, "gazelle", *ḥiḥḥa*, "saddle-bag", *ḥiḥḥi*, "thin" (plur.); a similar sound is found after *ḥ*, *ḥ*, *ḥ* and *ḥ*, e.g. *ḥiḥḥi*, "the crows", *ḥiḥḥi*, "a blow", *ḥiḥḥi*, "pomegranate", *ḥiḥḥi*, "sugar", *ḥiḥḥi*, "piece (of cloth)", *ḥiḥḥi*, "sound"; by analogy the combinations *ḥiḥ* and *ḥiḥ* when the *ḥ* corresponds to a classical *ḥiḥ*, are reduced to *ḥiḥ* and *ḥiḥ*; e.g. *ḥiḥḥi*, "the (little) place", *ḥiḥḥi*, "the entrails".

The retention of the accent on the first syllable causes "projected" syllabic forms: *ḥiḥḥi*, "he writes", plur. *ḥiḥḥiḥ*; *ḥiḥḥiḥ*, "Moroccan", *ḥiḥḥiḥ*, "musket", *ḥiḥḥiḥ*, "my cow".

The personal suffix of the 3rd pers. masc. is -ā. The dialectal preposition translating "of" is *nā* or *nā*, from the classical *nā*; according as the word before it is feminine or plural, this preposition becomes *nā* (*nā*) or *nā* (*nā*).

It does not seem that the Beduin dialects know the use of the verbal prefix indicating the indicative present. In the plural personal forms of the defective verb, there is a reduction of the diphthong: *gā-jā-lā*, from the verb *glā* 'to fry'; *nā-jā-nā*, from the verb *nā* 'to target'.

We may also note the use of a preposition *la*, 'to': *gā-l-īm*, 'he told us'.

From the point of view of vocabulary, some words are characteristic of Beduin dialects: *dā-īlā*, 'to make, do', *la-īlā*, 'to wish', *yemā*, 'when', *yāmer*, 'yesterday', *dhārmā*, *dhārkā*, 'now', from the classical *dhā-l-waht*. We may add the particle *wāh* used to indicate interrogation: *wāh īdīf fān*, 'have you seen so and so?' and the phrase *mā lā-ā hīf*, 'he no longer comes'.

d. Jewish dialects. The Jews who emigrated from Spain have as a rule retained the use of an archaic Spanish; many have also learned Arabic for business reasons. Alongside of the Spanish Jews, we have in the Berber highlands and in the towns of the interior Moroccan Jews of unknown origin whom the former call *forasteros* (Span. 'foreigners'); according to the district, they speak Berber or Arabic, but in the towns their dialects have not yet been studied. They have a literature in an Arabic dialect written in Hebrew characters (and called, certainly wrongly: *Judaico-Arabic*): *piyyutim*, songs at family festivals (cf. Tadjouri, in *Hispania*, iii, 1923, p. 408-420), satirical songs and songs dealing with real happenings; some of these texts have been printed at Fes and Constantine; a newspaper written in an Arabic dialect and printed in Hebrew characters called *al-Hurriya* 'The Liberty' has been published at Tangier for a number of years.

e. Relations of the linguistic groups of Morocco to one another. Morocco appears to the philologist a wonderful field for the study of the influence of the substratum on an imported language, since the language of the substratum, i.e. Berber, is still alive alongside of the Arabic and quite well known. The results of the examination are very meagre: the phenomena actually ascribable to the action of the substratum alone are infinitesimal; this may, however, be due to the fact that Arabic, a Semitic language, and Berber, a proto-Semitic language, are not sufficiently differentiated.

From the phonetic point of view, there is hardly any sound change found in the highland dialects of the arabised Berbers, for which a corresponding change cannot be found in the dialectal phenomena of old Arabic; only, perhaps their tendency to spirantisation should be connected with the identical tendency observed in the northern Berber dialects found in the confines of the *ghāla* country.

If we consider the morphology, we see that in the highland dialects the verb has lost feminine forms of the plural of the old Arabic, which still survive in some Beduin dialects and are still found in Berber. A Berber origin has been sought for the use of the verbal prefix indicating the present of the indicative; but similar prefixes are found in Egypt and in Syria where there are very different substrata.

Certainly Berber is the scheme *ta*—*t* which forms nouns indicating trades (*ta-āmmā-t*, 'trade of a mason') and names of abstract qualities (*ta-āmmā-t*, 'roguey'); it is however curious to note

that in modern Berber, this scheme has not this significance and is only used to form the feminine and secondarily the diminutive.

In the syntax of the highland dialects, we find indispensable traces of Berber influence: plural treatment of singulars applied to liquids (water, urine), phrases translated or stereotyped, e.g. *ā-ā Kaddūr*, 'Kaddūr's brother', with retention of the Berber particle indicating belonging to, *ā-*.

But it is in the vocabulary that the Berber substratum makes its influence most felt. Whether surviving in the highland dialects or borrowed in the Beduin dialects, many of the terms relating to country life are Berber (names of plants, animals, rocks, agricultural implements and tools); they have often retained in Arabic the Berber pseudo-article *a*, which, still felt to have its original value, makes them unfit to take the Arabic article also; alongside of the singular in *a*, we usually have a Berber plural in *a-ā* also retained. It is curious by the way but intelligible to find in the highland dialects words of Arabic origin with the Berber article. These must be Arabic words borrowed and berberised at a time when the *ghāla* still spoke Berber and which have been retained just as they were in their Arabic dialect after being arabicised, e.g. *ā-āfir*, 'ditch', plur. *ā-āfirān*; in Tangier the nave of the mosque is called *ā-āhā*; at Rabat two words imported from Europe have a Berber form: *ā-āhāf*, 'the sultan's boat' and *ā-āy*, 'tea'.

Some Berber words have survived in the administrative language of the Mekhzen: *ā-āg*, 'a wall of cloth surrounding the sultan's camp'; *ā-āhā*, 'a pasture reserved for the sultan's animals'; *ā-āhā*, 'lash to punish the guilty'; *ā-āhā*, 'syndic (*naib*) of the *ghāla*'.

The Beduin dialects naturally contain much fewer Berber elements than the urban dialects and still less than the highland dialects; their rustic vocabulary nevertheless made numerous borrowings from the technical vocabulary of the previous Berber tillers of the plains.

Within the Arabic area, the highland and urban dialects have borrowed a certain number of terms relating to the rural activities of the Beduins; they are as a rule revealed by the pronunciation of *ā* as *g*. The Beduin dialects in their turn borrow from the towns their words relating to a more advanced culture; but, for economic, political and, to a certain extent, aesthetic reasons, they give more than they borrow.

Some words, which are used in the urban and highland dialects as well as by the Beduin dialects but are unknown to the Spanish and Maltese dialects, are perhaps of 'Hilālī' origin; the principal seem to be 'and', 'horse', 'half', 'boar' and *ā-āhāf*, 'to see'.

In addition to the Berber and Arabic elements, the Moroccan vocabulary contains a fairly important number of European loanwords. They come from the vocabulary of a higher culture and relate to the flora (in cultivation or its products), to agriculture, to food and dress, to furniture and housing, sometimes even to parts of the body. There are Greek or Latin borrowings of the oldest period, Romance or Spanish for later periods; but neither their meaning nor their phonetic treatment enables us always to be able to date accurately the time of their introduction and their origin.

These 'European' loanwords are naturally found in larger numbers in Northern Morocco, which

has been more subject to Mediterranean influences which, through refugees from Spain, have been felt as far as the northern part of the Middle Atlas. The Beduin dialects have escaped these influences (cf. 1. Simonet, *Glossaire de vocs berbères y latins mêlées entre les Marocains*, Madrid 1888; 2. Schuchardt, *Die romanischen Lehnwörter im Berberischen*, Vienna 1918; 3. G. S. Collin, *Étymologies magribines*, in *Herpès* [1926 and 1927]; 4. A. Fischer, *Zur Lautlehre des Marokkanisch-arabischen* [chap. II, III, and *Exkurs*], Leipzig 1917).

Between the two extremes marked by the most conservative Beduin dialects and the most characteristic highland dialects lies a whole gamut of intermediate varieties, which are in the transitional stages; they include the highland dialects whose characteristic features have been reduced through contact with the plains of the southern periphery of the massif of the Jbala, as well as certain dialects of Beduin type used in the Atlantic plains, notably in the non-*hadriya* towns. "But however extensive and deep may have been the interpenetration of the two types, it has not abolished their fundamental antithesis" (W. Marçais).

In spite of the profound differences which separate them, the highland and Beduin dialects of Morocco (and of the Maghrib) agree in one essential and characteristic morphological feature: the forms sing. *n—*, plur. *n—u* in the first persons of the aorist. Now this fact is attested in the 12th century for Almoravid Spain and Norman Sicily, i.e. in languages from which Hifali influence is clearly excluded; it is also found in Maltese; it must then be admitted that the two groups of dialects have independently brought about this innovation, which seems to have remained exceptional in the dialects of the east. The two groups agree also in the loss of short vowels in open syllables; this phonetic peculiarity is also found in many eastern dialects; but it is curious that it has become general in the Maghrib while the dialects of Spain and Egypt do not have it.

It is in the *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade* that we find the first information about Moroccan Arabic [use of *šūf*, "in order that", *utā*, "of", first persons of the aorist in *n—* (sing.), *n—u* (plur.)]; but we have to wait till D. de Torres to find a few phrases transcribed (cf. French transl., Paris 1636, p. 241, 323, 339). Moïette, who was captured at sea by the Moors in 1670 and was for a long time a prisoner, has left us a *Dictionnaire arabeque* in French and Moroccan, in transcription (cf. *Relation de la Captivité* . . . , Paris 1683, pp. 330—362). The first grammatical notes were collected by Host (cf. *Efterretninger* . . . , 1779, ch. 8, p. 202—210), who has also given us a Berber-Danish-Moroccan Arabic vocabulary (*op. cit.*, p. 128—133). It is to Fr. de Domlery that we owe the first monograph on Moroccan dialects, which is also the first serious contribution to the study of Arabic dialects, the dialect which he deals with is that of Tangier (*Grammatica linguae marro-arabicae*, Vindobonae 1800). Since then, there have been a number of studies; for works before 1911 see the bibliography given by W. Marçais in his *Textes arabes de Tanger*, p. 207—213; for later works see the bibliography in *Textes arabes de Rabat* by L. Brunot (now in the press).

2. Literature of the Arabic dialects. Like all popular literatures, the literature of the Arabic dialects of Morocco is essentially poetical. The

only tests in prose are those which have been collected recently by European students of dialects.

In the Arabic poetry of Morocco two periods must be distinguished: the first extending down to the beginning of the Sa'dian dynasty; the first known texts are those which Ibn Khaldūn gives at the end of his *Muqaddima* among the specimens of the poetry of the towns. To these we may add a mass of poems composed in honour of the Prophet (*Mawlidīyāt*) of which numerous collections exist in manuscript. Leo Africanus (ed. Schiefel, II, p. 130) says that under the Marinids, poets used to compose verses in "vulgar African" on the Mawlid and also on erotic subjects. These poems were recited in the presence of the sultan, who gave prizes to the winners of the competition. From this group cannot be separated the poems which accompany classical Moroccan music, "Andalusian" music, many of which must have been composed in Morocco; these were collected and classified by al-Hā'ik, a musician of Spanish origin who had settled in Tetuān. All these poems belonging to this first period are written in the Spanish Arabic dialect, which after the great success of the Cordovan Ibn Kuzmān (12th century) became the classical language of the new poetic genre called *andālī*, which had this in common with the *marroghīyāt* that, while employing like it new metres, its prosody was based like the classical metre on the quantity long or short of the syllables, but the *andālī* differed from the *marroghīyāt* in that it was written in the Spanish dialect and not in the classical language.

The main characteristics of the poetry of the Moroccan dialects of the first period are attention to the quantity of each syllable as in Latin and the use of the Spanish dialect.

The second period, on the other hand, is distinguished by a system of prosody founded exclusively on the number of syllables in each verse (as in French) and by the use of a special language called *malhūn*, a kind of *zawj* adapted to literary purposes, based on the Moroccan dialect but influenced partially by the Beduin dialects; it seems moreover that this poetry is of Beduin origin and it was under the beduinising dynasties of the Sa'dians and 'Alawids that it arose and flourished.

The first known author of a *ḥayā* written in *malhūn* appears in the 17th century: he was Abū Farīs 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Maghāwī, who was one of the poets of the Sa'dian Sultan al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī (1578—1602). His fame is still great and is preserved in the proverb: *Kull ḥayā ḥayā, ghān al-maghāwī* "Nothing that is long is of interest except the palm-tree and al-Maghāwī". Other poets followed him. It was at this time that the saint 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Maḥallūb al-Dukkālī (d. in 1569) wrote his mystic *ḥayā*, but many of the verses now attributed to him are apocryphal. After these we have the poets from Tiemsen, an important centre of *malhūn* poetry; first Sa'īd b. 'Abd. Allāh al-Mindās al-Tilmāsānī, author of the celebrated *Al-ḥayā*, who left his native town to live at the court of the first 'Alawid Sultan Muḥammad b. al-Sharīf (d. in 1664) and al-Raghib (d. in 1672); a pupil of al-Mindās, Ahmad b. al-Tarāki, banished from Tiemsen in 1672 by the Turks, also came to settle in Morocco among the Beni Znāsen. But we have to come down to the 18th and especially the 19th century for the coming of a whole school of poets writing in *malhūn*. The three principal centres of literary activity were Fās, Meknās and

Marrākush. The subjects treated are most varied: love poems, mystic, erotic and satirical (discussion between a white woman and a negress, between a townswoman and a Beduin woman etc.), political (on the occasion of the French conquest and the establishment of the protectorate), didactic (manufacture of powder, target-shooting, falconry) poems or burlesques (parodies of *Khūṭ* has declaimed by the students at their fêtes).

Among the numerous authors we may mention: Si Maḥammad b. Sulaimān, Si al-Tihāmī al-Madaghrī, al-Qundūz, al-Hunhū; we owe humorous *ḳasidas* to Si al-Madani al-Turkumānī of Marrākush; Si Ḳaddūr al-'Alamī buried at Meknes specialised in mystical and ethical poetry. The Darḳṣwī Maḥammad al-Harrāṣī of Tetwān (d. 1845) also wrote mystical *ḳasidas* in *melhūn* which are collected at the end of the lithographed edition of his *Diwān* (Tunis 1331; Fās, n.d.). At the beginning of the 19th century, al-Sa'dani of Fās was composing political *ḳasidas*.

Melhūn poetry has completely replaced poetry in the Spanish dialect; it constitutes a very vigorous branch of literature, much in favour with all classes of society; we frequently find almost illiterate authors, and people say that their talent is a poetic gift given by God (*mawhūb*); on the other hand, even the rulers have not disdained this popular poetry and one of the last 'Alawid Sultān, Mawlay 'Abd al-Hafīz, wrote numerous *ḳasidas* in *melhūn* which have been collected in a *Diwān* lithographed at Fās.

Alongside of this men's poetry, there are the songs of the women (songs of women working at the mill, songs of gleaners, songs of family fêtes, lullabies), the children's songs which are often strangely conservative, epigrams and proverbs [cf. A. Fischer, *Das Liederbuch eines marokkanischen Singers*, Leipzig 1918; C. Sonneck, *Chants arabes du Maghreb*, Paris 1902 (Nos. 5, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 24, 84, 85, 88, 89, 94-97, 115 and 116 are Moroccan); E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un chant populaire religieux du Djebel Marrocain*, in *Revue Africaine*, 1918; H. de Castries, *Les poèmes de Sidi 'Abd er-Rahman al-Midjedoub*, Paris 1896; on the poetry *melhūn* in general, cf. Abū 'Alī al-Ḥawthī, *Ḳaṣf al-Ḳinā' 'an 'Alā' al-Simā'*, Algiers 1904, p. 49-93; S. Blarnay, *Notes d'ethnographie et de linguistique nord-africaine*, Paris 1924 (songs of women and children); L. Brunot, *Proverbes et dictons arabes de Rabat*, in *Hispania*, 1928 (with Moroccan bibliography of the subject).

III. Other Languages. A sketch of the languages of Morocco which only took account of Berber and Arabic dialects would be incomplete, for three other elements of secondary importance have to be considered:

a. Classical Arabic, the official language is used only in writing, for sermons, lectures and conferences; it is never the language of conversation. But as religious studies are considerably developed in the towns (especially Fās) and also among the *jbāla* (Kur'anic studies and especially *ḥifẓ*), many words of classical Arabic have been introduced into the popular dialect by the educated classes. The phonetic peculiarity to notice in borrowed classical words is the retention of the short vowels of the classical language, as a result of the process of elongation; e.g. classical *ḡalīṭ*, plur. *ḡalāṭ*, "decree of the sultan", borrowed by the popular dialect in the form *ḡālīṭ*, whence a

dialect plural *ḡālāṭ*. Several Kur'anic expressions or phrases of exegesis hence passed into everyday language as adverbs: *ḡalāṭi* "guilty" (taken from Kur'an vi, 153), *ḡalāṭi* "slowly", lit. "in commenting on", *ḡalāṭi* "perhaps". Morocco, as a whole being little arabicised, seems incapable of borrowing a part of the classical vocabulary and adapting it to its own dialect. Its borrowings from classical Arabic almost always look like borrowings from a foreign language.

β. Spanish was the only language spoken by many of the Muslims of Spain, who in the 17th century and especially in the 18th took refuge in Morocco, mainly at Tetwān and Rabat-Sale. Mouette, who was taken a prisoner to Morocco in 1670, says that Spanish was as common there as Arabic; his remark is probably true only of the towns already mentioned. The descendants of these emigrants from Spain later learned Arabic and forgot Spanish, under the influence of Islamic culture. Not having been subject to the latter influence, the Jews of Spanish origin still speak an archaic Spanish, sprinkled with Arabic terms moulded to the flexions of Latin morphology.

γ. At the present day, in the palace of the sultan, many servants of both sexes still speak Sidiense dialects, but these seem to have had no influence on the Arabic dialects of Morocco. No trace has so far been found of the existence in Morocco of secret languages; one could hardly put in this category the argots of certain guilds (butchers) nor those of the students, the originality of which consist simply in transposing certain letters of each word of the ordinary language and in the addition of certain prearranged syllables.

(GEORGES S. COLIN)

VIII. INTELLECTUAL LIFE.

More especially since the end of the middle ages, Morocco has occupied a place by itself, often important, in the history of Muslim civilisation. From the point of view of intellectual life, it was for long under the tutelage, more or less marked, of neighbouring countries, and it was only from the time it became an independent state with well-defined frontiers that it began to show independence in this respect also. The great activity at the centres of learning in Arab Spain down to the end of the 13th century had undoubtedly an influence in Morocco, but it was after the return of the Iberian Peninsula to Christianity, that, owing to the migration of refugees from Spain to Morocco, where there happened to be ruling princes anxious to further Islamic studies, it was able to preserve the last and only centres of study in the Muslim west. In any case, in spite of the relatively large number of scholars which it has produced in various branches of *ʿilm*, this country is far from having inherited in the eyes of the rest of Islam the reputation and intellectual prestige, which Spain enjoyed when it was a Muslim country. However, it may be said that the towns of Morocco have always held in recent centuries a large proportion of men of letters, much attached to their traditional culture. Lastly, it may be noted that this culture, to the end of the 19th century at least, never allowed the slightest place for modern sciences, the study of which, if it has gradually become more or less established in the Muslim east, has never interested the west.

The characteristic feature of this culture, which

is essentially founded on religion, is that it has remained unchanging. In this country, where only a few years ago tradition strictly regulated all acts of public and private life, it is not surprising that the intellectual ideal has always remained the same. It has already been remarked that the Moroccan *faḥsh* of to-day, whether he be magistrate, teacher, or official of the Sharī'ian government, possesses the same stock of knowledge as a *faḥsh* of the periods of the Marinids or Sa'dians. The same instruction has been given him and by the same methods. He has received first of all an elementary education in the Qur'anic school (see MAKYAN), he has learned the Qur'ān by heart, often completely, and some of the elements of grammar. Next he became a student (*ṭālib*), and the *ṭālib al-ilm*, which he studied, is governed by no rules or programmes other than the traditional ones. He first of all studied the "mother-works" (*umūmah*), compendia made to be memorised readily, on theology and grammar (usually the *Minṭaqat al-Mu'ta' of Ibn 'Ashir* and the *Alfurrūmiya*). It was only then that he entered upon a more thorough study of more advanced texts, usually commentaries (*sharḥ*) or glosses (*ḥāshiyā*) on works (*matā*) of established reputation and exclusively Islāmic in character. The whole trend of his studies is toward a better knowledge of theology and law.

The result is that in most cases in Morocco men of learning are almost entirely jurists and that they differentiate between purely Islāmic sciences (*ulūm*) and profane learning (*funūn*) with some contempt for the latter. We understand also why the part played by Morocco in Arabic literature is primarily in the domain of subjects directly connected with the Qur'ān and the Sunna, theology, law and *uṣūl*.

The centres of learning have varied with periods and historical circumstances. The early ones seem to have been the points nearest to Spain, Ceuta and Tangier. The foundation of Fās and the building in this city of the great Mosque of the Kairawūn (*Djāmi' al-Karawīyīn*) facilitated the establishment of a centre of culture in the interior. A little later, Marrākush, the capital of the Almoravids and of the Almohads, became by desire of its rulers the centre of attraction for Maghribī scholars and even for a certain number from Spain. But it is from the Marinid dynasty, who saw in the development of educational centres in Morocco a means to make themselves popular in the country and to acquire prestige in the eyes of the Muslim world, that the rise of Fās as an intellectual centre dates; it was the metropolis of learning in the country from the sixteenth century. Not only did the Marinid princes make it the political capital but by the foundation of a series of colleges or madrasas (in Morocco: *madrasa*) around the Djāmi' al-Karawīyīn and mosque of New Fās, they were able to attract to this city a host of students from all parts of the country and to give it the renown for learning, which it will jealously claim to-day. In the Marinid period, madrasas were also multiplied outside Fās: Meknes, Salé and Marrākush had their own, which shows that regular education was given in these towns.

In addition to the part played by the madrasas, there was the activity of the *zāwiya*s, directly connected with the development of maraboutism and shari'ism in the country in the period when the Spaniards and Portuguese were trying to esta-

lish themselves in Morocco in the xvth century. The *zāwiya*s, religious centres, headquarters of the *ḥabsh*, naturally became centres of teaching. At the time when Fās could only with difficulty keep its character as the principal centre of learning in the country, the *zāwiya*s, in which teaching was carried on, became more and more numerous; e.g. the *zāwiya* of al-Jilā' in the Middle Atlas, the *zāwiya* of Tāngūt in the land of Dār'a and the *zāwiya* of Wazzān in the north. The most famous scholars were frequently either heads of brotherhoods or *shaykh*ā, who taught in the mother-house of their order.

We do not intend here to give a detailed sketch of the Arabic literature of Morocco, but will be content with a few general indications and names distinguishing where possible, between Islāmic and profane sciences.

It was not till the Muslim west adopted the Mālikī rite that Morocco began to produce work in the domain of *ilm* in close accord, as already mentioned, with the school of Spain. In this period of intellectual dependence, the relations between the two countries were continued and the Maghribī students down to the sixteenth century considered a sojourn in Cordova, Murcia or Valencia necessary to finish their course. The east did not yet seem to exert the attraction that it did later. At this period, besides, the Islamisation and arabisation of the Berber masses was still too recent. Only a few names may be mentioned for this early period, Darrās b. Ismā'il, of whom much that is recorded is legendary; the famous reformer Ibn Tūmārī (q.v.), creator of the Almohad movement and author of several *risāla* or *ahkām* on his teaching; the ḥadī *ʿIyāḍ* (q.v.), born at Ceuta in 476 (1083), d. at Marrākush in 544 (1149), author of numerous works on Muslim learning, of which the most famous are the *Kiṣṣ al-Shifā'* and the *Maḥṣir al-Awḥad* with a collection of biographies of learned Mālikīs, entitled *al-Maḥṣir*.

During the modern period, on the other hand, the number of learned Moroccans becomes more and more considerable. The best known are for *ḥikma*: Ibn Barī (eighth century A.H.); Ibn Fakkhār (ninth century); the scholar of Meknes Ibn Ghāzī († 919); 'Abd al-Rahmān Ibn al-Kāḍī († 1082); 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Idrīs Mandjra († 1179); Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Fāsi († 1214); for *ḥadīth*: Yahyā al-Sarrāḥī († 808); Sukkūn al-Āṣimī († 956); Ridwān al-Djāwī († 991); Muḥammad b. Kāsim al-Kaṣṣār († 1012); Idrīs al-Ṭarḥī († 1228); for *fiqh*: Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Sughayyir, commentator of the *Madawwana*, al-Djāzūlī (q.v.) and Aḥmad Zarḥūk (ninth century) commentators of the *Kiṣṣa* of Ibn Abī Zaid al-Kairawānī; al-Waṭṭarī († 995); al-Mandjūr († 995); Ibn 'Ashīr († 1040); Ma'yāra († 1052); for philology: al-Makkūhī († 807); Ibn Zakrī († 899). Their works have for the most part been recorded and will be found detailed either in Brockelmann, *G. A. Z.* or in Benchemel's work on the individuals mentioned in the *Iḍā'at* of 'Abd al-Kāḍī al-Fāsi. Only a small number have found a place in eastern libraries; but on the other hand, they all form the foundations of the collections of manuscripts formed and preserved in the imperial palaces and mosques of Morocco.

Some Moroccan scholars have written works on *adab* or collections of poems, in addition to books of a strictly Muslim character. None of

them can claim any great originality and purely literary *siwāns* are rare. Poetry, as a rule — when it is not didactic (*wasfīya*) —, is religious or mystic. At the courts, there were always a few literary men maintained by the princes, who were the panegyrists, often very lurid, of their patrons.

It is at the courts also, especially from the xivth century, that we find the few historians who have given us original chronicles or compilations. Their works, planned on a singularly curious conception of history, have nevertheless the merit of giving us the only detailed information about the political history of the country in the period of the author or immediately preceding it. Those which date from the Middle Ages are however much the best. The kind of work not only did not improve later, but became simply dry chronicles in which events are related in a brief and colourless fashion.

The early historians of Morocco — if we except the Berber genealogists about whom we do not know very much — are contemporaries of the Almoravid dynasty. A little later, the Almohads find a historian in the person of a companion of the Mahdi Ibn Tūmarr, Abū Bakr al-Baḥārī al-Sanhājī, the interest of whose memories contrasts strikingly with many later chronicles. Alongside of the work of al-Sanhājī may be placed the chronicles of Ibn al-Kaṭṭān and of 'Abd al-Wahīd al-Marrākushī as of high value. But it was in the Marinid period that the historian found most favour in Morocco. Leaving out Ibn Khaldūn, whom Morocco is not the only one to claim, we may mention Ibn 'Idhārī, a scholar of Marrākush, to whom we owe a history of North Africa and Spain, the *Bayān al-Mughrib*; that of Ibn Abī Zār, author of a history of Fās and the Moroccan dynasties, *Rawf al-Kirfās*; Ibn Marrāk, author of the *Musnad*, a monograph on the sultan Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan 'Alī; Ibn al-Aḥmar of the family of the kings of Granada, author of the *Rawḍat al-Niḥān*. Under the Sa'dīans, the principal historians were al-Faḥḥālī, al-Iḥrānī, author of the *Nuḥat al-Ḥādī*; finally under the 'Alawids, al-Zalyānī and Akenāfi.

Geography is represented in modern Moroccan literature only in the form of *riḥlas* or accounts of the travels of pilgrims, in which the description of the country passed through only occupies an insignificant place. Nevertheless, the geographer al-Idrīsī [q. v.] and the great traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa were of Moroccan origin.

The biographical literature of Morocco is considerable. The collections of *manāḥib* [q. v.] of saints, monographs dealing with families of *shayḥs* or religious brotherhoods are abundant, especially in the modern period. There are also collections by town or century, some of which are of a certain interest, even from the point of view of history. All these biographies have been surveyed in E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chérifs*. The most notable biographers down to the middle of the sixteenth century are Ibn 'Aṣkar, author of the *Dawḥat al-Naḥḥīn*; Ibn al-Kāḍī, author of the *Durrat al-Ḥayāt* and the *Qadhwat al-Tayyibāt*; the historian al-Iḥrānī, author of the *Safwat man intaḥar*; and al-Kāḍī, author of the *Naḥḥ al-Maḥānt* and the *Ilḥāt al-Durāt*.

As to medicine and natural science, Morocco down to the sixteenth century was closely dependent on Spain. The physicians of the Al-

moravid and Almohad princes were from Spain, like Ibn Bāḍja (Avenpace), Ibn Ṭufayl and the celebrated Ibn Ruḥūd (Averroes) and Ibn Zahr (Avenzoar). In the modern period, we find at the courts of the sultans several physicians of Moroccan origin who have left works. The chief were, in the Sa'dīan period: Abū Muḥammad al-Kāsim al-Wazīr al-Ghassānī, in the 'Alawid period: Ibn Shukrūn, 'Abd al-Wahhāb Adarrāk, Ahmad al-Darāfi, 'Abd Allāh b. Asās al-Marrākushī, Ahmad Ibn al-Ḥādīdī and 'Abd al-Sulām al-'Alamī. Finally two famous Moroccans studied the exact science of the thirteenth century: Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. 'Umm al-Marrākushī, author of a treatise on astronomical instruments, part of which has been translated by Sédillot, and Ahmad Ibn al-Bannā, to whom we owe several works on arithmetic, geometry, algebra, astronomy, astrology and alchemy.

At the end of the sixteenth century, the reign of Mawḥī al-Ḥasan was marked by a kind of renaissance in Muslim studies in Morocco, particularly characterised by the need which writers felt of getting their works printed to make them more widely known. The lithographic presses of Fās acquired a certain importance at this time and began to publish texts which had hitherto circulated only in manuscript. A little later, there appeared at Fās the three volumes of the *Salwat al-Anfās* of Ahmad b. Dja'far al-Kaṭṭān [q. v.], an excellent biographical dictionary of the celebrities of the northern capital. At the same time, there was published in Cairo the great Moroccan history of Ahmad b. Khālid al-Nāṣirī al-Salawī [q. v.] entitled *Kitāb al-Isṭiḥṣān li-Akḥbār Duwal al-Maghrib al-aḥḡā*.

The establishment of the French protectorate in Morocco and the remarkable spread of French civilisation in the large towns have already profoundly modified the intellectual ideals of the younger generation in Morocco. It is however still too early to foretell the orientation that Arabic literature will take in this country in the years to come.

Bibliography: G. Delphin, *Fās, son université et l'enseignement supérieur musulman*, in *Bull. Soc. Géogr. Orlan.*, 1898; R. Basset, *Les généalogistes berbères*, in *Archives berbères*, 1915; do., *Recherches bibliographiques sur les sources de la Salwat al-anfas*, in *Rec. de mém. et de textes publiés en l'honneur du XIV^{ème} congrès Orient.*, Algiers 1905, p. 1-47; M. Bencheneb, *Etude sur les personnages mentionnés dans l'adjaḥ du chahīd 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fāry*, in *Actes XIV^{ème} congrès Orient.*, Paris 1907; M. Benchenab and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Essai de répertoire chronologique des éditions arabes de Fās*, R. A., Algiers 1922; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les manuscrits arabes de Rabat*, Paris 1921; do., *Les Historiens des Chérifs*, *Essai sur la littérature historique et bibliographique au Maroc du XVI^{ème} au XX^{ème} siècle*, Paris 1922; Dr. H. P. J. Renaud, *Etat de nos connaissances sur la médecine ancienne au Maroc* (B. I. H. E. M., 1920); *Quelques acquisitions récentes sur l'histoire de la médecine arabe au Maroc* (V^{ème} congrès International d'hist. de la méd., Genève 1926). (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MORÓN, Arab. MAWḤIR, a little town in the south of Spain, on the right bank of the Guadalquivir and at the foot of the Sierra de Morón to the S. W. of Córdoba and S. E. of Seville. It was in the Muslim period the capital of a *kūra*

of district and an agricultural centre with numerous olive-groves. At the beginning of the tenth century, it was one of the centres of resistance of the famous rebel 'Umar b. Hafsun; its citadel was taken by the troops of 'Abd al-Rahmān III in 311 (923). In the next century during the period of the petty kingdoms of the *reyes taifas*, Morón was the capital of a little Berber dynasty, the Banu Dammār, Abādīs from the region of Gabes in Tunisia. The first member of the dynasty to declare his independence in 433 (1041) was Muḥammad b. Nuḥ; his father Nuḥ b. Abi Tarīd had lived at Morón from 1013 without actually recognising the government of Cordova. Muḥammad b. Nuḥ soon excited the jealousy of the 'Abbādīs of Seville al-Mu'tadīd who made an attempt on his life. He died in 449 (1057). His son Manād 'Imād al-Dawla, who succeeded him, was soon besieged in Morón by al-Mu'tadīd and in return for life and liberty surrendered the town in 458 (1066). Morón and its territory were annexed to the kingdom of Seville and henceforth shared the fate of the capital.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldan*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 680; Abu l-Fidā', *Takwīm al-Buldan*, ed. Reinand and de Slane, p. 175 of the Arabic text and p. 250 of the transl.; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Maghrib*, ii., ed. Dozy, p. 195, transl. Fagnan, p. 306; iii., ed. Lévi-Provençal, appendix p. 295—296; Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*, iv. 300—301; C. F. Seybold, *supra*, ii. 87.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MOROS. [See MOORS.]

MOSTAGANEM (MUSTAGHĀNIM), a coast town in Algeria, eight miles E. of the mouth of the Shelif (5' E. Long. [Greenwich]) does not occupy the site of any known ancient town. There is no natural harbour here; two capes, not particularly well marked (Kharuba and Salamander), leave vessels without protection against winds from the north and west. It is therefore not as a port that al-Bakrī (xiii century) mentions Mostaganem for the first time. He describes it as a town situated "not far from the sea" (it is less than a mile away) living on the produce of its rich territory, notably the cotton plantations. From this time onwards it was surrounded by a wall which strengthened its natural defences. The old town occupies a triangular plateau formed by the sharp bend of the 'Ain Seffa and the wall runs along the top of the ravine. On the point of this natural stronghold, the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshfin is said to have built in 1082 a fortress which was later called Burj al-Mahāl, from the name of one of the tribes of the neighbourhood, and is now a prison. Like the other towns of the coast, Nedroma or Algiers, Mostaganem was probably given a small Almoravid garrison. Thus strengthened, the town would serve as a place of refuge against an attack from the sea and one could keep at a distance the Berber tribes of the hinterland, who belonged for the most part to the Maghrawa confederation. It must thus have developed to some extent. In the middle of the xiii century, Idrisi tells us that it had bazars and baths; he emphasises the abundance of the water which irrigated the gardens and orchards and drove mills.

The name of Mostaganem does not figure in history throughout all this period when the Almohads in theory held the central Maghrib. The decline of the Almohads enabled the Maghrawa

to become completely masters of the country. In 1267 and 1271 the Zayīdī sultān of Tlemcen Yaghmorān reduced these turbulent tribes and incorporated their lands in the empire which he had founded. In 680 (1281) he entrusted the government of Mostaganem to one of his cousins, al-Zā'im b. Vahyā, a descendant of one of the collateral branches of the family of the Banu Zayān; in spite of the lack of confidence he had in those relatives whom he had deprived of the throne. These fears proved well founded. Al-Zā'im, having raised the Maghrawa to rebel, declared himself independent. Yaghmorān had to march on Mostaganem; he blockaded the town strictly and the rebel surrendered after obtaining permission to cross to Spain.

Like all the coast region, Mostaganem in 735 or 736 (1335—1336) passed to the Merinid Abu 'l-Hasan, who was engaged in the siege of Tlemcen. In 742 (1340) the victorious sultān built a mosque in Mostaganem. We have an inscription attesting this foundation of the interregnum of the Moroccan princes. Regained by the sultāns of Tlemcen, the town suffered disastrously from their weakness. The Sowaid Arānis of the great Zoghba confederation became undisputed masters of the whole district. Mostaganem led a precarious existence. Leo Africanus at the beginning of the xvth century says that it occupied only a third of its former area. He credits it with 1,500 hearths, however, tells us of the weavers and of the roadstead to which ships from Europe came. He says the river runs "through the city", which shows that in addition to the old stronghold on the left bank there were now quarters on the right bank. In the Turkish period we know of two suburbs: Tidjīn (the New) and Matmor (the Silo). In 1536 Khair al-Din [q.v.] considerably strengthened its defences. Shaw at the beginning of the xviii century speaks of the citadel (the Fort of the East) which, built on a height, commanded the town and vicinity. In 1830 the garrison consisted of some hundreds of Turks and Kuloghli. The French took them into their service and put them under the command of the Ka'id Ibrahim. Distrusting the loyalty of the latter and thinking he had an agreement with the Medjāber, an unsubdued tribe of the neighbourhood, General Desmichels occupied the town in 1833. The troops whom he stationed there were attacked by 'Abd al-Qādir. The vexatious results of the treaty signed by Desmichels with the Emir forced Clausel to retake Mostaganem (1835). Under Bagetand, Mostaganem became the point of disembarkation and the centre of operations against 'Abd al-Qādir. It was there that in 1847 the first battalion of Algerian Tirailleurs (Turcos) was raised, and the town has since been an important centre for recruiting native troops.

Mostaganem has developed considerably since the early days of the French occupation; it has now over 27,000 inhabitants. Its harbour, which owes nothing to nature, has been improved by two jetties which still afford only a rather mediocre shelter to shipping.

Bibliography: al-Bakrī, *Maadhib*, Algiers 1911, p. 69; transl. de Slane, Algiers 1913, p. 143; al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, p. 100, transl. p. 117; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, ii., p. 125; transl. iii., p. 361—362; Leo Africanus, *Voyage*, ed. Ramusio, Venice

1837, p. 111; Shaw, *Travels through Barbary*, London 1757; A. Bel, *Inscriptions arabes de Fes*, appendix to reprint from *J.A.*, 1919, p. 390; R. Basset, *Mélanges africains et orientaux*, Paris 1915, p. 103—106; Pellissier de Reynaud, *Annales algériennes*, Paris—Algiers 1854, vol. 1; *Tableau de la situation des établissements français*, 1837, 1838; Ch. Cockempot, *Le traité Dermichels (Fédération de la Faculté des lettres d'Alger)*, Paris 1924. — On the dialect of the native fishermen cf. L. Bennot, *La Mer dans les traditions et les industries à Rabat et Salé*, Paris 1920. (GEORGES MARÇAIS)

MOSTAR, the capital of the Herzegovina in the kingdom of Yugoslavia, one hundred miles S.W. of Sarajevo, on the Sarajevo—(Mostar)—Dubrovnik railway. By the new (Oct. 3, 1929) division of Yugoslavia into nine banats, Mostar passed to the coast banat, the capital of which is Split (Spalato). The picturesque town lies two hundred feet above sea-level on both banks of the Neretva (Narenta) between the slopes of the Podvelel and the Hum. The old quarters of the town (Konak, Čaršija etc.) are in the east, the new in the west. In 1929, the number of inhabitants was 18,038 (in 1921 a little more: 18,176). Mostar covers an area of 16 square kilometres, has 2,916 houses, 33 mosques, 2 Serbian Orthodox and one Roman Catholic church. Mostar has a district mufti and a *šar'at* judge (*hâdî*). Its trade is considerable as is its production of fruit, wine and tobacco. The climate is warm and windy.

In the time of the Roman empire, there was a colony in the plain of Mostar, which was destroyed during the period of migrations. In the centuries following, the immigrant Slavs conquered the Zahumlje district with its capital Blagay (near the modern Mostar). According to the Dalmatian writers Orbini and Lucari (both at the beginning of the xviiith century), the new town of Mostar was founded in 1440 by Radivoj Goar, a vassal of Stefan Vukčić Kosača, afterwards Duke of St. Sava. In historical documents the earliest mention is in 1452 of the two forts on the Neretva bridge (*do castelli al ponte de Neretva*); the name of the town itself is not found till 1499.

It was only after the Turkish conquest of the Herzegovina (1483; cf. v. Hammer, *G.O.H.* 2, i. 628), which resulted in the decline of Blagay that the new settlement began to develop rapidly, first as an important strategic point in the Neretva valley, then as a prosperous commercial town in addition. Since it grew up around a wooden bridge, it was called simply *Mout* (bridge), *Mosti* or *Mostar*, properly *Mostari* (plur., "the bridgers"). This "place of the bridge" was by 1522 the residence of the Turkish sandjakbeg of the Herzegovina, who had previously lived in Foča. According to Hâdîdî Khalifa, the crossing of the Neretva was exceedingly dangerous: the wooden bridge, being on chains, had no piers and swung so that "one only crossed it in fear of death". The inhabitants therefore petitioned Sülfân Sulaimân to have a stone one built in its place. The architect sent by the Sülfân, the celebrated Sinân (q. v.), is said to have declared it impossible to build a bridge at this spot, whereupon a local architect built the fine bridge which crosses the river in a single bold arch, thirty yards in length and sixty feet high. This is said to have been done in 974 (1566—1567). The two Turkish chronograms given

by Ewliya Celebi قدرت کبری and کج دکل actually give this date. This bridge not only gave Mostar its name but formed its chief sight, as it still is. The French traveller A. Pouillet in 1658 says that its "fabrique est plus hardie, sans comparaison, & des plus d'étendue que n'est pas celle de Rialto à Venise, quoy qu'elle y soit estimée une merveille" (cf. *Glanzi zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini* (hereafter quoted as: *Gl. z. m.*), xx. [1908], 49). A modern traveller regards the old bridge at Mostar as the finest in the whole world (R. Michel, *Fahrten in den Reichsländern. Bilder und Skizzen aus B. und der H.* [Vienna and Leipzig, 1912], p. 31). In his earlier book on Mostar he describes this bridge as a "crescent in stone". The building of the bridge was often ascribed to the Romans and indeed its foundations perhaps date from them but the modern bridge undoubtedly dates from the Turkish period and "is the work of Dalmatio-Italian architects" (J. de Asboth, *An official tour through Bosnia and Herzegovina* [London 1890], p. 257).

Ewliya Celebi visited Mostar in 1075 (1664—1665) and gives in his diary a number of details about the town, e.g. that it has fifty-three *mağallan*, three thousand and forty solidly built houses of stone, three hundred and fifty shops and forty-five mosques. Of the latter he mentions eight by name: 1. Old mosque in the Čaršija, built in 878 (1473); 2. Hâdîdî Mehmedbeg mosque, built in 965 (1557); 3. Masjid of Hâdîdî 'Alîgha in the Čaršija, built in 1016 (1607); 4. Defterdar-pasha mosque, built in 1017 (1608); 5. Koçki (قوچکی) Mehmedpasha mosque, built in 1027 (1617); 6. Ibrahimâgha, built in 1044 (1634); 7. Rûzamedî Ibrahim-Efendi-mosque and 8. Hâdîdî 'Alî mosque. For the two latter mosques neither the chronogram nor the year of building is given. The finest and largest of all is the mosque of Hâdîdî Mehmed Bey, which is usually called "Karagoyzbeğova džamiya". The monograph, quoted below, by Peet gives the names of twenty-seven mosques and twenty-six vakufs (*vakıf*) and in each case he mentions whether their foundation records are preserved or not.

It is the course of the xviiith and xviiith century Mostar was several times threatened by Venetian troops (1652, 1693, 1717). At a late date (1763), the Herzegovina was incorporated in the wilayet of Bosnia and Mostar was only the residence of the *musellim*. This lasted till 1832, when the land was again made a wilayet and Mostar became the headquarters of the newly appointed Herzegovinian *wakıf* 'Alî Pasha Rizvanbegović.

During the Turkish period Mostar produced a number of men of note in Turkish and Muslim literature and learning. Of poets we may note: 1. Diya'i (d. 972 = 1564); 2. Derwish Pasha (Bayerizlagić; 1599 and in 1601 governor of Bosnia); 3. his son Ahmedbeg Şabûhî and 4. Ahmed Rushdî (born 1047 = 1637). The following learned men were natives of Mostar: 1. 'Alî Dede b. Mustafa (d. 1007 = 1598); 2. Mustafa Aiyûbizade, called Şheyyo (d. 1119 = 1707), Mufti of Mostar, commentator of various works; 3. Ahmed Efendi Mostarî (Mostarac; d. 1190 = 1776), whose fetwas (*Fetâvâ-i Ahmed*) were very popular in Bosnia, and 4. Mustafa Şidki (Karabeg), Mufti of Mostar (murdered

in 1878), whose comprehensive *Hidāya... 'alā Mir'at al-Uṣūl* was printed in Sarajevo (1316).

A few days after the murder of the last-named, Mostar was taken without resistance by the Austrian troops (Aug. 5, 1878) and on Oct. 5, 1908, annexed to the Danube monarchy, in which it remained till 1918. During these forty years (1878–1918) Mostar was frequently the centre of Muslim (and of Serbian Orthodox) opposition to the government. In Mostar originated also the Muslim agitation for autonomy in religious affairs (cf. i., p. 760), which went on for ten years (1899–1909). The leader of the movement, 'Alī Fehmi Džabić, the then mufti of Mostar, had to escape to Constantinople at the end of January 1902, where he was appointed professor of Arabic literature in the University, in which capacity he published among other things his book *Ḥuṣn al-Saḥāba fī Sharḥ Aṣḥār al-Saḥāba* (Constantinople 1324). In connection with the struggle for religious autonomy, there was published (from 1906) the Muslim political paper *Muṣawwāt* (in spite of its Arabic title written in the Serbo-Croat language). Shortly before the World War, a Muslim family paper *Biser* ("Pearl") (from 1912) was started in Mostar and a *Muslimanska biblioteka* (Muslim Library) which attained thirty volumes.

Since the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1918, Mostar has belonged to Yugoslavia.

Bibliography: *Ḥadīdī Khalīfa, Rumeli und Bosna*, geographically described, transl. by J. v. Hammer, Vienna 1812, p. 175; St. Novaković, *Hadīdī-Kulfa... o Balkanskom poluostrvu* (= *Spomenik XVIII of the Roy. Serb. Ac.*, Belgrad 1892), p. 912; Ewliya Celebi, *Siyāhat-nāma*, Constantinople 1318, ii. 481–486 (cf. also *Gl. z. m.*, xx, [1908], 328–332); C. J. Jireček, *Die Handelsstraßen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters*, Prag 1879, p. 79–80; M. H. Muhibbi, *Staro ćuprija u Mostaru*, in *Gl. z. m.*, 1889, part 3, p. 10–13 (German in *Wissenschaftl. Mitteilungen aus B. und der II.*, i. 510–512); C. Peez, *Mostar und sein Culturkreis*, Leipzig 1891 (with plan); H. Renner, *Durch Bosnien und die Herzegovina kreuz und quer*, 2nd ed., Berlin 1897, p. 297–316; S. beg Balagić, *Kratka uputa u prošlost Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo 1900, p. 184–185 (= list of the Herzegovinian governors); L. Grčić Bjelokosić, *Mostar nekad i sad*, reprint from *Zvečica*, Belgrad 1901; *Die österr.-ung. Monarchie in Wort und Bild: Bosnien und Herzegovina*, Vienna 1901, p. 112–120; A. Walby, *Bosnische Bots für das Jahr 1903* (Sarajevo), p. 224–225; Dr. M. Mandić, *Povijest okupacije B. i H.*, Zagreb 1910, p. 45–46; S. beg Balagić, *Bosnjacki i Hercegovski u islamskoj književnosti*, Sarajevo 1912, s. index; V. Čorović, *Bosna i Hercegovina*, Belgrad 1925, p. 165; V. Čorović and M. Filipović, in *Narodna enciklopedija*, Zagreb 1926–1929, ii. 889; *Almanah kraljevine Jugoslavije* (Zagreb since 1930), i. 99 and 433–434. (FERHIM BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)

MÖSÜL (AL-MAWṢİL), the capital of Diyār-Rabi'a [q. v.] on the west bank of the Tigris, opposite the ancient Nineveh.

Whether the town already existed in antiquity is unknown. E. Herzfeld (*Archäol. Reise*, ii. 207, 259) has suggested that Xenophon's *Mērrīnāz* reproduces its old name and that we should read

**Mērrīnāz* (= *Mawṣil*); but against this view we have the simple fact that this town lay on the east bank of the Tigris (F. H. Weissbach in *Panly-Wissowa, R. E.*, xv., col. 1164).

The Muslims placed the foundation of the town in mythical antiquity and ascribed it to Rēwand b. Bēwārāp Adjdahāk. According to another tradition, its earlier name was Khawlān. The Persian satrap of Mōsul bore the title Būdh-Ardashīrānshāh, so that the official name of the town was Būdh-Ardashīr (*Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate*, p. 87; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 208). Lastly Bar Bahlāl says that an old Persian king gave it the name Bih-Hormez-Kowādīh (G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märyr.*, p. 178).

As the metropolis of the diocese of Āthūr, Mōsul took the place of Nineveh whither Christianity had penetrated by the beginning of the second century A. D. Rabban Ishō'yabīh called Bar Kūsā about 570 A. D. founded on the west bank of the Tigris opposite Nineveh a monastery (still called Mār Ishā'yā) around which Khusrāw II built many buildings. This settlement is probably the fortress mentioned in the Syriac chronicle edited by Guidi as Hēsā' 'Ebhāyā (according to Herzfeld, "citadel on the opposite bank") (Nöldeke, *S. B. Ak. Wien*, cxviii., fasc. ix., 1893, p. 20; Sachau, *Chronik von Arbēla*, chap. iv., p. 48, 1; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 208) which later was developed into a town by the Arabs (*Chronicle of Sert*, at the end).

After the taking of Nineveh by 'Uṭba b. Farḡad (20 = 641) in the reign of 'Omar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the Arabs crossed the Tigris whereupon the garrison of the fortress on the west bank surrendered on promising to pay the poll-tax and obtained permission to go where they pleased. Under the same caliph, 'Uṭba was dismissed from his post as commander of Mōsul and Harthama b. 'Arfadjā al-Bārīqī succeeded him. The latter settled Arabs in houses of their own, then allotted them lands and made Mōsul a camp city (*maṣr*) in which he also built a Friday Mosque (al-Balāḍhūrī, ed. de Goeje, p. 332). According to al-Wāḳidī, 'Abd al-Malik (65–86) appointed his son Sa'īd as governor of al-Mawṣil while he put his brother Muḥammad over Arminiya and al-Djazīra. According to al-Mu'safa b. Ṭā'ūs on the other hand, Muḥammad was also governor of Adharbāydjān and al-Mawṣil, and his chief of police Ibn Talid paved the town and built a wall round it (al-Balāḍhūrī, *op. cit.*). His son Marwān II is also described as a builder and extender of the town; he is said to have organized its administration and built roads, walls and a bridge of boats over the Tigris (Ibn Faḡh, ed. de Goeje, p. 128; Yāḳūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 682–684). The foundation of a Friday Mosque was also ascribed to him. Mōsul became under him the capital of the province of al-Djazīra.

After Mutawakkil's death the Khāridjī Musāwir seized a part of the territory of Mōsul and made al-Ḥadīṭha his headquarters. The then governor of Mōsul, the Khurayy 'Aḳaba b. Muḥammad, was deposed by the Taghlibī Aiyūb b. Aḥmad who put his own son Ḥasan in his place. Soon afterwards the 'Aẓdī 'Abd Allah b. Sulaimān became the governor of al-Mawṣil. The Khāridjīs took the town from him and Musāwir entered into possession of it. Mu'tamid appointed the Turkish general Asātaga governor of the town, but in Djumādī 1 259 the latter sent his son Asḳūtaga there as his

deputy. The latter was soon driven out by the citizens of the town who chose Yahyā b. Sulaimān as their ruler.

Haitham b. 'Abd Allāh whom Asātagin then sent to Mōṣul had to return after achieving nothing. The Taghlibī Ishāk b. Aiyūb whom Asātagin sent with 20,000 men against Mōṣul, among whom was Hamdān b. Hamdūn, entered Mōṣul after winning a battle, but was soon driven out again.

In 261 the Taghlibī Khidr b. Ahmad and in 267 Ishāk b. Kundādī were appointed governor of Mōṣul by Mu'tamid. A year after Ishāk's death, his son Muḥammad sent Hārūn b. Sulaimān to Mōṣul (279); when he was driven out by the inhabitants he asked the Banū Shailān for assistance and they besieged the town with him. The inhabitants led by Hārūn b. 'Abd Allāh and Hamdān b. Hamdūn after an initial victory were surprised and defeated by the Shailānīs; shortly afterwards Muḥammad b. Ishāk was deposed by the Kurd 'Alī b. Dāwūd.

When Mu'tamid became caliph in 279, Hamdān (the grandfather of Saif al-Dawla) managed to make himself very popular with him at first, but in 282 he rebelled in Mōṣul. When an army was sent by the caliph against him under Waṣīf and Naṣr, he escaped while his son Husain surrendered. The citadel of Mōṣul was stormed and destroyed and Hamdān soon afterwards was captured and thrown into prison. Naṣr was then ordered to collect tribute in Mōṣul and thus came into conflict with the followers of the Kharijī Hārūn; Hārūn was defeated and fled into the desert. In place of Tuk-tamir, who was imprisoned, the Caliph appointed Hasan b. 'Alī governor of Mōṣul and sent against Hārūn, the main cause of the strife, the Hamdānīd Husain who took him prisoner in 283. The family thus regained the caliph's favour.

When after the subjection of the Kharijīs, raiding Kurds began to disturb the country round Mōṣul, Muktafi again gave a Hamdānīd, namely Husain's brother Abu 'l-Haidjī 'Abd Allāh, the task of bringing them to book, as the latter could rely on the assistance of the Taghlibīs settled around Mōṣul, to whom the Hamdānīds belonged. Abu 'l-Haidjī came to Mōṣul in the beginning of Muharram 293 and in the following year subdued the Kurds whose leader Muḥammad b. Bilāl submitted and came to live in Mōṣul.

From this time the Hamdānīds [q. v.] ruled Mōṣul, first as governors for the caliph, then from 317 (Nāṣir al-Dawla Hasan) as sovereign rulers.

The 'Uqailīds who followed them (386—489) belonged to the tribe of the Banū Ka'b. Their kingdom, founded by Husayn al-Dawla al-Muḥallad, whose independence was recognised by the Būyids, extended as far as Tā'ūk (Dakūka), al-Mada'in and Kūfa. In 489 (1095—1096) Mōṣul passed to the Saljuqs.

The town developed considerably under the Atabeg 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī who put an end to Saljuq rule in 521 (1127—1128). Mōṣul, which was for the most part in ruins was given splendid buildings by him; the fortifications were restored and flourishing gardens surrounded the town. Under one of his successors, 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd I, Mōṣul was twice unsuccessfully besieged by Saladin (1182 and 1185 A.D.); after the conclusion of peace 'Izz al-Dīn however found himself forced to recognise Saladin as his overlord.

The town was at this time defended by a strong

citadel and a double wall, the towers of which were washed on the east side by the Tigris. To the south lay a great suburb, laid out by the vizier Muḥammad al-Dīn Ka'imār (d. 595). From 607 his son Badr al-Dīn La'il [q. v.] ruled over Mōṣul first as vizier of the last Zangids and from 631 as an independent ruler. In 642 he submitted to Hālgū and accompanied him on his campaigns, so that Mōṣul was spared the usual sacking. When however his son Malik Salih Ismā'il joined Balbars against the Mongols the town was plundered in 660 (1261—1262); the ruler himself fell in battle (van Berchem, *Festschrift f. Th. Noldeke*, 1906, p. 197 199).

The Mongol dynasty of the Djalā'ir succeeded the Ilkhāns in Bagdad and Sulṭān Shaikh Uways in 766 (1364—1365) incorporated Mōṣul in his kingdom. The world conqueror Timur not only spared Mōṣul but gave rich endowments to the tombs of Nāṣir Yūnus and Nāṣir Djiridjir, to which he made a pilgrimage, and restored the bridge of boats between Mōṣul and these holy places.

The Turkoman dynasty of the Ak Koyunlu whose founder Bahā' al-Dīn Kara 'Oghmān had been appointed governor of Diyar Bakr by Timur, was followed about 920 (1514—1515) by the Persian Safawids. After long fighting the Ottomans in 1047 (1637—1638) finally took the town from them. In 1077 (1667) it was visited by a serious earthquake, in 1156 (1743) besieged by Nadir Shāh Afshār and heroically defended by Christians and Muslims. It was then under a Pasha of the local family of the 'Abd al-Djalil who had ruled the town for a long period, fairly independent of the Porte. In the 19th century Mōṣul was an important provincial town of the Turkish empire. After the World War the wilāyat of Mōṣul after long negotiations was placed in the mandated territory of Iraq. The town has now about 70—90,000 inhabitants.

The Arab geographers compare its plan to a headcloth (*faiṣān*), i. e. to an elongated rectangle. Ibn Hawkal who visited Mōṣul in 358 (968—969), describes it as a beautiful town with fertile surroundings. The population in his time consisted mainly of Kurds. According to al-Maḥdī (c. 375 = 985—986), the town was very beautifully built. Its plan was in the form of a semi-circle. The citadel was called *al-Murabba'a* and stood where the Nahr Zabaida canal joined the Tigris (now Ikal'a or Bāsh Tābiya; cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 209). Within its walls were a Wednesday market (*Sūq al-'Arba'a*) after which it was sometimes called. The Friday Mosque built by Marwān stood on an eminence not far from the Tigris to which steps led up. The streets in the market were for the most part roofed over. Al-Maḥdī (*op. cit.*, p. 136) gives the eight main streets of the town (discussed in Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 209). The castle of the caliph (*Kaṣr al-Khalifa*) stood on the east bank, half a mile from the town and commanded Niniveh; in the time of al-Maḥdī it was already in ruins, through which the Nahr al-Khawṣar flowed.

Ibn Djuhair visited Mōṣul on 22nd—26th Šafar 580 (June 4—8, 1184). Shortly before, Nur al-Dīn had built a new Friday Mosque on the market-place. At the highest point in the town was the citadel (now: Bāsh Tābiya); it was known as *al-Hadba'* "the hunch-backed" and perhaps as the synonymous *al-Dafa'a* (G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus*

yr. *Akten pers. Märtyr*, p. 178 sq.; E. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 210), and according to al-Kazwini was surrounded by a deep ditch and high walls. The city walls which had strong towers ran down to the river and along its bank. A broad highway (*ḡāḡ*) connected the upper and lower towns (the north-south road called *Darb Dair al-ʿAḡā*). In front of the walls suburbs stretched into the distance with many smaller mosques, inns and baths. The hospital (*maḡḡīḡ*) was celebrated and the great covered market (*ḡaḡḡiya*).

Most houses in Möşul were built of tufa or marble (from the Djebel Maḡlūb east of the town) and had domed roofs (Yāḡūt, *op. cit.*). Later Möşul was given a third Friday Mosque which commanded the Tigris and was perhaps the building admired by Hamd Allāh al-Mustawfi (c. 740 A. H.).

The site of the ancient Niniveh (Arabic *Nīnawā*) was in al-Maḡḡīḡ's time called Tall al-Tawba and was said to be the place where the prophet Yūnis stayed when he wished to convert the people of Niniveh. There was a mosque there around which the Ḥamdānīd Nāyir al-Dawla built hostels for pilgrims. Half a mile away was the healing spring of ʿAin Yūnis with a mosque beside it, perhaps also the Ḥaḡḡar al-Yāḡūt, said to be planted by the Prophet himself. The tomb of Nāḡīdīḡ, who according to Muslim legend had suffered martyrdom in Möşul (cf. i., p. 1046 sq.), was in the east town; also that of Nāḡī Shūḡ (Seth; cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 206 sq.).

Möşul takes its name from the fact that a number of arms of the river there combine to form a single stream. The town lies close beside the Tigris on a spur of the western steppe-plateau which juts out into the alluvial plain of the river. Close beside its walls are quarries in which the plaster for the buildings and for the mortar is obtained. The site of the town, almost three square kilometres in area enclosed by the already mentioned wall and the Tigris, slopes from the old fortress gradually to the south. To the southeast stretch, as in the middle ages, the suburbs surrounded by fertile plains. A little above the spot where the wall joins the river on the south-east is the bridge of boats. All the old buildings and even the court of the Great Mosque lie, according to E. Herzfeld's investigations, below the level of the streets in which the accumulation of mounds of debris from houses is a result of a thousand years of continuous occupation.

Bibliography: al-Maḡḡīḡ, in *B. G. A.*, iii, 136—138; Ibn Khurdādhbīḡ, in *B. G. A.*, vi, 17; Yāḡūt, *Muḡam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 682—684; Saḡī al-Dīn, *Maḡḡīḡ al-ʿAḡā*, ed. Juynboll, i, 84; Ibn al-Aḡḡir, *Taḡḡīḡ al-Dawla al-ʿAḡāḡiya* *Maḡḡūḡ al-Maḡḡīḡ*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, ii/ii, Paris 1876, p. 1—394; A. Socin, *Mosul und Mardin*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxvi, 1882, p. 1—53, 238—277; xxxvii, 1883, p. 188—222; Guy Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905 (reprint 1930), p. 87—89; Max van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften von Mosul*, in: Friedr. Sarre-Ernst Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, i, Berlin 1911, p. 16—30; E. Herzfeld, *ibid.*, ii, 1920, p. 203—304 (chap. vii.); vol. iii, table v.—ix., lxxxviii.—cx.; H. I. Lloyd, *The Geography of the Mosul Boundary*, in *Geogr. Journ.*, lxxviii, 1926, p. 104—117, 192.

(E. HONIGMANN)

MOZARABS, the name given in the middle ages to those Christians who lived in districts under Muslim rule and bore the stamp of Spanish Moorish culture. The word comes from the Arabic *muzārāb*, the meaning of which is exactly that of the Spanish *mozárabe*; the Arabic form itself is found in documents in the archives of mediæval Spain.

We know that in principle at the time of conquest the new subjects of the Muslim conquerors could either adopt Islām or continue to profess their own faith, in the latter case falling into the category of tributaries (*ḡhimmi*; q. v.). The early Arab rulers of Spain showed considerable tolerance in this connection and the treaties of capitulation were definite on this point, at least if we may judge by one of them of which the text has been preserved and which was concluded between the Visigoth Theodemir, lord of the district of Murcia [q. v.], and ʿAbd al-ʿAḡā b. Maḡḡ b. Nuḡair. This attitude of Spanish Islām to the Christians hardly altered in the centuries following until the coming of the Almoravids and Almohads. It is true there were occasional anti-Christian reactions under the first Umayyads which found vent in persecution. But these persecutions seem to have been dictated by political considerations rather than by the fanaticism of individual rulers. The Christian communities of the large towns were the most active nurseries of the nationalist movements which broke out in Spain mainly in the ninth century. Among the most important we may mention that led by the Mozarab ʿOmar b. Ḥaḡḡū [q. v.], which passed far beyond the limits of a purely religious movement. At Cordova in particular a few illuminati had to be sent to the scaffold because they insulted the religion of the Prophet. The Muslim judges seem to have sentenced them to the supreme penalty with considerable reluctance and the central authorities took the initiative in summoning a council, so that the church itself put a stop to the demonstrations of certain mystics like Eulogio and Alvaro.

In any case in the tenth century the Mozarabs of the caliphate were living in harmony with all classes of Muslim society and were themselves considerably influenced by Arab culture. They spoke Arabic, just as the Muslims spoke the Romance language, and were acquainted with Islāmic literature. The reciprocal influences were therefore considerable and were to continue so till the end of the middle ages.

As regards administration, the Christian communities of Muslim Spain under the Umayyads were under the direct authority of officials chosen by themselves from their own number and appointed with the approval of the Muslim authorities. Their head, who is sometimes given the Latin title of *defensor* or *protector*, was most frequently called Count (*Comes*, Sp. *conde*, Ar. *ḡumir*). The taxes which the Christians had to pay were collected by an agent called *exceptor*. To settle their differences they had a special judge (Ar. *ḡaḡī ʿl-naḡārā* or *ḡaḡī ʿl-naḡim*, Lat. *cenor*) who administered the Visigothic code (*Liber Iudicium*, later the *Fuero Juzgo*).

The Christian communities of Cordova and Seville were among the most important but were less important than that of Toledo, which was during the caliphate the residence of the metropolitan (*maḡḡān*) of Spain. The clergy were under bishops (*maḡḡ*). Public worship was celebrated

in the churches; there were monasteries (*deir*) with monks (*rāhīb*) in the neighbourhood of the larger towns: for example that of Armilāj (Guadimellato) near Cordova.

The history of the Mozarabs of Spain is of course closely connected with the political history of Islām in Spain and with the "reconquista". But its development is mainly interesting as throwing light on the peculiar culture of Moorish Spain which remained alive even after the fall of Muslim power. The recent publication of a considerable number of documents from the archives of the cathedral of Toledo mainly of the xijth and xiiith centuries enables us to estimate how great was the arabisation of all classes in reconquered Spain, which we find influencing civil, military and economic institutions and even ecclesiastical ritual (Mozarab rite). It is similarly to the Mozarab communities and their representatives who went to the north of the Peninsula that we must attribute the origin of a special art, Mozarab art, directly derived from Cordovan art and characterized by almost regular use of the horse-shoe arch and the vault.

Bibliography: The fundamental work, although sometimes slightly tendentious, is that of F. J. Simonet, *Historia de los Moráberes de España*, Madrid 1903. We must also give a high place to the notable work of A. González Palencia, *Los Moráberes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII*, 4 volumes, Madrid 1926—30. Cf. also: R. Châbas, *Los Moráberes de Valencia*, Valencia 1891; R. Duss, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, 2nd ed., Leyden 1931 (principally book II); M. Gómez Moreno, *Legislación morábera: arte español de los siglos IX—XI*, Madrid 1919; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1925; E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane du XI^e siècle, Institutions et vie sociale*, Paris 1932, p. 31—37; R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Madrid 1929, p. 98 sqq.; F. Pons Boigues, *Apuntes sobre las estructuras moráberas toledanas*, Madrid 1897; E. Saavedra, *La mujer morábera*, Madrid 1904.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

MSHATTĀ, a ruined palace in Transjordan.

Description of the building. The ruins of al-Mshattā (the winter camp) lie east of the Jordan about 130 miles south of Damascus and 25 east of the northern shore of the Dead Sea, near the Darb al-Hadīd, the pilgrims' road from Damascus to Medina and Mecca. It consists of a rectangular outer wall, defended by towers at the corners, each side being 157 yards long. The entrance gateway is in the centre of the south side and is flanked by two pentagonal half-towers rising out of an octagonal base, across which runs as far as the next round towers the long frieze 16 feet high and over 45 yards long, which has for the most part been taken to Berlin and which made Mshattā a world-famous monument of early Muslim architecture and decorative art and a much discussed centre of interest in Oriental archaeology. The building of the whole area within the wall was planned in three sections of which however only the central one was carried through, at least in part. This again is divided into three parts: the entrance area, the central rectangular open court and the royal residence. The plan by

vol. xxv., 1904) shows a gateway and an entrance hall, both of which were intended to be vaulted, and a series of surrounding rooms, of which the oblong room to the right of the entrance has been said by Herzfeld and others to be a mosque because it has a niche in it which is taken to be a mihrāb. Only the foundations of the walls of this part however are still standing. In the large quadrangular court on the western side is a water-basin built of brick and traces of a second one mentioned by Tristram on the opposite side, so that Schulz thought there were originally intended to be four for the sake of symmetry. The palace consists of a great hall with three aisles, a domed chamber and the living rooms at the sides. The walls are about five feet high, of blocks of limestone and above that of brick (21 × 21 and 27 × 27, 65 cm. thick). The rooms at the sides to the left and right of the great hall with its three aisles, are all barrel-vaulted; the smaller vaultings still exist and, like the relieving arches of the doors, are remarkable for their pointed arches. Schulz was able with certainty to reconstruct the façade which had fallen and was still lying on the ground. It consisted of three round arches on pillars corresponding to the three aisles. The hall was divided into three sections by pillars of which a few shafts and a Corinthian capital with painting and remains of gilding have been found. Holes and gutters at the bases and on the shafts suggested to Schulz that the columns had originally been taken from another building and used again here. The horizontal termination of the façade also shows that this hall was intended to have a flat, and not a basilical roof, or actually had one. To give it its height the two supporting rows of pillars had a second story of pillars placed upon them, an arrangement usual in Syrian architecture also. The quadrangular hall of audience and ceremonial, entered from the oblong hall by a second door, was covered by a dome and three half domes of brick, all of which have collapsed. Dovetailing on the inside of the surrounding wall shows that it was intended to build on to the sides of the palace dwellings for soldiers and other retainers. On the evidence of these projections from the wall, Schulz has prepared his reconstruction of the plan of these wings. The quadrangular surrounding walls with the round towers had barely been half built when the half-finished work was stopped. The principal motive of the great frieze at the part of the wall containing the main gateway is a zigzag pattern in high relief which forms 44 half triangles. These triangular areas are, wherever the frieze was finished, thickly covered with tendrils in low relief. In the centres of the pairs of interlocking perpendicular and suspended triangles, bosses are set in high relief decorated with acanthus rosettes. The socket of the frieze is in the form of a modified Attic base consisting of a plinth and two toruses. The border which frames the frieze at the sides and above consists of a leaf kyma at the foot and a second larger crowning it. According to Schulz's photograph, before the frieze was removed, the half left of the door up to the main border was finished but the right half only up to half height the of the frieze.

The patterns of foliage in the fields of the triangles show great variety. Here we follow the scheme of the official publication in the *Jahrb.*

d. preuss. Kunsthandslungen, xxv. (1904), pl. viii. The triangles A and B have within circles vines with birds picking grapes; in the apex of triangle A there is also a Chinese fabulous animal with a human head such as was very popular in Chinese sepulchral plastic art. In C the circles are interlaced and lotus flowers appear in addition to the vine-tendrils. In D-I the vines which are here more realistic grow out of vases which are flanked by lions and winged griffins; buffaloes, panthers, lynxes and gazelles also relieve the foliage. In triangle J the tendrils grow straight out of the ground; this area also has the remarkable addition of men picking the grapes. Triangle L is the first right of the door and is the last to contain animals. The areas of the triangles of the right half show a quite different style. M-T have, it is true, still vines but of the greatest, lace-like delicacy and closeness of pattern which varies from triangle to triangle. U and V lastly are filled with palm-leaves and cone-shaped figures instead of vines and crowned with spirals.

Form and purpose of the building. The plan is that of a *hira*, i.e. the Arab type of camp, reproduced in building materials, and so called after the Lakhmid capital, with the prince's tent or house on the central axis just as is described by Mas'ūd in his account of Sāmarrā (cf. E. Herzfeld, *Erster vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von Samarra*, Berlin 1912, p. 39 sq.). Mshattā, Ukhaidīr and Sāmarrā are descendants of this eastern type of palace. Just as the form could only be recognised as typical after the examination of Ukhaidīr in the 'Irāq and by the excavation of Sāmarrā, so it was the investigations of H. Lammens that first elucidated the purpose of these buildings (*La Rādhā et La Hira tous les Omeyyades*, in *M.F.O.B.*, iv.). Following Lammens, Herzfeld explained Mshattā as a *hadiya* (q. v.), i.e. a country palace which was built in the form of a *hira* for an Umayyad as an occasional residence.

History of exploration, bibliography and date. After its first discovery by H. B. Tristram in 1872, Mshattā was explained by his archaeological adviser J. Fergusson as a Sāsānian palace, built by Khusrāw II after his conquest of Syria in 614 A.D. It found a place in literature with this description in Tristram's *The Land of Moab* (London 1873). It was not till about the end of the century that Mshattā became a subject of archaeological study and discussion when it was visited in 1898 by A. Musil and soon afterwards examined by R. E. Brünnow and A. v. Domaszewski and published in their *Provinz Arabien* (1904-1909). In the meanwhile the Prussian expedition sent to take it down under B. Schulz had already been there and the Berlin publication by Schulz and Strzygowski appeared in the *Jahrb. d. preuss. Kunsth.*, 1904. To Professor Strzygowski is due the credit of having urged W. Bode to bring the façade to Berlin. Thanks to the interest displayed by the Emperor William II in the plan and his friendly relations with Sulṭān 'Abd al-Hamid, the latter, with the traditional generosity of an Oriental despot, gave the German Emperor a present of this ornament of the desert. As a result of his study of the architecture and decoration, Strzygowski dated Mshattā between 400 and 600 A.D. M. v. Berchem with Clermont-Ganneau and Danaud decided on historical grounds for the Lakhmid dating, i.e. that it was built as early as the

fourth century A.D. (*Aux pays de Moab et d'Édom*, iv., J.S., 1909, p. 401-408) while Brünnow and Musil assumed a Ghassānid origin. On the other hand in his review of Strzygowski (*Z. A.*, xix., 1905-1906, p. 419 sqq. and *Islamstudien*, p. 276 sqq.), C. H. Becker championed the Umayyad dating, which E. Herzfeld in his *Genese der islam. Kunst und das Mshattāproblem* (*Jahrb. d. preuss. Kunsth.*, 1910, p. 27-63 and 105-144) supported with evidence from the history of art, and was strengthened by the appearance at the same time in *M.F.O.B.*, iv., 1910, p. 91-112 of H. Lammens' study *Rādhā et Hira*. This Umayyad dating Herzfeld tried to make more convincing in his *Mshattā, Hira und Bādiya* (*Jahrb. d. preuss. Kunsth.*, 1921) and finally crowned his work with the discovery of an inscription drawn up by Walid II himself recording repairs done by him; Walid II was murdered after a year's reign (126 = 743-744) and work on the building was not completed. This attribution found further support in a story quoted by H. Lammens (in *J. A.*, 1915) from Ibn al-Mukaffā, according to which Walid II was murdered by a man named Ibrāhīm while building a "town" in the desert, which was to bear his name. Lammens identifies this town with Mshattā. Recently the Syrian desert palaces were again thoroughly investigated by the two fathers and teachers of the Ecole Biblique St. Etienne in Jerusalem, Jaussen and Savignac (*Mission Arch. en Arabie III. Les châteaux Arabes de Qasir Amra, Haranah et Tuba*, 2 vols., Paris 1922). As regards Tuba and Mshattā the two students came to the same conclusion as earlier scholars, namely that they belong to the same period. As it seemed to them impossible to attribute them to the Umayyad period, they attributed them to the pre-Islamic period; as both buildings were left unfinished, they must have been built towards the end of a dynasty or kingdom. The discovery of idols at Mshattā also, they said, prevented its being attributed to the Umayyad period (cf. Diez, *Die Kunst d. islamischen Völker*, 11th ed., 1926, p. 153).

Establishment of the Umayyad date of Mshattā. The archaeological material at Strzygowski's disposal when he wrote on Mshattā in 1904 was still insufficient for the proper appreciation of the historical position. It was not yet possible to have a complete conception of Umayyad art. Herzfeld who knew the lands in question by long residence and frequent travels was able six years later to approach the problem from much more solid premises. The most important monument from which deductions could be drawn was the Mihrāb of the Dījami' al-Khassaki, discovered by Sarre and Herzfeld in the meanwhile in Baghdād, which must be either pre- or early 'Abbāsid, and the decoration of which formed a parallel to that of Mshattā (*Jahrb. d. preuss. Kunsth.*, 1910, p. 33 sq. and plate I.). The explanation of the niche in the chamber right of the gateway as a *mihrāb* had to be decisively rejected and indeed less emphasis had been laid on it by Herzfeld than by superficial writers on the question for whom the "mihrāb" meant an easy proof of their point. Schulz had previously ascertained on the spot that this niche is not a mihrāb, and a study of the plan and Schulz's measurements shows a piece of masonry jutting 65 cm. out of the wall, containing a niche 1.62 m. broad and 1.48 deep. The fact that the mihrāb is never in a projection from the wall (an exception

would prove nothing) as well as the breadth of the niche which would be exceptional, even in very large mosques of late date (such a depth is hardly ever found anywhere), prove that this can only be a tribunal niche or something of the kind. *Qasr al-Tuba* has in its south wall four similar semi-circular apse-like niches about 10 feet broad, which surely no Muslim archaeologist would claim as *muharrabs*. *Mahattā*, however, does not require such illusive evidence to prove its Umayyad date. The conclusive proofs are found in the variety of material used and architectural styles, in the application of the principles of the minor arts to the decoration of buildings, already noticed but not correctly interpreted by Strzygowski, and the variety of styles in the areas of the triangles which fall into four groups.

The combination of *Irāk* brickwork with Syrian stonework in the royal residence proves the co-operation of different groups of workmen working on the system of conscription which was revived by the Umayyads. The construction of the brick arches is also *Irākian* in form and, besides, they are pointed arches which were unknown before the beginning of the seventh century, so that it is impossible to put the date before 600 A.D. It was only in the early Muslim period that their use spread. We find Syrian torus profiles on the basilical building and North Mesopotamian profiles on the frieze. The pillars in the basilical hall are taken from older buildings as was the custom wherever possible in the early Muslim period. In the pre-Muhammadan period neither wooden lances in the arches nor material from older buildings were used (Hersfeld).

On the significance of the decorative façade we may add a little to Strzygowski's and Hersfeld's observations. Two points were hardly touched on in the previous discussion: that the frieze is to be considered and understood only as the basis of a great façade which was planned but was never finished, and the origin of this system of decoration from Persian textile art, which alone could supply the foundation for it and explain the sudden appearance of this completely new world hitherto unknown in architectural ornamentation. The façade proper planned above this architectural border would have contained a pattern on a much larger scale just as we see on carpets. The thousandfold opposed groups of animals still to be found on Russian carpets and textiles influenced from Persia and the Caucasus of the *avijān*—sixth centuries and the zigzag friezes filled with tendrils each with a cypress (in place of a rosette) in the centre show the popularity and wide distribution and permanence of this motive. When it was taken over for architectural decoration, the popular textile forms, however, were translated into the traditional forms of the art of the land and time. This explains the different stylistic execution of the same plan by the stone-masons.

This historic breach with tradition, this surprising control over a differently oriented artistic tendency presupposes a radical change and reorganisation of society and outlook. An artistic creed so perfect and complete in itself cannot possibly be explained by the ambition of some upstart of a desert sheikh but it presupposes in addition to enormous wealth and far-reaching power a highly trained artistic sense, which was only possible at the time of the Umayyad Court

and actually existed there, as we know from many sources. Only a passionate builder and lover of architecture could visualise such a work and only at a court filled with scholars, poets and artists from all countries could the plans for it be drawn up. This illuminating emancipation from the Hellenistic façade with its pillared niches is only to be explained as the expression of a new outlook rooted in religion and proudly conscious of its quite different ideals, as was the case with young Islam. For the first time, the new teaching was here given artistic expression, in a design on a figured ground, which was to develop into the frieze of inscriptions on the *Farās* in *Khārgird* in the 11th century (cf. Diez, *Churanische Baudekmaler*, Pl. 18/2).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(E. DIEZ)

MU'ADHDHIN. [See *MASJID*, I, H, 4 and *ADHDHIN*.]

AL-MU'AIYAD. [See *HISHĀM* II.]

AL-MALIK AL-MU'AIYAD SAIF AL-DIN, Shaikh al-Mahmūdī (so-called after his first owner) al-Khāṣṣī (member of the bodyguard), a Circassian by birth, was brought as a slave to Cairo and purchased by the Atabeg Barqūq. When the latter became Sulṭān in 784 (1382) he gave him his freedom, put him in the corps of pages (*djandār*, q. v.), moved him to the corps of cup-bearers (*sāḥ*, q. v.) and later appointed him to the bodyguard (*khāṣṣī*, whence his nickname). Barqūq's son, Nūr Faraj (q. v.), on his accession in 801 (1399) appointed him emir of a thousand and in the following year governor of Tripoli. He served as a troop commander in the battle of Damascus against Timūr, was taken prisoner, soon after his release again became governor of Tripoli and later of Damascus. The reign of Sulṭān Faraj was a period of uninterrupted fighting between the Sulṭān and his governors and Shaikh was always in the midst of intrigues; often he was on the Sulṭān's side, more often in rebellion against him. His relations with his rival, the powerful governor Newrūs, were similar. Finally the Sulṭān succumbed to the emir, was deposed and put to death; the caliph 'Abbās b. Muḥammad al-Musta'in succeeded him in 815 (1412). The governor Shaikh who was in Cairo at the time, was appointed first minister (*niḡām al-mulk*) and retained power by filling all available offices with his followers. A rebellion of the Egyptian Beduins gave a pretext for deposing the Sulṭān al-Musta'in. The emir demanded that a man of vigour should occupy the throne and in Shaḥān of the same year chose Shaikh as Sulṭān. While he encountered no difficulties in Egypt, the governors of the Syrian provinces refused to recognise him. He had himself to go to Syria to bring them to reason. He gradually succeeded in taking one after the other prisoner, and after he had executed his chief enemy Newrūs his throne was secure. The last rebellion in 818 (1415) he put down with comparative ease.

The defeat of the Ottoman Sulṭān Bāyazīd in 804 (1402) by Timūr and the civil strife in the Mamlūk kingdom had been utilized by the neighbouring rulers in the buffer-states between Egypt and the Ottoman empire to capture a number of towns and fortresses in southern Asia Minor up to a line Larenda-Abulmstain-Darenda, which had previously been under Mamlūk rule. Sulṭān Shaikh regarded it as his duty to recapture these fortresses and again force these former vassals to recognise

his suzerainty in order to give his kingdom the necessary strength to resist its enemy, the Ottoman Sultan, and to protect the northern frontiers against the plundering raids of the Turkomans. The first campaign took place in 820 (1418) because, in spite of repeated demands, the prince Muḥammad b. 'Alī of the house of Karamān would not surrender the town of Tarsūs, which he had taken, although he was ready to recognise the Sultan's suzerainty on the coins and in the *ḥuṭha*. The Sultan set out from Cairo, receiving in Syria envoys from the families of Dhū l-Ghādir, Karamān and Ramaḡān, who brought the submission of their chiefs. Malāṭiya, Abulnastān, Darendā and Tarsūs were successively occupied, then Behesnē, Kaḥṭā and Karkār west of the Euphrates; the citadels of the two last-named were besieged, but the siege was raised when the commanders recognised the suzerainty of the Sultan. In the following year, a dangerous enemy of the Sultan, Karā Yūsuf, chief of the Black Sheep, invaded Northern Syria in his pursuit of Karā Yelek, chief of the White Sheep (both called after their banners), plundered the towns in the N.E. of the Mamlūk empire but then returned to Baghdād. The Sultan's successes were rendered useless by his return to Egypt, as the Syrian governors did not succeed in retaking the citadels. The Sultan therefore sent his son Ibrāhīm with a strong army to Asia Minor. The latter reached Kaisariya, appointed friendly chiefs as governors, while several hostile chiefs were taken prisoners and put to death and others slain in their flight. Ibrāhīm himself returned to Cairo in triumph but died there in 823 (1421) to the great grief of his father (the story that the latter poisoned him out of jealousy of his fame is absurd). Karā Yūsuf was threatening the eastern frontier, but he had to turn his attention to his enemies, a rebellious son and Timur's grandson Shāh Rukh, and at the end of the year he was poisoned. The Sultan himself had suffered for years from an affection of the foot; his illness (probably inflammation) became so serious that he could scarcely leave his bed. He had installed his eighteen months' old son as his successor and three of his emirs formed a kind of regency. His death took place on the 8th Muḥarram 828 (Jan. 14, 1427). His kingdom was secure, the frontiers consolidated, but at home there was a lack of order. Beduins were plundering the country and Alexandria was not infrequently exposed to attacks from the sea by Frankish pirates. Offices were freely sold and the people suffered much from the extortions of the officials. From time to time the Sultan deprived high officials of the profits of their extortions or imposed severe punishments on them. Taxes oppressed the country. The Sultan himself was brave and to the end of his life fulfilled his duties as a ruler in spite of his painful affliction — he had frequently to be carried. Although he led a life of pomp and gave popular entertainments, fireworks and feasts with great splendour, he was outwardly a pious and humble Muslim, who in times of famine and pestilence took part in prayers in the penitential garb of the Sūfis on the bare ground and like a pious Muslim observed a three days' fast in times of drought. He was harsh on Jews and Christians, dismissed them from government offices where they had clerical and administrative posts, and punished them in addition. The old strict regulations about dress were again enforced and all kinds of humiliations heaped on the "unbelievers".

Bibliography: Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, v. 129—156; Ibn Iṣṣā, ii. 2—10; Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Popper, VI/i/ii. 168—176; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣafī*, Arab. MS. Vienna, Mist 329, fol. 382—91; for the Asia Minor dynasties see E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de Géographie et de Chronologie*, Hanover 1927, p. 157 sq. (M. SOUERNHEIM)

AL-MU'AIYAD FĪ L-DĪN, ABU NĀṢE HIBAT ALLĀH b. ABĪ IMRĀN MUṢṢ. b. DĀWUD AL-SHIRĀZĪ, a Fāṭimid *ḍā'i* of high rank, d. 470 (1087). At the beginning of his mission al-Mu'ayyad propagated the Ismā'īlī doctrine in the East, especially in Shīrāz. He succeeded in converting the Buwāhid amir Abū Kāldjār [q.v.], but on account of opposition at home he went to Baghdād and Mawṣil, and thence to Cairo, where he was received after some time at the court of al-Mustanṣir bi 'Allāh [q.v.]. He now became chief *ḍā'i* and *ṣāb* of the Imām, and was probably in relations with the other great *ḍā'i* Nāṣir-i Khusrāw [q.v.]. Al-Mu'ayyad was sent in command of an army to help al-Basāsiri [q.v.] against the Turkmen. With his assistance al-Basāsiri inflicted a severe defeat on the Turkmen at Sūdjar, took Baghdād, and read the *ḥuṭha* in the name of the Fāṭimid Caliph. Al-Mu'ayyad was also in direct communication with the leaders of the Fāṭimid *da'wa* in Yaman. In addition to his capacities as a general he was possessed of great literary ability and a poet of no mean talent. His *ḍawān*, which consists of panegyrics on the Fāṭimid Imāms al-Mustanṣir and al-Zāhir, deals partly with philosophical subjects. Another important work, *al-Maḡālāt*, contains 800 "assemblies", dealing with different theological and philosophical questions, including his correspondence with the poet-philosopher Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī [q.v.] on the subject of vegetarianism (see D. S. Margoliouth, in *J.R.A.S.* [1902], 289 sq.). His autobiographical work, *al-Sira*, gives a detailed account of his mission in Shīrāz and his admission to the court of al-Mustanṣir, and is carried down to 451 (1059). Besides being one of the few autobiographies in Arabic literature, it is of considerable interest for the history of the Buwāhids and their relations with the Fāṭimids. The MSS. of these works are preserved in some collections of Ismā'īlī works in Yaman and India.

Bibliography: Contained in the article; also Ibn al-Saīrafi, *al-Iḥṣā*, Cairo 1924, p. 69; *Fārināma* (G. M. S., N. S., i.), 119; al-Makrizī, *Khatat*, i. 60; Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan, *Uyūn al-Aḥbār*, vols. vi. and vii.; R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Poetry*, p. 134—136, 142. (H. F. AL-HAMDANI)

MU'AIYAD-ZĀDE, 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN ÇELEBİ, an important Ottoman theologian and legislator. Born in 860 (1456) in Amasia of the family of Mu'ayyad-zāde (his father 'Alī was one of the three sons of Diwrikli-zāde Shams al-Dīn Mu'ayyad Çelebī [d. 851 = 1447]). Shaikh of the Ya'kūb Pasha Zāwiyesi in Amasia, he became, as a young student of theology, acquainted with prince Ḥāyazid, the younger son of Sultan Mehmed al-Fātib and afterwards Sultan, who had been appointed wālī of Amasia as a seven year old boy, and became a member of his circle. It is to this period that his relations with the famous poetess Mihri Khatun [q.v.] belong. The relations between the gifted youth and the prince who was about 9 years older than he (born 854 = 1447), became so intimate that Mu'ayyad soon became the in-

separable comrade of Bâyezîd. When Sütlân Mehmed heard from various sources, especially from a complaint in verse by Halîmî Lûîf Allâh, Kâdî of Siwâs, who had been gravely insulted by the entourage of the prince, of alleged abuses at the prince's court, especially the orgies of drug-taking (*mukheyyâfât; berâh, akhûn, ma'âfûn*), he sent a commission of enquiry which arrived in Amasia when the prince was with Mu'ayyad on a pleasure trip to Ladîk. The result of the enquiry was the issue of an order for the execution of the two chief culprits, one of whom was Mu'ayyad (this *hukm-i kharîf* is given in Ferîdûn, *Mejmu'at-i Munkharat*, Constantinople 1274², i. 270—271). From a note by Mu'ayyad in a book bought by him during his stay in Ladîk in Rabi' I 882 (June 1477) (the *Zîdî* of Shems al-Dîn) the date is exactly fixed (the date in Ferîdûn should therefore be altered from 884 to 883; cf. Husâm al-Dîn, *Amasia Târîkhi*, Istanbul 1927, iii. 230 note 1). Mu'ayyad, receiving timely warning of the fate threatening him, escaped from Amasia, provided with everything necessary by Bâyezîd, and after a short stay in Halab went to Shîraz, where he completed his theological studies under the celebrated Djalâl al-Dîn al-Dawwânî.

When Mu'ayyad returned home, on hearing of Bâyezîd's accession, he received an *idjâz* (teacher's diploma) from Dawwânî. In 887 (1482) he reached Amasia where his father had died three months earlier. After staying six weeks here he went to Constantinople where his extensive learning soon gained him a reputation among the theologians. Bâyezîd appointed him *muderris* at the Kalenderkhâne-medrese in Constantinople. In 891 (1486) Mu'ayyad married the daughter of the famous legist Muylîh al-Dîn Kâstallânî (Mawlâna Kestellî) who was the last Kâdî-asker-general of the Turkish empire and after the reforms by which this office was divided became Kâdî-asker of Rumelia. Mu'ayyad had a brilliant career: in 899 (1494) he became Kâdî of Adrianople; in 907 (1501) Kâdî-asker of Anatolia; in 910 (1504—1505) Kâdî-asker of Rumelia and head of all the 'ulamâ'. In 917 (1511) the Janissaries who had taken the part of prince Selîm plundered his house because his sympathies were with Ahmad, the favourite son of Bâyezîd. He himself was dismissed by the now senile Sütlân under pressure from the Janissaries. Selîm I soon after his accession recalled however him to his old office as he saw in him the right man to carry through the important duties of a Kâdî-asker. Selîm took him with him on his campaign to Persia against Shâh Ismâ'îl. But on the way back Mu'ayyad was deprived of his office in Çoban Köprü, as symptoms of a mental breakdown had begun to show themselves (920 = 1514). He died in 922 (1516) in Constantinople and was buried in Eyyûb.

Mu'ayyad wrote a number of treatises on law and theology especially on *Qur'anic* exegesis. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 227 and Brunsall Mehmed Tâhir, *Öthmanî Mu'ellifleri*, Istanbul 1333, i. 355, give a list of his works that survive in MS. Under the non-de-plains of Ehlîtemlî, Mu'ayyad also wrote poetry in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. His great service to Turkish literature lies however less in his own original work than in the magnificent liberality with which he encouraged rising young talent, like the poets Nejdîttî and Zâtî, the historians Kemâlî-Pâsha-Zâde and Muhyî al-Dîn

Mehmed, the jurist Abu 'l-Su'ûd and others. Mu'ayyad was also famed as a calligraphist. He was the first Ottoman to form a private library of over 7,000 volumes, a huge figure for the time.

Bibliography: In addition to the works already quoted: *Tâshköprüzâde, Şahâdât-i mu'mâniye*, Constantinople 1269, p. 308—311; transl. into German by Rescher, Constantinople 1927, p. 191—194, 86; Sehi, *Hezîk bîhîzîk*, Constantinople 1325, p. 27—28; Latîfî, *Teskere*, Constantinople 1314, p. 238; Habibî, *Khatt u-Khat-fân*, Constantinople 1306, p. 116; M. Shem'î, *Ilmülî etâmâr ul-Tewârîkh*, Constantinople 1295, p. 165; Thurelyza, *Sigill-i 'othmânî*, iii. 310; Sâmi, *Kamûs al-A'lâm*, iv. 30, 70—71; Hammer, *G. O. D.*, i. 305; Gibb, *H. O. P.*, ii. 29—31. (TH. MENZEL.)

MU'AYYID AL-DAWLA, ABU MANSHUR HUYE b. RUKN AL-DAWLA, Bâyezîd governor born in Djumâdî II 330 (= February-March 942), died in Djurdjân in Sha'bân 373 (January-February 984). See the article FAKHR AL-DAWLA.

AL-MU'AKKHIR. [See ALLÂH, II.]

AL-MU'AMMÂ, anagram, sometimes charade, a kind of enigma propounded in verse and rarely in prose; its meaning is made "blind" or obscure with the object of misleading the wits and the eye. It is formed by designating one or more words by various allusions to the letters forming it or them or by allusions relating to the pronunciation: the alphabetic value, the numeral value of the letters, misinterpretation or inversion (*jalb*). Very frequently no notice is taken of the vowels or of letters only connected with the spelling. Good taste is the rule.

There are several varieties of *mu'ammâ* which will be found enumerated in the works given in the *Bibliography*.

The invention of the *mu'ammâ* is attributed to Khalîl b. Ahmad, the inventor of prosody, while the Persians of course attribute it to 'Alî b. Abî Tâlib.

The following is an example of a *mu'ammâ* on the name Ahmad: *Awwaluhâ thâliqâ tuffâhâ wa-râbî'â 'l-tuffâhî thânihi, Wa-awwal al-miskî lahû thâliqâ, wa-râbî'â 'l-wardî li-bâkhihi*. *Its first is the third of [the word] *tuffâhâ* (apple) = A; and the fourth of [the word] *tuffâh* (apples) is its second = H; and the first of [the word] *misk* (musk) is its third = M; and the last of [the word] *ward* (roses) is the remainder of it = D".

Here is a Persian example on the word *sattâ*: *Nâm-i butam ân muk fîrâz, haft ast bibârisiy u-tâzi*, "The name of my idol, this [woman] fair as the moon, is seven in Persian and Arabic". The word *sattâ* divided into two, gives *sat* or *sitt* which in Arabic means "six" and *â* or *yâk* which in Persian means "one", whence we have 6 + 1 = 7.

Bibliography: Kutb al-Dîn al-Nahravâllî, *al-Kam al-Amâ fî Fann al-Mu'ammâ* (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 383); 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Ahmad al-Bakka', *al-Tirâs al-Amâ 'alâ Kam al-Mu'ammâ* (Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 285, 381); anonym., *Djalâ' al-Dayâdî fî 'l-Mu'ammâ-yât wa 'l-Aghâz wa 'l-Akhâr*, Bairût 1882; Tâhir b. Salîh al-Djarrâ'î, *Tashât al-Mafâz fî Fann al-Mu'ammâ wa 'l-Aghâz*, Bairût 1308; 'Abd al-Hâdî Nadjâ al-Abyârî, *Sulûk al-Mafâz li-Su'ûd al-Mafâz*, Bulâk 1283, i. 3; Tâshköprüzâde, *Miftâh al-Su'ûd wa-Miftâh al-Suyûdâ*, Haidarâbâd 1329, i. 224 (N^o. 35); 'Abd al-Kâdir b. Muhammâd al-Jabarrî, *Uyûn al-Ma'â'il*

min *A'yūn al-Maṣṣif*, Cairo 1316, p. 108; Muḥammad b. Kaṣ al-Rāṣī, *al-Muḥḥam fī Ma'āyir al-Adab*, ed. Miṣr Maḥmūd and Browne, Leyden 1901, p. 397; al-Djurdjānī, *Taḥrīf*, Constantinople 1307, p. 150; Garcin de Tassy, *Révis. et procédé des lang. des musul. de l'Or.*, Paris 1873, p. 165. (MOH. BENCHENEN)

MU'ATILA [See TA'TIL.]

MU'AWAḌA (A.), barter, exchange.

1. Mu'awāḍa, barter, is historically an early form of the exchange of commodities between two parties and the predecessor of buying and selling (*ba'ī*; Roman law: *emptio-venditio*). In course of time sale developed out of exchange when, with the coming of money, a sum was given in place of the goods which the other party had to give in return. In Muslim law we find the following four kinds of sale:

a. Exchange of one thing for another. This is the primitive method of exchange (*mu'awāḍa*). Exchange is a transaction in kind. Payment takes place "hand upon hand" (*yadun bi-yadin*).

b. Exchange of a thing for a definite sum (*ṭhaman*). By *ṭhaman* (gold or silver) a sum of money is meant. Here we have a sale in the proper sense of the word (cf. *ba'ī*).

c. Exchange of one definite sum (*ṭhaman*) for another; this is the case of gold or silver being exchanged for each or one another. This is called *ṣarf* (q. v., money-changing).

d. Exchange of a claim (*ḍāin*, debt) for a definite sum. The main business under this head is the *salām* or *salaf* (q. v.).

2. Mu'awāḍa is a subdivision of the form of agreement called *ṭulḥ* (q. v.). According to Ibn al-Kāsim's definition, p. 338, and other *fuḥuṣṣā* such an agreement is either *ṭulḥ al-ibṭā'*, reduction of debt (not wiping it out) or *ṭulḥ al-mu'awāḍa*, exchange of debts. Ibn al-Kāsim thus defines the latter: "And the exchange i.e. the composition is the ceding of one's right to a third e.g. when some one claims a house or a part of it and he allows this claim and concludes an agreement with him by which the debt is paid in some definite thing e.g. clothes". In this case the creditor instead of the thing claimed by him which the debtor is unwilling to give up takes another to wipe out the disputed debt. An agreement may also be made about a legal claim instead of a thing. The following is a practical illustration: Zaid has a legal claim against 'Amr. 'Amr raises a claim against Zaid. Each of them abandons his claim in *ṭulḥ al-mu'awāḍa* and the demands are cancelled.

3. Lastly Mu'awāḍa is a technical term in the general Muslim law of contract, on which there is so far no comprehensive study taking full account of the sources. A contract (*'uqūd*) may be based on one-sided or mutual obligation (*contractus unilateralis* or *bilateralis*). The latter form, which is the basis for mutual obligations, claim and counter-claim, is called *mu'awāḍa* in Muslim law. Examples of contract of this sort are those of sale, lease, marriage etc.

Bibliography: L. W. C. van den Berg, *De Contractus "do ut des"*, Leyden 1868, p. 29; Ahmad Abu 'I-Faṭḥ, *al-Mu'awāḍāt*, Cairo 1340, I. 41, 187, 199; al-Shirāzī, *Nirāḥ al-Tanbīḥ*, ed. A. W. T. Juynboll, Leyden 1879, p. xi, xlviii, xlv; R. Grunshoff, *Die allgemeinen Lehren des Obligationenrechts*, Göttingen 1895; also the usual works on Fiqh. (OTTO SPIES)

MU'ĀWIYA, the first Umayyad caliph, son of Abū Sufyān (q. v.) and Hind (q. v.), was born in Mecca in the first decade of the seventh century A.D. Under the training of his father, the most influential personage in, if not the actual leader of the merchant republic of Mecca, he had an opportunity to be initiated into the principles of government as the Meccans understood it. Converted to Islam in the year of the *faṭḥ* or surrender of Mecca, he made himself useful to the Prophet in the capacity of secretary. Here he gained an insight into the workings of the new regime and learned to know the men with whom he was later to work or struggle: the autocratic 'Omar, the presumptuous 'Alī, a whole crowd of ambitious people, like Talha, Zubair and 'A'isha, sometimes redoubtable for their talents and capacity for intrigue, like 'Amr b. al-'Ās (q. v.) and Muḥib b. Shu'ba (q. v.). This dual training early matured the young Mu'āwiya who was remarkably gifted, and prepared him from the first for his high destiny.

In the caliphate of Abū Bakr he was sent to the conquest of Syria as second in command to his brother Yazīd; in this new field he displayed an astonishing activity and distinguished himself by military successes, like the taking of Caesarea and other cities of the Phoenician coast. On the premature death of Yazīd, he took his place as governor of Damascus. In 'Omar's reign, with the advance of Arab arms, he added to this office the governorships of the other provinces of Syria. 'Othmān, who was related to him, confirmed him in these offices and still further increased his authority. Mu'āwiya gained the attachment of those under him and established in Syria during the twenty years of his governorship a model province, the best organized, and with the best disciplined troops of the young empire. Not having been able to prevent the assassination of 'Othmān, he was able cleverly to take upon himself the task of avenging him. This was to lead him to the caliphate and bring him into open conflict with 'Alī. Delaying his attack, he let his rival use up his forces and lose his prestige in civil strife and in sterile conflicts with the dissenters ('Othmāniya, q. v.) and others, who accused him of complicity in the murder of his predecessor. The indecisive battle of Siffin (q. v.) resulted in the arbitration of Adhrah (q. v.). In pronouncing that 'Alī should lose the caliphate, the verdict restored to Mu'āwiya liberty of movement. He had won over 'Amr b. al-'Ās to his side and at once used this valuable supporter for the conquest of Egypt. Encouraged by his military and diplomatic successes, he allowed his troops to proclaim him caliph and continuously harassed the provinces that still recognised 'Alī. Ibn al-Muḥḥam's crime removed the last obstacle separating him from the throne. Mu'āwiya profited by it to inaugurate his reign in Jerusalem. To him the title of caliph merely meant official recognition of a fait accompli, the result of twenty years of labour and devotion to those under his governorship in Syria. To law-abiding men, he alone seemed capable of putting an end to the anarchy in which the empire had been struggling for more than ten years. In the course of a rapid campaign in the 'Irāq in 41 (661), he acquired from Ḥasan b. 'Alī a definite renunciation of his family's claims. The submission of the provinces to the east of the Tigris restored the unity of the caliphate. This

year is known as the year of reunion (*al-ḡamā'a*).

One man continued to sustain in Persia the flag of the 'Alids, Ziyād b. al-Thi [q. v.]. Mu'awiya won him over by *intidhāf*, a procedure by which he recognised him as his half-brother, son of Abū Sufyān. This bold stroke secured him the support of the ablest governor of the caliphate, a worthy rival of 'Amr b. al-'Ās and Muḡhira b. Shu'ba, already supporters of the caliph. Against the combination of these four brains all the plots hatched by the anti-Umayyad opposition were to come to nothing. On the death of Muḡhira, Ziyād added the governorship of Kufa to his own of Basra and for eight years ruled the whole of the eastern provinces. By his ability and loyalty, Ziyād showed himself most worthy of the confidence placed in him. Freed from anxiety about this half of the empire, Mu'awiya devoted his energies to the pacification and development of the prosperity of other parts of his vast empire and to removing the traces of the long struggle from which it had emerged. He organized the Arab navy while his lieutenants actively pursued the work of foreign conquest. He took Cyprus and Rhodes and on two occasions his son Yazid closely blockaded Constantinople. His great work was the creation of the Syrian army of troops blindly devoted to their sovereign. It formed the great military reserve of the empire for his successors, an inexhaustible nursery of soldiers and leaders. He was able to keep it in training by annual invasions of Byzantine territory: razzias on a large scale rather than campaigns with a definite plan of conquest. By thus keeping the enemy engaged at home, he managed to defend his own frontiers very efficiently. Taken at a disadvantage during his tense struggle with 'Alī by an invasion of the Mardaites [q. v.], he did not hesitate to purchase the withdrawal of these adventurers from the emperor. If after his elevation to the caliphate he rarely left Damascus — henceforth the official capital — to lead his armies in person, he nevertheless was still the "real organiser of victory". He saw to the comfort and equipment of the troops, doubled their pay and saw that they were paid with a regularity hitherto unknown. His rival 'Alī said that on the call of Mu'awiya the Syrian army "would take the field without demanding pay, not two or three times a year only, wherever it pleased its leaders to take them". His intuition everywhere chose the ablest administrators, the best leaders among the Quraysh and other tribes. To the names already mentioned we may add those of Ḍahhāk b. Kaīs, Abū 'A'war al-Sulami, Muslim b. 'Ukba, Busr b. Abī Ariḡr, Ḥabīb b. Maslama [q. v.]. By the help of enormous subsidies and by his magnanimity he was able to keep the members of the Prophet's family, the 'Alids and the Ḥashimites, quiet: Ibn 'Abbās and Ibn Qa'far, 'Aqīl, the brother, and "the two Ḥasan", *al-Ḥasanūn*, the sons of 'Alī. He used the business experience of the Sarrājūnids to organise the financial administration. This fiscal reform gave him the resources required to maintain his armies, carry out desirable public works and pay the subsidies necessary to secure the success of his plans. He continuously interested himself in agriculture. He paid special attention to the development of the province least favoured by nature, the Hijāz. His example, which was copied by his relations and most influential contemporaries, brought this region a century of prosperity under

the Umayyads such as it was never to see again. In the lands of Medina and Mecca and Ta'if, Mu'awiya carried out great irrigation schemes, sank wells and built dams.

In Syria he strengthened his authority by a close alliance with the fellow-tribesmen of his Kalba wife Maysūn [q. v.] and through them with the other tribes of Kaḏā'a and those from the Yemen; these groups formed the bulk of the Arab population of Syria. It was on these foundations that the hegemony exercised by Syria throughout the Umayyad period was built and consolidated. His policy towards Christians was a tolerant one. Lastly, he endeavoured to train his son Yazid to be an heir capable of continuing his traditions of government, by checking certain tendencies of his well-endowed but impetuous nature with its fondness for pleasure. Seeing his end approaching, he skillfully succeeded in getting Yazid recognised as his successor, first of all in Syria and then in other provinces. These difficult negotiations were the last of his political successes. Mu'awiya was now entering on the twentieth year of his caliphate, in 60 (Oct. 679) and probably was in the 80th year of a life which had been marked by constant success. By the year 3 or 4 — contrary to the assertion of Ibn Duraid (*Kiṣāb al-Jahāliyyah*, p. 256) — he must have reached manhood, for four years later he was secretary to the Prophet. In the course of the forty years of his public career, no serious check ever interrupted his progress. After the abdication of Ḥasan b. 'Alī, he had "reigned without a rival, without losing any of the conquests of Islām. Neither 'Abd al-Malik, nor Mansūr, nor Ḥārūn al-Rashid earned this praise, unique in the annals of Islām" (Ḍahabī). He died at Damascus in the month of Rajab of the year 60 (April 680) and was buried in the cemetery of Rāb al-Saḡhir where his tomb still survives. Before his death he entrusted the regency to Ḍahhāk b. Kaīs and to Muslim b. 'Ukba until Yazid should return from Anatolia. Companion and secretary of the Prophet, brother of Umm Ḥabiba [q. v.], "the mother of the believers", these claims have not preserved him from the hatred of the Shi'is and the official maledictions pronounced by certain 'Abbāsid caliphs. More tolerant to his memory than to that of his son Yazid, orthodoxy generally agrees to recognise his right to the respect which is due to the Ṣaḥābū. The Syrians long cherished the memory of his glorious reign and even beyond the bounds of Syria he had partisans among the Ḥanbalis, called *ḡaṣṣāt*, the enthusiasts for Mu'awiya.

II. Mu'awiya's policy. In the historical and anecdotal literature of the Arabs there are few collections which do not devote a paragraph to Mu'awiya's "wise mildness and complete self-control" (Wellhausen), qualities which the Arabs include under the term *ḥilm*. By this supreme virtue they claim to recognise the true statesman. The Sufyānid sovereign is said to have owed the great success of his career to it. "Mu'awiya's *ḥilm*" thus became proverbial. A somewhat mixed virtue, essentially opportunist in character, it may be combined with astuteness, or the less scrupulous forms of diplomacy. In our hero this quality has been found even in the most difficult trials inflicted on his amour-propre. His smiling imperturbability was able to disarm the proudest of his adversaries, who were then completely won over by his generosity. With the golden chains of pensions

and rich gifts the ruler was able to hold in leash his most intractable enemies. When his friends expressed surprise at the vastness of certain donations, he would reply "a war costs infinitely more". This was his favourite method of dealing with the 'Alids and Hashimids. He has been unjustly accused of having introduced the custom of publicly cursing the name of 'Ali from the pulpit of the mosque. There is no certain evidence of this practice before the time of the Marwānids.

The collateral branches of the Umayyad family supplied him with distinguished assistants. He was careful not to bring the more ambitious of them too much to the front or to leave them too long in one office. He was studious to inculcate into all his relations the feeling that they must stand by one another and that this consisted in the blind execution of his orders. The Umayyads formed his natural supporters. He could not do without them. But the unsettled problem, of the dynastic succession made him distrustful of relatives called upon to share the responsibilities of power. He did not fail to keep a close watch over them. With men like Ibn 'Amir, Sa'id b. al-'As, Marwān b. al-Hakam [q.v.], of remarkable gifts and considerable influence, who did not conceal their aspirations, he came to terms in a way that effectually discouraged them from following the dictates of their ambitions. As to the sons of the Caliph 'Othmān, they seemed to him too insignificant to cause him any disquiet. On the other hand, Marwān and Sa'id were appointed to succeed one another at about regular intervals in the government of the Hijāz, the cradle of Islām and of the ruling family. Mu'awiya was unwilling to give them time to create in such an important centre a position for themselves and connections which might have compromised the future of the dynasty. Ultimately he decided to replace these two relatives by a nephew of his own, now almost grown up, the Sufyānid Walid b. 'Uthba [q.v.]. In the important governorship of the 'Irāk, which controlled the eastern provinces, Mu'awiya showed his preference for Thakafi officials, Mughira, Ziyād and the latter's son 'Ubad Allāh. He appreciated the devotion of these men, who came from the shrewd society in Tā'if, suspected by the other Umayyad families, compelled to rely on their sovereign, the author of their fortunes. For a moment, the extraordinary promotion of Ziyād and the confidence the Caliph showed in him, suggested that he had him in view as his successor. In this attitude to his relatives, the interests of the dynasty superseded all other considerations. The heir presumptive was young. Mu'awiya wanted to save his Umayyad cousins from the temptation to set up as rivals of his successor. The first step was to do Yazid rather a bad turn. If, instead of the inexperienced Walid, Mu'awiya had retained or restored for another period of office in the governorship of the Hijāz the energetic Marwān, there is no reason to think that this would not have turned the incantations Husain from the hopeless exploit of Karbala'.

In the traditional view Mu'awiya appears as the perfect type of Arab ruler. When writers, jurists, encyclopaedists and compilers of anthologies have to quote a trait or a saying illustrating kingship, or the conduct of states, they rarely hesitate to credit it to our hero. This unanimity which reflects so much to his credit has been transformed

into censure by orthodoxy. Mu'awiya is reproached with having transformed the *khilāfa*, the vicariate of the Prophet, into *mulk*, into a temporal sovereignty, with having, if we may use the term, secularized the supreme power, really a purely lay one, in the heart of Islām. This criticism is an attempt to throw odium on Mu'awiya while in reality it calls attention to his great merit. In him the ruler, "the king", i.e. the organizer and administrator, appear very distinctly while they are difficult to find in his predecessors, painfully fighting against the outbursts of Beduin anarchy. This transformation of the patriarchal power had begun with 'Omar who was the first to realise the necessity for it and attempted to realize it. Mu'awiya endeavoured to hasten its evolution towards more effective centralization, an extension of the powers and personal authority of the sovereign. To secure for the latter the advantages of external pomp, the prestige given by formalities, he gave more ceremony to the hitherto democratic appearance of the caliph at the Friday services. He appeared in the *minbar* or pulpit, surrounded by a *sharfa* or guard — 'Ali had already had one — and remained seated while delivering his address, the *khutba*. Some have thought to see in this attitude a sign of pride. This is to forget the primitive nature of the *minbar* as the seat of the ruler, the sovereign's throne, before it became of liturgical significance as the pulpit of the mosque, after the latter had become a building for religious worship. This charge of *mulk* was also intended to render suspect the sincerity of the faith of the Sufyānid monarch. But austerity characterised his morals and private life. He was a good father and a devoted husband. We find him conscientiously performing his religious duties and dying at length a good Muslim.

The chroniclers unanimously find in the complex character of Mu'awiya another trait besides *him*: political finesse, what the Arabs call *dākīya*. To be credited with this it was necessary to have in addition to diplomatic skill, a remarkable gift of eloquence, force of decision, a resourceful nature and a conscience broad enough not to shrink from the use of trickery. Mu'awiya was reckoned among the five best Kuraish orators of his time. He was fond of saying "I have won more success with the tongue than Ziyād (b. Abih) with the sword". Arab writers prefer to attribute these successes to the Machiavellian nature of the sovereign. He is said never to have shrunk from recourse to violence or the use of poison when he wished to get rid of troublesome adversaries. To support this charge the cases of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Khālā, Hasan b. 'Ali and Ashtar b. Malik [q.v.] are quoted. But each of the examples is capable of a more natural explanation. We would readily put Mu'awiya in the category of those statesmen to whom useless crime is naturally repugnant, too wise to allow themselves to be tempted by violent solutions but not scrupulous enough to hesitate in such an extremity, if reasons of state seemed to advise it. One of his successors, 'Abd al-Malik, called him "the cunning (*mu'āṣin*) caliph". The pleasure-loving son of 'Ali, ruined by his easy life, forgotten and retired to Medina, did not deserve to be feared. The two other individuals above mentioned died by accident or were victims of private vengeance.

The poets, the "journalists" of the period, had an undoubted influence on their contemporaries. This influence the sovereign succeeded in controlling

and subjecting to dynastic interests. Himself very susceptible to the charms of verse, he would have liked to see poetry confine itself to developing patriotism, and renouncing satire which was a source of dissension among the tribes. The restorer of *ḡamā'a*, national unity, felt more than anyone the necessity for this concord to heal the wounds caused by anarchy. Powerless to prevent the incursions of poets into the field of politics he endeavoured to win them over to his side by gifts and the use of tact. To win them over was to have "a good press", and at the same time gain their tribes to the cause of order, for the tribes usually agreed with the ideas spread by their bards. He exploited his son Yazīd's relations and friendships with the poets to compromise them in favour of the Umayyads and make them less amenable to the advances of the reactionary parties. He paid for their panegyrics; he took them under his protection whenever their lack of discipline brought them into trouble with the local authorities. He did not hesitate to shut his eyes to some of their poetical outbursts, which seem to compromise the reputation of his own hearth; under the 'Abbāsids such audacity would have meant death. He further left it to these indiscreet auxiliaries to deal with abuses by officials and found in them a useful check on arbitrary exercise of authority by his lieutenants. It was at the same time a satisfaction of their amour-propre, allowed to the vanity of these rhapsodists, who were courted by all parties and intoxicated by the terror which their wit inspired. In return for this toleration, he was able to get less disinterested services from them. He imposed on them the duty of preparing public opinion in favour of the *ba'a*, the recognition, of Yazīd as heir-apparent. To accustom the Arabs to this step so repulsive to their democratic instincts, to give the caliph leisure to calculate its chances of success, there was nothing so useful as the intervention of these heralds with their echoing phrases. It enabled the government to remain discreetly in the background, ready to come out at the opportune moment.

The biased Mas'ūdi himself cannot help admitting the pliant ease of Mu'awiya's policy, "his great generosity to his subjects and the benefits which he heaped upon them; winning their sympathy and seducing their hearts with such skill that they put him before their kinsmen and natural affections". Firmness in administration, skill in managing men according to their rank, cordiality, these are some of the qualities credited by this historian, the friend of 'Alī, to the successful rival of Fātima's husband.

Let us now deal with the charges brought against him by orthodoxy. With the object of making them more readily accepted, the indictment is carefully put in the mouth of the austere Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. "Mu'awiya committed four crimes — one of them alone would suffice to cover him with dishonour — : he abandoned the nation to men of no repute, deprived it without consulting it (by the *ba'a* of Yazīd) of the control of its destinies and that in the life-time (i.e. to the detriment) of numerous Companions and virtuous individuals. He chose as his successor an incorrigible drunkard, robed in silk and playing the harp. He adopted Ziyād. Lastly he condemned Ḥudayr b. 'Adī (q.v.) to death". The impartial historian will have little difficulty in clearing the sovereign from these charges, which reveal his political flair, his instinct for rulership which raised him high above the

prejudices of his contemporaries. The measures for which he is blamed secured the caliphate twenty years of peace and prosperity, the longest period it ever knew.

To sum up, Mu'awiya appears in the series of Muslim rulers as one of the most attractive individuals and one of all round ability. In him the Arabs see the very incarnation of sovereignty. In the opinion of Mas'ūdi his successors at best could only try to copy him without being able to equal him. In spite of their little liking for the able Sufyānid, the Marwānids frequently appealed to his traditions and the methods of government inaugurated by him. He was, beyond doubt, the least oriental and the most modern of the rulers of Islam. He did not disdain public opinion. One must be grateful to him for not having believed in the power of force alone in the management of men, for not having sought to reestablish, as the 'Abbāsids were to do, the old Asiatic autocracies, for having preferred that his subjects should become voluntarily attached to him by winning their sympathies, for proclaiming that "the world is more surely led by the tongue than by the sword". This conviction led him to adopt several institutions of Beduin democracy — such as the *wafūd*, deputations from the provinces and the principal tribes — to consult the views of such assemblies on as many occasions as possible, to associate them openly with public business by recognising their right of remonstrance. The astuteness of the sovereign knew how to direct these manifestations of the old individualism of the nomads and to bring them to cooperate with his designs. To quote the comparison of the Byzantine historians, he appeared as a *πρωτοβουλός* in the midst of his *ἐκκλησίαι*; in the deliberations of his Syrian parliament, he posed as *primus inter pares*. He was gradually able to advance the political education of his subjects and to control the signs of lack of discipline. He was never perturbed by their criticisms nor by the satires of the poets. "I do not trouble" he said "about words so long as they do not lead to deeds". These liberal principles became restricted under the Marwānids and disappeared with the coming of power of the absolute monarchy of the 'Abbāsids.

As is frequently the case with men who have grown old in politics, a long period of power — he exercised it without interruption for 40 years — had made him a sceptic. This benevolent scepticism was revealed in a knowing smile when, with eyes half closed, he used to listen without missing a word to the petitions and recriminations of his visitors and pretended to be taken in by their customary excesses. From his youth, passed in the cosmopolitan city of Mecca, then in Medina in the very mixed society of the Companions, he had been in too close contact with his contemporaries to be under any illusions about their disinterestedness. He had not to invent, but no one managed better than he, that instrument of government, the *ta'rif al-ḡulūb*, the rallying of hearts, an ingenious euphemism of the Qur'an, meaning the art of purchasing hesitating adherents. Other caliphs surpassed him in courage, in outward austerity, *zuhd*, in love of knowledge and other qualities that dazzle the eyes of the multitude. No one possessed to such a degree as Mu'awiya the gifts of the founder of an empire: vision,

energy and promptitude in action, breadth of view, logical thinking, absence of antiquated prejudices, skill in adapting the prestige and ceremonial of his position to Arab taste, ability to use men and to deal tactfully with their prejudices so as not to offend them directly. This rare combination of qualities enabled him to extract order out of the chaos of Beduin anarchy. If we endeavour to appreciate fairly Mu'awiya's work with its inevitable deficiencies, one must take into account the intractable material on which he had to work and the resistance opposed by the inveterate individualism of the nomads. He succeeded not only in disciplining them but also in transforming them into conquerors, able to rule over peoples of superior culture, heirs to the oldest civilisations.

For achieving this result, the son of Muḥammad's old opponent has deserved well of Islām. In the list of those responsible for this great revolution his name should come after that of the Prophet beside the name of the caliph 'Omar. Orthodox tradition likes to exalt the latter and present him as the second founder of Islām. Of European writers, Sprenger and von Kremer have popularised this view. In it we may recognise the reply of the schools of the Hīdžāz to the 'Irāk legend woven round the memory of 'Alī. To their work we owe the fantastic proportions assumed by the personality of 'Omar; it absorbs not only Abū Bakr, but even throws its shadow upon the Prophet. 'Omar is brought into the origin of all religious and administrative institutions, especially of all those that cannot decently be credited to the author of the Qur'ān. This exaggerated admiration of the Hīdžāz was to provoke the protestations of the 'Abbāsids. The counterblast of Shī'a tradition was to place 'Alī alongside of 'Omar to direct him and if necessary to correct him. The indisputable merits of the second caliph lie elsewhere. In the midst of the terrible confusion that resulted from the conquests he was able to maintain the unity and cohesion of the empire, immeasurably enlarged, to bring the Arabs intoxicated with success under comparative control. Closely watched, harassed by the selfish claims of his Medinese senate and its disturbing element formed by the redoubtable group of the "ten *anṣar al-ghara'*" or "the chosen" and the oldest friends of the Master, he succeeded in neutralising their restless activities, their dire passion for intriguing and in exploiting their greed and mutual jealousies. In the provinces the generals and governors showed an obedience scarcely less intermittent. 'Omar had frequently to resign himself to approving by *sanatio in radice* in order not to lose touch with such undisciplined auxiliaries and to remind all of the existence of the vicariate of the Prophet. The day on which he thought of a more effective centralization, of a less ideal systematization, assassination brutally delivered him from his error. The same fate was to overtake 'Othmān, when under pressure from the Umayyads, he took up his predecessor's programme where it had been interrupted. With 'Alī the caliphate relapsed into chaos and lost a quarter of a century of progress on the way to reorganization. One province alone formed an exception, Syria, which had been governed since its creation by the Umayyads.

But for the intervention of Mu'awiya and his able lieutenants, the 'Amrs, Ziyāds and Marwāns, the Muslim empire would have been transformed — like the 'Irāk and Kijūrkān — into an arena

to which the Arabs came to settle their petty tribal quarrels. Once on the throne, the Sufyānid worked to extend gradually to the rest of the caliphate the methods of government which had secured the prosperity of Syria. Encouraged by the results obtained in this country, he set himself to discipline the other Beduins who, according to the idea ascribed to 'Omar, formed the "substance of Islām". From this *rudis indigestaque moles*, this rebellious mass, gradually broken in by the influence of Syria, fashioned by teachers trained in his school, the first Syrian caliph recruited soldiers, then formed from them the cadres of a regular army: wonderful troops always ready to play their double part, the *ghihād* abroad, and at home the maintenance, against any threat from within, of the *ḥumū'a*, the unity of the empire. Mu'awiya succeeded in impressing on these descendants of caravan-leaders of Arabia, nomads, all obstinate landmen, the importance of the mastery of the seas. Arab thalassocracy dates from this period. Forced to use primitive institutions, the *sunna*, tradition, sanctioned by the Prophet and the Medina caliphs, he endeavoured to turn them to the needs of a great empire. He managed at least to suppress the anarchical working of the *shūrā* by regulating the dynastic succession. He organised the finances; he began by revising and reducing the enormous pensions granted by preceding governments without regard to services rendered to the state. Down to his time the central treasury of the caliphate had been supplied by intermittent and always unwilling contributions extorted from the provinces. Mu'awiya endeavoured to settle the amount to be paid by each province and to regularise its collection. Under him the treasury ceased to be a relief fund which the conquerors claimed to use as they pleased. His predecessors had had to empty it periodically to secure assistance or neutrality important for the success of their policy. Hitherto *"māl al-muslimin"*, the collective property of the Muslims, the treasury now became *māl Allāh*, the treasury of the state, intended to cover general expenses, to secure the representation and the defence of the empire. These reforms made Mu'awiya the first sovereign, *malik*, of Islām, the first ruler to enjoy a definite authority, independent, unlike his predecessors, of the anarchic good-will of his subjects, and no longer at the mercy of an oligarchy interested in the maintenance of old abuses. The Medinese vicariate which developed from the triumvirate, could not long survive this coup d'état, this drastic solution of the problem of the succession to the Prophet. Before Mu'awiya, the caliphate had only had a nominal existence. For this signment, the son of Abū Sufyān substituted a reality; he created the Arab state: a creation seen darkly by 'Omar without having been brought to realisation.

Bibliography: We refer the reader to our *Études sur le règne du calife omayyade Mo'awia I*, following our *Califat de Yazid I* (reprint from *M.F.O.R.*, i—iii.). The references are there given. One may also with advantage consult G. Levi della Vida, *Il califato di 'Alī secondo il Kitāb an-nabī al-awfī di al-Balāghūrī*, in *R.S.O.*, vi, 427—507; our *Ziād ibn Abīhi, vice-roi de l'Irak, lieutenant de Mo'awia I* (extract from the same periodical, iv.).

(H. LAMMENS)

MU'AWIYA B. 'UBAID ALLĀH. [See ARB. 'UBAID ALLĀH.]

AL-MU'AWWIDHATĀN, name of *sūras* cxlii. and cxliii, taken from the opening words: "Say, I take refuge with . . .". The term *al-mu'awwidhāt* occurs also; it denotes these *sūras* together with *sūra* cxii. — The *mu'awwidhāt* belong to those parts of the *Kur'ān* which are frequently recited (after every *ṣalāt*: Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iv. 135; before going to sleep: Bukhārī, *Da'awāt*, bāb 12; in order to avert the evil eye: Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Paisley and London 1899, p. 259, chapter Superstitions).

AL-MU'AZZAM. [See **TURĀN SHĀH**.]

AL-MALIK AL-MU'AZZAM SHARAF AL-DĪN 'ISĀ b. **MALIK AL-'ADIL** b. **AIYUB** was born in 576 (1180). In 597 (1200) he became governor for his father al-Malik al-'Adil [q. v.] in Damascus and next year was besieged by Saladin's sons Zāhir and Afdāl in course of the dispute about the succession between them and 'Adil. 'Adil came as far as Nablus with his army but could not relieve Damascus so that its fall was imminent. Then a quarrel broke out between the brothers as to who was to get Damascus. The majority of the emirs in the army made peace with 'Adil and the siege was raised in the course of the year. 'Adil was recognised as the head of the Aiyūbids and 'Isā continued to govern Damascus and the lands going with it as far as the Egyptian frontier for his father. When 'Adil died in 615 (1216) he had the inhabitants swear fealty to him but recognised his older brother Kāmil as suzerain in the Friday *ḡuṭba*. He was, like his brothers, on fairly good terms with the Crusaders, but at the decisive moment he joined forces with his brothers against them and it is not least due to him, as the most important Aiyūbid leader of the period, that the Crusaders had to withdraw from Damietta in 618 (1221). His desire to seize central Syria (Hims and Hamāt) was not fulfilled as Kāmil threatened him with war when he attacked these towns. 'Isā therefore made an alliance in 623 (1226) with the Khawārim-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn and mentioned him as suzerain in the Friday prayer instead of his brother. He thus felt strong enough to turn away the Emperor Frederick II's ambassador in this year while Kāmil, who did not feel too secure, negotiated with him. It did not however come to fighting between the two brothers as both feared the intervention of Frederick II. But before the latter set out for the Holy Land, 'Isā died on 1st Dhū l-Hijja 624 (Nov. 12, 1227) in Damascus of dysentery. Had he lived longer, Frederick II would probably not have taken Jerusalem. It was 'Isā's son Nāṣir al-Dīn Dawūd who succeeded in regaining Jerusalem for the Muslims. 'Isā's rule stretched from south of Hims beyond Jerusalem to al-Arish on the Egyptian frontier. In addition to his military ability, he is celebrated as a friend of poetry and letters and he is also said to have been an author himself. Unlike the other Aiyūbids, he followed the school of Abū Ḥanifa.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, No. 526 (transl. de Slane, ii. 428 sqq.); Abū l-Fida', in *Recueil des historiens orientaux des croisades*, i. (s. index); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, in *Recueil*, ii. (s. index); Mas'ūdī, *Uṣūl al-Dhūmān*, *op. cit.*, and also Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* (s. index).

(M. SOBEHNHEIM)

MUBĀH. [See **SHARFĀ**.]

MUBAIYIDA. [See **AL-MU'ANNA**.]

MUBALLIGH. [See **MASJID**, I, D, e and H, 4.]

MUBĀRAK GHĀZĪ, an Indian saint. In all parts of the Sundarbun, the Muhammadan woodcutters invoke certain mythical beings to protect them from tigers and crocodiles. In the 24 Parganas it is Mubārak Ghāzī who, in the Eastern parts of the Delta goes by the name of Zindah Ghāzī, the living warrior. Mubārak Ghāzī is said to have been a *faḡīr* (mendicant) who reclaimed the jungle tracts along the left bank of the river Hoogly. Every village has an altar dedicated to him and no one enters the forest nor do any of the boat's crew, who might sail through the districts, pass without first making offerings at one of these shrines. The *faḡīrs* in these dangerous forests, who claim to be lineally descended from the Ghāzī, indicate with pieces of wood called *jang* the precise limits within which the forest has to be felled. Mubārak Ghāzī, so the legend goes, came to Bengal when Rājā Matak ruled over the Sundarbun. The saint happened to have a dispute with the chief, who thought himself to be in the right, upon which the latter agreed to give his only daughter Shubhila in marriage to the former, should his own opinion be proved wrong. This the Ghāzī succeeded in doing and won his bride in consequence. Since no man saw him die, he is believed to reside in the depths of the forest, to ride about on tigers, and to keep them so obedient to his will that they dare not touch a human being without his express desire. Before entering a jungle or sailing through the narrow channels whose shady banks are infested by tigers, boatmen and woodcutters, both Hindus and Muhammadans, raise little mounds of earth and on them make offerings of rice, plantains, and sweetmeats to Mubārak Ghāzī, after which they fearlessly cut the brushwood and linger in the most dangerous spots.

This strange myth, there cannot be any doubt, is borrowed from Hindus to suit the taste of the superstitious boatmen and woodcutters.

Bibliography: Ward, *Hindus*, iii. 186; Major R. Smyth, *Statistical and Geographical Report of the twenty-four Pargannah Districts*, 1857. (M. HIDAYAT HOSSAIN)

MUBĀRAK SHĀH, MU'IZZ AL-DĪN, the second king of the Salyid dynasty of Dihli, was the son of Khidr Khān, the first king, and succeeded his father on May 22, 1421. The limits of his kingdom were then restricted to a few districts of Hindustān proper and Multān, and he was obliged to desist from an attempt to establish his authority in the Panjāb by the necessity for relieving Gwalior, menaced by Hūshang of Mālwa, who raised the siege and met him, but after an indecisive action came to terms and retired to Mālwa. From 1425 to 1427 he was engaged in attempting to restore order in Mewāt, and received the formal submission of the rājās of Gwalior and Candwār (Firūzbād), but Muhammad Khān Awḡadī of Bayāna, whom he had taken prisoner, escaped and took refuge in Mewāt, and the work there was to do again. Muhammad Awḡadī, on being hard pressed in Bayāna, fled to Ibrāhīm Shāh of Džawnpūr, and as the latter marched against Kalpi, Mubārak marched to meet him. Ibrāhīm, who had been plundering Mubārak's dominions, avoided a conflict for some time, but on April 2, 1428, the armies met near Candwār and Ibrāhīm, though not decisively defeated, retired

the next day to Džawnpūr. Mubārak then collected revenue in the neighbourhood of Gwalior and retired by way of Bayāna, which was evacuated by Muḥammad Awhādī, who had returned thither. For the rest of the year his officers were engaged in restoring order in the Panḍjāb, ravaged by Džurath the Khokar, and he in a similar task in Mewāt, and in collecting revenue by force. In 1430 Fūlad Turkbāda successfully defied the royal authority in Rhatinda, and in 1431 a rebellion broke out in Multān and had no sooner been suppressed than Džurath renewed his activity in the Panḍjāb. The chronicle of the rest of the reign is a record of rebellions in the Panḍjāb, Multān, Sīmāna, Mewāt, Bayāna, Gwalior, Tiddjāra and Itāwa, and a rebel captured Lāhor and attacked Dīpāl-pūr. Lāhor was eventually recovered, but the whole country remained in a disturbed condition.

War broke out between Ibrāhīm of Džawnpūr and Hūshang of Māwa in connection with Kāipī, the suzerainty over which belonged to neither and was claimed by both, and Mubārak, marching thither, turned aside to inspect Mubārakshāh which he was building, and then, on February 19, 1434, he was assassinated at the instance of Sarwar al-Mulk, whom he had dismissed from the post of minister in the preceding year.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Kāsim Firishṭa, *Gulshān-i Ibrāhīmī*, Bombay 1832; *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* and translation by Lt.-Col. G. S. A. Ranking; *Taḥṣīl-i Akhbar* and translation by B. Dé (both in the *Bibl. Ind. Series* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal); Yahyā b. Ahmad, *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, rare in MS., but reproduced by the authorities cited above.

(T. W. HAIG)

MUBĀRIR AL-DĪN. [MUHAMMAD B. AL-MU-
SAFFAZ.]

AL-MUBARRAD, ABŪ 'L-'ABBĀS MUHAMMAD B. YAẒĪD AL-THUMĀLĪ AL-AZDĪ, an Arab philologist, born on the 10th Dhu 'l-Hijja 210 (March 25, 826) in Baḡra, was there taught by Abū 'Omar al-Djarrī, Abū 'Othmān al-Māzīnī and Abū Ḥatīm al-Sidīqī, the pupil of Aḡa'ī. In his early works, the *Kitāb Maṣā'il al-Qaṣa'id*, he criticised the *Kitāb al-Sibawayh*, but only a small number of his criticisms were well founded and of these only a minority were original (al-Suyūṭī, *al-Mushir*, ii. 188; iii. 232). Later he went to Baghdād where he became a very busy teacher; among his pupils were Niftawāh, Ibn Durastawāh and Ibn Kaṣṣān. His rival for favour at court was the Kūfian Thā'lab, to whom he was far superior in ability and style; the rivalry between these two scholars seems to have been the origin of the later tradition of the opposition between the schools of Kūfa and Baghdād. His epithet al-Mubarrad seems to refer to his skill in disputation, but there are a number of anecdotes explaining it in very different ways (*Mushir*, ii. 267, 271, 272; *Bughyā*, p. 116—117; *Iṣṭihād*, vii. 137, 138, 139). He died in Baghdād in Shawwāl or Dhu 'l-Ka'da 285 (Oct. 898).

His chief work *al-Kāmil fī 'l-Adab* is a typical example of the work of the old philologists as developed from their teaching. Without being tied down to any fixed arrangement or even aiming at cohesion in the separate chapters, it combines traditions of the Prophet, sayings of pious men, proverbs, many poems mostly of the older period, and also historical matter like the important chapter

on the Khāridjīs (characteristic is the passage on p. 409 in Wright's edition: "In this chapter we shall mention something of everything in order by change to prevent the reader from being wearied and mix a little jest with the earnest so that heart and soul may be recuperated"; similarly p. 428; exceptions like the chapters on simile p. 447 or on lamenta for the dead and consolation p. 713 are rare). The important feature is the full grammatical and lexicographical commentary which he gives to every quotation. The work was given its final form with numerous additions and glosses by Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Akhfash (d. 315 = 927). Al-Baḡalyūsī wrote a commentary on it which has not survived (*Mushir*, i. 182, 8; 223, 3); there is an anonymous commentary in the possession of Imā'il Efendi in Stambul. It was first printed in Stambul in 1286; editions: *The Kāmil of El-Mubarrad* edited for the German Oriental Society by W. Wright, part 1-12, Leipzig 1864—1892; reprinted Cairo 1308, 1323, 1324 (with extracts from Dīhājī on the margin), 1339; with two modern commentaries: *Tuhfat al-Kāmil* by al-Sibā'ī al-Baḡyūnī, Cairo 1341 (1923), 2 vols. and *Raghat al-'Amīl min Kitāb al-Kāmil* by Saiyid Ibn 'Alī al-Marāṣī (professor at al-Azhar), 8 vols., Cairo 345—346 (1927—1928); *Das Khari-dschitenkapitel aus dem K.*, transl. into German by O. Rescher, Stuttgart 1922. His second collection of material, the *Kitāb al-Muṭlaḡad*, met with less success, because, it is said, it had been transmitted by the heretic Ibn al-Rāwandī; it is preserved with a commentary by Sa'id b. Sa'id al-Fārīqī (d. 391 = 1000; see Vākūf, *Iṣṭihād*, iv. 240) in the Escorial manuscript², p. 111 and in Stambul, Köprülü, No. 1507—1508 (cf. Rescher, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxxv. 197; photograph in Cairo; *Fikrī*, ii. 123). Of his numerous other works given by his biographers we only have the *Kitāb al-Tawāṭ*, Escorial², p. 534, 1; the *Kitāb Naraḥ 'Adnān wa-Kaṣṭān*, in Stambul 'Ārif Efendi, 2003 (*M.F.O.B.*, v. 491) = Well al-Dīn, 3178 (*M.F.O.B.*, vii. 108), Escorial, Casiri 1700, fol. 59^v—68^v (s. Levi Della Vida, *Les livres des chevaux*, Leyden 1928, p. xiii), his answer to a letter from Ahmad b. Wāḥid on the question whether poetry is superior to eloquence, in Munich 791 and in a fragment in Berlin, Ahlw. 7177 as well as the *Kitāb al-Muṭlaḡad wa 'l-Mu'annath* as transmitted by Abū 'Alī al-Fārīqī, in Damascus, Zāyāt, p. 36, No. 113, 2. His other works are only known from quotations, e.g. his *Kitāb al-Iḥṭiyār*, which he himself quotes *Kāmil*, p. 760, 4, the *Kitāb Ghārīb al-Hādīth*, which Ibn al-Aṭhīr mentions among his sources in the preface to the *Nihāya*; the *Kitāb ma 'aṣṣaḥa Lafuḥu wa 'lḥatalaḥ Ma'nāhu* (Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ al-Mughnī*, Cairo 1322, p. 195, 20); the *Kitāb al-Rawḍa*, a collection of poems by contemporary poets beginning with Abū Nuwās, *Aghānī*, viii. 15, 20; 215, 1, 26, 13; al-Djurdjānī, *Kitāb al-Kināyāt*, p. 29, 9; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Maṭṭal al-ṣā'ir*, p. 189, 16; the *Kitāb al-'Iṭinān* on the causes of the poetical strife between Djarrī and Farasdaq; 'Abd al-Kādir al-Baghdādī, *Khiṣṣat al-Adab*, i. 305, 22; *Kitāb al-Sharḥ* (i.e. *Sharḥ Kālam al-'Arab*), i.e., ii. 193 infra.

Bibliography: *Fikrī*, p. 59; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nusbat al-Aḥbāb*, p. 279—293; Ibn Khallikān, No. 608, iii. 35; Zuhairī, *Taḥṣīl al-Naḥwīyīn*, ed. Krenkow, R.S.O., viii. No. 40; al-Azhari, in *M.O.*, 1920, p. 26; Vākūf, *Iṣṭihād*, vii. 137—143; Suyūṭī, *Bughyāt al-Wu'āt*, S. 116; al-Yūn'ī, *Mir'āt al-Uḡḡān*, ii. 210—213; Flügel,

Die gramm. Schulen, p. 93; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsch. d. Araber*, p. 80; C. Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 108; Rescher, *Abriß*, ii. 149.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

AL-MUBARRAZ, a fortress on the Persian Gulf, about a mile north of al-Hufhuf, surrounded by open villages and date palm-groves. The population of the fortress and of the hamlets that belong to it is given, sometimes at 10,000, sometimes at 30,000.

Bibliography: C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, viii./1 (Berlin 1846), p. 574; viii./2 (Berlin 1847) p. 524. (ADOLF GROHMANN)

AL-MUBDI. [See ALLÄH II.]

AL-MUBÄRĪ, name of *sūra* xxxii., which is also called *al-nafāṭa* or *al-ḡurur*.

MUDAR. [See RAMĀ.]

MUDĀRĪ, the twelfth metre in Arabic prosody, which is very rarely used. Theoretically each of its hemistichs consists of three feet (*maf'īlun fa'ilātun maf'īlun*); in practice the third foot is lacking.

It has one *'arūḍ* and one *qarḥ* only: *maf'īlun fa'ilātun: maf'īlun fa'ilātun*. *Maf'īlun* however must become *maf'īlu*. The first *maf'īlun* may lose its *ma*; in that case the form is *fa'ilu* (= *maf'īlu*) and *fa'ilu*. (M. BENCHEB)

AL-MUDAWWANA. [See SAḤNUN.]

AL-MUDDATHTHIR, title of *sūra* lxxiv.

AL-MUDHILL. [See ALLÄH II.]

MUDİR, title of the governors of the Egyptian provinces, called *mudiriya*. The use of the word *mudir* in this meaning is no doubt of Turkish origin. The office was created by Muhammad 'Alī, when, shortly after 1813, he reorganised the administrative division of Egypt, instituting seven *mudiriyas*; this number has been changed several times (s. KHEḌṬR). At the present day there are 14 *mudiriyas*. The chief task of the *mudir* is the controlling of the agricultural administration and of the irrigation, as executed by his subordinates, viz. the *ma'mūr*, who administers a *markaz* and the *naẓir* who controls the *ḥim* which is again a subdivision of the *markaz*. Under Sa'id Pasha the office of *mudir* was temporarily abolished with a view to preventing oppression. Until that time they had been without exception Turks, but under Isma'il Pasha, when the function was instituted again, this high administrative position was opened also to native Egyptians.

Bibliography: A. B. Clot Bey, *Aperçu Général sur l'Égypte*, Brussels 1840, ii. 172 sqq.; A. von Kremer, *Ägypten*, Leipzig 1863, ii. 8; Ilyās al-Ayūbī, *Ta'rīkh Miṣr fī 'Ahd al-Ḥadīth*, Isma'il Pasha, Cairo 1341, i. 62 sqq.; J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, Cairo 1930, p. 130. (J. H. KRAMER)

AL-MUDJADILA, title of *sūra* lviii.

AL-MUDJAHID. [See RASŪLID.]

MUDJASSIMA. [See TASHHIL.]

MUDJAWWAZA. [See TURBAN, iv. 890b 29.]

AL-MUDJIB. [See ALLÄH II.]

MUDJIR AL-DĪN. [See AL-OLAIML.]

MUDJIZA (A.), part. act. iv. of *ḡ-ḡ-z*, lit. "the overwhelming", has become the technical term for miracle. It does not occur in the *Kur'ān*, which denies miracles in connection with Muhammad, whereas it emphasizes his "signs", *āyāt*, i. e. verses of the *Kur'ān*; cf. the ART. KORAN. Even in later literature Muhammad's chief miracle is the *Kur'ān* (cf. Abū Nu'aim, *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa*,

p. 74). *Mudjiza* and *āya* have become synonyms; they denote the miracles performed by Allāh in order to prove the sincerity of His apostles. The term *karāma* [q. v.] is used in connection with the saints; it differs from *mudjiza* in so far as it denotes nothing but a personal distinction granted by Allāh to a saint.

Miracles of Apostles and Prophets, especially those of Muhammad, occur in the *sūra* and in *ḥadīth*. Yet in this literature the term *mudjiza* is still lacking, as it is in the oldest forms of the creed. The *Fiḥ Akbar*, ii., art. 16, mentions the *āyāt* of the prophets and the *karāmāt* of the saints. *Mudjiza* occurs in the creed of Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Nasafi (ed. Cureton, p. 4; ed. Taftāzāni, p. 165): "And He has fortified them (the apostles) by miracles contradicting the usual course of things".

Taftāzāni explains it in this way: A thing deviating from the usual course of things, appearing at the hands of him who pretends to be a prophet, as a challenge to those who deny this, of such a nature that it makes it impossible for them to produce the like of it. It is Allāh's testimony to the sincerity of His apostles.

A very complete and systematic description occurs in al-Jāzī's *Mawāḥiḥ*. He gives the following definition of *mudjiza*: It is meant to prove the sincerity of him who pretends to be an apostle of Allāh. Further he enumerates the following conditions: 1. It must be an act of Allāh; 2. it must be contrary to the usual course of things; 3. contradiction to it must be impossible; 4. it must happen at the hands of him who pretends to be an apostle, so that it appears as a confirmation of his sincerity; 5. it must be in conformity with his announcement of it; the miracle itself must not be a disavowal of his claim (*da'wā*); 7. it must follow on his *da'wā*.

Further, according to al-Jāzī, the miracle happens in this way that Allāh produces it at the hands of him whose sincerity He wishes to show, in order to realise His will, viz. the salvation of men through the preaching of His apostle. Finally, as to its effect, it produces, in accordance with Allāh's custom, in those who witness it, the conviction of the apostle's being sincere.

Bibliography: Abū Hanīfa, *Fiḥ Akbar* with the commentary of 'Alī b. Sulṭān Muhammad al-Kāfi, Cairo 1327, p. 69; Abū 'I-Barāhīn 'Abd Allāh b. Ahmad al-Nasafi, *Umda*, ed. Cureton, p. 15 sqq.; Abū Ḥafṣ Nasafi, ed. Taftāzāni, Constantinople 1313, p. 165—167; Muhammad A'īl al-Tahānawī, *Kutub al-ḥadīth al-Funūn*, Calcutta 1862, p. 975 sqq.; Abū Nu'aim Ahmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Iṣbahānī, *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa*, Haidarābād 1320. (A. J. WERNICK)

MUDJTAHID. [See IGTHĀD.]

MUDJATATH, the fourteenth metre in Arabic prosody, has theoretically three feet, consisting of two successive *fa'ilātun* in every hemistich; in practice there are two feet only.

It has one *'arūḍ* and one *qarḥ* only: *mustafīlun fa'ilātun: mustafīlun fa'ilātun*. The foot *fa'ilātun* of the *qarḥ* and also, though seldom, that of the *'arūḍ*, may become *fa'ilātun*, on condition that *mustafīlun* retains its *a*; it loses its *a* when *mustafīlun* loses its *a*.

Mustafīlun loses its *a*, when the preceding *fa'ilātun* retains its *a*; it also loses its *a*, when *fa'ilātun* following it, does not become *fa'ilātun*. (MOH. BENCHEB)

AL-MUFADDAL R. MUHAMMAD B. YALĀ B. 'AMR B. SALIM B. AL-RAMMAL AL-DABĪL, an Arabic philologist of the Kufan school. By birth he was a free born Arab; the date of his birth is not known. His father was a recognised authority on the events in the wars of the Arabs on the frontiers of Khurāsān in 30—90 A.H. (quoted in Tabari's *Annals*). It is possible that his son was born in this region. As a partisan of the house of 'Alī he took part in the rising against the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr led by Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh [q.v.], brother of 'Al-Nafs al-zakiya. The rising was put down and Ibrāhīm killed; al-Mufaddal was taken prisoner but pardoned by the caliph and appointed tutor to his son, the future caliph al-Mahdī, and in his train he visited Khurāsān. He then worked in Kufa as a philologist and teacher; among his pupils was his stepson al-'Aṭībī. The date of his death is variously given; the *Fihrist* does not give it at all while others give 164, 168 or 170.

al-Mufaddal, like his contemporary Hammād [q.v.], bore the epithet and title of honour *al-Rūmīya*, and was regarded as an authority on the poetry of the *Djāhiliya*. In contrast to Hammād, he is celebrated for the reliability of his transmission. In the *Kitāb al-Aghāni* there are several stories illustrating this fact. While Hammād was reproached with having inserted verses which he had himself composed into the work of the prominent poets of the *Djāhiliya*, al-Mufaddal is praised for handing down the old poetry pure and unfalsified. There was, of course, a great rivalry between the two *ruwāṭ* which also finds expression in the stories of the *Aghāni*. al-Mufaddal is reported to have said that the influence of Hammād on Arabic poetry had been most disastrous, to a degree which could never be made good again. To the question how this was and whether Hammād had made mistakes in the attribution of the poems or linguistic errors, he replied: if that were all, it could be made good, but he had done worse than this. Since he was such an authority on the old poets, he was able himself to write verses in their style and he had inserted such verses of his own composition in genuine old *ḥaṣidas* so that now only very good critics of the old poetry could recognise them (cf. *Aghāni*, v. 172 and *Yāqūt, Irshād*, vii. 171). It is also recorded that al-Mufaddal once in the presence of the caliph caught Hammād passing off verses of his own as the work of Zuhair b. Abī Sulmā. The *ḥaṣida* which Hammād was reciting began with *da' dā*, and on the caliph asking for the missing *naṣīb* he added several *naṣīb* verses. al-Mufaddal however said quite rightly that there had probably been a *naṣīb* before the surviving verses, but no one any longer knew it. Hammād was thereupon forced to confess his forgery. It is interesting to learn that, as is recorded in this passage of the *Aghāni*, Hammād was rewarded for his recitation but the sum given to al-Mufaddal was considerably greater. al-Mufaddal was given his reward, not only for his knowledge, but also for his fidelity and honesty in transmission (cf. *Aghāni*, loc. cit. and *Yāqūt, loc. cit.*).

al-Mufaddal worked in different fields of Arabic philology. He was considered an authority on rare Arabic expressions, celebrated as a grammarian and was also an authority on genealogy and on the Arab battles (*dayām al-'Arab*). He wrote a number of books: a *Kitāb al-'Amthāl* (on proverbs),

a *Kitāb al-'Arūd* (on metres), a *Kitāb Ma'na 'l-Shi'r* (on the meanings of poems) and a dictionary: *Kitāb al-'Alf*. His principal work, however, is a collection of old Arabic *ḥaṣidas* called the *Mufaddaliyāt*, which he compiled for his pupil, the future caliph al-Mahdī. Al-Mufaddal himself is said to have given another story of the origin of this anthology, which is one of the most valuable Arabic collections. When on one occasion Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh was in hiding in his house, he brought him some books to read at his request. Ibrāhīm marked a number of poems and these he collected in one volume because Ibrāhīm was a good critic of the old poetry. This collection was later called the *Iḥṭiyār al-Mufaddal* (cf. Flügel, *Gramm. Schulen*, p. 144, note 1).

The *Mufaddaliyāt* contains 126 poems, some complete *ḥaṣidas* of many verses, some fragments of small size, while in Abū Tammām's collection, the *Hamāra*, only little fragments of poems or separate verses are contained. The latter was compiled some fifty years later; at first it was much more popular than the *Mufaddaliyāt* and more frequently annotated. But al-Mufaddal's anthology is of quite outstanding merit. The great bulk of it is the work of pagan poets and *mushāḥḥamūn*, while only 6 of the 67 poets represented were born Muslims. Two of the poets whose *ḥaṣidas* are contained in the *Mufaddaliyāt* were Christians. The poems, the date of composition of which can frequently be deduced from events mentioned in them, are in some cases very old. The earliest are those attributed to Murakkish the Elder, which probably belong to the first decade of the sixth century A.D. al-Mufaddal's anthology offers a rich selection of the old Arabic poetry, the value of which is increased by the great age of the poems preserved in it. The name of its collector, who enjoyed a good reputation among his contemporaries for his reliability, also gives us a certain guarantee that we have in the poems of the *Mufaddaliyāt* really genuine specimens of old Arab poetry.

Bibliography: *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, v. 172 sq. and passim; *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 68 sq.; *Yāqūt, Irshād al-Arib ilā Ma'rifat al-Adib*, ed. Margoliouth, London 1926, vii. 171 sq.; al-Mufaddal al-Iḥṭiyār, *al-Mufaddaliyāt*, ed. Ch. Lyall, Oxford 1918, 1921, esp. *Introd.*, vol. ii.; C. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. Weimar 1898; G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862, p. 142 sq.; *Die Mufaddaliyāt*, ed. H. Thorbecke, Leipzig 1885.

(ILSE LICHTENSTÄDTER)

AL-MUFID ABU 'ABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD B. MUHAMMAD B. AL-NU'MĀN AL-ḤAKRĪNĪ, also called IBN AL-MU'ALLIM, a distinguished Twelver scholar of Baghdad under the Buyids, was born at the end of 333 or 338 (945 or 950), and came of an old Kuraish family which, as his second epithet shows, had a reputation for scholarship; he himself became, as his epithet shows, the teacher from whom all "later students have derived advantage". While he took little active part in politics, he was a very prolific author. His correspondence, usually replies to queries, came from Mawṣil, Djurdān, Dinawar, Raḥka, Khwārizm, Egypt and Tabaristān. His literary connections with other leaders of the Twelvers are seen in the fact that the *Dogmatici* mentioned third below is a critical commentary on Ibn Bābūya's *Risālat al-'Iṭihādāt* (published in a collected volume, Teheran

1300] and was in turn commented on by the Baghdadī naṣīb al-Sharīf al-Murtadā; the work on law and tradition given second below was also the basis upon which his pupil Shaikh Ṭai [q.v.] wrote as a commentary his *Taḥḥīṣ al-Aḥkām*, one of the "4 (5) books" of the Twelvers. Muḥid wrote pamphlets against Ḍubbā'ī, Ḍjāfar b. Harb, Ibn Kullāb, Karāḥī, the Mu'tazilīs, Zaidīs, the followers of al-Hallājī, Hanbalīs, Ḍjāḥī and the 'Uḥmāniya (for other collected titles see al-Khāyāt, *Kilāb al-Intiqār*, p. 156). The number of his writings runs to nearly 200. In addition to those preserved in European libraries, there are many other manuscripts in Shī'ī libraries, e.g. in Najaf. Among them are the usual handbooks on *fiqh*, on the *uṣūl* e.g. on *uṣūl*, as well as the *furū'* e.g. on the *ḥudūd* and the law of inheritance; also treatises on fundamental philosophical conceptions such as the predicate, the state of being created etc.; but it is with specifically Shī'a problems that he mainly deals. Muḥid, as the titles of several of his works and his influence on later writers show, championed the enhancement of the dogma of Prophethood, dealt with the question, a painful one for the Shī'īs, whether Abū Ṭalīb was a believer, with the imamate of 'Alī and the proof that the Imāms are higher than the angels. He naturally dealt also with the usual special tenets of the Twelvers, like the concealment of the Imām and the prohibition of meat butchered by the "People of the Book". He also wrote guides for pilgrims to the peculiarly Shī'ī holy places.

Muḥid died on Ramaḍān 28, 413 (Nov. 26, 1022). The naṣīb al-Sharīf al-Murtadā conducted the funeral service; he was buried beside Ibn Bahāye [q.v.] at the feet of the ninth imām Muḥammad al-Djowād in al-Kāḥimān.

Bibliography: His own works: *al-Iṣḥād*, Teheran 1308; *al-Muḥṣaṣ fī 'l-Fiḥ* (ibid.), the life by al-Bahrānī is printed at the beginning, *Lu'lu'at al-Bahrānī*; *Taḥḥīṣ al-Aḥkām*, ed. with notes by Hibat al-Dīn in *al-Murshid*, I. and II., Baghdad 1344 v.; *Ṭai*, *Fikrī*, No. 685; al-Aḥkām al-Hillī Ibn al-Mutahhar, *Kulūyat al-Aḥkām fī Ma'rifat al-Riḡāl*, Teheran 1312, p. 255 v.; Astarābādī, *Manhaj al-Maḥal fī Taḥḥīṣ al-Aḥkām*, Teheran 1304, p. 317—318; Kh. 'Inā'ī, *Rawḍat al-Djānāt*, Teheran 1304—1306, p. 663—670; 'Idjās Husain al-Kentūrī, *Kashf al-Hudūd wa 'l-Aṣṭūr*, Calcutta 1330, No. 167, 591, 812—819, 2456—2459, 2469, 2474—2477 and pass.; C. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, I. 188; R. Strothmann, *Die Zwiſcher-Schī'a*, Leipzig 1926, index; cf. also L. Massigou, *al-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, index; W. Heffening, *Das islamische Fremdenrecht*, Hanover 1925, index. (R. STROTHMANN)

MUFTI [See FATWĀ.]

MUGHAL, the name given to the dynasty of Emperors of Hindustān founded by Babur in 932 (1526), in virtue of the claim made by Timur, the ancestor of the dynasty, to relationship with the family of the Mongol (Mughal) Čingiz Khān [q.v.]. For the detailed history of the dynasty see the articles *BARBAR*, *HUMĀYUN*, *AKBAR*, *JAHAŅGIR*, *SHĀH-JAHAŅ*, *AWRANGZĒR*, and their successors.

I. THE MUGHAL EMPIRE TO THE DEATH OF AWRANGZĒR:

A. Military Organization.

B. Economics and Administration.

II. THE DECLINE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE. III. MUGHAL ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA.

I. THE MUGHAL EMPIRE TO THE DEATH OF AWRANGZĒR

A. Military Organization of the Mughal Empire.

The army which Bābur led into India, and with which he defeated at Pānīpat the army of Ibrāhīm Lodi, 100,000 strong, consisted of about 10,000 combatants, mainly cavalry, but comprising a corps of artillery and a small proportion of infantry, chiefly matchlockmen. Bābur's son and successor, Humāyūn, though hampered by the virtual independence of his brother Kāmrān, governor of Kābul, who annexed the Pāndjāb, and thus cut him off from the best recruiting grounds of the Muslim army in Northern India, Afghanistan, and Transoxiana, was nevertheless able to lead into the field at the battle of the Ganges, near Kanawdj, where he was defeated by Shīr Shāh, an army of 100,000 men. On his return to India in 1555 he left Kābul with an army of no more than 15,000 men, and it was his son and successor, Akbar, who was the creator of the army of the empire of which he was, in fact, the founder.

The empire was a military despotism. The governor of a province was entitled *ṣipāsāḥ*, or "commander-in-chief", the governor of a *pargana*, or sub-district, *ṣarḥḍār*, or "commandant", and practically all courtiers and officials, even those holding civil and judicial posts, were graded as commanders of horse. Thus we find Shaikh Abu 'l-Faḍl, Akbar's secretary, graded as a commander of 2,500; Rādjā Bir Bar, court wit and Hindi poet laureate, as a commander of 1,000; Saiyid Muḥammad, Mir-i 'Adl, a judge, as a commander of 900; and Shaikh Faḍl, the poet, as a commander of 400 horse. A command of horse was known as *manḡal* ("rank" or "dignity"), and its holder as *manḡaldār* ("officer"). Each of these nominally commanding from 500 to 2,500 horse was classed as an *amīr* ("noble"), and each of those nominally commanding more as *amīr-i kabīr* ("great noble"). These commands were nominal, conferred merely for the purpose of regulating the rank of the official holding them, and were styled *manḡab-i shāhī* ("personal rank"). Each of those actually exercising military authority had, in addition to his personal rank, *sawār* (horseman) rank. Thus, a commander of 5,000 might be described as "commander of 5,000, with 4,000 horsemen", that is to say, one ranking as a commander of 5,000, but supposed to maintain only 4,000 horsemen. In Akbar's reign, apart from the rank held by the royal princes, commands ranged from 10 up to 5,000 horsemen, but at the end of the reign two or three nobles were promoted to commands of 6,000 and 7,000. In these two high commands there was no distinction of grade, but each of the other commands was divided into three classes, viz: 1. those whose *sawār* rank was equal to their personal rank, 2. those whose *sawār* rank was half, or more, of their personal rank, and 3. those whose *sawār* rank was less than half of their personal rank. Thus, a commander of 5,000 with 5,000 horsemen would be in the first class of his

rank, a commander of 5,000 with 3,000 horsemen in the second, and a commander of 5,000 with 2,000 horsemen in the third. A purely civil official often had no *sawār* rank, but the distinction between military and civil officials was less clearly marked than it is to-day, and all officials were, in theory, soldiers. The secretary, Abu 'l-Faḥl, served, at least on one occasion, in the field, and Akbar once entrusted military commands in the field to his court wit and to a leading physician, with disastrous results.

The lists of "commanders of horse" given in such works as the *Ṭuhf-i Akbarī*, the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, and the *Fāḥṣih-nūma* are not "army lists", but graded lists of the whole establishment of public servants, civil as well as military. Even where, as in the *Fāḥṣih-nūma*, *sawār* rank is given as well as personal rank, the lists are no guide to the effective strength of the imperial army, for commanders with *sawār* rank did not maintain, and were not even expected to maintain, the number of horse indicated by that rank. Thus, Shāh-Jahān issued an edict to the effect that commanders were not required to maintain more than one-third, and, in some cases, not more than one-quarter of the number of horse indicated by their *sawār* rank, and in the Balkh campaign they were not required to muster more than one-fifth of their nominal quota.

The yearly salaries of "commanders of horse" ranged from Rs 350,000 a year for a commander of 7,000 down to Rs 4,000 a year for a commander of 100, but in the commands in which there were three classes the salary varied with the class. Thus, in the 5,000 command an officer of the first class received Rs 250,000; an officer of the second Rs 247,500; and an officer of the third Rs 235,000. These salaries were attached to the personal rank, and were intended to enable the official to maintain his position at court or in the provinces, his household, his transport, and such horsemen as he might require for his personal service. For the payment of troops actually maintained separate allowances were made.

The horsemen were styled *sālinān* ("followers" or "troops"), and the majority of them provided and maintained their own horses and arms, and, in the field, their own transport. They were divided into three classes: three-horsed and two-horsed men, each of whom received nearly Rs 25 a month, and one-horsed men, each of whom received rather more than Rs 16½ a month. At a later date higher rates of pay than these were allowed in the Dakhn. Horsemen who could not supply their own horses were styled *kārgir*, and were the servants or followers of those who supplied them. The proportion of these classes in every ten troopers was usually three three-horsed, four two-horsed, and three one-horsed troopers, or ten men and twenty horses.

The payment of the contingents maintained by the *manṣabdārs* was at first provided for by the grant of *ḡājir*, or fiefs, so that the army was maintained on a feudal system, which, however, differed from the feudal system of Europe in that the fiefs were not hereditary, and the *ḡājirdārs*, or fief-holders, had no proprietary rights in them. A fief-holder might be transferred from one fief to another, or a portion of his fief, or even the whole of it, might be resumed. In 1574 an edict was promulgated by Akbar resuming all fiefs and converting them into crown lands, the payment of

the troops being provided for by orders on the treasury for payments in cash. This edict caused much discontent, for the *ḡājir* system was, for many reasons, far more popular than the *naḡd*, or cash-payment, system. Under the *naḡd* system a muster-parade might at any time be made a condition precedent to the issue of a payment order; and a *ḡājirdār* might reap much profit by economizing in the administration of his fief, by rack-renting the landholders, and by encroachments, but the *naḡd* system furnished him with no such means of enriching himself. The edict was immediately modified, and though the *naḡd* system was introduced in the settled provinces of the empire, the *ḡājir* system was retained in the more recently conquered provinces of Bengal, Guḡarāt, and Sind, and, after Akbar's death, was restored, in many cases, in other provinces.

Another reform introduced at the same time, the *dūgh n-maḡallī*, or branding regulation, was resented even more than the substitution of the *naḡd* for the *ḡājir* system. It was seldom that *manṣabdārs* maintained their full quota of troopers; "false musters were an evil from which the Mughal army suffered, even in its most palmy days. Nobles would lend each other the men to make up their quota, or needy idlers from the bazars would be mounted on the first baggage pony that came to hand, and counted in with the others as efficient soldiers". It was to check such fraudulent practices that Akbar introduced the *dūgh n-maḡallī* regulation, which required the preparation of descriptive rolls of men and horses, the latter being branded on being passed as fit for service; and at muster-parades only these who produced branded horses were paid. This system originated, apparently, with the Saldjūqs in Transoxiana and Persia, and was introduced into India by 'Alī al-Dīn Khwāḍj in 1312, but was not enforced after his death until it was revived by Shīr Shāh in 1541. After his death it was again abandoned, and Akbar had great difficulty in reviving it, owing to the determined opposition to any measure designed to prevent public officials from enriching themselves by defrauding the state. Even he was obliged to exempt commanders of 5,000, or a greater number, of horse from its operation, though these were required to parade their contingents for inspection when ordered. In the later days of the empire, the regulation was not enforced, and when Burhān al-Mulk joined Muḥammad Shāh at Karāḥī, to meet Nādir Shāh, a historian considers it worth while to describe his contingent as *manḡḡūdī na kāgharī*, that is, "actually present, not merely on paper"; and later, in 1750, an officer in Bengal receiving pay for 1,700 men was said not to have been able to muster more than seventy or eighty.

Besides the contingents of the princes and the *manṣabdārs* there were the sovereign's personal troops. His body-guard was a corps known as the *Wāḡhāḡī*, composed chiefly of men who had been attached to him from his youth, and had served under him as a prince. Manucci refers to these as the emperor's slaves, and says that they numbered 4,000 under Aurangzib. Details of their pay are not given, but they probably received more than the troopers serving in the contingents of the *manṣabdārs*. There was also a *corps d'élite* first formed by Akbar, and styled the *Abādī* corps. Abu 'l-Faḥl, in a characteristically foolish passage says that they were so called because they were

fit for a "harmonious unity", whatever that may mean; but they seem to have been called *ahadi* because they enlisted singly in the personal service of the emperor, and were not brought into the service in bodies by a *manjabadār*. They stood, in rank, between the lower *manjabadār*s and the *tabādār*s, and received nearly double the pay of the latter. They may be compared to "gentlemen of the life-guard", and many were seconded from the corps in order that they might hold civil appointments. The proportion of three-horsed, two-horsed, and one-horsed troopers was the same in the *Ahadi* corps as in the contingents of the *manjabadār*s.

A commander of horse, whether he held a *daftar* or whether he drew the pay of his contingent from the treasury, made his own arrangements for its disbursement. He was entitled to retain five percent of the pay of his men for himself, and pay was not always allowed for a whole year; often only for six, five, or four months. Maucci, writing of the army in the reign of Aurangzib, says, "in respect of one year's service they receive six or eight months' pay. Even that is not all in coin; they are always foisted off as respects two months' pay with clothes and old raiment from the household. Over and above this, there is almost always due to them the pay for two or three years' service. The soldiers are obliged to borrow money at interest from the *qarrafis*, or money-changers. These men lend to them, it is true, but it is hardly ever without a command from the general or officer; and these latter have an understanding with them about the profit from interest, which they share between them. Sometimes the soldiers sell their papers to these money-changers, who for a note of hand for one hundred rupees will give them twenty or twenty-five. It is by these and such-like extortions that these generals ruin the wretched soldier, who, unable to find other means of gaining his bread, is forced to remain on in his service. Speaking generally, it is impossible for them to escape such extortions, for these disorders reign throughout all the princes' establishments. If any one resigns service at his own request, they deduct two months' pay. Nevertheless service in the cavalry was socially an honourable profession; a common trooper was looked upon as being, to some extent, a gentleman, and such were, even when illiterate, often used to the highest positions."

The infantry was, in every respect, an inferior arm. With it were classed doorkeepers, watchmen, runners and spies, gladiators, wrestlers and palanquin-bearers, but the combatant branch consisted of musketeers or matchlockmen (*barjandās*), archers, and spearmen. Akbar maintained a corps of 12,000 matchlockmen, the officer in command of which was styled *dārūgā*. A secretary and a treasurer kept the accounts and disbursed the pay of these troops. The non-commissioned officers of the corps were graded in four classes, the first of which received $7\frac{1}{2}$, the second 7, the third $6\frac{3}{4}$, and the fourth $6\frac{1}{2}$ rupees a month. The privates were divided into five classes, the pay of which ranged from $4\frac{3}{4}$ down to $2\frac{3}{4}$ rupees a month.

Besides this corps was a number of troops styled *shahidi*, of which one-fourth were matchlockmen and three-fourth archers. These were the troops allowed to the *famildār*s in the *parganas* or sub-districts, to assist them in maintaining order and

collecting the revenue. The non-commissioned officers of the matchlockmen received Rs 4 a month, and the privates Rs $3\frac{1}{2}$ each. The archers were considered more efficient than the matchlockmen, for the matchlock was not an arm of rapid fire or precision, and an archer could shoot many arrows while a matchlockman was loading his matchlock. Neither matchlockmen nor archers could, as a rule, face cavalry in the field, and it was not until the emperors and their vassals were brought face to face with troops armed and drilled after the European fashion that they discovered that infantry was the queen of battles; but belief in the superior efficiency of cavalry died hard.

The artillery was divided into two classes, the heavy and the light. Akbar had an efficient corps of artillery, and used it with great effect, but the Muslims of India were not skilled artificers, and the heavy artillery was usually officered and partly manned by Uthmanli Turks, Portuguese renegades of pure or mixed blood, and occasionally by other Europeans. The light artillery consisted of field-pieces carried on bullock-carts, wall-pieces on animals' backs, and *sambūras*, or still lighter service-guns, carried on and fired from the backs of camels. The heavy artillery was drawn by strings of oxen, or, occasionally, by elephants, and, as the army gradually declined in efficiency the heavy guns increased in length and calibre until they became so heavy as hardly to be mobile, so that often they could not be dragged to their destination but were left stranded by their road. A defeated army could seldom save its heavy and field artillery. All that it could do was to spike the guns and leave them. The ammunition was solid shot, sometimes of stone, sometimes of iron, and field-guns and heavy guns in the field were sometimes loaded to the muzzle with the rough copper coin of the time, which took the place of case-shot, and did great execution at close quarters. The artillery also comprised a corps of rocketeers. The whole of the artillery was commanded by an officer entitled *Mir-i Shikāh*, or "lord of fire". The officers were entitled *jaldwāl* ("commander of 100") corresponding to a battery commander, and *mirdāh* (commander of 10), who had charge of a subdivision, or one gun. The wall-pieces and *sambūras*, which were numerous, account for the enormous numbers of "guns" mentioned in accounts of armies in the field.

Akbar used elephants freely in battle, and brought them into the field in great numbers. They usually carried archers or musketeers on their backs. Their use as a fighting force was, however, soon abandoned, and would have been abandoned sooner than it was, had it not been for their imposing appearance, for it had long been established that they were more dangerous to their own side than to the enemy. "To the last some elephants protected by armour were brought into the battle-field, but their use was confined almost entirely to carrying the generals or great nobles, and displaying their standards. The baggage elephants were assembled in rear with those bearing the harem, the women remaining mounted on the latter during the battle, and protected by a strong force posted round them."

Under Akbar the elephants ridden by the emperor were called *shahīdā* ("special"), and all others were arranged in groups of ten, twenty, or thirty, called *halqa* ("ring", or "circle"). In later reigns the same classification was employed, but with

a more extended meaning, *khāssa* then including all riding, and *halka* all baggage elephants. *Manjūdars* from 7,000 down to 300 were required to maintain each one riding elephant, and, in addition, five baggage elephants for each Rs 2,500 of pay. It appears that these elephants belonged to the emperor, and were not even made over to the *manjūdars* for use, except in the field. In the *Am-i Akbari* Abu 'l-Faiz says that 'Akbar "put several *halkas* under the charge of every grandee, and required him to look after them".

The commander-in-chief of the army was the emperor himself, but at the head of the military administration was an officer entitled *Bakhshi al-Mamalik*, whose position may be described as that of adjutant-general and muster-master-general. He was assisted by three *bakhshis* and a number of *bitiklis*, or clerks, and the duties of this department included enlistment, mustering, and passing the pay of both *manjūdars* and *filānās*, for which purpose they were obliged to see that the branding regulations, so long as they were enforced, were observed by those to whom they applied. Manucci says, "twice a year the *bakhshi* holds a review of all the cavalry present at court, examines all the horses, and sees whether any of them are old and unfit for service. In the latter case he makes the owners get rid of them and buy others". These officers remained at headquarters, and from some authorities it appears that one of them had charge of the *Wāṭiḥāhis*, or body-guard, but the *Āhadi* corps, which was commanded by one of the great nobles, had its own *diwān*, or paymaster and quartermaster, and its own *bakhshi*, both officers being assisted by *bitiklis*. Certificates granted by the *bakhshi* were recorded by the *wāṭiḥ-nigār*, or writer of the official diary, and were by him submitted to the *wazir*, or minister, who, after passing them, sent them to the office of revision and record, but pay was issued on the minister's order. "In addition to the *bakhshis* at headquarters there were officers with similar functions attached to the governor of every province", their office being generally combined with that of *wāṭiḥ-nigār*, or provincial diary-writer; and in imitation of the imperial establishments each great noble had his own *bakhshi*, who performed for him the same duties as those performed for the emperor by the imperial *bakhshis*.

It is impossible to estimate accurately the strength of the army in Akbar's reign, for the *ṣawār* rank of the *manjūdars* is not given, either in the *Am-i Akbari* or in the *Tabaqāt-i Akbari*. He maintained 12,000 matchlockmen, and Blochmann estimates the whole strength of his army at 25,000, of which 12,000 were cavalry and the rest matchlockmen and artillery, but this seems to be much too low an estimate. Hamayūn could put 100,000 cavalry into the field, and it is not likely that Akbar, with far wider dominions, would have been content, or could have ruled and extended his empire with a smaller army. It seems probable that Blochmann's estimate included only the emperor's personal, or household, troops, in the latter half of Shāh-Jahān's reign the contingents of the princes and nobles would have numbered 425,500 if each *manjūdār* had maintained the full quota of his *ṣawār* rank, but this they were not even expected to do. Fortunately a fairly exact return of the strength of the army is given in the *Pādshāhnāma*. There were 8,000 *manjūdars*

of all ranks, 7,000 mounted *Āhadis* and *barḥandās*, 200,000 cavalry, exclusive of the troops allowed to *ṣawādars* for the maintenance of order and the collection of the revenue, and 40,000 foot matchlockmen, artillery, and rocketeers, of whom 10,000 were at headquarters and 10,000 in the provinces and the forts. It is not quite clear what is meant by the mounted *barḥandās* classed with the *Āhadis*, for *barḥandās* is the word used for a matchlockman, and horsemen certainly did not carry the cumbersome matchlock, and carbines and pistols had not been introduced, but it may be that a few men carrying a lighter musket than the ordinary matchlock were attached to the *Āhadi* corps. Of the army in the reign of Aurangzib Manucci writes, "ordinarily the king keeps fifty thousand horse in garrison besides those in movement every day, an almost equal number. He has twenty thousand infantry, all *Rājputis*; out of them twelve thousand are in charge of the artillery; the rest are for guarding the royal palace, mounting sentry, *et cetera*".

The army of the Mughal emperors was not drilled. Muster parades consisted merely in the troopers passing in single file before the *bakhshi*, and the nearest approach to any manoeuvres was the participation of the army, or part of it, in a royal hunt, when the troops, aided by the people of the country side, acted as beaters, surrounded a large tract of country, and, day by day, closed inwards until in a small area was enclosed an enormous quantity of game, which was then slaughtered wholesale by the emperor and those who were permitted a share in the "sport". Apart from this species of hunting styled *shikār-i ḥamar ghā*, the army was never exercised in any combined movements, or drill; but the individual trooper paid great attention to the training of his body, exercising himself with all his weapons, sabre, spear, mace, battle-axe, buckler, dagger, and bow and arrows. The bow was considered a most effective weapon, as a horseman could shoot six times before a musketeer could fire twice. The trooper also went through various exercises for strengthening his limbs and his body, both with and without apparatus, the latter consisting of dumb-bells, *mugdar*, or Indian clubs, and the *lham*, a strong bow with a steel chain instead of a string, most effective in training these muscles employed by an archer. The horses were also trained in a sort of *manège*.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faiz, *Am-i Akbari*, *Bibliotheca Indica Series of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and translation in the same series by Blochmann and Jarrett, Calcutta 1873 and 1891; 'Abd al-Hamid Lahawri, *Pādshāhnāma*, same series, Calcutta 1867, 1868; Niḥām al-Dīn Ahmad, *Tabaqāt-i Akbari*, Lucknow 1875; Nicolao Manucci, *Storia de Mogor*, translated by William Irvine, *Indian Texts Series*, London 1907, 1908. (T. W. HAIG)

B. Economics and Administration.

The Mughal Empire lived mainly by agriculture. The only metals available in quantity were iron and copper; both were relatively expensive, and local supplies of the latter were failing in the sixteenth century. The existence of coal was unknown, and of other minerals only lime, salt, saltpetre, and, locally, building stone were largely produced. The agricultural land was divided into areas known as

villages (*deh*), usually, but not always, inhabited. The villages were grouped traditionally in larger areas (*parganas*), which were usually treated as administrative units (*mahall*). Most villages, but not all, were occupied by a community of peasants, held together by the tie of common ancestry; each member of these bodies had separate possession of the land which he cultivated, but the community acted as a whole, through the headmen (*mukaddam*), in the management of the village, letting surplus land to tenants, paying the revenue and other expenses, and transacting such other business as emerged.

The population was predominantly vegetarian. Most for the officials and the army was provided where required, but its supply lay outside the ordinary course of agriculture. The products of the land were mainly food, cereals, millets and pulses, with, on a smaller scale, sugar, vegetables, and condiments. Oilseeds were grown for local needs; opium was produced largely, and tobacco, a recent introduction, had spread rapidly through the empire; cotton and some other fibres, together with indigo and other dyes, were the chief industrial crops. Holdings were usually small, and were worked largely by the peasant himself with the aid of his family and the landless labourers of the village. Oxen were used for tillage, implements were few and primitive, and there was in general a scarcity of agricultural capital, necessitating prompt sales of produce at each harvest, to the peasant's loss and the middleman's gain.

Handicrafts were numerous and varied, but weaving was by far the most important. Cotton cloth was woven all over the empire, most of it for local consumption, but near the coasts production was directed largely to supplying overseas markets, while finer goods — muslins and prints — were carried long distances by land. Most of the consuming markets were conservative, adhering closely to established styles and patterns. There was thus little scope for invention; copying was safer than designing; and such developments as are recorded were the result of either patronage by wealthy amateurs, or the extension of the European demand. Silk-weaving was locally important in Bengal and Gujrat, in the latter case from imported material; jute and hemp also were only of local importance, but in the xviith century an export trade in sacks and sacking was beginning to develop.

In peaceful regions commerce was active, and, for the period, highly organised. Funds were ordinarily transmitted by bills of exchange, which could be negotiated in all the principal towns, and in some centres outside the empire. Merchants were, however, disinclined to carry large stocks of commodities, and preferred to utilise their funds in money-lending; the rate of interest in commercial transactions was commonly about 10 or 12 per cent, but the charge was much higher when the element of risk was great.

External land-trade was almost limited to the two caravan routes westward by way of Kabul and Kandahar, though there was some small traffic with Tibet. By sea, Gujrat had old-established connections with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, with East Africa, and with Sumatra, Malacca and further East; on a much smaller scale Sind had relations with Persia; while Bengal dealt chiefly with the south of India and with Burma and Siam.

During the xviith century all the sea routes were dominated by the Portuguese, who were concerned rather to exploit than develop; the chief extension of trade due to their efforts was the supply of cloth to Brazil and West Africa, but most of this was drawn from the Coromandel Coast, which was outside the empire until almost the end of the xviith century. After "factories" (*i.e.* agencies) had been established at Surat by the English (1611) and the Dutch (1617), an important trade with western Europe grew up in indigo and calico. In the middle of the century the indigo-trade yielded to competition from the West Indies, while the depopulation of Gujrat by the famine of 1630 transferred the bulk of the calico trade to the East Coast; Surat remained, however, an important centre until its supersession by Bombay. In the second quarter of the xviith century the Dutch, followed by the English, established factories on the Hugli in Bengal, and trade developed in silk, saltpetre, fine calico, and muslin. Towards the close of the century a change of fashions in Europe produced a great demand for muslin and prints, which was met partly by Bengal, and partly by Madras, by this time technically within the limits of the empire.

The outstanding feature of all trade with India was the need for importing gold and silver. India bought little beyond the industrial metals and luxury goods, but was eager to sell produce for cash; and, since Western Europe could not supply what was most in demand, the operations of the trading Companies were necessarily so organised as to direct streams of gold and silver to India from those countries which would part with them, notably, at this period, gold from China, and silver, and later gold, from Japan. The seaports serving the empire were thus brought into a complex but efficient organisation, which took whatever they had to sell, supplied whatever they wanted to buy, and, so far as was possible, satisfied the demand for gold and silver.

Inland transport was necessarily less efficient. The Indus, the Ganges, the Djumna, and the waterways of Bengal were largely used, but the bulk of the empire depended on what were then called roads, unmetalled tracks, sometimes defined by lines of trees, with halting-places which were generally walled or otherwise defended against robbers, and usually furnished with supplies. Transport was effected by carts and pack-animals, generally oxen but in some places camels. Passengers travelled on horseback, in palanquins, or in carts drawn by fast oxen. There were excellent arrangements for the rapid transit of letters, but these were for official use, and were not ordinarily available for private persons, who hired messengers when required, or in a few cases, clubbed together to send messengers periodically.

Standards of life presented sharp contrasts. The mass of the population, peasants, artisans and labourers, lived in such extreme poverty as to excite the commiseration of European visitors. An almost equally low standard prevailed among the numerically important class of servants in the towns, whether freemen or slaves, who, however, enjoyed a more secure life than the rural population. The middle classes, comparatively smaller in numbers than now, were thrifty and frugal; and, even when wealthy, were careful to avoid any display which might lead to exactions by officials. The superior

grades of officers employed by the State were exceedingly well paid when allowance is made for the high purchasing power of money, and spent their incomes freely in extravagance and display, increased by the fact that on their death their property reverted to the treasury.

The prosperity of the empire depended mainly on three factors: the character of the rainfall, the degree of internal tranquillity, and the working of the revenue administration. The seasonal rainfall was, as it still is, uncertain, and any serious defect resulted in insufficiency of food. The difficulty of transport made it impossible to afford adequate relief on the spot, the people abandoned their homes to wander in search of food, and in contemporary narratives we read again and again of the then familiar features of deaths from starvation, cannibalism, and the sale of children into slavery. Recovery from such a calamity was a slow process, and the famine which desolated Gujarat and the Dekhan in 1630-1631 left its mark for at least a generation. Exceptionally favourable seasons might also prove calamitous, though not to the same extent. There was no local market for the surplus produce, prices fell to a ruinous level, and in official regulations low prices were treated as a calamity requiring relief on the same footing as drought or hail.

The dominance of the weather was inevitable; the other influences on prosperity were matters of administration. Here a clear distinction must be drawn between the general and the revenue administration, a distinction denoted by the current phrase *mulkī wa-mālī*. The emperor was of course supreme in both branches, and was assisted at his headquarters by four principal officers, the *Wakil* or Prime Minister, the *Wazir* or Revenue Minister, the *Bakhshi* (see col. 629), and the *Sadr*, who was in charge of Islamic law and also administered the department dealing with charitable grants and endowments. The post of *Wakil* was not always filled, and when it was in abeyance the duties attaching to it devolved on the *Wazir*. In practice the powers of these Ministers depended on the personality of the Emperor; under Akbar or Shah-Jahan they were definitely subordinates, while Jahangir's Prime Minister was at times practically the ruler of the country.

The system of general administration to which the Mughals succeeded in Northern India was not highly developed. The great bulk of the country was held by officers in assignment (a term explained below); the assignee was responsible for keeping the peace, and in practice had a free hand in the methods employed. Under Akbar a more effective system was established, which was maintained throughout the period. The empire was divided into provinces (*subahs*), each of which was in charge of a Viceroy (*Subahdar*, *Subahdar*), who at first was responsible to the Emperor for all branches of administration, but after 1595 was relieved of revenue work. Apart from the Viceroy, officers who may be described as Governors were stationed at selected places, with the duty of keeping the peace and putting down rebellion, a term which covered failure to pay the revenue due. The ordinary designation of these Governors was *Faujdar*, but in outlying regions which were controlled by fortresses the Governor was the fortress-commander (*Qil'adar*), while in a few large assignments the assignee exercised the powers of a Governor. Cities

were governed by officers designated *Karāmi*, who combined the functions of magistrate, police-commandant, municipality, and censor of morals. There was no regular police force at the disposal of these officers, who were expected to employ the troops they maintained as a condition of their rank, obtaining help when their own forces were insufficient. The efficiency of this organisation varied with that of the central administration, which depended mainly on the personality of the Emperor; by the close of the xvijth century it was definitely breaking down, and conditions of anarchy were spreading over the empire.

It is difficult to state in precise terms the relation of this organisation to the extensive portions of the empire where internal jurisdiction remained in the hands of Hindu Chiefs; but apparently the Chief was regarded officially as assignee of his territories, and was expected to maintain order within them. If he failed to do so, the Viceroy or Governor concerned might intervene, but his action would ordinarily be directed against the Chief rather than against the people.

The revenue administration was controlled by the *Wazir*, sitting in the Revenue Ministry, which was known as *Dar-i-Wazir*, as opposed to *Hazrat*, or the Court, whence orders were issued by, or in the name of, the Emperor. Revenue at this period meant practically Land Revenue; the Imperial Treasury had receipts from other sources—Customs, Salt, Mint, Presents, Inheritance, and, under Aurangzeb, the Capitation Tax (*Jizya*)—, but, taken collectively, they were of little importance compared with the income obtained from the peasants. Under the system traditional in India, and embodied in Hindu law, every person cultivating land was required to pay a share of the produce to the King, who determined, within somewhat elastic limits, the amount of the share, and who also prescribed the methods of assessment and collection. The first Muslim conquerors accepted this "King's share" as the *khirāj* to which they were entitled under Islamic law; the question of property in land was not raised, but occupants were ordinarily allowed to retain possession subject to due payment of the revenue.

In the Moghal period agricultural land fell into three classes: Chiefs', Reserved and Assigned. The areas governed by the more important Chiefs were not assessed to revenue (*khirāj*) by the *Wazir*; that was the privilege of the Chief, and any payments which he made to the treasury were in the nature of a tribute, determined by negotiation. The treatment of the numerous smaller Chiefs is not on record; but the few facts which have survived are consistent with the view that assessment was made through them, and that they were allowed to retain a portion of the revenue in return for their services. In the regions which were directly administered, certain areas of land, described as *khālīqā*, were reserved to furnish the treasury with cash, and were managed by the staff employed by the Revenue Ministry; at first the local staff was under the provincial Viceroy, but in 1596 a *Dimān* was posted to each province, to manage all revenue business directly under the Minister, and in this way emerged the dichotomy into *dimāni* (revenue business) and *faujdārī* (general business) which henceforward characterised the local administration.

The land not reserved for the treasury was

available for assignment. Every officer appointed to the Emperor's service was entitled to an income defined in cash, which represented both his personal salary and the cost of the troops he was required to maintain. For a short period in Akbar's reign, this income was paid, as well as defined, in cash, but the ordinary practice in the empire was to assign to each officer an area (*ḥiṣṣa*, *ṭayāl*, or *īḥṣā*) estimated to yield as revenue the amount of his stated income; and the officer thereupon took charge of the area assigned to him, and assessed and collected the revenue in accordance, at least theoretically, with the general orders in force. If the yield proved insufficient, he could claim the balance from the treasury, while he could be required to account for any excess receipts; but in practice these matters seem usually to have been adjusted by bribery, for which there was also extensive scope in securing profitable assignments, and in getting rid of those which had been squeezed dry. Changes of assignment were ordinarily so frequent that an officer would have been unwise to spend money on fostering agricultural development, or do anything beyond extracting the largest income which his assignment could be made to yield. The great bulk of the land was ordinarily assigned, the reserved area being one-sixth or one-seventh of the whole.

The share of the peasants' produce claimed by Akbar was one-third; later, at some uncertain time in the first half of the xviith century, this figure became the minimum, with a maximum of one-half, which inevitably tended to become the standard. Three principal methods of assessment were in vogue: Sharing (*ḥaḍla baḥḥiṣi*), Measurement (*ḥaḍla ḥaḥḥiṣi*), and Group-Assessment (*ḥaḍla ḥaḥḥiṣi*). In Sharing, the produce of each peasant was ordinarily estimated (or occasionally ascertained at harvest), and the prescribed share valued to determine the cash-revenue due for that season. In Measurement, a fixed charge, varying with the crop, was made on each unit of area sown; it might be fixed in either cash or produce and in the latter case it was valued at current prices. Under both these systems payment in cash was the general rule, but payments in kind were permitted in some backward regions where currency was scarce. In Group-Assessment, the official concerned came to terms with the headmen of the village to pay a sum fixed in cash for the year, thus avoiding the necessity of detailed assessments on individuals; this system tended to pass into Farming, when terms were made, not with the headmen, but with an outsider.

Each ruler determined at his pleasure which of these methods should be employed, and in what regions. Group-Assessment was the prevailing system at the time of Bībur's conquest, and apparently was accepted by him. After the expulsion of Humāyūn from India, Shēr Shāh introduced Measurement throughout his kingdom, and his methods were at first adopted by Akbar; the revenue claimed from each unit of area was at this time a stated quantity of produce, calculated to be one-third of the average yield, and, except in the tracts where payment in kind was practised, this amount of produce was commuted to cash at prices fixed officially for each season. Practical difficulties arose, however, in regard to commutation; and in 1579-1580 the revenue was put definitely on a cash basis, the charge on each unit of area

sown being a fixed number of *ḍam* (reckoned at 40 to the rupee) instead of a fixed weight of produce. Schedules of cash-rates adapted to the varying productivity of different regions were now drawn up, which remained in operation during the rest of Akbar's reign. At some uncertain period, probably under Djahāngir, these schedules were discarded, and a return was made to Group-Assessment, which was the standard system in the middle of the xviith century, and survived into the British period; Sharing was now practised only in backward tracts, or in some cases where the headmen refused to pay what the assessor thought a reasonable revenue, in which case he proceeded to detailed assessment on individuals, by Sharing or by Measurement according to circumstances.

Such was the history of assessment in the heart of the empire, but the outlying provinces were not brought into rigid uniformity, local conditions determining the system applied in each; while in the Dakhan provinces a distinct and elaborate system was introduced in the middle of the xviith century in order to promote recovery from the effects of war and famine.

It would be futile to criticise these varying institutions, for the value of all alike depended on the spirit in which they were worked. In administrative circles there was throughout the Muslim period a definite ideal of agricultural prosperity as the foundation of the State, its elements being extension of cultivation, improvement in the class of crops, and development of irrigation. Against this ideal operated the urgent need for the largest immediate revenue that could be wrung from the peasants. The course of the straggle cannot be traced in detail but the central fact is that by the middle of the xviith century agriculture had ceased to be an attractive career, and the peasants were deserting the land for other occupations; the resulting decline in agricultural production was the chief economic factor in the eventual collapse of the empire.

The remaining branches of the administration require little description. Customs duties were formally low, but their incidence was increased by arbitrary over-valuation and unauthorised payments required to secure prompt clearance of goods. In the towns, civil justice was administered mainly by the *qāḍi*; in the country, disputes were apparently decided summarily by the executive officials. Punishments for crime were summary and drastic, and were not always in accordance with Islamic law. By Indian tradition, local officials raised a large revenue for local purposes by a multitude of taxes and exactions of a most oppressive nature; these were prohibited *en masse* by Akbar, and again by Aurangzēb, but the system survived. Its worst feature was the levy of transit dues on internal trade, which were a cause of constant complaint by Indians as well as foreigners.

Special attention was given to the coinage, as being a recognised appanage of sovereignty. Gold, silver and copper were coined, all the coins circulating at their metallic value, so that the exchange rate between different denominations fluctuated; but gold was not in general circulation. The chief coin of the empire was the silver rupee, containing nearly 180 grains of almost pure silver; the principal copper coin was the *ḍam*, of nearly 324 grains; and there were various smaller coins of both metals.

The unit of weight used in wholesale commerce

was the maund or *man*, which varied in different parts of the country. In the south of India it ranged round about 25 lb; in Gujjarāt it was 33 lb, but in 1635 this was raised to 37 lb; in North India, it was 52 lb at Akbar's accession, was raised by him to 55 lb, by Dīkhāngir to 66 lb, and by Shih-Djahan to 74 lb. In Bengal, it was 64 lb in the West, and 46 lb in the East. All these figures are given to the nearest lb. The unit for retail trade varied from place to place, but was ordinarily smaller than those which have been named. Measures of capacity were not used in wholesale commerce. The measure of length in the North was the *gas* or yard, which was standardised by Akbar at about 33 inches, and by his successor at about 40 inches, but the smaller unit survived; in the South the *hūta*, or cubit, of about 18 inches was used; in Gujjarāt the unit was about 26 inches; and in Bengal about 27 inches.

Bibliography: Sources. *Indian:* 'Abbas Khān Sarwānī, *Tārīkh-i Shāhshāhī* (MSS. Br. Mus. Or. 164, 1782); 'Abd al-Hamid Lahawri, *Badshāhnāma*, Calcutta 1866—1872; Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Allāmī, *Pin-i Akbarī*, Calcutta 1867—1894; do., *Akbarnāma*, Calcutta 1873—1921; *Aurangzeb's Revenue Farmāns*, text and transl. by J. Sarkar (*J. A. S. B.*, June 1906); Bābur, *Bāburnāma*, transl. A. S. Beveridge, London 1921; Badā'uni, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, Calcutta 1864—1925; Bayazid (Sultān), *Tārīkh-i Humāyūn* (MS. India Off., Cat., No. 223); Dīkhāngir, *Tārīkh-i Dīkhāngirī*, ed. Aligarh 1864, transl. Rogers, ed. Beveridge, London 1909—1914; Firāshah, *Tārīkh*, Bombay 1834, transl. Briggs, London 1829; Gulshadān Begam, *History of Humāyūn*, ed. and transl. A. S. Beveridge, London 1902; Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lu'lu'at*, Calcutta 1868—1925; Muhammad Siki Mustā'idd Khān, *Ma'āthir-i 'Alamgiri*, Calcutta 1870—1873; Muḥ. Ṣāliḥ Kanbū, *Amal-i Ṣāliḥ*, Calcutta 1912—28; Muḥ. tamad Khān, *Ishānu'ma-i Dīkhāngirī*, Lucknow 1870, portion also in Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1865; Nūḥ al-Dīn Ahmad, *Tahkāt-i Akbarī* (MSS. Br. Mus. Or. 2274 and Add. 6543); Shāhnawāz Khān, *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, Calcutta 1887—1895.

A. Foreign: F. Bernier, *Travels*, transl. V. A. Smith, London 1914, contains a bibliography; T. Bowrey, *The Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, London 1903; *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia*, The Hague and Batavia 1896—1928 (in progress); D. de Couto, *Da Asia*, Lisbon 1777—1788; J. de Laet, *De Imperio Magni Mogolis*, Leyden 1631; P. della Valle, *Travels in India*, London 1891; P. du Jarric, *Theatrum Rerum Indicarum*, Cologne 1615—1616; Dutch Commercial Records (unpublished collections in Algemeen Rijksarchief at The Hague); Sir W. Foster, *The English Factories in India*, Oxford 1906—1927; do., *Early Travels in India 1583—1619*, London 1921; J. Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia*, London 1909—1915; W. Geleynssen de Jongh, *De Remonstrantse*, The Hague 1929; J. Hay, *De Rebus Iaponicis*, Indictis, et Persanis, Antwerp 1605; *India Office Records*, from 1670 (calendared up to 1669 in *The English Factories in India*, see above); J. Jourdain, *Journal of a voyage to the East Indies*, London 1904; *Letters received by the East India Company*, ed. Danvers and Foster, London 1896—1902; S. Manrique, *Travels*, transl. Laard, Lon-

don 1927; N. Manucci, *Storia de Mogor*, transl. Irvine, London 1907; J. Marshall in *India*, ed. S. A. Khān, London 1927; A. Monserrate, *Mongolic Legationis Commentarius* (Mem. As. Soc. of Bengal, iii. 9); P. Mundy, *Travels*, London 1905—1919; J. Ovington, *A voyage to Surat in the Year 1689*, London 1696; F. Pelsaert, *Remonstrantie*, transl. (as *Jahangir's India*) Moreland and Geyl, Cambridge 1925; *Purchas His Pilgrimage*, London 1625; Sir T. Roe, *Embassy to India*, ed. Foster, London 1926; Streynsham Master, *Diaries*, ed. Temple, London 1911; J. B. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, transl. Ball, ed. Crooke, London 1925 (contains bibliography); J. van Twiet, *Generale Beschryvinge van Indien*, Amsterdam 1648.

Selected Modern Works: Bal Krishna, *Commercial Relations between India and England*, London 1924; Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, London 1922 (contains bibliography); J. J. A. Campos, *The History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, Calcutta 1919; H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, London 1867—1877; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1909; S. A. Khan, *The East India Trade in the Seventeenth Century*, London 1923; W. H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, London 1920; do., *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, London 1923; do., *The Agrarian System of Modern India*, Cambridge 1929 (all with bibliographies); J. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Calcutta 1912—1924; do., *Studies in Mughal India*, Calcutta 1919; do., *Mughal Administration*, Calcutta 1920; V. A. Smith, *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, Oxford 1919 (contains bibliography); H. Terpatra, *De Ophemst der Wester-Kwartieren van de Oost-Indische Compagnie*, The Hague 1919.

(W. H. MORELAND)

II. THE DECLINE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE.

The decline of Mughal authority, already manifest during the reign of Aurangzeb, rapidly developed under his immediate successors. Bahādur Shāh [q. v.] (1707—1712) was too amiable, Dīkhāndār Shāh [q. v.] (1712—1713) was too vicious, Farrukhsiyar [q. v.] (1713—1719) was too feeble, to revive the empire. In seven bloody battles of succession, fought within six years of Aurangzeb's death, the imperial family attested its inherent lawlessness and declining power. Then it became the sport of rival factions. For a while the two famous Saiyid brothers, 'Abd Allāh and Husain 'Ali of Bārha, became the joint mayors of the palace. But they were unable to conciliate the support of the Mughal nobles. In 1720 Asaf Dīsh Nizām al-Mulk rose in arms. Husain 'Ali marched against him, but was murdered with the connivance of Muhammad Shāh, the emperor whom he and his brother had set up in 1719. Shortly afterwards, his brother 'Abd Allāh was defeated, and, after lying in prison at Dīhlī for two years, was poisoned. When they fell, Nizām al-Mulk strove hard to restore something like the old order of administration. But he was unwilling to force himself upon Muhammad Shāh as the Saiyids had forced themselves upon Farrukhsiyar. When the emperor whom he had delivered refused his advice, and the favourites of the court made fun of his antiquated dress and ceremonious manners, he preferred to retire and rule the Dakhn in virtual independence. Ironically enough, Mu-

hammad Shāh believed that Niām al-Mulk had been plotting his overthrow.

With Niām al-Mulk's departure from Dihli the last chances of a revival of the empire vanished. Never did a falling state betray greater incapacity for reformation. No phoenix could arise from those shameful ashes. Even while Niām al-Mulk still retained the nominal control of affairs, extraordinary incidents could occur. At Dihli itself, for example, a Hindu clerk in one of the imperial offices turned Muslim, and, when his wife and daughter refused to follow his change of faith, he laid a complaint against them, alleging that, as his daughter had not attained puberty, she was therefore of her father's religion. The case offered certain technical difficulties, was at last referred to the *qadr al-qadr*. His treatment of the case displeased the Dihli mob. Riots arose, the recital of the *khutba* at the Djabān-nūmā Masjid was interrupted, two or three Hindus were seized and circumcised. To pacify the rioters, the girl was imprisoned, and, a few days later, buried with Muslim ceremonial. "To cut a long story", says Kānwar Khān who relates the incident, "she was killed; otherwise there would have been many headaches and much vexation".

Niām al-Mulk's successors were worthy of the frivolous emperor whom they professed to serve. For twelve years the imperial councils were directed by a man called Shāh 'Abd al-Ghaffār. By origin a cotton-weaver of Tattā, he had lived both as *legi* and *faḳīr*. Claiming magical powers and popularly believed to consort with djinn and devils, he was summoned to interpret the dreams of the emperor's mother. This led him into the imperial service, and he contrived to accumulate in his own hand a great number of offices, producing a revenue of 5,000 rupees a day, apart from the bribes which he received, said to amount to as much more. This man was pithily described as never having spent money on a good work, never having conferred a favour, and never having done a kindness. He was a miser, and at his downfall (for even at Dihli under Muḥammad Shāh such qualities at last produced their natural reaction) more than a crore of rupees was found in his private boards. But the unpopularity which his character and habits naturally evoked were as nothing compared with the detestation with which his son and daughter were regarded. No one in Dihli was safe who displeased them or denied them anything that they desired.

Amid such confusion and under such rulers the empire rapidly lost its cohesion. The Marāṭhās [q. v.], whom even Awrangzēb sought in vain to subdue, soon became the most formidable power in India. On Awrangzēb's death, his successor, Bahādur Shāh, had released the Marāṭhā prince, Shāhū Rājā, in the desperate hope of reestablishing through him the form, if not the substance of imperial control. Shāhū Rājā met with influential and talented support. In 1708 he took possession of Satara and by the next year was generally recognised as ruler. A Chitpavan Brahman, Bālājī Wighwanāth, became his *peṣhwā* or first minister, and began to develop the characteristic Marāṭhā policy, which was to play a part in the enfeeblement of the empire. This was to put forward claims to a share (under the title of *ṣaṭh* or a quarter part) in the imperial revenues in as many provinces as possible. In 1709 the Mughal governor in the

Dakhan admitted this claim, and, although later governors contested it, it was again recognised by the Bārha Saiyids in 1719. In the next year Bālājī Wighwanāth was succeeded by his son, Bādji Rāo I, and the process was extended farther afield. Particular provinces were assigned to particular officers, who were to realise the *ṣaṭh* either by collecting the amount from the provincial governor, or by plundering the country. Bādji Rāo employed Pīlādji Gāekwāṣ as his chief leader in raids in Guḡarāt; Raghudji Bhonsla established himself at Nāgpur; these and other leaders spread the terror of Marāṭhā devastations in all directions, and it was no longer possible for the provincial governors to make their annual remittances to the capital. At the same time, seeing that their tenure of office was coming to depend more and more upon their own power and resources, the governors tended to become virtually independent rulers. Āṣaf Dīsh Niām al-Mulk in the Dakhan continued to profess himself a humble servant of the emperor, but he repelled by force of arms the persons who came with imperial *farmāns* ordering his supersession, and when he died in 1748 he was succeeded by his son. In Bengal too the succession had become a matter of heredity or war. But the respect which the name of the empire still enjoyed and the degradation into which the empire itself had fallen were exemplified by the large gifts sent by a new ruler for *farmāns* of investiture and the unhesitating compliance with which they were issued.

The troubles bred by this internal dissolution were enhanced by those of foreign invasion. In 1722 the Šafawids were overthrown in Persia, and, after a short period of great confusion, the Turk-mān Nādir Kulī established himself as ruler under the title of Nādir Shāh [q. v.]. With him difficulties arose over the Kāndahār frontier. He was engaged in reducing the Ghilzais there to submission. Thrice he sent envoys to the court of Dihli requesting that his enemies should not receive shelter in the Mughal territory. But by this time the Kābul province was falling into a like disorder with the rest. The governor spent his time in prayer and hunting. The money which had been regularly sent from Dihli to bribe the hill-tribes into quietude and pay the troops ceased to be sent, partly because of the growing imperial penury, partly because it was believed that it never reached the governor but was embezzled by his patron at court. Large bodies of Ghilzais therefore were able without the least difficulty to take shelter from Nādir Shāh's troops in the Mughal province, while the Mughal court foolishly supposed it was evading its difficulties by neglecting to answer Nādir Shāh's repeated demands. The ineptitude of the court, therefore, rather than (as used to be supposed) any elaborate intrigue of party against party, made Nādir Shāh resolve to invade India. No effective opposition could be offered in either the Kābul province or the Panḍjāb. In 1738 Kābul was occupied. In the next year Nādir Shāh's army appeared before Dihli. The emperor went out, not to strike a blow in his own defence, but to make his humble submission. Conqueror and captive then entered the city. The Dihli mob, grievously mistaking its strength, attempted to massacre the foreigners. As a punishment Nādir Shāh deliberately let loose his troops for five long hours — from 9 o'clock in the morning till 2 in the afternoon — during which some 20,000 of the inhabitants are believed to

to have perished; and beyond this toll of life a great ransom was exacted, including 50 crores' worth of those wonderful jewels which earlier Mughal sovereigns had heaped up for their delight. From this time onwards the annals of the Mughal empire contain nothing but dishonour. Nādir Shāh fell; but Ahmed Shāh Durrāni established on the borders of India another empire and repeatedly invaded India between 1748, the year of the ignominious Muhammad Shāh's death, and 1761, the year in which he inflicted the severest defeat in all their history upon the Marāṭhās at Pānīpat. Until the decay of the Durrāni empire in the early years of the nineteenth century, the provinces of Sind, the Panjāb, and Kashmir, were dependencies of the Afghan kingdom.

Europeans in India — Dutch, French, and English — had observed these events with great concern. Early in the eighteenth century the Dutch had sent a great embassy to Bahādur Shāh, and a little later the English had sent one to Farrukhsiyar. Both had secured far-reaching *farmāns* by profuse expenditure; both had found that their *farmāns* were waste paper wherever they ran counter to the interests of local governors. But it was the Frenchman Dupleix who first sought to put into practice the conclusions to be drawn from this situation. Others were convinced that European force could easily establish itself in India; but he began experiments, and, in the hope of keeping the English motionless while he acted, he professed to be acting on behalf and in the name of the Mughal emperor. This fiction became the traditional basis of French policy in India, and down to the end of the century Frenchmen were elaborating plans (which their failure to control the sea brought to nothing) for establishing themselves in India and expelling their rivals under cover of imperial grants. With equal consistency the English adopted a political realism which squared far better with the circumstances of the time. They fought and overcame Dupleix in the name of their national interests. When they acquired Bengal, they carefully avoided all obligation to reestablish the imperial authority; and it appears that their acceptance of the *diwān* of Bengal was dictated, not by any desire to mask the reality of their power (which no one in India doubted), but by the desire to take on behalf of the East India Company something which could not be taken over by the English crown as a territorial sovereignty certainly would have been. Thus it was that Prince 'Alī Gawhar, who proclaimed himself as Shāh 'Alam II [q. v.] in 1760, on learning of his father 'Alamgir's murder by his wazir, Ghāzī al-Dīn, first came under the protection of the English. He had for some years been attacking the province of Bihār with the aid of the Nawāb Wazīr of Oudh. But after the battle of Baksar in 1764 he had given up the struggle, joined the English camp, and in the following year on Clive's demand bestowed on the East India Company the *diwān* of the provinces it held in return for an annual allowance of 26 lakhs of rupees. At the same time the districts of Kora and Allāhābād were assigned to him and he proceeded to reside in the latter city. Soon however, he wearied of his position of dependence, and departed to join the Marāṭhās, who, having recovered from their defeat at Pānīpat, were once more invading northern India. On this Warren Hastings decided to hand

Kora and Allāhābād over to the Nawāb Wazīr and refused to continue the payment of the 26 lakhs. From this time until the close of the century he remained under the control of the Marāṭhās, except at such times as their internal dissensions led to the recall of their forces from the north. One of their chief leaders at this time, Mahādājī Sindhiā, gradually built up a strong principality for himself, conquering the provinces of Agra and Dillī, and becoming the emperor's real custodian. So matters remained till Sindhiā's defeat by the English in 1803 transferred the guardianship of Shāh 'Alam into the hands of the latter. They carefully refrained from entering into engagements with him, but they assigned revenues for the maintenance of the imperial family, they permitted all orders issued in the city of Dillī to run in the emperor's name, though the actual administration was conducted by an English agent, and they attempted no interference within the precincts of the palace. Gradually the traditional observances broke down. The Mughal emperor and the British governor-general met with the ceremonial of equals. The emperor's name was removed from the coinage. And it had been resolved no longer to recognise the imperial title after the death of its holder, Bahādur Shāh II, when the Indian Mutiny, in which several of the imperial princes took an active part although they seem to have had little share in bringing it about, led to the formal trial and deposition of the emperor and the disappearance of the shadowy court which for a century had lingered on under the toleration of the real powers of India.

Bibliography: For the period down to 1739: Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Calcutta 1922, 2 vols., and the numerous authorities therein cited; for the period after 1739: the *Cambridge History of India*, ed. Dodwell, vol. v., Cambridge 1929, and the bibliographies included therein. (H. H. DODWELL.)

III. MUGHAL ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA.

The Mughal dynasts brought to India strong Central Asian predilections and a keen feeling for natural beauty. But each in succession obeyed his own instincts, education and caprices. Hence they patronised no "schools" of art, but came to employ an almost cosmopolitan body of artists, Persian, Indian, Turk and even European, who one and all had to adapt their own canons to the aesthetic moods of their employers. In general the Mughals forbade any sculpture of the human form, but like the Orthodox Greek Church, were usually less rigid towards paintings of it and even fostered portraiture till it reached a high level. Yet, with relatively few exceptions, the Mughal buildings were all religious, comprising mosques and tombs or shrines. Hence their scope was limited, though within their limits they express the religious feelings and policies of the dynasty. Even the conqueror Babur found leisure in his brief reign of five years, 1526—1531, to build at Pānīpat the Kabul Shāh mosque, whose name commemorates at once his love of Kābul and his victory at Pānīpat in 1526. His mosque at Sambhal in Rohilkhand is marked by an ovoid dome. When he required constructive work Babur summoned pupils of Sinān, an Albanian, from Constantinople, and avoided Indian, Hindu or indigenous standards, though he must have employed Indian workmen in spite of his dis-

paragement of Indian skill and knowledge in design or architecture.

Humāyūn's longer but still more chequered reign produced many buildings, of which few remain. His mosque at Fathābād near Dihli is massive and well-proportioned, recalling the Tughlak or Turkish period, with domes rather more than hemispherical. It is decorated with enamelled tiles in the Persian manner, apparently the earliest example of that style now extant. His tomb at Dihli, doubtless begun, as is customary among pious Enateras, during his lifetime, is of red sandstone and also Persian in style, but in it coloured tiles are replaced by white marble, of which the dome is wholly composed, the rest of the masonry being also inlaid with that material. The main dome has a narrow neck, the first of its type to appear in India, the four corner cupolas, also a new feature, support domes of an earlier style.

Akbar (1556—1605) was versatile in his architectures as he was in his religion. In the Fort at Agra he built the palace—one of the few secular buildings of the Mughal period which survive—called the Dīhāngir Mahall. His other buildings at Agra were demolished by Shāh-Jahān. This palace, built of red sandstone which has weathered badly, bears the impress of Akbar's vigour and originality. Throughout arches are used sparingly, the horizontal style of construction being the rule. Its forms also are as Hindu as its construction, but the ornamentation, carved on all flat surfaces, is of a type used by Akbar but not found in other buildings. During the early part of his reign was erected at Gwalior the tomb of Muḥammad Ghawth, who died in 1562. Closely resembling that of Sher Shāh at Sahsāram, it marks a considerable advance in tomb-building during the brief period that had elapsed between the erection of the two, an advance ascribed by Fergusson to the invigorating touch of Akbar's genius, but doubtless due in great measure to the skill of the Gwalior school of architects and masons who were probably Hindus. The tomb is a square, 100 ft. each way, exclusive of the hexagonal towers, and its chamber forms a hall, 43 ft. square, with the angles cut off by pointed arches so as to form an octagon on which the dome rests. Around this square building is a wide gallery, enclosed on all sides by a screen of exquisite tracery in pierced stonework with a projecting porch on each face.

At Fathpur-Sikri, the new capital founded by Akbar where the court resided from 1569 to 1584, the emperor's eclectic phase found its fullest expression. Its architecture is admirably illustrated in W. E. Smith's works¹), but all its significance has not yet been explained. The site was chosen because Akbar's patron saint, the Sūfi Salīm Ḥishtī, lived in a cave on its summit²). Akbar's own residence was the "House of Dreams", the Khwāb-gāh, an unpretentious structure standing on the roof of the Mahall-i Khāṣṣ, which contains paintings attributed by Smith to Chinese artists

and apparently depicting Buddha as Yamāntaka³). However this may be, the design of his throne in the Dīwān-i Khāṣṣ massive pillar symbolizes that he sat there as a Cakravartin or ruler of the four quarters, as Haveli suggests, though it is conceivable that it signified his claim to the supreme headship of his new religion, the Dīn-Ilāhī. But it is rash to dogmatise on the symbolism of a builder who seems to have had no settled design for the plan of his new city. The Mahall-i Khāṣṣ regarded by Fergusson as the original block of building at Fathpur-Sikri, has two spacious courtyards and is larger than the Red Palace at Agra, but its surrounding structures are inferior in richness of design and ornamentation. From time to time Akbar added courts and pavilions as if to compensate for this inferiority. While the Dīwān-i Khāṣṣ is square, as befits a Hall of Audience, the Daftar-Khāna or Record Office is peristylar like the one erected by Akbar at Allāhābād. The Panē Mahall, a five-storeyed open pavilion with richly carved pillars, and long colonnades and walls connecting these buildings one with another, complete this group of structures. The most characteristic and beautiful of his designs here are the three small buildings, the Mahall or apartment of Birbal's daughter, the house of Mariam Zamāni, mother of Dīhāngir, and the palace of the Rūmī Sultāna, Ruḳaiya Begam, a cousin of Akbar and his first consort. Akbar's greatness however demanded more grandiose monuments. The Dīāmī Masjid or cathedral mosque, erected in 1571 (the year in which he proclaimed himself the *mudtāhid* of his age and openly claimed the spiritual headship of Islam) commemorated his victories in the Dakhan (Southern India). It ranks amongst the finest ecclesiastical buildings of India. According to its inscription, it was designed by Shāikh Salīm Ḥishtī himself and modelled on the Ka'ba. Though highly ornate it betrays few or no traces of Indian influence⁴). The tomb of the Shāikh, in its courtyard, is built wholly of white marble, with windows of pierced tracery of the most exquisite geometrical patterns, and a deep cornice of marble supported by brackets of a design so elaborate as to be almost fantastic. The other tomb in the courtyard, that of Salīm's grandson, Shāikh Islām Khān, is of sober and excellent design but eclipsed by its surroundings. The Buland Darwāzā or "lofty gateway", built in 1602, commemorates Akbar's conquest of Khāndesh and dwarfs even the Dīāmī Masjid. It is the grandest gateway in India and one of the loftiest in the world, its height being enhanced by its position on the brow of the hill on which Fathpur-Sikri stands. Its architect placed its portals at the back of a semi-dome, which thus became its porch or portico, and its dimensions impress themselves as those of the actual portal. It must be added that Akbar intended his new capital to be a school of all the arts and that he allied architecture to painting. From the fragments of interior mural paintings which survive, it is clear that he employed Persian and Indian artists, who worked independently, and some idea of their technique is doubtless to be gathered from the miniatures of this period, as mural artists were also required to illustrate manuscripts.

¹) *The Mughal Architecture of Fathpur-Sikri*, Allāhābād, Government Press, N. W. P. and Oudh, 1898, 4 vols. and *Journal of Indian Art*, Nos. 47, 64 and 60.

²) The tomb of Salīm Ḥishtī is described and illustrated in Smith's work cited above and in *J. Indian Art*, No. 64 (vol. viii., p. 41 and 199.), 1898.

³) *J. Indian Art*, No. 47 (vol. vi., p. 66), 1894.

⁴) For its wall-paintings see *J. Indian Art*, No. 66 (vol. viii., p. 55), 1899.

At Allāhābād, the city where Akbar was compelled by administrative duties to reside more than at his new but isolated capital, he built the pavilion of the *Chūs Sūn* or "Forty Pillars", of which only the hall survives. Its plan is square, supported by eight rows of columns, eight in each row, making sixty-four in all; and it is surrounded by a deep verandah of double columns, with groups of four at the angles, all surmounted by bracket capitals of the richest design.

But perhaps the most characteristic of Akbar's buildings, observes Fergusson, is his tomb at Sikandra, begun in his lifetime¹⁾ but completed by his successor. Unfortunately Djahāngir, in his *Tuzuk* (transl. A. Rogers, i. 152), asserts that he demolished Akbar's work and reconstructed the tomb. But, seeing that the plan of the building is unique in India and has no Persian or Saracenic parallel, it is more likely that only its exterior is the work of the fastidious orthodox Djahāngir. Its original plan was modelled on the Panā Majall, being composed of five square terraces diminishing in size as they ascend. Thus the outline of the structure is pyramidal, not domical. Standing in an extensive garden it is approached by a single gateway and stands on a raised platform. Excluding the angle towers the lowest storey measures 320 ft. each way, and on this terrace stand three more, similar in design but more ornate, each about half the height of the lowest storey or terrace. Within and above the highest storey is a white marble enclosure, 157 ft. square, contrasting with the red sandstone of which the rest of the structure is built. The outer wall of this enclosure is entirely composed of beautiful trellis-work; and inside it is a colonnade or cloister, also of white marble, in the centre of which is placed the tomb of Akbar, resting on a platform of exquisite arabesque tracery. This doubtless typifies Akbar's celestial resting-place, for below it lie his remains under a far plainer tombstone in the basement. That Djahāngir here departed from the original plan is certain. According to W. Finch, the tomb was to have been covered with a canopy of "curious white and speckled gold richly wrought". What Akbar planned and what he meant to express by his design must remain a matter of conjecture. Fergusson postulates a Buddhist model, and even sees in the pavilions which adorn the upper storeys reminiscences of the cells which stand on the edge of the great rock-cut path at Māmallapuram; but these may have been intended for use as a theological college like the rooms and pavilions in the upper storey of Himmān's tomb. He also thought that a domical chamber over the tombstone formed part of the original design, since no such royal tomb remains exposed to the air in any Indian mausoleum — a dangerous generalization. Havell sees in the building an Indian five-storeyed Assembly-Hall, apparently a meeting-house for the royal order, the *Din Ilāhi*, the four lower pavilions (or terraces) corresponding to the four grades of the order. Even Cambodian

influences have been conjectured²⁾. Yet it is not impossible that a Zoroastrian model was kept in view, as Akbar borrowed from that faith among others.

As compared with Akbar Djahāngir contributed little to the architectural magnificence of Mughal India. At Lahore, which he made his capital, he added the *Bayā Khwāb-gāh* or greater sleeping apartment to the Fort; and the tomb of Anāikali was also erected in that city. Near Srinagar in Kashmir he made the *Shūlmār* gardens with their summer-houses; and the fine gateway to the Sarāi at Nūrmahāl near Džalandhar is also ascribed to his reign. The quadrangle at Lahore was doubtless executed by Hindu artisans, as the colonnade, which surrounds three sides of its area, is supported by pillars of red sandstone with bracket capitals and carved figures of elephants, peacocks and conventional animals like those found in the Red Palace at Agra. Djahāngir's greatest buildings were however erected at Dakka, in Eastern Bengal, where he made a new provincial capital in super-session of Gawr; but his structures there were principally built of brick, covered with stucco, only the pillars and brackets being of stone, and they have been almost destroyed by the jungle. In one respect only did Djahāngir innovate. In 1600 he built the *Moti Masjid* or "Pearl Mosque" at Lahore, the first of its kind in India. Between Akbar's style and that of Djahāngir little difference exists. The former had used colour ornamentation at Fathpur-Sikri; its later buildings were richly decorated with wall-paintings, and marble mosaic was used in the *Djāmi Masjid*. Djahāngir relied still more on mosaic decoration, e.g. in Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, but soon after its completion we find variegated marble mosaic supplemented by *pietra dura*, as in I'timād al-Dawla's tomb, and in the *Tādj* we still find inlay almost exclusively used. Akbar had continued the use of enamelled tiles at Fathpur-Sikri for roofing and more sparingly for ornamentation; and they were employed by Djahāngir at Sikandra and by Wazīr Khān, his wazīr, on his mosque at Lahore. Indeed this mosque is only noteworthy on account of this decoration. Akbar had also introduced painting on interior walls.

Djahāngir's wife Nūr Mahāl or Nūr Džahān erected at Agra the tomb of her father, I'timād al-Dawla, completed in 1628. Built almost entirely of white marble, enriched with semi-precious *pietra dura* patterns, it foreshadowed the finest work of Shāh-Džahān's reign. Djahāngir's tomb, at Shāh-darā near Lahore, has little architectural merit, consisting of a vast platform 209 ft. square, with a minaret at each corner. The façades are decorated with white marble set into the red sandstone and the flat roof with geometrical mosaics. The emperor's remains are probably buried beneath an opening in the roof so that the rain and dew of heaven might fall on his tomb, as his earliest chronicler says³⁾. In brief the actual grave was hypaethral⁴⁾.

1) This view is contested in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1903-1904*, p. 19, but it was certainly the usual custom for a Mughal emperor, like any other good Muslim, to build his tomb during his lifetime. The problem is fully discussed in *The Tomb of Akbar*, by E. W. Smith and W. H. Nicholls, published by the *Arch. Survey of India, Allāhābād 1908*.

2) Cf. Vincent Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 411.

3) Muḥammad Šālih Kambū, in his *Shāh-Džahān-Nāma* (also called the *Amal-i Šālih* in Elliott and Dawson's *Hist. of India*, vii, p. 123) cited in *Arch. Survey of India, Annual Rep.*, 1906-1907, p. 13.

4) A contrary view, that the tomb had a closed

Bibliography: *Aghni*, xix. 97, 140-148; xvi. 2 ap.; xviii. 165; xx. 117; xxi. 281-284; Ibn al-Athir, *Ud al-Ghāba*, iv. 116; Tabari, ed. de Goeje, ii. 4, 8, 10, 16, 19-21, 36-39, 40, 42, 44, 61, 67, 86-88, 111-115, 173, 174, 181, 207. — For other references cf. H. Lammens, *Siad Ibn Abihi, vice-roi de l'Iraq, lieutenant de M'awia Ier*, p. 1-15; extract from the *R.S.O.*, iv. 1-15. (H. LAMMENS)

AL-MUGHNI. [See ALLĀH II.]

AL-MUHĀDJIRUNA, the emigrants, a name often applied in the *Qur'ān* to those followers of Muḥammad who had migrated from Mecca to Medina with him. The word is derived from *hijra*, which does not mean "flight" but breach, dissolution of an association based on origin, in the place of which a new connection is formed. The term *muhājir* is not applied to the Prophet himself but only to those who migrated with him and later made up a considerable portion of the population of Medina. The followers of the Prophet who were natives of Mecca were given the name *Anṣār* [q.v.] to distinguish them from the Muhājirūn, because the immigrants were mainly dependent on their help and active support after they had given up their homes and livelihoods in Mecca. It now became one of Muḥammad's main objects to arouse sympathy for them, because in the early days after their migration they were for the most part in very needy circumstances. With the greatest eloquence he describes them as the particular favourites of Allāh who will receive a splendid reward for their sacrifices "when those who have adopted the faith, who have migrated and fought for Allāh's cause may hope for his grace" (*Sūra* ii. 215); "the sins of the emigrants and of those driven from home are forgiven" (iii. 191). Those who remained in Mecca and feared to migrate although the earth was large enough to afford them shelter are severely censured. He who emigrates finds a home on the earth and if he dies Allāh will reward him (iii. 101). This was however at first only an indication of a future which had not yet materialized, and in addition to these rosy utterances (cf. xvi. 43; viii. 75; xxii. 57) the Prophet made more practical efforts to help those who were living in difficult circumstances. A portion of the plunder taken in fighting was given to the poor emigrants who had been driven from their possessions in order to aid Allāh: "they are the trustworthy" (lix. 8). In order to make the bond between them and the Medinese as tight as possible it is announced in *Sūra* viii. 73 that the emigrants who had left their homes to fight for the true religion and those who gave them shelter (cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 321 *seq.*) and assistance (the *Anṣār*) should enjoy rights of kinship with one another while on the other hand, those, who while adopting Islām had not migrated, should not have any rights of kinship. According to the usual interpretation, this passage refers to the peculiar bond of brotherhood which Muḥammad instituted between each emigrant and a Medinese believer, an explanation which is however not quite certain as the passage perhaps only expresses a general principle (cf. Fr. Buhl, *Leben Muḥammad's*, p. 209). Besides, the usual exegetes sees in the regulations for inheritance (*Sūra* iv. 13, 15) a proof that this special bond was very early abolished again.

The high esteem in which the emigrants were

held finds expression in *Sūra* ix. 20, where we read "those who believed and migrated and expended blood and treasure in fighting for the cause of Allāh, occupy a higher position (than other believers); they are the fortunate ones". Muhājir in this way became a title of honour (cf. *Sūra* xxix. 25 where Lot is so called). Individuals who had migrated not to Medina but to Abyssinia also proudly called themselves muhājir (see Fr. Buhl, *op. cit.*, p. 172). But the real "migration" was that to Medina in which the Prophet himself took part. The number of the Muhājirūn gradually grew as the increasing power of Muḥammad from time to time induced Meccans to leave their heathen city and go to Medina. It is to them that *Sūra* viii. 76 refers, where those who adopted Islām later than the first emigrants who migrated and afterwards fought alongside of the older Muhājirūn are acknowledged as belonging to the community ("they are of you"). After the treaty of Hudaibiya [q.v.] in particular, we hear of Meccan women who left their pagan husbands and went to Medina where in accordance with Muḥammad's interpretation of the treaty they were not surrendered if they offered the so-called women's pledge (see *Sūra* ix. 11 *seq.*). Thus the Muhājirūn, later and earlier, formed an increasing element in the population of Medina, whom Muḥammad often mentions along with other sections of the community as possessing equal rights with them (e.g. *Sūra* xxxiii. 6, 49) in which connection it should be noted that Muhājirūn is never, as was the case among the *Anṣār*, used in genealogies.

That these emigrants were specially dear to Muḥammad is easily intelligible, for they had shared his sufferings in Mecca and made the greatest sacrifices for him and included in their number men who had adopted his teaching out of pure conviction. With the occupation of Mecca, the migration ceased while the Muhājirūn remained as a separate highly honoured body. It is natural to suppose that a certain amount of rivalry might easily arise between them and the other elements of the community, and that there was actually a certain amount of friction between the emigrants and the Medinese is evident from the fact that in the troubles after the Prophet's death the Medinese endeavoured to set up one of their number, Sa'd b. 'Ubadā, as successor to the Prophet. The attempt failed through the energetic action of 'Umar, Abū Bakr and Abū 'Ubadā, and the leadership of the community remained in the hands of the Muhājirūn until the descendants of Muḥammad's old opponents in Mecca seized power for themselves.

Bibliography: The biography of Muḥammad, especially Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 341 *seq.* (Fr. BUHL)

MUHĀL. [See MANTIK.]

AL-MUHALLAB b. ABĪ ŠUFRA, ABU SA'ID AL-AẒDĪ, an Arab general. Al-Muhallab is said to have been born two years before the death of Muḥammad. In the reign of Ma'awiya he undertook a campaign against India and raided the country between Kābul and Multān (44 = 664-665). He next distinguished himself in the expeditions of the governors of Khurāsān against Samarkand. Then however, he left the Umayyads and joined the anti-Caliph 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair who gave him the governorship of Khurāsān. When he was just about to start for there, he was appointed commander-in-chief in the war against the Aṣraḳīs

following the precedent set by Hābur. The sarcophagus is of white marble, inlaid with *pietra dura*, and it stands in an octagonal chamber 21 ft. high and 20½ in diameter. This chamber is enclosed in nearly solid walls of masonry, 56 ft. thick on all sides, and access to it is afforded by two oblong apartments, one on each side, but it does not open into any of the forty other rooms behind the arches which surround the structure, each façade having a central arch with five smaller arches on each side.

Under Shāh-Jahān (1627—1658) Mughal architecture attained its zenith. One of his earliest buildings was the incomparable Tāj Mahall [q. v.], begun the year after the death of the empress, Arjumand Bānū Begam, entitled Mumtāz Mahall, or the "Chosen One of the Palace". For himself Shāh-Jahān planned a corresponding tomb of equal magnificence on the opposite bank of the river Džamā, but Aurangzēb did not carry out the scheme, probably because it savoured of paganism¹. Considerable controversy has raged over the question of its architect. Shāh-Jahān's style was essentially Persian, with an indefinable difference of expression, and it was sharply distinguished from those of Isphāhān and Constantinople by a lavish use of white marble, sumptuously decorated with *pietra dura*. Coloured tiles had by now become rare. Spacious grandeur was combined with feminine elegance, to which inimitable open-work tracery contributed. In the mosques colour was eschewed, and the finest art is found in the Pearl Mosques at Agra and Dīhli. The former was built in 1646—1653. Meanwhile Shāh-Jahān had founded Shāh-Jahānābād, the great palace near modern Dīhli, recently restored to something like its pristine

beauty. A Persian engineer, 'Alī Mardān Khān, had tapped the Džamā 6 miles above Dīhli, and his canal fed the new capital with many streams. The most favoured of them was the Nahr-i-Bihisht of "Stream of Paradise", which was so named by Shāh-Jahān himself. It fell in a cascade down a marble chute in a pavilion—the Shāh Burdj—and flowing along the terrace which bordered the Hayāt-Bakhsh ("life-giving") garden, it traversed the chain of stately edifices that lined the eastern wall of the Palace—the Hammām, Dīwān-i Khāss and Khwāb-gāh—silently gliding beneath the Mirān-i Ināf ("Balance of Justice") across a sun-bathed court into the cool of the Imtiyāz Mahall or "Palace of Distinction", styled later the Rang Mahall Kalān or "Greater Colour Palace", from its elaborate painted decoration and gilding. Set on a marble terrace which formerly swept from end to end of the Fort, it overhung the Džamā whose course then flowed along the base of the red sandstone walls. On the West an orchard separated it from the Dīwān-i 'Am. Thence, still southward, it passed through the Lesser Rang Mahall, the Mumtāz Mahall and other buildings of the imperial *amūda*. Thus Dīhli combined the Mughal love of enclosed gardens, watered by running channels, with their passion for architectural beauty. It preserved Bābur's love of nature, and perhaps added to it a sense of landscape which also found expression in the Mughal gardens of Kashmir.

With Aurangzēb (1659—1707) set in the period of decline, due no doubt largely to that emperor's orthodox prejudice against art, but partly also to his conscientious parsimony. He declined to complete Shāh-Jahān's tomb, ostensibly on the ground of expense, but also perhaps because he regarded the scheme as savouring of paganism. Yet he constructed at Benares the great mosque with its lofty graceful minarets, built a copy of the Dīhli mosque at Lahore, and at Aurangābād imitated, though on a small scale and with success, the Tāj in the tomb of his favourite wife. Aurangzēb's own tomb, at Khuldābād, a hamlet just above the caves at Ellūra, is mean and insignificant. But some of his buildings, in spite of their incipient decadence, are the last great examples of the Mughal style. His Džāmi' or Bāghshāhī mosque at Lahore is pleasing in form, though the marble ornamentation of its great central and front façade is very inferior in detail to its prototype at Dīhli. Its three domes of white marble and the imposing gateway of red sandstone and marble leading to it from the Hazūri Bāgh are its finest features.

Near Dīhli the tomb (1756) of Nawwāb Saifdar Džang, Wazir of Oudh, is a passable copy of a Humāyūn's mausoleum, but its interior is marred by indifferent plaster decoration.

At Lucknow, the capital of the Nawwāb Wazīr of Oudh, the buildings erected by that dynasty and its nobles hardly deserve to be classed as Mughal. The one exception is the vast Imāmbara, built by the fourth Nawwāb, Asaf al-Dawla, in 1784. Conceived on a grand scale for the celebration of the Muharram according to the Shī'a rite, its details will not bear close examination, though its solidity is impressive. The buildings of the Muhammadan dynasty of Mysore (1760—1777) have still less claim to be regarded as Mughal.

To conclude, the architecture of the Mughals was, like all their arts, a resultant of many forces.

roof and only an uncovered tombstone is maintained by J. P. Thompson in the *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, i. 12—30 (also W. H. Nicholls, in *Arch. Survey of India, Annual Rep.*, 1906—1907, p. 12). But hypæthral shrines were not uncommon during the Mughal period (see H. A. Rose, in *Journ. Panjab Hist. Soc.*, iii. 144—145, and *Glossary of Panjab Tribes and Castes*, i. 534). It is possible to reconcile the structural evidence with tradition by assuming that the tomb was originally hypæthral, but that a dome was subsequently erected over it and that Aurangzēb removed the addition in order to restore the original design; but hardly, as Moorcroft states, with the intent that "his grandfather's tomb might be exposed to the weather as a mark of his reprobation of the loose notions and licentious practices of Džahāngīr" (cf. W. Moorcroft and G. Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces*, London 1841, i. 108—109).

1) For twin shrines on either side of the Indus see the account of Daira Din Panāh in Munāffargah (Panjab) District Gazetteer, Lahore 1910, p. 71. Tavernier records this tradition in his *Travels*, Bk. i., Ch. vii., but he does not add the further tradition that Shāh-Jahān's mausoleum was to have been of black marble, a rarity hardly procurable in India. The Tāj was however only the central feature in a group of smaller and hardly less beautiful buildings, e.g. the four Sahels Burdjes, tombs of the empress' maids-of-honour; see *Arch. Survey of India, Annual Rep.*, 1903—1904, p. 14 and plate iii.

But its essential distinction over Hindu art lay in its balanced use of purely Indian and imported technique; while it recognised the value of symbolism in its structures, it never made its arts merely a vehicle for symbols, as Hindu sculpture tended to do.

Bibliography: The fullest collection of material for the study of Indian architecture is to be found in the publications of the *Archaeological Survey of India*. The best comprehensive works are James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, edited by James Burgess, vol. ii., London 1910; Gustave Le Bon, *Les Monuments de l'Inde*, Paris 1893; Ft. Wetzel, *Islamische Grabbauten in Indien aus der Zeit der Soldatenhäuser*, Leipzig 1918; Oscar Reuther, *Indische Paläste und Wohnhäuser*, Berlin 1925. A comprehensive and critical bibliography of the Muhammadan Architecture of India by K. A. C. Creswell appeared in *The Indian Antiquary*, vol. li. (1922). (H. A. ROSE)

MUGHAMMAS or according to others **MUGHAMMA**, a valley near Mecca on the borders of the sacred area. According to tradition, Abrahā [q.v.] ordered his army to encamp here when he was going to attack Mecca, but was prevented from doing so as birds slew his soldiers by dropping stones on them. In Mughammas is shown the tomb of the Tā'ifī Abū Righāl who died here after acting as guide to Abrahā. He was so hated by the Meccans for this that the custom grew up of casting stones on his grave [cf. *AL-DJAMRA*]. Whether this explanation is true or not is unknown, but in any case a verse of Ḥassān b. Thābit (ed. Hirschfeld, LXII/1.) shows that in the time of the Prophet the mention of his name was sufficient to incite the Tā'ifīs. The antiquity of the custom of stoning his tomb is shown by a verse of Djarir: "When al-Farazdaq dies, stone him as you stone the grave of Abū Righāl".

Bibliography: al-Bakr, *Geogr. Wörterbuch*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 553; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 33; Tabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 937; Azraqī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 93 sq.; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Araber und Perser*, p. 207 sq. (Fr. Buill.)

AL-MUGHĪRA B. SHU'BA, of the sept of the *Abīlāf*, a subdivision of the Thakīf, further a member of the clan of the Banū Mu'attib — guardians of the sanctuary of al-Lāt — and nephew of 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd [q.v.], companion and martyr. For having attacked and plundered some travelling companions during their sleep, he was forced to leave Tā'if, his native town, and came to Medina to offer his services to Muḥammad. The latter used him to attract the Thakīf to Islām and after the submission of Tā'if, sent him to this town to superintend the destruction of the national sanctuary and the liquidation of the treasure of al-Lāt. In the caliphate of Abū Bakr, although he never succeeded in attaining to one of the great posts which were reserved for the Quraysh, Mughīra was able to keep a position in governing circles. 'Omar, while under no illusions about his morals, appointed him governor of Baḡra. A scandalous incident temporarily interrupted his administrative career. He was accused of adultery. The evidence was overwhelming: instead of having him stoned, 'Omar only dismissed him. Mughīra holds in tradition the record for marriages and divorces: the figures of 300, 700 and 1,000 are given. In the

year 21 (642), recalled to public life, he was appointed to the important governorship of Kūfa. His slave Abū Lu'lu'a, who lived in Medina, assassinated the Caliph 'Omar. Under 'Othmān, Mughīra retired to private life. In the reign of 'Alī, he withdrew to Tā'if to watch the course of events. He went without having been invited to the conference of Adhīm [q.v.]. In 40 (660), taking advantage of the general confusion that followed the assassination of 'Alī, he produced an alleged certificate of appointment from Mu'āwiya and took over the control of the annual pilgrimage.

The great Sufyanid was able to appreciate at their true value auxiliaries of the stamp of Mughīra, one of the chief *dābiya* of his time, the man "who could get himself out of the most hopeless difficulty": "if (it was said) he were shut behind seven doors, his cunning would have found a way to burst all the locks". Of shocking morals, free from any attachment to the 'Alid party, equally free from any claims to the caliphate, free from the jealousies of the Quraysh families, as well as the narrowmindedness of the Anṣār clans, a member of the intelligent and enterprising tribe of Thakīf, everything attracted Mu'āwiya's attention to him. In the year 41 (661), this Caliph appointed him governor of Kūfa, a region disturbed by the intrigues of the Shī'a and the continual risings of the Khāridjīs. Mughīra succeeded in not compromising himself with the former: he was content to advise them to avoid any too striking outburst. Now nearly sixty, the able Thakāfi felt the unusual ambition of remaining where he was and of finishing his troubled career in peace and honour. This opportunist, who had come over to the Sufyanids after cool calculation, felt little desire to sacrifice his own peace and leisure for the consolidation of the Omayyad dynasty; he was solely concerned with keeping on the right side of the sagacious Mu'āwiya. The sudden rising of the Khāridjī leader Mustawrid failed to disturb his equanimity. With remarkable cleverness he was able to let loose against these rebels their born enemies, "the fine flower of the Shī'a". Whichever was victorious, it could not fail to lighten his responsibilities. By setting them against one another he rendered harmless the most dangerous elements of disorder in his province. The crushing of the Khāridjīs enabled him to breathe freely.

Thanks to this combination of mildness and astuteness, and by knowing when to shut his eyes, Mughīra succeeded in avoiding desperate measures against the people of the 'Irāq, who were a continual source of trouble, and succeeded in retaining his position. He was even regretted by his former subjects after he was gone. Not quite satisfied, Mu'āwiya thought of breaking this lieutenant of his who was playing a double game. Mughīra was always able at the opportune moment to provoke troubles which required the continuation of his services. In this way he prepared the return to favour of Ziyād b. Abīhi [q.v.], destined to be his successor. He is also said to have disarmed the Caliph's suspicions by suggesting the plan of proclaiming Yazid heir-apparent. As the general situation had considerably improved in the 'Irāq and order prevailed, on the surface at least, the Caliph left him in office till his death, the date of which is uncertain but which must be placed between 48 and 51 (668—671). Mughīra died of the plague at the age of about 70.

LUZAC & CO.

ORIENTAL AND FOREIGN BOOKSELLERS.

Official Agents and Publishers to the Royal Asiatic Society, London and Malayan Branch, School of Oriental Studies, London; Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta; Bihar and Orissa Research Society, India, Society of Oriental Research, Chicago; Siam Society, Bangkok; etc., etc.

JUST PUBLISHED:

A Scheme of Egyptian Chronology

WITH NOTES THEREON

Including notes on Cretan and other Chronologies

With 19 Illustrations

BY **DUNCAN MACNAUGHTON**

Roy. 8vo. cloth, pp. xii. 405.

Price 25/-

Recently Published:

Side-lights on Early Armenia

BY **S. M. GREGORY**

(Late of the Federated Malay States Civil Service).

8vo. sewn, pp. 15.

Price 1s. 6d.

The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades

Part 1 - From 1097 to 1132 Part 2 - 1132 to 1160.

Extracted and translated from the *Chronique of Ibn al-Qalanisi*.

8vo. cloth.

BY **H. A. R. GIBB.**

Price 15s.

"The Ball and the Polo Stick"

A LITERAL TRANSLATION INTO ENGLISH OF THE PERSIAN POEM

GŪI U CHAUGĀN or HĀLNĀMA by 'ARIF

With 3 illustrations in colour on polo, from 3 miniatures hitherto unpublished.
(Edition limited to 250 copies).

BY **R. S. GREENSHIELDS** I.C.S. (Ret.) M.R.A.S.

8vo. cloth, pp. 31.

Price 12s. 6d.

By the same Author.

GŪI U CHAUGĀN YĀ HĀLNĀMA-I-'ARIF. "The Ball and the Polo Stick" or "Book of Ecstasy," by 'ARIF. Persian text based on a collation of fourteen MSS. Edited by R. S. GREENSHIELDS, I.C.S. (Ret.), M.R.A.S.

Demy 8vo. cloth, pp. 32. 3s. 6d. Paper covers, 2s. 6d.

In the Press:

A NEW VOLUME OF LUZAC'S ORIENTAL RELIGIONS SERIES

The Shi'ite Religion

BY THE **REV. DWIGHT M. DONALDSON**

OF MESHED, PERSIA.

LATEST CATALOGUE ISSUED. BIBLIOTHECA ORIENTALIS XXXIV
Catalogue of new and secondhand books in and on the Sanskrit, Pali, Jain and Prākṛit languages.

LUZAC & Co. 46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C. 1.
(OPPOSITE THE BRITISH MUSEUM)

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLĀM

A DICTIONARY OF THE GEOGRAPHY,
ETHNOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY OF THE
MUHAMMADAN PEOPLES

PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF LEADING ORIENTALISTS

EDITED BY

M. TH. HOUTSMA, A. J. WENSINCK

H. A. R. GIBB, W. HEFFENING and E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL

NUMBER 47

AL-MUHALLAB — MUṬIN AL-DĪN SULAIMĀN PARWĀNA



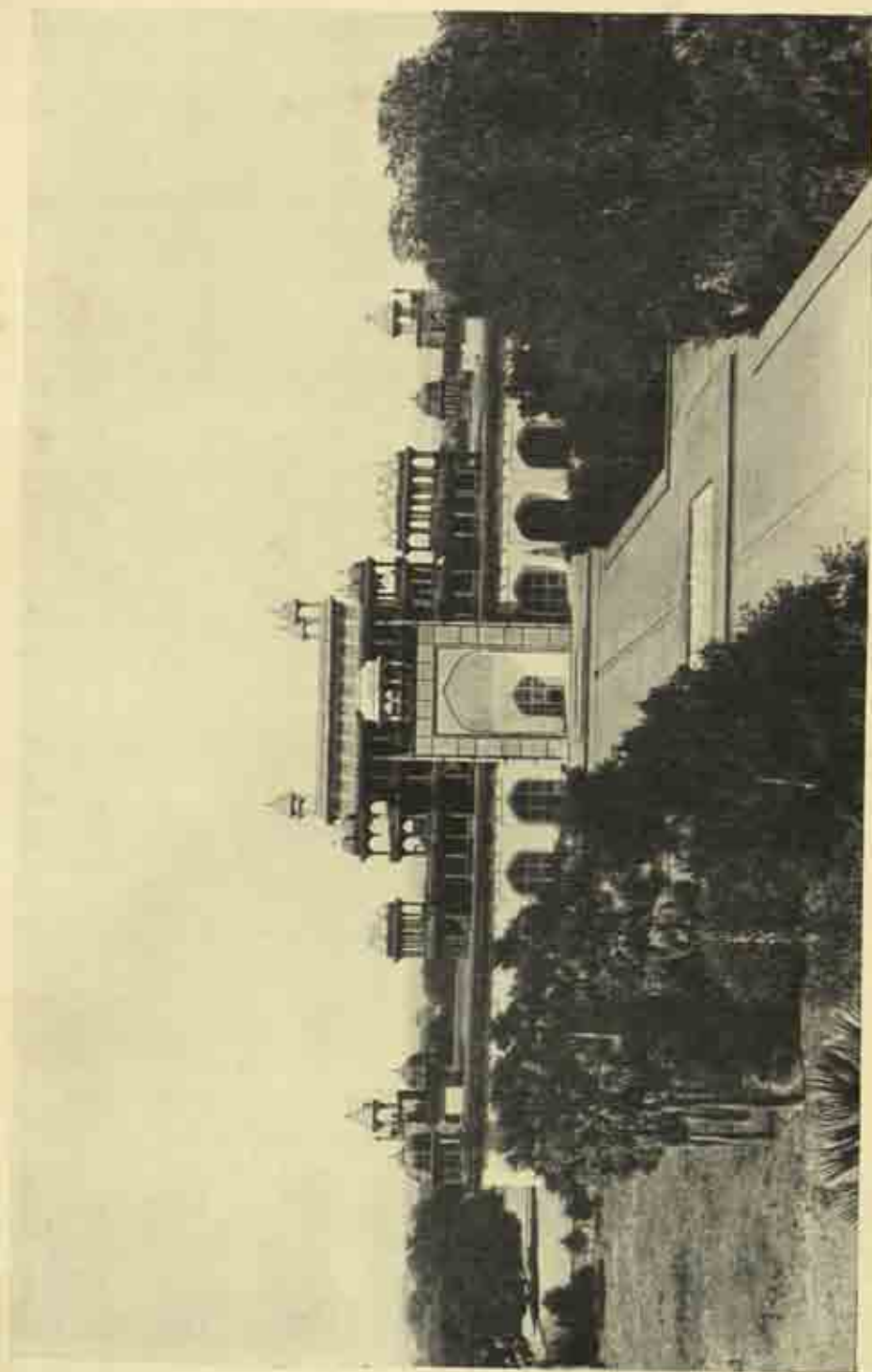
LEYDEN
LATE E. J. BRILL LTD 1933
PUBLISHERS AND PRINTERS

LONDON
LUZAC & Co
46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET



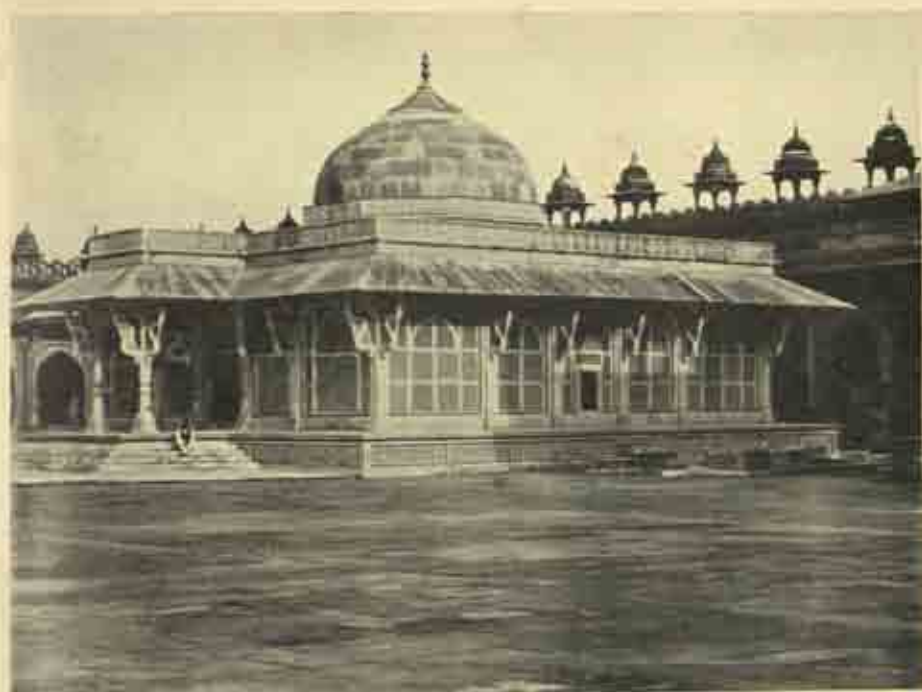
Taj Mahal, Agra. General view showing fountains.

Aug. 10, 1911.



Sikandra, Agra. Akbar's tomb, general view. From parapet of main entrance to the garden.

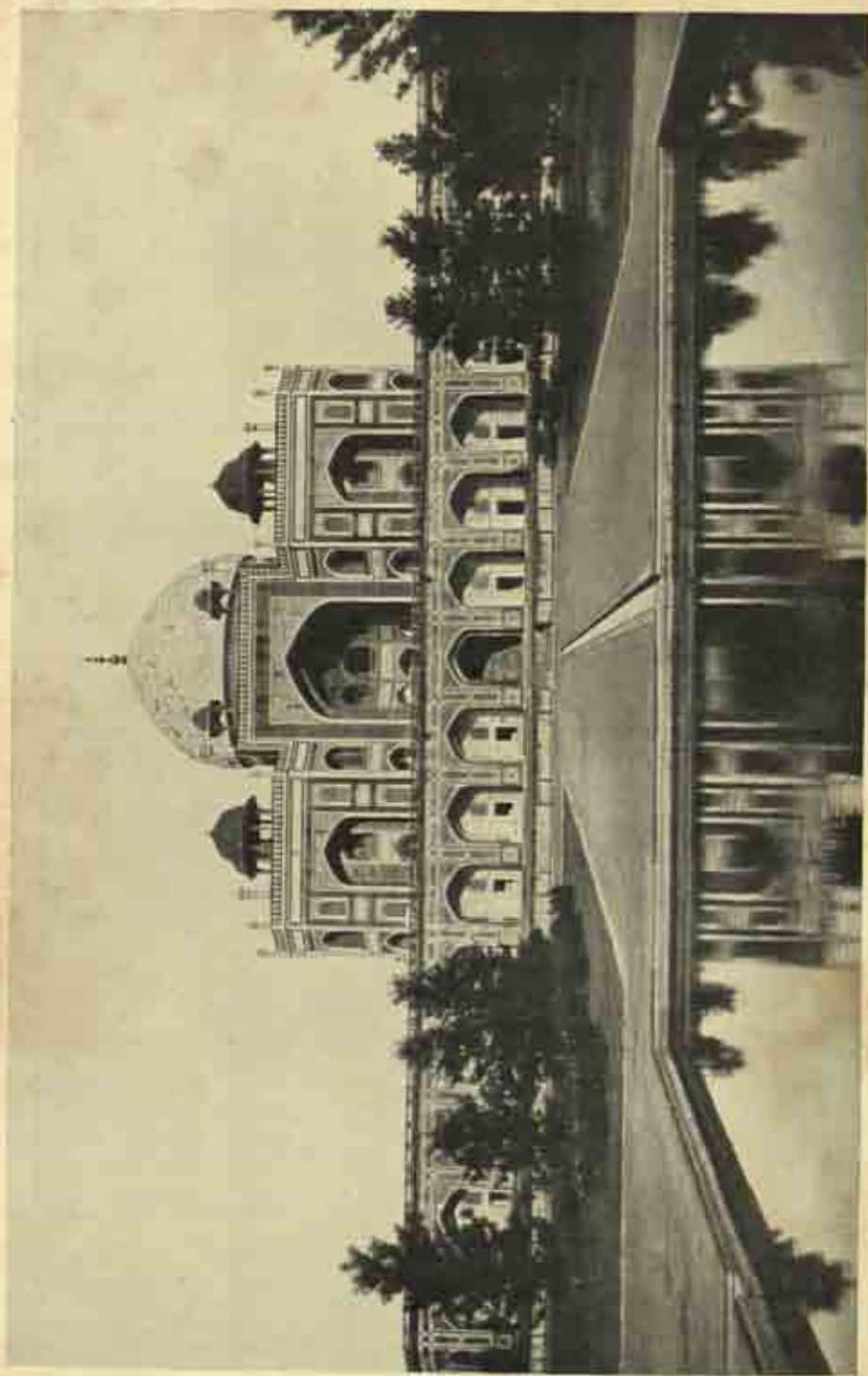
ART. MURRAY. III.



Fathpur Sikri, Agra. Sheikh Selim Chishti's tomb. General view.



Fathpur Sikri, Agra. House of Birbal's daughters. General view.

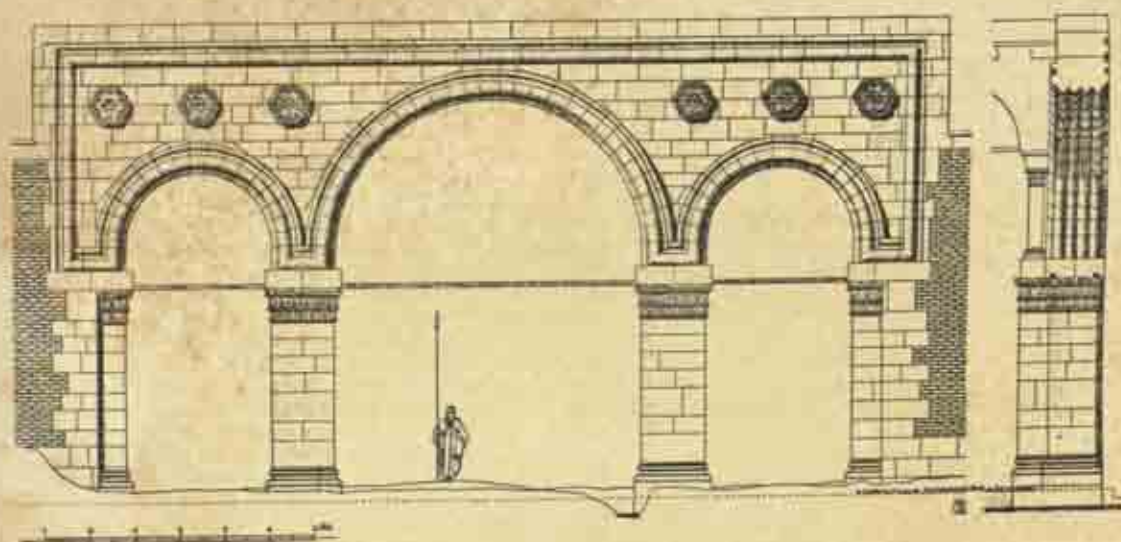


Delhi. Tomb of Humayun, General view.

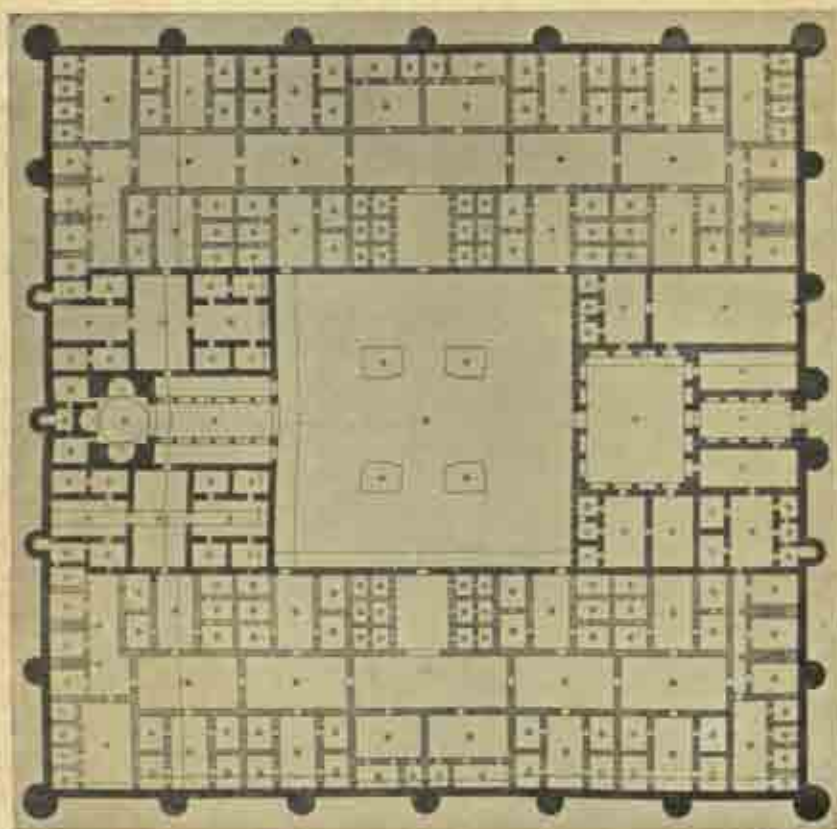
ART. MUMAL III.



Mahattā. Façade.



Mshatta. Front of the three-naved Hall. Reconstruction.



Mshatta. Suggested Reconstruction. Plan.

[q. v.] on the urgent appeal of the people of Basra. After he had driven them from the Tigris he defeated them in Shawwāl 66 (May 686) at Sillatā, east of the Dūdajil, whereupon they withdrew to the east. He then took part in the war against al-Mukhtar b. Abi 'Uthayb [q. v.]. On the latter's defeat and death (Ramaḍān 67 = April 687) he was sent to al-Mawālī to defend the frontier against the Syrians by Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubair, who shortly before had been appointed governor of Basra. In the meanwhile, the Arrāḳīs had been growing more and more dangerous and the only course for Muṣ'ab was to send al-Muhallab once again to al-Ahwāz. Here he fought the Arrāḳīs for eight months; when Muṣ'ab fell at Maskin (72 = 691) he paid homage to the caliph 'Abd al-Malik. The new governor of Basra, Khalid b. 'Abd Allāh b. Khalid b. Asid, himself then undertook the leadership in the war against the fanatical Arrāḳīs, but he was not fit for this task so that the caliph found himself forced to send for al-Muhallab and give him the supreme command. Khalid was soon afterwards dismissed and Basra given to 'Abd al-Malik's brother, the governor of Kufa, Bishr b. Marwān. But since the latter out of jealousy worked against Muhallab, the latter's movements were hampered, though he succeeded in winning the town of Rāmāhurmus. On the death of Bishr, al-Ḥaḍḍajādī [q. v.] received the governorship of the 'Irāk and as soon as he took up his appointment, the campaign against the Arrāḳīs was resumed with vigour (beg. of 75 = 694). At the end of Sha'bān 75 (Dec. 694), al-Muhallab assumed the offensive. The Arrāḳīs had to retire to Kāsurūn where they held out for over a year. They then left Fīra and went to Kirmān. Here they entrenched themselves in the town of Dīraḥ and it was some time before Muhallab could overcome them so that al-Ḥaḍḍajādī became impatient and tried to hurry him up. Al-Muhallab preferred however to await the favourable moment. Fortunately the Arrāḳīs split into two parties, one of which, led by Kaṭarī b. al-Fudjā'a [q. v.] and 'Abda b. Hīlāl, fled to Tabaristān whereupon al-Muhallab easily overcame the rest. He then returned to Basra where as a reward for his services he was given the governorship of Khurāsān (78 = 697-698). From Merv he undertook two expeditions against Bukhārā; on his way back he died at Zāghūl, a village in the district of Merv al-Rūḡh, in Dhū l-Hiḍḡja 82 (Jan.-Feb. 702). According to another statement, his death did not take place till next year. His son Yazid succeeded him in his office. By finally disposing of the fanatical Arrāḳīs al-Muhallab rendered a lasting service to the caliphate and he is incontestably entitled to a place of honour among the generals of the Umayyads.

Bibliography: Baladhuri (ed. de Goeje), p. 360, 396, 411, 417, 432, 442; *Anonymous Arab. Chron.* (ed. Ahlwardt), p. 15, 102-111, 113 ff., 123-125, 135, 271-277, 292, 310 ff.; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, p. 626 sqq.; Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtmann), ii. 300, 316, 324, 329 ff.; Tahari, *see index*; Mas'ūdī (ed. Paris), v. 210 sqq., 291 sqq., 350 sq., 388 sq.; *al-Aghānī*, *see* Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), iii. 372 sq., 380; iv., *passim*; v. 64 sqq.; Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wustenfeld), N^o. 764 (transl. by de Slane, iii. 508 sqq.); Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i. 291, 366 sqq.; Maier, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, p. 336 sqq.;

Wellhausen, *Die religions-politischen Oppositionen*, p. 34 sqq.; do., *Das arabische Reich*, p. 141 ff. (K. V. ZETTERSTEN).

AL-MUHALLABI, AND MUHAMMAD AL-DAWLA. MUHAMMAD, a vizier of Mu'izz al-Dawla. He belonged to Basra and was born in Muharram 291 (= Dec. 903). In 334 (945) when Mu'izz al-Dawla was marching on Baghdad, he sent him in advance to negotiate with the Caliph and on Dhu-mādī I. 27, 339 (= Nov. 950) al-Muhallab was appointed vizier. He was given the supreme command in the war with 'Imrān b. Shāhin (cf. Mu'izz al-Dawla) and had brought him into a very precarious position when he himself fell into an ambush and could only save himself with difficulty, whereupon Mu'izz al-Dawla had to conclude peace with 'Imrān. In 341 (952-953) the ruler of 'Omān, Yūsuf b. Waḡhīn, undertook a campaign against Basra; al-Muhallab, however, anticipated him, occupied the town and defeated Yūsuf. In the same year, he fell into disgrace but was able to retain his office and the good relations between Mu'izz al-Dawla and his vizier were restored. A few years later, Mu'izz al-Dawla equipped an expedition against 'Omān and put al-Muhallab in command. The latter set out in Dhu-mādī II. 352 (= June/July 963), but soon fell ill and decided to return to Baghdad. He died on the way on 26th Sha'bān of the same year (= 19th Sept. 963) and was buried in Baghdad. On his death Mu'izz al-Dawla confiscated all his property, a measure which aroused general indignation.

Bibliography: Vākūf, *Irshād al-Ashb* (ed. Margolin), iii. 180-194; Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wustenfeld), N^o. 177 (transl. de Slane, i. 410-412); Muhammad b. Shākir, *Fawā'id al-Wafayāt*, i. 131-133; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), viii. 337, 365, 368 ff., 372-375, 405.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

MUHAMMAD, the founder of Islām, was a native of the city of Mecca, out of which the energetic Qurāish had in the sixth century created a flourishing centre of commerce by exploiting the much visited places of pilgrimage there. In consequence of the unreliability of the sources at our disposal the very first question a biographer has to ask, namely when was his hero born, cannot be answered with certainty. That Muhammad's activity in Medina covered ten years (622-632) is certain; but we have no certain data for the Meccan period. There is however no cogent reason to doubt the statement in a poem ascribed sometimes to Abū Kaṭb b. Abi Anas and sometimes to Ḥassān b. Thābit (ed. Hirschfeld, N^o. 19, 1) to the effect that his prophetic activity in Mecca lasted "ten and some years". The parallelism between the two periods, which might be brought forward as a ground of suspicion, is not complete, and on the other hand, the annual recurrence of the great pilgrimage at Mecca must have made it easy for the inhabitants to reckon by them, so that a chronological statement originating there deserves more confidence than others. The Meccan period in any case must not be put too short, for according to 'Urwa's story mentioned below (Tahari, i. 1181), "several years" passed after the migration of his followers to Abyssinia before they returned, after which new difficulties arose which produced the migration to Medina. — For the period before he came forth as a religious reformer we have only the indefinite expression "nawr" (Sūra x. 17). The

Muslim historians make him usually 40, sometimes 43 years old at the time of his call, which, taken with the already mentioned data, would put the date of his birth at about 570 A.D. When however tradition puts the date of his birth in the "year of the Elephant" (see ABRAHA and SŪRA cv.), this is a result of an unhistorical combination, for ABRAHA's attack on Mecca must have taken place considerably before 570. But Lammens has cast various, not unfounded doubts on the whole chronological calculation itself; in particular the fact that Muhammad's migration to Medina and his resultant activities there do not give the impression that he was then a man already in the fifties. In reality 580 or one of the years immediately following would suit very well as the date of the Prophet's birth, so that the Qur'anic expression *'amr* would mean about 30 years.

The name "Muhammad" occurred previously among the Arabs (e.g. Ibn Durzid, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 62; Ibn Sa'd, i/l. 111 27.) and therefore need not be regarded as an epithet only adopted later in life by the Prophet. As to Muhammad's descent, several old poems (e.g. Hama b. Thabit, ed. Hirschfeld, N^o. 25, 1; A'sha in Ibn Hishām, p. 256, 2; cf. also on Dīk'at: Hama b. Thabit, N^o. 21, 1; Ka'b b. Malik in Ibn Hishām, p. 800; on Hama: Ibn Hishām, p. 630, 7; on Abū Lahab: Hama b. Thabit, N^o. 217, 1) confirm the statement of tradition that he belonged to the family of Hāshim, and that he was recognised by them as one of themselves is evident from the fact that only the protection of a fairly powerful family could have made it possible for him to stay so long in Mecca in face of the hostility of his fellow-citizens (cf. the words put in the mouth of the enemies of Shu'aib [SŪRA xl. 93]: "Had we not had consideration for thy family, we would have stoned thee"). The Hāshim family related to the Banū Muttalib (Ibn Hishām, p. 536, 14) was apparently one of the better class families of Mecca (cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 821 and the words of the poetess Kutāla, *Ibid.*, p. 539, which however might be interpreted merely as a polite formula; cf. Song of Solomon, vii. 2; Dalman, *Palästina-Lexikon*, p. 190, 255 19; E. Lütjmann, *Neuarabische Volksdichtung*, p. 121). On the other hand, the Meccan enemies of the Prophet say in SŪRA xliii. 30 that they would believe in him more readily if he had been one of the prominent men of the two cities (Mecca and YATH). The Hāshim family in any case could not compare with the most prominent families like the Makhzum and Umayya; and what is recorded of the needy circumstances of Muhammad and some of his relatives suggests that the Hāshim family must have been exceedingly poverty stricken at this time. On his mother's side he had connections, which are not clear to us, with Medina (cf. AMINA and HĀSHIM); according to Mīst b. 'Ukba the Medinese called al-'Abbās their "sister's son" (cf. Ibn Sa'd, iv/l. 8, 12). We know nothing more that is definite about his ancestry, for most of what is related is legend. His father, who is said to have died before his birth, is quite a colourless figure, whose name 'Abd Allāh is perhaps only a later improvement on a heathen name. His grandfather is called Shābi or 'Abd al-Muttalib; the connection between these two names is however as obscure as is that between 'Abd al-Muttalib and the off-mentioned family of Muttalib (Hama b. Thabit, N^o. 184, 1; Ibn Hishām, p. 230, 13, 536, 14) or the Banū Shāiba (Ibn Sa'd, i/l. 94, 8; ii/l. 124, 22).

The only thing certain from the Qur'an is that Muhammad grew up as an orphan in very miserable circumstances (SŪRA xciii. 6 29.). The first tangible historical figures among his relatives are his uncles: Abū Tālib, with whom tradition records that he found a kindly reception, 'Abbās, Hama [q. v.] and 'Abd al-'Uzza (cf. ABU LAHAB). On the idyllic little story of the boy's stay with the Beduin tribe of Sa'd b. Bakr, see the article HĀLIMA. The story of the cleansing of his breast (a similar story is related of 'Umayya b. Abū 'l-Salt; cf. Goldziher, *Abd. z. Arab. Phil.*, i. 213) is a materialisation of SŪRA xciv. 1.

In SŪRA xciii. already quoted, we are told that Allāh made the poor orphan prosperous. Corresponding to this in tradition is the marriage of Muhammad with a rich merchant's widow, in whose service he had been (cf. KHADĪJA). She bore him four daughters, who play a part in later history, and several sons all of whom died in infancy; one of them at least must be historical as his pagan name 'Abd Manāf (Sprenger, i. 199 22.; Caetani, i. 273) could not be invented by later writers; such a fiction in any case, as posthumous comfort to alleviate the disgrace of the lack of male heirs (Lammens), would be very inadequate, if it had to make the sons die again soon after their birth. The interest in business matters apparent in the Qur'an (SŪRA ii. 194; lii. 9 22.) as well as his fondness for business expressions (cf. however similar expressions in the Wisdom of Solomon, iv. 20; Pirke Abot, iii. 16; iv. 22; Horn, *Geogr. d. Pers. Litt.*, p. 10) are very natural if Muhammad took part in business transactions as Khadīja's assistant and husband. On the other hand, it would be wiser to set aside the alleged trading journeys into neighbouring lands, which he is said to have made even as a child with Abū Tālib and later in Khadīja's service; in the form in which they are given, they have distinctly apologetic tendencies (cf. BAṬĪNA) and are quite unnecessary to explain his later religious development. SŪRA xxxvii. 137 29. in any case is not clear proof that he himself had passed by Lot's dwellings on a journey. Nor did Khadīja equip trading caravans independently. Equally little confidence is to be placed in the story, which is given in the usual *maṣṣa* style, of the part played by Muhammad in rebuilding the Ka'ba.

While the questions already raised are really of no great importance, the problems which concern Muhammad's début as a religious reformer are of the utmost importance but offer the greatest difficulties to the student in view of the insufficient material available in the sources. The main question is: whence did Muhammad, who everywhere betrays a great receptivity for foreign matter, get his ideas? That he originally shared the religious conceptions of his milieu is in every way the most natural supposition — his uncle Abū Lahab was an ardent defender of paganism and Abū Tālib, who was like a father to him, died without adopting Islam — and is confirmed not only by the name of his son already mentioned but also by SŪRA xciii. 3: "God found thee wandering and guided thee" (cf. also xlii. 52: "Thou didst not know what book or belief was" and the statement of Ibn al-Kalbī that he once brought a sheep as a sacrifice to al-'Uzza). Distinct traces of his early beliefs survived in his later life. He shared the belief of his fellow-countrymen in *ginn* and *shayāṭin*, in evil omens etc. Mecca with its sanctuary was a sanctified place in his eyes (SŪRA xxvii. 93; xxviii. 57; xlix.

67; cv. 1. 199; cvl. 1. 199); he admitted the sacrifices offered there into the true worship (cviii. 2) and allowed his followers to take part in the pilgrimage (vii. 29 sq.) so that it was all the easier for him later to accept it as one of the main features of his religion (see below). We shall later discuss a relapse into paganism, which however was speedily overcome, as well as the fact that he was only gradually led to attack on principle the gods of Mecca. He was also influenced by the manner of the old Arab inspired soothsayers (cf. on the modern Kwaia: Mühl, *Die Kultur*, 1910, p. 10) to the extent that he adopted their peculiar form of speech with mysterious oaths and rhymed prose (*sajf*; cf. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen s. arab. Philol.*, I. 59 sqq.; Mas'ûdî, *Murûj*, iii. 381 sq.) when he began to announce his revelations. All his earlier conceptions were however driven out except for such trifling residues as these, when a new world of ideas began to fill him to an ever increasing extent, until he was finally compelled with irresistible force to come forth and proclaim them. These new ideas point mainly to the religions of the "possessors of a scripture" — Judaism and Christianity — and he was conscious of this, in as much as he repeatedly emphasises the agreement between his teaching and these older religions of revelation as irrefutable evidence of its truth (cf. the significant passage: "If thou art in doubt about what We have revealed, ask them who read the scripture before thee", Sûra x. 94). The only question is, in what way did he become possessed of these new ideas. This much only is certain that he did not get them from his own reading of the holy scriptures of the Jews and Christians. The word *ummi* [q. v.], applied to him (Sûra vii. 156) signifies, without committing us to anything about his ability in reading or writing — as a merchant he must have had a certain knowledge of these arts — that he was an illiterate layman, who was not able to read the Hebrew or Greek Bible, and that this was actually the case, the *Qur'ân* shows on every page. For this explanation of the term *Wemmiq*, *Acta orient.*, li. 191 and (citing the Hebrew *ummi* *ha-olam*) Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, p. 52 would put "pagan", *idume*, *im*, although this might fit some passages, it could hardly suit Sûra ii. 73 where there is a reference to a difference between the "possessors of a scripture" and the *ummiyûn* among the Jews. The usual explanation suits well enough, as it is certain and it is confirmed by the *Qur'ân* everywhere that while Muhammad had some notion of the books of the Bible, the Hebrew and Greek Bibles were closed books to him. Utterances like the saying that Jesus "received" the Gospels (iii. 44; v. 50; lvii. 27) and that it should be "observed" like the law (v. 70, 72) clearly show that he did not know its real contents. Sûra xxi. 105 contains a quotation from the Psalms, but this is quite an isolated instance and he knew nothing of the Psalms as a part of the Old Testament (xvii. 57). The parable of the camel and the eye of a needle (vii. 38) proves of course no literary dependence and the alleged description of Muhammad and his followers in the Gospels (xviii. 29) shows what he could build up on a vague recollection of something he had heard. On the other hand the stories reproduced, e. g. the long account of Joseph (Sûra xii.), show that he was indirectly dependent on the Bible and not only on the Old but also on the New Testament (cf. what

he relates of Mary, Joseph, Zacharia and John); the story of the Seven Sleepers (cf. *Asfâr al-Kahf* and M. Huber, *Die Wunderlegenden von den Sieben schlafenden*, 1910) also presupposes Christian authorities. One therefore cannot blame his enemies when they said that he had foreign teachers (xvi. 105; xxv. 5 sq.; xlv. 13), which is certainly not refuted by the reply in xvi. 105. Further it is clear from the *Qur'ân* that he did not come into contact in this indirect way with the books of the Bible in their simple form, but that his authorities had drawn on Midrashic and Apocryphical works, which is easily explained by the varied and luxuriant character of the religious tendencies in Arabia. In particular what he tells of the birth and childhood of Jesus (xii. 22 sqq.; iii. 41; v. 109 sq.) comes from Apocryphal sources, and his account of the death of Jesus (iv. 156) has parallels among the Manichaeans and Basilidians.

To state exactly what religion exercised particular influence on Muhammad's ideas is hardly possible in view of the scanty information available about conditions in these days, especially as many things indicate that he was influenced from various sides, primarily by Christian sects, but later also by the Jews. There was ample opportunity to become acquainted with both these religions from caravans passing through to Syria or the lands of the Euphrates, from communication by sea with Abyssinia, and from foreign merchants visiting the great markets, and not only in the more advanced districts of South Arabia, but also among several Beduin tribes (e. g. Bakr, Taghlib, Hanifa, Jazir), Christianity had established itself, while Jewish colonies had settled in Medina and the oases north of it. But a citizen of Mecca in particular had repeated opportunities of coming into contact with Christians and Jews. The great festivals attracted people from all districts and it is expressly recorded that Christians also took part in the pilgrimage (Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkanische Feest*, p. 28, 128, 159); in addition there were Christians captured in war and immigrant Ghassanids living in Mecca (Azrahi, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 97, 458, 466; cf. the Christian slave in *Tûk*: Ibn Hisham, p. 280 sq.). In the *Qur'ân* alongside of expressions coming from the Aramaic, several Ethiopic loanwords are evidence of religious influence from Abyssinia (cf. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 47). Recently scholars have been fond of seeking a main source of Muhammad's ideas and their formulation in the religious development which is alleged to have taken place in South Arabia. This is certainly a possibility to be reckoned with, but so long as we know so little of South Arabian religious history and in particular so long as no intermediate South Arabian forms are found for the Abyssinian loanwords in the *Qur'ân* we are better to set it aside. It should also be noted that Muhammad in his stories of the prophets frequently mentions the Arab tribes of 'Ad and Thamûd [q. v.] but only rarely touches on the older history of South Arabia (Sûra xxvii. 20 sqq.; xxxiv. 14 sq.; xlv. 26; l. 13, on the other hand hardly lxxxv. 1 sqq.; cf. M. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, p. 474). In the utterance ascribed to the Prophet (Bokhârî, ed. Krehl, iii. 56): "Belief and wisdom are Yemen", Yemen, as the context shows, only means "of Yemen fashion", i. e. cultured, human, in contrast to Beduin uncouthness. The main objection however, is that the hypothesis would only mean

an unnecessarily circuitous route, for Muhammad always appeals directly to his agreement with Christianity, without suggesting any remodelling of these religions through a South Arabian medium. And the stronger one endeavours to make Yemenite influence on religious matters in Mecca, the more unintelligible becomes the stubborn opposition of the Meccans to Muhammad. Much greater weight should be given to Tor Andrae's treatment of the question of Muhammad's dependence on Christianity. After calling attention to the wide dissemination and dominating position of Nestorianism in the Persian empire, which is of importance as it must have been much more accessible to Muhammad than Monophysitism, he points out the close relationship between Muhammad's ideas and the ecclesiastical writings of the Syrians: the contempt for worldly possessions, the strong condemnation of the arrogance and frivolity of the unbelievers, the warnings against laughing, joking and careless speech, the emphasis on the significance of atonement for sin, the descriptions of Paradise (we even find the *houris* in Ephraim the Syrian) etc. Alongside of these very instructive similarities, there is however one point to be remembered in which the relationship is somewhat modified, namely Muhammad's Christology. It is, in any case, remarkable in several respects for it is distinguished from his other accounts of prophets and approximates to the teaching of the Church in striking fashion; e.g. in the account of the birth of Jesus and his miraculous gifts and in the undeniable echoes of the doctrine of the Logos (Sūra iii. 34; i. 169). But already in the Meccan period (e.g. xliii. 57 *sqq.*) Muhammad vigorously rejects the idea of Christ being the son of God and definitely denies that he had ever asserted anything of the kind of himself. Here it is not sufficient to point to the Nestorians since they did not deny that Christ was the son of God. When Muhammad from the first insists on the complete agreement of his teaching with the old revealed religions, i.e. with Christianity also, he seems to have been influenced by a form of Christianity where this dogma occupied a very unimportant position.

What one can deduce in this way from the Qur'ān about Muhammad's development is supplemented in an important way by tradition, according to which he was not alone in his search for a purer religion. Various individuals are named who, dissatisfied with old Arab religion, were seeking for a more intellectual faith, in particular a cousin of Khadija, Waraka b. Nawfal. Even if these traditions cannot be utilised in the form in which we have them, as they have been influenced by later Muslim ideas, yet they certainly have a historical basis, because they are not taken from the Qur'ān and are not intended to show Muhammad in a more favourable light. In addition there are the Hanifs [q.v.] of whom the traditions of the Arabs have preserved only a very hazy picture, and Umayya b. Abi 'l-Sālī [q.v.] whose poems often have points of contact with the Qur'ān, which would be of great importance if they could even in part be regarded as genuine [cf. also the article *MUNANIMA*].

While Muhammad was in a state of great spiritual excitement as a result of contact with the religious ideas that had penetrated into Arabia, something happened which suddenly transformed his whole consciousness and filled him with a spiritual strength

which decided the whole course of his life: he felt himself called to proclaim to his countrymen as a prophet the revelations which were communicated to him in a mysterious way. When Caetani wishes to see in this the result of a long development and continued reflection, this is certainly not correct. We have much rather every reason to trust the tradition which tells of a sudden outburst of conviction that he was called to proclaim the word of God. For this view we have the analogy of prophets in general, from the Old Testament prophets down to Joseph Smith; and no long drawn reflections but only an overwhelming spiritual happening could give him the unshakable conviction of his call. This is also confirmed by several passages in the Qur'ān, which point to a deciding moment, definite in time (xlii. 2 *sq.*, xcvi. 1; ii. 181), in which connection it is of minor importance whether it is possible to identify the revelation of the call itself among the Sūras of the Qur'ān (according to a common opinion, xcvi. 1 *sqq.*; according to some, on the other hand, lxxiv. 1 *sqq.*), especially as one must reckon with the possibility that the very earliest revelations were not written down. If this really was the case, however, the reason certainly was not that they were deliberately suppressed, since a revolutionary change of his world of ideas into its diametrical opposite while retaining the earlier apparatus of inspiration would be quite untenable hypothesis.

The Qur'ān gives only a few hints about the manner of these inspirations; a veil lay over them which the Prophet either could not or would not raise completely. Perhaps the wrapping up (lxxiii. 1; lxxiv. 1) refers to a preparation for the reception of the revelations in the manner of the old Arab *dhikr*; but we are taken further in an indirect way by the oft recurring accusation of his enemies that Muhammad was possessed (*madfūn*), a soothsayer (*kāhin*), a magician (*jāhī*), for they show that in his moments of inspiration he made an impression similar to those figures well known in ancient Arabia. In addition there are several traditions which describe his condition in such moments more fully and may undoubtedly be regarded as genuine, since they are the last thing later Muhammadanism might be expected to invent, while these mysterious seizures afforded to those around him the most valid evidence for the superhuman origin of his inspirations. In Byzantine authors we find it stated that the Prophet was an epileptic (e.g. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, I. 334); and modern psychiatrists recognise the correctness of these descriptions of his attacks and we must of course leave it to them to define the exact nature of his condition. From the scientific point of view the fact is that the voice heard by him only uttered what he had from time to time heard from others and which now cropped up out of his subconscious. The scientific student therefore does not see in Muhammad a deceiver but fully agrees with the impression of sincerity and truthfulness which his utterances in the older revelations make (e.g. Sūra, i. 16, 20, 123; xxviii. 85 *sq.*; lxx. 44; lxxv. 16 *sq.*; cf. vii. 202; xvi. 100; the cogent imperatives lxxiv. 2; xcvi. 1; the self-dedication [xxx. 1 *sqq.* etc.] along with the fact that he unselfishly endured years of hostility and humiliation in Mecca in the unshakable conviction of his lofty task. It is more difficult with the later Medinese revelations, in which it is often only too easy to

detect the human associations, to avoid the supposition that his parasyms (e.g. at the battle of Badr; *Ibn Hishām*, p. 444; in the slandering of 'Aḥīsa, p. 736, 2) could sometimes be artificially brought on, and there is even a tradition which makes 'Aḥīsa say to the Prophet: "Thy Lord seems to have been very quick in fulfilling thy prayers". It must not be forgotten however that natures like this, without actually being conscious of it, are able to provoke the same states of excitation, which earlier arose without their assistance; and so probably not only were his followers in Medina (cf. Ka'b b. Malik is *Ibn Hishām*, p. 614, 2) but even he himself convinced, that the spirit was continually hovering about him to communicate the revelations to him. By this we do not of course mean that in his ecstatic condition he received the divine communications *in extenso*, as we now have them in the *Kur'ān*: only the foundations were given him, which he afterwards developed into discourses of greater length. Since in doing this he used the external forms of the old Arab soothsayers it is natural that the Meccans took him for one, but it does not follow that he was spiritually akin from the first to those soothsayers who were inspired by *ghina*. The indignation with which his objects to being associated with them is not a proof of such a relationship of which he wished to rid himself, simply because he was conscious of the similarity, but a natural result of the fact that the enlightened Meccans saw in persons of this kind ludicrous fanatics of the lowest kind, while he was firmly convinced that he was filled with quite a different spirit, one quite unfamiliar to his enemies.

While it is in this way possible with the help of the *Kur'ān* and Tradition, to get an on the whole satisfactory picture of Muhammad's development and his condition when prophesying, he himself gives in the *Kur'ān* quite a different interpretation of the revelations that came to him, which is based on a peculiar theory which he apparently did not invent himself but adopted from others. The fundamental idea in it is the conception of a divine book existing in heaven, *al-Kutub*, a well guarded book, which only the pure may touch (vi. 76 *sqq.*), a well guarded tablet (lxxxv. 21 *sq.*), the mother of the book (xlii. 2 *sq.*), on honourable leaves, exalted and pure, by the hands of noble and pious scribes (lxxx. 13 *sqq.*). He himself did not read this book, as E. Meyer erroneously thinks, but it was communicated to him orally piece by piece, not in its original form but in an Arabic version intelligible to him and his countrymen (cf. xli. 1; xlii. 37; xx. 112; xxxi. 192 *sqq.*; xli. 2; xlii. 58 and especially xli. 44: "If we had made it a *Kur'ān* in a foreign tongue, they would say: Why are its signs ["*āyāt*"], from the small sections of the text) not expounded intelligibly? a foreign text and an Arab reader"). In addition there is the fact that Muhammad was aware that the complete contents of the book were not communicated to him, as he expressly states, e.g. of the stories of the prophets, not all of which were related to him (xl. 78; iv. 162). He received the communications orally, Allah rehearsing to him the substance of the separate sections (lxxxv. 16 *sqq.* etc.), while in several passages it is stated more precisely that the revelations were communicated through the Spirit (xxvi. 192 *sq.*;

xvi. 104; xlii. 52) or the Angel (xvi. 2; xv. 8; cf. lili. 5 *sqq.*; lxxxi. 23 *sqq.*): a late passage of the Medina period (li. 91) is even more precise in saying that they were communicated by Gabriel. References to visions are rare (e.g. the encouraging apparitions in Sūra viii. 45; xlviii. 27; the night journey must also have been a vision) and even in such cases the main thing is not what he heard (lili. 10; lxxxi. 19). These communications were the great miracle that was granted him, while he expressly and repeatedly says that the ability to perform miracles in the usual sense was denied to him (unlike Jesus).

From this book in heaven, the all-comprising contents of which are not by any means exhausted in the extracts forming the *Kur'ān*, also came the older religions of revelation "of the possessors of a scripture", whose religions therefore in his view coincide with his and, as he often says, were confirmed by it (cf. *Ḥasān b. Thābit*, N^o. 134, 2). This again is connected with a theory expounded by him of a line of prophets which began with Adam, and of which he was the last representative. His source for this idea was not Judaism, for he does not know of the great prophets who wrote books of the Old Testament; instead of them he mentions individuals, whom the Jews do not count as prophets, e.g. Lot, Joseph, Solomon, Job, etc.; on the other hand the fact that Jesus and John the Baptist are the last links in the chain of prophets clearly suggests a Christian origin, and certain parallels in more or less heretical early Christian literature can be demonstrated. Of the prophets Muhammad relates a number of stories, which do not begin to appear in any number until the middle Meccan period when the Meccans were beginning sharply to reject his mission.

The ideas in the oldest, passionately excited inspirations, developed under a haroque power of imagination rarely reached later, are very simple. They are based not on the dogmatic conception of monotheism but on the strong general religious and moral impression which contact with older religions had made upon him, which was bound finally to lead to a breach with polytheism. In particular he was filled with the idea of the moral responsibility of man created by Allah, and with the idea of the judgment to take place on the day of resurrection, which again points undoubtedly more to Christian than Jewish influence (cf. especially the introductory sounding of trumpets, not found among the Jews). To this are added vivid descriptions of the tortures of the damned and seductive pictures of the joys of Paradise, which are further of interest because they reveal Muhammad's strongly sensual temperament. Gradually monotheism was emphasized as an overruling basic idea and at the same time he attained a somewhat wider conception of the Deity. With all the vigour of an elemental religious nature, he points to the marvellous phenomenon of man (in this connection cf. the poem of the Jew Samaw'al, *al-Aḥmadīyāt*, ed. Ahlwardt, N^o. 20, 1). The religious duties which he imposes on himself and others are simple and few in number; one should believe in God, appeal to Him for forgiveness of sins (xlii. 11), offer prayers frequently on the model of the Jews and Christians, in the night also (xl. 116; lxxiii. 20; cf. lxxvi. 25 *sq.*), assist one's fellow-men, especially those who are in need, free oneself from the love of delusive wealth and — what

is significant for the commercial life of Mecca — from all forms of cheating (xxvi. 182 *sq.*; lv. 8 *sq.*), lead a chaste life and not expose newborn girls, as the barbarous custom of the time was (according to Sūra vi. 152; xvii. 33 from poverty, cf. al-Mubarrad, *Kamil*, ed. Wright, p. 277; originally perhaps a kind of magic to procure sons, when only girls had been born, cf. Būnī, *Kuṣair Amr*, p. 38; even before Muhammad's time there had been people who fought against this barbarous custom, cf. al-Mubarrad, *Kamil*, loc. cit.). This is the ideal of the truly pious man who is called by the name of *muṣliḥ* (lxviii. 35; xxi. 108 etc.) or *ḥaṣīf* (x. 405; xxx. 29; xviii. 4; cf. vi. 79 and the article). Cf. in this connection the list of Muhammad's precepts in A'ṣh's poem (Ibn Hiṣṣam, p. 255; *Morgenländische Forschungen*, p. 25 *sq.*).

From all this, it is quite evident that Muhammad had at this time no thought of founding a new religion. His task was only to be a "warner" (li. 50; lxxiv. 2; lxxix. 45; lxxx. 11; lxxxviii. 21 *sq.*), in view of the approach of the day of judgment, to his countrymen, to whom no prophet had yet been sent (vi. 157; xxviii. 46; xxxii. 2; xxxiv. 43; xxxvi. 51; no notice is taken here of Hūd and Ṣāliḥ) and as a result of the revelations granted him to give them, in the form of a *ḥuṣūl* Arabic *Qur'ān* (see above), what the "possessors of a scripture" had in their scriptures, which were not accessible to the Arabs and thereby to save them from the divine wrath. The Jews and Christians also must therefore testify to the truth of his preaching (x. 94; xvi. 45; xxi. 7; xxvi. 197; xxviii. 32 etc.).

On account of the insufficiency of the sources, it is very difficult to ascertain in detail how Muhammad's relations with the Meccans developed. The *Qur'ān* contains only vague hints, which permit no chronological arrangement, while the traditions are very full but little reliable. Only one report, which 'Urwā composed for the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (Tabari, i. 1180 *sq.*, 1224 *sq.*), the value of which has already been indicated by Sprenger, gives a brief but apparently trustworthy glimpse of the main events (cf. also al-Zuhri in Ibn Sa'd, i/1, 133). At first Muhammad met with no serious opposition and in not a few cases his preaching fell on fruitful soil; indeed in the words addressed to Ṣāliḥ (xi. 64) we may find a hint that he had at first aroused considerable expectations among the Meccans. All traditions agree that Khadija was the first believer, while they differ as to who was his first male adherent. In any case 'Abd Bakr, the uncommitted slave Zaid b. Haritha, Zuhair b. al-Awwām, Talha b. 'Ubayd Allāh, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās, and Muhammad's cousin 'Alī (q. v.) were among his earliest followers. The majority of those who were won over by his preaching were however young and of no great social standing, while the well-to-do and influential held back (xix. 74; xxxiv. 30 *sq.*; xxxviii. 62 *sq.*; lxxiii. 11; lxxa. 1 *sq.*; cf. the veiled references in vii. 73; xi. 29; xvii. 17; xxvi. 111). This became still more the case when the full consequences of his ideas became clear to him and he openly attacked the religion of his native town; for the Meccans, to the majority of whom such devotional meetings had been a matter of complete indifference, now discovered that a religious revolution might be dangerous to their fairs and their trade. That this was the salient feature of their resistance to Muhammad is evident from the

fact that he frequently endeavours to calm the fears of the Quraysh on this point: the Meccan sanctuary, he said, belonged to his god Allāh, whom the Meccans also recognised as the highest god (xxx. 24; xxxix. 39; cf. Kaṣ b. al-Khaṭm, ed. Kownalski, v. 14; xiii. 12 where Allāh is the lord of the Ka'ba) and he will protect and bless his sanctuary, if they submit to him (xxvii. 93; xxxiii. 57; xxix. 67; cvl. 1 *sq.*). In addition there was the conservative attitude of these merchants in the field of religion and their animosity to new and fantastic ideas, particularly to that of the resurrection of the dead.

Traditions record at great length the persecution and ill treatment which Muhammad and his followers suffered at the hands of the Meccans. These descriptions are undoubtedly much exaggerated, for the object was to glorify the self-sacrifice of the believers and no doubt also to put the old patrician families of Mecca in an unfavourable light. But it is equally certain that there is some foundation for these stories. 'Urwā speaks of two persecutions (*ḥim*) which twice forced the believers to migrate, and in the *Qur'ān* there is mention of "trials" which their opponents inflicted upon the believers, men and women (lxxxv. 10), and it is expressly mentioned that the influential wished to prevent Muhammad from praying (xcvi. 9 *sq.*; cf. the veiled account vii. 84), while on the other hand, the complaints about what they would have liked to do should not be taken at their face value without more ado (viii. 26; xxxvi. 17; xvii. 78; cf. xi. 93). The peculiar feature, repeatedly found in stories of the prophets, that their opponents threaten them and their followers with stoning (Sūra xi. 93 and frequently) might suggest the hypothesis that Muhammad was actually threatened in this way by the Meccans, but this would probably only have been in a momentary outburst of passion and in any case the quarrel was mainly conducted in endless wordy disputations in which the spiritual advantage lay with Muhammad. His strength lay in the consciousness that he lived in a higher intellectual world which was closed to the Meccans and that he proclaimed ideas, "the equal of which neither men nor djinn with combined efforts could produce" (xvii. 90). Very pertinently he often points to the lack of logic in his enemies, when they recognise Allāh as the real true God but will not draw the logical deductions from this. Not even his most crushing arguments rebounded from the impregnable wall of their prejudices which were based on their material interests. This circumstance now began to influence the manner of his preaching in a very remarkable way. When his opponents mocked him because the divine judgment threatened by him did not come (xxviii. 15; lxx. 5) he began to describe in an increasing degree in his stories how the contemporaries of earlier prophets had met them with incredulity and had therefore brought on their heads dreadful punishments. That he did not use such means at the very beginning of his mission is evident from the fact that his preaching, according to the already mentioned credible tradition, at first gave no offence, and indeed this feature is lacking in the *sūras* which are certainly the oldest. It was the hardness of heart of his countrymen which made him take to this weapon in order to stir them. At first it proved by no means ineffective, as the Arabs knew of old trading peoples like the

Thamūd [q.v.], whose destruction might well give them cause for reflection. But gradually this line of attack lost its effect. To Muhammad however this resistance to the obvious truth was something so unintelligible that he could only find solace in an idea, which was to be of far-reaching importance in the further development of Muhammadan dogmatics: Allah, the immeasurably exalted and almighty, could of course not be impeded by the resistance of mortals; the unbelief of the Prophet's opponents was therefore an effect of the divine will: "Allah makes to err whom he will and guides whom he will" (x. 99; xxxii. 12 sq.; xxxv. 9; [xv. 34 etc.], a view which his enemies endeavoured not unskillfully to turn against himself (xvi. 37; xxxvi. 47).

Several episodes stand out in the Meccan period which are unfortunately more or less obscure and may be interpreted in various equally uncertain ways. It is certain, in spite of the silence maintained about it in the Qur'an (even xvi. 43 sq. does not refer to it), that Muhammad's community was at one time in so great distress that a considerable section of them migrated to Abyssinia. The later view was that participation in this flight became a patent of nobility similar to that conferred by the great Hijra to Medina, which was actually granted as a titular distinction (Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, iv. 113); but the Prophet gave the advice to seek protection among the Abyssinian Christians only to those of his followers, of whom he was afraid that they had not sufficient strength to maintain their faith under the difficult conditions in Mecca (cf. the significant story of the cool reception which some of the exiles later received on their return to Medina; Bukhārī, ed. Krehl, iii. 128). M. Hartmann's view that the emigrants were to conduct political propaganda in Abyssinia is not capable of proof. According to 'Urwa, these emigrants (i.e. probably the greater number of them) returned to their native town, when Islam had become strengthened by the accession to its ranks of a number of individuals of position. At the same time there is a different story of their return, which it would not be difficult to combine with 'Urwa's story if we assume that they gradually drifted back. We are told that Muhammad proclaimed in one of his sermons that the favourite duties of the Meccans, al-Lā'i, al-Uzā and Maḥāt [see these articles], might be regarded as divine beings whose intercession was effectual with Allah. This led to a general reconciliation, news of which reached Abyssinia and induced a number of the Meccans there to return home. Here however they learned to their horror that the agreement had been of short duration, as the Prophet had very soon recognised these words as interpolations of Satan and had substituted for them the words which we now have in Sura liii. 19-23. The credibility of this story has been doubted, certainly wrongly; for in view of the absolute impossibility of such a story being a later invention, any possible objections to the reliability of the authorities cited (Tabarī, i. 1192, 1195; Ibn Sa'd, i/i. 137 sq.) hardly deserve consideration and passages like vi. 56, 57; xvii. 75 sq. (cf. iv. 113) amply show that the incident was quite possible from the psychological point of view.

It is much more difficult to elucidate another episode of the Meccan period, the story of the boycott of the Hāshimids. That Muhammad's whole

position during his struggle with the Meccans was only made possible by the support given him by his own family has already been indicated. All members of the family of Hāshim with the exception of Abū Lahab [q.v.], who on this account is perpetually damned in the Qur'an along with his wife, chivalrously fulfilled their duty in this respect, although only a few of them believed in his call. It would therefore be not unnatural in itself for the Meccans in the end to attempt to make the whole family innocents without bringing on themselves the guilt of bloodshed by an open attack. The story, however, which tells how they forced the Hāshimids to withdraw into their own part of the town and pledged themselves to refrain from intermarriage or commerce with them, is confirmed neither by the Qur'an nor by 'Urwa, but sounds in itself somewhat suspicious and is probably much exaggerated. That the effort finally failed is conceded by the story itself. On the other hand, it is quite possible that Khadija's fortune may have suffered considerably from Muhammad's obligations to his necessitous followers and from the enmity of the influential merchant princes.

To the last portion of the Meccan period most probably belongs Muhammad's nocturnal journey, later so celebrated, to the " remotest place of prayer", to which xvii. 1 (perhaps also verse 62) briefly refers, no doubt a vision, which however made upon him an impression of reality. According to the prevailing opinion, the terminus of this journey was the temple in Jerusalem, and conclusions are drawn from this about the great significance which this city then had for him. Schrieke (*lit.*, vi. 1. 199) and Horowitz (*ibid.*, ix. 159 sq.) have however sought to show that *maḥallat al-aḥqā* refers to the place of prayer of the angels in heaven (cf. vii. 205; xxxix. 75), for which view several cogent arguments can be produced, notably that the nocturnal journey is associated with the journey to heaven as early as in the tradition given by Ibn Ishāq and that in the Qur'an there is several times a reference to an ascent into heaven (vi. 35; xvii. 92 sq.; xv. 14 sq.).

Of other details we may further recall that Muhammad, who, as already remarked, was firmly convinced that his preaching agreed with the religion of the "possessors of a scripture", nevertheless had already begun in Mecca to reject the christological dogmas of the church. This is certain from the conversation with his pagan opponents (xliii. 57 sq.) which can only have taken place in Mecca. This however does not affect his idea of the fundamental identity of his with the older revelations but only the false doctrine later adopted in the church, for he makes Jesus vigorously reject the doctrine of his divinity; but this limitation of his theory was not without importance and was able to serve him as a model in his later criticism of Judaism.

The sources are somewhat fuller for the close of the Meccan period, although late tendentious historiography has coloured everything in the traditions. According to 'Urwa's account, Muhammad did, it is true, succeed in winning a few notables in Mecca (including probably 'Umar) for his teaching, after the emigration of a number of his followers to Abyssinia. But on the whole his attempt at a religious reformation could be regarded as having failed; and when Khadija and Abū

Talib died, his position gradually became more and more hopeless. An attempt to establish himself in Tā'if brought him into considerable danger, according to the narrative, although the approval of his preaching expressed by some djinn (cf. xvi. 28; lxiii. 1) certainly raised his drooping spirits. It was probably at this period that Muṭ'im b. 'Adi took him under his protection, which is corroborated by Ḥaṣṣan b. Thābit (N^o. lxxxviii.). He could now have consoled himself with the reflection that he had done his duty as a "warner" and could regard it as the will of Allāh that his countrymen were not to be saved (cf. x. 99; xlii. 89). But the consciousness of being a chosen instrument of Allāh had gradually become so powerful within him that he was no longer able to sink back into an inglorious existence with his object unachieved. His astonishing gift of being able to exert a powerful religious suggestion even on men who were intellectually superior to him imperiously demanded a wider sphere of activity than a small number of adherents, mostly without influence. In addition, there was a factor of which he himself was certainly unconscious but which is apparent on every page of the Meccan sūras, namely his mental exhaustion. All this brought him to the idea of looking for a new sphere of activity outside Mecca, however difficult it must have been for an Arab to break the links that bound him to his tribe and family. The congress of people from all parts at the pilgrimage gave him good opportunities to attempt to find one. After several unsuccessful negotiations he found a favourable soil for his scheme with some men from Medina. Unfortunately we know very little about conditions at this time in this town (q. v.) but we may safely assume that the large number of Jews in it had contributed to make the peasant population of Medina somewhat familiar with religious ideas (cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 178). There is however no question that the Medinese did not so much want to attract an inspired preacher to themselves as to get a political leader, who would readjust their political relations, which had been shattered in the tribal conflicts culminating in the battle of Bu'ath (q. v.). With this we are faced with one of the most difficult problems in the biography of Muhammad, the double personality which he presents to us. The inspired religious enthusiast, whose ideas mainly centred around the coming last judgment, who had borne all insults and attacks, who only timidly touched on the possibility of active resistance (xvi. 127) and preferred to leave everything to Allāh's intervention, with the migration to Medina enters upon a secular stage and at one stroke shows himself a brilliant political genius. That Muhammad's eye in Mecca took in the wider political situation is evident from the prophecy in Sūra xxx. 1 sq.; but the passage is quite isolated there and in any case M. Hartmann's effort (*Die arabishe Frage*, p. 53), to make him play the part of a far-seeing diplomat in international politics is based on fanciful arguments with no basis in the sources. Nevertheless in the despatch of a section of his followers to Abyssinia and in the attempt to reach a compromise with the polytheists in Mecca, we have hints which to some extent bridge over the gulf between the two figures. The decisive point however is that the Medinese would certainly not have thought of seeking in him a saviour from their social and political difficulties, if they had not been

much impressed by his abilities in this direction.

After Muhammad had entered into relations with some Medinese who had come as pilgrims to Mecca, the latter began to spread Islām in their native town along with men whom he had sent there and thus he was able after a preliminary conference in al-Akaba (q. v.) to conclude at the pilgrimage next year (622) at the same place a formal agreement with a considerable number of Medinese, in which they pledged themselves in the name of their fellow-citizens, to take him into their community and to protect him as one of their own citizens, which, as the further history shows, was also to hold for his Meccan followers if they moved to Medina. Tradition, and no doubt rightly, here mentions only the promise of the Medinese to take Muhammad under their protection and not any further obligations. On the other hand according to Ibn Hishām, p. 287, at the first conference at 'Akaba Muhammad is said to have imposed a series of commands upon them; but this so-called "women's homage" is, as the very name shows, taken from the later Sūra ix. 12 and is clearly adapted to Meccan conditions (cf. especially the vow not to kill children). These negotiations, which could not remain unknown to the Meccans, produced great bitterness, and a second *ḥimā*, as 'Urwa says, began for the believers, which must have still more confirmed them in their resolution to migrate to Medina. They slipped away in larger or smaller bodies, so that finally only Muhammad with Abū Bakr and, according to the story 'Ali, was left. That the Prophet did not go with the others was certainly due to the fact that the Meccans otherwise would have prevented the whole emigration. They knew him well enough to see the danger if he were to ally himself with another tribe and there is therefore no reason to doubt Tradition when it relates, although with much legendary embellishment (cf. on David's flight: Tahatt, i. 556), how he had to be the last to flee from the town. Tradition is also confirmed by Sūra ix. 40 where there is mention of Muhammad and his companion (Abū Bakr) stopping in the cave.

The migration of the Prophet, the Hījra (q. v.), has been with justice taken by the Muslims as the starting-point of their chronology, for it forms the first stage in a movement which in a short time became of significance in the history of the world. According to the usual calculation, he arrived in Kubā', a suburb of Medina, on the 12th Rabi' I of the first year, i. e. Sept. 24, 622 and shortly after went into his new home. The tasks which awaited him placed the greatest strain on his diplomatic and organizing abilities. He could only rely with absolute certainty on those who had migrated with him (the *Muhājirūn*, q. v.) for their whole future existence depended entirely on him and of course only those had migrated who were firmly convinced of the truth of his mission. In addition, there were those Medinese who had already adopted Islām or did so soon after his arrival, the so-called *Anṣār* (q. v.) or "helpers", who however formed only a portion of the inhabitants of Medina. He only found direct opposition in a few families, like the 'Aws Allāh; but at the same time there were a number who while they did not exactly oppose him only reluctantly accepted the new relations, the so-called *Muṣallifūn* (q. v.), who were to cause

him much anxiety. Fortunately for him, they were led by a man, the Khazrajī 'Abd Allāh b. Uhayy, who possessed the *munāḥif* quality of irresolution to such an extent that he regularly let slip every occasion on which he might have offered successful opposition. A further danger lay in the fact that the old and bitter feud between the two chief parties, the 'Aws and Khazraj, had by no means died down, but might easily break out again on any occasion. Finally there were the Jews (in the first place *al-Khazimān*, i. e. the Nadir and Gataira; cf. Kaïs b. al-Khaṭim, ed. Kowalski, xx.; Ḥassān b. Thābit, N^o. 216, 19; Ibn Hishām, p. 560 and Ibn Sa'd, viii. 86, 91) and the Judaicised tribes in Medina, who played an important part because of their wealth and the support they had in the Jewish colonies in Khaibar etc. For Muhammad they were on the whole a plus factor in his calculations for, according to his theory already mentioned, he ought to expect that they would champion the truth of his preaching. His relations with the Christians in Medina (cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, N^o. 135, 17) were no longer absolutely unstrained, since he had begun in Mecca to reject the orthodox ecclesiastical Christology; but they were insignificant and could be ignored. He also had a much greater sympathy with them than with the Jews (v. 85; lvii. 27).

Muhammad had to form a united community out of these heterogeneous elements. The first problem to be tackled was how to procure the necessary means of subsistence for the emigrants, who were for the most part without means or work, which could for the time being only be done through the self-sacrifice of the Anṣār and certainly only very inadequately. To strengthen their claims for protection, he ordered the relationship of brotherhood to be created between each emigrant and a man of Medina. This arrangement, to which was added brotherhood between every two emigrants, was abolished after the battle of Badr by Sūra xxxiii. 6 and left only a few traces (see Ibn Sa'd, iii. xxiv.). On the other hand, we possess for a somewhat later period, when relations between Muhammad and the Jews had begun to be strained, a very valuable document in Muhammad's constitution of the community which has been preserved by Ibn Ishāq. It reveals his great diplomatic gifts, for it allows the ideal which he cherished of an *ummah* definitely religious in outlook to sink temporarily into the background and is shaped essentially by practical considerations. It is true that the highest authority is with Allāh and Muhammad, before whom all matters of importance are to be laid; but the *ummas* included also Jews and pagans, so that the legal forms of the old Arab tribes are substantially preserved. This scheme had however no considerable practical importance; it is nowhere mentioned in the Qur'ān (hardly even in viii. 58), because it was soon rendered obsolete by the rapidly changing conditions.

It is a proof of the Prophet's political wisdom that he endeavoured to attach the Jews to himself by taking over several features of their worship. Thus he made the 10th Muḥarram a fast-day, obviously in imitation of the Jewish fast on the 10th Tishri, the day of atonement, which is particularly obvious in its name, taken from the Aramaic (*ʿAṣṣur*). On Jewish practice are probably also based the introduction of the midday ṣalāt, which was now (ii. 239) added to the morning and

evening ṣalāts and the earlier rule about purification before the ṣalāt (iv. 46; v. 97). On the other hand, Friday as the day of the common ṣalāt, which probably goes back to the Jewish day of preparation (cf. Becker's correction to Ibn Sa'd, iii. 83, 23; in *lvi*, iii. 519), is said to have been already introduced before the Hijra by Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr (according to others, Aḥad b. Zurāra). Whether the choice of Jerusalem as the *ḥibla* [q. v.] was one of the concessions made to the Medinese Jews is uncertain as the statements about his attitude in Mecca on this point differ. But it is improbable that he should have turned towards the Ka'ba there, otherwise it is difficult to understand how the different stories could have arisen. But whether he then used Jerusalem as the *ḥibla*, which need not necessarily mean a borrowing from the Jews, as this direction of prayer was elsewhere found in the east, e. g. among the Ebionites and Elkesaites, whether he turned to the east like many Christians, or whether he had a *ḥibla* at all (the Qur'ān is silent on the point) is uncertain, but in any case the balance of probability is in favour of the Jerusalem *ḥibla* having been one of the alterations made to gratify the Medinese Jews. If some writers have seen in the immediate erection of a place of prayer (Ibn Hishām, p. 336) a copying of the Jewish synagogues, Caetani has with weighty reasons argued that this was not a building definitely assigned to the worship of God, since the alleged *masjid* was also used for all kinds of secular purposes, because in reality it was simply the court-yard (*dār*) occupied by Muhammad and his family, while the assemblies for regular worship were held on the *maḥallā* [cf. *MAḤALLA*]. But nevertheless the "mosque of opposition" so called by the Prophet with horror (Sūra ix. 108; see below) seems to have been an actual building recalling the Jewish synagogues. In spite of these concessions to the Jews, it soon became obvious that he had seriously miscalculated with regard to them. Although they undoubtedly cherished lively expectations of the coming of the Messiah (Ibn Hishām, p. 286, 373 sq.) they could not possibly recognise an Arab as the expected Messiah and he had soon reason to lament that only a few among them believed in him (iii. 106). In particular, the misunderstandings in his reproduction of the Old Testament stories or laws aroused the notorious Jewish love of ridicule and thus brought him into an unfortunate position. His conviction of the divine origin of his mission and his position among the believers would not allow him to confess that he had made a mistake and on the other hand he had too often himself appealed to the testimony of the older religions of revelation to be able to ignore this criticism. He rescued himself from this dilemma by asserting that the Jews had only received a portion of the revelation (iv. 47; cf. iii. 115) and even this included a number of special laws adapted to a particular age (iv. 158; vi. 147; xvi. 119) but they had also concealed all sorts of things in their holy scriptures (ii. 39, 141, 154, 169; iii. 64 etc.) and indeed had even falsified their scriptures (ii. 56; iv. 48; v. 16, 45; vii. 162; cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, N^o. 96, 2; and the article *TAYYIB*), in short they obtained hardly more benefit from their scriptures than an ass from the books which he is carrying on his back (lxii. 5). The Jews were not able to refute these assertions for, although he challenged them to produce these scriptures

(iii. 87) neither he nor his followers could read a word of them. He therefore now poured forth the vials of his wrath upon the Jews in many speeches and awaited the time when he would be able to refute their criticism and malicious witticisms and tergiversations in convincing fashion (e.g. iii. 177 *sqq.*; iv. 48). As he had now already begun to regard the church doctrine of the Christians as a corruption of the true teaching of Jesus, he felt himself called upon to reform the degenerate religious of revelation, each of which asserted it was the only true one (ii. 107). As a result he now claimed a special place among the prophets; he is seal of the prophets (xxxiii. 40; a metaphorical expression which Mani among others applied to himself and which indicates the conclusion of the series), he is the last prophet, to whom Jesus himself had pointed under the name Ahmad (lxi. 6; cf. iii. 75). Still he is not thinking any more than before of introducing a new religion but only of restoring the religious proclaimed by the prophets from the beginning. But nevertheless the early years after the migration were the period when Muhammadanism was born as an independent religion, for parallel with his criticism of the religions of revelation and in particular opposition to Judaism ran a positive shaping of Islam, through which he was emancipating himself in important points from his previous models. He gave his religion a pronounced national character by taking over various elements from the worship of the old Arabs and associating them with his religious ideas. In the second year of the Hijra (July 623—June 624) after some hesitation, he ordered that Jerusalem should no longer be the *qibla* at prayer but the ancient sanctuary of the Black Stone at Mecca (ii. 136—145) for it "is a gathering-place and a safe retreat for men" (ii. 119). His native town was thus made the centre of the true religion. As a substitute for the pilgrimage which he now adopted into his religion as one of the main rites, but from which he and his followers were temporarily cut off, he had an animal sacrificed in this year on the 10th Dhu l-Hijja on the *maḥalla* in Medina (Tabari, i. 1362; according to Ibn Sa'd, i/ii. 9 he continued this after the occupation of Mecca) and in the following year he calls the *ḥajj* one of the obligations of believers towards Allah (iii. 90 *sq.*). Friday retained its significance but was not to be a day of rest like the Jewish Sabbath (lxii. 9 *sq.*), which is connected with his rejection of the Old Testament idea of God resting after the creation (i. 37). In place of the fasting on 'Ashūra', he substituted quite a new particular rite, according to which his followers were to fast throughout Ramaḍān, the month, in which he had received the fundamental revelation (ii. 281), as long as the sun was visible in the heavens. The Manichaeans had a similar custom; but whether he took the new revelation from them or from another sect cannot be ascertained (cf. KAMARĀN).

This nationalisation of Islam, which was to have so many results, gave Muhammad a final legitimation, which brought it into harmony with his earlier appeal to the religions of revelation, as he came forward as the restorer of the religion of Abraham (*millat* *Abrahim*) which had been corrupted by the Jews and Christians. Abraham, whom Jews and Christians alike regarded as the great type of faith and whom he had himself emphatically indicated as the true *ḥanif* (e.g. vi. 79), now becomes

the great *ḥanif*, not only in contrast to the heathen but also to the possessors of a scripture (neither polytheist, nor Jew nor Christian [ii. 129; iii. 60, 89] wherefore, as Snouck Hurgronje has shown, vi. 162 and vi. 124 must also be Medinenses). He and his son Ishmael, the ancestor of the Arabs, founded the Meccan sanctuary and the rites celebrated here, now corrupted by the heathen, which Muhammad is to restore (ii. 118 *sq.*; xlii. 27 *sq.*). Whether this bold idea, which according to Sāma iii. 58 met with opposition from the possessors of a scripture, was an original one and in this case a really brilliant invention of Muhammad's or whether it was already in existence, for example among arabised Jews, cannot be decided. The only thing certain is that he cannot have been acquainted with it in Mecca for we meet it nowhere in connection with mentions of the Ka'ba and it is actually excluded by the passages mentioned above (p. 726^a).

While his religion was being transformed in this way, Muhammad's personal position was being gradually changed by the altered conditions. According to the already mentioned constitution of the community, all important matters were to be laid before Allah and himself. It now became a fundamental duty of the believers to be obedient to Allah and to himself (iii. 3, 29, 126, 166; iv. 17 *sq.*, 62 [where it is added: "and to those among you who have to exercise authority"]; v. 93; xxiv. 51, 62; cf. also ix. 12, the "women's homage" which is inserted in the account of the second conference at Aḥabā, Ibn Hiṣham, p. 289) and those who are disobedient are threatened with the tortures of hell (ix. 64). Alongside of the belief in Allah now appears belief in the Prophet (xlviii. 9; lxi. 8 *etc.*). Allah is his protector, as is Gabriel, and the angels are at his disposal (lxi. 4). He claims certain privileges, which suggest a worldly, mortal rather than a spiritual leader (xxiv. 62; xlix. 2 *sqq.*; xxiv. 63; lviii. 13 *sq.*; xxxiii. 53) but which however must be described as quite moderate demands.

The elevation of Mecca to be the centre of his religion imposed on Muhammad new tasks, which were soon to lead to unexpected results. If visiting the holy places in and around Mecca was a duty of the Muslim, who were excluded from the town (xxii. 25 *sq.*), the result was the inevitable necessity of forcing admission to them. In addition the Prophet had an account to settle with the Meccans, for by his expulsion they had triumphed over him in the eyes of the world and the punishment repeatedly threatened them had not materialised, unlike the stereotyped punishments of the godless in the stories of the prophets. This led to a new command, that of the holy war ("war on the path of Allah", *al-djihad*, q. v.), and to set such a war in motion now became the object of his endeavour, which he tenaciously pursued. There were however considerable difficulties in the way of achieving this object. The Medinenses had only pledged themselves to defend him like one of their number if he were attacked, and the anything but warlike merchants of Mecca were not inclined to oblige him by beginning. The emigrants were, it is true, not bound in this way, but it went nevertheless very much against their feelings as Arabs openly to fight members of their tribe and blood relations. How much their resistance vexed him is shown by the vigorous reproaches which he makes to his

followers in this connection (ii. 212; xiii. 39 *sup.* etc.) He succeeded however in finding a way out of the difficulty, which might be able to pave the way for military enterprises without injuring these feelings too much. After he had sent different men with small armed forces who did not succeed in countering the enemy, in Najdah, one of the sacred months in which all fighting was forbidden, he sent some of his followers to Najdah, where a caravan was expected and gave their leader sealed orders in which he left it to their judgment what they should do. They did not disappoint him for they fell upon the caravan which fell secure until the end of the month and one of the Meccans was killed. The rich plunder was sent to Medina, where in the meanwhile a storm of indignation had broken out. Muhammad however gave the people time to recover and finally calmed them, by the revelation ii. 214. The success of the coup had had such an effect in Medina that not only emigrants but also a number of Ansār offered their services, when he appealed for followers in Ramaḍān 2 A.H. in a new raid, which he himself would lead. On this occasion chance came to his aid in unexpected fashion. He had learned that a rich caravan was on its way from Syria and he decided to ambush it at Badr [q. v.]. The very cautious Abū Sufyān [q. v.] who was leading the caravan got wind of his plan however and sent messengers express to Mecca for help. But when by a diversion to the coast he had reached safety, he soon afterwards sent other messengers to Mecca to cancel the first message. The angered Meccans had however already collected an army which was three times the size of Muhammad's little handful of men and were unwilling to let the opportunity escape of properly chastising their troublesome enemy. They went to Badr where soon afterwards Muhammad arrived with his men, expecting to meet Abū Sufyān's helpless caravan. When they discovered their mistake they were filled with terror (viii. 5 *sup.*; cf. the continuation of 'Urwā's story; Tabari, i. 1284 *sup.*); but the Prophet saw in the encounter the wonderful dispensation of Allah, who wished to force them to a battle and his remarkable power of suggestion was able so to inspire his men that they completely routed the far superior enemy. A number of the Meccans, including the leader of the aristocrats Abū Jahl, were slain and several, including Muhammad's uncle 'Abbās, were brought prisoners to Medina, where Muhammad had two of them, al-Nadr and 'Ukba b. Abi Mu'ait, put to death, while the others were held to ransom. This in our eyes very insignificant fracas, which however must be judged in light of the observation by Doughty who knew the country (*Travels*, ii. 378), became of the utmost significance for the history of Islam. So Muhammad saw in the victory a powerful confirmation of his belief in the superiority of Allah (viii. 17, 66; iii. 119; cf. Ka'b b. Malik, in Ibn Hišām, p. 520 *sup.*) and in his own call, and besides the commercial city of Mecca enjoyed such great prestige in Arabia that its conqueror was bound to attract all eyes to himself. He therefore displayed even greater energy and was able to utilise the advantages he had won. After he had drawn up the programme given in Sūra viii. 57 *sup.* he began to besiege the Jewish tribe of Khaybar in their forts. The Musāhikin did not dare to oppose him seriously and the other Jews left their co-religionists in the lurch in shame-

ful fashion (cf. ix. 24) so that the latter were forced to migrate to Transjordania.

In order to protect himself while fighting from attacks from another foe, Muhammad at this time adopted a plan which is a further proof of his outstanding political ability. He concluded, as a number of letters that have been preserved show (cf. J. Sperber, *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orient. Sprachen*, 1916), as lord of Medina, alliances with a number of Beduin tribes in which the two parties pledged themselves to assist one another.

In the year 3 A.H. (JUNE 624—JUNE 625) Muhammad continued his attacks on the Meccan caravans so that the Quraysh finally saw the necessity of taking more vigorous measures and revenging themselves for Badr. An army of 5,000 men was equipped and set out with much display for Medina under the leadership of Abū Sufyān, who was little suited for the task. Although several of his followers advised Muhammad to make his defence within the town, he decided to go out with his forces, which had been much reduced by the departure of the Musāhikin, and took up a position at the foot of the hill of Uhud [q. v.]. In spite of the numerical superiority of the Meccans, the fighting at first went in favour of the Muslims, until a number of archers who had been placed to defend his flank joined against Muhammad's express orders in the battle, which promised to yield rich booty and this at once enabled Khalid b. al-Walid to fall upon Muhammad's flank. The tables were now turned and many of the Muslims began to flee, especially when the rumour spread that the Prophet had fallen (cf. iii. 138). In reality he was only wounded and escaped with a few faithful followers through a ravine on to the south side of the hill. Fortunately for him, the Meccans were quite incompetent to follow up their victory and as they thought that Muhammad had been punished and their honour saved, they turned quietly back to Mecca. The Prophet was thus saved from the worst, but he had to lament many fallen friends including Hanzal [q. v.] and his newly acquired prestige naturally also suffered. With all the eloquence in his power he endeavoured to raise the morale of his followers by exhortation and censure alike (iii. 114 *sup.*, 133—154, 159—200) but the consequences of his reverse did not fail to materialise. The Jews who had taken no part in the fighting (according to Ibn Hišām, they were observing the Sabbath), made no secret of their delight at his misfortune, and several Beduin tribes next year (4 A.H. = JUNE 625—beginning of JUNE 626; the eclipse of the moon which took place in Dhu'l-Hiǧǧa II of this year was that visible in Medina in the night of Nov. 19—20, 625; cf. Rhodokanakis, in *W. Z. N. M.*, xiv. 105; Caetani, i. 598 *sup.*) showed how much his prestige with them had sunk [cf. M's MA'WNA]. It was therefore all the more necessary to make an example and another Jewish tribe in Medina, the Nadir, seemed a suitable object after Ka'b b. Ashraf's (q. v. and cf. Hassan b. Ithābit, No. 97) murder had served as a prelude. It is made a charge against them in Sūra ix. 4 that they defy Allah and his messenger, on which account Tradition imputes all sorts of crimes to them. After a siege of several weeks (Tabari, i. 1850; cf. Euting, *Tagebuch*, p. 111) they were forced to emigrate to Khaybar or Syria. They left behind them their weapons and their gold and silver as a rich booty, the distribution

of which on this occasion Muhammad reserved for himself (ix. 6 *sqq.*).

To this period most probably belongs the prohibition of the drinking of wine which is characteristic of Islām (v. 92 *sq.*; cf. the instructive gradation in lxxxiii. 25; xvi. 69; iv. 46; ii. 216, where the word "great" is to be deleted as Schwally proposes). It has been connected with a number of features of life in the old Semitic east but the main reason should rather be sought in the connection with the *maṣīb* games (q. v.). Drinking-bouts with feasting on a specially slain camel and games of chance, which were in the eyes of the old Arabs the bright spots in their hard struggle for existence, and in which they endeavoured to display their nobility and hospitality, brought the Muslims into suspicious relations with pagans and with Christian and Jewish wine-sellers, which might easily lead to their faltering in their new religion (cf. Wākidi, transl. Wellhausen, p. 100; Bukhārī, ed. Krehl, ii. 270 *sq.*); and this might explain why he forbade both at the same time, which of course does not exclude the possibility that forms of abstinence for other reasons may have been known to him (Muṣallima's prohibition of wine was obviously intended as asceticism; cf. the article). While Muhammad was endeavouring to restore his weakened authority, a new and threatening storm came upon him and Medina from Mecca. The Quraysh, whose caravans were being continually harassed by him (cf. Ḥaṣṣān b. Thābit, N^o. 16, 6 *sq.*) and who were urged on by the Jews of Khaibar, recognised that the victory at Uhud had only been a blow in the air and realised the necessity of occupying Medina, which they had then neglected to do. Conscious of their slight military skill, they negotiated vigorously with various Beduin tribes and thus raised a large army — said to have been 10,000 men — with which they set out against Medina in the year 5 (June 626—May 627). The various accounts of the season of the year (sometimes a month after the barley harvest, sometimes cold winter storms, the latter in agreement with Sūra xxxiii. 9; cf. Ḥaṣṣān b. Thābit, N^o. 14, 9) may be reconciled by the possibility that the siege lasted a considerable time (cf. Doughty's description, *Travels*, ii. 429 *sqq.* of the siege of Anṣere, which in general illustrates this war excellently). The advance of this imposing army produced great consternation in Medina, which was still further increased by the vacillating attitude of the Maudhūghūn and by the discovery or perhaps only the suspicion that the Jews were conspiring with the enemy (xxxiii. 10 *sqq.*, 26). Muhammad in order to strengthen the defences had a ditch (*khandaq*, a Persian word) dug in front of the unprotected parts of the town. According to several stories, he did this on the advice of a Persian named Salmaṣ but J. Horowitz (cf. *Isl.*, xii. 178—183) would reject this as a later accretion. Modest as the defences were — about 150 years later Ṭāḥ b. Mūsā bridged the ditch which had been restored by Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh, by throwing a few doors across it — they seem to have imposed upon the enemy who had little experience in the art of war and the siege gradually dragged on. The able hand of Medina used the time for secret negotiations with the Ghatafan and cleverly stirred up distrust of one another among his opponents and when at the same time the weather conditions became unfavourable the besiegers lost heart and

gradually began to retire so that the last effort of the Quraysh to destroy their sinister foe came to nothing. For one section of the participants however, the comedy of the "War of the Ditch" was to become a bloody tragedy. Hardly had the besiegers retired than the Prophet declared war on the last Jewish tribe of any size, the Qurayza, and began to besiege their quarter of the town. The Jews no doubt hoped to escape in the same easy fashion as the Nadir had, especially as their allies, the 'Aws, were very actively trying to induce Muhammad to clemency; but this time he was inexorable and carried out seriously a threat that he had previously made (lix. 3). Tradition has however endeavoured to put the responsibility for the massacre of the Qurayza on Sa'd b. Mu'adh (cf. Ḥaṣṣān b. Thābit, N^o. clxvii., who asserts Sa'd's innocence). But there are various indications that it was the Prophet himself who made the decision and perhaps induced the Jews to surrender. On this occasion the Jews showed a strength of character and nobility of spirit which throws a redeeming light on their otherwise so ignoble history.

By these amputations, which however did not remove all the Jews from Medina (cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 895; Wākidi-Wellhausen, p. 264, 309, 393; Ḥaṣṣān b. Thābit, N^o. 133, 27), the Prophet had come nearer his goal, the organisation of an *umma* on a purely religious basis, which hitherto he had to keep somewhat in the background for political reasons. For the present he continued his attacks on the Meccan caravans far into the year 6 (May 627—May 628) and his raids, usually punitive expeditions, on Beduin tribes; of these expeditions, which have no particular interest, mention may be made of that against the Banū Muṣallā which must have taken place about this time, as it gave rise to a serious conflict between the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār and involved 'Ā'ishā (q. v.) in the celebrated adventure which nearly cost her her position as the wife of the Prophet, until finally a revelation saved her (xxiv. 4 *sq.*, 10—20).

Towards the end of the year 6 Muhammad thought that his position in Medina was so firmly established that he could risk a step, which would bring him nearer the desired goal. He and the emigrants were still excluded from Mecca and its holy places, but through secret confidential agents, among whom we may certainly include his carefully calculating uncle 'Abbās, he knew that feeling in the town had been gradually coming round (cf. xlviii. 15; lx. 7). An increasing number had become tired of the hopeless wars and thought it would be much more advantageous for the commerce of Mecca to make peace with their indefatigable enemy, especially after he had adopted into his programme the pilgrimages to their fairs, the source of the city's wealth. Trusting to this revulsion of feeling he gave his followers in Dhu 'l-Ka'da of the year 6, i. e. March 628 (the news of the death of the Persian king Khusrāw Parwēz on the Feb. 29 of this year reached him on the way) orders to provide themselves with sacrificial victims and undertake an 'umra (q. v.) with him to Mecca, as Allāh in a vision had promised him a successful fulfilment of the visit (xlviii. 27). He probably chose an 'umra deliberately (Ibn Hishām, p. 740; Wākidi-Wellhausen, p. 249 *sq.*, 253; cf. Sūra, xx. 30, 34) instead of the great pilgrimage which was soon due, as the consequences of an encounter with all manner of tribes, with whom he might

possibly have been waging war, were too incalculable for him; but perhaps he cherished also the hope that, if all went well, he might remain there in the following month also (cf. II, 192 which perhaps belongs to this connection). The step was nevertheless a risky one, so that he asked several Beduin tribes to accompany him in case they met with resistance. To his disappointment however, they refused (xlviii. 11-17) so that he decided to abandon the military character of the march and make his followers go as harmless pilgrims. In Mecca many were inclined to meet his wishes but the belligerent party was still strong enough to get a body of armed men sent to meet him to prevent him entering the town. He therefore encamped at al-Hudaihiya (q. v.) where he began to negotiate with the Meccans, and when this led to no result he sent 'Uthman, who was protected by his family connections, into the town as his representative. But when the latter showed no signs of returning and finally a rumour got about that he had been murdered, the situation became critical and Muhammad dropped all negotiations, collected his followers under a tree, probably one long held sacred, and made them swear to fight for him to the last, which they did with enthusiasm (xlviii. 10, 18). But soon afterwards a number of Meccans arrived and offered a compromise, which is very characteristic of the aimless Meccan policy, by which he was to retire this time but to be allowed to perform an 'umra next year. He agreed to the proposal, concluded a ten years' truce with the Quraysh and further promised to surrender all Meccans of dependent status who came to him. His followers, whom he had worked up into a state of great excitement by his promises and the taking of the oath, heard these conditions with scarcely concealed anger; but Muhammad calmly ordered the sacrificial animals brought with them to be slain, which was to have been done at an 'umra in the town (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s. v. *nahill*), and had his hair cut and by his authority forced his grumbling followers to do the same. Only later did they discover that he had made a brilliant stroke of policy for he had induced the Meccans to recognise the despised fugitive as an opponent of equal rank and had concluded a peace with them which promised well for the future.

He and the participants received ample compensation for the apparently frustrated 'umra at the beginning of the year 7 (May 628—April 629) by the capture of the fertile oasis of Khaibar (q. v.) which was inhabited by Jews. It was the first actual conquest by the Prophet and he instituted on this occasion a practice which became regular afterwards, when Jews or Christians capitulated: he did not put the people to death or banish them but let them remain as tenants, as it were, who had to pay dues every year. This expedition which also brought the Jewish colonies of Wadi 'l-Kura into his power, made the Muslims rich (xlviii. 18-21).

In this period, although the exact date is variously given, tradition puts the despatch of letters from the Prophet to Mukawkis, governor of Alexandria, the ruler of Abyssinia, the Byzantine emperor, the Persian king etc., in which he demanded that they should adopt Islam. The alleged original manuscript of the first of these has however proved not to be genuine (see *J. A.*, 1854, p. 482 sqq.; Zaidan, in *Hilal*, 1904, p. 103 sq.; Becker, *Papyri Schott-Schmidt*, I, 3). But even what is related

about these epistles hardly deserves the faith most people have put in it. Even if we disregard the many apocryphal details, we must surely consider it very unlikely that so sober a politician as Muhammad, who had at this time a very definite object, the conquest of Mecca, before his eyes, should have thought of indulging so fantastic an idea as the conversion of Heraclius or the Persian king, to whom the "Lucid Arabic Qur'an" was no less unintelligible than the Bible to the Prophet and his countrymen, and whom he could neither compel by force nor entice with preferred advantages. It is very doubtful if Muhammad ever thought at all of his religion as a universal religion of the world, as for example Noldeke, in *W. Z. K. M.*, xxi. 307; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, p. 25, and T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, p. 23 sqq. hold (against them, see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mohammedanism*, p. 48 sqq.; H. Lammens, *Étude sur le règne du calife Mu'awia*, I, 422). The passages in the Meccan *sūras* which can be quoted in favour of this theory (vi. 90; xii. 104; xli. 157; xxv. 1; xxxiv. 27; xxxvi. 70; xxxviii. 87; lxviii. 52; lxxxi. 27; cf. from the later period: iii. 90; xxii. 25) are limited by their context or by unambiguous parallels (like vi. 92; xlii. 5 [the mother of the city, i. e. Mecca]; cf. xxvi. 214). Besides, in the Medina period, the place of persuasion and proof ("no compulsion in religion": ii. 257; cf. xvi. 126), was taken by the spread of Islam by force of arms, which, although based on the supremacy of Islam over other religions (iii. 79; ix. 33; lxi. 4), was confined to the lands inhabited by Arabs. If after the conquest of Mecca he also declared war on the possessors of a scripture (see below) the campaigns undertaken by him prove that he was only thinking of Arabs under Byzantine or Persian rule, and it cannot be proved that he ever went beyond this in his schemes (the gift of Hebron, Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 129 may be confidently asserted to be a forgery; cf. the article *USAMA*). The decisive consideration however is that Muhammad at the height of his power never demanded from Jews or Christians that they should adopt Islam but was content with a political subjection and the payment of tribute. The correct conclusion is therefore to reject those stories and to look for the real historical basis in negotiations of a purely political nature, e. g. with the friendly Mukawkis (q. v. and cf. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, 1902) and to assume that the idea of a great missionary enterprise arose later under the influence of Christian traditions, untably of the miracle of Pentecost.

On the other hand, the character of the genuine letters of the Prophet to the Arab tribes changes at this time, for he was no longer content with a purely political agreement but, relying on his now consolidated power, also demanded that they should adhere to his religion, which involved performing the *salāt* and paying "alms"; he even gave the *Djuddām* on the Syrian coast a respite (*amanā*) of two months after which they were to decide (see Spierker, *op. cit.*, p. 14 sqq.).

In March 629, Muhammad performed the 'umra stipulated for him by the peace of Hudaibiya (the 'umra of the "contract" or "recovery"). For him who had been driven out of his native city it was undoubtedly a great satisfaction to be able to visit Mecca as the acknowledged lord of Medina;

but otherwise the significance of the occasion was more symbolical and the efforts of the practised diplomat to prolong his stay by his marriage with a sister-in-law of his secret ally 'Abbās [see MAMUNA] were politely but firmly resisted by the Meccans. On the other hand, it was of great significance that some of the most important Meccans, like 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ and the military genius Khālid b. al-Walid, who saw he was the coming man, openly joined him, while his uncle 'Abbās and the very patriotic (Ibn Hishām, p. 275) but cautious Abū Sufyān endeavoured in secret negotiations to prepare in the most favourable way for the inevitable result. In the meanwhile he continued his military expeditions. His forces suffered a serious reverse in the first considerable effort to extend his authority over the Arabs on Byzantine soil, at Mu'ta [q. v.] in Transjordan; this is also recorded by Theophanes (*Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, i. 335). But several Beduin tribes now began to see what advantages they would procure not only for the next but also for this world by joining him, and large groups like the Sulaim voluntarily adopted Islam and placed themselves under his flag.

That it was Muhammad's intention to break the truce with the Quraysh at the first opportunity may be taken as certain; for it must have been intolerable for him that the heathen should still have Allāh's sanctuary in their control (ix. 17 sq.; cf. iii. 3). The tactlessness of the Meccans now gave him his opportunity. Very much against the advice of Abū Sufyān, the belligerent party in Mecca had supported the Bakr against the Khuzā'a, who were Muhammad's allies, and thus given a plausible cause belli (cf. perhaps ix. 12 sq.). In Ramaḍān of the year 8 (May 629–April 630) he set out at the head of an army of Muhādhirūn, Anṣār, and Beduins. The news produced considerable anxiety in Mecca where the number of those who wanted to fight shrank daily so that the more prudent now could take control. Abū Sufyān, who was sent out with several others (including the Khuzā'i Budail b. Warḳa who was a friend of the Prophet's) met Muhammad not far from the town, paid homage to him and obtained an amnesty for all the Quraysh who abandoned armed resistance (cf. 'Urwa, *Tabari*, i. 1634 sq.). Except for a few irreconcilables (cf. *Diman der Hudhayliten*, No. 183; Mubarrad, *al-Kūmil*, ed. Wright, p. 365), they acquiesced and thus the Prophet was able to enter his native city practically without a struggle and almost all its inhabitants adopted Islam. He acted with great generosity and endeavoured to win all hearts by rich gifts (*ṭa'if al-ḥulūl*, a new use of the alms; cf. ix. 60). Only he demanded ruthlessly the destruction of all idols in and around Mecca. Only Sūra cx. seems to preserve an echo of the exaltation with which this victory filled him; here as in the unusually touching passage xlviii. 1 sq., he sees in the success of his plans a sign that Allāh has forgiven him all his sins.

Muhammad did not rest long upon his laurels for not only was Ṭā'if, which was closely associated with Mecca, still unsubdued but the Hawāṣin tribes in Central Arabia were preparing for a decisive fight. A battle was fought with these Beduins at Hunain on the road to Ṭā'if [q. v.] which at first threatened to be a fatal disaster to the Prophet, mainly because of the unreliability of a number of the new converts, until some of his followers succeeded in recalling the fugitives and routing the enemy (ix.

25 sq.). On the other hand, his inexperienced troops were unable to take Ṭā'if with its defences (cf. the description of impregnable fortresses in *Diman der Hudhayliten*, No. 66, sq.). The people of Ṭā'if however afterwards fell in with the spirit of the time and adopted Islam. When Muhammad, after raising the siege, was distributing the booty of Hunain, the Anṣār who as soon as he entered Mecca had expressed the fear that he would take up his residence again in his native town, became very indignant about the rich gifts that he made to his former opponents in order "to win their hearts", while they themselves went empty-handed (cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, No. xxxi) but he spoke so kindly to them that they burst into tears and declared themselves satisfied. His conduct on this occasion reminds us to some extent of that of David towards the Jews and Ephraimites after Absalom's rebellion.

The characteristic feature of the year 9 (April 630–April 631) in the memory of the Muslims was the many embassies which came from different parts of Arabia to Medina, to submit on behalf of their tribes to the conqueror of Mecca (cf. ix. 3) and the letters which he sent to the tribes, to lay down the conditions of their adoption of Islam. In the autumn of this year, he made up his mind to conduct a campaign against Northern Arabia on a considerable scale, probably because the defeat in Transjordan required to be avenged and because the Ghassānid king was adopting a hostile attitude (cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 911; Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, b. 78, 79). But his appeal for followers met with little support. Munāfiqūn as well as Beduins held back and even among his devoted followers, there were some who put forward all sorts of objections, out of fear of a campaign so far away in the glowing heat (cf. ix. 45; lvi. 84–91, 98 sq.). In particular he seems to have had to face at this time a considerable opposition in Medina (ix. 38–75, 125) so that he had to have recourse to his old instrument of intimidation and his words recall in a remarkable way the period of passion in Mecca (ix. 71, 129 sq.). Matters came to such a pitch that some of the opposition, behind whom is said by one tradition to have been his old inexorable opponent, the ascetic Abū 'Amr 'Abd 'Amr, founded a house of prayer of their own "for division among the faithful and a support for those who had formerly fought against God and his Prophet" (ix. 108 sq.). Unfortunately the expressions in the Qur'ān and in the traditions are quite insufficient to enable us to get a clear picture of this very remarkable affair. In spite of all opposition however, he carried through his plan; but when after great hardships he had reached Tabūk on the frontier (in the land of the Byzantines; cf. Ibn Hishām, p. 956), he stayed there some time and then returned to Medina. The campaign was however not without success. His prestige had now become so great that the petty Christian and Jewish states in the north of Arabia submitted to him during his stay in Tabūk, for example the Christian king Yuhannā in Allā [q. v.], the people of Adhruh [q. v.] and the Jews in the port of Makna. Khālid also occupied the important centre of Dumat al-Djandal (cf. for a criticism of the account: Caetani, *l. l.* 261–268; Spuler, *op. cit.* p. 44 sq.; on the alleged letter from Muhammad to the Jews in Makna, see also Wensinck, in *l. l.* ii. 290).

Unfortunately we do not know how the matters which were rapidly coming to a head in Medina actually developed; but we may safely assume that the death of 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy, which took place not long after the expedition to Tabūk, must have contributed to slacken the tension. These years showed a marked increase in the prestige of the lord of Medina abroad. Mecca was in his hands and among the Beduins an inclination was noticeable in several places to submit to the will of the conqueror of this town, to be safe against his attacks and to have a share in his rich booty. This was for example the case with the group of tribes of 'Amir b. Sa'sa's, with portions of the great tribe of Tamim and the neighbouring Asad and further north with the Bakr and Taghlib. Even in regions so remote as Bahrain and 'Omān within the Persian sphere of influence and among the chiefs of South Arabia, the new teaching and order of things penetrated and found ardent followers in some places. But we must not allow ourselves to be deceived by the representations of the historians, from which it appears as if all the people in these lands adopted Islām. Caetani and Sperber in particular have shown that these accounts are not in keeping with reality and that it was only little groups that submitted, while there was a not inconsiderable number who rejected the Prophet's demands. As regards open opponents the question was quite simple; when they were heathen, adhered to their paganism and would not abandon their polytheism, they were to be threatened by Muhammad with the "holy war". He had not only to deal with such as those in Arabia, but there were also in addition to the Jews who had already felt his strength, a considerable number of Christians, and some Persia in the eastern and southern districts. Muhammad was thus faced with a problem which he had to solve. From his words in Sūra ix, 29 *sqq.* where he includes the Christians and even the Jews, the people of such strict monotheism, among the polytheists, who give Allāh a son and honour men as lords beside him, one would expect that he would have fought them like the heathen, if they did not adopt Islām (cf. also the attack on the Christians, verse 76 *sqq.*). But in contrast to such utterances we have another (Sūra v. 85) where he mentions the Christians very sympathetically because they, unlike the Jews, show themselves kindly towards true believers and are not arrogant, which he ascribes to the fact that they have priests and monks (cf. his judgment on monasticism: Sūra lvii. 21). These remarkable contradictions may be explained, as pointed out by Tor Andrae, by the difference between the Monophysites and the Nestorians. The former aroused his unqualified displeasure by their Christology, while the latter, who were then predominant in the Persian empire, attracted him much more, and this attitude was shared by his followers after his death, as the letter of the Catholicos Ishō'yah, quoted by Tor Andrae, shows. On the other hand, his remarks about the Jews are always very severe. It is therefore all the more remarkable that the distinction between Jews and Christians completely disappears when their position is finally settled. They were included together as "peoples of a scripture" and they were allowed to retain their religion if they recognised the political suzerainty of the Prophet by paying a tax (*dhimma*, q. v.); if they did not they were to be fought without mercy.

The memory of the agreement between Muhammad's teaching and that of the "peoples of a scripture", earlier so much emphasised, must have contributed to this rather illogical settlement and in addition there was the fact that treating the Jews as tax-paying tenants, and allowing them to practise their religion, as had been already done at Khaibar, was much more practical for the Muslims than fighting them till they gave in. A further compromise with the "peoples of a scripture" was that believers were allowed to marry the daughters of the "peoples of a scripture" and to eat food prepared by them (v. 7). It is noteworthy that the Persia (*Madā'ir*, xii. 17) were included among the "peoples of a scripture" which made a difficulty for later better informed generations (Tabari, i. 1005, 10 *sq.*; Balādhuri, p. 79); probably Muhammad did not dare for political reasons to demand that they should give up their religion. This extended application of the term "peoples of a scripture" is found not in the Qur'an but in a letter of Muhammad's to the Persia in Haddar (Ibn Sa'd, i/n. 19) but with the limitation that the Muslims are forbidden to marry their women and eat meat killed by them.

With these exceptions, the Prophet had approached nearer the object which was always before him, although it hitherto eluded him, the formation of an *ummah* on a definitely religious basis, for the inhabitants of a number of parts of Arabia were now actually bound together by religion. The old differences between the tribes with their endless feuds, their blood-vengeance and their lampoons which continually stirred up new quarrels, were to disappear at the will of Muhammad and all believers were to feel themselves brethren (ix. 11; xlix. 10 *sq.*). There was to be no distinction among believers except in their degree of piety (xlix. 13). The Prophet certainly had an ideal before him but it was realised only in a very incomplete way. The very rapid extension of Islām had been accompanied by a considerable diminution in its religious content. Alongside of the older adherents, who were really carried away by his preaching and whose faith had been tried by privations and dangers, there were now the many new converts who had been gained mainly by fear (cf. the well-known poem of Ka'b b. Zuhair; the poem of the Hudhaili Usaid b. Abi Iyās in Kosegarten, *Carmina Hudhaili*, N^o. 127) or by the prospect of material advantages. In spite of the teachers sent out to them there could be no question of any deep-seated conversion among these Arabs and how the old Arab spirit continued to flourish among them unweakened is shown for example by the boasting and abuse in the poems in Ibn Hishām, p. 934 *sqq.*, which are in no way inferior to the old poems. The Prophet himself in Sūra xlix. 14 has recorded very definitely how far the Beduins were from the true faith: they cannot say that they believe but only that they have adopted Islām. Commandments relating to religion and worship, which had considerably occupied Muhammad in the early Medinese period, give way in striking fashion to social and political regulations, a natural result of the fact that the new members were not ripe for the former. Uncertainty on these matters was still great and even at headquarters much seems still to have been in an embryonic state. This is true even of so fundamental a law as the rule for the times of daily prayer, as the five prayers later obligatory are

nowhere laid down in the *Kur'ān* (see above; cf. also the expression "morning and evening" in *Ā'ishā's* poem: *Morgens und Abends*, p. 259). That they were introduced by Muhammad himself at the end of his life is possible, but not very probable in view of the silence on the point in the *Kur'ān*, and in any case it is not certainly proved by the mention of the five times of prayer in a letter of the Prophet's (Ibn Hishām, p. 962) as we are not justified in expecting absolutely literal accuracy in the transmission of such documents. Only one or two religious institutions are dealt with at all fully in the *Kur'ān*, the great pilgrimage to the sanctuaries at Mecca and the 'umra in the town itself, but the *ḥajj* was indeed the crown of his endeavours begun in Mecca and carried through with tenacity. The Prophet, although he was now lord of Mecca, did not yet take part in the pilgrimage in the year 8, which was so inexplicable to later generations that they invented an 'umra unknown to many of his followers (Ibn Hishām, p. 886; Tabari, i. 1670 [Urwa], 1685; Wāḳidī, p. 380; Ibn Sa'd, ii/ii. 1, 123 sq.; iii/ii. 103, 11; cf. ii/ii. 123 sq.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkanische Feest*, p. 58 sq.). Nor did he come in the year 9 to Mecca to the *ḥajj*; he showed his interest in it however by sending Abū Bakr as his representative and making him read a proclamation which had momentous results (Bukhārī, iii. 163, 249; according to the usual tradition, it was 'Alī who acted as his deputy; but this is probably a tendentious alteration; cf. Tabari, i. 1760 sq. where Abū Bakr complains about being passed over and is comforted by Muhammad; there is also another tradition, according to which Abū Bakr commissioned Abū Huraira to proclaim the exclusion of the heathen from the pilgrimage (Ibn Sa'd, ii/ii. 121 sq.). This was what is known as the *ḥarā'a* [q. v.] in which Muhammad, who had been for so many years excluded from the pilgrimage, forbade all heathen any participation in it and gave them a period of four months, after the expiry of which they had the choice between the adoption of Islam and merciless warfare (Sūra ix.). This explains his absence from the celebration in the two preceding years; he wished to wait until he could celebrate it as sole ruler and completely in agreement with his intentions or, as he said, with the ceremonies introduced by Abraham (ii. 119 sq.). Finally all was prepared and at the end of the year 10 (April 631–March 632) he was able to carry through the first reformed pilgrimage (the "Farewell Pilgrimage" or the pilgrimage of Islam), which became the standard for all time. It is remarkable that the regulations for the ceremonies of the *ḥajj*, the object of which was to remove all that was too obviously pagan in the old ceremony (cf. e. g. the *amḥān* in Minā in Farzdaq, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lix. 604; Arrāḳī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 402) and to give it an Islamic colouring, are found mainly in traditions, where later details can of course easily have been inserted, and only in fragments and more or less incidentally in the *Kur'ān*; but broadly speaking, the later form is undoubtedly based on what the Prophet laid down on this memorable occasion [cf. the article *ḤAJJ*].

The Farewell Pilgrimage, at which an effective address, of which somewhat variant versions have been handed down, is put in the Prophet's mouth, marks the culminating point in his career. His feelings at this time are probably expressed in

Allāh's words in Sūra v. 5: "To-day I have perfected your religion, and completed my favours for you and chosen Islam as a religion for you". There is therefore a touch of the dramatic in the fact that his career closed a few months later. He himself hardly expected this, for only a month before his death he was preparing an expedition, which was to set out under the leadership of the young Usāma [q. v.] against Transjordan (not as in some traditions to West of the Jordan, cf. the article *USAMA*) in order to avenge the death of his father. The situation was such in other directions also that it required a man in full vigour to deal with it; in several places the appearance of different "prophets" had provoked disturbances (cf. *AL-ASWAD*, *TULAIHA* and *MUSAILIMA*). Then Muhammad suddenly fell ill, presumably of the ordinary Medina fever (Farzdaq, ix. 13); but this was dangerous to a man physically and mentally overwrought. He rallied a little but then died on the 13th Rabi' I of the year 9 (i. e. June 8, 632; only this date suits the statement in Ḥassān b. Thābit, N^o. cxxxiii. and all traditionists that it was a Monday) on the bosom of his favourite wife 'Ā'ishā, according to the story with the words: "The highest friend" (*rafiq*, for which Goldziher once proposed *rafiq*, "the vault of heaven") of Paradise!". He left — fortunately however for his community — no legal successor, for even the little Ibrāhīm whom the Coptic slave Māriya bore to him had died shortly before (on Jan. 27, 632, if the statement is right that there was an eclipse of the sun on the day he died; cf. Rhodokanakis, in *W. Z. K. M.*, xiv. 78 sqq.; Mahler, *op. cit.*, p. 109 sqq.). The wild confusion which party passions let loose on Mecca when his death became known had the remarkable result that his corpse remained neglected for a whole day until it was finally buried under 'Ā'ishā's hut (Tabari, i. 1817; Ibn Sa'd, ii/ii. 57, 58, 59, 71, 8).

The great difficulty which the biographer of Muhammad feels on every page is this, that the real secret of his career, the wonderful strength of his personality and his power of influencing those around him by suggestion, is not recorded in the early sources and indeed could not be recorded. From the *Kur'ān*, it is true, one becomes acquainted with his earliest remarkable inspirations, which even now are not without effect, and with his eminent political gifts later in Medina. We do of course find instances in the battle of Badr or the agreement of Hudaibiya where his intellectual superiority is overwhelmingly evident; but these are only isolated flashes and for the most part we have to read the essentials between the lines and be content with instructive analogies, among which the influence of Joseph Smith on the intellectually far superior Brigham Young is a particularly striking example. The really powerful factor was his unshakable belief from beginning to end that he had been called by Allāh, for a conviction such as this, which does not admit of the slightest doubt, exercises an incalculable influence on others; and the certainty with which he came forward as the executor of Allāh's will gave his words and ordinances an authority which proved finally compelling. His real personality was revealed quite openly with its limitations; his strength and his knowledge were limited, the ability to perform miracles was denied him and he speaks quite frankly of his faults (vi. 69; xxiv.

49; xl. 57; xlvii. 21; xlviii. 1 sq.; lxxx. 1 sq.; ix. 43). Apart from the revelation with which he was favoured, he is a man like any other and several times refers to the fact that he will die (xxxix. 51; xxi. 35 sq.; iii. 138; the episode in Ibn Hishām, p. 1012 sq. is not historical but a tendentious story directed against the tendency becoming apparent to apotheosise the Prophet). This is exactly the field in which later ages have felt dissatisfied, so that they quite early, driven mainly by their disputations with the Christians (see M. Schreiner, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xlii. 594), wove around the person and life of the Prophet a network of superhuman features (see Tor Andrae's work quoted below). Apart from the traditions which are clearly confirmed by the Qur'an we can only have certainty in the strictest sense of the word in cases where the stories place the Prophet in an unfavourable light, not only from our point of view but also from that of the Muslims, e.g. in the story of his temporary recognition of the three Meccan goddesses or of his being censured by 'Umar for putting off the *ihram* between the 'umra and hajj on the Farewell Pilgrimage, for it is quite incredible that such features should be later inventions and as a rule in such cases the compromising stories are confirmed by the existence of variant traditions which endeavour to dispose of the offensive features by glossing them over or altering them.

If the biographers of Muhammad must for these reasons impose a very considerable restraint upon themselves, there is nevertheless one essential aspect of his activity, which ought to be very strongly emphasised, particularly as justice is not always done to it in modern treatments of his life. There is a tendency in some recent writers not only to emphasise all that is unfavourable but also to neglect his real religious importance. If he had really only been an oversexed man, anxious for worldly profit and quite unscrupulous in the choice of his means, Islām, which had been created by him and developed after his death, would have been an effect without a cause. It is impossible for the unbiased historian to deny that he aroused the religious instinct of his countrymen, and gave expression to a body of religious and moral conceptions which not only satisfied his fellow countrymen but supplied the needs of the people of lands which had old civilizations conquered by the Muslims and served them as foundations for a vigorous and far-reaching intellectual activity. Although as a result of his singular theory of inspiration, his direct dependence on the older religions of revelation remained concealed, he was able in his own way to communicate to his countrymen a part of the spiritual wealth of the "peoples of a scripture" and how he touched the soul of the Arabs is best seen by the efforts of the Wahhābīs at a reformation. In lands of ancient culture, Islām, it is true, was only able to carry out its task by a sometimes radical remoulding and the intellectual activity already mentioned developed also under the influence of Christianity and mysticism, but yet it was Muhammad who set the whole process in motion and he could not have gained this influence if he had only been what the writers mentioned profess to have found in him.

Bibliography: E. Sachau, *Das Berliner Fragment des Muṣṣā b. 'Uṣṣa*, in *S. B. Pr. A.*, 1904, p. 445—470; Wustenfeld, *Das Leben Mu-*

hammad v. Muhammad b. Ishāq, ed. by Ibn Hishām, 1858—1860 (German transl. by Well, 1864); Wellhausen, *Muhammad in Medina; das ist 'Abū Ḥāshim Kitāb al-Maghāzī in verkürzter deutscher Wiedergabe*, 1882; Muhammad b. Sa'd, ed. by E. Sachau, i/l, ii, iii; n/l, ii; Ibn Waḥīd al-Ya'kūbī, *Historiae*, ed. Hoatsma, ii. 1 sq.; al-Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, 1866; Tabarī, *Annalen*, i. 1073 sq.; works on ḥadīth, esp. al-Bukhārī, ed. L. Krehl (vol. iv., ed. Juynboll). — Of later date: Nūr al-Dīn al-Halabī, *al-Sira al-ḥalabīya*, Cairo 1308.

J. Gagnier, *La vie de Mahomet*, 3 vols., 1748; Lamaitresse and Dujaire, *Vie de Mahomet d'après la tradition*, 1897, 1898; A. Sprenger, *Leben und Lehre des Mohammed*, 3 vols., 1861—1865; W. Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, 4 vols., 1858—1861; abbrev. by Weir, 1912; G. Well, *Mohammad der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre*, 1843; Th. Nöldeke, *Das Leben Mohammed nach den Quellen populär dargestellt*, 1863; L. Krehl, *Das Leben des Mohammed*, 1884; Aug. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendlande*, i. 44 sq.; R. Dozy, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme*, 1879, p. 18 sq.; H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, 2 vols., 1892, 1895 and *Mohammed*, 1904; Fr. Buhl, *Muhammeds Leben*, 1903; do., *Muhammeds religiös-ethische Lehren*, 1924; do., *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930; D. S. Margoliouth, *Mohammed and the Rise of Islam*, 1905; Reckendorf, *Mohammed und die Seinen*, 1907; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, i and ii/l.

Of further literature we may mention: Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv. (on Medina, Muhammad's constitution of the community and the embassies and letters); Sperber, *Die Schreiben Muhammeds an die Stämme Arabiens* (in *M. S. O. S.*, xix.); Snouck Hurgronje, *Het mohammedsche feest*, 1880; do., *De Islam, in de Gids*, 1886, 2; H. Lammens, *Mahomet fut-il inciré*, 1911; do., *Coran et Tradition*, 1910; do., *Faṣṣa et les filles de Mahomet*, 1912; Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, 1908; H. Hirschfeld, *Essai sur l'histoire des Juifs à Medina*, in *R. E. J.*, x. 26; R. Lessynsky, *Die Juden in Arabien z. Zeit Muhammads*, 1910 (isoc-sided); A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judentum aufgenommen?*, 1833; Rudolph, *Die Abhängigkeit des Korans v. Judentum und Christentum*, 1922; J. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 1889; Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde* (in *Archives d'Etudes Orientales*, xvi. 1918); do., *Mohammed, sein Leben und Glaube*, Göttingen 1932. (Fr. Buht.)

MUHAMMAD I-III. [See UMAYYADS II.]

MUHAMMAD I, according to the current view, the fifth Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, reigned, after the Empire's restoration in 1413, as sole acknowledged ruler until his death in 1421. Like many details of the first century of Ottoman history, the year of the birth of this Sultan is unknown; *Siddiq-i 'Oṣmānī*, i. 66 gives 781 or 791 (1379 or 1389). It is commonly agreed, that he was the youngest of the six sons of Bayazid I, which probably has made von Hammece accept the later date. At the time of Timur's invasion, Muhammad resided at Amasia, but he was present at the battle of Angora (end of July 1402). From here he escaped with the help of the vizier Bāyazid

Pasha and was able to maintain himself in Amasia and Tokat against Timur's governor in Niksar and against Turkoman bands. Soon after Baysazid's death in 1403, having found support with the dynasties of Karaman and Düzük-Kadı, he conquered Bursa from his brother İsa, who had fled there after the battle of Angora. Then followed the struggle with his other brother Sulaiman, who had escaped to Adrianople but reappeared in Anatolia on account of his dealings, friendly as well as hostile, with the Ismaili Oghlu Djunaid. Sulaiman was able to take Bursa but was soon obliged to return to Rüm-ili, where Muhammad had sent their brother Müsâ (who, after Angora, had been prisoner for some time with the Germiyan Oghlu). When in 1410 the struggle between Sulaiman and Müsâ ended in the latter's victory, Muhammad, whose position in Anatolia was now strengthened, had to face Müsâ himself. At first the conquest of Rüm-ili did not seem hopeful, but after some high functionaries, like the Djandar-oghlu İbrahim Pasha (cf. Tüschner and Wittek, in *Isl.*, xviii, 95) and representatives of the old nobility, like Evrenos, had gone over from Müsâ to his side, and after he had made the Byzantine Emperor Manuel his ally, Muhammad was able to crush Müsâ in the battle of Camurlu in Serbia (July 1413). By this battle the unity of the Ottoman state was re-established; nevertheless one gets the impression that, even after the battle of Angora, the supremacy of the house of Oghuz over the other Muhammadan and Christian chiefs in Anatolia and the Balkan Peninsula was never seriously questioned. The hereditary enemy in Asia, Karaman Oghlu Mehmed, who in the meantime had gone as far as besieging Bursa, was subdued at Djünk in 1414 and at the same time the turbulent Ismaili Oghlu Djunaid was finally driven away from Smyrna. In 1416 the Ottoman power in the Aegean Sea was strengthened by the battle of Gallipoli against a Venetian fleet. That same year witnessed the extremely serious derwish revolt in Aidin and the peninsula of Karamurun, connected with the name of Simavna Oghlu Balir al-Din (cf. Babinger's monograph on the subject in *Isl.*, xi, 1—174 and, as to the date, p. 62 *sup.*); its suppression required the levying of troops from all parts of Anatolia under Baysazid Pasha. In the European part of the Empire the Sultan kept up friendly relations with the Byzantine Emperor. The Turks intervened, however, in Wallachia where the succession was disputed and they built there the fortress of Djurdjewa (Turk: Ver Kök) on the northern bank of the Danube; at the same time (1419), the raids of the Turkish troops reached Hungary, Bosnia and Styria. On the Asiatic side large parts of the possessions of the prince of Kastamuni, including Tasia and Kangheri, were incorporated into the Ottoman possessions. From 1416 Muhammad had moreover to face a pretender to the throne who claimed to be his brother Mujaft; this Dürme Mustafa found an ally in Djunaid. Both were defeated near Selânik and had to fly to Constantinople. The Sultan died in 1421 in Adrianople, shortly after his return from Anatolia. His death was kept secret from the army during forty days, until the heir to the throne Murad had arrived at Bursa.

Muhammad I has won the reputation of a mild and benevolent ruler; he often occurs with the surname of Celebi (as also do his brothers). Another surname is Kırabulji, the "Wrecker", which takes unrecogniz-

able forms in the European sources ("Crixia" in the Ragusan documents cited by Babinger on p. 63 of his article in *Isl.*). Important administrative measures are not recorded under his reign; the political and religious unification and pacification occupied all his forces. Some famous edifices are connected with his name; he finished the Ulu Djâmi' in Adrianople and the mosque of the same name in Bursa. A new building of this Sultan was the well known Yesil Djâmi' at Bursa (cf. Ewliya Çelebi, *Travels*, ii, 15).

Bibliography: The ancient Ottoman chronicles 'Ashîk Pasha Zade and *Tevârîh-i Ali 'Oghuz*, edited by Giese; Ürûdî Bey, ed. Babinger and the later historians, especially 'Ali, *Künk al-Akhar*. — Of the Byzantine writers this period is treated by Phrantzas, Ducas and Chalcondylas. Further: von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i, 331 *sup.*; Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des Osm. Reichs*, Hamburg 1840, i, 388—500 and Jörga, *Gesch. des Osm. Reichs*, i, 361—377. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD II, with the surname Ahi 'I-Fatih, or, more popularly, Fâtih, seventh ruler of the Ottoman Empire, reigned from 1451 until his death in 1481. He was born, according to *Sijill-i 'Osmanî*, i, 67, in Raddab 832 (April 1429) and resided during his father Murad II's lifetime as governor in Magnisia; after the death of his brother 'Alâ al-Din in 1444 he became heir to the throne. Before his final enthronement Muhammad had twice resided in Adrianople as sultan, on account of the abdication of Murad II; the first time in June 1444, after a ten years' peace had been concluded with Hungary. When, notwithstanding this treaty, Hungary and her Christian allies again took the offensive in July, Murad came back from Magnisia, to which he had retired, and won the battle of Varna (Nov. 10, 1444). Then Murad abdicated a second time, but a menacing revolt of the Janissaries in Adrianople made the grand vizier Khalil Pasha call him back again, after which Muhammad was relegated once more to his Anatolian governorship until his father's death.

On Febr. 9, 1451 this new sultan arrived at Adrianople and seemed at first peacefully inclined. In reality his reign was to become a period of untiring and continual conquest under the personal leadership of Muhammad himself, who, especially in the beginning of his reign, took part in nearly all the important campaigns. His conquests did not very much enlarge the boundaries already reached at Murad II's death, but consisted more in a bringing under immediate Turkish rule of a large number of countries, regions and towns that were still held by local rulers under the Ottoman suzerainty. In this way Muhammad's conquests made possible the enormous expansion of the Ottoman empire in the 15th century.

The first, and at the same time most conspicuous military achievement of his reign was the conquest of Constantinople, where, by the grace of Murad II, the Palaeologue Constantine was still reigning. The preparations for this memorable siege had begun in 1452 with the construction of the castle of Rümîl Hissâr (in which an inscription by Zaganos Pasha, one of the builders, of 856 [1452], is found; cf. Khalil Edhem, in *T. O. E. M.*, ii, 484—497) and other military preparations, e.g. the casting of an enormous siege gun. Constantinople was taken on May 29, 1453 and Galata surrendered soon afterwards [cf. CONSTANTINOPLE]. In the next

year, the sultan obtained successes against Serbia, while Turkhān [q. v.] intervened in Morea, where the last Palatologue despots were at war with the Albanians. Immediately after the taking of Constantinople the grand vizier Khālid Pasha had been deposed and executed by order of the sultan, who had personal and political causes of complaint against him (cf. Taeschner and Wittek, *ibid.*, xviii, 105 *app.*); he was replaced after nearly a year by Mahmūd Pasha [q. v.], who for the next twelve years was to be a no less energetic supporter of Muhammad in the achievement of the programme of conquest. The year 1455 saw both of them in Serbia and on the Aegean coast, where the principal conquests were Ainos and the island of Lemnos [q. v.]. In 1456 they were unsuccessful in the siege of Belgrad. During the years 1458 and 1459 Serbia was made a direct Ottoman province (Semendra taken in 1459 by Muhammad), and in the same year and in 1460 the sultan took part in several campaigns in the Moria, the northern part of which was conquered from the Paleologues. About the same time a temporary understanding was reached with Skanderbeg [q. v.] in Albania.

Then came the amazing Asiatic campaign of 1461. Amasra (Amastria) was taken from the Genoese and Sināh [q. v.] from the last İsfandiār Oghlu; the fall of Trebizond immediately followed (cf. TAKARIM), after the beginning of a conflict with Uzun Hasan of the Ak-Koyunlu. In the next year the sultan's army drove the famous Wallachian warrior Wlad Dracul from his principality, which was given to his brother Radul, and at the end of the year Muhammad and Mahmūd made an end to the rule of the Genoese dynasty of Lesbos. The years 1463 and 1464 were mainly occupied by the annexation of the kingdom of Bosnia. In 1463 began a war with Venice, which was to last seventeen years; the main theatre of hostilities was the Morea, but also in the islands of the Aegean there were continual encounters with Venetian fleets.

The death of the Karaman Oghlu [q. v.] İbrahim in 1464 had first provoked the sultan's intervention and soon nearly all the towns of this once powerful principality were conquered during Muhammad's campaign of 1466 (battle of Larentia). In that same year Muhammad was successful in Albania, where he fortified the town of İbrazan (cf. SKANDERBEG).

Mahmūd Pasha had been deposed as grand vizier after the Karaman campaign and replaced by Rūm Muhammad Pasha. But it was Mahmūd who as governor of Gallipoli and Kapudan Pasha, helped Muhammad in the conquest from Venice of the islands of Negroponte (Euboea) in 1470. In the same year began again a series of campaigns under Rūm Muhammad and Gedik Ahmad Pasha against the last towns held by descendants of the Karaman Oghlu, who were supported by Uzun Hasan [q. v.] and by Christian fleets on the sea side. When Uzun Hasan had even taken the offensive by conquering the town of Tokat, great preparations were made for a new Asiatic campaign of the sultan, and Mahmūd was again made grand vizier. The sultan's army won in 1473 the great victory of Erzinđan, which put an end to danger from that side. In this campaign a part was played by prince Mughla, the heir to the throne, who completed in 1474 the conquest of R. İli (Cilicia) but died soon afterwards. Mahmūd Pasha had been deposed

again from the grand vizierate and executed in August 1474; Gedik Ahmad Pasha took his place.

In the following years, until 1480, the sultan's chief attention was given to conquests in Europe. He built in 1471 the fortress of Sabacs (Bogurdelen) in Syrmia, near Belgrad, while his troops in these and the following years made incursions into Hungary and far into Austrian territory; the war with Venice continued and in 1474 the Albanian Skutari (Shkodra) was in vain besieged. The year 1475 brought the great success of the conquest of Kaffa from the Genoese and, as a result of the establishing of the Ottoman power in the Crimea, the submission of the Tatar Khānate of the Crimea to Ottoman suzerainty. In 1476 the sultan himself was successful in Moldavia, but in the next years the Turkish armies had less success against the Venetians in Albania and southern Morea; finally in 1478 Muhammad himself went to Albania and took Croia; Skutari was besieged a long time, but surrendered only on account of the peace negotiations with Venice, which led to a peace treaty (confirmed January 26, 1479) leaving a certain number of towns in Albania and Morea to Venice. The Ionian islands, however, were conquered in 1479 by a fleet under Gedik Ahmad, who, at the same time, went so far as to take Otranto in southern Italy. An endeavour to conquer the island of Rhodes in the same year was not successful.

Muhammad's last campaign took place in 1480, when he intervened in the dynastic disputes of the dynasty of Dhū l-Kadr [q. v.], which intervention gave rise to the first difficulties with Egypt. In the next year, 1481, he had already set out for a new military enterprise in Asia, the aim of which was yet unknown, but may have been connected with the same difficulties, when he died, rather suddenly, in the place called Tekfar Çayır or Khunkār Çayır between Skutari and Gebic (May 3, 1481). His body was transported to Constantinople and buried in the *türbe* of the Fatih Mosque.

Besides being a great conqueror, Muhammad II was the builder of many important edifices, in the first place of the Fatih Mosque in Constantinople and the mosque of Eiyāh (*Hadikat al-İzzat*, i. 8 *app.*; 243 *app.*) and further of the castles on the Dardanelles and other works of naval and military importance. In the army administration he succeeded in restoring discipline among the Janissaries by incorporating in them the corps of the Segban; further his name is connected with the first Ottoman *Kutuk-nāme* (printed as an appendix to *T.O.E.M.*, iii.). He encouraged scientific studies and showed an interest in literature and poetry (he pensioned thirteen Turkish poets), even for the Renaissance arts in Italy (he summoned Gentile Bellini to Constantinople, who made his portrait; cf. also Tschudi, *Vom alten Osmanischen Reich*, Tübingen 1930, p. 18).

Bibliography: Among the early sources, the Byzantine historians (Phrautes, Ducas, Chacondyles) are by far the more important. The Greek description of Muhammad's life by Critobulus was translated into Turkish (appendix to *T.O.E.M.*, i. and ii.). The old Ottoman chronicles (Nesht and others) often treat the beginning of Muhammad's reign in their last part; the later historical sources (Sa'd al-Din, 'Ali, Feridün) are far from being reliable for this time. Further: von Hammer, *G.O.K.*, i. ii.; Zinkeisen (i.) and

Jorga (I); Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, II; L. Thuessne, *Gentile Bellini et Sultan Mohammed II*, Paris 1888. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD III, thirteenth ruler of the Ottoman Empire, was born on May 16, 1567, the son of Murad III and the Venetian lady Baffa, and reigned from January 27, 1593 until his death, December 22, 1603. He was the last sultan who, as crown prince, had resided as governor in Magnesia. During his short reign he does not seem to have exercised any great influence on the policy of the Empire, being mostly under the influence of his mother who, as *walide sultana*, intervened in affairs of state through her protégés within and without the palace. Much against her will but on the insistence of a large part of the troops and of the high dignitaries, Muhammad took part in one campaign, namely that of 1596, in which the Hungarian town of Erlau (Eger) was taken by the Turks (September 1596). This campaign was a part of the war against Austria that lasted during all his reign and occasioned every year a military expedition to Hungary or to Wallachia. The grand vizierate was changed not less than twelve times under this sultan; the most conspicuous grand vizier was Dâmad Ibrahim Pasha [q.v.], his brother-in-law and the protégé of the *walide*. Ibrahim three times held the sultan's seal, three other titularies ended their office by being executed. In the same year as the conquest of Erlau, the Turks won the battle of Keresztes over the Austrians and Hungarians; the severity of the then grand-vizier Cîghala Sinân caused a great number of the troops to desert and to appear some years afterwards as *ferîs* or *çifçîs*, provoking dangerous revolts in Asia Minor which lasted thirty years and began with the taking of Urfa by Kara Yaddî [q.v.] in 1599. A third memorable feat of the Hungarian war was the conquest of Kanizsa in 1600 by Ibrahim Pasha. In other parts of the Empire the situation was relatively quiet; only in the Crimea was there a war between two rivals to the khânate, in which the Ottoman government had to intervene. Relations with the European powers were peaceful. France began already to exercise considerable influence through her ambassador; with Persia there was peace until September 1603, when a war began with the taking of Tabriz and Nakhjavân by Abûlî I.

The Empire was still supported by the traditions of Süleimân's time, but the lack of strong government had introduced a lot of abuses, notably in the administration of the *timûrs* and of the finances. One of the consequences was the dangerous revolt in January 1603 of the *ispâkîs* in Constantinople, who demanded the abolition of the harem régime in the capital and the restoration of the authority of the government in Anatolia. Two high harem functionaries fell as victims of this revolt; the grand vizier Yemîshdjî Hasan was able to oppose the *ispâkîs* with the aid of the Janissaries, thus creating an everlasting feud between the two corps, but in October of the same year this nefarious policy caused his own fall and execution.

Muhammad III was buried in a *türbe* of the Aya Sofia, a short time before his death, he had ordered the execution of his eldest son Mahmûd. He is said to have made a great show of piety, and had some excellent counsellors in his environment, such as the *khâdîm* Sa'd al-Dîn (died 1599), who had determined him to accompany

the army in 1596; but on the whole his mother's influence prevailed by keeping him mainly confined to the harem in the palace.

Bibliography: Among the Turkish historians the works of 'Alî (until 1596); Sellîki (until 1600), Pedewî and Hasan Beg Zâde are valuable as contemporary sources, further Na'imî (I) and Hadîdjî Khalîfa. Von Hammer, *G.O.S.*, VI, and the works of Zinkeisen (III) and Jorga (III). A contemporary European source is Laz. Soranzo, *Ottomanius sive de rebus turcicis liber continens descriptionem potentiae Mahometis III*, 1600.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD IV, nineteenth Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, was born on December 30, 1641 and was placed on the throne on August 8, 1648, after the deposition, soon followed by the execution, of his father Sultan Ibrahim. The power in the state was at that time divided between the court, where the old *walide* Kösem [q.v.] and Sultan Muhammad's mother, the *walide* Tarkhân, held the reins, and the rebellious soldiery of the Janissaries and the Sipâhis. The lack of stability in the government at this time is shown by the fact, that, until the nomination of the grand vizier Köprülü Mahammad in 1656, there were no less than thirteen grand viziers. In 1651 the old *walide* Kösem was assassinated and at the same time the resistance of the Janissaries was broken; the régime of the court party that followed under the sultan's mother did not improve the situation. The grand vizierate of İbrahim Pasha (1654—1655), who at first seemed to be the strong man needed, was brought to an early end by his rival Murad Pasha, and in the meantime the Cretan war against Venice was exhausting the resources of the Empire. In March 1656 a military rebellion forced the sultan to allow the execution of several of his favourite courtiers.

The real strong man proved to be Köprülü Mahammad Pasha [q.v.] (Sept. 15, 1656—Oct. 31, 1661) who eliminated immediately the influence of the harem on state affairs and became until his death the real ruler of the Empire. His régime began with a Turkish maritime defeat by the Venetians at the Dardanelles, but already in the following year he obtained as *ter'saker* successes in Transylvania and succeeded at the same time in establishing firmly the Turkish authority in the Danube principalities; the collaboration with the Crimean Khân was here of great value. In 1658 and 1659 he was able to suppress rebellions in Asia Minor, and in the Venetian war a great fleet of Venetian ships and other Christian allies did not succeed against the Turkish forces on Crete. After his death (Oct. 31, 1661), he was succeeded in his office by his son Köprülü Ahmed Pasha, who completed the work of his father by carrying through the final conquest of Crete (surrender of Kandia on Sept. 4, 1669) followed by peace with Venice. In 1661 the war with Austria had begun again, where Sultan Muhammad took part in several campaigns, notably that of 1663 in which Újvár (Neuhäusel) was taken. In 1664 took place the famous battle of St. Gotthard, where the Turks were beaten by an allied army, a part of which was formed by French troops; still the peace concluded with Austria in 1665 was favourable for Turkey. In 1672 the sultan took part in the campaign against Poland, after the Ukrainian cossacks had invoked Ottoman aid

against the Polish king; the Polish war, ending in a peace treaty of 1676, strengthened still further the Empire's position in the north. Köprülü Ahmed Paşa died Oct. 30, 1676. Though the sultan, who had developed in the meantime a morose and capricious character, never showed him the same deference as to his father, Ahmed had been easily able to maintain himself against enemies in the interior, not least by forming new troops (the *halki* and the *gövalle*), who were far more reliable than the Janissaries and Sipahis. He had not been able, however, to put an end to the extravagant luxury of the court, which wasted enormous sums. The sultan had an abnormal liking for big hunts, that were organized at enormous cost in the environment of Adrianople, which town he preferred as a residence to Constantinople.

After Ahmed's death the sultan did not himself take the affairs of state in hand; he appointed Kara Mustafa Paşa [q. v.] as his grand vizier. The latter continued in an unnecessary way the tradition of warfare; in 1677 and 1678 he obtained successes against the Cossacks, behind whom the Muscovite power now began to gain in importance in Turkish affairs. In 1682 war broke out again with the Austrian monarchy and led to the second Turkish siege of Vienna (July 13—Sept. 12, 1683), ending in a Turkish débâcle, thanks to the intervention of the Polish king Sobiesky. This disaster cost Kara Mustafa his office and his life and at the same time the influence of the Serail became again predominant. The grand viziers now following proved unequal to their task and in the years 1685—1687 nearly the whole of Hungary was lost to the Austrian armies (Turkish defeat at Mohács on June 22, 1687). At the same time the hostilities with Venice had been reopened in the Morea and in the Archipelago.

All these disasters caused a revolt of the troops in the field; they marched on the capital in September 1687 under Siyavush Paşa of Aleppo. This time the sultan himself fell a victim to them; he was deposed on November 8, 1687 by the *şâh-is-sultân* Köprülü Mustafa Paşa and lived in seclusion in Adrianople until his death on December 17, 1692. He was buried next to his mother in the Yeni Djami.

Bibliography: Na'ima (ii.) and Hâdjdî Khalifa, and until 1660 the *Tarîkh* of Râşid are the most important Turkish historical sources. The *Siyâhat-nâma* of Evliya Çelebi describes many of the military expeditions of this period and is also otherwise a valuable source of information. Among the European sources this period is covered by P. Ricaut, *Histoire des trois derniers empereurs des Turcs depuis 1624 jusqu'à 1677*, Paris 1683. Further, von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, v., vi. and the works of Zinkeisen (iv. and v.) and Jorga (iv.). See also the monographs of Ahmed Refik, *Köprülüler*, Constantinople 1331 (1913), *Kadınlar Sultanatı*, Constantinople 1314—1924, and *Fidâkî Saneleri* (1094—1110), Constantinople 1332 (1914).

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD V RESHÂD, thirty-fifth Ottoman Sultan, was born on November 2, 1844 as a son of Sultan 'Abd al-Majid. During the reign of his brother 'Abd al-Hamid II he lived in seclusion; his very existence inspired 'Abd al-Hamid with such terror that even the mentioning of persons with the name Reshâd had to be avoided

in his presence (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verbreide Geschiedenis*, iii. 232). He was a man of mild character, who owed his accession to the throne (April 27, 1909) only to the victory of the Young Turks; moreover he was the first constitutional ruler of Turkey, but he was unable to give direction to the very disparate political tendencies that manifested themselves within and without the Parliament during the years after the Revolution, and, after the final victory of the Unionist party in January 1913, Muhammad V had to submit, much against his will, to their government.

At the very beginning of his reign, Turkey lost her last vestige of authority over Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary's annexation, and over Bulgaria by the declaration of its independence (Oct. 5, 1909). The cabinets under Hussein Hilmi Paşa (until January 18, 1910) and Ismail Hakki Paşa (q. v.; until Sept. 29, 1911) were not able to bring about a peaceful situation in the interior (revolts in Albania). Hakki Paşa had to resign on account of the declaration of war by Italy. Under the grand vizierate of Sa'îd Paşa [q. v.] the Italian war led to the loss of Tripoli, confirmed by the peace treaty of Ouchy (Oct. 15, 1912). The peace was signed under the anti-unionist cabinet of Ahmed Mukhtar Paşa, but in the same month began the so-called Balkan War against the confederated Balkan States. The reactionary cabinet of Kâmil Paşa soon showed an inclination to conclude a disastrous peace through the intermediary of the European powers (Conference of London); then on January 23, 1913 the Unionist coup d'état brought again a Unionist government under Mahmud Şevket Paşa. The result was a reopening of the hostilities and, after the failure of Bulgaria, the recapture of Adrianople (July 22, 1913). In the meantime Mahmud Şevket had been murdered (June 28) by adherents of the liberal opposition, but this did not bring about a change in the political course; his place was taken by Sa'îd Halim Paşa, whose government signed the peace-treaties with Bulgaria (Sept. 29, 1913), Greece (Nov. 14) and Serbia (March 14, 1914). From this time on, the Committee of Union and Progress, which from the beginning of Muhammad Reshâd's reign had not ceased to work behind the scenes, became all powerful and its leaders Tal'at Bey and Enver Bey came more and more to the front. Afterwards, when at the beginning of the Great War, the Ottoman Government had decided to remain neutral, it was the unionist sympathies with Germany that brought about a gradual estrangement between Turkey and the Allies (the "Gorben" and "Breslau" incidents), culminating in the entrance of Turkey into the war on the side of the Central Powers (the Turkish fleet in the Black Sea on October 29 and 30, 1914). Tal'at Paşa himself became grand vizier in February 1917. The Allied endeavour to force a way through the Dardanelles was definitely abandoned in January 1916 and in the meantime Turkish troops fought on the Egyptian front, in Irak and on the Russian and Persian frontiers. Before the end of the war Muhammad V died unexpectedly on July 3, 1918.

Bibliography: de la Jonquière, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, 1914, ii.; Ahmad Emin, *Turkey in the World War*, New Haven 1930; besides many other publications on the war and on the general politics of Turkey.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD VI WAHID AL-DIN, last Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, was born on January 14, 1861, as son of Sultan 'Abd al-Majid. He was called to the throne on July 3, 1918, after the death of his brother Muhammad V Reşad, the former heir to the throne Yusuf 'Izz al-Din, son of 'Abd al-'Aziz, having died in 1916. When on October 30, 1918, nearly four months after his accession, the armistice of Mudros was signed, he was the ruler of an empire that seemed to be at the mercy of its former enemies, whose military forces occupied the capital and other hitherto unconquered parts of Turkey. On the other hand, the power of the Committee of Union and Progress was broken, but, since in the beginning of 1919 there began in Anatolia an increasing opposition against the foreign occupation, joined with an aversion to obey the Constantinople government, Muhammad VI seemed to have no other choice than to throw in his lot with the Allies and, together with his grand vizier Dâmiad Ferid Pasha, he collaborated with the Allies in the endeavours to suppress the nationalist forces (beginning of 1920); this anti-nationalist action was even sanctioned by a *feri* of the Şaikh al-Islâm. As the nationalist movement grew ever stronger, the Sultan's authority could only be upheld in Constantinople by the support of the Allies. His government had to sign the Treaty of Sèvres (August 10, 1920) and the Tewfik Pasha cabinet (since October 21, 1920) tried to summon the Parliament for its ratification. But in 1921 things had already gone so far that Tewfik Pasha recognized the powerlessness of his government to represent Turkey. The final success of the nationalists against the Greeks (seizure of Smyrna, September 9, 1922) brought about the armistice of Mudania (October 11, 1922), to which the Sultan's government was not a party. It was still invited to represent Turkey in Lausanne, together with the Ankara government. This was not accepted by the Great National Assembly, which, on November 1, 1922, declared the Ottoman sultanate abolished from March 16, 1920 (occupation of Constantinople); Tewfik Pasha's cabinet resigned accordingly (November 4) and Muhammad VI remained as Khalifa in Constantinople, where, on November 10, he appeared at his last *salâmât*. When, however, the National Assembly decided some days afterwards to try Wahid al-Din on a charge of high treason, this last Ottoman Sultan left Constantinople as a fugitive on a British ship (November 17, 1922) and the very next day the Ankara government declared him divested of the caliphate. Having gone first to Malta, the ex-sultan proceeded to Mecca as the guest of King Hussein. From here he launched a proclamation to the Islamic world, in which he maintained that the separation of the caliphate from the sultanate was contrary to the *shari'a* (text in *Oriente Moderno*, ii, 702—705). This appeal found hardly any response in the Islamic world. The last Ottoman Sultan left Mecca again and went to live in San Remo, where he died on May 16, 1926. In 1924 he had even recognized King Hussein's claim to the caliphate.

Bibliography: Jäschke and Pritsch, *Die Türkei seit dem Weltkrieg*, in *W. L.*, vol. x., 1927—1929, and vol. xii., Heft 1—2, 1930, where in the introduction all available Turkish and Western sources are indicated.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD, MU'IZZ AL-DIN B. SAM, was the fourth of the Shansahānī princes of Ghazni to rule the empire of Ghazni. His name was originally Shihāb al-Din, but he assumed that of Mu'izz al-Din. His elder brother Ghiyāth al-Din succeeded his cousin Saif al-Din in 1163 and made Muhammad governor of Herāt, entrusting to him also the duty of extending the dominions of the house in India.

Muhammad led his first expedition into India in 1175, expelled the Ismā'īlīan heretics who ruled Multān, placed an orthodox governor in that province, and captured Uchh. In 1178 he rashly led an army into Gujjarāt, was defeated by the rājā, Bhima the Vaghela, and returned to Ghazni with no more than the remnant of his army, but in the following year he took Peshāwar, and in 1181 Lahor, taking prisoner Khusrāw Malik, the last of the Ghānaswids, and adding the Panjāb to his brother's dominions. In the winter of 1190—1191 he invaded the Čawhān kingdom of Dībli and captured Bhūminda, but the rājā, Prithwī Rāj, marched against him and defeated him at Tarāwri, near Karnāl. He was wounded, but escaped, and in 1192 returned to India, defeated and slew Prithwī Rāj at Tarāwri, captured Hāmī, Simāna, Guhrām, and other fortresses, and plundered Adjmer. On returning to Ghazni he left Kutb al-Din Aibeg [q. v.] in India as viceroy, and at the end of 1192 Aibeg took Dīhli and made it his capital. In 1197 Aibeg was beleaguered in Adjmer and Muhammad sent a relieving force which enabled him to defeat Bhima of Gujjarāt and to plunder his capital, Anhilvāra.

Muhammad was now employed with his brother in recovering Khusrān. On the death of Takash Khān Khāzrimshāh [q. v.] in Marw, on July 3, 1200, Muhammad Curbak was sent to Marw, which he captured and occupied for Ghiyāth al-Din, and Ghiyāth al-Din and his brother besieged and took Nishāpūr. Muhammad was then sent in command of an expedition to Raiy but the misbehaviour of his troops earned a rebuke which led to the only quarrel between the brothers.

On the death of Ghiyāth al-Din in 1202 Muhammad succeeded to the great empire which he had helped his brother to build up, but Muhammad Khāzrimshāh [q. v.] took Marw from Muhammad Curbak, recovered Nishāpūr, but failed to capture Herāt. Mu'izz al-Din Muhammad marched against him but suffered a crushing defeat near Andkhūm and fled to Talakūn. He was besieged by the army of Gūr Khān of Kāsh-Khitāi and purchased a safe retreat only by the surrender of the whole of his baggage and material of war. On his arrival before Ghazni in this plight his slave Ildigiz refused to admit him, and he passed on to Multān where the governor likewise refused him admittance, but he attacked and defeated him and appointed Nūzār al-Din Kubāda [q. v.] to the government of the province. He returned to Ghazni and established himself there, sparing the life of Ildigiz. By the treaty which he concluded with Muhammad Khāzrimshāh he was permitted to retain Balkh and Herāt, but not Nishāpūr and Marw.

On Oct. 20, 1205, he marched from Ghazni for India and, with the help of Kutb al-Din Aibeg, defeated the Khokars, but on returning towards Ghazni was assassinated, on March 15, 1206, on the bank of the Indus, either by Ismā'īlī heretics or by some Khokars. He was succeeded in Ghazni

by his nephew Mahmūd, son of Ghiyāth al-Dīn, but the viceroys of the provinces, Albeg in Dihli, Kabāts in Multān, Tāj al-Dīn Vīdī in Kirmān, and Iltāz in Ghazni, became independent.

Bibliography: *Tadhkirat-i Nāsirī*, and translation by Major H. G. Raverty (*Bibl. Ind.*); *Tārīkh-i Gulshā*, by Hamd Allāh Mawlawī and translation by Professor E. G. Brown (*G.M.S.*); *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. iii.

(T. W. HAIG)

MUHAMMAD, TUGHLUK, the second king of the Tughluq dynasty of Dihli, was the eldest son of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq, its founder. During the short reign of the usurper, Nāsir al-Dīn Khawar, he was in some peril, but escaped and joined his father, who was marching on Dihli. He was known at first as Djawna Khān, but received the title of Ulugh Khān and was sent in 1321 to Warangal, to reduce to obedience the rājā, Prathāpa Rudradeva II. In this distant region he attempted to rebel, but his army refused to believe his story of his father's death at Dihli and to accept him as their king, and he was obliged to return in haste to the capital, where he either persuaded his father of his innocence or gained a pardon, for, though his accomplices suffered cruel deaths, he was again sent, in 1323, into Telingāna, and on this occasion compelled the rājā to surrender and sent him to Dihli. In the following year he acted as regent during his father's absence on an expedition into Bengal, but his conduct aroused suspicion, and his father rebuked him in letters sent from Bengal. He received the king, on his return, in a temporary kiosk of wood, so constructed that the dislodgement of a beam would bring the whole structure down, and by this device crushed the old man to death, and ascended the throne in February 1325. The delineation of a character so complex and contradictory as that of Muhammad Tughluq is no easy task. He was one of the most extraordinary monarchs who ever sat upon a throne. To the most lavish generosity he united revolting and indiscriminate cruelty; to scrupulous observance of the ritual and ceremonial prescribed by the Islamic law an utter disregard of that law in all public affairs; to a debasing and superstitious veneration for all whose descent or whose piety commanded respect a ferocity which when roused respected neither the blood of the Prophet nor personal sanctity. Some of his administrative and most of his military measures give evidence of abilities of the highest order; others are the acts of a madman.

The chronicle of his reign is largely a record of rebellions punished with gross barbarity. In the second year his cousin Gurgahar rebelled in the Dakan and was flayed alive. In 1327 he rebuilt Devagiri, named it Dawlatābād, made it his capital, and two years later drove the whole population of Dihli thither. In 1328 Kishū Khān rebelled in Multān and was defeated and slain, and in 1329 India was invaded by the Mughal, 'Alā' al-Dīn Tarmashirīn, who, however, was driven from the country. In the same year the enhancement of the land-tax in the Gangetic Doab drove the inhabitants into rebellion, and the measures taken to suppress the rising depopulated the country. At about the same time Muhammad issued his famous fictitious currency, decreeing that his brass tokens should be accepted as equivalent to silver

tokens. No precautions were taken against counterfeiting, and when the experiment failed and the tokens were recalled the treasury was obliged to purchase mountains of brass at the price of silver.

In 1331 a rebellion in Bengal was crushed by Bahrām Khān, but in 1338 he died, and a second rebellion separated the province from the kingdom of Dihli, and in 1334 Saiyid Djalāl al-Dīn Agha established his independence in Madura. Muhammad marched to punish him, but a pestilence in his army compelled him to retreat, and on his return he established in the Dakan the pernicious system of farming out the revenue for extravagant sums, the result of which was to drive both the impoverished cultivator and the defaulting farmer into rebellion. Hūshang of Dawlatābād, believing a report of the king's death, rebelled, but was captured and pardoned, a rare instance of clemency, but a rebellion in the Panjab was crushed with great severity.

An enormous army raised for the conquest of Persia melted away for want of funds to maintain it, and in 1337 a heavy calamity fell on northern India, a famine of unusual severity which lasted for seven years. The king's measures to combat the famine were, on the whole, well conceived and well executed. Grain was plentiful in Awadh, which proved that the famine was largely due to artificial causes, and he built a temporary city, Sargadwār (*Sargadwār*, Sansk. "the Gate of Paradise"), on the western bank of the Ganges, transferred thither the citizens of Dihli, and with the assistance of 'Ain al-Mulk, governor of Awadh, fed them from the granaries of that province. In the following year he committed one of the greatest of his many follies in assembling an army of 100,000 horse for the invasion of Tibet and sending it into the Himalaya, where it perished.

In 1339 a rebellion in the Dakan was crushed and even the faithful 'Ain al-Mulk was goaded into rebellion, but, in consideration of his services, was imprisoned instead of being put to death. Almost immediately afterwards Shāh al-Aghā rebelled in Multān, but fled before the king's wrath into Afghanistan. The famine was now at its height, and the people were eating human flesh. Muhammad set himself to the framing of regulations which should improve and extend agriculture and obviate future famines. By their means, says the contemporary historian, with conscious or unconscious irony, agriculture would have been so promoted that plenty would have reigned throughout the earth, had they been practicable. They included the extension of the system of farming the revenue, and bred confusion and rebellion, which reacted on the king until he regarded his subjects as his natural enemies and waged war against them with all the weapons of despotic power. The tale of executions is recorded, with sickening details, by Ibn Battūta. Rebellions in Sindh, Simāna, Kalhal, Gubram, Kara, and the Dakan were all traceable to the king's revenue system, but he attributed the discontent in the Dakan to the disaffection of his officers and sent to that province a wretch who slew ninety officers in cold blood, and was himself slain in the rising which his barbarity provoked. Muhammad marched into Gujārat and personally undertook the collection of arrears due to the treasury, so alarming the officials in the Dakan that they seized the fort of Dawlatābād

and proclaimed an Afghān, Jamāl Mukh, as their king. The king marched to Dawlatābād, captured the city, and besieged the rebels in the citadel, but was recalled to Gujjarāt by a serious rebellion headed by a man named Taghī. He pursued the rebel in Gujjarāt and Kāthiāwār for three years, drove him into Sind, and followed him thither, and on March 20, 1351, died within a few miles of Thatta, where the rebel had taken refuge. "The king", as a historian says, "was freed from his people, and they from their king".

His empire, at its greatest extent, included the whole of India except the small kingdoms of the Colas and the Pāndyas, in the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin, and the principality of Gīrnār in Kāthiāwār. Before his death he lost Bengal, the Dakan, the Peninsula, and Sind, and left the remnant of his dominions seething with discontent.

Bibliography: *Diya' al-Din Barani, Tārīkh-i Firuz Shāhi* (Bibl. Ind.), and later historians; *Tuḡlāk al-Nuḡār* (i.e. *Gharā'ib al-Amṣār*), by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa; *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. iii., chap. vi. See also *J. R. A. S.* for July, 1922.

(T. W. HAIG)

MUHAMMAD III, the sixth king of the Tughluq dynasty of Dīhli, was the son of Firuz, at whose death the son of Faṭḥ Khān, his eldest son, was raised to the throne on Sept. 20, 1388, as Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq II, but was slain on Feb. 19, 1389, and was succeeded by his cousin Abū Bakr, son of Zafar Khān, the second son of Firuz. Muḥammad, the third son, contested the succession and, after suffering more than one defeat, occupied Dīhli and ascended the throne on Aug. 31, 1390. Abū Bakr took refuge with Bahādur Nāshir in Mewāt but was pursued and defeated, and was imprisoned in Mirāṭh, where he shortly afterwards died. The old servants of Firuz, men of Eastern Hindūstān, who had been the principal factors in all the troubles of the kingdom, were put to the sword, after being tested by a shibboleth which distinguished them from the natives of Dīhli.

A rebellion in Gujjarāt was suppressed in the same year by Zafar Khān, who in 1396 became independent in that province, and in 1392 Muḥammad crushed a serious rebellion in the Dab, captured Lāwa, ravaged the districts of Kanawdī and Dalman, and built near Djalessar a fort, which he named Muḥammadābād. In the same year, he put to death his minister, Islām Khān, who was meditating rebellion, and appointed in his place Khwāja Djaḥṣu. Another rebellion was crushed in the southern Dab, and in August 1393, Muḥammad invaded and plundered Mewāt and returned to Djalessar, where he fell sick. Bahādur Nāshir took advantage of his illness to plunder some villages in the neighbourhood of Dīhli and Muḥammad marched into Mewāt, defeated him, and put him to flight, but on his return to Muḥammadābād his disorder increased, and on Jan. 20, 1394, just as he had ordered his son Humāyūn Khān to march against the Khokars, who had captured Lāhor and were ravaging the Panjāb, he died.

Bibliography: *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, ed. and translation by Lt. Col. G. S. A. Ranking; *Tuḡlāk al-Nuḡār*, ed. and translation by B. De (Bibl. Ind. Series of A. S. B.); Muḥammad Kāsim Firāhtā, *Gulshān-i Irākīnī* (Bombay 1832).

(T. W. HAIG)

MUHAMMAD I, the second king of the Bahmani dynasty of the Dakan, was the

eldest son of Hasan, 'Alī' al-Dīn Bahman Shāh, usually, but incorrectly, styled Hasan Gangā. On succeeding his father, on Feb. 11, 1358, he carefully organized the government of the four provinces of the kingdom and the administration of the army. The pertinacity of the Hindū bankers and money-changers in melting down the gold coinage which he introduced led to a general massacre of the community and the measure involved him in hostilities with the Hindū states of Warangal and Vijayanagar. He invaded the dominions of Kānahaiya of Warangal three times, put his son Venāyek Deva to death, and compelled him to pay heavy indemnities and to surrender the town and district of Golkonda. After this success he grossly insulted Bukka I of Vijayanagar by paying some dancing girls with a draft drawn by him on Bukka's treasury. Bukka invaded the Rāichūr Doab, captured Mudgal, and massacred its garrison. Muḥammad marched against him, attacked him with great impetuosity, defeated him, and recovered Mudgal, where he rested during the rainy season. In 1367 he met Bukka at Kawthal, again defeated him, and carried out an indiscriminate massacre of his subjects. The Hindūs were cowed by the slaughter of 400,000 of their race, and Bukka was compelled to sue for peace. He honoured the draft and paid an indemnity, and received in return a guarantee that non-combatants should be spared in future wars, and the agreement, though sometimes violated, mitigated to some extent the horrors of the long period of intermittent warfare between the two states. On returning from Vijayanagar he completed, in 1367, the great mosque at Gulbarga, and then turned against his cousin Bahrām Khān Mārandarānī, who had for some years been in rebellion at Dawlatābād, defeated his army, and drove its leaders into Gujjarāt. He died in 1377 and was succeeded by his elder son, Muḥajhid.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Kāsim Firāhtā, *Gulshān-i Irākīnī* (Bombay 1832); *Muntakhab al-Lubās*, vol. iii. (Bibl. Ind. Series of A. S. B.); *Burhān-i Mawāṭir* (MSS.) and translation by Major J. S. King (*The History of the Bahmani Dynasty*); *An Arabic History of Gujjarāt*, edited by Sir E. Denison Ross (*Indian Text Series*); *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. iii., chap. xv.

(T. W. HAIG)

MUHAMMAD II, the fifth king of the Bahmani dynasty of the Dakan, was the son of Maḥmūd Khān, the youngest son of 'Alī' al-Dīn Bahman Shāh, the founder of the dynasty, and was raised to the throne on May 20, 1378, after the assassination of his uncle, Dāwūd Shāh. Firāhtā's statement that this king's name was Maḥmūd has misled all European historians, but is refuted by inscriptions, legends on coins, and other historians.

Muḥammad II was a man of peace, devoted to literature and poetry, and his reign was undisturbed by foreign wars. He invited Hāfiṣ to visit his court, and the great poet set out from Shirāz in response to the invitation, but was so terrified by a storm in the Persian Gulf that he disembarked and returned to Shirāz, whence he sent to Muḥammad his excuses in a well known ode.

Between 1387 and 1395 the Dakan was visited by a severe famine, and the king's measures of relief included the free importation of grain, the establishment of schools at which children were taught, fed, and lodged at the public expense,

and special allowances to readers of the Qur'ān and the blind, but only those of his own faith profited by his benefactions. He died of a fever on April 20, 1397, and was succeeded by his elder son, Ghiyāth al-Dīn.

Bibliography: See art. MUHAMMAD I; also *J.A.S.B.*, vol. lxxiii., part i., 1904.

(T. W. HAIG)

MUHAMMAD III, LASHKARĪ, the thirteenth king of the Bahmanī dynasty of the Dakṣiṇ, was the younger son of Humāyūn Shāh, and succeeded his elder brother, Nizām Shāh, on July 30, 1463, at the age of nine. His minister was the famous Mahmūd Gāwān, Malik al-Tudjjar, Khwāja Dīhān. A campaign against Mālwa in 1467 was unsuccessful, but between 1469 and 1471 Mahmūd Gāwān conquered the southern Konkan. In 1472 Malik Hasan Bahri, Nizām al-Mulk, a Brahman who had been captured in Vidyanagar and educated as a Muslim, led a successful expedition into southern Uṭṭar and was rewarded with the government of Telingāna. Fath Allāh 'Imād al-Mulk, another Brahman with a similar history, was made governor of Barār, and Yūmī 'Adil Khān, a Turk, was appointed to Dawlatābād. In the same year Muhammad captured the fortresses of Bankāpur and Balgāw, and his conduct at the siege of the latter earned for him the title of Lashkarī, "the Soldier". In 1474 the Dakṣiṇ suffered severely from a famine which lasted for two years, and in 1476 a rebellion in Kōndawir led the king into Telingāna. He relieved Malik Hasan, who had been besieged in Rājamahendri, invaded Uṭṭar and punished the rājās, who had supported the rebels, and on his return, in 1478, captured Kōndawir and assumed the title of *Ghāzī*.

He then set out to invade the eastern Karnāṭak, but first divided the great province of Telingāna into two governments, mortally offending Malik Hasan, the governor. The partition was part of a scheme, devised by Mahmūd Gāwān, to be applied to all the provinces of the kingdom.

Muhammad made Kōndapalli, in the Karnāṭak, his headquarters, and returned thither after carrying out a daring raid to Kāndjweram. From Kōndapalli he issued an edict dividing the other three provinces of his kingdom, Barār, Dawlatābād, and Gulbarga each into two governments. The measure was intensely unpopular, but it was only the vindictive Malik Hasan that actively resented it. He regarded Mahmūd Gāwān as the author of all the unpopular reforms, and by means of a forged letter persuaded the young king that his minister was in league with the foreign enemies of the state. Muhammad, when under the influence of drink, summoned his faithful minister, and on April 5, 1481, without any inquiry into the circumstances of the case, caused his head to be struck off. Mahmūd's innocence was established immediately after his death, and from the day of his unjust execution may be dated the collapse of the authority of the Bahmanī kings. Of the two parties in the state all the foreigners, led by Yūmī 'Adil Khān, who established himself in Bidjāpur, and the respectable portion of the Dakanis, led by Fath Allāh 'Imād al-Mulk of Barār, avoided intercourse with the king, who was thrown into the arms of the assassins, led by Malik Hasan. The *amirs* accompanied Muhammad to Bidar and subsequently on an expedition to Balgāw, but encamped apart from the royal troops, and always saluted the king

from a distance, refusing to enter his presence. Muhammad attempted to drown his grief and humiliation in drink, from the effects of which he died at Bidar on March 22, 1482, crying out in his last moments that Mahmūd Gāwān was slaying him. He was succeeded by his son Mahmūd, who was never a king but in name.

Bibliography: See art. MUHAMMAD I.

(T. W. HAIG)

MUHAMMAD N. 'ABBĀS [See KADJAR.]

MUHAMMAD N. 'ABD ALLĀH, great-grandson of Ḥasan, the eldest son of 'Alī and Fāṭima, was one of the 'Alids who did not spend their time passively awaiting the fulfilment of their aspirations, but endeavoured to realise them by personal effort. He and his brother Ibrāhīm had, according to Wāḡidī, been brought up as future rulers and Muhammad was called al-Mabdi by his father. As early as the reign of the Umayyad caliph Ḥishām, the two sectarians al-Mughīra (q.v.) and Bayān (q.v.) who did not recognise Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Bakr (q.v.) endeavoured to make propaganda for him. When signs of the imminent collapse of Umayyad rule became apparent after Walīd's death, 'Abd Allāh's family by his command paid homage to Muhammad with the exception of al-Bakr's son Dī'fār. Wider circles also recognised him as the legitimate heir, including the Mu'tazilis, who in those days had a distinctly ascetic character. Abū Dī'fār, later the 'Abbāsīd caliph, was at this time attached to this school and it is several times recorded that he was among those who paid homage to Muhammad. This is in itself by no means improbable and well explains his hostile attitude to him, although it remains remarkable that Muhammad later nowhere, even in his polemical letters to him, refers to this important fact. The Umayyad governor Ibn Ḥubaira also thought of joining him when he was besieged in Wāṣiṭ in 132 (750) but dropped the matter when he received no answer to his letter.

When finally the 'Abbāsīd Abū 'l-'Abbās in the same year won the caliphate and ousted the 'Alids, the two brothers disappeared and showed thereby that they would not recognise him. There now began for them a period full of adventure and danger, especially after Abū Dī'fār became caliph in 136 (754). They went secretly from place to place to gain adherents; nowhere could they feel safe from the caliph but the people were on the whole favourably disposed to them and at least would not betray them. In this way they reached not only Basra and Kūfa but even went as far as al-Sind via 'Aden; as a rule however, they stayed in Arabia, most securely among the Dī'haina, in whose territory lay the hill of Raḡwa, which so often appears in the history of the 'Alids. The caliph was very uneasy at the continued lack of success of his search for them; more and more angrily he demanded of his governors in Medina that they should be produced and he dismissed several in rapid succession, when they appeared, perhaps not without reason, ineffective and lukewarm in their efforts. He himself took very active steps but with as little result. On his pilgrimage in 140 (758) he had Muhammad and Ibrāhīm's father thrown into prison because they would not betray their place of concealment, and on a later pilgrimage (144 = 762) the same fate met the sons and grandsons of Ḥasan, 'Abd Allāh's brother. They and 'Abd Allāh were taken to Kūfa, treated most

brutally and thrown into prison, where most of them died. The same thing happened to Ibrahim's father-in-law Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh, a descendant of Uthman, whose head the caliph sent to Khurāsān with a certificate on oath that it was the head of the 'Alid Muhammad in order to intimidate his followers there. Shortly before (Dec. 761), he finally found a governor after his own heart, Riyāh b. 'Uthmān, who conducted the search with the necessary vigour. But he was soon able to save himself the trouble for in Rajab 145 (Nov. 762) Muhammad appeared in Medina and began the revolution while his brother Ishāq went to Basra to do the same. It is not clear whether they did this because in Muhammad's opinion the time was ripe or whether they were forced by circumstances to hasten their plans. In any case, the enterprise was not sufficiently prepared, for although they had a large number of followers in Kūfa, Basra, Egypt, where however Muhammad's son 'Alī was arrested by the 'Abbāsid governor, in Khurāsān and even in Sind, to which another son 'Abd Allāh al-Ashtar was sent, there was no question of any organisation, and, as so frequently, the enthusiasm for the 'Alids was like a fire of straw which blazes up quickly but dies down as soon. In Medina where Riyāh was completely taken by surprise, Muhammad in keeping with his character acted with great mildness; he opened the prison, forbade all bloodshed and was content with arresting Riyāh. The best elements in the town came over to him after the jurist Malik b. Anas declared invalid his oath taken to the 'Abbāsids; Mecca also surrendered to the new ruler. The outbreak of the revolt was really a relief to Abū Dja'far for he had now, as he said, enticed the fox out of his hole. He hurriedly left Baghdad, with the building of which he was busy, and went to Kūfa, the point of danger. With keen instinct he saw that the weak point of the rebellion lay in Medina which must be attacked first, for in this remote spot there was a lack of materials of war and the roads thither could easily be barred. But he first of all offered a complete amnesty to Muhammad, which however only led to a characteristic exchange of letters, in which one reproached the other with the weaknesses of his family. He then sent his relative 'Isā b. Mūsā against him with 4,000 men, with instructions however to settle the matter peacefully if possible. His arrival had a sobering effect upon the Medinese, of whom a number seized the opportunity to get out of their difficult position. Muhammad however remained undismayed. He rejected the well meant advice of several men to abandon Medina as an insult to the town but left his people free to stay with him or not. He trusted in Allāh "from whom victory comes and in whose hand the matter lies", and imitated all that the Prophet had done in his time in romantic fashion. For example he restored the ditch which the Prophet had dug round Medina when it was besieged by the Quraysh; he used Muhammad's sword and his battle-cry was the same as that at the battle of Hunain; even the old single combat before the battle proper was revived. The result in these circumstances was easily foreseen. 'Isā, after offering a free pardon in vain for a few days, laid a few doors over the ditch, entered the town and began a battle in which Muhammad's supporters became less and less in numbers until their leader finally fell

(Monday, 14th Ramaḍān 145 = Dec. 6, 762). Muhammad's head was cut off and sent to the caliph. For the further course of the rebellion see the article *ISRĀ'ĪM b. 'ABD ALLĀH*.

Muhammad is described as tall and strong with a very dark skin, on which account the caliph sardonically called him *al-Muḥammam*, the "Blackened". He was rightly called "the pure soul" (Tahān, iii. 200) for he was an ideal character, gentle in spite of his personal bravery, but he lacked those qualities which are required of a pretender in times like his.

Bibliography: Tabari, ed. de Goeje, iii. 66, 143—259, 359, 394, 2508; *Fragments historico-critiques arab.*, ed. de Goeje, (I), 209, 230—246; Mas'ūdi, *Murūū*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, vi. 189—192; do., *Tanbih*, in *B. G. A.*, viii. 341; Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtama, ii. 418, 424, 431; 450, 452; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 146, 302, 575, 786; Noldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen*, p. 126—131; v. Vloten, in *Z.D.M.G.*, iii. 213—218, 225.

(Fa. Buhl)

MUHAMMAD b. 'ABD ALLĀH, a Tāhirid, governor of Baghdad. Born in 209 (824—825) Muhammad in 237 (851) was summoned by the Caliph to Baghdad and appointed military governor in order to restore order in the chaos then prevailing. In spite of the great power of the Tāhirids, who ruled Khurāsān as independent sovereigns in practice, although they nominally recognised the suzerainty of the Caliph, his task was by no means a light one. After al-Mu'tasim had ascended the throne (248 = 862), he confirmed Muhammad in his office and also gave him the governorship of the 'Irāq along with the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina. In the following year troubles broke out in Baghdad and Sāmarrā. The Arabs were defeated by the Byzantines and the rage of the people was turned against the Caliph. The vizier Uṣāmah however finally succeeded in restoring order with the help of the two Turkish generals Waṣīf and Bogha the Younger. The 'Alids also gave the government trouble on several occasions. A descendant of 'Alī named Yahyā b. 'Umar rebelled in Kūfa and drove out the governor of the town. After he had routed an army sent against him by Muhammad, he was attacked by the 'Abbāsid general al-Ḥusain b. Ismā'īl while another division took him in the rear and he finally fell in the battle (Rajab 250 = Aug. 864). Another 'Alid, al-Ḥasan b. Zaid, had more success. Two prominent men in Tabaristān, who were dissatisfied with the rule of the Tāhirids, appealed to him in 250 and very soon he was acknowledged as lord of the whole of Tabaristān. The Tāhirid governors of al-Ray and Kāzin were driven out and replaced by 'Alids; Muhammad b. Tāhir, governor of Khurāsān, a nephew of the governor of Baghdad, then sent an army against al-Ray. The 'Alid governor was defeated and captured and the town had to surrender, but again fell into the hand of the 'Alids. When the former governor of Tabaristān, Sulaimān b. 'Abd Allāh, invaded this province and conquered it completely, al-Ḥasan b. Zaid had to flee to Daīlam where he was defeated by Muhammad b. Tāhir (351 = 865—866); after some years (257 = 870—871) however, he inflicted a defeat on the latter's troops in Dīrdjān and in 259 (872—873) he again became lord of Khurāsān, where he founded an 'Alid dynasty which lasted about sixty years. Arabia

also did not escape the 'Alid plots. A descendant of 'Alī named Ism'īl b. Yūsuf raised trouble there in 251 (865), plundered Mecca and Medina and killed so many pilgrims that he received the epithet of *al-Saffāk*, 'the Bloodshedder'. There was also continual trouble in the capital. In Muharram of the same year (= Feb. 865), al-Musta'in left Sāmarrā and went to Baghdad. Al-Mu'tazz [q. v.] was then taken by force from his prison in Sāmarrā and proclaimed Caliph; he then appointed his brother Abū Ahmad, later co-regent with the Caliph al-Mu'tamid, commander-in-chief in the war against al-Musta'in and his governor. When all negotiations failed, the latter had to take to arms but was several times defeated. Fighting took place in and around Baghdad with varying success during almost the whole year, while anarchy in the provinces increased and when Muhammad finally began negotiations with Abū Ahmad, he was accused of treason, so that the Caliph had to protect him against the troops who were furious with him. But when Muhammad's friends told him that al-Musta'in intended to sacrifice himself, he made peace with Abū Ahmad. The Caliph had reluctantly to confirm the treaty and abdicate in favour of his rival al-Mu'tazz (Dhu 'l-Hijja 251 = Jan. 866) and the latter thereupon ascended the throne. Muhammad died in Dhu 'l-Ka'da 253 (Nov. 867).

Bibliography: Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtama), ii. 592, 602, 604, 608, 610 ff., 613; Tabarī, iii., see Index; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (ed. Paris), vii. 255-299; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), vii. 43, 72-125; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibār*, iii. 283-292; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii. 379-390, 402; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, p. 335-399; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 119, 311-313; Rothstein, in *Oriental Studien, Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, p. 165-194.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

MUHAMMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH HASSAN AL-MAHDĪ, the well known Somali Mahdī called by the British 'the Mad Mullah'. He was a Somali belonging to the Ogaden Bah Geli tribe, section Rer Hamar. He was born about 1860 A. D. and had been from his youth devoted to religious and mystic studies; in 1895 A. D. he performed the pilgrimage and during his stay in Mecca became acquainted with Saiyid Muhammad Sāliḥ [cf. SOMALILAND] of whom he became an eager follower. After his return to Somaliland he first settled in the Dūbbahanta tribe's territory and began a vigorous propaganda on behalf of the Sāliḥiya *ḥarīka* and to call Somali Muslims to a more strict rule of life. As he was a learned, eloquent man and a skilful impromptu composer of poems (the ancient and best way to propagate one's ideas among the Somali Beduins), he was easily able to attain a great popularity among the Dūbbahanta in British Somaliland and his Ogaden countrymen in Abyssinia. His influence brought him to the knowledge of the government of Berbera, and British officials had sometimes recourse to him to settle through his mediation disputes arising between Beduin groups. In March 1899 however, the Mullah suddenly changed his former attitude to an openly hostile one towards the British Government. In August 1899 he assembled his followers in Dura'a and declared himself to be the Mahdī and proclaimed the holy war against the infidels. A first expedition was sent against him by the Abyssinians to prevent a further exten-

sion of the rebellion in Ogaden; but Grāmāḥ Bānti, the leader of this force, retired to Harar after a violent pillaging *razzia* led by him against the Rer 'Alī, an Ogaden tribe. In 1901 Colonel Swayne drove back the Mullah as far as the boundaries of Italian Northern Somaliland and defeated him at Farjūddīn on July 16, 1901. A second British expedition in 1902 won another victory in the fight at Eragō on October 6, 1902. In 1903 it was decided to send against the Mullah a great expedition in three columns: a British one departing from Hōbaya according to a British-Italian agreement concluded in the same year to that effect; another British column departing from Berbera; and a third, an Abyssinian force departing from Harar. The British forces were placed under the command of General Manning. But the first column fell into an ambush and was defeated by the Mullah at Gumburi on April 17, 1903; the second column suffered heavy losses in a fierce fight at Daratola on April 22, 1903; the Abyssinian column made only, as usual, a *razzia* against Ogaden groups in the valley of the Shābēla. In 1904 a fourth British expedition defeated the Mullah at Djidhālī on January 9, 1904 and again, after the landing of a naval force on the shore of the Indian Ocean, at Ilig in Italian territory on April 27, 1904. In the meantime, Saiyid Muhammad Sāliḥ on the invitation of the British and Italian Governments had directed a letter to the most influential Muslim learned men in Somaliland, which contained a declaration against the Mullah, who was said to have violated the rules of the Sāliḥiya *ḥarīka* and thus to have become worthy of the curses of the true followers of the Sāliḥiya. The victories of the British, however, as they could not be followed up by a permanent occupation of the interior, had not been sufficient to subdue the rebellion. It was therefore attempted to conclude an Anglo-Italian agreement with the Mullah and this was carried through by offering to the Mullah the concession of the Italian portion of the Nūgāl valley with Ilig as his seat. The Mullah subscribed to these conditions in Ilig on March 5, 1905; but added to his signature the clause '*wa 'l-hunqil ya'rifa 'āllī*' (and the Consul knows my condition), which was explained in Europe as meaning a close trust in the Consul, but otherwise in Somaliland, as he (the Mullah) was a Sāfi, and therefore by no means obliged to execute any arrangement he might have concluded with infidels on account of temporary political conditions. In January 1908 the Mullah actually began again to lead *razzias* against British and Italian subjects. No great expedition was however sent against him by the British, who even retired from the interior of their colony; a Camel Constabulary Corps was raised as a mobile force to be employed in raids and swift operations against the Mullah's parties. But after many successful and gallant raids the Camel Constabulary Corps was met by an overwhelming enemy force at Dalma-dōba on August 9, 1913, and the Commandant of the Corps, Sir Richard Corfield, was killed in the fight. In the meantime, the Italians had almost entirely occupied the interior of Southern Somaliland through a very successful policy, which avoided any considerable military action; in this way they brought about in Northern Somaliland the subjection of the two Sultāns (the Sultān of the Madjertēn and the Sultān of Hōbaya) to the Italian

Government, and further they organised the Sultān's forces to employ them against the Mullah, thus assuring the defence of the northern frontier of their colony. There then began a series of raids led by Somali auxiliary lands, especially against the Mullah's followers in the northern valley of the Shaballa and towards Nūgāl, where Djiriban and Gar'ad were occupied by the Sultān of Hobya. These energetic actions which took place even during the Great European war, besides wearing down the Mullah's army, caused him to lose political control of a very large zone where the population concluded peaceful agreements with Italy and forced him to be continually ready to defend his territory from the south also. However, after the end of the Great War, the British Government decided to attack the Mullah from Berbera and to finally overthrow him. In January-March 1920 after violent bombardments of the Mullah's defences by the British airmen, a British force advanced to Tālāh, the Mullah's last camp; he, rapidly pursued by the Camel Corps and Somali auxiliaries, fled to Ogaden and then into the Karanla tribe's territory, where he died on November 23, 1920.

The Mullah's career is a very typical one for the study of the Somali mind. He had begun his movement as an agent of the Šālihiya ʿarīṣa, then his increasing popularity tempted him to a more ambitious sphere and, accordingly, after placing his propaganda on a severely religious basis, he tried to become the leader of all the Somali by making the ties of the common faith prevail over the tribal bonds. This is really the only way to lead such a movement in Somaliland where Islām may be regarded as a tie of brotherhood among tribes otherwise deeply divided by their secular history of wars and revenge. Therefore Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Hassān said in a famous poem: "Have I not put my prayer-mat on this sea to join together the Muslims who were not brothers?" alluding also to his relations with the Šālihiya in Arabia. He desired for the same reason that his followers should call themselves "Darāwīsh", forgetting even the name of their original tribe. Therefore he affected to become angry when he was referred to in official correspondence as "Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh, the Ogaden Bah Geri" while he used to add to his signature only the *nishā*: al-Ḥāshimī (alluding to the origin of the Somali from 'Aḳīl b. Abī Tālib) [see the art. SOMALILAND].

Further, instead of the tribal forces he raised special armed corps, often with a new name, like the Hagattu ("the scratchers") recruited among the Habar Gidir, the Dūḡad recruited among the Mikāhīl ("Dūḡad" means "shooter"), the Kāyād recruited among the Dūlbahanta. But he did not pursue this policy to the end: the hostility of the greater part of the Isāḳ tribes, which was a strong appeal to the old rivalry between Isāḳ and Dārūd; Muḥammad Šāliḥ's letter, which was undoubtedly a severe blow to him, since he had already provoked the hostility of the Kādīriya and so had to rely entirely on Šālihiya support; the necessity of getting booty for his soldiers who otherwise would have hardly remained with him; all these things and his very nature caused the religious prestige of the Mullah as the Mahdī of Somaliland to decline and he gradually became merely the chief of a tribe; a powerful chief indeed of a large tribe as the Darāwīsh were, formed from various elements and therefore very similar to the federations well known

in the Somali customary law. It was obvious that, when he began to regard himself in this light (that is regarding himself as a chief of a Somali tribe rather than "the brother born from the same father and the same mother of all the Muslims"), it was very difficult for him to restrain himself and his followers from exaggerating those tendencies so familiar to their own national character; and therefore they came back gradually to the ancient Somali custom of guerrilla warfare conducted in the traditional way, even to defying the tribes of the enemy in insulting or scornful poems or designating them with typical ironical nicknames or giving to every razzia a special name ("the razzia smashing the bones" was the name given to the fight at Dhulmadoba; cf. the *Ayām al-'Arab*).

It may therefore be concluded that the Mullah's attempt to avail himself of Islām to conquer the old rivalries between the tribes and combine the Somali to drive the Europeans out of the country, failed both on account of the strength of the European armies and the fierce resistance, often unconscious, opposed by the Somali on behalf of their ancient tribal organisation and customary law.

Bibliography: M. MacNeill, *In pursuit of the Mad Mullah*, London 1902; J. W. Jennings, *With the Abyssinians in Somaliland*, London 1905; the Italian Green Book *Somalia Italiana Settentrionale*, XXII legislatura, Sessione 1904-1906, Rome 1906; the British Blue Book *Correspondence relating to affairs in Somaliland* (CD 7066), London 1913; Douglas Jardine, *The Mad Mullah of Somaliland*, London 1923.

(ENRICO CERUJIA)

MUHAMMAD R. 'ABD ALLĀH [See IBN AL-'ADRĀB, IBN AL-KHAYYĪR, IBN MĀLIK.]

MUHAMMAD R. 'ABD AL-MALIK, ABU DJĀFAR, called Ibn al-Zayāt, vizier to several 'Abbāsids. Ibn al-Zayāt began his career as secretary in the chancellery in Baghdad and when the caliph al-Mu'taḥim noticed his ability and learning he appointed him his vizier (219—220 = 834—835). He also filled this office in the reign of al-Wāthiq; but as he treated the latter's brother Dja'far, the future caliph al-Mutawakkil, with a lack of respect he earned his hatred. After the death of al-Wāthiq in Dhū l-Hiǧǧa 232 (Aug. 847), Ibn al-Zayāt wished homage to be paid to his son Muḥammad; the latter, however, was thought to be too young by the Turkish general Waṣfī and in his stead Dja'far was proclaimed caliph under the name al-Mutawakkil. The vizier was at first allowed to remain in office but in Šafar of the following year (Sept. 847), he was arrested, deprived of his possessions and subjected to a cruel form of torture which he himself had invented. After enduring the most horrible cruelty he died in Rabī' I 233 (Nov. 847).

Bibliography: Ya'qūt, ed. Houtsma, ii. 584, 590 sq.; Tabarī, iii., index; Mas'ūdi, *Murūǧ*, ed. Paris, iii. 403; vii. 103 sq., 146—148, 194—197, 215; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, vi. 320, 338, 365 sq., 373; vii. 20, 22—26; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, N° 706; transl. de Slane, iii. 249 sq.; Ibn al-Tiktākī, *al-Faḥrī*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 202, 322—326; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii. 327 sq., 348 sq.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

MUHAMMAD R. 'ABD AL-MALIK [See IBN TUFAYL, IBN ZUHL.]

MUHAMMAD b. 'ABD AL-RAHİM [See Ibn AL-FURĀṬ].

MUHAMMAD b. 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB [See WAHHĀBIYA].

MUHAMMAD b. ABĪ 'ĀMIR [See AL-MANṢŪR b. ABĪ 'ĀMIR].

MUHAMMAD, a son of Abū Bakr and one of his wives, Aṣmā' of the tribe of Khath'am. He was born in the last year of Muhammad's life so that his father could not have exercised any influence on him, while the memories of Abū Bakr's great friend which were kept alive in his family must have had all the more influence on the passionate nature of the boy, which receives important confirmation from the fact that Ibn Kūṭayba describes him as one of the "pious" (*ṣāliḥ*) among the Qurāsh. When in the reign of 'Uthmān the bitterness at the preference of the Umayyads in combination with a reaction against the strong secularisation of Islām provoked a movement which grew in strength, he took part in it with great vigour and began along with 'Uthmān's ungrateful foster-son Muhammad b. Abi Hujra to stir up the people of Egypt against the Caliph. He later went with other revolutionaries to Medina where his equally ardent but much wiser half-sister 'Āṣha in vain advised him to go with her to Mecca and leave others to carry through the crime; but he was one of those who broke into the Caliph's room where he ill-treated the helpless old man although it was Kinān b. Bihār who dealt the death-blow. He was one of the few Qurāsh who joined 'Alī and the latter apparently cherished a real affection for the young man, which his enemies of course interpreted as further evidence of his friendship with the murderers of 'Uthmān. Muhammad took part in the battle of the Camel, at the conclusion of which the chivalrous 'Alī commissioned him to escort his half-sister to Basra. The sources give somewhat different accounts of the last phase of his life in Egypt. According to Wāḳidī in Balādhurī, Abū Mikhāḍ [Tabarī, i. 3392 sq.] and Ya'qūbī, 'Alī at once appointed him governor of Egypt after unwisely recalling Kaḥ b. Sa'd; but as he soon discovered how foolish it was to appoint a youth inexperienced in war to this difficult post, he sent for his ablest follower al-Ashtar [q. v.] and gave him command in Egypt while he appeased Muhammad's rightly injured feelings by a kind later. The attempt to make good the mistake failed, however, for al-Ashtar was poisoned on the way in al-Kalsum at the instigation of Mu'āwiya. Al-Zuhri's account [Tabarī, i. 3242] shows 'Alī in a somewhat more favourable light. After the recall of Kaḥ he sent al-Ashtar as governor to Egypt and only after he was poisoned did he send Muhammad. Finally there is a third story [Ibn al-Kalbi and Mas'ūdi] according to which al-Ashtar was sent to Egypt only after the death of Muhammad, but this must be due to some misunderstanding of the first version. In any case, the choice of Muhammad was an unfortunate one, for the inexperienced youth, who had no authority and was besides insufficiently supported by 'Alī, was not fit to meet experienced opponents like Mu'āwiya and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, as anyone but 'Alī would have seen. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ came with an army and a battle was fought at al-Muṣannāt (the dam). When the actual murderer of 'Uthmān, Kinān b. Bihār, had fallen after a brave resistance,

the Egyptians lost heart and Muhammad, abandoned by all, was captured and killed while trying to escape (38 = 658).

Bibliography: Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 228; Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 2869—3414 *passim* (s. index); iii. 2470; Dīnawarī, ed. Guirgas, p. 160 sq.; Ibn Kūṭayba, *Kitaḥ al-Mu'arraf*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 87, 98; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, iv. 277, 279—281, 421 sq.; Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 203 sq., 226 sq.; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, p. 59—62. (Fr. Buhl.)

MUHAMMAD b. ABĪ BAKR [See Ibn KĀYIM AL-DJAWZĪYA, Ibn SA'YID AL-NĀS].

MUHAMMAD b. ABĪ 'L-KĀSİM [See Ibn ABĪ DĪNĀR].

MUHAMMAD b. ABĪ MUHAMMAD [See Ibn ZAFAR].

MUHAMMAD b. ABĪ 'L-SĀDJ Abū 'URĀID ALLĀH, son of Abū 'L-Sādj Dīwād, an Eastern Iranian (not Turkish) noble from Ushrūsāna in Ma-warā' al-Nahr (see Barthold, *Turkistan*, G. M. S., p. 169). For his early career see the article *SAJJID*. After his rupture with Khumrawāh he returned to Baghdād (276 = 889) and appears to have remained there (cf. Tabarī, iii. 2122) until his appointment as governor of Ādharbāidjān in 279 (892). Though on his arrival he had entertained friendly relations with the Bagratid king of Armenia, Sembat (acc. 891), after seizing Marāṣha in 280 (893) he made a first incursion into Armenia, but without success. At the same time he had strengthened his position at Baghdād by giving his daughter in marriage to al-Ma'tadīd's confidant, the general Badr al-Mu'tadīd. Having been rejoined by his *khāṣm*, the general Waṣīf, who had defeated the Dulafid 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Āzī in al-Djīlā in 281 (894—895) but did not succeed in annexing his territory, he made a second expedition into Armenia in 282—283 (895—896) and captured Kars, Dwin and Waspurakan. Subsequently he came to terms with Sembat, but his son Dīwād remained as governor of Dwin until Muhammad's death. In 284 (897—898) Muhammad declared his independence, but finding himself unable to withstand al-Mu'tadīd made prompt submission, was pardoned, and in the following year officially recognized as governor of Armenia in addition to Ādharbāidjān. About the same time he appears to have adopted the title of al-Afshīn, which appears on his coinage, and which was evidently intended as a claim to descent from the old princely family of Ushrūsāna (see the article *AFSHIN* and Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, s. v. *Pišīn*). In 287 (900) he made a further indirect attempt to extend his rule over the territories which were slipping from the grasp of the Tūllids by encouraging Waṣīf to seize Malatya and to apply to the caliph for investiture with the government of Cilicia. Al-Ma'tadīd, however, learning that this was only a preliminary step towards the seizure of Diyār Muṣār by Waṣīf and al-Afshīn, put an end to their design by a swift and unexpected campaign against Waṣīf, who was himself captured. Al-Afshīn died a few months later (Rab' 1, 288 = March 901) at Bardha'a.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited above and under the article *SAJJID* see Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj al-Dhahab*, viii. 144—145, 196—200; al-Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr* (ed. Gueist), p. 238; Ibn Khallikān, transl. de Slane, i. 500; *Histoire de l'Arménie par le patriarche Jean VI*, trad.

pur J. St. Martin (Paris 1841), p. 132—133, 145—146, 153—159, 165—169, 173—178; M. F. Bromet, *Collection d'historiens arméniens* (St. Petersburg 1874—1876), i. 187—189, 193—196; ii. 428; R. R. Vanner, *On monastère califal* (Baku 1927), p. 4—8; J. Markwart, *Sindarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1927, p. 116—117.

(H. A. R. GINS)

MUHAMMAD b. ABĪ ZAINAB [See **ABU 'L-KHATTĀB**.]

MUHAMMAD b. AGHLAB [See **AGHLAIDS**.]

MUHAMMAD b. AHMAD [See **IBN AL-'ALĀMĪ**, **IBN IYĀS**, **IBN RUḤD**.]

MUHAMMAD b. 'ALĪ, a grandson of Ḥusain the son of 'Alī; his *kunya* was Abū Dja'far. On account of his learning he was given the honorific name of al-Bākir (the investigator, who goes deeply into things). He was a recognised authority on Tradition and a number of pious utterances are also recorded of him; he had at the same time the characteristic fondness of his family for embroidered silk garments and colours. That he did not escape the usual fate of his family of being celebrated by a section of the Shī'as as an *imām* is shown by a poem of the 'Iḡlī Abū Huraira; but he lived contentedly in Medina and apparently played no part in politics although he was treated, for example by 'Umar II, with respect. He was expressly disowned by extreme Shī'as like al-Mughira and Bayān. When the party which had hitherto paid homage to his brother Zaid, abandoned the latter, they transferred his privileges to him, or rather, since he was dead, to his son Dja'far [cf. **IBN 'ABDULLAH b. MUHAMMAD**]. The reason of the breach is said to have been that Zaid would not insult the memory of the two first Caliphs as his followers demanded but this does not agree very well with the fact that Muhammad in Ibn Sa'd's obviously much retouched account emphatically declares his fondness for Abū Bakr and 'Umar. The date of his death is variously given as 114, 117 or 118 A.H.

Bibliography: Tabari, ed. de Goeje, ii. 1699 sq., 1739 sq.; iii. 213, 2495 sq.; *Fragm. historiarum arab.*, ed. de Goeje, p. 96 sq., 230; Ya'qūbi, ed. Houtsma, ii. 365 sq., 384 sq.; Nawawi, *Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Wustenfeld, p. 113. (Fr. Buhl.)

MUHAMMAD b. 'ALĪ [See **AL-DJAWĀD AL-ISFAHĀNĪ**, **IBN AL-'ARĀBĪ**, **IBN 'ANṢAR**, **IBN BĀBU'YĀ**, **IBN AL-TIḤTAKĀ**, **IBN WAḤSHIYĀ**.]

MUHAMMAD b. 'ALĪ AL-RIDĀ, ninth *imām* of the Twelver Shī'a, was born in Ramaḡān 195 (June 811) in Medina. As, according to Abū 'L-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Muḥallil al-Tullūḡ* (Teheran 1307), p. 195, 196, he was of negroid appearance, it may be true that his mother, a slave-woman, variously called Sabika, Durra and Khairūn, was a Nubian; to give her an honourable pedigree it was added 'of the family of Maria the Copt'. When al-Mu'tasim attached 'Alī al-Ridā to his court, he married the boy to one of his daughters, Umm al-Faḍl, who was taken to him in 215 (830). Al-Mu'tasim on his accession summoned him to Baghdad. He arrived there at the beginning of 220, but was dead already by Dhu 'l-Ḥiḍa (Nov. 835). According to the Shī'as and in keeping with their scheme of martyrdom, he was poisoned at the instigation of al-Mu'tasim by Umm al-Faḍl who remained childless; but even the already mentioned *Muḥallil*, which record every murder

of an 'Alid, know nothing of this. This Muhammad is, generally speaking, only occasionally mentioned outside the Shī'a, along with his father, e.g. in Ibn Wāḡib al-Ya'qūbi, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Houtsma (Leyden 1883), ii. 552 and in Tabari, *Annals*, iii. 1029, 1102; according to al-Mar'ūfi, *Murūḡ al-Dhahab* (Paris 1861 sqq.), vii. 117, Muhammad died in 219, according to vii. 171 not till the reign of al-Wāḡib, i.e. after 227. Even within the Shī'a, his role is quite a passive one. After his father's tragic end, those with Zaidi views who had hoped some day with him as Caliph to put into force their activist 'Alid political programme, went their own ways again, while of those who held *imām* views, one group, as usual in such a case, became 'standfast' Wāḡifiya and another chose Ahmad, a brother of al-Ridā, as *imām*; for Muhammad was only seven at the time. For those who remained faithful to him, there arose in the *Shurūḡ al-Imāma* the question of the child *imām*'s knowledge. The case was repeated with the following three *imāms*. But the authority to teach was in the hands of men whose activity extended through several *imāms*; with Maḍḥilī (s. *BIM*), xii. 125 infra cf. Mirzā Muhammad al-Asterābādi, *Manḥad al-Maḥal* (Teheran 1306), p. 217; Abū 'Amr al-Kashshī, *Maḥḥat al-Aḥḥad al-Kaḥḥat* (Bombay 1317), p. 353 sq., 374 sq.; Tāsi, *Fihrist Kutub al-Shī'a* (*Bibl. Ind.*, No. 60), No. 124, 159, p. 289, note 1. The gradual development of the dogma in question, which is associated with the child Jesus teaching in Sīra xix. 30 sqq., is not quite clear, as regards its apportionment to the various *imāms*. Hereciographers including al-Nawbakhtī, *Firāḡ al-Shī'a* (*Bibl. Ind.*, No. 4), p. 74 sqq., quote the doctrines anonymously. Besides, there is the confusion of names (which has also entered European indices); for Muhammad b. 'Alī was also the name of one of his grandchildren, who died before his father, the 10th *imām* 'Alī al-Naḥḥ, but left issue; his adherents continued the *imamate* further than the Twelvers through these children, while they deny the existence of the twelfth *imām* Muhammad al-Mahdi as son of his brother, the eleventh *imām* Hasan al-'Askari. Shī'a works avoid confusion by giving the ninth *imām* the *kunya* Abū Dja'far al-Thāni; his official title is al-Taqī, 'the God-fearing'; a common epithet is al-Djāwād, 'the liberal'; he is said to have paid his father's debts. As *waḥḥ* or *ḥad*, he had, like al-Ridā before him, 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd al-'Amrī, called Sammān or Zayāl. Among the usual miracles of the *imāms*, Abū Dja'far al-Saffār (d. 290) in *Baḥār al-Daradīl* (in Maḍḥilī, xii. 108) relates that the ninth *imām* carried a worshipper at night from Syria to the holy sites of Kербelā, Kūfa and Medina as well as to Mecca. The fact that his memory has been kept so green to the present day is due to the fact that he was buried beside the tomb of his grandfather, the seventh *imām*, Mūsā al-Kāḡim [q.v.]; thus arose the double Meshhed al-Kāḡimain.

Bibliography: A full account with exact references to the sources is given in Muhammad Bakir b. Muhammad Taḥī al-Maḍḥilī, *Bihar al-Anwar*, xii. (Teheran 1302), p. 99—126; of earlier works we may specially mention al-Mufid [q.v.], *al-Farḥād* (Teheran n.d. without pagination, arranged in the order of the *imāms*).

(R. STROTHMANN)

MUHAMMAD b. 'AMMĀR [See **IBN 'AMMĀR**.]

MUHAMMAD B. ANUSHTEGIN [See KHAW-
RIZMIYAH.]

MUHAMMAD B. BAQIYA B. 'ALI [See IBN
BAQIYA.]

MUHAMMAD B. DAWUD [See IBN 'AMIRKEM,
AL-ISFAHANI.]

MUHAMMAD B. AL-DJAZARI [See IBN AL-
DJAZARI.]

MUHAMMAD B. DUSHMANZIYAR [See K. K.
KOVIDI.]

MUHAMMAD B. FARĀMARZ [See KHOSREW
MOLEK.]

MUHAMMAD B. HABIB [See IBN HABIB.]

MUHAMMAD B. AL-HANAFIYA, a son of 'Ali and Khawla, a woman of the tribe of the Banu Hanifa, who had been brought a prisoner to Medina after the battle of 'Akraba' [q. v.] and came into 'Ali's possession (cf. Saiyid's poem *Atid al-Aghni*, vii. 4: "she was a servant in the house"); he was born in 16 A. H. Although he did not, like Husain and Husain, have the blood of the Prophet in his veins, he became involved not only in the political turmoils but also in the schemes which the boundless fancies of the extreme Shi'is built up around the family of 'Ali. He was not to blame for this, for he was of a retiring disposition and acted very cautiously. But when Husain had sold his rights and Husain had fallen at Kerbela' in 680, many turned their eyes to him as the natural head of the family. This aroused the suspicion of 'Abd Allah b. Zubair who, after the death of Husain, appeared more and more openly as a pretender; the fact that Muhammad had no sympathy with the efforts of the opposition in the Hijaz is evident from the interesting statement of Baladhuri that he definitely declared the accusations brought against the Caliph Yazid I by the Medinese to be false. The matter only became serious when the adventurer Mukhtar [q. v.] after several vain efforts to get others to join him stirred up a movement on a large scale in the 'Irak in 66 (685), as champion of Muhammad's rights. Even now Muhammad acted with great restraint and declined the significant title "al-Mahdi" with which they wished to greet him (cf. Tabari, ii. 610 and Ibn Sa'd, v. 68, which has certainly been misinterpreted by Lammens). He obviously did not care for Mukhtar at all, and he had every reason to doubt the genuineness of his enthusiasm for him; but in view of the many dangers which surrounded him and probably also from a want of decision he did not wish to break with him openly. Therefore when some people came to him from Kufa to clear up his attitude to Mukhtar, he only gave them a diplomatic answer which was non-committal (cf. the somewhat different versions: Ibn Sa'd, v. 72; Ya'qubi, ii. 308; Tabari, ii. 607 and thereon *Kamil*, p. 598) but which they interpreted as a kind of approval, as it did not definitely disown him. As a result the revolutionary movement spread in extent and much blood was shed to avenge Husain and other 'Alids. Muhammad was against this also (cf. Ibn Sa'd, v. 72 sq. 77); but when Ibn Zubair's attitude became more and more hostile and he finally imprisoned Muhammad and several relatives, including 'Abd Allah b. 'Abbas, at Mecca near the Zamzam well, he saw nothing else for it but to appeal for help to Mukhtar. This was what the latter wanted and he sent a

body of cavalry at once to Mecca and released Muhammad and the other prisoners in the nick of time but by the latter's express orders avoided conflict with Ibn Zubair's troops, as the town was not to be desecrated by bloodshed. Muhammad then sought shelter with his family at Minā (cf. *Kamil*, p. 554, 597; *Kitāb al-Aghni*, viii. 33; Kumāli, ed. Horowitz, i. 78) and later went to Ta'if. He made no further use of Mukhtar and was therefore not compromised when the revolution failed and his champion fell in 67 (686—687). In spite of the threats of Ibn Zubair and the demands couched in more friendly language of 'Abd al-Malik and although a safe place of residence was granted him neither in Hijaz nor in Syria, he defined his attitude by paying homage to neither of the two pretenders and adhered to the principle that he would only recognise a ruler around whom the Muslim community were united. He therefore appeared in the noteworthy pilgrimage of the year 688 along with the Zubairids, Umayyads and Kharijites, as an independent head of a party, although only under an armed neutrality. Only when, after the fall of Ibn Zubair (73 = 692), the unanimity of the *vox populi* which he had demanded, became a reality, did he finally recognise the Marwanid as the legitimate ruler and visited him in 78 (697—698) at Damascus. He returned however to Medina, where he died in 81 (700—701). His strict passivity in the political field is always attributed to purely religious motives in the traditions; not human force but Allah's help alone should assist 'Ali's family to their rights; but there is no doubt that a further reason was his lack of enterprise and self-confidence, a trait common to a number of 'Alids. That, like his whole family, he at the same time liked the good things of this world is evident from the heavy demands which he sent to 'Abd al-Malik for the payment of his debts and annual pensions for his children, relatives and clients; there is also evidence that he had the family fondness for fine clothes and cosmetics. It is all the more remarkable then that the more fanciful and extravagant school of Shi'is seized upon him at once after his death and spread the belief that he was not dead but lived in a kind of fairy kingdom on the hill of Radwa west of Medina, whence he would return as the victorious leader of an army (cf. *Kitāb al-Aghni*, vii. 4 sq. 9 sq.; viii. 32). This was the idea of *raffa* which 'Abd Allah b. Sabā [q. v.] had associated with 'Ali (cf. Friedländer, in *Z. A.*, xlii. 309 sq.) and which was now transferred to him; and in fact it was now easier to bring him into the forefront than it had been while he maintained an attitude of stubborn passive resistance in his lifetime.

Bibliography: Tabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 1126—ii. 783 *passim* (s. indices); iii. 2337, 2476, 2530; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, v. 66—86; Baladhuri, *Anāl al-Aghni*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxviii. 394; Mas'udi, *Murūj*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, v. 176 sq., 267 sq.; Ya'qubi, ed. Houtsma, ii. 267, 308, 311—314, 320; Mukhtar, *Kamil*, ed. Wright, p. 296 sq., 554, 580 sq., 597 sq.; Nawawi, *Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 113—115; Dinawari, ed. Guirgas, p. 156 sq., 186 sq., 234 sq., 242, 274, 297 sq., 303—315; T. W. Arnold, *al-Mu'tasid*, p. 10 sq.; v. Violen, *Recherches sur la Domination arabe* etc., 1894; H. Banning, *Muhammad Ibn al-Hanafiya* (dissert.), 1909;

Fr. Buhl, *Des sources Fideschabensis Salihah*, Oversigt 1910, p. 355 sqq.; H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du Calife Omayyade Mawla*, p. 166, 169 sq. (Fr. Buhl).

MUHAMMAD b. HĀNĪ [See Ibn HĀNĪ].

MUHAMMAD b. AL-ḤASAN [See Ibn DURĀID, Ibn ḤAMDŪN, AL-SHAIRĀNĪ].

MUHAMMAD b. AL-HUDHAIL [See ABU 'L-HUDHAIL].

MUHAMMAD b. ḤUSAIN, an Ottoman dignitary and historian, who at the request of the first Wali of Baghdad, Derwish Mehmed Pasha (Thurayyā, *Sigill-i 'Osmani*, ii. 33), translated into Turkish the history of 'Alī b. Shihāb Hamadhānī, written in 10 *hijr* in Persian; he added two *hijr* to it and gave it the title *Tuhfat al-Ma'mūn*. The work only exists in manuscript.

Bibliography: Binnāfī Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanlı Muallifleri*, iii. 122; cf. also Hādīdī Khalīfa, *Katib al-Zaman*, Bulak 1274, i. 404, where Mustafa Shāhān is named as the Turkish translator.

The **MUHAMMAD KHALIFA** (محمد خلیفہ کنیکار), who was a dignitary of the court and flourished under three sultāns (Marād IV, 1032—1049 = 1623—1640, Ibrāhīm, 1049—1058 = 1640—1648, and Mehmed IV, 1058—1099 = 1648—1687), was not identical with him. He wrote a chronicle of his time entitled *Tārīkh-i Ghilmanī* which covered the years 1060—1075 = 1650—1665. The work which consists of 3 *hijr* and a *hikma* (of which the second *hijr* contains two and the third 13 *faṣl*) was published by Ahmad Rafīq as supplement 11 to *T.O.E.N.*, parts 78—83, Istanbul 1340 (1924).

A certain Muhammad Khalifa b. Husain is perhaps the same person; he also was a dignitary of the court of the same three sultāns and wrote a history of his time which covered the years 1043—1070 (1633—1659). The only known manuscript is in Vienna.

Bibliography: Ahmad Rafīq, biographical introduction to the *Tārīkh-i Ghilmanī*; Flügel, *Katalog*, ii. 271; Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 209, No. 179 (text wrongly 170) and 180.

(TH. MENZEL)

MUHAMMAD b. AL-ḤUSAIN [See ABU 'L-ḤASAN, ABU SA'D, Ibn MU'LA, AL-SHAIRĪF AL-RADĪ].

MUHAMMAD b. IBRĀHĪM [See ABU 'L-ḤASAN].

MUHAMMAD b. IBRĀHĪM 'ADIL SHĀH (1035—1070 = 1626—1660) succeeded to the throne of Bidjāpūr after the death of his father. In the year 1044 (1634), the armies of the emperor Shāh Djahān invaded the Dakan and laid waste the country of Bidjāpūr. After the subjugation of Dawlatābād and other forts, Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh agreed to pay a considerable tribute to the emperor of Delhi. He was the last king of Bidjāpūr who struck coins in his own name. In the latter part of his reign, his vassal Siwādī, son of Sāhū Bhuṣālī, by stratagem and treachery obtained great power, and the foundation of the Bidjāpūr monarchy became weakened. He died in 1070 (1660) and was buried in Bidjāpūr where his tomb is called 'Gul Gumbaz' (circular dome).

Bibliography: Fustatī Ashtarādī, *Futūḥāt 'Adil Shāhī*, fol. 344b; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, viii. 189.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUHAMMAD b. ILYĀS [See ABU 'ALL].

MUHAMMAD b. IṢĀ [See 'ISĀWIYA].

MUHAMMAD b. IṢHĀK [See Ibn IṢHĀK, AL-NA'IM].

MUHAMMAD b. AL-KĀSIM [See ABU 'L-'AINI, AL-ANBARĪ].

MUHAMMAD b. KĀSIM, a cousin of Walīd I (86—96 = 705—715) and son-in-law of al-Ḥādīdjādī b. Yūsuf, was the governor of Basra; in 92 (711), he was sent to conquer Sind. Having defeated and killed the Rādjā of the place called Dīhīr, he took possession of that country in 93 (712) and finally penetrated as far as Multān about 500 miles from the sea and even reached the foot of the Himalāyas. Various accounts are given of the death of this general. The common story is that Muhammad b. Kāsim was falsely accused by the two daughters of the Rādjā of Dīhīr, whom he had sent to the harem of Sulaimān (96—99 = 715—717), the brother and successor of Walīd, of having violated their chastity, and that he was therefore sewn up alive in a raw cow-hide, by order of the enraged caliph. Others say that Muhammad b. Kāsim, with other members of his family, was tortured and put to death by Šālih b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, governor of Iṣrā, in revenge for the murder of his brother by Ḥādīdjādī.

Bibliography: Balādūri, *Futūḥ al-Buldan*, p. 435—441; *Tārīkh Firidhā*, ed. Bombay 1832, ii. 605, 608; Niḡm al-Dīn Aḡmal Harawī, *Tuhfat al-Aḡbarī*, Lucknow 1875, p. 633, 634; A. W. Hughes, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, 1875, p. 24, 25; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, ii. 351, xli. 395; *Camb. Hist. of India*, vol. iii, chap. i. (M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUHAMMAD b. MAHMUD ABU SHU'AYḤ GHAYĀTH AL-DUNYĀ WA 'L-DĪN, a Saljuq Sultān 547—554 (1153—1159), born 522 (1128), like his brother Malikshāh was educated with the atabeg Ruzaba, who set them up as claimants to the throne against their uncle Mas'ūd. When Ruzaba in 542 (1147—1148) was taken prisoner in a fierce battle and executed, Mas'ūd adopted his nephew and married Muhammad to his daughter. He probably intended him to succeed him and not Malikshāh, as Ibn al-Athīr and others say, because after his death (547 = 1152) the latter was actually raised to the throne. Muhammad was away at the time but within three months he was recognised as sultān by the powerful Khawāzgar, after he had come to Hamadhān, because Malikshāh proved quite incompetent. The new sultān showed his gratitude by treacherously putting Khawāzgar to death and sent his head to the emirs of Marāgha and Adharbāidjān in the hope that he would win them over. But he was disappointed for, although they hated Khawāzgar, their horror at the cruel deed made them prefer to pay homage to Muhammad's uncle Sulaimān, who had escaped from years of imprisonment on Mas'ūd's death. Muhammad therefore fled to Isfahān, but because Sulaimān was an inveterate drunkard, he could not hold out in Hamadhān and when he had gone away Muhammad returned and was henceforth recognised as sultān by the emirs. In the meanwhile Sulaimān succeeded in escaping to Lihf and entered into relations with the Caliph al-Muqtadī li-Amr Allāh. The latter was endeavouring not without success to make himself independent of the Saljuqs and let Sulaimān come to Baghdad (550 = 1155) to use

him against Muhammad. He was also able to win Malikshah over and to collect an army, which was however scattered in the following year by Muhammad with the help of Mawdud, lord of al-Mawasil, and Sulaiman was again made prisoner. Muhammad now thought himself strong enough to attack the Caliph himself and to besiege him in Baghdad. 'Imad al-Din, who was in the town, gives a full account of the siege (*Rec. Hist. Crois.*, ii. 246 sqq.). Muhammad hurriedly raised the siege when news reached him that Idigis had occupied Hamadnan with Malikshah and Arslan (552 = 1157). By the time the sultan arrived there they had retired, but he was at war with them till his death in 554 (1159).

Bibliography: see the article SELJUKS.
(M. TH. HOUTSMA).

MUHAMMAD R. MALIKSHAH ABU SHUJA'
GHUYATH AL-DUNYA WA 'L-DIN KASIM AMIR AL-MU'MININ, a Saljuq sultan (498—511 = 1105—1118), was born on the 18th Sha'ban 474 (Jan. 20, 1082) of a slave, who was also the mother of Sandjar, and was given the Turkish name of Tapar. After his father's death, he stayed at first with Turkan Khatun but then joined his brother Barkiyaruk who granted him the town of Gandja. Arrived there, he also seized Arran and allowed himself to be seduced by Mu'ayyad al-Mulk b. Nizam al-Mulk into dropping his brother's name out of the *khutbas*. The two brothers fought one another with varying success in the following years until finally in 497 (1104) Barkiyaruk withdrew from the western provinces of the empire to Isfahan and left Muhammad to enforce recognition as sultan from the governors in these lands. When Barkiyaruk died soon after, at the end of 1104, Muhammad turned first to Baghdad because he was sure of the homage of the Caliph, who had already received him and his brother a few years before in ceremonial audience (cf. the account in Ibn Khallikan, *Bulak* 1299, ii. 444, had the emir Ayar, who had at first had the *khutbas* read for Malikshah b. Barkiyaruk, treacherously put to death and sent the king of the Arabs Sadaqa back to his capital al-Hilla with orders to restore peace in Basra and among the Arab tribes of the neighbourhood. He then hurried to Isfahan, where the Batinia had achieved great successes in the troubled reign of Barkiyaruk and had established themselves in several hill-fortresses in the neighbourhood. One of their leaders, Ibn Atiqsh, had by a ruse secured possession of the fortress of Diz-Kuh or Shah-Diz built by Malikshah. The sultan regarded it as his first duty to subdue and root out if possible these unbelievers; he sent his troops to besiege the fortress and, when it was taken, razed it to the ground and had the captured Batinia executed in cruel fashion (500 = 1107; cf. the text of the report sent by him to the Caliph's vizier in Ibn al-Kalānisi, ed. Amedroz, p. 152 ff.). Nor did he hesitate to have his own vizier, Sa'd al-Mulk Abu 'l-Mahasin al-Ati, executed at the gate of Isfahan; he was suspected, according to Anushtarwan wrongly, (cf. *Rec. Hist. Crois.*, ii. 91) of having had dealings with the Batinia.

While Muhammad was still in Isfahan, the emir Cawali Saqawu, who ruled between Fars and Khuzistan, made his submission to him; the sultan had frequently tried in vain to bring him to obedience through the emir Mawdud. The sultan was so pleased that he granted him the town of al-Mawasil where Djekermish, who had only paid homage to him under compulsion, was in command. The latter

was not inclined to submit to the arrangement, but was taken prisoner in an encounter with Cawali. The latter however was not yet lord of al-Mawasil, for the followers of Djekermish now supported his son Zangi and appealed for help to Afsunkor al-Bursuki, the governor of Baghdad, to Sadaqa and to Khilid Arslan, the Saljuq of al-Rum. The last-named alone answered the appeal and came with his troops to al-Mawasil where he had homage paid to himself as sultan, but soon afterwards, after an unsuccessful encounter, he was drowned in the Khabur on his retreat. Cawali now had little difficulty in taking the town and going on to his further task, the war against the Crusaders. It would take us too far here to sketch the course of this war, and the reader may therefore be referred to Weil, *Gesch. der Chal.*, iii. 191 sqq. During his absence he again fell into disgrace with the Caliph, who had in the meanwhile returned to Baghdad and sent his troops to attack Sadaqa, with whom he was also dissatisfied. Sadaqa fell in battle in 501 (beg. of 1101). The sultan sent Mawdud to al-Mawasil and granted him the same dignity as he had previously given Cawali. The latter after some time made his peace with the sultan and was appointed as atabeg to Fars, where he fought the unruly elements in the population with great energy (cf. Ibn al-Athir, ed. Torberg, x. 361 sqq.). The Batinia however gave Muhammad no peace, so long as they were able to hold their strong mountain citadel of Alamut; Abu Nasr Ahmad, a son of Nizam al-Mulk, who after Sa'd al-Mulk acted as the sultan's vizier, was therefore given orders to take this fortress and when he did not succeed, he was dismissed in 504 (1109—10). In the meanwhile the sultan was being urged more and more from different sides to prosecute the war with the Crusaders seriously, and he succeeded in persuading the various governors of the western provinces to combine and attack the Christians under the leadership of Mawdud accompanied by the young prince Mas'ud. After Mawdud's assassination (507 = 1113) Afsunkor al-Bursuki took command and after him Bursuk assumed the supreme command but on account of the strife among the Turkish emirs, the valour of the Crusaders and the complicated situation in Syria, decisive successes could not be attained. For the course of the campaign we again refer the reader to Weil, *op. cit.*, p. 194 sqq., and the historians of the Crusaders. In the last years of his life, the sultan sent the emir Anushtegin Shirvan against the Batinia in Alamut, but he died on the 24th Dhu 'l-Hidja 511 (Apr. 18, 1118) before the fortress was taken. He was only 36 years old and this is why Weil suggests that the Batinia had a hand in his death, but there is nothing to support this hypothesis in the oriental chronicles. On the contrary, individuals in his immediate entourage, notably the Great Hujjib 'Ali Bar, seem to have been not quite innocent, because they, apparently to avert suspicion from themselves, accused the sultan's Guhar Khatun and the famous poet al-Tughrai of having caused the sultan's illness by magic arts. The former was blinded and strangled on the day Muhammad died. The reason given by Matthias of Edessa for this (*Docum. Arm.*, i. 120) is wrong. The sultan deserves credit for having, with the assistance of his brother Sandjar who ruled in Khorasan and the adjoining lands, restored the fortunes of the Saljuq kingdom, which had declined since the death of Malikshah

and for having vigorously fought infidels and sectarians in his zeal for Sunni Islam and the 'Abbāsid caliphate. He was, as *Rec. Hist. Crén.*, ii. 118 has it, the perfect man of the Saljūqs and their strong he-camel.

Bibliography: given in the article *سُلَیْمَان*. (M. TH. HOUTSMA)

MUHAMMAD, ABU AHMAD, DJALĀL AL-DAWLA WA-DJAMĀL AL-MILLA, ABU AHMAD MUHAMMAD, second son of Sulṭān Mahmūd of Ghazna, was born about 387 (997). He was married to a daughter of Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Abū 'l-Harith Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, the Farighūnī ruler of Džirgānā. After the death of Abū Naṣr Muḥammad in 401 (1010—1011), Sulṭān Mahmūd assigned to his son Muḥammad the government of the province of Džirgānā. In 417 (1026), at the instance of Sulṭān Mahmūd, the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Kādir bi'llāh conferred on him the titles of Djalāl al-Dawla wa-Djamāl al-Milla. Towards the close of his life, Sulṭān Mahmūd divided his empire between his sons, giving Ghazna, Khurāsān and India to Muḥammad and Raiy, Džihāl and Isfahān to Mas'ūd, and took solemn vows from both to respect this division. When Mahmūd died in Rabi' II, 421 (April 1030), Muḥammad ascended the throne at Ghazna, but Mas'ūd, disregarding his vows, marched from Isfahān to take possession of Ghazna. In the meantime, the nobles at Ghazna deposed Muḥammad on 3rd Shawwāl 421 (October 2, 1030) and read the *Khutba* in the name of Mas'ūd. Muḥammad was then deprived of his sight by orders of Mas'ūd and imprisoned in a fort. His reign had lasted only 6 months.

In 431 Sulṭān Mas'ūd suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Saljūqs, and resolved to settle in India. In the beginning of 432 (September 1040), leaving Ghazna in the hands of his son Mawdūd and his wazir, he marched to India with all his treasures, but on 13th Rabi' II, 432 (December 24, 1040) his slaves deposed him and raised Muḥammad to the throne. Shortly after this, Mas'ūd was put to death. Hearing this, Mawdūd advanced with a large army to avenge the death of his father, defeated Muḥammad near Dūnpur on 3rd Shabān 432 (April 1041), and put him to death. The second reign of Muḥammad lasted only 4 months.

Muḥammad was obedient to his father and was a man of amiable temperament. He resembled his father in appearance.

Bibliography: Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Halī b. al-Dahhāk al-Gardizī, *Kitāb Zain al-Aḥbār*, ed. M. Nazim, in *Brown Mem. Series*, i.; al-'Uṭbī, *Kitāb al-Yamīnī* (ed. Lahore), p. 294—295; numerous scattered notices in *Ta'rikh-i Mas'ūdī* by Abū 'l-Faḍl Biḥāqī; Ibn al-Aṭṭir (ed. Tornberg), ix. 281—283, 331—334 and *Ta'rikh-i Farīdūta* (ed. Bombay, 1832), p. 60, 68—69.

(MUHAMMAD NAZIM)

MUHAMMAD B. MARWĀN, an Umayyad governor. In 65 (684—685) he was sent by his father, the caliph Marwān I, to Mesopotamia, and in the battle of Dair al-Djāhalik in 72 (691) in which his brother, the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, defeated Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubair, he commanded the advanced guard of the Syrian army. In the following year 'Abd al-Malik gave him the governorship of Mesopotamia and Armenia which carried with it the command in the war with the Byzantines. On account of climatic conditions the Arab expeditions always took place in summer. In 73 (692), the

emperor Justinian II was defeated at Sebaste or Sebastopolis in Cilicia. In 75 (694) Muḥammad again took the field against the Byzantines and was successful against them at Mar'ash, and in the following year he invaded Armenia. Along with his nephew 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Malik he was sent to al-Haḍḍjādī in the year 82 (701), to support him against the rebel 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, and in the negotiations with the 'Irāqīs before the battle at Dair al-Djamādīm the caliph was represented by Muḥammad and 'Abd Allāh. In the same year, Muḥammad led an expedition against Armenia, and again in 84 (703) and 85 (704). After the accession of al-Walīd (Shawwāl 86 = Oct. 705) Muḥammad fell gradually into the background while Maslama, the caliph's brother, was the actual commander; but the former retained his governorship for some time until in 91 (709—710) he was replaced by Maslama here also. Muḥammad died in 101 (719—720).

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'īd, v. 176; Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 324 sq., 336, 350; Balādihurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 188, 200, 205, 332; Tabarī, ii. 592, 804—808, 853, 863, 1073—1075, 1096, 1850; iii. 51; Mas'ūdī, *Murūjī*, ed. Paris, v. 244 sqq.; vi. 47; Ibn al-Aṭṭir, ed. Tornberg, iv. 264—267, 294 sq., 303, 317—320, 338, 377 sq., 382, 385, 399, 411, 439; v. 52, 328; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i. 406 sq., 455, 468 sq., 472; Brooks, *The Arabs in Asia Minor (641—750)*, in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xviii. 182 sq.; Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Römern*, in *N.G.W. Göttingen*, 1901, p. 432 sqq. (K. V. ZETTERSTERN)

MUHAMMAD B. MUHAMMAD [See ABU 'ALĪ, ABU 'L-WAḤḤ, AL-GHAZĀLĪ, IBN 'ĀSİM, IBN BAṬṬŪTA, IBN DJAHIR, IBN AL-HARĪRĪYA, IBN NUBĀTA, IMĀD AL-DĪN.]

MUHAMMAD B. MUKARRAM [See IBN MAN-ṢŪR.]

MUHAMMAD B. MŪSĀ B. SHĀKIR [See MUṢĀ BANC.]

MUHAMMAD B. AL-MUSTANIR [See KUT-RUB.]

MUHAMMAD B. AL-MUẒAFFAR [See MUẒAFFARID.]

MUHAMMAD B. 'OMAR [See IBN AL-KUTYBA.]

MUHAMMAD B. 'OTHMĀN [See ABU ZĀYĀN.]

MUHAMMAD B. RA'IK [See IBN RĀ'IK.]

MUHAMMAD B. RAZIN [See ABU 'L-SHĪR.]

MUHAMMAD B. SA'D [See IBN MARDANSHIR, IBN SA'D.]

MUHAMMAD B. SĀLIM [See IBN WĀṢIL.]

MUHAMMAD B. SA'UD [See GHORĪ DYNASTY.]

MUHAMMAD B. SA'UD (properly Sa'ūd) b. MUHAMMAD of the Muḥrin clan of 'Anaza, the founder of the Wahhābī dynasty of the Āl-Sa'ūd in Nadjd [see the article IBN SA'UD], succeeded his father as amir of Dar'īya in 1137 (1724) or 1140 (1727). His association with the reformer Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb [cf. WAH-ḤĀBĪYA] began in 1157 (1744). Thereafter until his death (end of Rabi' I, 1179 = Sept. 1765) the history of his reign consists of an unceasing and on the whole indecisive struggle against the neighbouring settlements and tribes and his former suzerains, the Banū Khālid of al-Ḥaṣā. He took little active part in these operations, and his personality is overshadowed by the figures of the Reformer himself and of his own son 'Abd al-'Azīz. Nevertheless his talents as a diplomatist more than

once saved the Wāhībī state from being crushed by a coalition of its enemies, notably after the disastrous defeat by the forces of Naḡrān at Ḥa'ir in 1764.

Bibliography: The only full source is the *Khāṣṣ al-Ghannām* (vol. ii. of *Ḥimāyat al-Aḥbār*) of Ḥusain b. Ghannām (d. 1225 H.), MS. British Museum Add. 23,345, fol. 32^a–39^b [the Bombay lithograph (1332 H.) is very inaccurate] summarized by H. St. J. Philby, *Arabia*, London 1930, p. 12–22. — See also A. Musil, *Northern Negd*, New York 1928, p. 258–259, and Amin al-Raiḥānī, *Ta'rikh Naḡd al-Haṣṣ*, Beirut 1928, p. 50–53, and for general works the *Bibliography* to the article *INN SA'UD*. (H. A. R. GINN)

MUHAMMAD b. SĪRĪN [See *INN SA'UD*.]

MUHAMMAD b. TĀHIR, governor of *Khurāsān*. After the death of his father, Muḥammad received the governorship of *Khurāsān* (Radjab 248 = Sept. 862). In 250 (864–5) the 'Alid al-Ḥasan b. Zaid rebelled, which led to a long and serious struggle [see *MUHAMMAD b. 'ABD ALLĀH*]. When 'Abd Allāh al-Sidḡī rebelled against Ya'qūb b. al-Layth al-Saffār and appealed for help to Muḥammad, who appointed him governor of al-Jabāsin and *Khūstān*, Ya'qūb found a welcome pretext to invade *Khurāsān*. Muḥammad sent an embassy to him; but as Ya'qūb had already found a following among discontented *Khurāsānians*, all negotiations were in vain. In Shawwāl 259 (Aug. 873), or according to another statement in 258, he entered Nisābūr without striking a blow, put an end to the Tāhirid dynasty and took Muḥammad prisoner. But when he rebelled against the Caliph al-Mu'tamid, he was defeated in Radjab 262 (April 876) by the latter's brother al-Muwaffaq and Muḥammad, whom he had with him in chains, escaped. The Caliph restored the latter to his former office in *Khurāsān*; the exiled Tāhirid however never found an opportunity to exercise his functions. He was further appointed — probably not till 270 (853–4) — by the vizier Sa'īd b. Maḥlād as his deputy as military governor of Baghdad. He held this office until the accession of al-Mu'taḍid (279 = 892). He died in 296 (908–9).

Bibliography: Ya'qūb, ed. Houtama, ii. 204 sq., 219; Tabarī, iii., see Index; Mas'ūdī, *Murūf*, ed. Paris, viii. 42, 44; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, vii. 77–294; viii. 42; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, iii. 309 sqq.; Weil, *Geich. d. Chalifen*, ii. 379 sq., 393, 438, 442, 447; Noldeke, *Orientalische Studien*, p. 194 sqq.; Rothstein, in *Orient. Studien*, Th. Noldeke gewidmet, p. 164 sq.; Barthold, *ebenda*, p. 185 sqq.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

MUHAMMAD b. TĀHIR [See *INN AL-KĀSĀ-KĀN*.]

MUHAMMAD b. TAKASH [See *ḤAWĀRIM-MAHĀN*.]

MUHAMMAD b. TUGHDIJ b. DJUFF (or DJAFF) b. YALṬARIN b. FUKAN b. FUL b. KHĀṢAN, Abū Bakr, known as *AL-IKḤSHID*, from the title granted to him by the Caliph al-Rāḍī in 327 (939), was the founder of the Egyptian dynasty of the *Ikḥshidids* [q. v.].

He was born in 268 (882) at Baghdad and must have spent his youth in Syria, as his father, who joined the service of the Tūlūnids at about the same date, was appointed governor of Damascus and Tabariya c. 276, a post which he held for some fifteen years, and he himself acted for a time

as his father's deputy for Tabariya. In consequence of the overthrow of the Tūlūnid dynasty in 292 (904), he was imprisoned at Baghdad. He was released in 294 (907), attached to the waṣīr al-'Abbās b. al-Ḥasan, and being implicated in his murder, had to fly when the conspiracy of Ibn al-Mu'tazz [q. v.] failed in 296 (908). He escaped to Syria and found himself reduced to a humble station. Next year he passed on to Egypt, where Takin, its governor, took him into favour, so that he kept him with himself, both in Egypt and in Syria when he was transferred thither to act as governor at intervals (302–307 and 309–311), and promoted him to appointments of importance.

At this period Muḥammad came into contact with the powerful Mādārī family, and also attended Mu'nis [q. v.] when he was brought to Egypt by the Fāṭimid invasions. He had already attracted some attention at Baghdad by an exploit in 306. In 316 (928), through influence at the capital, he became governor of Ramla, quitting Takin abruptly. In 319 he obtained a transfer to Damascus, where he became powerful, and in consequence of his defeat of Būshrā in 321 extended his rule over the whole of Syria. In the same year (March 933) Takin died, and Muḥammad b. Tughdij succeeded in obtaining the appointment as governor of Egypt in his place, but only nominally and for one month (Sept. 933). Two years later, by means of a large army and fleet, he entered Fustāt and took possession of the country, overcoming the resistance of al-Mādārī (Muḥammad b. 'Alī), who by appointment from Baghdad was then in control of Egypt, the governor being under his direction (*taḥta iḥdīrīhī*). Superior to al-Mādārī, however, was al-Faḍl b. Dja'far b. al-Faṣl (for whom see the article *INN AL-FU'ĀṬ*), the inspecting minister (*waṣīr kaṣf*) of Egypt and Syria, who had been specially granted full executive powers. Muḥammad b. Tughdij had acted with the authorization of al-Faḍl and later (324) obtained the confirmation of al-Rāḍī to the addition of Egypt to the province of Syria already held by him. Probably at the same time he was granted the suzerainty over al-Yaman and the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, for in his letter of the following year to the Emperor Romanus he boasts of these places as part of his kingdom. Until the death of al-Faḍl in 327 (March 939), he seems to have been subject, at least in theory, to some control by him.

In 324 a decisive victory by the troops of Muḥammad b. Tughdij near Alexandria (battle of Ablūḳ, March 31, 936) crushed the third Fāṭimid invasion of Egypt and led to overtures from the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Kā'im, which in the end came to nothing. Muḥammad did indeed decide three years later to recognize the Fāṭimid, and had given the order that al-Kā'im should be proclaimed in Egypt, out of indignation at the 'Abbāsid government at Baghdad, but was induced to reconsider his decision.

Only a month after he had received his title *al-Ikḥshid* from al-Rāḍī (Ramadān 327 = June–July 939), he found himself threatened from Raḳqa by Ibn Ra'īḳ [q. v.] and learnt that his provinces had been granted to this rival. Badjkam [q. v.], as *amir al-umara'* at Baghdad, gave no answer to his appeal but that the question must be decided by the sword; the powerless Caliph could say nothing. Ibn Ra'īḳ rapidly possessed himself of Syria, driving back the forces sent to oppose him,

and had soon captured Ramla (Oct. 939). Muhammad b. Tughdj himself confronted him with an army at Faramā, and with no fighting beyond some skirmishing entered into negotiations, ending in an agreement to cede Syria from Tabariya to the north on condition that Ramla and the rest were restored to him. Ibn Rā'ik soon broke this treaty and again advanced. This time Muhammad b. Tughdj encountered him at al-ʿArīsh and routed him (15th Ramaḍān 324 = June 24, 940), but as he followed him into Syria, met with a reverse in his turn, one of his detachments being surprised and badly defeated at Ladijdūn (18th August). Peace was then renewed on the same terms as before, and Muhammad b. Tughdj undertook to pay an annual subsidy of 140,000 dinārs. He was back in Egypt in October.

The death of Badīkam in 329 (April 941) drew Ibn Rā'ik back to Baghdad, and Muhammad b. Tughdj was soon relieved of him completely, for he was murdered a year later by the Hamdānids. Muhammad lost no time in recovering Syria, marching thither himself (June 942) and remaining in the country about six months before coming back to Egypt. It must have been at about this period that he succeeded in dispersing some minor encroachments on Syria from the direction of Raḡḡa that are alluded to without details, those of ʿAdl (al-Badīkam) and Badr al-Kharḡani. He had to meet more serious attacks from the Hamdānids. One of them, al-Ḥusain b. Saʿīd, took Halab from him in 332 (March 944); and in May he set out to recover it. The Caliph al-Muttaḡi, moreover, insecure under the protection of the Hamdānids from Tūḡḡ, the *amīr al-umaraʾ*, had appealed to him for help. His enemy retired at his approach and having regained the town he proceeded to Raḡḡa, where he met the Caliph (Sept. 7, 944). At this time he had thoughts of becoming *amīr al-umaraʾ* himself. He urged al-Muttaḡi to come with him to Syria and Egypt, and even offered to go with him to Baghdad. He begged him not to trust himself to Tūḡḡ, but could not dissuade him. After receiving flattering marks of honour he departed. Before he reached Fustāt on his return the Hamdānīd Saif al-Dawla [q. v.] had retaken Halab (Oct. 944). The Egyptian army sent to meet this new aggression was severely defeated at Rastan near Hims, and Saif al-Dawla advanced to Damascus and entered it (April-May 945). Muhammad b. Tughdj, coming from Egypt with his army, obliged him to retreat, pursued him, brought him to battle at Kinnasrīn (May-June 945), and defeated him. Again Muhammad made easy terms when victorious. Saif al-Dawla retained Syria north of Damascus and was also given a subsidy. The treaty was concluded in Rabiʿ I, 334 (Oct.-Nov. 945), and Muhammad then went back to Damascus, remaining there until he died a few months later (21st Dhū l-Hijja 334 = June 24, 946), just after the arrival of a Byzantine envoy concerning an exchange of prisoners for which he had opened negotiations.

Next to nothing is recorded of the internal events of Egypt during his reign; the country was doubtless quiet. Its revenue, said to have amounted to two million dinārs annually, was no longer accounted for to Baghdad, and no regular payments were made from it to the central treasury. But he sent large occasional gifts to the Caliphs, so that al-Rāḡi considered him an exemplary vassal.

He left seven million dinārs at his death besides considerable other property. No constructional works of much importance are credited to him. At Fustāt he rebuilt the shipyard on the mainland, and on its site on the island of Rawḡa made a garden called al-Mukhtār; he enlarged the government house in which he resided, a Fātimid building that was situated near the still existing tomb of al-Rāḡi Bakḡar, and added a *maṣṣidān*; he also made another garden known later as al-Rāḡi, afterwards the site of the western Fātimid palace of Cairo. His armies at times seem to have been large. At the battle of Abīnḡ the Egyptians are said to have had 15,000 horsemen, at that of Kinnasrīn 50,000 men. Such numbers would have been reached by means of levies for particular emergencies, which he is known to have raised more than once. On one occasion his personal retainers (*ghulāms*), on whom he more especially depended, numbered 500. The constantly repeated and universally accepted figures of 400,000 for his army and 8,000 for his bodyguard can be dismissed as ridiculous, notwithstanding that they rest on the early authority of al-Tanūkhī (d. 584), and with them the accompanying myth as to his habit of concealing his sleeping places when on campaign.

The most renowned of his followers was Kāfīr [q. v.]. Another of his *ghulāms*, Fātik, rose to some eminence. ʿAlī b. Muhammad b. Kāfīr was his secretary both at Damascus and in Egypt. Muhammad b. ʿAlī al-Māḡarī was his wazīr for a few months (328-329), Muhammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḡānil, previously secretary to Ibn Rā'ik, was his wazīr at his death. His four brothers were all younger than himself; al-Ḥusain was in command at the battle of Abīnḡ, and represented him in Egypt during all his absences, al-Ḥusain was in command at Ladijdūn and killed there, ʿUbaid Allāh acted for him in Syria, ʿAlī disappears early.

Notable Egyptian authors who flourished during his reign were the historian Ibn al-Dāya (d. 334), al-Kindī (d. 350), and ʿAbd Allāh al-Farḡānī (d. 362), who came to Egypt in 329 and was in his confidence at Raḡḡa in 333. Al-Masʿūdī moreover visited Egypt in 330. Al-Mutanabbī, just rising to fame, recited once in his presence in Syria and addressed a verse or two to him and to his brother ʿUbaid Allāh (d. 333 at Ramla).

Muhammad b. Tughdj was strong physically, but subject to occasional fits of melancholia. His character is illustrated by a number of incidents that have every appearance of being authentic. He was strict, but in no way vindictive or cruel. He often brought his officers to account, and then after punishing them by arrest or fine would restore them to favour. Hardly any executions are heard of in his reign. He would not allow torture and the maltreatment of accused persons, so common in his time. His tact and sagacity were conspicuous. He was decent in his life and liked by his men and the people. On the other hand, he was certainly oppressive and unfair in some of his money exactions, and though at times not ungenerous was inclined to be mean and miserly in minor matters. The two great faults attributed to him, even to his face in his lifetime, parsimony and timidity, are not altogether without foundation. As to the latter, his own defence in a particular instance looks valid.

His career was closely parallel to that of Ahmad b. Tūḡḡ [q. v.], even as regards several fortuitous

occurrences. It leaves no doubt of his capacity, and if admitting of occasional overcaution, will not allow of anything like cowardice. He did not make the same mark as his predecessor, but was a milder and perhaps a better ruler.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'id, *al-Muqrib* (ed. Tallqvist, Leyden 1899) contains the text of the principal authorities, a list including subsidiary authorities, and a full biography in German carefully worked out from both sources. By far the most important authority is the long and detailed biography of Muhammad b. Tughdij which forms part of Ibn Sa'id's work, and appears to consist of the life composed by Ibn Zuhayr between 350 and 355, reproduced almost but not quite *verbatim*. The other principal authority is the *Kitāb al-Walā'at* of al-Kindi, ed. Guest, Little, if anything, can be added from books published after *al-Muqrib*.

(R. GUEST)

MUHAMMAD B. TUGHLUK [See MUHAMMAD TUGHLUK.]

MUHAMMAD B. TUMART [See IBN TUMART.]

MUHAMMAD B. 'UBAID ALLAH [See ABU 'U-MA'ALL.]

MUHAMMAD B. AL-WALID [See IBN ABI RANDAKA.]

MUHAMMAD B. YAHYA [See IBN BADI'IA.]

MUHAMMAD B. YAKUT, ABU BAKR, a chief of police in Baghdad. In 318 (930) Muhammad, whose father was chief chamberlain to the Caliph al-Muqtadir, was appointed chief of police. The maintenance of order in the capital at this time was much neglected and the praetorians conducted a regular reign of terror. In a fracas between infantry and cavalry Muhammad intervened on behalf of the latter; their opponents were cut down, some driven from the city and only a small contingent of negroes, who at once surrendered, remained unscathed (Muharram 318 = Feb. 930). Some months later these mutinied and demanded more pay; but they were driven out of the town by Muhammad and then routed by the chief emir Mu'nis [q. v.] near Wasit. The confusion was increased by the breach between Mu'nis and Muhammad. At the instigation of Mu'nis, Muhammad was dismissed in Djumād II 319 (June—July 931). Mu'nis was nevertheless not satisfied but demanded that his hated rival should be banished. The Caliph at first refused to grant his request; but when Mu'nis threatened him with force, he had to yield, whereupon Muhammad went to Sidjistan (Radjab 319 = July 931). Soon afterwards the Caliph quarrelled with Mu'nis and recalled Muhammad. In Muharram 320 (Jan. 932) the latter returned to Baghdad; the Caliph then sent him with an army to al-Ma'shuk in the region of Takrit. But when Mu'nis advanced from Mosul, the Caliph's troops under Muhammad and Sa'id b. Hamdan retired to Baghdad without striking a blow. After the victory of Mu'nis and the murder of al-Muqtadir in Shawwal of the same year (Oct. 932) the latter's son 'Abd al-Wahid fled with Muhammad and his other supporters to al-Mada'in and then to Wasit where a number of his generals abandoned him. When the forces of the new Caliph al-Kahir approached under the command of Yalbak, 'Abd al-Wahid and Muhammad fled to Tustar. Muhammad was not popular on account of his arrogance and selfishness, so that one after the other laid down his arms and finally 'Abd

al-Wahid surrendered. Muhammad entered into negotiations with Yalbak and the Caliph pardoned him. He then returned to Baghdad where he gained a great influence over al-Kahir. On the accession of al-Radi in Djumād I, 322 (April 934), Muhammad became the real ruler in a short time; the Caliph appointed him chief chamberlain and also made him his commander-in-chief while the vizier Ibn Mukla played a more subordinate part. When al-Muqtadir's cousin Harun b. Ghurth, whom al-Kahir had appointed governor of Mah al-Kufa, al-Dinawar and Misabadhan rebelled, Muhammad was sent with an army against him. In the resulting battle, Muhammad suffered a defeat (Djumād II 322 = May 934); soon afterwards however, Harun fell from his horse and was killed by one of Muhammad's slaves. With the death of their commander the resistance of Harun's followers collapsed; Muhammad was nevertheless unable long to retain his position of power. On the advice of Ibn Mukla who feared his ever increasing power, al-Radi had him arrested along with his brother al-Mu'assar and the secretary Abu Ishak al-Kariri in the 5th Djumād I, 323 (April 12, 935). Muhammad died in prison in the same year.

Bibliography: 'Arib (ed. de Goeje), p. 145 *sq.*; Ibn al-Athir (ed. Tornberg), viii. 160 *sq.*; Ibn Khaldun, *al-Ibar*, iii. 390 *sq.*; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 565—74, 645 *sq.*, 652, 656—58.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

MUHAMMAD B. YAZID [See IBN MA'AJA, AL-MUBARRAD.]

MUHAMMAD B. YUSUF [See ABU HAYVAN.]

MUHAMMAD 'ABD AL-KARIM 'ALAWI, better known as 'Abd al-Karim Munshi, a Persian historian of the middle of the xixth century. His best known work is the *Tārīkh-i Ahmad* or *Ahmadshāhi* composed for 'Abd al-Rahman b. Haidj Muhammad Rawshan-Khan, a history of the founder of the Durrani dynasty in Afghanistan, Ahmad Shah. After 'Abd al-Karim had finished a history of Shuja' al-Mulk Durrani and the conquest of Khurasan in 1235 (1820), he decided to write a complete history of the Durrani and began his *Tārīkh-i Ahmad*. The work is based on the *Tārīkh-i Husainshāhi* of Imam al-Din Husain (Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS. Brit. Mus.*, iii. 904b) and is really only a paraphrase of it. It begins with the story of Ahmad Shah which he continued to the year 1217. Then follows a description of the Panjab and the roads between Kabul, Herat, Paghawar and Kandahar and a chapter on Turkistan under Narbuta Bey. The work concludes with the accession of Shuja' al-Mulk. In addition to this book, 'Abd al-Karim in 1263 (1847) wrote the *Muhtasab-i 'Abul wa-Kandahar*, which describes the war with the English down to General Pollock's expedition (Sept.—Oct. 1842). It again is not original but based on the poem *Akhar-nama* of Kasim Djan. According to Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (London 1894, p. 5), he also wrote a history of the Sikh war entitled *Tārīkh-i Panjab Tukhsan-i 'Abd al-Karim*, but there is no mention of a manuscript or lithograph of any such work in any of the European catalogues. It is possible that there is some confusion with the Panjab section of the *Tārīkh-i Ahmad*. In the *Catalogue of the Persian printed Books in the British Museum* (London 1922, p. 19), E. Edwards ascribes to the author a dictionary of English and Persian homonyms

entitled *A Dictionary of Anglo-Persian homogeneous words being a... Collection of... Words having nearly the same Sound and the same Meaning*, Bombay 1889; it is however unfortunately not possible to be certain that the author of the book is the same 'Abd al-Karim Munshi.

Bibliography: O. Mann, *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte des Ahmed Shāh Durrānī*, in *Z. D.M.G.*, III, (1898), p. 106 sq. The Turkestan-chapter is translated in Ch. Schefer, *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale par Mir Abdoul Kerim Boukhary*, Paris 1876, p. 280 sq. The *Tārīkh-i Ahmad* appeared in lith. in India 1266. A manuscript of the *Wād'zai Durrānī* in E. Browne, *A suppl. Handlist of the Muhammadan MSS. in the Libraries of the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, 1922, N^o. 228. An Urdu transl. of it lith. Cawnpore 1292 (1875). *Muḥarrarāt* lith. in Lucknow 1848 and Cawnpore 1267 (1851). A manuscript in W. Ivanow, *Concise descriptive Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Curzon Collection of the A.S.B.*, Calcutta 1926, N^o. 22. (E. BERTHELS)

MUHAMMAD 'ABDUH, a Muslim theologian, founder of the Egyptian modernist school.

Muhammad 'Abduh belonged to an Egyptian peasant family and was born in 1849 in Lower Egypt. He spent his childhood in the little village of Maḥallat Naṣr in the mudiṛiyya of Buḥaira. When Muhammad 'Abduh had learned the Qur'ān by heart, he was sent in 1862 to the theological school of Tanṭā but he left this after a year and a half discouraged and was only induced to resume his studies through the influence of a grand uncle who aroused in him an interest in mysticism. In 1865 he returned to Tanṭā but the next year proceeded to Cairo to the Azhar mosque. There at this moment the first movements of a new spirit were becoming apparent in the beginning of a return to the classics and an awakening interest in natural science and history, which agreed with mysticism in a lower estimation of the old traditional studies. In this milieu Muhammad 'Abduh at once devoted himself entirely to mysticism, practised asceticism and retired from the world. It was again his grand uncle who persuaded him to give this up. About the same time, 1872, Muhammad 'Abduh came into contact with Saiyid Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [q.v.] who had just arrived in Egypt and was destined to exercise a profound influence upon him. It was he who revealed traditional learning to Muhammad 'Abduh in a new light, called his attention to European works accessible in translations and attracted his interest finally to Egyptian and Muslim problems of the day. Muhammad 'Abduh soon became his most ardent disciple and in his very first work of a mystic nature (*Risālat al-Warīdāt*, 1290 = 1874) enthusiastically described Saiyid Djamāl al-Dīn as his spiritual guide. The influence of Saiyid Djamāl al-Dīn is still more marked on the matter of Muhammad 'Abduh's second work, notes on dogmatics entitled *Hāshiyā 'alā Sharḥ al-Dawānī li 'Uṣūl al-Aḥdīyā* [1292 = 1876]. The influence of Saiyid Djamāl al-Dīn and the development of affairs in Egypt towards the end of the reign of the Khedive Ismā'īl caused Muhammad 'Abduh in 1876 to take to journalism, which he practised henceforth. After concluding his studies at the Azhar mosque and acquiring the certificate of an

'alim (scholar), he first of all gave private tuition; in 1879 he was appointed as teacher in the Dār al-'Ulūm, which had been founded a few years before to modernise instruction in religious learning. In the same year, shortly after the accession of the Khedive Tawfīq, Muhammad 'Abduh was dismissed for reasons that have not been clearly explained and sent to his native village, while Saiyid Djamāl al-Dīn was banished from Egypt; but a liberal ministry very soon recalled Muhammad 'Abduh (1880) and appointed him chief editor of the official gazette *al-Waḳā'if al-Misriyya*, which not only contained official announcements but also endeavoured to influence public opinion; under Muhammad 'Abduh's control it became the mouth-piece of the liberal party. In spite of a common ultimate goal: the liberation of the Muslim peoples and a renaissance of Islām by its own strength, there was an essential difference between Muhammad 'Abduh's programme and that of Saiyid Djamāl al-Dīn; the latter was a revolutionary who aimed at a complete upheaval; Muhammad 'Abduh, on the other hand, held that only gradual reform could be successful, thought that no political revolution could take the place of a gradual transformation of mentality and regarded a reform of education, especially moral and religious, as the first preliminary to progress. His interest gradually became concentrated on Islām and its position in the modern world. 'Arabī Pāshā's rebellion put an end to Muhammad 'Abduh's activity on these lines. His part in this movement has not yet been sufficiently elucidated; although it is certain that he neither shared the optimism of military circles nor approved their use of force, he put himself on the side of the nationalist opponents of absolutism and endeavoured to exert a moderating influence on its leaders. After the suppression of the rebellion he was condemned to banishment from Egypt at the end of 1882. He first went to Bahrūt and then to Paris where in the beginning of 1884 he met Saiyid Djamāl al-Dīn. The two founded a society called *al-'Urwa al-wuthqā* and published a paper with the same name, which had to cease publication after eight months but exercised a very profound influence on the development of nationalism in the Muslim east. In Tunis Muhammad 'Abduh continued propaganda for the society, but then cut himself off from it and settled in Bahrūt at the beginning of 1885. The '*Urwa* expressed the views of Saiyid Djamāl al-Dīn entirely. In Bahrūt he taught at a theological school and engaged in Muslim and Arabic studies. In this period he produced his translation from the Persian of the *Risālat al-Radd 'alā 'l-Dakrīyā*, the only considerable work of Saiyid Djamāl al-Dīn (1302 = 1886), and two valuable philological treatises (*Sharḥ Nahḍ al-Balaghā* [1302 = 1885] and *Sharḥ Maḥmūd Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī* [1306 = 1889]). When in 1889 he was allowed to return, he at once went to Cairo. His wish to resume teaching again was not at once granted; instead he entered the judiciary and was immediately appointed a judge on the Tribunaux Indigènes, two years later Conseiller at the Cour d'Appel; in 1899 he attained the highest clerical post in Egypt, that of state mufti, an office he held till his death. One result of his work in the courts was the publication of his verdicts in *Taḥrīr fī Iṭlāḥ al-Maḥkūmāt al-Shar'iyya* (1318 = 1900) which gave the stimulus to important reforms in the admini-

stration of the *shari'a*, and the foundation of the College for *Khādis* goes back primarily to his efforts. In the same year, 1899, he became a member of the Conseil Législatif, which marked the first stage in the representation of the Egyptian people. Finally he was allowed to resume his interest in education; in 1894 he became a member of the governing body of the Azhar, which had been constituted at his suggestion, and in this capacity not only acquired great renown by his reforms in the university but himself took an active part in the teaching. In addition to this many-sided activity in the fifteen years after his return he found time to publish a number of works, including his most important: the *Risālat al-Tawhīd* (1315 = 1897), his principal theological work based on his lectures in Bairūt; the publication of a work on logic (*Sharḥ Kitāb al-Baḥār al-Nāḥiriya, Taḥf al-Kāfi Zain al-Dīn* [1316 = 1898]); a defence of Islam against Christianity in the field of knowledge and civilization entitled *al-Isām wa 'l-Naḥrāniya min 'l-Ilm wa 'l-Madaniya* (1320 = 1902; first published in *al-Manār*). Muhammad 'Abduh was not able to finish his commentary on the Qur'ān, on which he laid great importance and of which he had published portions in *al-Manār*; it was revised by his disciple and friend Shaikh Muhammad Rashīd Riḍā and published first of all in *al-Manār*. Of Muhammad 'Abduh's numerous articles by which, along with his lectures, he most influenced public opinion, two (of 1900) were published in a French translation entitled *L'Europe et l'Islām* by Muhammad Ta'at Harb Bey (1905). The advanced ideas put forward by Muhammad 'Abduh provoked the most vigorous hostility in orthodox and conservative circles which manifested itself not only in serious refutations but also in attacks on and intrigues against him, as we see from a whole literature of lampoons. But his teaching met with remarkable support among all seriously minded Muslims. The principal organ of his views was the monthly *al-Manār*, which had appeared since 1897 under the editorship of Shaikh Muhammad Rashīd Riḍā, who has also produced an extensive literary monument to his master (but his views and the tendencies of his periodical must not be identified offhand with those of Muhammad 'Abduh). Muhammad 'Abduh died in 1905; but his teaching has retained its influence steadily to the present day.

Muhammad 'Abduh's programme according to his own statement was: 1. the reform of the Muslim religion by bringing it back to its original condition, 2. the renovation of the Arabic language, 3. the recognition of the rights of the people in relation to the government. His political activity was dominated by the idea of patriotism, which he was the first to champion enthusiastically in Egypt. As an opponent equally of the political control by Europe and of Oriental despotism in Muslim lands he favoured an inner assimilation of western civilization, without abandoning the fundamental Muslim ideas and a synthesis of the two factors. From this programme, which assures Muhammad 'Abduh an important place among the founders of modern Egypt, must be distinguished his effort to carry it through in the field of theology. Muhammad 'Abduh is in the first place a theologian; his life was devoted to the attempt to establish and maintain Islam, at least as a religion, against the onslaught of the

west, while he abandoned without a struggle those aspects of Muslim-Oriental life in which religion was of less moment. However great a stimulus he may have received from progressive western thought, the actual foundations of his teaching came primarily from the school of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Kaḥīm al-Djāwziyya, who favoured reform on conservative lines, and from al-Ghazālī's ethical conception of religion. Deeply convinced of the superiority of true Islam, unaffected by the vicissitudes of time, Muhammad 'Abduh wished to get rid of the abuses which falsified the Muslim religion and made it out of keeping with the times, and to adapt Islam to every real advance by going back to its true principles. Muhammad 'Abduh was thus brought to attack the *maḥabbah* and *taḥfīd* (q. v.), to demand freedom for *ijtihād* (q. v.) and a new *ijmā'* (q. v.), in keeping with modern conditions, based on the Qur'ān and the true sunna, for the establishment of which he laid down strict criteria; he was also brought to reject the hairsplitting of the *fuḥūḥ*, the worship of saints and all *bid'as*, and to the endeavour to create a more ethical and deeper religion instead of a mechanical formalism. The antiquated system of Fiqh, against which Muhammad 'Abduh claimed full freedom, was to be replaced by new laws capable of development, in which consideration for the common good (*maṣlaḥa*) and the times should, in keeping with the true spirit of Islam, have if necessary preference to the literal text (*nawz*) of revelation, just as in any conflict between reason and tradition in settling what is laid down by religion, the verdict of reason should be followed. Alongside of the belief in the sublimity of revelation there was in Muhammad 'Abduh the conviction that knowledge and religion, properly understood, could not come into conflict at all, so that reason need not recognise a logical impossibility as a religious truth; religion was given to man as a thread to guide him against the aberrations of reason; reason must therefore, after it has tested the proofs of the truth of religion, which it is qualified to do, accept its dogmas; Muhammad 'Abduh's object was a cooperation between religion and science. In dogmatics he adopts essentially the most rational conception that could still be reconciled with orthodoxy. At the same time he interiorises the conception of revelation (to him it is intuitive knowledge caused by God and provided with the consciousness of this origin, but this kind of religious experience is limited to the prophets) and defects that of religion (to him it is an intuitive feeling for the paths to happiness in this and the next world, which cannot be clearly grasped by the reason). The task of prophecy for him is the moral education of the masses. Religious teaching and commandments are therefore intended for the masses and not for the élite. Muhammad 'Abduh regards the Qur'ān as created and endeavours to weaken the rigidly opposed point of view of orthodoxy. The saints he does take into his system but is sceptical regarding belief in miracles. In spite of the denial of causality and laws of nature by orthodoxy, he finds a basis for explaining nature by causal laws but by quite scholastically formal reasoning. As regards the duties of religion, Muhammad 'Abduh adheres to the four main duties: ritual prayer, the alms-tax, fasting and pilgrimage; only he shifts them, as usual in mysticism, from the sphere of worship to that of religion and morals. On the old question of free will Muhammad 'Abduh

decides for indeterminism; he thereby opens the way to build up a moral system for society, which, excluding all fatalism, preaches vigorous activity by every one and, following the ethics of the mystics, mutual support. His view of the substance of Muslim teaching Muhammad 'Abduh defends not only against traditional orthodoxy but against Christianity also by a kind of philosophy of history of religion; the sending of prophets was a gradual process of education of step by step; the last and highest stage, that of absolute religion, is the sending of Muhammad; if the Muslim peoples of the present do not correspond to the Muslim ideal, this is only the result of the fact that they have lost the old purity of the teaching; an improvement is possible by return to it. This primitive Islam of Muhammad 'Abduh is however not the historical Islam but a very much idealised one. The superiority of Islam over Christianity in substance lies, according to Muhammad 'Abduh, in its rationalism and its closeness to reality and its avoidance of unattainable ideals of life.

In this theology, the religious content consists of humility before God, reverence for the Prophet, enthusiasm for the Qur'ān. The basis of this Islam is the recognition of a not too retrogressive system of dogmatics, its object is the observance of an ethical system which is favourable to progress, and both are influenced by a strongly marked rationalism, which is genuinely old Muslim but for Muhammad 'Abduh is no indifferent inheritance but the main weapon of defence of Islam and actually takes the place of a deepening of religion so that his theology has the character of an apologetic compromise.

Bibliography: Bergsträsser, *Islam und Abendland*, in *Auslandstudien*, IV., Königsberg 1929, p. 15 sqq.; Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranexegese*, p. 320 sqq.; R. Hartmann, *Die Krisis des Islam*, p. 13 sqq.; Horten, *Mohammed Abdulah, in Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients*, xiii., xiv.; B. Michel and Cheikh Monastir Abdel Razik, *Chéikh Mohammed Abdulah, Risalat al Tawhid, Exposé de la Religion Musulmane* (translation with introduction on the life and teaching of Muhammad 'Abduh based on published and unpublished Arabic sources, and with bibliography). On the life story of Muhammad 'Abduh is based the trilogy of novels by F. Bonjean and A. Deyf.

(J. SCHACHT)

MUHAMMAD AHMAD b. 'ABD ALLĀH,

the Mahdi of the Sūdān, was born about 1258 (1843) on the island of Darār in Dongola among the Argū islands north of el-Orde. A member of the Kunūf family of the Nubian Arab Berābers, in later life when Mahdi to prove his kinship and mystical relationship with 'Alī and the Prophet, he traced his genealogy on his father's side to Hasan and on the mother's to Hasan and 'Abbās. He was the second son of a ship's carpenter and had an older sister and three brothers. Mystic tendencies early revealed themselves in him; after the usual early education he therefore in 1277 (1861) entered the order of the Sammāliya with Shaikh Muhammad Sharif; after a seven years' noviciate Muhammad Sharif appointed him a shaikh of the order. After a short stay in Kharṭūm where he married, he went to the island of Abba (in the White Nile, north of Kosti), built a *ḡāmi* there and a *ḡāḥa* and collected pupils around him.

His master Muhammad Sharif, with whom he maintained a constant connection, settled near him in 1288 (1872), which seems to have been unwelcome to Muhammad. Shortly after this event there awoke in Muhammad the consciousness that he was the Mahdi *al-muntazar*, under the influence of the traditional ideas of the Mahdi, which brought about a breach between him and his master. He now joined the enemy of his former leader, the Shaikh al-Kurāshī, and in 1297 (1880) became his successor. In his wanderings (*ṣiyāḥa*) from Dongola to Senār, from the Blue Nile to Kordufān, he convinced himself of the discontent of the people, who were oppressed by the Egyptian government; the turbulent, mixed population of the Sūdān, the religious fanaticism, the dissension between Turks and Arabs, the old opposition of the Shi'a to the Turkish ruling official classes, all formed a fruitful soil for his claims to be the Mahdi; the movement begun by Muhammad Ahmad which, as his letters and proclamations show, was based on a religious experience in which he earnestly believed, became from the first mixed up with political and social ideas, which in the east cannot be separated from religion, and in which finally deception and cunning played an evil part. According to the traditional formula, Muhammad Ahmad felt himself called "to purify the world from wantonness and corruption". For this purpose he summoned the people to fight in the first place against "the infidel Turks". He had previously bound a number of chiefs in Kordufān and Dārṣūr to him by *ḥa'a* (oaths of fealty, after the model of the Prophet; for the text see Dietrich, in *Islam*, 1925, p. 39) and had been cleverly able to attach men of action like the unscrupulous 'Abd Allāh al-Fa'ayishī, later his Khalifa, to him; at the same time he practised a shameless nepotism. He further incited the people by numerous pamphlets and edicts, which contained his visions of the Prophet, who had appointed him Mahdi, of al-Khidr, Gabriel, the *ṣafā*, summons "to purify religion", to "emigrate", to swear fealty, to imitate the Mahdi, to the *ḡhād* etc. The hill of Gadir in Dār Nūba became the centre of this secret propaganda; in Sha'ban 1298 (July 1881) he made his first public appearance as Mahdi. Negotiations begun by the government in Kharṭūm with Muhammad Ahmad proved fruitless. Two companies sent against him under Abū 'I-Sa'ūd were destroyed; this secured further victories for him. The Egyptian government was moreover prevented by the rebellion of 'Arabī Pāshā from taking vigorous action. The expeditions of the governor of Fashūda, Rashīd Pāshā, Yūsuf Pāshā al-Shallāhī (at Gadir, May 1882) and of Hicks Pāshā (at Shaikhān or Kaahgūl), all ended unsuccessfully. The Mahdiya thus spread unhindered from Kordufān via Baḥr al-Jihāl to the eastern Sūdān; there in Sawākin, 'Oḥmān Digna, a former slave dealer, soon to be the ablest Mahdist general, entered Muhammad Ahmad's service. Attempts by the Mahdi to extend his power to the west and with this object to conclude alliances with Muhammad al-Sa'ūdī in Djaḡhūb and with Morocco came to nothing. At the height of his power the campaign of 1301 (1884) took him to Kharṭūm, which after a heroic defence by Gordon fell into the Mahdi's hands on Jan. 30, 1885. Gordon was killed, Muhammad Ahmad did not however long survive his victory; he died, probably of typhus, on 9th Ramaḡān 1302 (June 22, 1885) at Omdurman near Kharṭūm.

where a *ḥabsha* was erected to him by his successor, the Khalifa 'Abd Allāh; it was henceforth the Mahdist capital until Kitchener put an end to 'Abd Allāh's rule and to the Mahdiyya in 1898.

The organisation of the Mahdiyya under Muhammad Ahmad, which was primarily to follow the *sunna* of the Prophet, was early developed; it was quite military in character, for the *ḡibūd* was considered more important than the *ḥajj*. He had four khalfas beside him, of whom al-Ṭā'ayishī was the most intimate and undoubtedly had the most pernicious influence on him. Particular attention was devoted to the distribution of booty and to the administration of the treasury (*ḥait al-māl*).

Muhammad Ahmad's teaching shows some of the features of the extreme popular Sūfism and some of those of an idealised primitive Islam. His asceticism was hostile to progress; the contempt for learning in the Mahdiyya and the order to burn all books on *sunna* and *tafsir* alienated the educated classes from him. The only things that had validity in addition to the Qur'ān were the proclamations of the Mahdi, the *Rūtib* (a collection of *ḡibir* exercises) and the *Madfīl*, a work that contained Muhammad Ahmad's own *sunna* as a substitute for the previous one but remained incomplete. In the abolition of the four *madhāhib* we see the *ijtihād* tendencies frequent among the Sūfis. Wahhābī influences are very probable in a number of regulations, for example in the prohibition of adornment, music, extravagance at weddings, tobacco and wine; particularly however in the zeal against the worship of saints and sorcery; as a matter of fact Muhammad Ahmad himself became an object of worship among his followers even before his death.

The only really new thing in Muhammad Ahmad is the addition to the *ḡibāda*: "...*wa-anna Muhammad Ahmad 'bn 'Abd 'Ilāhī ḥunna Mahdiyya 'Ilāhī wa-ḡhāḡīfatū rayḡīkī*. Where the traditions of the Mahdi did not suit him, he did not hesitate to alter them. He laid down the following 6 *arḡān* instead of the *arḡān* of the *sunna*: 1. *ḡalāt*, on the congregational performance of which the greatest stress was laid; 2. *ḡibāda*, in express opposition to the *sunna* practice and in place of the *ḥajj*; 3. obedience to God's commandments; 4. the extended *ḡibāda*; 5. recitation of the Qur'ān and 6. of the *Rūtib*.

A few extremist ideas, like that of equality between rich and poor, come partly from the revolutionary character of the old *Shī'a*, partly from the political and social conditions of the time; the social ideas were however not his central ones but only incidentally used cunningly to attract the masses. In practice the Mahdiyya had an exceedingly unifying and equalising effect: slaves and slave-dealers fought under one banner, the humblest often rose in a short time to the highest offices.

Muhammad Ahmad's eschatology centres round the world domination of the Mahdi. The conquest of the Sūdān was to be followed by that of Egypt, Mecca, Syria and Constantinople.

The formation of legends around Muhammad Ahmad's personality began very early, sometimes deliberately encouraged by him and his immediate followers and sometimes actually believed by them. Under pressure from him his court chronicler Ismā'īl 'Abd al-Qādir composed a highly coloured *ḡira* entitled *Kitāb al-Mustahdī ilā Sirat al-Imām*

al-Mahdī. It covered the years 1298 to 1302 A.H. but was burned in the time of the Khalifa 'Abd Allāh. The Egyptian writer Shukair (see below) claims to have had in his hands a copy that was said to have survived.

Bibliography: Na'īm Shukair Bey, *Tarīkh al-Sūdān*, Cairo 1903 (in the third part Shukair, utilising the edicts of Muhammad Ahmad and the Khalifa 'Abd Allāh, which were collected and printed under the Khalifa, as well as the above mentioned *Sira* and his own experiences in the Anglo-Egyptian army, gives a very full account of the Mahdiyya under Muhammad Ahmad and 'Abd Allāh); Dīrdīs Zaidān, *Riwayāt Asir al-Mutamahdī*, Cairo 1892. — On two *fatwā's* of the Egyptian government against the Mahdiyya, s. Dietrich, in *Isl.*, 1925, p. 83. — F. R. Wingate, *Mahdism in the Egyptian Sudan*, London 1891; do., *The Rise and Wane of the Mahdī Religion*, London 1893; Jos. Ohrwald, *Aufstand u. Reich des Mahdī*, Innsbruck 1892; Shatin Pasha, *Fire and Sword in the Sudan*, London 1896; Hasenclever, *Geschichte Ägyptens im 19. Jahrhundert*, Halle 1917; Ernst L. Dietrich, *Der Mahdī Mohammed Ahmed nach arabischen Quellen*, in *Isl.*, 1925, p. 1-90 (with further literature); J. Darmesteter, *Le Mahdī*, London 1885. (DIETRICH)

MUHAMMAD 'ALĪ PASHA (in European sources often Mehemed Ali or Mehmet Ali) was the well-known powerful viceroy of Egypt during the years 1805-1849 (which period comprises the entire reign of Sulṭān Mahmūd II q. v.); and the founder of the khedivial, later royal dynasty of Egypt. Seen in the light of history his life-work fully entitles him to the epithet of "the Founder of Modern Egypt".

Muhammad 'Alī was born in 1769, possibly of Albanian extraction, in the town of Kavala [q. v.] in Macedonia; he was engaged in the tobacco trade until he joined, as *ḡāḡ ḡāḡī* in a corps of Albanian troops, the Turkish army that landed in Egypt in 1799 and was beaten by Bonaparte at Abū Kīr (July 25). In 1800 he was one of the two chiefs of the Albanian troops in Turkish service who were left behind in Egypt; this secured him an influential military position when, after the final departure of the French in 1801, Turkey began to try to recover her authority over Egypt. At the end of 1801 he fought as a general against the Mamlūks, but in the troubled years that followed he was alternatively on the side of the Mamlūk Beys (headed by al-Bardī) and of the Turkish governors sent from Constantinople. He intrigued against Khurshīd Pasha [q. v.], who had to leave Egypt in May 1803, and was, already in the same year, appointed titular governor of Djidda. Under the following governorship of Khurshīd Pasha, Muhammad 'Alī succeeded in winning the favour of the inhabitants of Cairo and their spiritual leaders, and used them with success in his intrigues against Khurshīd, whose Turkish troops — composed of *ḡellīs* — were a scourge to the population, while his own Albanians were ordered to behave well. The result was that Khurshīd had to withdraw in August 1803, leaving the citadel of Cairo to Muhammad 'Alī. The Turkish government, though sending several emissaries and trying to remove the Albanian troops, failed to keep Egyptian affairs under control and ended by recognizing Muhammad 'Alī's self-assumed

position (November 2, 1805); he was solemnly installed in April 1806.

The internal and external difficulties of the Sublime Porte did not allow her to interfere any further for the moment and the new governor had soon occasion to show himself a loyal vassal when the English — then at war with Turkey (cf. SELİM III) — landed in Alexandria in March 1807. At that time Muhammad 'Ali had already undertaken the struggle against the Mamlūk Beys al-Bardisi and al-Alfi, the latter of whom was strongly supported by the English. He came back hastily from Upper Egypt, fortified Cairo, and gained a victory over the English army at Rashid (Rosetta) in April. Soon after the departure of the British fleet in September the viceroy began the execution of his far-reaching administrative and economic measures, which were to restore Egypt's economic strength and consequently to assure for himself a more powerful position than any Turkish governor had had for the last two centuries (cf. MAMLŪKS). In the meantime the Beys (whose two leaders had died in 1807) continued their opposition (no doubt increased by the viceroy's land policy), which was finally broken by the massacre of about 300 Mamlūks in the citadel of Cairo on March 1, 1811, on the occasion of a festival. The persecution of the Mamlūks was at the same time extended to the other parts of the country. Muhammad 'Ali now could send, without danger to his own position, his Albanian troops in the campaign against the Wahhābīs in Arabia, to comply with a request of the Porte. The Wahhābī war began in September 1811 and was conducted, until 1816, by Muhammad 'Ali's son Tusun; after the latter's death the command was taken over by his elder brother Ibrāhīm Pasha [q.v.]. Muhammad 'Ali himself took part in an expedition to Yaman, but had to return before the end of the war, because his position as governor seemed to be in danger.

The military successes of the Egyptian troops against the Wahhābī power immensely increased Muhammad 'Ali's authority all over Arabia and in a larger sense in the entire Near East; European policy began to look for the first time on Egypt as a factor of political importance. This importance was further increased by the expeditions to the south that followed immediately on the Arabian campaign: Egyptian power was established for the first time in the Sūdān [q.v.], where Muhammad 'Ali's third son Isma'īl found his death in 1822, the year in which the town of Khartūm [q.v.] was founded. At this time Egyptian power was also extended in the direction of the Red Sea, which made an end to the hitherto continuous plague of the incursions of nomadic Arabs into the Nile valley; the ports of Sawāḥīn and Massawa (Mas̄wa) came under the Egyptian sphere of influence, although the direct authority of the Porte was maintained.

A new phase in the development of Muhammad 'Ali's power began by his participation in the military repression of the Greek revolt by the Turks. Only through Egyptian aid was the submission of the whole of Greece with the exception of Nauplia obtained; first by the conquest of Crete by Ibrāhīm Pasha (1823) and then by the Egyptian army that landed in 1825 in Messina. When in 1827 England, Russia and France intervened in the Greek question, the combined Turkish-Egyptian fleet was destroyed

in the bay of Navarino (October 20, 1827); in the following year the Egyptian troops evacuated the peninsula, after a convention had been concluded between Muhammad 'Ali and the British admiral Codrington (August 6, 1828). Crete remained under Egyptian administration until 1841.

Muhammad 'Ali's power was now such that he could conclude international agreements without the sultān's cognizance; at the same time the two Mediterranean naval powers, France and England, were endeavouring to win him over as an independent political factor. In 1829 France had almost induced Muhammad 'Ali to undertake the conquest of the Barbary states of Algiers and Tunis; the viceroy, however, was more inclined to seek territorial expansion in the east, the more so as the four governorships of Syria had been promised him by the Porte as reward for his participation in the Greek war, a promise that had never been fulfilled. At the end of 1831 there arose difficulties between Muhammad 'Ali and the Porte on account of the governorship of Akkā, which he claimed for himself. The conflict soon brought about the sending of an Egyptian army under Ibrāhīm Pasha into Syria. On May 27, 1832 Akkā was taken. In the following month the army that was sent by the sultān was repeatedly defeated and finally beaten near Konya (December 21, 1832). The Egyptian army, continuing in the direction of Constantinople, reached Kutahia. Here at last an armistice was concluded between the Porte and Ibrāhīm as representative of his father, thanks again to the intervention of the European powers, of whom Russia had already sent military aid to Constantinople. Muhammad 'Ali was granted the governorship of Syria and Adana by the definite peace of April 6, 1833.

During the following six years the viceroy's power was at its height. While Ibrāhīm administered Syria, severely but on the whole to the prosperity of the country, Muhammad 'Ali continued his administrative programme in Egypt and inaugurated a pan-Arabian policy, the aim of which was to be the union of all Arabic-speaking peoples under his leadership. In Arabia his influence was still considerable since the Wahhābī war; he now tried to extend Egyptian influence as far as the Irāk. This policy, while at the same time constituting a threat to the ambitions of the European powers in the Near East, was to bring him again into conflict with the sultān, who, having succeeded at last in subduing too independent vassals in other parts of his empire, was waiting for an opportunity to crush his most powerful vassal in Egypt. The latter, in 1838, had even made known his intention of declaring himself independent of the Turkish government.

Not long after the outbreak of hostilities the Turkish army under Hāfīz Pasha was completely defeated at Nāṣīb in North Syria (June 24, 1839), while the Turkish fleet under the Kapudan Pasha Ahmad sailed to Alexandria and went over to Muhammad 'Ali's side. In this desperate situation the authority of the Porte was saved by the intervention of the five European powers, in defence of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The Egyptian question had thus produced an international political crisis, which was aggravated by the opposition of France, which had long been the best intentioned towards Muhammad 'Ali among the European governments. By the convention of

London (July 5, 1840) England, Russia, Austria and Prussia agreed with the Porte upon the terms to be imposed upon Muhammad 'Ali. When the latter did not accept, there followed military demonstrations against the coastal towns in Syria ('Akka taken on November 4, 1840). Soon afterwards a British fleet appeared in Alexandria, where Admiral Napier on November 27 concluded an agreement with Muhammad 'Ali. The viceroy consented to the return of the Turkish fleet and renounced his governorship of Syria, Adana and Crete, while on the other hand he was to keep the hereditary governorship of Egypt as a part of the Turkish Empire. These terms were confirmed by an imperial *firmân* of February 13, 1841, completed by another of May 23, in which the mutual relations of sultan and viceroy were definitely regulated. The chief points were the right of succession according to seniority in Muhammad 'Ali's family, the payment of a tribute and the permission to maintain an Egyptian army of 18,000 men, the higher officers of which were to be appointed by the sultan.

Muhammad 'Ali's last years were passed in peace. In 1846 he visited Constantinople and Kawaia; in 1848 he lost his son Ibrahim to whom so many of his military successes were due. On August 2, 1849 he himself died in Alexandria, to be succeeded by Tusun's son 'Abbas Pasha [q. v.]. He was buried in the new mosque which he had had erected in the citadel of Cairo.

Still more amazing than the career of this once obscure Turkish officer are the enormous changes brought about by his work in the condition and the international position of Egypt; they have made him a hero in the history of the Near East. His reign is an era by itself in Egyptian history. Muhammad 'Ali's latest biographer says: "He began by seeking only to raise money. He ended by seeking, however mistakenly, to develop and civilise the country" (Dodwell, p. 220). His work indeed did not at all mean a break with the government traditions prevailing in the Turkish Empire, but the political aim that Muhammad 'Ali had set himself, seconded by his persevering energy and the continuous supervision of his autocratic individuality, led at last to a result which, in similar conditions, would otherwise have been difficult to attain, as is shown by the state of things prevailing at the same time in other provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

As the measures taken by Muhammad 'Ali in the field of administration, land policy and the industrial and commercial mobilisation of the country have been briefly sketched in the art. KHELOU, it is unnecessary to enter here into the same details. It is sufficient to point to the fact that all these measures had as their first object to make the pasha himself the sole proprietor and administrator of the riches of Egypt. He certainly listened to the advice of European and other councillors and valued European institutions as examples to follow to a certain extent. But he followed oriental methods and made as good as no use of Europeans as officials in the home administration.

This was not the case in Muhammad 'Ali's newly created army. The pasha himself had not been entirely able to keep his mercenary troops under control (matiny in Cairo in 1816). So he decided to form a new army, moved by the

same motives that had led Sultan Selim III to create new regular troops (*nişân-i djedid*). From 1819 this enterprise was confined to and brought to a successful end by the French captain Sève, who, after having embraced Islam, served Muhammad 'Ali as Salâmân Pasha. A first attempt to use negro slaves from the Sudan as soldiers having failed, the *fallâks* of Egypt itself were recruited; the officers were mainly taken from among the young Mamlûks, besides whom there were not a few Europeans. With this army were won the military successes in Morea and Syria. The recruitment met with exceedingly strong opposition among the people of Egypt and later in Syria, and the methods used to get the required number were sometimes cruel, but the pasha's energy prevailed. At length this military organisation proved to be a means of education for the people and prepared the growth of national feeling among the generations to come. As has been said already, the final Imperial *firmân* of 1841 limited the Egyptian army to 18,000 men in time of peace.

Muhammad 'Ali's attempts to create an Egyptian fleet go back as far as 1815. At first he had ships built in France and Italy and in Bombay, but soon Alexandria itself got its yards. After the destruction of the Egyptian fleet at Navarino ship-building began again and quite a number of French and Italian officers were employed in the Egyptian navy after 1831. The Egyptian fleet, however, did not long survive its founder.

On the whole, Muhammad 'Ali's rule wore a Turkish character. Most of the responsible posts in the administration and in the army were held by Turks and by descendants of the Mamlûks. Thus the Ottoman ruling system, with some modifications applied after the European model, was imposed on Egypt most completely at the time when the country itself was politically loosened from the empire. It may be called an exception that the Armenian Boghos Bey, who was for a long time Muhammad 'Ali's minister of finance and of foreign affairs, came to this exalted position, although the use of Christians (Armenians and Copts) in more subordinate offices had always been a government practice in Turkey as well as in Egypt. The viceroy himself is said never to have spoken well any language other than Turkish.

Muhammad 'Ali was not a great builder of magnificent architectural monuments. He erected a mosque after the Turkish fashion in the citadel of Cairo, but he never built costly palaces for himself. Most of his works were of public utility, such as the improvement and the enlargement of the irrigation system in the Delta, including the Nile Barrage below Cairo. This last work was undertaken in 1847, but failed.

The judgments on Muhammad 'Ali's personality were very divergent even during his life-time. Most of his admirers were found amongst the French; in view of the on the whole friendly attitude of the French government this is of course not strange. British opinion was less favourable, but all those who came into contact with the viceroy were impressed by his personal charm. Now that his era belongs to the past, the impression remains of a great man in many respects, possessed of considerable personal courage and trustworthy and loyal in a high degree. His methods were sometimes cruel and in the begin-

ning of his career he often had recourse to intrigues, but in the circumstances it is hard to understand how it could have been otherwise. As years passed by and the prosperity of the country increased, his methods of government grew more lenient, so that, at the end of his reign, he had become decidedly popular with his subjects. An equestrian statue of Muhammad 'Alī now commands the chief square of Alexandria and one of the largest thoroughfares in Cairo is called after him.

Bibliography: Documentary sources from the Egyptian, French, English and Italian archives have only recently begun to be published in the beautiful collection *Publications spéciales de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte*, published in Cairo. So far have appeared: G. Douin, *L'Égypte de 1802 à 1804: Correspondance des Consuls de France en Égypte*, 1925; G. Douin, *Mohamed Ali Pacha du Caire (1805—1807): Correspondance des Consuls de France en Égypte*, 1926; E. Uriault, *Mohamed Ali et Napoléon (1807—1814): Correspondance des Consuls de France en Égypte*, 1925; E. Uriault, *La formation de l'Empire de Mohamed Ali: de l'Arabie au Soudan (1814—1823)*, 1927; G. Douin and Mme E. C. Fawcett-Jones, *L'Angleterre et l'Égypte: la campagne de 1807*, 1928; E. Douin, *Mohamed Ali et l'expédition d'Alger*; J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, 1930; A. Sammarco, *La marina egiziana sotto Mohammed Ali. Il contributo italiano*, 1931. A. Sammarco, *Il regno di Mohammed Ali nei documenti diplomatici italiani inediti. Genesi e primo svolgimento della crisi egiziana-orientale del 1831—1833*, 1931. On further publications in preparation see also the same author, *I documenti diplomatici concernanti il regno di Mohammed Ali e gli archivi di stato italiani, in Oriente Moderno*, 1929, p. 287, where also a bibliography of the reign of Muhammad 'Alī by Munier is announced. Nothing has yet been published from the archives of Constantinople. Dr. Asad Rustam, *al-Uṣūl al-'arabiyya li-ta'rīkh Sūriya fī 'Ahd Muḥammad 'Alī*, 2 vols., Bairam 1347—1350; L. Hoskins Halford, *Some recent works on Mohammed Ali and Modern Egypt*, *American Historical Journal*, March 1932, p. 93—103.

Contemporary or partly contemporary historical sources. Eastern sources: al-Djaborri, *Adḡā' al-Aḥbār*, vol. iii, iv., Cairo 1297 (French translation published in Cairo 1896 199. as *Merveilles Biographiques et Historiques ou Chroniques*); Ahmed Djewdet Pasha, *Ta'rīkh*, Constantinople 1301, vol. vii.—x. (comprising the years 1803—1825); Ahmed Luṭfi, *Ta'rīkh*, 6 vols., Constantinople 1290—1328. — Western sources: P. P. Thédénat-Duvent, *L'Égypte sous Méhémet Ali ou aperçu rapide de l'administration civile et militaire de ce pacha*, Paris 1822; F. Mengin, *Histoire de l'Égypte sous le gouvernement de Mohammed-Aly*, 2 vols., Paris 1823; J. Planat, *Histoire de la régénération de l'Égypte. Lettres écrites du Caire à M. le Comte A. de Laborde*, Paris 1830; E. de Cadalvène et J. de Breuvery, *L'Égypte et la Turquie de 1829 à 1836*, tome 1. 2. *Égypte et Nubie*, Paris 1836; E. de Cadalvène et E. Barrault, *Histoire de la guerre de Méhémet-Ali contre la Porte ottomane (1831—1833)*, Paris 1837; A. de Vaulabelle, *Histoire de l'Égypte sous Mohammed Ali*, vol. ix., x. de *Histoire*

scientifique et militaire de l'Expédition Française en Égypte, Paris 1830—1839; F. Mengin, *Histoire sommaire de l'Égypte sous le gouvernement de Mohammed-Aly (1823—1836)*, Paris 1839; J. Bowring, *Report on Egypt and Candia, addressed to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Palmerston*, London 1840; Clot Bey, *Aperçu Général sur l'Égypte*, 2 vols. (l. 75 199.; *Mehemet Ali et sa famille*), Brussels 1840; Pückler-Muskau, *Ans Mehemed Alls Reich*, Stuttgart 1844; J. Napier, *The War in Syria*, 2 vols., London 1842; F. Perrier, *La Syrie sous le gouvernement de Méhémet-Ali jusqu'en 1840*, Paris 1842; E. Gouin, *L'Égypte au XIX^{ème} siècle. Histoire militaire et politique, anecdotique et pittoresque de Méhémet-Ali, Ibrahim Pacha, Salim Pacha*, Paris 1847.

Later historical studies: A. von Kremer, *Ägypten*, Leipzig 1863; J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa*, vol. vii., Leipzig 1863; G. Rosen, *Geschichte der Türkei*, 2 vols., Leipzig 1866; A. A. Paton, *A History of the Egyptian Revolution from the Period of the Mamelukes to the Death of Mohammed Ali*, 2nd ed., London 1870; M. Lüttke, *Ägyptens neue Zeit*, Leipzig 1873; A. von Prokesch-Osten, *Mohamed-Ali, Vice-König von Ägypten*, Vienna 1877; 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṣāf al-Tawfiyya*, l. 67—74, Bulāq 1306 (1889); H. Dehérain, *Le Soudan Égyptien sous Méhémet Ali*, Paris 1892; Benedetti, *Mehemet-Ali durant ses dernières années*, in *Revue des deux Mondes*, tome 129, Paris 1895; L. Bréhier, *Histoire de l'Égypte de 1798 à 1900*, Paris 1900; C. A. Murray, *A short Memoir of Mohammed Ali*, London 1898; G. Zaidān, *Ta'rīkh Muḥammad al-Shāh*, 2nd ed., vol. i., Cairo 1910; W. A. Phillips, art. *Mohammed Ali* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1911; do., in *The Cambridge Modern History*; N. Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. v., Weimar 1912; K. Slusheim, in *Historische Jahrbücher*, 1915; A. Hasenclever, *Geschichte Ägyptens im 19. Jahrhundert (1798—1914)*, Halle a. S. 1917; *Mohammed Ali et le Khālifāt (1833—1837)*, in *Actes du Congrès de Géographie du Caire 1927*, tome v., p. 15; Asad J. Rustam, *The Struggle of Mehemet Ali Pasha with Sultan Mahmud II and some of its geographical aspects*, in *Actes du Congrès de Géogr. du Caire*, tome v., p. 46; Muhammad Rif'at, *Ta'rīkh Miqr al-Shayṣ fī 'Ummīna al-hadītha*, Cairo 1926; Shaḥk Ghoriāl, *The Beginnings of the Egyptian Question and the Rise of Mehemet Ali. A Study in the Diplomacy of the Napoleonic Era based on Researches in the British and French Archives*, London 1928; M. Sahry, *L'Empire Égyptien sous Mohamed Ali et la question d'Orient (1812—1849)*, Paris 1930; H. Dodwell, *The Founder of Modern Egypt, a Study of Muhammad Ali*, Cambridge 1931. (J. H. KRAMERS.)

MUHAMMAD 'ALĪ B. MUẒAFFAR AL-DĪN.
[See KADJAK.]

MUHAMMAD BAI RAM (MUHAMMAD B. MUṢṬAFĀ B. MUHAMMAD B. MUHAMMAD B. MUHAMMAD B. HUSAYN B. AHMAD B. MUHAMMAD B. HUSAYN B. BAI RAM), a Tunisian patriot and man of letters, born in Tunis in Muharram 1256 (March 5—April 3, 1840) and died on Wednesday, 25th Rabi' II, 1307 (Dec. 18, 1889) in Egypt, at Hulwān, and was buried in Cairo near the tomb of the Imām al-Shāhī.

Belonging to the family of the Bairams whose

ancestor Bairam, at the head of a body of soldiers, took part in the capture of Tunis by Sinān Pāshā on 25th Djumādā 981 (Sept. 24, 1573) and of which several members had held the office of grand mufti of Tunis, Muhammad Bairam studied at the Djamī' al-Zaitūna and had as teachers al-Fahīr b. 'Ashūr, al-Shādhilī b. Sālih, Ahmad Bairam, Mustafā Bairam, the Shaikh al-Islām Muhammad b. Mu'āwīya and others. At the age of 17, he compiled a *kunūẓ* in which he recorded the ordinances, decrees and administrative regulations which the emir Muhammad Pāshā ordered the authorities to enforce.

On the death of his paternal uncle Bairam IV, he was given charge of the Madrasat al-'Unūkiya on 9th Djumādā I, 1278 (Nov. 10, 1861) and on the 9th of the following month (Dec. 13) of that of the Djamī' al-Zaitūna. Soon after this, troubles provoked by the despotic régime began to disturb Tunisia and resulted in the closing of the representative assemblies in which Bairam was interested. He published in the *Al-'Id*, the official gazette, the two first political articles that ever appeared in Tunisia and in them he condemned the tyranny of the authorities, preached the love of liberty and begged the government to be liberal and to grant its subjects representative assemblies.

On Šafar 17, 1291 (April 6, 1874) he was appointed to administer the *awāḍf*, which he hastened to reorganise. The hard work ruined his health and forced him to take a journey in Europe to recuperate; this caused him to begin his *Safwa al-'Iṭihār*. He left in Shawwāl 1292 (Oct. 31—Nov. 28, 1875) and visited Paris. In the same year the Sādiqī College was founded; Bairam shared in the preparation of the regulation and programme of studies, modelled on those of European institutions, and was one of the first to enrol his son so as to encourage his compatriots to take advantage of such innovations.

On 1st Djumādā II, 1292 (May 7, 1875) he was put in charge of the government printing works which he at once reorganised, and securing eminent assistants like Maḥammad al-Sanūsī of Tunis and Ḥamza Fath Allāh of Cairo he produced the *Al-'Id* regularly. It was at this time also that he reorganised the Maktabat al-Sādiqiya alongside of the Djamī' al-Zaitūna.

In 1293 (1876) he assisted Turkey in the war with Serbia and Montenegro by sending money, horses and camels, political considerations preventing the despatch of help in men.

In the summer of 1295 (1878) he went a second time to Paris, visited the Exhibition and was received with great consideration by President MacMahon. He took the opportunity to visit London and England and, on his way back, Algiers. He took a very prominent part in the reorganisation or rather the creation of the Sādiqī Hospital which was opened on Šafar 18, 1296 (Feb. 1879). At the same time he was one of the two arbitrators appointed by the Tunisian government in the case of Henghir Saiyidi Thābit and the French government. In the middle of the same year, he was appointed by the vizier to go to Paris, to receive medical attention, it was said, but in reality to ask Gambetta to remove the French consul, who was interfering in the domestic affairs of the country and even managing them. The consul thwarted the plans of Bairam and the vizier. On his return he told the vizier that France intended to annex Tunisia. Tired of the vexatious pestering

of the vizier Mustafā b. Ismā'il he obtained, after many attempts, permission to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and left Tunis, never to return, on Shawwāl 16, 1296 (Oct. 4, 1879). He went via Malta, Alexandria and Cairo, where he was received by the Khedive Tewfik Pāshā, and thence to the Hijāz, visiting Mecca and Medina. He then went via Yambu' and the Suez Canal to Bairūt, where he was much honoured by the people and by Midhat Pāshā, the governor of Syria, and on to Constantinople. He wrote a *ḥafida* in honour of Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamid. The Tunisian government at the instigation of the French consul, who feared the establishment of closer relations between Turkey and Tunisia, demanded his return but the Sublime Porte diplomatically did not receive the request.

It was in Constantinople that he began to prepare the *Safwa* for publication and finished the first two volumes. The penetration of France into Tunisia was a rude shock to Bairam, who in collaboration with the former vizier of Tunisia, Khair al-Din, was appointed by the Sublime Porte to prepare a report on the situation created by France. Despairing of returning to his native town he went to Leghorn and was joined by his family; he then went to Geneva, where he left his son to finish his education, and to Vienna and Bucharest and then settled in Constantinople. The Sulṭān, wishing to send some horses as a present to the Emperor Frederick III of Germany, Bairam was appointed to write the letter conveying the gift. During the eighteen months which he spent in the Turkish capital, Bairam drew a pension of £T 25 per month. It was during this stay that he prepared the third volume of the *Safwa*.

His health being undermined by an illness which grew worse daily and being unable to meet his expenses and fearing the machinations of his detractors, who saw in him a man to be removed, he left Constantinople on 1st Muḥarram 1302 (Oct. 21, 1884) to go to Egypt, where his letters of recommendation secured him the esteem of the Khedive Tewfik Pāshā, who gave him a pension.

On the 25th Rabi' of the same year (Jan. 13, 1883) he produced *al-'Iṭihār*, a political and scientific journal.

Two years later, he went to London to attend the jubilee celebrations of Queen Victoria, had medical attention in Paris and returned to Egypt via Berlin and Vienna. He then completed a work which he had begun in Constantinople entitled *Tafḥīd al-Sinān li-'I-Radd 'alā 'I-Ḥaṭṭh Rinnān* (Renan), in which he refuted the arguments which Renan had advanced at a conference in the Sorbonne on March 29, 1883 on *Islamisme et la Science* (Paris 1883), in which he alleged that religion was an obstacle to the diffusion of science among Muslims. He also published a *Riḥla* in which he declared that it was permitted to purchase bonds or shares in a Muslim government loan so that Muslim money should not leave the country, and that this had no character of usury. He wrote a report on the compulsory use of the Arabic language in the teaching even of modern sciences. He finished the fourth volume of the *Safwa* and had begun the fifth which death prevented him from finishing.

On 12th Djumādā I, 1306 (Jan. 14, 1889) Bairam was appointed a judge in the Tribunal de 1^{re} Instance in Cairo. Going to Hulwān for a change of air, he took pleurisy and died after 25 days' illness.

He had a vast knowledge of Hadith, law, history, ancient and modern, and historical and political geography.

In addition to the works already mentioned and numerous *riḍālas* which it would take too long to enumerate, we may mention the following: 1. *Tuḥfat al-Khawāṣṣ fī Ḥill Sa'id Būdūḥ al-Raḥḥ*, printed at Cairo in 1303 in which he claims that the law regards as permitted the flesh of game killed with fire-arms; 2. a treatise on prosody; 3. a *riḍāla* in which he says that it is permissible for men to let their hair hang down and float in the air, contrary to the opinion of several *faḥḥās*; 4. *al-Taḥḥiq fī Ma'ālat al-Raḥḥ*, a study in which he shows what slavery among Muslims is according to the law, points out the motives of slavery and the rules regulating it, and concludes by saying that slaves who are sold at the present day are free men and that Muslim governments which forbid the sale of slaves are acting in accordance with the law; 5. *Safwat al-Fihār li-Mustawḍa' al-Amūr*, published in 6 vols. in Cairo in 1302—1303, 1303, 1304, 1311, the sixth volume being devoted to the biography of Muhammad Bakram and edited by his son of the same name; it is perhaps the best treatise yet written in Arabic on political geography.

Bibliography: The biography written by his son and published at the end of the *Safwat*; E. Van Dyck, *Itḥaf al-Kawāṣ*, Cairo 1896, p. 414; G. Zaidān, *Tarīkh Adab al-Lughat al-Arabiya*, Cairo 1911—1914, iv. 289.

(M. H. HAYET HOSAIN)

MUHAMMAD BAKĀ', son of Shaikh Ghulām Muhammad, born in 1037 (1627), was first taught by his father and then by Shaikh 'Abd Allah, called Miyān Ḥafḥat, and Shaikh Nūr al-Ḥaḥḥ b. 'Abd al-Ḥaḥḥ Dihlawī. After a few years he himself began teaching in his native country. He first became a *murīd* or disciple of his father, and after the latter's death attached himself to the famous saint, Muhammad Ma'sūm Sarhindī. He was persuaded by Iṣḥāq Khān, Mir Khānsmān, to come to the court of Awrangzeb and accepted the duties of *Bakhsh* (pay master) and *Wakī'ah-nigār* (writer of the official diary), but by special favour he enjoyed much leisure, which he devoted to literary work. He died in 1094 (1683) at Sahāraupūr. He is the author of 1. *Mir'at al-Faḥḥān Numū* (a general history compiled under Awrangzeb), 2. *Riyāḥ al-Awḥāḥ* (life of saints), 3. *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā'* (biographies of the poets).

Bibliography: Bakhshīwar Khān, *Mir'at al-Ālam*, fol. 478b; Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, viii. 145—165; Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS. Br. Mus.*, iii. 890a; Ethé, *Cat. of Persian MSS.*, India Office, p. 49. (M. H. HAYET HOSAIN)

MUHAMMAD BAKHTIYĀR KHALDĪ was an inhabitant of Ghūr [q. v.]. He was of a very mean appearance and amongst other deformities of his person it is said that when he stood upright the end of his fingers extended considerably below his knees. When he reached the age of manhood he went to Ghazna [q. v.] and offered himself as a volunteer to the officers of Muhammad Ghōrī, but they refused to enrol him. He, therefore, repaired to Dihli and was appointed by Khat al-Din Albeg [q. v.] to command an army destined for the conquest of Bihar about 396 (1199). Here he was very successful. He was next ordered to invade Bengal. In 600—601 (1203—1204) he proceeded

to Nadyā, the capital of Bengal, and captured it without any bloodshed. His last attempt was directed towards the invasion of Bhūtan and Tibet, but he met with reverses which compelled him to retreat. He succeeded in reaching Derikōr in Bengal where he died, but his body was carried to Bilār and buried there in 602 (1206).

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Bāqī Nihāwādī, *Ma'āthir al-Kāmil*, part i., p. 292—294; Stewart, *History of Bengal*, London 1813, p. 38—50; Wheeler, *History of India*, iv., part i., London 1886, p. 46; and Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, London 1894, p. 261.

(M. H. HAYET HOSAIN)

MUHAMMAD BEY ABŪ DHĀHAB. [See 'ALĪ BEY.]

MUHAMMAD BEY 'OTHMĀN AL-DJALĀL was born in Egypt in 1829, the son of a judge in the Court of Appeal, named Yūsuf al-Ḥasan. When a boy he learned English, French and Turkish at the school of languages (*Madrasat al-Asiyya*) and when only 16 was given an appointment in the government translation bureau. His patron, the engineer Clot Bey, had him appointed to the Conseil de Médecine. In 1863 he entered the War Ministry and five years later the Ministry of the Interior. In 1879 the Khedive Tewfīk Pasha appointed him to his civil cabinet and several times took him to accompany him on journeys. After the death of the Khedive he was appointed a judge in Cairo. In 1895 he was pensioned and he devoted himself to literary work till his death at the end of 1898.

In collaboration with Clot Bey, he published a sketch of the history of Muhammad 'Alī and an elementary grammar of the Arabic and French languages and also a description in rhyme of his journey with the Khedive Tewfīk. He then devoted himself to the translation of poetry: first of the fables of La Fontaine, the novel *Paul et Virginie*, and of Racine's tragedies *Alexandre le Grand*, *Esther* and *Iphigénie*. All these he translated into classical Arabic. But his real importance lies in his endeavour to translate Molière's comedies into the modern Arabic vernacular of Egypt, freely adapting them to Arabic conditions:

a. *Tartuffe* under the title *Shaykh Maṭṭaf*, which Vollers edited under the title *Le Sh. Maṭṭaf* (cf. *Z. D. M. G.*, xlv. 71 sqq. and thereon Socin, *ibid.*, xlv. 131 sqq.); b. *Madrasat al-Awḥāḥ* (*L'École des Maris*), transcribed and translated by M. Sobernheim, Berlin 1896; c. *al-Nisā' al-Ālmiyyāt* (*Les Femmes Savantes*), transcribed and translated by Fr. Kern, Berlin 1898; d. *Madrasat al-Nisā'* (*L'École des Femmes*); e. *Kiṭāyat al-Zuhāḥ* (*Les Fächer*), 1897. His collections of popular poems were also lithographed: *Ḥiml Zaḥḥal*.

The Egyptians were not much attracted by these comedies translated into the vernacular. The language did not appear cultured enough to the Egyptian public. They were hardly ever produced and the rich vocabulary which the comedies contain has not been noticed or utilised by students of modern Arabic.

Bibliography: On metre and language see Socin, Sobernheim and Kern, *loc. cit.*; and see also Brockelmann *G. A. L.*, ii. 176 sq.; the poet's autobiography in *al-Khatāt al-Jadida* of 'Alī Pasha Maṭṭar, xvii. 62; *al-Adab al-'Arabiya fī l-Karn al-tā'ir*, ii. 91 sq.; J. E. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de bibliographie arabe*, ii., col. 1306.

(M. SOBERNHEIM)

MUHAMMAD ÇELEBİ. [See ÇHAZALI.]

MUHAMMAD DAMAD PASHA, grand-vizier, also called OKUZ MUHAMMAD PASHA, was the son of a farrier of Constantinople and was educated (rather unusual at that time for a boy from Constantinople) in the imperial palace for a military career. He left the palace as *allîşâr*, but we do not know his career until he was appointed, in 1616 (1607—1608), governor of Egypt. Here he was successful in the energetic suppression of a Mamlûk revolt and when he returned in 1620 to the capital with two years' tribute, he was appointed Kapudan Pasha, being at the same time married to sultân Ahmad's seven years' old daughter Gawlur Khân (married afterwards to Râdjah Pasha and Siyâwush Pasha; cf. *Sicillî-i 'othmânî*, I. 147), which assured him the qualification *damad*. As Kapudan Pasha he was under responsible for a defeat inflicted in 1613 on a part of his fleet, off the island of Chios, by a small Spanish-Sicilian fleet; this blow prevented the landing of Turkish ships in Syria on an expedition against the Druses. Damad Muhammad was dismissed from the post of Kapudan, became, however, second vizier and, after Nasûh Pasha's execution (October 17, 1614) he was appointed grand-vizier. In this office he commanded in 1615 as *ter-âskâr* in a new campaign against Persia, the peace negotiations having ended unsuccessfully a short time before. Nothing was undertaken, however, that year, partly owing to astrological calculations. The grand-vizier remained that winter in Aleppo. The next year the Persians were attacked in Armenia, where they had made some progress; Erivan was beleaguered and capitulated beginning of July 1616 after a 25 days' siege. The Turkish army was obliged, however, to withdraw with heavy losses occasioned by the rude climate and the insufficient food supplies. Damad Muhammad was dismissed in January 1617 to be succeeded by Khalîl Pasha [q. v.]; in the Venetian *Relazioni* Khalîl Pasha and Muhammad Pasha are described as the only members of the Imperial Diwân that really count. The next year, after the accession of 'Othmân II, he became Khalîl's *âzîm-ma'mûm* during that year's Persian campaign and, after Khalîl's disgrace, was appointed a second time grand-vizier (January 18, 1619). This dignity he held only a year, in which peace was concluded with Persia; the reason of his dismissal was a dispute with the Kapudan Güzelidje 'Alî Pasha [q. v.], a favourite of the sultân (January 1620). Damad Muhammad went as governor to Aleppo after having been deprived of all his wealth by the extortions of his successor. He died soon after his arrival in Aleppo and was buried in the *takke* of Shaikh Abû Bakr, where he had a *mihrâb* made for himself.

Bibliography: The principal Turkish sources are Na'imâ I, Peçewî and Hâdîdî Khalîfa (*Fakih-ke* and *Tuhfat al-Kibîr*). Further von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. 442, 468, 475 *qq.*; 507 *qq.* where some contemporaneous western sources are indicated; 'Othmân Zâde, *Hudûd al-Wusû'a*, p. 61; *Sicillî-i 'othmânî*, iv. 147.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MIRZÂ MUHAMMAD DJA'FAR KARADJADAGHI, Muntî of the Kâdjâr prince Djâlal al-Dîn Mirzâ and translator into Persian of the famous comedies of the Âdharbâidjân playwright Mirzâ Fath 'Alî Akhundzâde. After they had been published

(1859) Mirzâ Fath 'Alî sent a copy of his plays to the above-mentioned Kâdjâr prince in the hope that he would take notice of it. But the book lay unheeded for years in the prince's library until Muhammad Dja'far opened it by chance. The muntî, delighted with the plays, at once decided to translate them into Persian. As no one would help him, he was forced to print the translation at his own expense, which brought him into considerable financial difficulties. The translation appeared in lithograph in Teheran in 1874 under the title *Tamthîlât*. When the work was finished, Muhammad Dja'far corresponded with the author and found out that they were related. The Persian translation is of the greatest importance for the history of Persian theatre as it gave the stimulus to the composition of original works. The influence of Akhundzâde on the work of Malkum-Khân and even on more recent dramatists, such as Mahmûdî, is quite apparent. From the artistic point of view however, Muhammad Dja'far's translations cannot be called successful as their language is very clumsy and filled with countless Âdharbâidjânisms. It is remarkable that European orientals first became acquainted with Akhundzâde's works in their Persian dress and published a considerable number of these translations (see *Bibl.*) as textbooks for the study of spoken Persian, although, in view of their linguistic defects, the translations cannot by any means be regarded as models of the living Persian language.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, *Grundriss*, ii. 316; W. H. D. Haggard and G. Le Strange, *The Vaisir of Lankuran*, London 1882. Reviews of this book by A. Chodzko, *Bulletin de l'Asiatic Oriental*, Paris 1883; Barbier de Meynard, *Revue critique*, Paris, March 19, 1883; Barbier de Meynard and S. Guyard, *Trois comédies traduites du dialecte turc azéri en persan*, Paris 1885; A. Wahrmond, *Monsieur Jourdan, der pariser Botaniker in Qarabâg. Neupersisches Lustspiel von Muh. Gaf. Qaraga dagi*, Vienna 1889. Review by V. Zhukovski, *Zap.*, v. (1890), 129—132; A. Rogers, *Three Persian Plays*, London 1890. An edition of the *Hakim-i Nazaf*, without author's name, London 1895; A. Krimski, *Periski teatr smidki vîn uiveli i jak rozvivavsi*, Kiev 1925, p. 83—86 (Ukrainian); E. Berthels, *Oberbâidjân persidjebî literatûri*, Leningrad 1928, p. 130 (Russian).

(E. BERTHELS)

MUHAMMAD ES'AD. [See GHÂLÎL DEDR.]

MUHAMMAD ES'AD. [See ES'AD EFENDI.]

MUHAMMAD GHAETH GAWALIYARI,

an Indian saint. He was a descendant of the famous saint Shaikh Farîd al-Dîn 'Ajjâr [q. v.], his full name being Abû 'I-Mu'ayyad Muhammad b. Khaṭṭr al-Dîn b. Latîf b. Mu'în al-Dîn Kattâl b. Khaṭṭr al-Dîn b. Bâyarîd b. Farîd al-Dîn 'Ajjâr. Some say that his great-grand-father Mu'în al-Dîn Kattâl came to India and died at Djawnpûr. One of his brothers, Shaikh Bahlûl, who was attached to the service of Humâyûn, fell in battle and lies buried at the gate of the fort in Bayâna. According to his own statement, Muhammad Ghaeth was born in 906 (1500). He was a pupil of Shaikh Zuhâr al-Dîn Hâdîdî Haddâr, and belonged to the Shât-ârtiya sect of Sûfîs. He and his eight brothers were disciples of Shaikh Hâdîdî Hamîd, khalîfa of Shah Kâfân, the disciple and khalîfa of Shaikh 'Abd Allâh Shattârî. After leading a solitary life

for more than thirteen years in the mountains of Cundr, he came to Gudar, where he became acquainted with the popular saint and scholar Shaikh Wadjih al-Din Gudar. He went to Agra in 966 (1558) and was treated with high regard by Akbar. Subsequently he returned to Gawaliyar, where he died in 970 (1562). Humayun is also said to have been a faithful follower of Muhammad Ghawth.

He was the author of several Sufi works, the most popular of which is *Diwān-i Khams*, in Arabic, which he completed in 956 (1549), and which he subsequently rendered into Persian with additional improvements. His other works are *Kutub-i Maḥabbat*, *Bahr al-Hayat*, and *Mir'at-i Nāma*. It is related that his ecstatic sayings in the *Mir'at-i Nāma* were condemned by the 'ulama' of Gudar, who passed orders for his execution, but that he was saved by the timely intervention of the above-mentioned Shaikh Wadjih al-Din.

Bibliography: Bankipore Lib., *Cat.*, vol. xvi., Nos. 1383—1384; *Akhbar al-Akhbar*, p. 256; *Ahsan-i Asfhar*, p. 969; *Tadhkirat-i Ulama'-i Hind*, p. 206; see also Haddaji Khalifa, ii. 643; *East. India Office Lib. Cat.*, Nos. 1875—1876; *Loth, Arab. Cat.*, Nos. 671—672.

(ABDUL MUQTADIR)

MUHAMMAD GURDJI PASHA. Two Tur-

kish grand-viziers are known under this name.

1. The one who is also called KHADIM MUHAMMAD PASHA began his political career after having been a eunuch in the imperial palace; in 1604 he became *mawlā* in Egypt, where he was able to establish some order; after that he was twice *ḥākim-maḥḥam* of the grand-vizierate in the capital, in 1611 and in 1615; in the meantime he had held governorships in Erzerum, Bosnia and Belgrad. He was called to the grand-vizierate in the days of Sultan Mustafa I's second reign, when the Janissaries and the Sipahs were dictating their will at Constantinople (September 1622). Khadim Muhammad owed his nomination to the Sipahs — who had obtained the dismissal of Mir Husain Pasha, the leader of the Janissaries — but also to the confidence of the *walide* and to his well-earned reputation of a wise and experienced politician. He succeeded indeed in the abolition of abuses in the army administration by convoking a large council of dignitaries, where the reinforcement of the *ḥukuk* was decided. When, however, in several parts of the empire, there arose opposition against the Janissary regime, especially the action of Abaza Pasha [q.v.] in Erzerum, the grand-vizier was unable to oppose the Janissaries in Constantinople. Their leader Mir Husain was intriguing again, while at the same time the soldateska was crying for revenge for Sultan 'Othman II; as a result of these riots the former grand-vizier Dawud Pasha was killed in January 1623. On February 5 of the same year the rebellious Janissaries, declaring that a eunuch could not be their grand-vizier, obtained his dismissal in favour of Mir Husain. Gurdji Muhammad went into exile, but after the enthronement of Murad IV he came back to the capital as vizier and acted for the third time as *ḥākim-maḥḥam* in May 1624 when the then grand-vizier went on an expedition against Abaza. He died on March 26 and was buried in a *cirke* in Eiyub. His age is not given in the sources. In the opinion of the English resident Roe, Gurdji Muhammad was one of the few per-

sonalities that were able to lead the affairs of the empire.

Bibliography: The historians Na'ima, Pecewi, Hasan Bey Zade, Haddaji Khalifa (*Fajr-i Akbar*); Tughl, *Wafat-i Sultan 'Othman II* (used by von Hammer, not printed but existing in a French translation; cf. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 157); 'Othman Zade Ta'ib, *Hadiyat al-Wusara*, p. 71; *Safih-i 'Othmani*, iv. 151; von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iv.; Jorga, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, iii.

2. One of the grand-viziers of the first period of Muhammad IV's reign, when the state affairs were really governed by the *walide* Kösem [q.v.] and the *ḫashar-ahad* Soleiman. This Gurdji Muhammad had already a long career as governor of Syria and other provinces behind him when, at the age of 94 years, he was called to the highest dignity in the beginning of November 1651 as successor of Siyavush Pasha, who had shown too much independence towards the court. During his grand-vizierate he is said to have shown fully his lack of capacity, taking the alarming revolts in Asia Minor of Abaza Pasha, Ipsah Pasha and Kadirji Oghlu with the greatest equanimity. He was especially anxious to remove from the capital all possible rivals to the grand-vizierate, amongst them Muhammad Köprülü, which brought him, as Na'ima says, the nickname of *ḥabib al-salafin* 'the pill of the sultans'. On June 19, 1652 he was deposed again by the court party. After having been exiled he lived some time at Eiyub and died in 1664, at the age of 110 years, in Temesvár.

Bibliography: The histories of Na'ima and Pecewi, further Wedjidi (not published and used by von Hammer; cf. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 208); also the *Siyahat-nāma* of Entiyā; 'Othman Zade Ta'ib, *Hadiyat al-Wusara*, p. 95 sqq.; von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, v.; Jorga, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, iii., iv.; Ahmad Rafiq, *Kudatlar Sultanat*, Constantinople 1914—1924.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD HASAN KHAN, a Persian man of letters, who died on 19th Shawwal 1313 (April 3, 1896). His honorific titles were *Sani' al-Dawla* and later *I'timad al-Saltana*.

Through his mother he was related to the Khajars [q.v.] and through his father he claimed descent from the Mongol rulers. His father, Haddaji 'Ali Khan of Maragha, was a faithful servant of Nasir al-Din Shah (in 1852 he discovered the conspiracy of Sulaiman Khan) and the son from his youth upwards was in the service of the court.

Muhammad Hasan Khan was one of the first students at the Dar al-Funun founded in 1268 (1851) and spent 12 years there. Later he went with his father when he was appointed governor of 'Arak. In 1280 (1863) he was appointed second secretary to the Paris Legation and spent three and a half years there. On his return to Teheran he was appointed interpreter to the Shah and in this capacity accompanied him on his travels. In 1288 (1871) he was appointed head of the dragomane (*dar al-tarjuma*) and of the press bureau (*dar al-tibba*) as well as director of the official *Khasanu-yi dawlat*. In 1290 he was appointed superintendent of the palaces and assistant to the minister of justice and henceforth continually rose in rank.

E. G. Browne criticises severely the work of

Muhammad Hasan Khan and accuses him of having put his name to books alleged to have been written for him by indigent scholars. On the other hand, Joukovsky speaks with much respect of his works and shows that he inspired a great many literary undertakings (e.g. the printing of the Kur'an with an inter-linear Persian translation, concordance and index; the foundation of a press for printing in Roman characters; the establishment of the Mushittiya school; encouragement of the daily press etc.) although after the appearance at Bombay of a satirical work by Shakh Hashim Shihri the censorship was established on the suggestion of Muhammad Hasan Khan.

The fact is that the number of works — often very useful — bearing the name of Muhammad Hasan Khan, is very large. Without the help of "secretaries" some of these books could not have been undertaken. To Muhammad Hasan Khan is in any case due the honour of having suggested them. His principal works deal with the history and geography of Persia and are often in the form of almanacs. They are: *Mir'at al-Buldan*, i., two editions (1293, 1294, a dictionary of geography: letters ا — و); ii., 1295 (history of the years i. — xv. of the reign of Nasir al-Din and calendar); iii. (years xvi. — xxii. of the reign of Nasir al-Din and calendar); iv., 1296 (geography: letters و — ح and history of 1296). In the geo-

graphical portions we find quotations from Vāqūt and European travellers along with notes specially prepared by the local authorities (an extract from the *Mir'at al-Buldan*: *Tarikh-i Babul wa-Nisawā* was published at Bombay in 1311); *Tarikh-i muntaham-i Nāqih*, 3 parts, 1298—1300 (history from the time of the Ilghiz; vol. iii.: history of the Kādhirs 1194—1300); *Mafid al-Shams*, 3 vols., 1301—1303 (description of the journey to Khurāsān with important archaeological data; ii. 195—213 contains the autograph of Shāh Tahmāsp, and ii. 469—500 a list of books in the library of the sanctuary of Mashhad); *Kitāb Hujūq al-Sā'ida fi Hādith al-Shahīda*, Tihān 1304, Tahsīl 1310 (history of the martyrs of Karbalā); *Ahsan-tun-niswan* [cf. Sūra ix. 70], 3 vols., 1304—1307 (biographies of famous women of the Islām); *Kitāb Durar al-Tijān fi Tarikh Banī Ashbān*, 1308—1310, 3 vols. (history of the Arsacids); *Kitāb al-Ma'āthir wa'l-Ashār*, 1309 (historical almanac for the 40th anniversary of the reign of Nāsir al-Din Shāh); *Kitāb al-Tudūn fi Ahwāl Djabāl-i Sharwān*, 1311 (history and geography of Sawād-kūh in Mazandān).

In the field of literature Muhammad Hasan Khan was only a translator (Swiss Family Robinson, romances of Jules Verne, discovery of America, *Tarikh-i Likhāf-i Yangi Dunyā*, Tihān 1288, *Memoirs on the Indian Mutiny* of 1857). He also wrote a number of text-books on geography and on the French language.

Bibliography: V. A. Joukovsky (Zukowski), obituary of Muhammad Hasan Khan in *Z. V. D.*, s., 1896, p. 187—191; Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, p. 453—456; Edwards, *Catalogue of Persian Books of the Brit. Mus.*, p. 479—480.

(V. MINORSKY)

MUHAMMAD HUSAIN TABRIZI, a famous Persian calligrapher, pupil of the celebrated Mir Saiyid Ahmad Mashhadi and teacher of the

no less famous Mir 'Imād. His remarkable command of the art of calligraphy, so popular in Persia, brought him the title of honour *Miftāh Ustād* (greatest master). His father Mirzā Shukrullāh was *Murtafi' al-Mamalik* to the Safawid Tahmāsp I (1521—1576), the master himself, according to the Oriental sources, was vizier to Shāh 'Imād II (1576—1578) but lost the favour of the sovereign and was forced to fly to India where he remained to his death. Rien says he died about 950 (1543), but this does not agree with other biographical details and is indeed improbable. That he spent the remainder of his life in India is evident from the fact that most of the manuscripts known to have been written by him were finished in India. The inscriptions on the mosques and khankahs of Tabriz are said to have been his masterpieces but unfortunately they have been almost entirely destroyed by earthquakes. After completing these inscriptions he made the obligatory pilgrimage to Mecca and on his return devoted himself exclusively to copying the masterpieces of Persian poetry. A *Divān* of the Persian poet Amir Shāhī from his pen is in the Cambridge University Library.

Bibliography: Cl. Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman*, Paris 1908, p. 237; E. Browne, *A Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, 1899, No. 265, p. 353; Mirzā Hashim, *Khafā wa-Khawāṣṣ*, Constantinople 1306; *Tarikh-i 'Alam-nāma-i 'Abbāsī*, Teheran 1314, p. 126; Ch. Rien, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, s., p. 782^a, 783^a, 785^a.

(R. BRATHENS)

MUHAMMAD ISMA'IL b. 'ABD AL-QHANI AL-SHAHID MAWLAH was born on the 28th Shawwāl 1196 (1781), of a Dihli family that traces its origin to the Caliph 'Umar. He was a nephew of the famous Mawla Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz (d. 1239 = 1823). Having lost his father early, he was brought up by his uncle Mawla Shāh 'Abd al-Kādir (d. 1242 = 1826). In childhood he was inattentive to his studies and fond of swimming in the Djamna, but thanks to a retentive memory and a keen intellect he later on became a learned man.

Being shocked at the *shirk* or idolatrous tendencies, then prevailing among Indian Muslims, he zealously preached the doctrines of Islām. Impressed by the religious sanctity of Saiyid Ahmad al-Mujaddid, he became his disciple and his constant companion. In 1236 (1820) they went to Mecca and then to Constantinople, where they were received with marked consideration. Six years later, on their return to Dihli, they gained many followers. In 1245 (1827) they with many disciples went to Peshawar and declared a religious war against the Sikhs. But owing to some innovations upon the usages of the Afghāns, their power declined and during a retreat they perished in a skirmish with the Sikhs in 1247 (1831).

He is the author of the following works:

1. *Nisān Ustād al-Fiqh*, a treatise on the principles of Muhammadan law according to the Hanafī school;
2. *Mantab-i Imāmat*, a Persian treatise on the Imāmat;
3. *Tahmīyat al-Imān*, an Urdu treatise on theology (printed 1293, translated into English by Mir Shāhmat 'Alī, cf. *J. R. A. S.*, xiii, 316);
4. *Sirāt al-Mustafī*, a treatise in Persian on the doctrines of Islām.

Bibliography: Ṣiddīk Ḥasan, *Ikkāf al-Nuḥūḍ*, p. 416; Saiyid Aḥmad Khān, *Aḥḥār al-Sanādīd*, ii. 97; and *J. R. A. S.*, xiii. 310.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUHAMMAD KĀZIM & **MUHAMMAD AMIN** was a *muntazir* or secretary to Awrangzeb. He was entrusted with the compilation, from official records, of the history of the emperor's reign and was ordered to submit it to him for correction. He accompanied the emperor on his journey to Ajmir where he fell ill and was consequently sent back to Delhi and died there shortly after his return in 1092 (1681).

The history which he composed is known as '*Ālamgīr Nāma*'; it begins with the departure of Awrangzeb from Awrangabad in 1068 (1657) and is brought down to 1078 (1667). It has been printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta 1865-1868.

Bibliography: Khafī Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, ii. 210; Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vii. 174-180; N. Lees, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., iii. 464; and Rieu, *Cat. of the Persian MSS. Br. Mus.*, ii. 267a.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUHAMMAD KHALĪFA. [See MUHAMMAD B. HUSAIN.]

MUHAMMAD KHĀN BANGASH. Nawwāb styled Ghājanfar Dīang, was a Rohilla chief of the tribe of Bangash. The city of Farrukhabād was founded by him in the name of his patron the emperor Farrukhsiyar. When Muḥammad Shāh became emperor of Delhi, he appointed him governor of Mīlwa in 1143 (1730), but as he could not stop the repeated attacks of the Mahrattas he was removed in 1145 (1732) and appointed governor of Ilāhābād. Muḥammad Khān intended to reduce the Bundēlas of whom Rājā Chaturāl was chief. He captured several places but as he did not know the roads, Chaturāl with the help of Peshwa Bājī Rāo, surrounded him suddenly with an army. The Nawwāb took refuge in the fortress of Djaigarh; whereupon his son, Kāsim Dīang, having collected an army of Afghans marched to Djaigarh and escorted his father in safety to Ilāhābād. The imperial ministers then removed him from the governorship. He died in 1156 (1743).

Bibliography: *Muṭṭahir al-Umar*, ii. 771-774; *Tarīkh-i Farrukhabād* (Asiatic Society's copy), fol. 9, 13, 18, 20, 26 and 46-48; and *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xii. 64-65.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUHAMMAD KÖPRÜLÜ. [See KÖPRÜLÜ.]

MUHAMMAD LALA PASHA. [See MUHAMMAD PASHA LALA.]

MUHAMMAD LĀLEZĀRĪ, SHAIKH, author of a work on tulips, *Mīn al-Ashār* "Balance of Flowers". This treatise on the cultivation of tulips was composed in the reign of Sultan Aḥmad III (1115-1143 = 1703-1730), who had given the author the title *Shāh-nāzīr* on the suggestion of the grand vizier İbrāhīm Pasha between 1718 and 1730.

Bibliography: H. Fr. von Dicz, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus Asien*, Halle and Berlin 1815, ii. 1, 199, reprinted as: *Vom Tulpen- und Narzissen-Bau in der Turkey aus dem Türkischen des Schirch Muhammad Lalezari*, Halle and Berlin 1815; Pertuch, *Katalog der türk. Hss. Berlin*, p. 305, No. 232.

(TH. MENZEL)

MUHAMMAD LĀLEZĀRĪ, TAHR, the name of a Kāfī who died in 1204 (1789) in Constantinople, who wrote a series of theological treatises and commentaries, which are still only accessible in ms.: *Mīn al-Muḥsin fi Marifat al-Kutub al-mustafīn*, *Daf' l'Itrāḍ al-Khāṣṣ fi Ḥaḥḥ al-Fuṣūḥ*; commentary on the *Kaṭīb-i nūnīyeh*, and the commentaries in a collected volume in the 'Aḥrī Efendi-Library in Constantinople (*Defter-i Kutubkhāne-i 'Aḥrī Efendi*, Constantinople 1306, p. 188, No. 124 [3rd Waḥf-foundation]) containing: *Dīwanāh al-qāhīr* (on Ghazālī); *Yāḥyā al-qamr* (on Birgawī); *Zumrudat al-ḥidāyāt* (on 'Abd al-Kādir al-Gilānī); *al-Durrat al-ṣāḥih* (on *Ḥik al-Ḥaḥ*) and *Kawākib al-durr* (on Ibn Maṣṣāḥ). The name Lālezārī comes from Lālezār, a quarter of Constantinople near the Fāṭih Mosque.

Bibliography: Brunsell Mehmed Tahr, *Oṭmānlı Müellifleri*, i. 349, to which may be added Thuriyā, *Siyāḥat-i 'otmānī*, iii. 243; Tahr Lālezār-zāde, who in 1201 (1786-1787) was Molla of Eiyūb.

(TH. MENZEL)

MUHAMMAD MUHSIN AL-HĀDIDI, son of Hādījī Faiḍ Allāh, son of Aghā Faḍl Allāh, a rich merchant of Irān who came to India in the early part of the xviiith century, was born at Hūglī in 1143 (1730). For a time the Aghā resided at Murshidābād and carried on there an extensive mercantile business, but finding the rising port of Hūglī a more convenient centre, he finally settled there with his son Hādījī Faiḍ Allāh.

Already settled at Hūglī was one Aghā Muṭahhar, who, coming originally from Persia like Aghā Faḍl Allāh, had won his way at the court of Awrangzeb (q.v.). That monarch had conferred upon him extensive *ijāzats* in Dīlūt and other places in Bengal, and Aghā Muṭahhar, eager to take possession, finally himself set out from Dīlūt for the Eastern province. So well did he manage his newly acquired lands that he soon became one of the wealthiest men in the province. He selected Hūglī as his headquarters. Aghā Muṭahhar for many years remained childless and it was only in very old age that a daughter was born to him. Round this only child, named Mānū Dījān Khānam, all his affections centred, and dying when she was only seven years old he left her all his property. The widow of Aghā Muṭahhar was displeased with the conduct of her husband and subsequently married Hādījī Faiḍ Allāh, the son of Aghā Faḍl Allāh, her late husband's friend. The fruit of this marriage was Hādījī Muḥammad Muhsin. He was eight years younger than his half-sister, Mānū Dījān Khānam. Muḥammad Muhsin was first brought up at Hūglī, afterwards he completed his education in Murshidābād. After finishing his studies at Murshidābād, he returned to his sister's home at Hūglī. Later, he started on a long journey and for twenty-seven years he continued his travels in India, Arabia, Persia and Central Asia. It was not until he had reached his sixtieth year that he finally decided to terminate his travels and return home. Making his way slowly across Northern India he came at last to Lucknow. Thence he came to Murshidābād in 1216 (1801), with the intention of settling there. But during his long absence his sister, Mānū Dījān Khānam, had married her cousin, Salāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad Khān, nephew of Aghā Muṭahhar; her husband died in the prime of life and she was anxiously waiting for the

arrival of her step-brother. At last at the solicitation of his sister, Muḥammad Muhsin came to Hūgli, and when she died at the age of eighty-one in 1218 (1803), she left a will bequeathing to Muḥammad Muhsin the whole of her property.

It was thus not until Hādjī Muḥammad Muhsin had reached the age of seventy-three that he became possessed of the great wealth which greatly helped his co-religionists in Bengal in the pursuit of education. He had never married and the death of his half-sister left him without near relatives. He was anxious that his great wealth should be put to good use after his death and consequently on the April 26, 1806 (1221 A. H.) he signed a Deed of Trust, setting apart the whole of his income for charitable purposes in perpetuity.

Hādjī Muḥammad Muhsin lived for six years after making this noble disposition of his property. For his own personal use he had reserved only so much property as would bring him in about one hundred rupees a month. In 1227 (1812) he died at the age of about eighty-two and was buried in the garden adjoining the *Imāmbārā* which he had so splendidly endowed.

Bibliography: F. B. Bradley-Bert, *Twelve Men of Bengal*, Calcutta 1910, p. 35–59; Mahendra Chandra Mitra, *Life of Hajī Muḥammad Muhsin*, Calcutta 1880, p. 1–29; O'Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteer*, Hooghly, Calcutta 1912, p. 292–294; D. G. Crawford, *Hooghly Medical Gazetteer*, Calcutta 1903, p. 243; *Bengal Past and Present* (*Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society*), ii. 63 sqq., Calcutta 1908. (M. HIDAYET HOBAIN)

MUHAMMAD MURTAḌĀ b. MUHAMMAD b. MUHAMMAD b. 'ABD AL-RAZZĀQ 'ABD 'L-FAḌL AL-HUSAINI AL-ZARIDĪ AL-HANAFĪ, an Arabic scholar, born in 1145 (1732) in Bilgrām in Kanauj in N. W. India, settled, after travelling for many years in pursuit of knowledge, in Cairo on 9th Šafar 1167 (Dec. 7, 1753). There he succeeded in reviving an interest in the study of Tradition by giving lectures to specially invited companies. In Upper Egypt also he was always a welcome guest with the Arab Shaikh Ḥumām and in the Egyptian country towns, and his fame spread to the Sūdān and even to India. From the year 1191 (1777) he drew a pension from the government. He died in Ša'bān 1205 (April 1791) in Cairo of the plague.

His principal works are two great commentaries. He wrote the *Taḏī al-'Arūs* on Fīrūzshāh's *Ġāwā'id*, finishing it in 1181 (1767) after 14 years' work; although in the preface he quotes over a hundred sources used by him, he takes most of the additions to the *Ġāwā'id* bodily from the *Liṣān al-'Arab* of Ibn Manẓūr. It was printed incompletely in 5 vols. in Cairo 1286–1287 and in 10 vols. in Cairo 1307. He wrote a commentary, also very extensive, on Ghazālī's *Ikḥāṣ 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, entitled *Liḥāf al-Sāda al-muttaḥin*, in which, in addition to explaining words he devotes special attention to establishing traditions quoted by al-Ghazālī; it was printed at Fās in 1301–1304 in 13 vols., at Cairo in 1311 in 10 vols. He also composed a number of smaller works on lexicography and Tradition and also on the genealogy of the 'Alids: 1. *Nuḥwāt al-Ittiḥād fī Bayān Ḥaḍīq al-Maṣīr wa 'l-Ḳāḍi*, ed. by Landberg, *Primæurs arabes*, l. 40–55; 2. *al-Ḳawāl al-maḥlūt fī Taḥḥiḥ Laḥf*

al-Taḥḥiḥ, Cairo, *Fihrist*, l. 96; 3. *Taḥḥiḥ al-Waṣīl il-Ma'rifa al-Mukāshshat wa 'l-Rasā'il*, Mīḍal, Dāwūd, *Makḥḥūḍāt*, p. 140, 1; 4. *al-Amālī al-Shāikhūniya*, lectures on traditions, which he gave in the Djamī' Shaikhūn, Berlin, Ahlwardt, N^o 10253; 5. *Riḥla fī Ahādīṯ Yamm al-'Aḥḥar*, Cairo, *Fihrist*, vi. 209; 6. *Tuḥfat al-Ḳamāl fī Madḥ Shaikh al-'Arab Imām al-'Alī* in the form of a *maḥāma*, Cairo, *Fihrist*, iii. 47; 7. *Iḍāḥ al-Maḍā'ir fī 'l-Iḥḍāḥ 'an 'l-'Awā'id*, finished on 4th Rabi' II 1194 (April 10, 1780), *ibid.*, v. 51; 8. *Djaḥwāt al-Ittiḥād fī Narab Bani 'l-'Aḥḥar*, finished on 26th Dhu 'l-Hiḍḍja 1182 (May 2, 1769), *ibid.*, p. 150; 9. *Ḥikmat al-Iḥḍāḥ ilā Kutub al-'Aḥḥar*, history of the Arabic script and of famous calligraphers, finished on 12th Dhu 'l-Hiḍḍja 1184 (March 30, 1771), *ibid.*, p. 163; 10. *al-Rawf al-maḥḥar fī Nazab al-Sāda al-Djāfar al-Taiyār*, *ibid.*, p. 205; 11. *Muḥl Niḥāḥ al-Ḳhaṣa* 'an *Ḳumū Sūdāniya Bani 'l-Waṣā*, finished on 16th Ramaḍān 1187 (Nov. 21, 1774), *ibid.*, p. 343; 12. *Niḥat al-Sayid Muḥammad 'Eṣṣadi Ibn Ḥawwā' bint Aḥmad*, *ibid.*, p. 346, b. 8.

Bibliography: al-Djabbār, *'Aḍḍā al-Āḥḥar*, Cairo 1927, ii. 196–210, followed by 'Alī Pāshā Mubārak, *al-Ḳaḥḥat al-Tawfīḥiyya al-Jadida*, Bulāḡ 1306, iii. 94–96; Mu'min al-Shablandji, *Nūr al-Aḥḥar fī Maḥāḥib al-Bait al-Muḥḥar*, Bulāḡ 1290, p. 273 sqq.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

MUHAMMAD PASHA. [See MUHAMMAD DAMAD PASHA, MUHAMMAD GURĪJ PASHA, ḲARAMĀNİ MEHMED PASHA, SOĞOLLI.]

MUHAMMAD PASHA, BALṬADĪ, grand vizier, was born about 1660 in the town of 'Oḥmāndjīk and, after an education in the imperial palace, entered the corps of the *balṭaḥ*. On account of his beautiful voice he acted for some time as *miṣṣḥḥin*; later on he became a scribe and rose rapidly in this career. In 1703, at Aḥmad III's accession, he became *miṣṣḥḥ* and was made *Ḳapudan Pasha* in November 1704. In December of the same year he obtained the grand vizierate as successor of Ḳalayll Aḥmad Pasha, against whom, although he had been at one time his fellow *balṭaḥ*, he had used all his power of intrigue, for which he was especially notorious, according to the historiographer Rāshid. On May 3, 1706 he was dismissed — on account of his lack of capacity, as Rāshid says — and sailed to Lemnos, but his friends obtained for him the nomination to the governorship of Ezerūm. In January 1709 he became governor of Aleppo and from here he was called, in August 1710, a second time to the grand vizierate, after Köprülü Nu'mān Pasha had proved unable to restore stability in the way that had been expected from him. At that time the first great conflict with Russia was drawing near; Charles XII of Sweden, after the battle of Poltawa, remained in Turkey. The beginning of Balṭadī Muḥammad's second grand vizierate was therefore filled with preparations for the war with Russia, which had been decided upon at a great state council in November 1710, and approved of by a *fatwā* of the Shaikh al-Islām. The grand vizier was made commander of this memorable campaign, which quickly was ended by the battle near Faldin (Falksen, Turk. Faldin) on the Pruth (July 21–22, 1711). Peter the Great's army was left in a desperate position, but his generals succeeded in concluding a truce with the

grand vizier, by the terms of which the Russian army was allowed to withdraw, while Azof was restored to the Turks. The general feeling in the Ottoman historical tradition is that Baltajli Muhammad had been bribed; his enemies at any case intrigued against him in Constantinople so that, even before his return to the capital, he was informed of his dismissal at Adrianople (Nov. 1711). The conclusion of the armistice of the Pruth was also much against the wishes of Charles XII who, on his remonstrances to the grand vizier, is said to have got the insulting reply that, in case Peter had been taken prisoner, there would have been nobody to govern his country and that, in general, it was not good that sovereigns should leave their country (Voltaire, *Histoire de Charles XII et de Pierre I.*). Baltajli was exiled to Lesbos and then to Lemnos, where he died in 1712, aged over fifty.

The bad reputation which this grand vizier has in Turkish history, and which is also given him by von Hammer, does not seem to be confirmed by western sources (Jorga, iv, 308).

Bibliography: The chief Turkish authority is Râşid's *Ta'rikh*; the campaign against Russia has been described in a *Ta'rikh-i Mulk*, contained in the work of Hasan of Crete and in a Munich manuscript (Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 307, 310); Dillawer-Zâde, *Dhail to the Hadîth al-Wuzarâ*, p. 7 *agg.*; *Sijill-i 'othmânî*, iv, 208 *agg.*; von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vi, 111 *agg.*, 148 *agg.*; Jorga, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, iv, where other western sources are indicated; Ahmed Refik, *Mamâlik-i 'othmâniyye* *Dimir Bâkî Şerh*, Constantinople 1910; Ahmad Mukhtâr, *Rûi mu-nâbbîs göre Baltajli Mehmed Paşanın Prut üfârî*, *T.O.E.M.*, vol. 8, p. 160 *agg.*, 238 *agg.* (J. H. KRAMERS).

MUHAMMAD PASHA, ELMAS, grand vizier, was born about 1660 in a village near Sinûb as son of a ship's captain. After having been attached to the service of the pasha of Tripolis, he was educated in the *hâssâ* oda of the palace and became in 1687 *silâhîdar*; soon afterwards he became *nizâmîdar* and obtained the rank of vizier. In Ahmad II's reign he was pasha in Bosnia, but did not yet play a prominent part, though he is said to have been one of that sultan's favourites. After Mustafa II's accession he was appointed *â'in-ma'âm* of the imperial stirrup and, when a revolt of the janissaries had cost the grand vizier Süremlî 'Alî Pasha's life, he was appointed in his stead (April 1695). He accompanied the new sultan during the campaign against Austria of the years 1695, 1696 and 1697. On September 11, 1697 the Turkish army was attacked by the Austrians under prince Eugène, while it was passing the Theiss near Zenta in order to march on Szegedin. The sultan had already reached the left bank, but the grand vizier, together with a number of high military chiefs, was killed that day in the battle, which meant a heavy loss for the Turkish troops. Elmas Muhammad had been against this military enterprise, but the other members of the council had persuaded the sultan to the contrary. He is said to owe the surname *Elmas* "diamond" to his accomplishments and handsome physique.

Bibliography: The *Ta'rikh* of Râşid is the chief Turkish source, further 'Othmân Zâde Ta'ib, *Hadîth al-Wuzarâ*, p. 122 *agg.*; *Sijill-i 'othmânî*, i, 395; von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vi, 111 *agg.*

Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, v.; Jorga, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, iv.; Ahmad Refik, *Filetet Sultânî*, Constantinople 1332.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD PASHA KARAMANLI [See KARAMANLI MEHMET PASHA.]

MUHAMMAD PASHA, LALA, grand vizier under Ahmad I. He was a Bosnian by origin and a relation of Muhammad Sokolli Pasha. The year of his birth is not given. After having had his education in the palace, he was *mir-akbar* and became in 1595 *agha* of the Janissaries. Two years later he took part in the Austrian wars as beylerbey of Rûm-ili and was commander of Esatergom (Graz; Turkish: Usturghon) when this town capitulated to the Austrian army in September 1595. During the following years Lala Muhammad was several times *mir-akbar* in Hungary and when, in July 1604, the grand vizier Yawur 'Alî had died in Belgrad, on his way to the Hungarian theatre of war, the sultan sent the imperial seal to Lala Muhammad. Although peace negotiations were continually being resumed, the new grand vizier took in that year Waiteen (Turk. Wâs) but besieged in vain Esatergom. During next year's campaign Esatergom was taken by Lala Muhammad (Sept. 29, 1605) and in November he crowned the Hungarian Bocskay as king of Hungary (without the regions occupied directly by the Turks) and Transylvania. In that same year the Turkish eastern army under Cigale Pasha was beaten by the Persians, while the troops sent to subdue the revolt in Anatolia were routed at Bulawadin. After his return it was decided that the grand vizier should remain next year in the capital and lead the war on the two fronts and, if possible, bring to a successful end the long-drawn peace negotiations with Austria. The young sultan, however, changed his mind in keeping with the wishes of the Kapudan Pasha Derwish, who was intriguing against Lala Muhammad. Accordingly the latter was ordered to take command of the army against Persia. He had already put up his tent in Uskûdar, when overcome by sorrow because of the frustration of his plans, he was seized with an apoplexy and died three days afterwards (May 23, 1606). He was buried near the *türbe* of Sokolli Pasha.

Bibliography: The *Ta'rikh* of Petewî — who, as scribe, had served Lala Muhammad on several occasions (cf. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 192) —, Na'imî and Hasan Beyrâde; 'Othmân Zâde Ta'ib, *Hadîth al-Wuzarâ*, p. 52 *agg.*; *Sijill-i 'othmânî*, iv, 140; von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iv.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD PASHA, RUM, vizier and, according to some sources, grand vizier under Sultan Muhammad II. As his surname indicates he was a Greek renegade. After having had an education in the palace he was destined for a military career and became at one time *beylerbey*. The dates of his birth and of his military advancements are not recorded. He had taken part in the final campaign of Muhammad II against Karaman in 1466 and was charged by the sultan with the transfer of parts of the population of the conquered regions to Constantinople, instead of the grand vizier Mahmûd Pasha [q.v.] who executed these measures in too lenient a way, as the sources say. On the way back to Constantinople Mahmûd was dispossessed of his dignity in favour of Rûm Muhammad. The latter remained grand-vizier until

1470, during which time Muḥammad II went on his campaigns in Albania (cf. SKANDER BEG) and Negroponte. Rūm Muḥammad Pasha does not seem to have taken part in these expeditions, but, as a critical perusal of the sources has shown, he was especially charged with the problem of the repopulation of Constantinople; his commissionership for the transfer of the Karamanian population had been connected with the same problem.

As the measures taken to make the new capital again inhabited must have been unpopular in Muslim circles — the Greeks and other Christian elements were granted as favourable conditions as the Muhammadans to settle in the town — the historical tradition of the early Ottoman chronicles is rather against Muḥammad Pasha. They ascribe to him the reestablishment of the house-rent in Constantinople called *mukāṣṣa*, which was considered as an injustice to the new Muslim settlers. The *mukāṣṣa* is said to have been instituted by the sultan, then abolished and again instituted by this grand vizier. But, as F. C. Giese has shown by an analysis of the text of 'Aḥlī-Pasha-Zāde and Tursun Bey (cf. *ibid.*, xix, 1931, p. 268 *seq.*), these measures were part of the policy of the sultan himself and were probably only executed by the temporary grand vizier, who, being a Greek, must have had special qualifications for the difficult task. This last circumstance, however, makes him the more suspect in the eyes of the historiographers and for this reason we may perhaps assume that his reported cruelty towards the population of the Karamanian towns has been exaggerated by the sources, in order to add glory to his predecessor Mahmūd Pasha, whose memory has survived as that of a national hero. It is not even beyond question that Rūm Muḥammad was ever really grand vizier (*Sijill-i 'othmānī*). The *Hadīkat al-Wusarā'* of 'Othmān-Zāde (p. 10) ascribes Mahmūd Pasha's fall to Rūm Muḥammad's intrigues, but makes Iḥāk Pasha his immediate successor in the grand vizierate. So do other historians.

He was dismissed in 875 (1470) and was afterwards (according to the *Sijill-i 'othmānī* in 879 [1075]) appointed *māli* of Konya with the mission to pacify the newly conquered territory. He was defeated, however, by the tribe of the Warsak in the Cilician passes; soon afterwards he died, probably killed by order of the sultan (according to 'Aḥlī-Pasha-Zāde, ed. Giese, p. 133). The chronological order of these events is not certain.

Rūm Muḥammad Pasha was buried in a mosque which he had founded in Üsküdar.

Bibliography: Among the old chronicles those of Neṣrī and 'Aḥlī-Pasha-Zāde, and among the later historians especially 'Alī *Sijill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 104; von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 488, 499; Hāfiḥ Husain al-Aḥkāsīyī, *Hadīkat al-Wusarā'*, ii. 195. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD PASHA, SOĞOLLI [See SOĞOLLI].

MUHAMMAD PASHA, SULTAN ZADE, grand vizier under Sultan Ibrāhīm, was born about 1600 as son of 'Abd al-Rahmān Bey, son of the former grand vizier Ahmad Pasha (under Murād III), and by his mother a grandson of a princess of the imperial house, whence his surname Sultan Zāde. After having been *kaplān bāshā* in the palace, he adopted a military career, became already in 1630 *kubbe mestri* and was appointed in 1638 governor of Egypt. In 1642 he was made

commander of the expedition against Azof [q. v.] which town he rebuilt after it had been burned by the Cossacks before its surrender. On his return he turned with the *silāḥdār* Yūsuf Pasha and the sultan's favourite Djindji Khwādja a triumvirate, supported by the *māli* Kösem [q. v.]; they intrigued against the grand vizier Kara Muṣṭafā Pasha, who sought to remove the danger by sending Sultan Zāde Muḥammad in 1643 to Damascus as *māli*. After Kara Muṣṭafā had been executed on January 1, 1644, Sultan Zāde Muḥammad was made grand vizier. One of his most conspicuous characteristics in this office seems to have been his ability to flatter the sultan and to satisfy his very extravagant wishes by obtaining money from all possible sources and by giving *sandjaks* to many of Ibrāhīm's favourites. At this time the Empire was at peace with Austria (which sent in August 1644 an extraordinary embassy to confirm the peace) and with Persia, although Rakoczy, the prince of Transylvania, did his best to involve Turkey in a war with Austria. There was, however, a strong desire to go to war with Venice and to conquer Crete. The grand vizier was against this undertaking, but his former confederates drew the sultan to their side. Accordingly Yūsuf Pasha sailed as *serdar* to Crete in the spring of 1645 and took Candia (August 17). The bad feelings that arose after Yūsuf Pasha's return led to Sultan Zāde's dismissal from the post of grand vizier (December 1645). After Yūsuf Pasha in January 1646 had fallen a victim to Sultan Ibrāhīm's cruel capriciousness, Sultan Zāde himself was made *serdar* against Crete. He departed in April 1646, drove the Venetians from Tenedos, which they had taken by surprise, and died shortly after his arrival in Candia (July 1646). He was buried in the *teke* of Hudā'i in Üsküdar.

Bibliography: Na'imā's *Tārīkh* is the chief Turkish authority; valuable contemporary information is given in the *Siyāhat-nāme* of Ewliyā Çelebi, who himself went with the expedition against Azof. Further the *Dhīl-i Tawārīkh-i Aḥī 'Othmān* of Naṣṣī Pasha Zāde (cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 211) and an anonymous *Noṣṣat-nāme* (*G. O. W.*, p. 152, note); 'Othmān Zāde *Tārīkh*, *Hadīkat al-Wusarā'*, p. 84 *seq.*; *Sijill-i 'othmānī*, iv. 161; von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, v. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD PASHA, TIRYAKI, grand vizier under Mahmūd I, was born about 1680 at Constantinople. His father was a Janissary. He began his career as a scribe and rose to important posts; in 1739 he played a role in the peace negotiations at Belgrad with Austria. He had been *kāya* of the grand vizierate, viz. minister of the interior, when the sultan, under influence of his new *hālar agha*, the so-called Begler the Younger, dismissed his predecessor Hasan Pasha and called him to the grand vizierate (August 1746). The twelve months of his period of office were not filled with war but with important diplomatic negotiations, in which he was supported by the new *kāya* Muḥammad Sa'id, later grand vizier, and the *efendi* Muṣṭafā, both of them equally well versed in European diplomacy. During Tiryākī Muḥammad's grand vizierate peace was concluded with Nādir Shāh of Persia (September 4, 1746) and the peace treaties with Austria and Russia were renewed. As the reason for his dismissal (August 24, 1747) is given his addiction to the use of drugs

(hence the surname Tiryaki) and his quarrelsome, vindictive character, by which he had made enemies, especially in the ranks of the *'ulama'*. After his fall he was governor in different eyalets, as İcilli, Mâşul, Bağdad, Djidda, and he died in July 1751 at Rethymno in Crete, where he lived, probably in involuntary retirement. According to the *Sicill-i 'osmânî*, he was a capable official before his coming to the grand vizierate; afterwards he was a failure in every office.

Bibliography: The *Turîk* of 'Izzî; Dillâver Zâde 'Omar, *Dâhil to the Hadikat al-Wusarâ*, p. 73 199; *Sicill-i 'osmânî*, iv. 237 (where the dates are wrong); von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vi.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD PASHA, YEGEN, grand vizier under Mahmûd II. He was called Yegen "the Nephew" because he stood in that relationship to Kel Yûsuf Efendi, a high official in the financial administration (*Sicill-i 'osmânî*, iv. 659); he also began his career by holding different financial offices, and was also *kapî kaymak* of the grand vizier Topal 'Osmân Pasha (1732). In 1737 he became *âlim-nâshîn* in Constantinople during the absence of the grand vizier 'Abd Allâh Pasha. The latter was successful that year against the Austrians on the Danube frontier (taking of Fethi Islim), but was nevertheless dismissed, after his return, through the influence of the *âzîzler agha* Beshir. Yegen Muhammad was appointed in his place (December 1737) and had to continue the peace negotiations with Austria and Russia, which were made especially complicated by the rivalry between France (represented by de Villeneuve) and the Sea Powers in offering their good services as mediators. The grand vizier himself was rather in favour of continuing the war and, being of a proud and arrogant character, made the negotiations still more difficult. In June 1737 he went as *serdar* to the Austrian front and was successful in recapturing Semendria and Orsova (August). He was back in the capital in November. At the end of the year the Russians retired from Ocakow and Kilburnu, which placed Turkey in a favourable position in the never ceasing peace negotiations, in which Poland also had become involved. But not even this grand vizier was to bring the war to an end; the same influence that had disposed of his predecessor obtained his dismissal in March 1739. After that Yegen Muhammad was governor of Crete, Bosnia, Aidin and Anadolu. When in this last office he was called to the post of *serdar* on the front of Karz (March 1745) against the Persians. He received large reinforcements from different quarters and thought himself strong enough to attack Nadir Shâh in his encampment near Eriwan. This battle resulted in disaster for the Turks, owing mainly to a mutiny among the irregular *levends*. Yegen Muhammad was killed, probably by the mutineers, in August 1745.

Bibliography: The Turkish historians Sabkî, 'Izzî; Dillâver Zâde 'Omar, *Dâhil to the Hadikat al-Wusarâ*, p. 60 199; *Sicill-i 'osmânî*, iv. 234; von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vii.; Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, v.; Jorga, *Gesch. des Osm. Reiches*, v.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUHAMMAD (MAHMUD) RA'UF, an important Ottoman author and poet who plays a very prominent part in the development of the Turkish moderns and of the written language. Born on Aug. 12, 1291 (1875) in Constanti-

nople, the son of an Anatolian, who came from Kuthiya, and a Circassian mother, he received a good education. He attended the Naval School and became a naval officer but he only spent eighteen months in the navy, mainly in Crete. When quite a boy, he displayed an irrepressible love for the theatre and literature and began to write at the age of 10, taking as his models the novels of Ahmad Midhat and the translations of French romances of adventure. This first production was a drama, *Denâ'it yâkubî Gaskunya Karsanlar* ("Baseness or the Corsairs of Gascogne"). As his knowledge of French, and later of English, increased, he extended the scope of his reading and of his interests, so that at school he received the nickname *Roman okuyan Efendi* (the novel-reader) and later *Romancı* (the novel-writer). His literary activity proper only began in the Naval School where he became acquainted with Georges Ohnet, Octave Feuillet, Alphonse Daudet, Emile Zola, Flaubert, the French realists and naturalists and endeavoured to imitate them. His story *Djânîşî* is the most notable of his efforts at this period.

When he became acquainted with the works of the modernist 'Ushâkî-Zâde Khâlid Ziyâ [q. v.] he came completely under his influence, especially after entering into correspondence with him and having his story *Düşmân* published by him in the periodical *Khidmet*. Through Ziyâ who remained his model and Hussein Djâhid, whose friendship he made soon afterwards, he adopted the careers of letters completely and became an author. When Djânîş Shihâb al-Din had to go to the Hijâz as medical officer, he left the editorship of his periodical *Mekteb* in the hands of Ra'uf. In 1312 (1896) Ra'uf at the suggestion of Ziyâ published his novel *Gharâm-ı Şehâb* ("Youthful Passion") in *İhtisâr*, but it did not meet with any special success. He only began to be famous as an author with his cooperation in the periodical *Servet-i Fânî* in 1312 (1896), which was of great influence in the development of modern Turkish literature. Here he worked with Ziyâ and the poet Tewfik Fikret [q. v.], to whom he had become related by his marriage. In 1901 the *Servet-i Fânî* came to an end and with it his literary activity till the Revolution of 1908.

His first contributions to the *Servet* were *Na-şahat* ("In Convalescence") and *Ushâk*. In the 19th volume was published in serial form his most celebrated novel: *Eylûl* ("September") which then appeared in book form like most of his works in the collection, so important for the development of Turkish literature: *Edibiyât-ı İhtisârî Kütüb-hânesi*, vol. vi., 1317 (1901). This novel, which was reprinted several times and which remained unique of its kind and represents a height of achievement never again reached by Ra'uf, had great influence and won general approval. In vivid, moving, although unequal language he describes in impressively realistic fashion the development and tragic end of a noble, innocent love. The exhausting verbosity in which Ra'uf reveals here was aptly compared by Ziyâ to a gimlet which always turns at the same spot.

Of his novels we may also mention *Ferdî-i Gharâm* ("The Morning of Passion"), *Edibiyât-ı İhtisârî*, No. 28; *Gimîl E'te Kâlm* ("A Young Girl's Heart"); *Menber* ("Violet") and *Kâlm* ("Nightmare").

More important are his collections in the pre-

vailing fashion of short sketches, tales and long stories. Among these is his second most famous work: *Siyâh İnşiller* ("Black Pearls"), a collection of poems in prose modelled on Ziya's *Manâir-ı Şâir* and Beauclaire's *Flowers du mal* (*Edebiyât*, No. 11, 1317); also the collection of long stories *Âşıkânî* ("Enamoured") (*Edebiyât*, No. 16, 1325 = 1910); *İhtîrâr* ("Death Agony") (*Edebiyât*, No. 12, 1325); *Son Emel* ("The last Hope") (*Edebiyât*, No. 29, 1329 = 1913) and *Bir Âşık-ın Târîk-i* ("History of a Love Affair") (1330 = 1914); further *Üç Hikâye* ("Three Tales"); *Eşhor* ("Flowers"); *Perwâneler gibi* ("As butterflies") etc.

Ra'uf was no less successful as a dramatist. He wrote the following pieces: *Pençe* ("The Talon"), a drama (eyan) in four acts (*fa'ıl*) (*Edebiyât*, No. 14, 1325 = 1909); *Ferdi ve Şehzâde* ("Ferdi and Co.") in 3 acts, a dramatisation of the novel of the same name by Ziya (*Edebiyât*, No. 17) and *İydül* ("Battle") in 5 acts (*Edebiyât*, No. 30, 1327 = 1911); also *İki Kuvvet* ("Two Powers"); *Yegmurdan deluya*.

Ra'uf died on Dec. 23, 1931 at Constantinople. Numerous contributions by him are in the *Servet-i Funûn*, the finely produced women's periodical *Meâzîn* of which he edited the only volume that appeared. Contributions by him, some his own work, especially poems (Ra'uf possessed not inconsiderable poetic talent and was regarded as the Turkish Baudelaire), also essays and criticisms, of which his analyses of the contemporary novel are valuable, were published in different collections, periodicals and newspapers in vast numbers. His *Zambak* ("Lily") brought him trouble. It was confiscated on account of its sensuality and the author was imprisoned. He wrote other things in the same style which were not printed.

In his works he appears as a very artistic, rather sentimental nature; even what he writes in prose is pure poetry. His prose is as good as that of Ziya, the leader of the *Servet-i Funûn* movement. He is one of the most important personalities in this group of men of letters, although his marked merits in form and style are counter-balanced by equal defects, which became worse as he paid no attention to the cultivation of his style; in him we find a reversed process, from the more perfect to the less. He would have been held in higher repute generally, if he had ceased to write after his first works. — Owing to the identity of the name and the parallel literary activity Muhammad Ra'uf was often taken for M. Ra'uf, the son of Faruk 'Atif Paşa, who died on Febr. 23, 1918 and was buried at Haidar Paşa. M. Ra'uf was editor of the *Resimli Kitâb*. He was a dramatist and wrote: *Perwâne*; *Nigâhda Kervân* ("Wonder in sight"); a comedy *Atış ile Bâzî arasında* ("Between Fire and Powder") and a piece entitled *Tirâz* written jointly with Ra'if Nedjdet, one of his most intimate friends. The following dramas were never printed: *Şâh al-Din-i Eyyûb*, *Nerwân* and a number of adaptations. From the English he translated Saiyid Ameer Ali's *The Life and Teachings of Mohammed or the Spirit of Islam* in 2 vols. entitled *Muawwez Târîk-i İslâm*.

Besides being an author, M. Ra'uf was also a teacher, a task for which his extensive knowledge of languages qualified him (in addition to French and English, he knew Arabic, Persian, German, Italian, Greek and others). He lectured at the University on mythology and Greek and Italian

literature, on which he wrote two text-books: *Yûnân i Âdâm Târîk-i Edebiyât* and *İtalya Târîk-i Edebiyât*. He was also for a time teacher of western literatures, Turkish literature and French at various secondary schools.

Bibliography: Brunsall Mehmed Tahir, *Öğmânî Mâ'ellîfîri*, II. 218; *Newâlî Milli*, 1330, p. 224—236; Şihâb al-Din Sulaimân, *Târîk-i Edebiyât-i 'osmâniye*, 1328, p. 367; İsmâ'il Hikmet, *Türk Edebiyât Târîk-i*, Baku 1925, i. 931—951; İbrahim Nedjmi, *Türk Edebiyât dersleri*, 1338, p. 307; İsmâ'il Habib, *Türk Tedrisat-i Edebiyât Târîk-i*, 1340, p. 533; Ra'if Nedjdet, *Hayât-i edebiye*, 1922, p. 202 199., 287, 349, 350; Khalil Hamid, in *Servet-i Funûn*, liv., 1918, p. 82—83; Fazy and Memdouk, *Anthologie*, p. 255—259; M. Hartmann, *Dichter der neuen Türkei*, in *M.S.O.S. A.*, xix., (1916), p. 124—179 and xvi. (1918), p. 43 and in *Urkunden und Untersuchungen zur Geistesentwicklung des heutigen Orients*, iii., Berlin 1919, p. 83—86; O. Hachtmann, *Die türkische Literatur des 20. Jahrh.*, Leipzig 1916, S. 13—16; *N.O. II*, 1918, p. 530 and 560; C. Frank, *Zum Gedächtnis M. Ra'ufs*, in *N.O.*, II. (1918), 167; Th. Menzel, *Die türkische Literatur*, in *Hinneberg's Kultur der Gegenwart, Die Orientalischen Literaturen*, Leipzig 1925², p. 313. (Th. MENZEL)

MUHAMMAD SA'ID (MIR DJUMLA), minister of 'Abd Allâh Kuib Shâh of Haidarâbâd during the xviiith century, was originally a diamond merchant, and was famous in the Deccan for his wealth before he became minister. After the defeat of his master 'Abd Allâh by Awrangzêb, Mir Djumla took service under the latter, and was made Governor of Bengal from 1071—1075 (1660—1664). He defeated Shâh Shujâ' when the latter fought against his brother Awrangzêb. Mir Djumla was afterwards employed in the conquest of Cochin Bihâr and Asâm in 1072—1073 (1661—1662). He overran both these countries but owing to the rainy season and the spread of disease among his troops, he was compelled to return, only to die of dysentery contracted during his campaign, shortly after his arrival at Dacca in 1073 (1663).

Bibliography: *Ma'âthir al-Umawî*, iii. 530; Blochmann, *J. A.S.B.*, xlii. 51; Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vii. 199; *Imperia Gazetteer of India*, ii. 402; vii. 214; Elphinstone, *History of India*, 1889, p. 588—613.

(M. HIDAYET HOŞAN)

MUHAMMAD SA'ID. (See KHALIL EFENDI ZIKR.)

MUHAMMAD SHAH (1131—1161 = 1719—1748), emperor of Dîhli, surnamed Muhammad Rawshan Akhtar (or, the Brilliant Star), was the son of prince Djahân Shâh, one of the three brothers who perished in disputing the crown with their eldest brother, Djahânsâr Shâh, son of Bahâdur Shâh. He was born on Friday the 24th Rabi' I 1114 (August 7, 1702), and was crowned by the two Saiyid brothers, Saiyid 'Abd Allâh and Saiyid Husain, after the death of Rafi' al-Dawla on the 25th Dhu l-Kâ'da 1131 (September 29, 1719). Muhammad Shâh reigned for about 30 years and died one month after the battle of Sarhind, which his son fought against Ahmad Shâh Abdâlî (q. v.). His death took place on Thursday the 27th Rabi' II 1161 (April 16, 1748). He was buried in the court before the Mausoleum of

Niṣām al-Dīn Awliya' at Dihli. This emperor may be called the last of the Tīmūrid line, who reigned in Dihli and enjoyed any power. The few princes of that sovereign's family who were raised to the throne after Muḥammad Shāh were mere puppets in the hands of the nobles of the court.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Ḥaṣim Khāfi Khān, *Muntahab al-Lubāb*, ii, 840; Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vii, 485; Elphinstone, *History of India*, 1889, p. 692.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUHAMMAD SHĀH I, 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN KHĀLJĪ (695—715 = 1295—1315), was the nephew and son-in-law of Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Firāz Shāh II, Khiljī, whom he murdered by treachery at Karā Munipūr, in the province of Ilāhābād, in 695 (1295), and ascended the throne of Dihli in the same year. He re-conquered Guḍjarāt (697 = 1297), took Ūtār and temporarily subdued the Rājputs (703 = 1303). His eunuch general, Malik Kafūr, seized Deogir and Warangal, and founded a Deccan province of the Dihli kingdom. The empire is said to have flourished during his reign. Among contemporary poets Amir Khusrāu and Khwāja Ḥasan held the first rank; Shāikh Niṣām al-Dīn Awliya', one of the greatest saints of India, flourished at the same time. He died in 715 (1315) and was buried in the tomb which he had constructed in his life-time in Old Dihli.

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Bāqī Nahāwandī, *Ma'āthir al-Raṣīdī*, p. 322—330; Niṣām al-Dīn Ḥamad Harawī, *Tabaqāt Akbarī*, Lucknow 1875, p. 68—86; Saiyid Ḥamad Khān, *Al-Bihar al-Sanādāt*, Dihli 1874, ii, 157; Wright, *Cat. of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, ii, 8; Elphinstone, *History of India*, 1889, p. 390—400.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUHAMMAD SHĀH BAHMĀNĪ [See MUHAMMAD I—III, above p. 664 *sq.*]

MUHAMMAD SHARIF AL-NADJAFI was born in the Deccan where he spent the first twenty-five years of his life. He afterwards visited in an official capacity Guḍjarāt, Mālwa, Adjmir, Dihli, Agra, the Panjāb, Sindh and Kashmir. He went to the last country in the train of Dīshāngīr and under the command of Kāsim Khān (1031 = 1621). He is the author of *Majma' al-Salafin*, a short history of the kings of Dihli and of the Deccan dynasties from the Muhammadan conquest to the accession of Shāh Dīshān, completed in 1038 (1628).

Bibliography: Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vii, 134—140; Rieu, *Cat. Persan MSS. Br. Mus.*, p. 907.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUHAMMAD TĀHIR AL-FATĀNĪ AL-GUḌJARĪ, was born at Patan in Guḍjarāt in 914 (1508); after completing his education in his native land, he proceeded to Mecca, where he studied traditions with eminent scholars such as Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī al-Makkī and others. He acquired much learning from 'Alī b. Ḥusain al-Dīn al-Muttaḥī (d. 975 = 1567) and also became his disciple in the Kāfir and Shāhī orders. After his return to his native country he tried his utmost to spread learning and to uproot the doctrines of Muḥammad al-Djawn-pūrī who had claimed to be the *Mahdī* of his time and had a considerable following among the Bohorā [q. v.], a community to which Muḥammad Tāhir himself belonged.

In 980 (1572) Akbar went to conquer Guḍjarāt. After its conquest he conferred honour on Muḥammad Tāhir by tying with his own hands a

turban on his head, saying that it was incumbent on him (Akbar) to spread the true principles of Islām. Khān 'A'zam 'Asir Muḥammad Kūkalush was appointed governor of Guḍjarāt and he helped Muḥammad Tāhir in uprooting the new doctrines of Mahdism. But when 'Abd al-Rahīm Khān Khānṣā succeeded him as governor, Muḥammad Tāhir suffered much at the hands of the followers of the Mahdī, and proceeded to the court of Akbar in Akbarābād for redress. On his way at Ūdhjain he was murdered by some followers of the pretended Mahdī in 986 (1578).

Among his various compositions the following may be mentioned:

1. *Majma' Biḥār al-Anwār fī Ghara'ib al-Tanzil wa-Laṭā'if al-Akhbār*, a copious dictionary of the Qur'ān and the Traditions, lithographed, Lakhnaw 1248, 1284 and 1314;

2. *al-Mughni*, a dictionary of proper names of Muhammadan traditionists, lithographed on the margin of *Taḥrīr al-Taḥqīq* by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Askalānī (Dihli 1290);

3. *Tadhkirat al-Mawdu'at*, a treatise on traditions that have been incorrectly attributed to the Prophet.

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Hakīk Dihlawi, *Akḥbar al-Akhbār*, Dihli 1309, p. 272—273; Ghulām 'Alī Arād Bilgrāmī, *Subḥat al-Mardjān*, Bombay 1303, p. 43—45; 'Abd al-Ḥay, *al-Ta'liqāt al-Saniya 'ala 'l-Fawā'id al-Bahiyā*, Lucknow 1895, p. 67; Fakir Muḥammad, *Ḥadīth al-Ḥanafiya*, Lucknow 1308, p. 385—387; Siddiq Ḥasan, *Adjad al-Ulūm*, Bhopal 1396, p. 895; *Ithāf al-Nubalā' al-Muttaḥin*, Cawnpore 1288, p. 397—400; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii, 416.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

MUHAMMAD ZA'IM, a Turkish historian. All that we know of his life is gleaned from his works. He was born in 939 (1532) for he tells us that at the accession of Sulṭān Murād III, i. e. in 982 (1574), he was 43. At the early age of eleven he took part in the campaign of 950 (1543) along with his elder brother Perwāne Agha, who at that time was Kapadji Bashi to the Sanjak Beg of Lepanto, Yahyā Pasha Oghlu Ḥamad Beg. When the latter, after the capture of Stuhlweissenburg, was appointed Sanjak Beg there, the brothers seemed to have remained in his service, probably till 952 (1545) when Ḥamad Beg was summoned to Stambul, in connection with the plundering of the Stuhlweissenburg churches. In 961 (1554) when Sulṭān Sulaimān took the field against Shāh Tahmasp of Persia, Muḥammad Za'im was a secretary in the service of the governor of Syria, Teki Oghlu Mehmed, and a year later he was secretary to the powerful grand vizier Mehmed Sokollī and in this capacity compiled the official report of the death of Selim II and the accession of Murād III which was sent to the governors of Diyarbakr, Aleppo and Baghdad. This office, to which he perhaps succeeded on the promotion (978 = 1570) of the famous Feridūn Ḥamed Beg [q. v.], he must have filled till the death of Mehmed Sokollī in 987 (1579); we hear nothing further about it. He held a great *fiel* (*ra'is*); hence his epithet Za'im; he himself says: *ra'ama-i 'atḥā-i salafin-i 'alī ummāniyeten Mehmedün ile müdāref me-shāhr*. Friends requested him to write a history and he finished it within a year. He began the work in Muharram 985 (beg. March 21, 1577) and had completed it in Dhū 'l-Hijja of the same year (beg. Feb. 9, 1578). The date of his death and

the site of his tomb are not known but he is said to have left charitable endowments in Karaferia near Salonika.

He called his book *Humūl-i Dīwān al-Tawārīkh* and dedicated it to his master Mehmedmed Solṭān. As his sources he mentions eleven historians from Firdawsi and Tabari down to the anonymous *Tawārīkh-i Solṭān-i Āl-i Osmān* and gives as his main source *Beḥarret al-Tawārīkh*, from which, as has been proved, he copied out whole pages without a qualm. The book, which is not yet printed, is divided into a preface and five large sections (*qism*), subdivided into *ḡurūḥ* and then again into *maḡāliḥ* and concludes with an epilogue. Rien and others have given an account of the contents from the manuscripts. In the fourth *ḡurūḥ* of the 5th *ḥisn* he deals with the Ottomans and here alone do we have statements of any value, when the author describes from his own experience events from 1543 onwards. He brought his story down to the time of writing and the last event that he mentions took place in the month in which the book was finished.

The passages in the book relating to Hungary have been dealt with by Thury (*Török történeti*, II, 364—389) who also collected the above data for his life; the earlier from 1390 to 1476 are given in extracts and the later from 1521 to 1566 translated in full. Of the other less valuable parts of the book Dies (*Dentwürdigkeiten von Asien*, I, 212 sq.) has edited a portion of the very early history, dealing with Cain and his descendants, while v. Hammer (*Sur les origines russes*, I, 120) edited and translated a portion on the tribal divisions of the Turks, where the Rūs appear as the ninth Turkish tribe. Of the later Ottoman historians, İbrāhīm Pečewî utilized and quoted from the work of Muhammed Za'im from the year 1542 onwards.

Bibliography: Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 20, 98 sq., 193, where further references are given. (W. BJÖRCKMAN)

AL-MUHAMMADIYA, a name of several heretical schools, notably the ultra-Shi'i Muhammadiyah.

As the example of the Kaisaniya [q. v.] shows, at an early date some Shi'is transferred the imamate to 'Alids who were not descendants of the Prophet's daughter Fātima and then to those who were not 'Alids at all. The Manḡuriya revered such an one in Abū Manḡūr al-Idḡī, whom Yūsuf b. 'Omar al-Tahāfi, governor of the 'Irāq, executed in the reign of the Caliph Hishām, i. e. before 125 (743). Abū Manḡūr, rejected by the Imām Dja'far al-Ṣādiq for Shi'i exaggeration, thrust the 'Alids aside by still further increasing this tendency: Muhammad's family, he said, was heaven, the Shi'is the earth and he himself the "fragment falling from heaven" mentioned in Sūra lii. 44, as he had been personally touched and taught by God on a journey to heaven; he is said to have abolished the religious laws. While one group, the Husainiya, recognized the Imām in his son al-Husain after the death of Abū Manḡūr, another, the Muhammadiyah, recognised Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib. He is the pretender celebrated as *al-Nafs al-zakiya* ("the pure soul"), who in 145 (762) fell at Medina fighting the troops of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Manḡūr. The Muhammadiyah quoted as authority for the recognition of an 'Alid again an alleged testamentary

disposition of Abū Manḡūr and compared the following order of succession: testament of the Husainid Muhammad Bakir for Abū Manḡūr and of the latter for the Hasanid Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh, with the Jewish line: first Moses, then Joshua, son of Nun, then the sons of Aaron (the latter priesthood is meant). This arrangement was chosen in both cases so that conflict might not arise between the two lines of brothers (*ḡaḡnā*). — We cannot be certain that the Muhammadiyah formed a definite sect. The name rather records the fact that the rising of al-Nafs al-Zakiya, which was of great extent, attracted all circles of the Shi'a to its ranks, even those who belonged to the Husainid camp; and members of the Manḡuriya, the followers of Manḡūrah b. Sa'id, killed in the year 119 (737) by Yūsuf b. 'Omar's predecessor Khālīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kāsi, probably under the leadership of Dja'fir b. Yarid al-Djufi, supported al-Nafs al-Zakiya with their good wishes at least.

Quite a different group is the ultra-Islamic Muhammadiyah or Mimiya. It took its name from the belief in the divinity of the Prophet Muhammad in reply to an 'Ulyāniya or 'Alniya who regarded 'Alī as God. Its principal representative al-Faiyād b. 'Alī was executed between 279 (892) and 289 (902).

The Khāridjī Muhammadiyah was a separate party within the strictly Khāridjī sub-group of the 'Adjārida; it is called after a certain Muhammad b. Zurāḡ.

Bibliography: al-Ash'ari, *Maḡāliḥ al-Isṭimiyin*, ed. H. Ritter, Constantinople 1928, I, 8 sq., 22 sq.; al-Baghdādī, *al-Furq bain al-Firāq*, Cairo 1328, p. 42 sq., 214 sq., 234 sq.; Ibn Haṣm, *al-Fijāl fi 'l-Milāl*, ..., Cairo 1317—21, I, 186 sq.; cf. al-Idḡī, *Manḡūf*, ed. Soerensen, Leipzig 1848, p. 353 sq.; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, ed. B. de Meynard, cf. Index; J. Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites*, in *J. A. O. S.*, xxviii, und xxix., cf. Index; Th. Haasbrücker (on Shahrastānī's) *Religionsparteien und Philosophenschulen*, II, 209. (R. STROTHMANN)

MUHAMMARA, a town and port at the head of the Persian Gulf and in the Persian province of 'Arabistān. It lies on the right bank of the Ḥaṣṣir channel (formerly called Nahr Bayān) which connects the Kārtū river with the Shatt al-'Arab. The original village from which the town grew appears to have lain on the left bank of the channel, on the island of 'Abhādān [q. v.], and Muhammara is probably therefore not to be identified with the town of Bayān, though it now lies on the same site. Further, Bayān was included in 'Irāq 'Arabī by the geographers, whereas Muhammara, lying on 'Abhādān island, was a part of Persia until the shifting of a channel threw the possession of the town into dispute between that country and Turkey. By the treaty of Erzerum (1847) it was assigned to Persia, but though the government was nominally directed from Shushitar, it remained in reality in the hands of the Arab ḡaḡh of the Ca'b (or Ka'b) tribe, who were Shi'is. From the fact that the Arab geographers ignore the town, at any rate under its present name (for references to Bayān see G. Le Strange, below), it may be inferred that the place (? Muḡriḡ) was either of minor importance or of comparatively recent origin. At the present time the port is of some importance for the trade of Persia, its principal article of commerce being dates,

though it is also connected with the oil trade.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 48; S. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, index; H. G. Rawlinson, *Notes on Mesopotamia and the Chaldean Arabs*, in *P.R.G.S.*, i. 351 sqq.; Yāqūt, *Muḥḥam*, iv. 709. (R. LEVY)

MUHĀRIB, the name of several Arab tribes (Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den geneal. Tabellen*, p. 320 gives five of this name) of which the most important is that of the Muḥārib b. Khayfā b. Kaīs 'Alīlān (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, D, 8). They do not however seem to have been of very great importance either in the Dīhīlīya or in Islām; Ibn al-Kalbī only gives them two pages of his *Dīwanat al-Anṣāb* (Brit. Mus. MS., Add. 23,297, fol. 163b—165b) but these add considerably to the very meagre information in the *Tabellen* especially as regards the lines of 'Alī b. Dīyar b. Muḥārib and of Badhāwa (sic) b. Dhūhī b. Tārīf b. Khalaf b. Muḥārib. A typical Beduin tribe, the Muḥārib lived in the mountainous region of southern Najd between Medina and al-Yamāma (Wüstenfeld, *Register*, p. 320 following Ibn Khatalā, *Kitāb al-Ma'arīf*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 41); several places in their territory are recorded in Yāqūt's geographical dictionary (cf. the index of tribes, s.v.). We know very little about their history before Islām; they were closely connected with other tribes of the great group of the Kaīs 'Alīlān, like the Hawāsin, with whom they are said to have shared the worship of the idol Dīhār (Yāqūt, *Muḥḥam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 167, l. 2—3 = Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 65; cf. *Taḥṣīl al-Arṣ*, iii. 115, l. 7 from below), and especially the Ghatafan (notably their clan Thā'aba b. Sa'd b. Dhūbyān) alongside of whom the clan of the al-Khudr b. Tārīf b. Khalaf b. Muḥārib (the genealogy of the *Tabellen* is to be rectified in as much as al-Millik is the name of al-Khudr and not that of his father) fought the war known as the *yawm al-ḥaraka* or *yawm Dūrat Maḥḥam* alluded to by the poet of the Dhūbyān Husayn b. al-Humām in some of his poems (cf. *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, Nr. xii. and xci. and the commentary of Ibn al-Anbārī, with the passages quoted in the notes).

The Muḥārib at the beginning of Islām were hostile to Muḥammad; this hostility was perhaps only the continuation of that which prevailed between the nomad tribes of the 'Alīya of al-Najd and the citizens of Medina. Thus we find, in the early years of the Hījra, that Muḥammad sent against them (and against the Ghatafan) a series of expeditions, of the nature of raids and counter-raids rather than regular military enterprises (our sources give 30 or 40 men as the total of the Muslim forces); the details of their fighting are given in Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i. p. 537—538 (3 A.H. § 6), 596—597 (5 A.H. § 3), 689—690 (6 A.H. § 1), 694 (6 A.H. § 6) with reference to the sources utilized (we may add Ibn Sa'd, ii. 1. 23—24, 43—44, 61—62). One part at least of the tribe must however have been attracted within the growing sphere of Muslim influence since we find Muḥāribīs in the cavalry led by al-Zubair at the taking of Mecca (Caetani, *Annali*, ii. [8 A.H. § 390]). But it was only in 10 A.H. that the Muḥārib sent their ambassadors to Muḥammad and gave their formal adhesion to Islām (Ibn Sa'd, i. ii. 43; cf. Caetani, *Annali*, ii. 344—345); even on this

occasion they were conspicuous by their uncouthness, quite Beduin, of which another example is given in the anecdote of the Muḥāribī (he is said to have been called Suwā' b. al-Hārith or b. Kaīs) who dared to doubt the Prophet's word in connection with the purchase of a horse (cf. Ibn Sa'd, iv. 2, 90—91 etc., and Caetani, *Annali*, ix. 627—628).

The Muḥārib abandoned Islām during the Ridda but were easily brought back to obedience (*Annali*, ii. p. 594, 596, 11 A.H. §§ 115, 118); they took part in the conquest of the Irāq (Ibn Hādjar, *Iḥṣā*, Cairo 1325, iv. 20—21; biography of 'A'īth b. Sa'd, who fought at al-Qādisiyya and Qādisiyya and again, in 36 and 37, at the battle of the Camel and that of Siffin, where he was slain); they were encamped at Kūfa in the same quarter as the Usad and Ghatafan, not far from that allotted to the Tamīm (Tabari, i. 2490, 2495).

The contribution of the Muḥārib to the politics and literature of Arabia is practically nil; we need only mention the name of Laḥīṭ b. Bukair b. al-Naḍr (d. 190), who belonged to a branch of the Banū 'Alī b. Dīyar b. Muḥārib, a poet (cf. Tabari, iii. 540), ascetic and historian (*Fihrist*, p. 94 and Yāqūt, *Iḥṣā*, ed. Margoliouth, vi. 218—220, give a list of his works, relating mainly to literary history).

Of the other tribes bearing the name of Muḥārib the best known is the Meccan tribe of the Muḥārib b. Fīhr to which al-Dahḥāk b. Kaīs belonged (q.v.); the Muḥārib lampooned by al-Farazdaq and celebrated by Dīyar (Naḥṣīq, ed. Bevan, p. 817 l. 4, 1039 l. 2) are difficult to identify; it is not certain, although they are so identified in the index, that they were the Muḥārib b. Khayfā.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

AL-MUHARRAM (A.), the first month of the Muḥammadan year. The name is originally not a proper name but an adjective, as the article shows, qualifying Ṣafar. In the pre-Muḥammadan period the first two months of the old Meccan year were Ṣafar [q.v.] I and II, which is reflected in the dual "a portion" *al-Ṣafarānī* for al-Muḥarram and Ṣafar; in the old Arab year the first half year consisted of "three months of two months each" (Wellhausen), as the two Ṣafars were followed by two Rabi's and two Dūmāds. The first of the two Ṣafars, as the one that belonged to the sacred months, was given the adjectival epithet *al-muḥarram* which gradually became the name of the month itself. As Dhū 'l-Hijja also belonged to the sacred months, three of the four sacred months came together except in leap year. The month intercalated to equate the year to the solar year was inserted after Dhū 'l-Hijja and was not sacred. It thus came about that learned Muslims described the intercalation as renaming the Muḥarram concerned Ṣafar, i.e. as making Muḥarram not sacred; they mean that the month after the pilgrimage, which they consider as al-Muḥarram, following the custom, is not sacred i.e. is 'Ṣafar' and the second month i.e. in their view Ṣafar, is 'al-Muḥarram'. In doing this they of course overlook the fact that Ṣafar proper now only comes third; but when the intercalary month was abolished in Islām, the proper conception of the state of affairs was lost (cf. Nāṣīf).

In the early period when an attempt was made

to equate with the solar year by inserting intercalary months, — which was not successful on account of the ignorance of the old Arabs in astronomical matters — al-Muharram introduced the winter half year as the names of the first six months show. The Arab year began, like the Jewish, in autumn. After Muhammad had forbidden the insertion of the intercalary months in Sūra ix. 37, 1st Muharram, the beginning of the year, went through all the seasons as the year, which now consisted of 12 lunar months, had always only 354 or 355 days, as it still has. Whether the first month of the year was originally marked by a festival we do not know. Wellhausen has endeavored to show that the *ḥajj* originally fell in the first month of the year, so that Muharram was *ḥaram* in its quality as "Dhu l-Hidda". This also suggests that there was originally only one sacred month, but it was observed at different times in different parts of Arabia: Muhammad in the Qur'an always speaks only of the sacred month (ii. 194, 217; v. 2, 97); only in Sūra ix. 36 in laying down the method of reckoning time does he speak of four sacred months, in which it was sought to recognise a later declaration of the equal sanctity of four different sacred months of different districts, which was however illusory, as within Islam the peace of God reigns without this and, according to Sūra ii. 217, the defence of the faith takes preference over the sacred month. What the sacred month referred to in the Qur'an is, we do not know; in Sūra v. 2, at any rate, the month of the pilgrimage must be meant, which fits Wellhausen's theory excellently. The commentators think Raddab or Dhu l-Qa'da is meant, at any rate not al-Muharram.

Al-Muharram has 30 days of which, in addition to the 1st as the beginning of the year, the following are specially noted: the 9th as the fast-day of the Shi'a ascetics; the 10th as the anniversary of Kerbelā (60 = 680), on which al-Husain b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib [q. v.] fell fighting against the Caliph Yazīd b. Mu'āwīya and therefore the great day of mourning of the Shi'a (on the significance of the 10th Muharram for the Sunnis see 'AḤḤAD), celebrated by pilgrimages to the sacred places of the Shi'a, especially to Kerbelā [see MUḤADDITH], in which the passion play, representing the death of 'Alī's sons [see 'AḤḤAD], plays the most important part; also the 16th as the day of the selection of Jerusalem as the Kibla [q. v.] and the 17th as the day of the arrival of the "people of the elephant" (Sūra cv.).

Bibliography: Wellhausen, *Recht arab. Heidentum* (1897), p. 94–103; Moberg, *Ann. Norv.* (Koran IX, 37) in *der islamischen Tradition* (Lund Universitets Årsskrift, N. F., Avd. 1, vol. xxvii, No. 1) [1931]; Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads* (1930), p. 37, note 129, p. 330 sq. (p. 350, line 7 from below, read: intercalary month, for day); al-Birūnī, *Āḥḥad*, ed. Sachau, p. 60, 62, 196, 201, 328 sq.; al-Karwīnī, *Asfā'id al-Makhlūqāt*, ed. Wāstenfeld, p. 66, 68 (where further events that happened on the 10th Muharram are given); on the "people of the elephant" cf. Buhl, *op. cit.*, p. 12 sq. (M. PLESSNER)

MUḤASIBI ABU 'ABD ALLAH ḤARITH B. ABAD AL-'ANAZI, called Muḥāsibī, i. e. "he who examines his conscience", was born in Baṣra; he died in

Baḡdād in 243 (857). A legist of the Shāfi' school, a theologian who advocated the use of reason (*ʿaql*), using the dialectic vocabulary of the Mu'tazilis, which he was the first to turn against them, he finally adopted a life of ascetic renunciation after a moral conversion long meditated which is described at the beginning of his *Waṣāyā*. Involved with the Mu'tazilis in a general persecution as a result of Ibn Ḥanbal's attack on the dialecticians, he had to give up all teaching in 232 (846) and died in retirement.

His principal works are: *Riʿāya li-Ḥaḥḥab Allāh*, *Waṣāyā* (more accurately: *Najāʿ*), *Kitāb al-Taḥḥam*, *Māʿiyat al-ʿAhl wa-Maʿnāhu*, *Kitāb al-ʿAḥḥad*, *Fahm al-Salāt*; none of them is yet printed. The *Daʿwā ilā al-Nuṣṣa*, which Sprenger attributes to him, is of an earlier date; it was arranged by his chief teacher Aḥmad b. ʿAṣim Anṣārī.

Muḥāsibī is the first Sunni mystic whose works reveal a complete theological education; they combine in a very original way a keen concern for exact philosophical definitions, and a fervid reverence for the most naive traditions with the rigorous search for an increasing moral purification.

In his *Riʿāya* he discards the foundations of that "method" of introspection which Anṣārī had envisaged; he shows that a correlation is possible between two series of human happenings, the external actions of the members and the intentions of the hearts (against this: 'Alāf and the majority of contemporary *mutakallimūn*); he proves in detail that the enchainment of the states of conscience (*ahwāl*) can be guided progressively towards a perfect purity, provided an ascetic and moral rule of life is observed, the true *raḥḥāniya* mentioned in Sūra lvi. 27.

His adversaries (*muḥaddithūn*), especially Hanbalis, attacked him for having differentiated the concepts of *ʿilm* and *ʿaql* (parable of the "sower"), *imān* and *maʿrifā* (like Ibn Karrām); admitted the created character of the *laḥf* (our pronunciation of Qur'anic verses); held that the elect, in Paradise, would be summoned to enjoy directly familiarity with the divine being; chosen his references from authors not by following the formal correctness of their *imāds*, but on account of their intrinsic significance, from their moral weight (*ikhrā*), for the reader.

The *Riʿāya* is his main work; it forms in 61 chapters, in the shape of advice given to a pupil, a complete manual of the inner life. Ḥazālī used it before writing his *Iḥyāʾ*; and in spite of periodical attacks, its reputation among Arabic-speaking Muslim mystics lasted for a long time and may be compared with that of the *Imitatio Jesu Christi* among Christian mystics using Latin; the Shādhiliya brotherhood, with Mursī, Ibn 'Abd al-Rundī and Zarūk Burnūsi, have always recommended its use; and one of them, 'Izz al-Dīn Maḥḥālī, has made a summary of it.

The Ash'ari theologians also esteem Muḥāsibī as a precursor.

Bibliography: Hudwiri, *Kaḥf al-Maḥḥad*, ed. Zhukovski, Leningrad 1926, p. 134, 219; transl. Nicholson, in *G.M.S.*, 1911, p. 108, 176; Ḥazālī, *Munḥidh*, ed. Cairo, p. 28–29; Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Anṣāb*, in *G.M.S.*, 1912, fol. 500^b sq.; Sahkī, *Tahḥāt*, ii. 37–42; Leo Africanus, *Description dell' Africa*, Venice 1550, book iii., § 43; Margoliouth, *Third Internat. Congr. of Orientalists*, Oxford 1908, i. 292–293; L. Mas-

signon, *Essai sur les origines... de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, p. 210-225 and 126-127; do., *Poésies d'al-Hallaj*, index, s.v.; do., *Textes inédits concernant... la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1929, p. 16-23, and add.

(L. MASSIGNON)

MUHĪBB AL-DĪN. [See AL-JARABĪ.]

AL-MUHĪBBĪ, a family of scholars in Damascus of the 11th-12th (xvth-xvith) centuries of which three members distinguished themselves in literature:

1. Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū 'I-Ḥaḍī Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Dāwūd b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-Khalīq b. Muḥibb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ṭāqī al-Dīn al-'Uḡwān al-Ḥamawī al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanafī, born in the middle of Rabi' al-Thānī 949 (Dec. 23, 1542) in Hamāt, studied there, in Halab and Hims and after a journey to Constantinople obtained a post as teacher in the Madrasa al-Kuḍā'iya in Damascus. In 978 (1571) he accompanied the Shaikh al-Islām and Chief Kaḍī Cīwī Zāde to Cairo, was for a period a kaḍī there and after a second journey to Constantinople was appointed kaḍī in Hims, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān and several other towns of northern Syria. In 993 (1585) the post of a chief na'ib (*al-nayāba al-kubrā*) was given to him; at the same time he was military judge, judge of the Syrian caravan, taught in several madrasas and gave fatwās at the Sultan's request. He died on the 23rd Shawwāl 1016 (Feb. 18, 1608). Of his numerous writings only three have survived: his commentary written in 969 (1561) (according to al-Muḥibbī, iii. 322, on the other hand, prepared at the age of 16) on Muḥammad b. al-Shihna's (d. 815 = 1412) *Uḡḡūna al-Bayḍūtiya* (*Manẓūma fī 'l-Ma'ānī wa 'l-Bayān*) in the Berlin, Ahlwardt, *Verz.* N° 7256-7257 and Gotha, Pertsch, N° 2789; MSS., his *Tarāḡīm al-Riḡla* or *Hādī 'l-Aḡḡān al-Naḡḡiyya* (la *'l-Diyār al-Miṣriyya*, in the Paris, Cat. de Slane, N° 2293; Cairo, *Fihrist*, vii. 646; Istanbul, 'Atīf Efendi, N° 2030 (s. Rescher, in *M.F.O.B.*, v. 496) MSS., which he wrote when kaḍī in Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, and his commentary written in 1011 (1602) on the authoritative verses in Zamakhshari's *Kaḥḥāf* entitled *Tamāl al-Āyāt*, pr. Bulāq 1281, Cairo 1307-1308, and on the margin of *Kaḥḥāf*, *ibid.*, 1318.

Bibliography: al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Aḥḥar*, ii. 322-331; Wüstenfeld, *Die Gelehrtenfamilie Muḥibbī in Damascus*, in *Abh. G. W. Götz*, Hist.-Phil. Cl., xxx/iii, 1884, p. 5-9.

2. His grandson Faḍl Allāh b. Muḥibb Allāh b. Muḥibb al-Dīn was born on the 17th Muḥarram 1031 (Dec. 2, 1621) in Damascus, at an early age showed great linguistic ability, received in 1048 (1638) from Naḍjma al-Dīn al-Ghazālī (d. 1061 = 1651), (see Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 292) the *idgh* for Ḥadīth, and after failing to secure something in Halab through the Shaikh al-Islām Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā, was given by his father the latter's post at the Dar al-Ḥadīth. In 1051 (1641) he accompanied Muḥammad 'Ismā'īl to Constantinople, was appointed to the Madrasa Arba'in there, but dismissed a year later, when he returned home. In 1059 (1649) he accompanied the kaḍī Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Halīm al-Bursawī to Egypt and became his deputy. After a quarrel with him, he resumed his studies in al-Aḥḥar and came home next year. In 1073 (1662) he again went to Constantinople and four years later was appointed kaḍī of Balīrt but returned to Damascus in 1079 where he died on 23rd Dhu'l-Ḥijja II,

1082 (Oct. 27, 1671). While his own *Divān* and his description of his journeys to Constantinople have not been preserved, his edition of the poems of his friend Maḥḥāḥ Paḡha (d. 1080 = 1669 in Damascus) are still in existence. He first of all arranged them chronologically, beginning with a poem on Sulṭān Ibrāhīm I of the year 1055 (1645) (in addition to the MSS. mentioned in Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 277 there are now Köprülü, ii. 1245 and Mōḡal, Dāwūd, *Mashḥūḥ*, N° 153, 20), then alphabetically, including poems of a later period down to 1071 (1660); this edition was printed at Damascus in 1301. In 1078 (1667) he edited the biographical work of al-Ḥasan al-Būrīnī (d. 1024 = 1615), *Tarāḡīm al-Aḡḡān min Abnā' al-Zamān* and published it with a supplement; we may add to the MSS. mentioned by Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 290: Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, in *R.A.A.D.*, iii, 1923, p. 193-202.

Bibliography: Muḥibbī, *op. cit.*, iii. 277-286; Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 15-19.

3. His son Muḥammad al-Amin b. Faḍl Allāh b. Muḥibb Allāh b. Muḥammad Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Dimashqī, born in 1061 (1651) in Damascus, went with his father in 1077 (1666) to Balīrt but returned home several times from there. A friend of his father's, Muḥammad b. Luṭf Allāh b. Balīrām al-'Isāmī, who had been kaḍī in Damascus in 1065 (1655) and was military judge in Anatolia in 1078 (1668), provided him with funds to study in Brusa. He returned home after a brief stay there on 8th Ṣafar 1086 (May 4, 1675) in company with the mufti Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Halīm. Al-'Izzatī had in the meanwhile been appointed military judge in Adrianople and was able to procure him a post there. But his patron fell ill soon afterwards and had to resign. Muḥammad accompanied him to Stambul and looked after him till his death on 10th Shawwāl 1092 (Oct. 24, 1681). He then returned to Damascus and began to write. When in 1101 (1690) he had made the pilgrimage to Mecca, he was appointed deputy kaḍī and then a teacher in the Amīniya in Damascus. He died there on the 18th Dhu'l-Ḥijja I 1111 (Nov. 11, 1699).

His principal work is a collection of 1,289 biographies of scholars, poets etc. of his time and the period immediately preceding it arranged in alphabetical order, entitled *Khulāṣat al-Aḥḥar fī Aḡḡān al-Karn al-Ḥādī 'aḥḥar*, the first fair copy of which he finished in 1096 (1685) (printed Cairo 1284, 4 vols.). The draft of a number of biographies from the Hijāz and Yemen, which is preserved in the Brill-Houtsma MS., N° 112 appears to be part of the preliminary work on this collection; the draft of a synopsis is in Berlin (Ahlwardt, N° 9895). A synopsis was prepared by 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Ḥādī al-Ghazālī al-'Amīrī (d. 1101 = 1777; Marāḥī, iii. 215); MS. in Tübingen (Seybold, N° 9). A second great biographical work on celebrities of all ages entitled *al-Fīṭaḥ* was to give under each letter *al-Fīṭaḥ wa 'l-nisā' wa 'l-awḥā' wa 'l-ḥadīth wa 'l-nisā'* separately. In the draft in Leipzig (Vollers, N° 683) giving the letter *nīm* the sources, which from the articles are taken usually word for word, are generally quoted. He also wrote a continuation of al-Khaḍīr's *Rafīḥat al-Allāh* entitled *Nafḥat al-Rafīḥa wa-Rafīḥat Fīṭa al-Fīṭa*, which survives, in addition to the MSS. quoted by Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 294, in Stambul, Nūr-i 'Oḡḡāniya, N° 4352 (*M.S.O.S.*, xv. 22) and Mōḡal, Dāwūd, *Mashḥūḥ*,

N^o. 264, 7; an anonymous selection from it called *Muḥibbāt* is in Cairo, *Fihrist*², iii. 342. A supplement (*ḥawāṣ*) to it was written by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Su'ālū in 1111 (1699); MSS. in Berlin, Ahlwardt, N^o. 7422; Copenhagen, Mehren, N^o. 170; St. Petersburg, As. Mus., N^o. 251; Ikt. Mus., Or. 6516 (*Descript. List*, N^o. 57); Vale-Landberg, N^o. 179; Damascus, Zayyāt, N^o. 78, 64. A companion work of the middle of the 13th century is 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Shāhī's *Tarāḡim ḥaḍ al-ʿayn min Ahl Dimāḡh min ʿUlamāʾih wa-Ulamāʾih*, pr. Beirut 1886. His *Divān*, mainly *ḥapḥas* on friends and patrons, which are as a rule also included in his *Ḥawāṣ*, is preserved in the autograph copy in the library of A. Taimūr in Cairo; a. R.A.A.D., iii. 342, and the Berlin MS, Ahlwardt, N^o. 8007; cf. N^o. 8008; Flügel, *Z. D. M. G.*, ix. 224. In the *Uḡḡa Barāḡat al-Arḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ al-Surūr wa ʿI-Afrāḡ*, Berlin, N^o. 8102 be collected sayings and proverbs. Al-Thaʿlībī's *Kitāb Ṭimār al-Kulūk* f. ʿI-Muḡḡaf wa ʿI-Mamūḡ was arranged alphabetically by him as *Mā yuʿannawā ʿalāhī f. ʿI-Muḡḡaf wa ʿI-Muḡḡaf ilāhī*, MS. in Istanbul, Top Kapu, N^o. 2455; ʿAtif Efendi, N^o. 2247 (see R.S.O., iv. 727); Aya Sofia, N^o. 4136 (*M. S.*, vii. 132); Cairo, *Fihrist*², iii. 285. The monograph on grammar *Ḍjāy al-Qian-nūnān fī Nawʿ al-ʿI-Muḡḡannayim* is preserved in a MS. belonging to A. Taimūr Paḡha (R.A.A.D., iii. 340; iv. 147) and printed in Damascus 1348. The lexicological work *Sawḡ al-Sabīl fī-mā f. ʿI-Luḡḡa al-ʿarabiya min al-Daḡḡīl* is preserved in a Damascus MS.; see R.A.A.D., iii. 340.

Bibliography: al-Murāḡī, *Silk al-Durar*, iv. 86—91; Wüstenfeld, *Gelehrtenfamilien*, N^o. 590; do., *Die Gelehrtenfamilien Muḡibbī*, p. 19—28; (C. BROCKELMANN)

MUḤIBBĪ. [See SULAIMĀN I.]

MUḤIT. [See BAḤS MUḤIT.]

MUHR (ع., Sanskrit मुह्र), seal, signet or signet-ring. Pronounced in Persian *mahr* and *mahr* and in Turkish *mühür* with the second vowel disjunctive and unstable or popularly *mühür* (Hindoglu, Auher, Ciackiak and Holdermann) or even, according to Viguler, *mihir*. The word has been arabised in the form of barbarous derivatives like *ṭamḡr* "action of sealing" and *ṭamḡr* (synonym: *mühür*) "sealed, hidden".

Muslim legend, according to Mouradges d'Ohsson (vii. 121), traces the use of seals to Lāḡḡ, vizier of Lātis, son and successor of the Pharaoh of Moses (cf. Carra de Vaux, *L'abrégé des merveilles*, p. 387; in contradiction with Genesis, xli. 42).

In the article KHĀTAM are given useful references to the use of seals among the Arabs and also among Turks and Persians and the coin of this name is dealt with under MUḤS. Here we shall deal more particularly with the word *muh* as a complement to that article. We have not however to forget that this word *muh* was used by the Persians and Turks either alongside of *khātām* or in place of it, to express also ideas taken directly from the Arabs, as in the phrase *muh-i Sulṭimān* or *muh-i Dāw* "seal of Solomon" (also the name of a plant) or *muh-i mubārak* "the famous mark of a prophet which appeared on Muhammad's back".

The *Sulṭimān* regards the seal (*muh*), with its synonym of ring or signet; the two words sometimes appear together: *muh-i nigān*, vi. 51, verse 557 of Mohl's edition) as an attribute of sovereignty,

like the crown and throne. It is the same when sovereignty is delegated to governors (vi., p. 5; v. 1; cf. i., p. 499, v. 163; iii., p. 421, v. 111; vii., p. 459, v. 374; p. 463, v. 418). There is a reference in the same poem to seals of amber (i., p. 545, v. 692) such as actually existed (cf. Reinaud, *Mon.*, i. 129). They were sometimes steeped in Chinese musk (vi., p. 351, v. 2288).

In Turkey the seal was again the emblem of power. The imperial seal (*muh-i ḡmāyūn*) was handed to the grand vizier, hence also called *ḡḡḡ-i muhr* (cf. *ḡḡḡ Aʿẓām*), with great solemnity (cf. M. d'Ohsson, vii. 120), and Naʿīmā (iv. 430) in speaking of ambition to become grand vizier uses the phrase *muh-i arṭu* ("desire for the seal").

We may mention here that according to d'Ohsson (*ibid.*), the sultān had four seals with a *tughra*, set in rings; one was square and remained in his possession; he entrusted the others which were round, to the Grand Mistress or Lady Treasurer of the Harem (*ḡḡḡ-dār*) and to the *ḡḡḡ-ḡḡḡ*, a white eunuch who at one time held the office of first chamberlain.

The seal was changed at each accession of a new monarch (cf. Naʿīmā, i. 117) as was the *tughra* itself. Ewliya Celebi's statement, which implies the contrary, is therefore rather strange (vii. 300, v. 4 from below). In Persia the seal was retained but the name was changed (cf. KHĀTAM).

The grand vizier produced the imperial seal on the *ḡḡḡ* days for the *ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ* to seal the bag (*ḡḡ*) for the registers of the *ḡḡḡḡḡ* and the archives of the Finance Department or *māḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡ*, the Treasury (*ḡḡḡḡḡ*) and the general Archives (*ḡḡḡḡḡḡ*) (*M. T. M.*, 499). The grand vizier also had, like all the viziers or governors of provinces, two other seals, one, a large one, impressed at the top of *ḡḡḡḡḡ* or "ordinances", and the other, a small and modest one, placed at the foot of letters from the vizier, including official ones (cf. Ahmad Rāḡim, *ʿOḡḡ. Tārikḡ*, iii. 1514).

The use of seals in Turkey (we know very little of those of the Saldḡḡs; cf. Reinaud, *Mon.*, i. 121 note) was exceedingly widespread. They were used for impressions in wax (*muh-i mawḡ*) and for stamping in a particular kind of ink to which saliva was added, as in Persia (cf. Le Père Raphaél du Mans, p. 129). In more modern times the seal was carried in the purse (cf. a verse by Mehmed ʿAkif in his poem *Seḡḡ ḡḡḡ*). It is only recently that under the influence of the west the *muh* has been displaced by the signature. It must have received its *ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ* with the recent adoption of the Roman alphabet and of rubber seals.

The industry of seal-engraving has thus been gradually disappearing. It had at one time reached a high degree of perfection and the artists used to sign their work. These signatures were usually very brief, Mithli, Saʿī, Ahmad etc. They were written in characters so minute that they could only be distinguished with a lens and only when very clearly engraved. Quite a study could be written on these artists.

Ewliya Celebi gives the following information about the seal engravers of Istanbul (i. 575). He distinguishes:

1. Engravers on stone, *ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ*, 105 workmen in 30 shops. They engraved on stones such as

agate, garnet, turquoise and jasper. Their patron saint or *pir* was 'Abd Allāh Yamīn, a disciple of Uwais al-Karānī who is buried in Tā'izz.

2. The engravers of *mühür*: *mühürkârân* who worked especially for the viziers, 80 workmen in 50 shops. Their *pir* was the Caliph 'Othmān. In the reign of Murād IV the most noted were Mahmūd Çelebi, Rîzâ Çelebi and Ferîd Çelebi, who charged from 100 to 500 piastres for their work.

3. The engravers of silver seals and talismans: *mühürkârân-ı sîm ü-heykâl*, 40 workmen in 15 shops. *Pir*: 'Ukkāsh who is buried near Mar'āsh, who, having seen on the Prophet's back the *mühür-i nihāwmet* (cf. above), began to engrave talismanic formulae (two of these are quoted). These workmen "cannot engrave Yemen agate". They were established in the area called *Seyidhānlar*.

We may still mention the custom of making partisans, whose loyalty one wished to be sure of, stamp their seals on a *Kar'ān* (*Kar'ān mühürletmek*); cf. in the Turkish papers of June 8, 1925, statements by a rebel Kurd.

The word *mühür* in the old language of the Janissaries meant vouchers for their pay (M. d'Oheson, vii, 337).

In figurative language Persian and Turkish uses the expression "to break the seal": *mühür berfâshen*, *mühür almak* (or *hemak*, *almaz*, *göstermek*) for "to deflower a virgin" (cf. further this art. TAMUHA).

The *MUHRDAR* (*mehrdâr*, Turk. *mühürdâr* [cf. the article KHATAM], keeper of the seals or better "private secretary" (cf. below), was therefore a very important personage. Mir 'Alī Shīr Newā'ī was the *mehrdâr* of Hmamīn Balkara before becoming *Atabek Begi* and first minister (cf. Belin, *Notes sur Mir...*, 1861, p. 13; cf. de Sacy, *N. E.*, iv, 282, 261). He was succeeded in these offices by another poet, Merwārdī (*ibid.*). — On the *mehrdâr* in Persia, cf. Le Père Raphaël du Mans, p. 21. In Central Asia the title of *mehrdâr* seems to have replaced that of *tanghāi* which occurs as early as the Orkhon inscriptions.

In Turkey, each vizier had his *mühürdâr* (Ahmad Rāsim, *Ötüm. Târîhi*, i, 455). Cf. the account of the career of a *mühürdâr* in the *Siddiqi-ye 'otmāni*, ii, 31 below (Behdjet Pasha (the name as is mentioned in the *Memoirs* of Sa'ūd Pasha, i, 4)).

The *rūnūmāji* had also their own *mühürdâr* (J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, p. 136). At Kādī Klōy there exists a quarter called *Mühürdâr*. For the work bearing the title *Mühürdâr Türkîhî*, cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 216 sq.

With the viceroys of Egypt the *mühürdâr* was a "private secretary" of the Khedive. The title of *mühürdâr* was abolished in 1884 but the office has remained. His salary was the same as that of the chief of the cabinet (cf. *ibid.*, p. 92 and 476).

Bibliography: Cf. the article KHATAM. We may now add: Babinger, *Das Archiv des Bosnischen Osman Pacha*, Berlin 1931, p. 23 and note 5, where reference is made to a little known article by Riza Efendi Mudestirovic. Cf. also von Hammer, *Hist. de l'Empire Ottoman*, xii, 425, 539; xvi, 2. (J. DENY)

MUHSIN 'ALI, son of Shāh Hmamīn Hakikat, was an inhabitant of Lucknow. In poetry he was the pupil of Khwāja Wazir. He flourished in the latter part of the sixteenth century. He is the author of a *Diwān*, a collection of lyrical poems, and a

biography of Urdu poets called *Sarūfā Sazān. Bibliography:* Nāsāhī, *Tadhkirat-i Sam'ā'ī* (Lucknow 1874), p. 419.

(M. HIDAYET HOSEIN)

AL-MUHTADĪ, AND 'ABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD, an 'Abbāsīd caliph. After al-Wāthiq's death, a number of officials wished to pay homage to the young Muhammad, son of the deceased caliph and a Greek slave; instead however, al-Wāthiq's brother was proclaimed his successor and only after the deposition and murder of the unfortunate al-Mu'tazz (end of Radjab 255 = July 869) Muhammad ascended the throne with the name al-Muhtadī. His ideal was the Umayyad 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. Like the latter, he was distinguished for the strictness with which he conducted his life; with piety and simplicity however, he combined strength and ability and during his brief reign he did his best to raise the caliphate from its degradation and to restore the power of the Commander of the Faithful. In several provinces there were risings by 'Alīda, real or alleged; but the most dangerous enemy of the caliph was the Turkish general Mūsā b. Bogha. When the latter, who was fighting against the 'Alīda in Persia, heard of the accession of al-Muhtadī, he returned home. Reaching Samarra in Muharram 256 (Dec. 869) he forced the caliph to take an oath to bring to justice the Turkish chief Šālih b. Waṣīf, who had robbed the mother of the caliph al-Mu'tazz of all her priceless treasures. When Šālih concealed himself, the Turkish mercenaries mutinied and were intending to depose al-Muhtadī but were appeased by the resolute action of the latter. Al-Muhtadī then promised Šālih's followers that he would pardon him; but as the latter did not appear, they went to Samarra and began to pillage it until they were scattered by Mūsā. Šālih was soon afterwards discovered and killed by one of Mūsā's men. When Mūsā had taken the field against the Khārijīs, al-Muhtadī began to incite the people against him and his brother Muhammad b. Bogha and accused them of embezzlement. Muhammad was brought to trial and put to death although al-Muhtadī had expressly guaranteed his pardon. The only course left for the caliph was to dispose of Mūsā if he wished to keep his throne. But his plan was betrayed; Mūsā advanced with superior forces and the caliph suffered a disastrous defeat. As he declined to abdicate, he was murdered in Radjab 256 (June 870) in horrible fashion.

Bibliography: Ibn Kūṭaiha, *Kitāb al-Ma'arīf*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 200; Ya'qūt, ed. Houtsma, ii, 590 sq., 616—619; Tabari, iii, 1368, 1372, 1537, 1712—1834; Mas'ūdī, *Murū'at*, ed. Paris, vii, 398 sq.; viii, 1—41; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xx, 64—69; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, vii, 23, 134—138, 149—162; Ibn al-Jīkāk, *al-Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 335—341; Muhammad b. Šālih, *Fawā'id al-Wafayāt*, ii, 270 sq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, iii, 296 sq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii, 409—421; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 529 sq.; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, new ed. by Weil, p. 539—543. (K. V. ZETTERSTERN)

MUHTASIB (A.), "censor", an officer appointed by the caliph or his wazir to see that the religious precepts of Islām are obeyed, to detect offences and punish offenders. His office was the *hishā*, and to it only men of good standing could, in theory, be appointed. Like all

Group of 29 seals accompanying the address to
Muhammad 'Ali Pasha by the principal religious
authorities in Mecca: the governor at the time,
the imams, khatibs, muftis of the four schools etc.
The text dated at the end of the month of Mu-
harram 1226 (Feb. 2: 1813) contains congratu-
lations on the occasion of the victory over the
Wahhābīs and expressions of gratitude for the
restoration of freedom of pilgrimage.

Art. MUHR



1*



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



15



16*

17*



18*



19*



20*



22*



21*

Ant. MUHR

*) slightly enlarged

Seals of various individuals, Ottoman,
Algerian and Hijarian
(beginning of the 19th century).

1. Giritli İbrahim Agha, *wakil* of Algiers at Chios. Document of 11 Muh. 1211 (July 17? 1796).
2. Emel Sultan, sister of Mahmud II. 11 Ram. 1222 (November 12? 1807).
3. Müsâ Paşa, *şâ'immaşâm* or grand vizier interim. 8 Shaw. 1222 (December 9, 1807).
4. Selim Thâbit, correspondent of Mehmed 'Ali at Constantinople, later his *kapı-bekyası*. 13 Saf. 1225 (March 20? 1810). Cf. N^o. 18.
5. Kâsim Agha, chief eunuch. 19 Rab. II 1225 (May 24, 1810).
6. Ghaliib, *Sherif* of Mecca. 20 Shaw. 1226 (November 7, 1811).
7. Kara Kichya, banker to Mehmed 'Ali at Constantinople (seal in Armenian characters). 21 Djum. II 1226 (July 13? 1811).
8. Mehmed 'Arif Efendi, former *sheikh-ul-islâm*. 9 Saf. 1227 (Feb. 21? 1812).
9. Mehmed Sa'id Khâlet, Minister of the Interior. 23 Djum. II 1227 (July 4? 1812).
10. Şâkir Ahmad, *şâ'immaşâm*. 28 Djum. II 1227 (July 8? 1812).
11. Mehmed Khusrav Paşa, *kapudan-paşa* (at this date). 15 Saf. 1228 (Feb. 17? 1813).
12. Tosun Ahmad Paşa, son of Mehmed 'Ali. 12 Muh. 1228 (Jan. 15? 1813).
13. Mehmed Nedjib Efendi (later Paşa), *kapı-bekyası* of Mehmed 'Ali at Constantinople (later *wakil* of Syria, for Mehmed 'Ali). 3 Rab. I 1228 (March 6? 1813).
14. Ismâ'il Paşa, son of Mehmed 'Ali. 9 Djum. I 1228 (May 10, 1813).
15. Khurshid Ahmad Paşa, grand vizier. 18 Djum. I 1228 (May 19, 1813).
16. al-Sayyid Ahmad b. Muhammad, *khan* of Algiers 1257 (1821—1823).
17. Sarî Ahmad, *wakil al-haramain al-sharifain* at Mecca. 3 Shaw. 1241 (May 11? 1826).
18. Selim Thâbit, as *wakil* of Algiers at Constantinople. 7 Shaw. 1242 (May 4? 1827. Cf. N^o. 4: same seal, but on this impression the signature of the engraver 'Ömer appears clearly under the fleuron on the left).
19. al-Sayyid Khalil, *wakil* of Algiers at Smyrna. End of Ram. 1243 (April 15, 1828).
20. Mustafa Kapudan, commander of the Algerian frigate *Miftah al-Djihad*. 22 Saf. 1244 (Sept. 14? 1828).
21. Mehmed 'Izzet Paşa, grand vizier (great seal). 7 Sha'b. 1244 (Feb. 12? 1829).
22. Sulaimân Ismâ'il, *gâmirak emini* and *wakil* of Algiers at Durazzo. 7 Ram. 1244 (March 13? 1829). To left under the fleuron: signature?

holders of public office, he had to be a Muslim and free. Generally he was a *faḥḥ*, and in addition to his police functions he performed those of a magistrate. In some respects his duties were parallel with those of the *ḥāḥ*, but the muhtasib's jurisdiction was limited to matters connected with commercial transactions, defective weights and measures, fraudulent sales and non-payment of debts. Even in these matters he could hear only those cases in which the truth was not in doubt. As soon as evidence had to be sifted and oaths administered the muhtasib's jurisdiction ceased. As a censor he had power to enforce the law without first requiring complaint from an injured party. He had to see that in a place where Muslims lived they did not neglect to hold a Friday service in the mosque and that if they numbered forty or more they formed themselves into an organised community. But if the number was large and there were differences of opinion on the question of worshipping together, his authority might be dimmed, and it was not within his power to compel the attendance of the individual Muslim at the mosque unless he was a persistent defaulter. Even then the officer could do no more than admonish the delinquent. So far as the mosque was concerned the muhtasib could insist on the *ḥāḥ* and he could examine the *muḥaddithin* in the subject of the times lawful for the *ḥāḥ*. If a public mosque fell into disrepair, the muhtasib was charged with the duty of calling the attention of the authorities to the matter.

An important part of the muhtasib's duties was to see that the laws of the *ḥāḥ* were maintained. Persons breaking the fast of Ramadān, widows and divorced women who did not observe the *ḥāḥ* [q. v.] before remarriage, and other transgressors, were liable to have to make explanations before him. Public morals, further, came under his jurisdiction. He had to prevent men from consorting with women in public and from indulging openly in wine; also the playing of forbidden musical instruments came under his ban and he had to see that games and toys did not lead to offences against the *ḥāḥ*. However, he could not act on suspicion alone nor had he the right to go behind closed doors to pursue his investigations. His powers would appear to have been wider where the spiritual welfare of Muslims was concerned. Thus if a *faḥḥ* propounded views contrary to *iqmāḥ* [q. v.] it was the muhtasib's duty to admonish him and to report him to the sovereign if he persisted in preaching heretical doctrines. Also, if a person not a *faḥḥ* suddenly turned to the study of the *ḥāḥ*, the muhtasib had to make investigation in order to discover his motive and to prevent his misleading persons who might apply to him. Schools also had to be visited by the muhtasib, though not so much for the purpose of inspecting the character of the teaching as to ensure that teachers did not beat their pupils too severely (Maḥḥ, *Ḥāḥ*, I. 464). Other matters which came within his jurisdiction were concerned with public amenities rather than with morals or religious institutions. Thus, in towns where the source of drinking-water was fouled or no provision was made for poor wayfarers he could order the townsmen to rectify matters. He had to ensure that no house overlooked the women's quarters of another belonging to a Muslim and that no house had projecting rainpoets or drains leading on to the street to the inconvenience of

wayfarers, and finally that the *ḥāḥ* was kept clean and clear of obstacles to traffic.

Bibliography: Māwādī, *al-Asāḥ al-muḥḥ* (ed. Enger), p. 420 sq.; Tanūḥī, *Niḥḥ al-Muḥḥ* (ed. Margolouth), p. 250; Maḥḥ, *Ḥāḥ*, I. 463 sq.; 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Shāḥ, *Niḥḥ al-Raḥḥ fī Ḥāḥ al-Ḥāḥ* (British Museum, MS. Or. 9221), translated by Behnauer, in *J.A.*, 5th series, vol. xvi., p. 347-392; vol. xvii., p. 1-76. — On *muḥḥ* and the muhtasib from the point of view of ethics and theology, see *Ḥāḥ*, *Ḥāḥ*, part iv., book viii. (R. LEVY)

AL-MUHYI. [See ALLĀH, b. 2.]

MUHYI 'L-DIN. [See IBN 'AL-'ARAB.]

MUHYI 'L-DIN MUHAMMAD (MEHMET) b. 'ALĀ' AL-DIN 'ALĀ' AL-DJAMĀLĪ, a Turkish theologian and historian of the time of Selīm I (1512-1520) and Salāmān I (1520-1566). His father was the famous mufti Zānallī 'Alī al-Djamālī, a grandson of Djamāl al-Din Mehmed of Ak Seral (hence the epithet Djamālī). He received his theological training first from his maternal grandfather, Husām-Zāde Efendi, then from his father 'Alā' al-Din and later from Mu'ayyad-Zāde Efendi. He worked as müderris in several medreses, in Constantinople at the Murād medrese and at the eight schools of the Fāṭih mosque and in Adrianople where he was also a mufti for a period. He died in retirement and was buried at Adrianople in 957 (1550); according to some, however, in 956 (1549).

His main importance lies in the fact that he edited the anonymous Ottoman chronicles, the *Tevārīḥ-i Alā' Oṭmān*, under the title *Tārīḥ-i Alā' Oṭmān*. These chronicles which run from the beginning of the Ottoman empire were continued by him down to 936 (1549) i. e. till shortly before his death.

Two versions of his *Chronicle* exist, both of which go back to him: 1. a shorter one to which corresponds the translation of the Beck manuscript by Gaudier-Spiegel: *Chronica oder Acta von der Türkischen Tyrannen herkommen vund geführte Krügen, aus Türckischer Sprachen verdeutschet. Vorhin nie in Druck gangen*, Frankfurt a/O. 1567; it was also published in Latin and German by Leunclavius: *Annales Sultanorum Othomanidarum a Turci sua lingua scripti*, Frankfurt 1588; 2nd edition with index and German transl.: *Neue Chronik Türkischer Nation von Türken selbst beschrieben*, Frankfurt a/Main 1590;

2. a longer version: the so-called Verantion *Chronicle* (Codex Verantianus), edited in Latin and German by Leunclavius: *Historiae Musulmanum Turcorum de monumentis ipsorum excerptae libri XVIII*, Frankfurt 1591. There were 18 books instead of the 30 planned. As early as 1590 the first three books were published in German at Frankfurt: *Neuer Muselmanischer Histori, Türkischer Nation, von ihrem Herkommen, Geschichte und Taten; drey Bücher, die ersten unter dreyszig*, followed by the complete German translation of the *Annales: Neuer Muselmanischer Histori Türkischer Nation*, Frankfurt a/M. 1595.

In addition to his chronicle, which exists only in manuscript (MSS. in Vienna, Munich, Berlin, Gotha, London, Constantinople etc.), Muhyi al-Din is also credited with poems in Turkish, Arabic and Persian (also extant in a manuscript) and a theological work.

Bibliography: Hādījī Khalifa, *Kashf al-Zuhūr*, Constantinople 1311, p. 218; Tashkōprišāda, *Shahīd al-Nu'māniyya*, Constantinople 1269, p. 389; transl. by O. Rescher, Constantinople 1927, p. 247; Djamāl al-Dīn, *‘Oṭmānīlī Ta’rīkh wa-Muferrihāt* (Aytine-i Zuhra), Constantinople 1314, p. 10 and 25; Rif‘at, *Ramzat al-Antariy*, p. 180; Thuraiya, *Sijill-i ‘othmānī*, iii. 488; Brusālī Mōhmed Ṭahir, *‘Oṭmānīlī Mū‘al-lifāt*, iii. 63; Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 72–74; J. H. Mordmann, *Id.*, x. 160; xiii. 153 sqq.; Carl Ausserer, *Id.*, xii. 226 sqq.; F. Giese, *M.O.G.*, i. 49–75; P. Wittek, *Id.*, i. 77 sqq.; see also the Catalogues of Manuscripts.

(TH. MENZEL.)

MUHYI LĀRĪ (d. 933 = 1526–1527), a Persian writer, author of the famous *Futūḥ al-Farāman*, a poetical description of the two holy cities, Mecca and Medina, which also contains a full account of all the rites of the obligatory pilgrimage (*ḥajj*).

This book, written in 911 (1506) and dedicated to Muḥammad b. Mahmūd Shāh of Gujjarāt (917–932 = 1511–1526), was for a long time wrongly attributed to the celebrated poet ‘Abd al-Rahmān Djamī. Muhyi Lārī was a pupil of the great philosopher Muḥammad al-Dawānī (d. 907 = 1501) and made use of his extensive philosophical knowledge in a commentary on the great *Kāfiya* of Ibn al-Fārīd, which is known as *al-Tāṭīya al-kubrā*. In this work he endeavoured, following in the footsteps of his teacher, to reconcile the principles of orthodox Muḥammadian mysticism with the teachings of Aristotle in the form in which they were disseminated in the east.

Bibliography: Rien, *Cat. Pers. MSS. Brit. Mus.*, ii. 655^a. — Persian text of the *Futūḥ al-Farāman* lithographed Lucknow 1292. A full description of the contents in *Wiener Jahresbuchern*, lxxi., Anzeigebblatt p. 49; Hādījī Khalifa, iv. 385; H. Ethé, *Neupersische Literatur* (Grundriss der iranischen Philologie), ii. 306.

(E. BRETHELS.)

AL-MU'ID. [See ALLĀH, b. 2.]

MU'IN AL-DIN SULAIMAN PARWANA,

vice-regent of the Saldjūq empire in Asia Minor after the Mongol invasion of that territory. His father Mahādihūb al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Dallāmī (in some sources, such as the *Ta’rīkh-i Gūzda*, Mu’īn al-Dīn is called ‘al-Kāshī’, which implies origin from Kāshān) had been a minister during the reign of Kaikhusraw II and had been able, after the battle of Kōse Dagħ (1243), to secure for a time the continuation of the Saldjūq dynasty in Asia Minor, by his intercession with the Mongol general Baidjū (Ibn Bibi, p. 243). His son Mu’īn al-Dīn Sulaimān soon rose to hold important offices and had been commander of Tokāt, and later of Tokāt and Erziğān, when, in 1256, he was promoted, by the favour of Baidjū, to the rank of *parwāna*. The title *parwāna* denoted a high administrative office (high chancellor) in the Saldjūq empire and is erroneously explained by the Persian dictionaries as a synonym of *farwān* (the word is fully discussed in the foot-note on p. 46 of Khalīl Edhem’s article in *T.O.E.M.*, vol. viii.; cf. also Huart, *Les Seldjūqs*, etc., i. 80). At the time indicated the three sons of Kaikhusraw were nominally reigning, but Mu’īn al-Dīn was already the real director of affairs. After Hülagū had appeared on the scene in 1260, the empire was divided into two parts,

of which Rukn al-Dīn Kildj Arslan got the eastern part with Parwāna as vizier at his side. The latter had also a family connection with the dynasty, for he was married to a daughter of Kaikhusraw II, while one of his own daughters became the wife of the Saldjūq Qhiyāth al-Dīn Mas‘ūd II. As vizier of Rukn al-Dīn he conquered Sinope (Sinūb) from the Greek emperor of Trebizond; the town was given to himself, and after his death some of his descendants continued to reign there (cf. Sinūb and Tewhīd, *Statūda Parwāna-Zādler*, in *T.O.E.M.*, 1st year, p. 203). In February 1265 Parwāna, warned that his sultan wanted to get rid of him, had him imprisoned and afterwards strangled at Ak-Seray. The two and a half years’ old son of Rukn al-Dīn, Qhiyāth al-Dīn Kaikhusraw, was set up as a puppet-king. During the following years, when Parwāna was, under the supervision of the Mongols, the real master in Eastern Anatolia, the wretched situation of the country induced many notable Turks to emigrate to Egypt, where they incited Sultān Baibars to a military expedition against the Mongol domination in their country. It is highly probable that Mu’īn al-Dīn Parwāna himself was secretly at the head of these negotiations. Baibars invaded Asia Minor, defeated a Mongol army at Albistān and occupied the town of Kaizeriye in April 1277. Here he waited for Parwāna to join him, but the latter had lost his confidence in the enterprise and fled to Tokāt with the young sultan. Baibars returned again to Syria and soon a Mongol army appeared under the Ilkhān Abaka to inflict drastic punishment on the Muslim population; he is said to have killed over 200,000 people. At the same time suspicion fell on Parwāna. He was accused of having fled with his army at the battle of Albistān, of having not appeared before the Ilkhān after the defeat, and of having neglected to inform the Mongols of Baibars’ approach. At first Abaka was willing to spare him, but on the insistence of the relatives of those killed in the battle of Albistān, he ordered him to be executed at Ala Dagħ, together with his retainers, probably on the 1st Rabi’ I 676 (August 2, 1277). Ala Dagħ is, according to Khalīl Edhem, probably the same as Kōse Dagħ, to the east of Siwas. His burial place is not known. A foundation inscription on a mosque built by Mu’īn al-Dīn Parwāna in 663 (1264–1265) is still extant in Marāṣfūn. His death inspired several poets to make elegies on him (Munaddijim Bāshī). From the tradition of the Mawlawī order it appears that Parwāna was on intimate terms with Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī; the latter’s work *Fihrist al-fihrist* was dedicated to him (cf. Kropulnik-Zāde M. Fu’ād, *Ilk Muteawwif*, p. 258).

Bibliography: The *Saldjūq-nāma* of Ibn Bibi (Houtsma, *Revue*, iv.) and of Akserayī (used in manuscript by modern authors); Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmī* at-Tawārīkh, ed. Blochet, Paris 1911, p. 548; Hayton, in *Historiens arméniens des Croisades*, ii. 179; al-Makrizī, *al-Sulūk li-Ma’rifat al-Mulūk*, translated by Quatremère (1837–1844) and by Blochet, 1908; al-Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arāḍ* (used by Weil, *Geschichte der Chaldäer*, iv.); Abu ‘l-Fida’, *Ta’rīkh*, Constantinople 1286, iv. 10; Mustawfī, *Ta’rīkh-i Gūzda*, in *G.M.S.*, 1910, p. 484; Munaddijim Bāshī, *Shāhīf al-Akhbār*, ii. 571–573; J. von Hammer, *Geschichte der Ilkane*, Darmstadt 1842, i. 299; Neẓārī, *Āsīn*, *Turk Ta’rīkhī*, Constantinople 1316,

Additions and Corrections

- P. 530^b, l. 34, p. 545^a, l. 29: instead of 825, read 284.
 P. 673^a, l. 9, 62, p. 674^a, l. 5: instead of *En. Hist. Cons.*, read *En. J. Annot. et. l'Hist.*
de l'Europe.
 P. 673^b, l. 22: instead of 1807, read 1808, l. 62: instead of Gohar, read Gohar.
 P. 674^b, l. 54: instead of 5400, read 55M.
 P. 686^a, l. 45: instead of Waki'ahigir, read Waki's ugh.
 P. 688^a, l. 43, 55, 93: instead of Mr, read Merc; l. 96: instead of 10 May 1622, read, in
 May 1624.

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

A DICTIONARY OF THE GEOGRAPHY,
ETHNOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY OF THE
MUHAMMADAN PEOPLES

PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF LEADING ORIENTALISTS

EDITED BY

M. TH. HOUTSMA, A. J. WENSINCK

H. A. R. GIBB, W. HEFFENING and E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL

NUMBER 48

MU'IN AL-DIN SULAIMAN FARWANA — AL-MUSTANŞIR BI LLAH



LEYDEN
LATE E. J. BRILL, LTD. 1983
PUBLISHERS AND PRINTERS

LONDON
LUZAC & CO.
46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET

p. 436 sq.; Husain Husain al-Din, *Amāliyyat al-Fatāwā*, Constantinople 1920, I, II; Tawhid, *Nawā'id al-Salāṭīn*, *Deuṣletinā inḡirāṭle inḡikāṭ al-ḡawā'id* (I. Mulūk), in *T.O.E.M.*, vol. I; Khālī Bilḡam, *Murāfāda Parwāna Mu'in al-Din Sulaimān al-Bārī*, in *T.O.E.M.*, N° 8, p. 42 sq.; do., *Dawlat al-Ilāmīya*, Constantinople 1927, p. 211, 272; Cl. Huart, *Les Saints des Derwiche Turcours*, Paris 1918—1921, I, II, *passim*.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MULIN AL-MISKIN whose full name was Mu'in al-Din MUHAMMAD AMIN b. HADJOT MUHAMMAD AL-FARUKI AL-HARAWI and whose *laqab* was MURMI (d. 907 = 1501—1502), a celebrated traditionalist. He studied *Hadith* for 31 years and throughout this period preached every Friday in the great mosque of Herāt. He was for a year *khāṭib* of Herāt but gave up the post by his own request. In 866 (1461—1462) at the request of a friend, he began to write a little book on the life of the Prophet Muhammad. Out of this little book there grew in time the great biographical work, exceedingly popular in the East, called *Ma'arifi al-Nubuwwa fi Madarifi al-Farwāna*, which was not finished till 891 (1486) and contains a very full account of the life of the Prophet consisting of a *Muḥadditha*, four books and a *Ḥikāma*. Besides this gigantic work Mu'in also wrote a commentary on the *Kur'ān* entitled *Bahr al-Durra* and a collection of forty *hadiths*, *Rawḍat al-Wāṭi'a*. His study of the history of the prophets produced a large history of Moses entitled *Mu'jizat-i Mūsā* (also called *Tārīkh-i Mūsā* or *Kiṣṣa-yi Mūsā*), which was completed in 904 (1498—1499), and the story of Yusuf and Zulaikha, *Aḡṣan al-Kiṣṣat*.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, *Neuperische Literatur (Grundriss der iranischen Philologie)*, II, 235, 319, 358; Rieu, *Cat. Pers. MSS. Brit. Mus.*, I, 149; *Hadith al-Sayr*, Bombay, III/III, 348; text of the *Ma'arifi al-Nubuwwa* lithographed Lucknow 1292. A Turkish translation by Ali Fakrak (d. 1033 = 1624) entitled *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa fi Muḥammadi* printed in Constantinople 1257. A manuscript of the *Tārīkh-i Mūsā* in the India Office, N° 2029. A manuscript of the *Aḡṣan al-Kiṣṣat* in the Bodleian (Elliott, N° 409). (E. BERTHELS)

AL-MU'IZZ. [See ALLAH, II.]

AL-MU'IZZ b. BADIS. [See ZIRIDS.]

MU'IZZ AL-DAWLA, ABU 'L-HUSAIN AHMAD b. ABU SHURAYK, a Būyid, was born in 303 (915/916). After the taking of Shiraz by the Būyids he brought Kirmān under his rule in 324 (935—936). When the rebel governor of al-Ahwāz, al-Bārīdī (q. v.), after several unsuccessful encounters with Badīkem (q. v.), the general of the Abbāsid caliph, sought the help of the Būyid 'Imād al-Dawla, the latter sent his brother Ahmad against al-Ahwāz with an army; Badīkem was defeated first at Armodjān and then at Askar Mukrim (326 = 938), whereupon Ahmad took this town, but when he demanded upon Ahmad for the help he had given that al-Bārīdī should help the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla against Waḡmīr, the brother of Mardawīdī (q. v.), al-Bārīdī refused and went to Basra. After Ahmad had received reinforcements from 'Imād al-Dawla, he was able to take al-Ahwāz. In 333 (943—944) he undertook a campaign against Wāsiṭ while the Amir al-Umarā', the Turkish chief Turun, was involved in a war with the Hamdānid of al-Mawṣil.

Turun hurriedly made peace and set out against Ahmad, and the two armies met in Jih 'l-Ka'da of this year (July 944). The details are variously given; it is certain at least that Ahmad soon afterwards returned to al-Ahwāz. At the end of Raddāb of the following year (middle of March 945), he made a further attempt to take the town but had to withdraw the next month on the approach of Turun. In 334 (945) he attacked Wāsiṭ for a third time; its governor had gone over to his side and the town surrendered without a blow being struck; he then marched against Baghdad and in Jumādī I 334 (December 945) entered the capital where he at once seized the power. The caliph al-Mustakfi appointed him Amir al-Umarā' and gave him the title Mu'izz al-Dawla but was deposed and blinded a few weeks later because he was alleged to be dealing with the enemies of the Būyids. Mu'izz al-Dawla was soon afterwards attacked by the Hamdānid Nāṣir al-Dawla of al-Mawṣil, who advanced on Baghdad along with Abū Dja'far b. Shīrīn and very quickly occupied the eastern part of the capital. Nāṣir al-Dawla was not driven back till Muharram of the following year (Aug. 946) when he made peace with the Būyids but without consulting his Turkish allies. The latter were angered at this and turned against him. Nāṣir al-Dawla had to flee and only succeeded in bringing the Turis to terms with the help of the Būyids; he then returned to al-Mawṣil as a vassal of the Būyids. Abū 'l-Kāsim, son and successor of al-Bārīdī, was the next to be dealt with. Mu'izz al-Dawla sent an army against him which put his forces to flight and in 336 (947) he took the field in person. Abū 'l-Kāsim fled to the Karmāniyas of al-Bahraïn and Mu'izz al-Dawla occupied Basra. Abū 'l-Kāsim's governor 'Imrān b. Shāḥīn however held out in al-Djāmīda, the capital of the Euphrates territory between Wāsiṭ and Basra, and after several years fighting Mu'izz al-Dawla had to confirm him in his governorship. In 337 (948—949) Mu'izz al-Dawla undertook a campaign against al-Mawṣil because Nāṣir al-Dawla did not send the tribute imposed on him. The latter fled to Nāḡīn, but when Rukn al-Dawla, brother of Mu'izz al-Dawla, was attacked by the Samāniids, Mu'izz al-Dawla had to send him help and concluded peace with the Hamdānids. In 347 (958—959) Nāṣir al-Dawla rebelled again but on the approach of Mu'izz al-Dawla he left al-Mawṣil and went first of all to Nāḡīn and then to Haleb to his brother Saif al-Dawla, while Mu'izz al-Dawla advanced on al-Mawṣil and took this town and also Nāḡīn. Through the intervention of Saif al-Dawla however peace was made (Muharram 348 = March—April 959). In the last year of his life Mu'izz al-Dawla had to fight the Karmāniyas and 'Imrān b. Shāḥīn. The former acknowledged his suzerainty; the war against the latter was interrupted by the death of Mu'izz al-Dawla on 13th or 17th Rabi' II 356 (March 28 or April 1, 967).

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wustenfeld), N° 71 (transl. de Slane, I, 155 sqq.); Ibn al-Athir, ed. Tornberg, viii; Ibn al-Fīṣkāk, *al-Fakhri*, ed. Derembourg, p. 376—378, 388—390; Abū 'l-Fīṣā, ed. Reiske, II, 402 sq.; Ibn Khallikān, *al-Dhar*, IV, 426—444; Hamd Allāh Mustawfi-i Kaẓwīnī, *Tārīkh-i Gwida* (ed. Browne), I, 418 sq.; Wilken, *Gesch. der Sultane aus d. Gesch. Buys nach Mirchand*, IV; Weil,

Geogr. d. Chalifen, II, 651—653, 666 sqq., 688, 692, 695—697; III, 2—7; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 161—164, 231—233, 318 sq. (K. V. ZETTERSTEEN)

AL-MU'IZZ LI-DIN ALLAH, AND TAMIM MA'ADD b. ISMA'IL AL-MANSHUR, fourth Fātimid caliph, was born at Mahdiyya on 11th Rāmādān 319 (28th Sept. 931), proclaimed heir-apparent in 341 (952—953), and succeeded to the throne in Shawwāl of the same year (March 953). His first object was to restore the Fātimid power, which had been reestablished in Ifrīkiya by his father, over the remaining provinces of the Maghrib. In 342 he led in person an army of Kitāma into the Awrās mountains and not only reduced the turbulent tribes of that region for the first time, but also received the formal submission of the chiefs of Zenāta and of the ruling princes of the west. The hostility and intrigues, however, of the Umayyad ruler of Spain, 'Abd al-Rahmān III [q. v.], maintained a situation of unrest in the Maghrib, and after ineffectual naval raids on both sides, al-Mu'izz despatched thither in 347 (958) a strong force under the command of his freedman and *katib* Djawhar al-Rūmī [q. v.]. Tahart and Sijilmāsa were captured with little difficulty, Fas surrendered after an obstinate siege of eleven months in Rāmādān 348, and the other strongholds in the Maghrib were occupied, with the exception of Salā and Sabta, which were held for 'Abd al-Rahmān. Although the results of this campaign in the western Maghrib were ephemeral, the establishment of the *Sanhādji* chief Ziri b. Manāf at Tahart placed an effective check upon the Zenāta of the Central Maghrib. There can be no doubt that al-Mu'izz was already contemplating the conquest not only of Egypt and Syria, but also of Baghdād, using for this purpose the Kitāma, as the 'Abbāsids had used the army of Khurāsān, while the *Sanhādji* should hold North-west Africa for him, and with this end in view he actively pursued a policy of conciliation of these tribes by lavish gifts and the abolition of financial exactions.

Though this ambition was no secret, it is represented in the official correspondence of al-Mu'izz as subsidiary to his desire (which was probably sincere) to assume the leadership in the *ghilāt* against the encroaching Greeks. Already in 350 (961) the Cretans, besieged by Nikephoros Phokas, and despairing of assistance from Kāfir, had solicited his aid. In spite of the victory claimed for al-Mu'izz by Ibn al-Athīr (viii. 404), it appears that he was unable to send assistance in time, but he seized the opportunity to denounce the treaty made with the Emperor Constantine VII in 956, and opened a fresh attack in Sicily. Taormina was captured in 351 (962), and an expeditionary force sent from Constantinople was severely defeated both on land and sea, the general Manuel Phokas being killed, and the commander Niketas taken prisoner.

In the same year (355 = 966) al-Mu'izz began his preparations for the advance on Egypt, by ordering wells to be dug along the route. His relations with Kāfir at this time are obscure. Fātimid emissaries had long been engaged in active propaganda in Egypt, and had evidently made some headway, aided by the resentment of the population against the Shādai troops, who were fanatical Sunnis. Their propaganda was indulgently regarded by Kāfir, and it is not impossible that, as the Fāti-

mid writers claim, he privily declared his adhesion to al-Mu'izz. His death on 21st Djumādā II, 357 (24th May 968) gave the signal for the advance of the Fātimid army, said to have been over 100,000 strong, which set off under the command of Djawhar on 14th Rabi' I, 358 (6th Feb. 969), with the support of a naval squadron. The disorganization which prevailed in Egypt and the terror inspired by the Greek armies (who in 968 had swept over the whole of northern Syria without meeting opposition and had taken immense numbers of prisoners), contributed greatly to the prospects of its success; moreover, many of the Egyptian notables and even of the troops had sent letters to al-Mu'izz inviting his intervention. On Djawhar's approach the population made their submission by an embassy of notables, but the Ikhshidī and Tulūnī regiments rejected the conditions laid down in the agreement, and had to be forcibly dislodged from their positions at Dīza and on the islands. The retreating Mamlūks split up into bands, some of which continued to give Djawhar much trouble as local centres of disaffection, ending only with the arrest and deportation to Africa of their commanders, and the disarmament or imprisonment of the remainder.

Djawhar, having entered Fustāt on 17th Shabān 358 (7th July 969) and laid the foundations of the new city of al-Kāhira, immediately took in hand the reform of the administration. Complete religious toleration was promised, and confirmed by the reinstatement of the existing officials, weekly sessions for the hearing of *ma'ālīm* were instituted, several vexatious taxes were abolished and property which had been illegally sequestered to the Treasury was restored to its owners, and regular salaries were assigned to the officers of the mosques. Another of his reforms, however, caused great resentment; this was the striking of a new coinage to replace the existing debased coinage, and the order to levy all taxes in the new currency. His difficulties were increased by a prolonged famine and by the turbulence of the Berber soldiery, and it was not until the arrival in Egypt of al-Mu'izz himself in Rāmādān 362 (June 973) that the task of reorganization was completed by centralizing the financial administration under Ya'qūb b. Kilīs [q. v.] and 'Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, and by the removal of the Berber troops to a new camp near Heliopolis.

The course of events in Syria after the occupation of Egypt is differently related and obscure in detail. Djawhar's lieutenant Dja'far b. Falāḥ defeated the joint forces of the Ikhshidids and Karmaṭians under al-Ḥasan (in some sources al-Ḥusayn) b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Tughdī at Ramla in the early months of 359 (970), but the general disorganization and the licence of the Arab tribesmen preventing him from entering Damascus until Dhu 'l-Hijja of the same year. Shortly afterwards he detached some contingents against the Greeks, but the troops sent to recover Antioch were defeated near Iskandarīya, or, according to Yahyā b. Sa'īd (ed. Cheikh, p. 139), were recalled after besieging the city for five months. Meanwhile the Karmaṭian general al-Ḥasan b. Ahmad al-A'sam (in some versions al-Aghshām), in revenge, it is said (but see de Goeje, *Les Carmathes du Bahrein*, p. 181—190), for the stoppage of the subsidy he had received from the Ikhshidid al-Ḥasan, opened negotiations with the Buwāhid 'Izz al-Dīn and

the Ḥamdānīd amir of al-Mawṣil, and with the aid of subsidies from them and some Ikhshīdī contingents, defeated and killed Dja'far and recaptured Damascus in Dhū l-Ka'da 360 (Aug.-Sept. 971). Having shut up the remaining Egyptian forces in Yāfa, he marched on Cairo, but was defeated by Djawhar in Rabi' I 361 (Dec. 971), and his fleet was destroyed at Tinnis. The Karmāṭians retained their hold on Damascus, however, repulsed a strong Maghribī force despatched to Palestine by Djawhar in Ramaḍān 361, and with an army of Arab auxiliaries and Ikhshīdīs (some sources also add Dailamīs) made a second descent upon Egypt after the arrival of al-Mu'izz. By bribing the Arabs, the Caliph succeeded in dividing and defeating the Karmāṭian army outside Cairo in Ramaḍān 363 (May-June 964), but not before Karmāṭian forces had overrun both the Delta and the Sa'id. On al-Ḥasan's return to al-Aḥṣā' the 'Uqallīd Zālim b. Mawḥib occupied Damascus on behalf of al-Mu'izz, but came into conflict with the Maghribī troops, whose indiscipline and excesses at length led the citizens to appeal to the Turkish general al-Aḥṣā'ī, who remained in possession of the city until he was captured by al-'Aziz [q.v.]. Meanwhile in northern Syria the Fāṭimid troops gained a series of striking successes against the Greeks. Tripoli and Bairūt were captured in 364 (975), and John Zimiskēs suffered a crushing defeat both on land and sea at the hands of Rāyān, governor of Tripoli, on his attempt to recover the city.

The empire which al-Mu'izz bequeathed to his successor, though it fell short of his ambitions, was still of imposing extent. The viceroy to whom he had committed the western provinces, Bulukkin b. Ziri [q.v.], proved both loyal and capable; when, on the departure of the Caliph, the Zenāta again rose in revolt, he scattered their forces and recaptured Tāhart and Tilmisān. The holy cities of Mecca and Madīna acknowledged the suzerainty of the Fāṭimids, and they had a powerful following in Sind. Only in Syria had the Karmāṭians, on whose cooperation al-Mu'izz had confidently relied (though the letter reproduced by al-Makrīzī, *Itihāz*, ed. Banz, p. 133 *sqq.* is of doubtful genuineness), brought him to a halt, but by this action they had placed a fatal obstacle in his way. This disappointment preyed on his mind and, worn out by ill-health and by grief at the loss of his eldest son 'Abd Allāh (died 364), he died at Cairo on 11th Rabi' II, 365 (Dec. 19, 975), having nominated as his successor his second son Nizār al-'Aziz.

The personal character of al-Mu'izz was singularly noble, frank, accessible, simple in his habits, endowed with brilliant gifts and all the traditional qualities of *ālim*, he was at the same time a capable administrator and just towards his subjects, though the financial exactions of his last years left a bitter memory. No instance of cruelty is recorded of him, except the execution of his Karmāṭian captives, and he was completely devoid of religious fanaticism.

Bibliography: The fullest accounts are those of al-Makrīzī, *Itihāz* (ed. Banz, p. 59—143), and the *Ḍū' l-Idris* b. al-Ḥasan (*Uyūn al-Akhbār*, vol. vi), both of whom utilized the biography by Ibn Zūlsik (d. 387), and the latter also the works of the Kāḍī al-Na'mān b. Muḥammad (d. 363). Additional details are furnished by Ibn al-Athīr (vol. viii.), whose chronology

is at variance with earlier sources; Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Juynboll, ii. 398—494; Ibn al-Kāṭib, ed. Amedroz, p. 1—14; Ibn Mayassar, ed. Mas'ūd, p. 43—47; al-Kindī, ed. Guent, Supplement, p. 584—589; Ibn 'Adhārī, ed. Douy, i. 229—237; Yahyā b. Sa'īd, ed. Cheikh, p. 129—146, 295—296; Ibn Zāfir, MS. Brit. Mus., Or. 3685, fol. 47^h—50^h; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, MS. Brit. Mus., Or. 48, fol. 92—93, sub 365 A.H.; and the *Dirwān* of Ibn Ḥanī al-Andalus, ed. Baillif 1326, in addition to the references quoted in the text. — European works include, besides the general histories of Egypt by Wustefeld and Lane-Poole, a study by Quatremère, *La Vie du Khalife Mo'izz-din-Ali* (*J. A. R.*, ser. iii., vols. 2, 3).

(H. A. R. GIBB)

MU'IZZ, AMIR ABU 'ABD ALLAH MUHAMMAD b. 'ABD AL-MALIK, one of the most famous of Persian court poets. His place of birth is not exactly known. According to most of the sources he was born in Samarqand about 440 (1048—1049) but Nāsī and Nishāpur are also mentioned. The son of a little known poet 'Abd al-Malik Burhānī, who was attached to the court of the Saljuq Alp Arslān (1063—1072), he was introduced to Sulṭān Malik-Shāh (1072—1092) by Amīr 'Alī b. Farāmūr, ruler of Yezd (445—488 = 1051/1502—1095), made a favourable impression on the sulṭān and received from him the *iqbal* of Malik-Shāh, Mu'izz al-Dīn. He enjoyed even greater distinction under the last great Saljuq ruler Sandjar (1118—1157) and was appointed his *malik al-shu'arā'* and the head of a regular establishment of poets, said to have numbered 400. He is reputed to have become fabulously wealthy from the splendid gifts of the ruler and he received a salary paid out of the revenues of Isfahān. Nevertheless he continually tried to increase his fortune and, as he himself tells us, never wrote a single panegyric without making certain in advance that his work would be well paid. According to the Oriental sources, he came to a tragic end, being accidentally killed by Sulṭān Sandjar, while practising archery in his tent. This is not possible however, as Mu'izz himself mentions this incident in his *Dirwān* and says that, although he suffered a long illness as a result of being struck by the arrow, he completely recovered in the end. This event took place in Marw, about 496 (1102—1103), but he lived for another 46 years and died there in 542 (1147—1148). There is an elegy written on the occasion of his death in the *Dirwān* of Maḥdī al-Dīn Sanā'ī. Mu'izz is one of the most brilliant writers of *ghazals* in the old Gharnawīd style ('Unsurī) but his art was finally displaced by Anwārī's new style and came to be forgotten.

Bibliography: H. Ebbé, *Neupersische Literatur* (*Gr. L. Ph.*, ii. 260, 263, 267, 283, 373); Ed. Brown, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii. 327—330; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, ii. 4, 103; *Muḥimad al-Fayyāz*, i. 571; Rieu, ii. 552. A longish monograph on the poet by 'Alī Ridā Khurawānī Turfā in the monthly *Armaghān*, iv. 529. A good MS. of the *Dirwān* in the Leningrad University Library, N^o. 939; C. Salemann, *Zafar*, ii. (1888), p. 253. (E. BERTHELE)

MUḤABALA, Gr. *ἀντιπρῶτος*, in the *Almagest* *ἀντιπρῶτος*, Lat. *oppositio*, the term in astronomy for the opposition of a planet and the sun or of two planets with one another. In opposition the

difference in longitude between the two heavenly bodies is 180° ; while the modern use is to take no note of the deviations of latitude from the ecliptic, al-Battānī expressly emphasises (*Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, iii. 196) that we can only have the true mukābala when both bodies are either in the ecliptic itself or are in equal ecliptical latitudes when opposed: in other words when they are diametrically opposite one another in the heavens (cf. "ἀντιμεση"). Opposition with the sun can only occur for the moon and the outer planets (in ancient astronomy only for Mars, Jupiter and Saturn), not for the two inner ones, Mercury and Venus. When an outer planet is in opposition to the sun, its conditions of visibility are at their best; at midnight it passes through the meridian and is above the horizon the whole night. When the moon is in opposition to the sun we have the full moon; the usual technical expression for this in Arabic astronomy is *al-istihāl* which is derived from the same root as *mukābala* (Greek δ *πασιδωρε*) and is rendered by Plato Tiburtinus and other mediaeval translators by *peractio*; but we not uncommonly find the general term mukābala applied to the opposition of sun and moon, while on the other hand we never find *al-istihāl* used in the general sense of opposition of the planets (cf. al-Battānī, ii. 349, s. v. *al-istihāl*).

Al-mukābala, opposition, forms along with *al-tarḥīl*, quadrature (Gr. *τετραγωνία*, Lat. *tetragonum, quadratum*), *al-tathlith*, trigon (Gr. *τριγωνία*, Lat. *trigonum, triangulum, trigonum, aspectus trinus*), and *al-tasdiq*, hexagon (Gr. *ἑξάγων*, Lat. *hexagonum, sexangulum, aspectus sextilis*), the four astrological aspects (*ḥakāḥ*, 3d. *ḥakāḥ*, Gr. *εἰρημονία, εὐχρημασία, εὐχρημασία*, also *ἁρμονία*, Lat. *aspectus or consonantia*), which are applied to the ecliptical differences in longitude of two planets to the amount of 180° , 90° , 120° or 60° respectively. The *ḥakāḥ* also play a part in the astrological arrangement of the signs of the zodiac (*ḥurūf*) (cf. the article *MINTAḤA* and al-Battānī, iii. 194). It should be noted that the conjunction of planets (*mukābala*, Greek *συνωδία*; for moon with sun (new moon) always *idḥimā*) is not included among the *ḥakāḥ*, nor the position when the difference of latitude is 30° or 150° (cf. al-Battānī, *op. cit.*).

In horoscopes mukābala and *tarḥīl* are as a rule regarded as unfavourable in principle, *tathlith* and *tasdiq* on the other hand as favourable.

Bibliography: al-Battānī, *Kitāb al-Zīj al-Ḥabshī* (*Opus Astronomicum*), ed. C. A. Nallino, Milan 1899–1907, i–iii.; Boll-Bezold, *Sternkunde und Sternentziffern*, 3rd ed. by W. Gündel, Leipzig 1926, p. 63–64.

(WILLY HARTNER)

MUKADDAM (a.). "placed in front". Applied to persons the word means the chief, the one in command, e.g. of a body of troops or of a ship (captain). Dozy, *Suppl.*, s. v., gives a number of police appointments which have this name. In the dervish orders the word is used for the head of the order or the head of a monastery.

As a neuter noun the word is a technical term in logic and arithmetic. In logic it means the protasis in a premise in the form of a conditional sentence, e.g. "If the sun rises (it becomes day)", where this whole sentence is to be regarded as premise of a syllogism. But as every sentence can be a premise, mukāddam is really identical with the condition in the conditional sentence. In

arithmetic mukāddam means the first of two numbers in a proportion, i.e. 3 (5) or in other words the divided in a simple division. — In logic and in arithmetic the portion following the mukāddam (in brackets above) is called *tail*.

Bibliography: Dozy (cf. above) and other dictionaries; Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der isl. Wissenschaften* (*Türk. Bibl.*, xvi.), p. 106; *Dict. of Technical Terms*, ed. Sprenger, p. 1215, 1362.

(M. FLEISSNER)

AL-MUKADDASĪ, SHAMĪ AL-DĪN ABU 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. AḤI BAKR AL-BANNA' AL-SHA'AMĪ AL-MUKADDASĪ AL-MA'RUḤ BI 'L-BASHSHĀRĪ as he is called on the first page of the Berlin manuscript (Cat. Ahlwardt, N^o 6034), is the author of the most original and at the same time one of the most valuable geographical treatises in Arabic literature. The name-form al-Mukaddasī, denoting his origin from Jerusalem, goes back to Sprenger, who brought the Berlin manuscript from India and made this author first known in Europe (A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiseverhältnisse des Orients*, Leipzig 1864, p. xviii.), but the form al-Makḍisī is probably more correct as Jerusalem is commonly spelt al-Bait al-Makḍis (Yāqūt, *Muḥarrar*, iv. 590). Yāqūt always quotes him as al-Bashshārī.

Biographical dates on the life of this author are only to be found in the text of his treatise. In 356 (966), when he was at Mecca, he was about twenty years of age; it is probable that he lived at least as late as 1000, as the last datable information in the treatise belongs to the end of the 10th (xth) century. His grandfather Abū Bakr al-Banna' was an architect in Palestine and had made for Ibn Tūlūn the gates of the town of 'Akka. His mother's family was originally from Ḥayr in Kūmis, from where his grandfather Abū 'I-Tayyib b. al-Shawā (in *B.G.A.*, iv., p. vii., l. 12 "paternus" is to be corrected into "materous") emigrated to Jerusalem. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad himself shows also a good knowledge of architecture, besides a good literary and general erudition.

The geographical treatise is known from two old manuscripts, which form the basis of de Goeje's edition in the *B.G.A.*, iii., Leyden 1877 and of his revised edition of 1906. The Berlin manuscript has the title *Aḥsan al-Taḥḍīr fī Ma'rifat al-Aḥḍāt*, while the Constantinople manuscript (Aya Sofia, N^o 2971 *ḥi*; cf. Ritter, in *Hz.*, xix. 43), written in 658 (1260), is only indicated as *Kitāb al-Aḥḍāt*. The Leyden manuscript (Cat., v. 191) is a modern copy of the Constantinople one, while another Berlin manuscript (Cat. Ahlwardt, N^o 6033) is a bad copy of the other Berlin manuscript. The date of composition is not certain. The text itself states that it was completed in 375 (985) (*B.G.A.*, iii. 9), but as has been said, information of a later date has been added, while Yāqūt (i. 653) gives the year 378 (988). The manuscript (Constantinople) is somewhat less extensive than Berlin) and de Goeje, hesitatingly, considers the redaction of C as the older one. It is dedicated to a certain Abū 'I-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan and mentions the Sāmānids as the most important dynasty; B, on the contrary, does not contain the dedication and is more orientated towards the Fātimids.

The general scope of the work proves beyond doubt that it is based on the same geographical tradition as the treatises connected with the names

al-Balkhī — al-Iṣṭakhrī — Ibn Hawqāl; the same is proved by the fact that the maps accompanying both manuscripts show the still rather primitive type of the Iṣṭakhrī maps (the Maḳḍisī maps have been published by K. Miller, in *Mappe Arabicae*, vol. I.—v., Stuttgart 1926—1931). In this last respect al-Maḳḍisī's work does not really reflect the considerable progress of geographical knowledge that is manifested in the text. As in the texts of al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Hawqāl the object is to treat only the Islamic world (*mamlakat al-Islām*) of the 10th (11th) century and that after a division into regions (*asṣulḥa*) which, on the whole, is the same as that of the two authors mentioned; the order is not always the same, but the distinction between western and eastern regions is maintained. The treatment is often more detailed than with the earlier authors, while the disposition of the geographical matter is the same, each region ending with a survey of the distances between the different towns. In how far al-Maḳḍisī is dependent on al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Hawqāl remains to be examined. His introductory chapters show not a few original features and are especially valuable for information about earlier geographical authors. As de Goeje has already remarked, this information is more accurate in the redaction C than in B; if the latter redaction is really later it would seem that the rather depreciating judgment he gives therein of al-Balkhī, al-Djāhizī and others (p. 4) must be explained by the change of the author's political predilection in favour of the Fātimids and occidental Islam. Al-Maḳḍisī's style and language is sometimes difficult, owing to his expressly stated endeavour to adapt himself in the description of each region to the special idiom used in that region. Moreover, the reading of his text is several times made unpleasant by the boisterous way in which the author speaks of the merits of his work.

A English translation of part of the treatise was published by G. S. A. Ranking and R. F. Azzū in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta 1897—1910, vol. I.—IV.

Bibliography: The author and the work are discussed by de Goeje in the introduction to vol. IV. of the *B.G.A.*, p. vi.—viii; further cf. Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, I.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-MUKADDIM. (See AL-ḤAM, II.)

MUKALLĀ (MAKALLA), a seaport on the south coast of Arabia, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles N. W. of the cape of the same name. The town lies between two bays at the foot of a reddish limestone cliff, which rises to a height of 300 feet behind the town; four towers for the defence of the town are built upon it. On the west side a wall runs from the cliff to the shore with only one gate in it. The only buildings of any size are the great mosque on the coast with a minaret which can be seen from a great distance, and the sultan's palace; the other buildings are mainly huts with a few houses of stone. The palace is a great six-storey building with decorated windows which stands on a kind of peninsula. In the centre of the town is a large cemetery with the tomb of Walī Ya'qūb; in the modern western part of the town is the bazaar which is provided with all kinds of goods and has some modest industries which provide the native population with baskets, pipes of a kind of limestone, silver powder-horns and muskets without stocks. There is a yard in the harbour

where the native sailing-boats are built. The country around is not fertile; a mile to the west however is an oasis belonging to the ruler, which is watered by a stream which also provides the town's water supply. The climate of Mukallā is very dry, the coast hot; only from October to April and in June and July do fresh breezes and showers temper the heat. The population varies between 6,000 and 12,000.

Mukallā is the only place between 'Aden and Maṣṣā that deserves the name of harbour. It cannot however be used as an anchorage during the southwest monsoon; in this period its place is taken by Burūm, 16 miles southwest. The trade with India, Somaliland, the Red Sea and Maṣṣā is considerable. The exports are mainly gum arabic, skins, honey from the Yaghboom valley, senna and some coffee; the imports are cotton goods, metals, pottery from Bombay, dates and dried fruits from Maṣṣā, coffee from 'Aden, sheep, aloes and frankincense from the African coast. The fisheries also give a considerable yield while amber is obtained in considerable quantities. Paras and bananas from Bombay play a leading part in the trade and Hindustānī is spoken almost as much as Arabic. Since 1881 Mukallā has been under the al-Qa'itī dynasty with which England concluded a treaty granting a protectorate on May 1, 1888. According to Ibn al-Muḍāwir, the old name of the town was al-Mukannā, and the natives also call al-Mukallā, like al-Shīr, Bender al-Aḥḳāf or Sūḳ al-Aḥḳāf. The port has steamship communication with 'Aden; most of the traffic is borne by native sailing-boats of 100—300 tons, which are busiest at the time of the date harvest.

Bibliography: A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserrouten des Orients* (Abh. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes, III/3, Leipzig 1864), p. 145; L. Hirsch, *Reisen in Süd-Arabien, Maḥra-Land und Hadramūt*, Leyden 1897, p. 83—92; ders., *Ein Aufenthalt in Mukallā (Südarabien)*, in *Globus*, lxxii. (1897), p. 37—40; Th. Bent, *Southern Arabia*, London 1900, p. 74—77; C. Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, I, Leyden 1901, p. 148; F. Stuhlmann, *Der Kampf um Arabien zwischen der Türkei und England*, in *Hamburgische Forschungen*, I, Hamburg 1916, p. 145 sq.; *A Handbook of Arabia vol. I General compiled by the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, Naval Staff, Admiralty London*, p. 232; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, I. (Osten u. Orientforschungen, vol. IV., Vienna 1922), p. 21, 39, 137, 139, 145, 146, 148, 152, 154, 162, 168, 187 sq., 202; II. (Brünn 1931), p. 47—49, 55, 60, 61, 66, 73, 77, 81—84, 88 sq., 93; D. v. d. Meulen and H. v. Wissmann, *Hadramaut*, Leyden 1932, index, s. v. *Makallā*.

(ADOLF GROHMANN)

AL-MUKALLAD b. AL-MUSA'IB, HUSAM AL-DAWLĀ ABU HASSAN, an 'Uḳailid. After the death in 386 (996) or 387 (997) of the 'Uḳailid emir Abū 'I-Ḥawwāl Muḥammad b. al-Musa'ib (cf. BAḤĀ' AL-DAWLĀ), a quarrel arose between his brothers, 'Alī and al-Mukallad, each of whom claimed power. 'Alī was the elder; but al-Mukallad wrote to Baḥā' al-Dawlā and promised him an annual tribute and then told his brother that Baḥā' al-Dawlā had appointed him governor of al-Mawṣil and asked 'Alī's help to take the town. Baḥā' al-Dawlā's general in al-Mawṣil, Abū Dja'far al-Ḥadī

djadj, took to flight and the two brothers agreed to share the government. Disputes between al-Mukallad's representative in Baghdad and Baha' al-Dawla's officials gradually led to open hostilities. A reconciliation was soon brought about and al-Mukallad promised to pay 10,000 dinars and in return received the title Husam al-Dawla with al-Mawwil, al-Kufa al-Kasr and al-Djamilin as a fief. In 387 (997) he took 'Ali prisoner. As a result the third brother advanced with a strong army against al-Mukallad; before they came to blows however, their sister Kahila succeeded in making peace among the brothers. 'Ali was released and received his confiscated property back and al-Mukallad turned his attention to the lord of Wasit, 'Ali b. Mazyad, who was on the side of 'Ali and Hasan. But when al-Mukallad learned that 'Ali had designs on al-Mawwil, he turned back but through the intermediary of Hasan, the two brothers were again reconciled. Soon afterwards 'Ali and Hasan left al-Mawwil. After long negotiations, it was agreed that 'Ali should be al-Mukallad's representative in al-Mawwil whenever the latter had to leave the town. On 'Ali's death in 390 (999—1000), Hasan succeeded to his privileges but was driven out by al-Mukallad and had to take refuge in the Irak. In Safar 391 (Dec. 1000—Jan. 1001) al-Mukallad was murdered in al-Anhar by a Turkish Mamlik.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikan (ed. Wustenfeld), No. 745 (transl. de Siano, iii. 415-159); Ibn al-Athir, ed. Tornberg, ix. 88 sq., 94—96, 116; Ibn Khaldun, *al-Ibar*, iv. 255—257; Weil, *Geich. d. Chalifen*, iii. 49—50.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

MUKAN (Mughan), a steppe lying to the south of the lower course of the Araxes, one part of which (about 5,000 square kilometres) belongs to Russia (U. S. S. R.) and the other (50—70 × c. 50 kilometres) to Persia. The steppe which covers what was once the bottom of the sea has been formed by the alluvial deposits from the Kur (in Russian Koara) and its tributary the Araxes. (The latter has several times changed its course and one of its arms flows directly into the gulf of Khali-Aghal). In the interior the only water in Mughan is from a number of springs, but it is covered with reeds and shows traces of the old system of irrigation. Mughan has a very mild climate in winter (Kazwini calls it *qurum Adhar-kudjun*) and in the spring is covered with a rich carpet of verdure but in summer the heat makes it a regular hell and it is infested with snakes (Monteith says, "in June the snakes literally covered the ground"; cf. Abu Hamid al-Gharasi in Kazwini, p. 379).

The name. The old Arabic transcription (Baladhuri, Tabari) is Mukan (without article) but quite early in certain manuscripts of the Arab geographers we find Mughan (probably a popular etymology *mughan* "magi") which becomes general in the Mongol period. Markwart, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1895, p. 633 connects the name of Mukan with that of the people mentioned by classical writers as inhabiting this region: Hecataeus, fragment 170: *in Mucis* etc. *Apollon*; Pomponius Mela, book iii, ch. v: "Mochi (*ad Hyrcanium fretum Albani et Moschi et Hyrcani*)". This tribe is to be connected with the Caspians who lived in this region; cf. Hübschmann, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, 1904, p. 269; cf. in Yakut, iv. 676 the genealogy in-

vented by Ibn al-Kalbi, according to which Mukan and Djilan — both inhabitants of Tabaristan — were the sons of Kamshah (?) b. Yafith b. Nuh; cf. Genesis x.). The Chronicle of Theophanes, p. 363, has *Βουζαία* (var. *Βουζαία*), the Armenian geography Mukan, the Georgian chronicle Mowkan (another Mowahan lay near the confluence of the Alazn with the Iora).

History. The Byzantine general Leontius in 678 subdued Iberia, Albania, Bukaria (cf. above) and Media. The district of Mukan was conquered in 21 (642) by an officer of Surakha Bukair who addressed a letter guaranteeing peace to "the people of Mukan of the mountains of al-Kabdi" (Caucasus; Tabari, i. 2666). According to Baladhuri, p. 327—329, in 25 (645) Walid b. 'Ukba undertook a campaign against the people of Mukan (*ahl Mughan*), of al-Bahr (cf. *Tahom*) and al-Tailasin (= Talish). Another campaign of Sa'id b. 'Asi against the people of Mukan and Djilan, although successful, entailed severe losses. According to Ya'qubi, ed. Houtsma, ii. 395, 397 in 123 the future Caliph Marwan II b. Muhammad undertook a campaign in Djilan and Mukan. Mukan figures several times as a stronghold of Bishak (Tah., iii. 1174, 1178). In the third (ninth) century Ibn Khurdadbeh, p. 119, mentions one Shakhla (?) as chief of Mukan. According to al-Mas'udi, *Murudj*, ii. 5, in his time the Sharwan (cf. *sharwan*) had conquered the states (*malak*) of Layran (several variants) and al-Mukaniya. It appears from Ibn Miskawaihi (ed. Margoliouth, i. 399) who mentions the isphahad of Mukan b. Dullia as ally of the Gil chief Lashkar b. Mardī, who rebelled against the Dailamis in 326 (937), that Mukan enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy. In 339 (950) the Kurd Daisam sent his vizier "into the mountains (sic!) of Mukan to entrench himself". In 349 Mukan appears as a centre of rebellion (Ibn Miskawaihi, ii. 136, 178—179). The poet Kapan mentions the rising of the isphahad of Mukan against the Rawwadi Walsudan (344—378; cf. Kierawi, *Fadl al-Shihab-i gumnam*, Tihān 1929, ii. 94). Later we hear of Mukan mainly as an excellent area for the winter pasturage of the conquering nomads. In Yakut's (iv. 676) time the majority of the people of Mukan were still Turkomans. In the history of the Khwarizmshah Jalal al-Din, Mukan is constantly mentioned. The sulhan sends his booty there, keeps his baggage and mobilises his troops there (Nasawi, *Sira*, p. 210, 280, 366 etc.). But in 617 (1220—1221) the Mongol generals Djobe and Subutay spent the winter in Mukan (Djuwaini, i. 116), and Kazwini, p. 379 says that Mongols took Mughan for their winter pastures and drove out the Turkomans. In the time of Timur, Mukan must have been included in the region of Katabagh where this conqueror liked so much to pass the winter. During the winter of 804 (1401) Timur restored an old canal which was given the name of his tribe Barlas. The canal left the Araxes at Kaghk-i Chogahr and at a distance of 10 farsakhs ended at Sardja-pil (hel?). Since, in order to give the necessary instructions, Timur (who was to the north of the Araxes) had to cross the river (*Zafar-nama*, ii. 395), we may suppose that the canal lay to the south of the Araxes, i. e. in the steppe of Mughan. It must correspond to the Vagin G'aur arghl of which traces can still be seen for a length of about 35 miles. Sardja-pil may correspond to *Čarfeli* on the Russian map (according

to the involved description by Monteith, the Barlas canal issued in the neighbourhood of Kara-su (?). The canal is in any case quite distinct from another canal which Timur traced in 806 to the north of the Araxes towards the town of Bailākan (*Jafar-nūma*, ii. 543).

In the Salawid period (and perhaps already under the Karakoyunlu) Mughān became the possession of the Shā'ī Turkoman tribes who formed the principal support of the dynasty and became known as Shāhsewān (q.v.). By article ii. of the treaty of Gūlistān of 1813 the steppe of Mughān was divided between Russia and Persia. The boundary line was more precisely defined in article iv. of the treaty of Türkmenčai (q.v.). In 1884 Russia forbade Persian nomads to cross into Russian territory. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the project of irrigating the land of Mughān was conceived and realised between 1902 and 1907. The four systems of canals were to make 200,000 hectares cultivable, particularly for cotton. From 1884 the steppe was occupied solely by nomads who were Russian subjects. But in 1917 there were already 46 Russian villages with 17,000 inhabitants while the Turkish nomads who had become settled on the banks of the Kur and of the Araxes numbered 30,000 souls. As a result of the tragic events of 1918, the whole Russian population had to leave Mughān and the canals became silted up. Between 1920 and 1924 the work of restoration was carried out and the fugitives began to return. The total area of irrigated land in Mughān is estimated at 253,000 hectares, while immediately to the north of Mughān the steppe of Mil (from *Mil-i Bailākan*, 'the tower of Bailākan'; cf. Khanikow, *Mém. sur les inscriptions musulm. au Caucase*, 16 J.A., Aug. 1882, p. 72) has another 165,000 irrigated hectares.

Historical geography. The Arab geographers are fairly well acquainted with Mughān (cf. the *Bibliography*). In the Mongol period, Mughān must have comprised all the lands to the north of the Salawid range (which is a western outlier of Russian Tālish and forms the watershed between the middle course of the Kara-su and the Bolgaru), to the east of the lower course of the Kara-su (where it follows the northern direction) and to the south of the Araxes. Towards the east Mughān stretched to the Caspian Sea and included the coastal region of Russian Tālish. The mountainous part of the latter, held as in a vice, must also have belonged to Mughān. The same condition must have existed in the Arab period for the curious expression of Ibn Miskawaihi, ii. 126 referring to the *Dihāl Mughān* can only refer to the mountainous part of Russian Tālish.

We may note Mukaddasi's remark (p. 380) who among other wonders mentions, one *mashala* (7—8 *farsakhs* = 20—25 miles) distant from Mughān, an imposing fortress called al-Ḥara (?) below which are houses and palaces in which there are large quantities of gold (*ḡhakah 'ajim*) in the form of birds and wild beasts and 'many kings made plans to seize it but never succeeded in reaching it'. Mukaddasi does not definitely say that the fortress belongs to Mughān and evidently speaks of it by hearsay. Is this a reference to Shindān-kal'a (which is about 50 miles = 2 *mashala* to the south of the presumed site of the *ghakristān* of Mughān)? On this imposing mountain (6,000 feet high) can still be seen ruins

of important fortifications (Radde, p. 135: 'ruins of a strong castle... many ruins of brick buildings'). Finally in a Persian translation of Istakhrī, p. 186, we read: 'The Gils and the Mughān are tribes on foot who rarely go on horseback' which can only refer to a few remnants of the old population settled in upper Tālish (where the highlanders are very distinct from the lowlanders).

Bibliography: cf. the article SHĀHSEWĀN; *Dihāl-nūma*, p. 192 (of little originality); Olearius (1653), *Voyages*, book iv., ch. 21 (ed. 1656, p. 447—451); Shamakhā-Djāwād-Balharu river-Bodjirwān-Dizle-Aghla-Sāmiyān-Ardabil; J. Struys, *Les voyages*, Amsterdam 1720, ch. 27 (ii., p. 235); itinerary exactly identical with that of Olearius; J. J. Lerch, *Nachricht von d. zweiten Reise nach Persien* (1747), in *Büsching's Magazin*, part 2., p. 367—476; Shamakhā-Djāwād-Bolgaru-Lankurān-Astūrā-Raghit; Monteith, *Journal of a tour through Azerbijan* (sic!), in *J.R.G.S.*, 1834, iii., p. 28—31; Ardabil-Barzand-Kilī-kal'a (at the confluence of the four rivers which form Balawood = Balharu?); Kuyalar-tapa-Agha-masīf-Yedi-bölük-Altun [Altan]-takht-Aslandur-Bayat (wrongly taken for the old Bailākan)—Bardha's; Toropov, *Muganskaya steppe*, *Kavkaz. kalendar*, 1864, p. 242—298; Toropov, in *Kavkaz*, 1864, № 28; Ogranović, *Uroclishie Belarussar*, in *Kavkaz*, 1871, № 32; Dorn, *Carpiä*, St. Petersburg 1875, index; Ogranović, *Prezentatsia Perdi Ardehlikhaya i Serakhaya*, in *Zap. Kavk. Otdel. Imper. Russ. Obshch.*, x/1, 1876, p. 214; Uđjarūd; Radde, *Reisen an der persisch-russischen Grenze, Talysh und seine Bewohner*, Leipzig 1886, *passim*; Belarussar etc. — On the flora and fauna of Mughān and the plans for irrigating it there is a whole literature in Russian. The most recent references are in W. S. Klupt, *Zakavkazskaya*, Moscow 1929, p. 50.

(V. MINORSKY)

AL-MUĠĀNTARĀT. [See *ASṬURĀT*.]

MUĠĀTIL b. SULAIMĀN b. BAHIR AL-AZHI AL-KHURĀSĀNI AL-BALĠHĪ, ABU 'L-HASAN, traditionist and commentator on the Kur'ān, was born in Balḡh and lived in Marw, Baghdād and Bayra, where he died in 150 (767); there is also a reference to a stay in Bāḡit. Of his life we know almost nothing apart from a few details for his judgment as a traditionist. The name of his wife Umm Abi 'Isma Nāh b. Abi Maryam has been preserved. According to Ibn Duraid, he was one of the *muwaffi* of the Banū Asad. He is sometimes quoted as MuĠātil b. Djāwād dūs or Dawāl dūs. Ibn Hajar, *Lihā al-Miṣnā*, expressly states in contradiction of wrong ideas that this is our MuĠātil and that Dawāl dūs is not a *lokal* of MuĠātil himself but of his father.

MuĠātil's prestige as a traditionist is not very great; he is reproached with not being accurate with the *sunna*. His exegesis enjoys even less confidence. The biographers vie with one another in telling stories which illustrate his mendacity and particularly his professing to know everything. Contempt is poured on his memory by stories of ludicrous questions which were put to him about the most impossible things and to which he either gave fantastic answers or could make no reply. It is in keeping with this profession of universal knowledge that the sources are unanimous in talking of his extreme anthropomorphism (*taḥakkuk*).

It did little to help his fame also that he is said to have told pious stories [cf. 933a] in the mosque, at a time when this was strictly forbidden. In politics he is said to have belonged to the Zaidiya, in theology to the Murdī'a [q. v.].

Muḥatīl's literary activity was somewhat comprehensive, yet until quite recently nothing was known of his works. Only since 1912 has a Ḥurān commentary by him been known in the MS. Or. 5333 of the British Museum, the genuineness of which however Goldziher did not think beyond doubt. The *Fihrist* gives a list of his works; Ḥādīdī Khālifa also gives some of them. They deal mainly with the language and exegesis of the Ḥurān; but a pamphlet against the Ḥadariya is also mentioned. This is however hardly in keeping with another story, according to which he wrote a pamphlet against Ḍahm [q. v.] and the latter wrote against him.

Bibliography: Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishṭiqāq*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 294; Ibn al-Aṭhir, ed. Tornberg, v. 454; *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 179 etc.; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, N^o. 743; al-Dhahabī, *Miṣbāḥ*, iii. 196, N^o. 1723 and 1724; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahḍīb*, x. 279—285; do., *Lisān al-Miṣbāḥ*, vi. 82 sq.; al-Nawawī, *Tahḍīb al-Arṣ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 574 sq.; al-Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, p. 75, 106, 108, 121; Goldziher, *Mus. Stud.*, ii. 206; do., *Richtungen d. Islam. Koranwissenschaft*, p. 58—60, 87, 112.

(M. PLESSNER)

AL-MUḤATTAM, the part of the range of hills west of the Nile, which lies immediately to the east of Cairo and from which the mountains take a north-easterly direction, bordering the Nile delta to the south-east. It reaches a height of about 600 feet and consists, as does the greater part of the north African mountains, of limestone (cf. *Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, Paris 1822, II/II. 751).

The name Muḥattam (the *Tibī al-ʿArīṣ* records also the popular form al-Muḥattab) does not go back to a pre-Muhammadan nomenclature, nor is it considered, in spite of its correct Arabic formation, as a true Arabic word, for the geographers (cf. Yāqūt, iv. 607 sq.) give, hesitatingly, different explanations of its meaning. The name occurs for the first time in the historical tradition of the Egyptian Arabs, as found in the *Futūḥ Miṣr* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (cf. Torrey's edition, New Haven 1899, p. 156 sq.), in half legendary tales in which also al-Muḥawḳas [q. v.] plays a part. Some of these traditions give it an eponymous hero, Muḥattam b. Miṣr b. Baṣar b. Ḥam, or lay stress on the special sanctity of the mountain, declaring that, in some way, it is connected with the mountain of Jerusalem. As in the last mentioned traditions Kaʿb al-Aḥbār [q. v.] is named as final authority, it seems probable that the origin of the name must be sought in Jewish legendary traditions (for Jewish traditions about mountains, cf. the *Midrash Thillim* on Psalm lxxviii. 17) and that the name has been fixed only in course of time on the ill-defined mountainous region to which it is attached since the flourishing times of al-Faṣṭāt and al-Ḳāhira. The vagueness of the geographical definition has survived in the Arabic geographical sources, which either call Muḥattam the entire eastern mountain range as far as Uṣwān (Yāqūt), or even represent under the name Muḥattam the whole of the mountain system that

runs over the inhabited world from China to the Atlantic Ocean (Ibn Ḥawḳal and others). Moreover several geographers give the legendary statement that in the Muḥattam are mines of emerald and other precious stones, while in reality it contains only stone quarries, but these were used already in very ancient times. Maḡristī, *Āḥṣāʾ*, ed. Bullūḡ, i. 123 gives a fairly complete survey of the different traditions and opinions.

It may be thus assumed that the Muḥattam acquired a real geographical identity only after the foundation of al-Faṣṭāt. Its geographical situation, viz. its proximity to the bank of the Nile, has deeply influenced the territorial expansion of this town and later of Cairo [q. v.]. Parts of the town and famous sites are situated on the western spurs of al-Muḥattam, such as the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn and the citadel of Saladin. The elevation of Ibn Tūlūn's mosque bears, however, the special name of Ḍjabal Yaḥḳur. The cemetery of al-Ḳarāfa belongs likewise to the Muḥattam and it is with this cemetery that are connected the ancient traditions already mentioned, in which al-Muḥawḳas plays a part; al-Muḥawḳas informs ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs that the mountain, instead of earthly vegetation, is destined to bear the plants of Paradise and the caliph ʿUmar, informed by ʿAmr, decides that by these plants of Paradise can only be meant Muslims who have died. Accordingly, tradition records a number of *ṣāḥib* who are buried in al-Ḳarāfa. On the summit of al-Muḥattam was built in the Fātimid period the mosque of al-Djuyūṣḥī, by Badr al-Djamālī in 478 (1085); for this reason the mountain is also called Ḍjabal al-Djuyūṣḥī. On the southern slopes, towards Ḥulwān, lay the Christian monastery Daīr al-Ḳusair (description by al-Shabūṣṭī towards 1000; cf. Sachau, in *Abh. Pre. Ak. Wiss.*, 1909). A historical, or perhaps legendary feature, connected with al-Muḥattam is that the Fātimid caliph al-Ḥakīm is said to have disappeared mysteriously, in the night of 27th Shawwāl 411 (Feb. 23, 1021), when he had gone for a ride in the Muḥattam. — Finally it may be mentioned that the Muḥattam has given its name to one of the large modern Arabic newspapers published at Cairo.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-MUḤAWḲAS, AL-MUḤAWḲIS, the individual who in Arab tradition plays the leading part on the side of the Copts and Greeks at the conquest of Egypt. The Prophet is said to have sent a letter to him in the year 6 A. H. In the address on this letter, the text of which is given in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (ed. Torrey, p. 46), al-Maḡristī (*Āḥṣāʾ*, i. 29), al-Suyūṭī (*Ḥuṣn al-Muṣṭafāra*, i. 58) and al-Manṣūf (p. 29), as well as in an entirely different version in Pseudo-Wāḳidī (p. 10), and also in the accounts of the incident in the Arab historians, the position of Muḥawḳas is described in the following phrases:

1. *Ṣāḥib al-Iḥkandariya* (Nawawī, p. 577; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, p. 45, 52; Abū Ṣāliḥ, p. 38 [100]; Ibn Kathīr, iii. fol. 159r, along with N^o. 7 in Ibn Saʿd in Wellhausen, *Seignen und Vorarbeiten*, iv. 3 [99]);
2. *Malik al-Iḥkandariya* (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, p. 49; al-Suyūṭī, i. 60; Pseudo-Wāḳidī, p. 25; Ibn Ḥishām, p. 971);
3. *Ṣāḥib Miṣr* (Abū l-Fidaʾ, i. 149);
4. *Malik Miṣr* (al-Manṣūf, p. 7; cf. al-Maḡristī, *Āḥṣāʾ*, i. 163, ss. 14);
5. *Malik Miṣr wa l-Iḥkandariya* (Pseudo-Wāḳidī, p. 10);
6. *Ṣāḥib Miṣr wa l-Iḥkandariya* (Pseudo-Wāḳidī,

p. 10); 7. *ʿAlīm al-Kubrī* (Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam, p. 46, 47; al-Makrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, i. 29, 12; 161; al-Suyūṭī, i. 58; al-Manāfi, p. 29; al-Tabarī, i. 1575; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 261, 2 along with i. q. v.).

All these epithets no doubt mean simply the actual ruling authority in Egypt, whose true title was not known to the Arabs. If we remember that in the year 6 (628) the Persians were masters of Egypt, we can hardly give much credence to the story of the Arab historians. This is evident from the statement recorded by Manāfi (p. 30) that Egypt was under the rule of Mukawkiṣ continuously from the lifetime of the Prophet, through the caliphate of Abū Bakr to the beginning of the caliphate of ʿOmar. Muhammad's letter to Mukawkiṣ was long ago declared not to be genuine by E. Amélineau (*Fragments inédits*, p. 392) and Wellhausen (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv. 90) although they did not doubt the fact of the embassy to him; later Butler (*Conquest*, p. 522) and Th. Nöldeke (*Z. D. M. G.*, xlviii. 160) still believed in the embassy although the latter granted the possibility that tradition might have transferred the name known from the time of the conquest to the man to whom Muhammad sent gifts, while for example S. Lane-Poole (*Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 6, note 2) supposes that the Mukawkiṣ of 628 and the Mukawkiṣ of the conquest are two different people. This suggestion however is disposed of by the fact that the Mukawkiṣ of the letter is called in Ibn Kathīr *مينا ابن جريح* (in Abu ʿl-Fidaʾ

the patronymic has been corrupted through *مينا*

to *مينا*; Nawawī only gives *Djuraidd*, i.e. the same as the Mukawkiṣ of the conquest, for we need not heed the patronymic of Mukawkiṣ given by Pseudo-Wāḥidī (p. 10) (*ابن راعي*), while the epithet al-Farkab al-Nūṣī, which al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 261, 2 has taken in an obviously corrupt form from an old source, is the Ibn Qurqub al-Yūnānī of the Mukawkiṣ of the conquest. In view of the many serious contradictions, which the transposing of Mukawkiṣ into the period of Persian rule in Egypt offers, there is no alternative but to regard with Cantani, *Annali dell' Islam*, iv. 90 the story of Muhammad's embassy to Mukawkiṣ as legendary and devoid of any historical value (cf. also G. Rouillard, p. 187 and note 2). The genuineness of the parchment found in a monastery at Akhmīm by the French Egyptologist E. Barthélemy in 1852, which was thought to be the original of Muhammad's letter to Mukawkiṣ and was actually put among the relics of the Prophet in the old Scroll, thus disappears (cf. the publication by Helin, in *J. A.*, 1854, p. 482—518 and Djirdjī Zaidan, in *Hisb*, xiii. 2, 1904, p. 103 19). Its falsity had already been recognised by J. Karabacek (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Masʿūditen*, Leipzig 1874, p. 35, note 47 and *Mittelungen der K. K. Österreich. Akademie*, xix. [1884], p. 183) (cf. also Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte der Korān*, i., Leipzig 1909, p. 190). As a matter of fact palaeographical grounds are clearly against any assumption of a date in the first century for this document.

The same discrepancies, which we find in the transmission of the name and title of the Mukawkiṣ of Muhammad's letter are found in the Mukawkiṣ of the conquest. In the historians we find the following names:

1. *Djuraidd* b. Minā (Abū Sāliḥ, p. 30 [81], 101 [230]); 2. *Djuraidd* b. Minā b. Qurqub (Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam, p. 64, note 9; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Isāha*, iii. 1090); 3. Ibn Qurqub or Ibn Karqab (al-Kindī, p. 8; al-Makrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, i. 289, 27; Ibn Taghribirdī, i. 9; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, iii. 894, 14).

Taking first of all the name of his grandfather, J. v. Karabacek's endeavour (p. 2) to dispose of apparent contradictions in the statements about the patronymic by assuming a double name *Minā Farqab* proves unnecessary, when we see the name unequivocally given in N^o. 2. When Karabacek (p. 3) preferred the reading *Farqab* for *Qurqub*, he was at least able to quote the form *قرقب* in the Codex Parisinus of Ibn Taghribirdī, but I cannot agree with Amélineau in supporting Karabacek's proposal (*Fragments*, p. 394 17.) to equate this name with Παρκάβος, especially if we remember the variant *قرقب* of the *Isāha*, and Nöldeke must be right when he (*Z. D. M. G.*, xlviii. 161) restores this to the Περκαβος rejected by Karabacek. The form *قرقب* (unpointed however) has however so far been found in only one papyrus, the more usual form being *قرقيميوس* (*Z. D. M. G.*, i. 158). Butler's conjecture (p. 523) on the name *قرقب* seems to me as improbable as Karabacek's identification. He calls attention to Abū Sāliḥ's observation (p. 67 [156]) that *قرقب* is a corruption of Gregorios and supposes that Karqab is a corruption of Qurqar so that Ibn Karqab would be an error for Ibn Karqar and mean "son of Gregory". Casanova's proposal (in Butler, p. 523) must be dismissed as still more improbable, viz., that Ibn Karqab is a corruption of Abū Kirmā. The office filled by Mukawkiṣ is described by the sources in the following terms:

1. *Ṣāliḥ Miqr* (al-Balādhuri, p. 226); 2. *Malik ʿalā Miqr* (al-Makrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, i. 163, 20 19; Ibn Duqmāq, v. 118); 3. *Amir al-Kubrī bi-Miqr* (Ibn Ḥadjar, iii. 1090); 4. *ʿAmīl ʿalā Miqr* (Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam, p. 64, note 9; al-Makrīzī, p. 29); 5. *ʿAmīl ʿalā ʿl-Kharāj bi-Miqr* (Eutychius, ii. 302). If the three first terms only mean the ruler of Egypt in general, the two last named limit the sphere of activity of Mukawkiṣ to the administration of taxation and the expression given in 4 may be taken as synonymous with *amir* "governor". In this connection we have the very clear evidence of Ilm ʿAbd al-Hakam, p. 37 and Ibn Duqmāq, v. 119 who preserve the statement that Mukawkiṣ was appointed by the emperor Heraclius as governor of Egypt and entrusted with the waging of war and the levying of taxation. Abū Sāliḥ's statement (p. 30 [81 19]) that Mukawkiṣ *Djuraidd* b. Minā had rented the taxes of Egypt from Heraclius for 18,000,000 dinārs fits in with this. This makes intelligible the statement of Eutychius (ii. 302) who calls Mukawkiṣ controller of the land taxes (*ʿAmīl al-Kharāj*) and traces his attitude to the Arabs to his embezzling the taxes raised, and further explains the description of Mukawkiṣ (ΠΡΑΥΧΙΟΣ) as ΤΑΞΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΕΞΗ ΝΑΝ-ΛΩΣΙΟΝ ΠΤΕΧΩΡΑ ΗΚΗΛΕ in the *Vita* of Apa Samuel published by Amélineau (p. 367), to which we may add the statement of the Ethiopic Synaxar that Mukawkiṣ had been Patriarch and financial controller of Egypt.

M. J. de Goeje and J. v. Karabacek have laid special stress on this side of the activity of Mukawkis and identified the prefect George mentioned in John of Nikiu (p. 559), whom de Goeje regards as prefect of Lower Egypt and Karabacek (p. 8) as pagarch of Babylon, with Mukawkis who is called in the sources George son of Menas. A. J. Butler (note 4 to Abu Salih, p. 81), Milne and Laun-Poole have followed de Goeje while Amélineau (*Fragments coptes*, p. 404; *Samuel de Qalamon*, p. 24 and *Résumé de l'histoire de l'Égypte*, p. 243) wished to identify Mukawkis with the Patriarch George who was appointed by the emperor Heraclius as successor or deputy to Cyrus during the period of the latter's stay in Constantinople (cf. John of Nikiu, p. 574).

In contrast to these attempts at identification, which are in more than one respect in contradiction to the sources, the most probable solution of the Mukawkis problem is the identification of Mukawkis with the Patriarch and governor Cyrus of Phasis, who was sent in the year 631 A. D. by Heraclius to Alexandria where he died on March 21, 642. While Zotenberg (in his edition of John of Nikiu, p. 576, note 2) had already pointed out that the main features of the activity of Cyrus are found in the Arabic stories of Mukawkis, although no doubt the legend mixes up the activities of several individuals under this name, F. M. Esteves Pereira, (*Vita do Abba Samuel*, p. 41—53) completely proved the identity of the two. Independently J. Krall in an unpublished article for the *Mitteilungen aus der Sammlung des Papyrus Erkerung Rainer*, on the authority of three new fragments of the *Vita* of Apa Samuel, had come to the same conclusion. The full study of the whole problem by A. J. Butler, the main result of which, the identity of Mukawkis with the Patriarch Cyrus, has been adopted by B. Evetts (*Patrologia Orientalis*, i, 491, note 1), by M. Guidi in his doctoral thesis, C. H. Becker and O. Braun in his article *Cyrus* in the *Kirchliche Handlexicon*, ii, col. 530 and others, has been critically examined by L. Caetani (*Annali dell' Islam*, iv, 86 sqq.). The decisive evidence for the identity of the two individuals is found in the *History of the Patriarchs of Severus of Ashmūnain* (ed. Evetts, p. 490 sq.; ed. Seybold, p. 106 sq.) in which there are references to the Patriarch and governor of Heraclius in connection with the flight of the Patriarch Benjamin once as Cyrus (قبرس), then a few lines later as al-Mukawkas or al-Makawkas; the *synaxar* in this connection also give the name al-Makawkas (cf. E. Amélineau, *Fragments coptes*, S. 397, note 1; p. 398, note 1; p. 406, note 1 and the edition by R. Basset, *Patrologia Orientalis*, xi, 562) and the Arabic *Vita* of Benjamin (Amélineau, p. 400, note 1); of peculiar importance is the text edited in *R. O. C.*, xx, 393, where the combined names Cyrus al-Mukawkis appear. There is the additional fact that the period of ten years which, according to the history of the Patriarchs, lay between the flight and return of the Patriarch Benjamin coincides within a year with the period of office of Cyrus (631—642) in Egypt, whom the Christian sources describe as an "unbeliever" (πασεδνε, Amélineau, *Fragments coptes*, p. 364, 366; *kāfir* in Severus of Ashmūnain, p. 405 [108]), godless and sinful Kauchios (πικαρχιος πασεδνε ἀπαράδωκε, Vienna Coptic fragments of the *Vita* of Apa Samuel in Krall, Kauchios frequently in Amélineau), deceitful Antichrist (παντίχριστος ἀπιδανος in Amélineau, p. 366 sq.) and Pseudoarchiepiskopos (*ibid.*, p. 365). The double position of Cyrus or Mukawkas as supreme head of the administration and archbishop, of which we have ample evidence (cf. G. Rouillard, p. 230, note 2), and which is quite certain from the testimony of Severus (p. 490, 495 [106—108]) and the Arabic and Ethiopic *synaxar* (Amélineau, p. 496, note 1: *ويزير وبطريرك*, p. 399) and also by the *Vita* of Samuel (Amélineau, p. 367), was quite unknown to the Muslim Arabic sources. Nöldeke has already called attention to this remarkable fact (p. 160) and it remains a crux for the identification of the two figures. There was however no necessity for the Arabs to refer to his position in the church. He was only of importance to them as head of the administration. If one wants to, one can see an indication of his ecclesiastical dignity in the wish expressed by Mukawkis during the negotiations with 'Amr regarding the capitulation of Alexandria (in Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, ed. Torrey, p. 72) that he might be buried in the Church of St. John (cf. thereon Amélineau, p. 400 sq.). How much the Christian sources differ in their ideas of the personality and position of Mukawkis may be gathered from the description of the death of Mukawkis. According to Severus of Ashmūnain (ed. Evetts, p. 495; Seybold p. 108), the governor and Patriarch of Alexandria poisoned himself after the occupation of Alexandria lest he should be put to death by 'Amr, while John of Nikiu (p. 335, 578) says that Cyrus weakened by vexation at the faithlessness of 'Amr caught dysentery and died. According to Caetani, the contradictions and obscurities on the part of the Arab historians show that they did not consider who Mukawkis exactly was, but simply used the name as the family name of the chief personage in Egypt at the time of the Muslim conquest. Evidently all who negotiated with 'Amr in the name of the Copts are included in one individual. The unanimity with which Mukawkis is described as a Copt and the different names given him suggests that Mukawkis conceals not only Cyrus but also other Egyptian negotiators — e. g. perhaps the commander of Babylon, George, and the bishop of the same town, Menas. The Arabs must have made one out of these two negotiators and given him like Cyrus the name Mukawkis. Of the attempts to explain this name, Karabacek's (p. 8) *μακωκας* is as little probable as Amélineau's explanation (p. 407—409) which makes Kauchios "the man from Kauchion". We would rather think with Butler and Guidi of a connection with *μακωκας*, which indicates the home of Cyrus. But even this explanation is by no means certain and the connection of Mukawkis with Cyrus has again (in Canterelli) given rise to serious doubts. Nau, p. 11 has compared Mukawkis with *μακας*. His name survived in the Kôm el-Mukawkis in the area of old Cairo (Ibn Duqmāq, iv, 53).

Bibliography: Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Kitāb Futūḥ Miṣr wa-Aḥḥāḥ*, ed. Ch. C. Torrey (in *Yale Oriental Series Researches*, iii, New Haven 1922), p. 37, 45—49, 52 sq., 58, 63—72, 109, 156, sq., 161, 173, 175, 317; al-Kindī, *Kitāb Tārīkh Miṣr wa-Walāḥiq*, ed. Rb.

Ginest, in *G. M. S.*, Leyden 1912, xix, 8; al-Baladhuri, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Bulḍān*, Cairo 1901, p. 222 sq., 226—229; Ibn Saʿd in J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv., Berlin 1889, text, p. 3, N^o. 4, transl. p. 90, 99; al-Makrūzi, *Khizmat*, Bulak 1270, i, 29, 163, 167, 289; al-Sayūṭi, *Kitāb Ḥuṣn al-Mubāḍara fi Akhḍar Miṣr wa 'l-Kāhira*, Cairo 1299, i, 58, 60; Ibn Dukūmāl, *Kitāb al-Intiqāḥ li-Waṣṣat 'Iḍ al-Amṣār*, Cairo 1893, iv, 53; v, 118 sq.; Ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Nuḡm al-ṣāhira fi Muṭah Miṣr wa 'l-Kāhira*, ed. T. G. J. Jaynboll-B. F. Matthes, Leyden 1855, i, 9; al-Manṣūf, *Kitāb Laṭā'if Akhḍar al-Uṣal fi-man taṣarrafa fi Miṣr min Arabāh al-Dumal*, Cairo 1300, p. 7, 29 sq.; Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Umar b. Wāḳid al-Wāḳidī al-Madanī, *Kitāb Futūḥ Miṣr wa 'l-Zakandariya*, ed. H. A. Hamaker, Leyden 1825, p. 9 sq., 25, 214; al-Buhārī, ed. de Goeje, i, 1575; Ibn Kaṭhīr, *al-Badā'iyā wa 'l-Nihāyā*, Cod. N. F., N^o. 187 of the National Library in Vienna, fol. 130v; Abū 'l-Fidā, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1256, l, 149; al-Makīn, *Tārīkh al-Muṣlimin*, ed. Th. Erpenius, Leyden 1625, p. 29; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, p. 3, 121, 971; al-Nawawī, *Kitāb Taḥḍīb al-Aṣmā*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1842—1847, p. 577; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Isāba*, ed. A. Sprenger, iii, 1090; al-Maṣ'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, B. G. A., viii, 261; Yāḳūt, *Ma'ājam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii, 894; Eusebius, *Annales*, ii, 302; *Chronique de Jean, évêque de Nikiou*, ed. M. H. Zotesberg, in *N. E.*, xxiv, 335, 559, 562, 564, 570—578; Severus b. al-Muḳaffa, *Kitāb Siyar al-Abā' al-Baṭriqā*, ed. C. F. Seybold, Bairut 1904, p. 106—108; do., ed. B. Evetts, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, i., Paris 1907, 490—495; Abū Ṣāliḥ, *Tārīkh*, ed. B. T. A. Evetts (*Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series*, vii., Oxford 1895), p. 30, 38, 81, 100 sq., 230; F. M. Esteves Pereira, *Vida de Abna Samuel do mosteiro de Kalamon*, Lisbon 1894, p. 41—53. (cf. Th. Nöldeke's discussion in *Z. D. M. G.*, xlviii, 158—161); F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Stadtalter von Ägypten zur Zeit der Chalifen*, i., Abh. G. G. W., xx, (1875), 2—7; M. J. de Goeje, *De Maḥakkis van Egypte, in Études archéol., ling. et hist. dédiés à C. Leumann*, Leyden 1885, p. 7—9; J. v. Karabacek, *Der Maḥakkis von Ägypten* (Mittheil. a. d. Sammlung d. Papyrus Ersh. Rainer, i., 1886), p. 1—11; E. Amélineau, *Fragments coptes pour servir à l'histoire de la conquête de l'Égypte par les Arabes* (*J. A.*, ser. viii., vol. xii., 1888), 361—410; do., *Samuel de Qalamoun*, in *K. H. A.*, xxx, (1894), p. 12—24; do., *Résumé de l'histoire de l'Égypte*, Paris 1894, p. 243 (cf. also *Acad. des inscriptions, Comptes rendus*, iv, 477 sq.); A. J. Butler, *On the identity of 'al-Muḳawḳas' of Egypt*, in *P. S. B. A.*, xxiii, (1901), p. 275—290; the same art. enlarged in A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last thirty Years of the Roman Dominion*, Oxford 1902, appendix C: *On the identity of al-Muḳawḳas*, p. 508—526; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, i, 725 sq.; iv, 86 sq., 110, 179—181, 233, 239, 244, 255 sq., 261 sq., 330, 337, 342; J. B. Bury, *A History of the later Roman Empire*, London 1889, p. 214, 202, 270; S. Lane-Poole, *Egypt in the Middle Ages*, London 1924, p. 6; J. G. Milne, *A History of Egypt under Roman Rule*, London 1898, p. 224; O. Braun, article *Cyrus*

von Phasis, in *Kirchliches Handlexikon*, ed. by M. Buchberger, ii., Munich 1912, col. 530; Cantarelli, *La serie dei prefetti di Egitto*, in *Mem. R. A. L.*, sec. morale v., vol. xiv., p. 432; C. H. Becker, *Islamismus*, i., Leipzig 1924, p. 148; G. Rouillard, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine*, Paris 1928, p. 187, 230, note 2, p. 243 sq.; Nau, *La politique matrimoniale du Cyrus (le Maccar)* etc., *La Mission*, xiv, (1932), p. 1—17, cap. p. 8—17. (A. GROHMANN)

MUKHADRAM (A.), the term applied to an individual whose life fell within the periods of both paganism and Islām. Various explanations are given of the origin of the name. Some derive it from *uḍḥan mukhadramu* "cropped ear" and say the meaning is that these people were cut off from the Dīḥiliya by Islām (cf. *nūḥa mukhadrama* "a she-camel with cropped ears"). It is said that the tribes who adopted Islām cropped the ears of their camels differently from what they had done in the pagan period. A man who had therefore seen both the pagan and Muslim styles was called *mukhadram*. Others derive the word from *mā' ḥidrim* "(a well) which contains much water" and explain that a man who has lived in both Dīḥiliya and Islām was called *mukhadram*, since he was fully acquainted with both periods. The term *mukhadram* is occasionally found with the same application and the explanation given is that the individuals had mixed paganism and Islām. Some commentators describe as *mukhadramūn* only those who adopted Islām after the death of Muḥammad.

The word *mukhadram* is particularly used to describe one of the four classes into which the Arab philologists divide the poets. It means those whose work was begun in the period of the Dīḥiliya but who lived to see Muḥammad and his mission and some even adopted Islām. Among these for example were Labīd, al-A'ḥḥā and Ka'b b. Zuhair. These poets are still completely immersed in the poetic tradition of the Dīḥiliya. The new outlook was late in finding its way into poetry so that the change is not yet reflected in the poets who were Muḥammad's contemporaries. The scheme of the *ḥasida* of the pagan poetry with its fixed themes and stereotyped images also holds for the *mukhadramūn* and in their poems one can hardly find the slightest hint that they were contemporary with the great religious change in Arabia. The only exception is the *ḥasida* composed in honour of Muḥammad, like the *ḥasida* of Ka'b b. Zuhair called after its opening words *Bismat Sa'ad* and the panegyric on the Prophet by al-A'ḥḥā. While these still follow the scheme of the *ḥasida* as regards form they reflect Muḥammadan points of view and legal ordinances and also use Qur'anic phrases.

Bibliography: W. Ahlwardt, *Über Poesie und Poesik der Araber*, Leipzig 1875; Ka'b b. Zuhair, *La Banat Sa'ad*, ed. by R. Basset, Algiers 1910; *Morgenländische Forschungen, Festschrift für Fleischer*, Leipzig 1875, p. 235 sqq.; *Lisān al-'Arab*, xv, 75; *Taḍī al-'Arūs*, viii, 281; al-Sayūṭi, *Mushir*, section 49.

(ILSE LICHTENSTÄDTER)

MUKHLIS AL-DAWLĀ. [See AL-MUKALLĀD.] **AL-MUKHTAR** R. ABI 'URĀID AL-THAKAFI, a Shi'a agitator who seized possession of Kūfa in 66 (685—686). The clan of Thakaf to which he belonged was the same as that of the poet Umalya b. Abi 'l-Salt [q. v.] and another poet, Abū

Mihdjan, was his second cousin (al-Mukhtār's grandfather Ma'ād being the son of 'Amr b. 'Umayr b. 'Awf; cf. Wüstenfeld, *Gen. Tab.*, G. 19). He is said to have been born in 622 (Tabari, i. 1264) a statement which has perhaps no real foundation (cf. Tabari, ii. 2: in 40, he was a "young man", *ghulām shabb*) and based on the fact that his adversary 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair was born in the same year. His father having died the death of a hero at the battle of the Bridge in 13 against the Persians, the orphan was brought up by his uncle Sa'd b. Ma'ād who became governor of al-Madīna under the caliph 'Alī. Al-Mukhtār was his deputy when Sa'd left al-Madīna to go after the Kharijites who had left 'Alī's camp in 37 (Tabari, i. 3366; al-Dinawari, p. 218). His early life and his family traditions therefore made him a partisan of 'Alī: al-Tabari (ii. 2) however says that when 'Alī's son al-Hasan took refuge with al-Mukhtār's uncle when fleeing from Mu'awiya in 40, the nephew proposed to surrender him to his rival and he was reproached with this disloyal act 25 years afterwards by the Shi'is. This is all we know of the early days of one who was destined to become the champion of the extreme Shi'is: his refusal to bear witness before Ziyād b. Abīhi against Hujr b. 'Adī, who was accused of having attempted an anti-Umayyad rising at Kūfa in 51 (Tabari, ii. 134), shows however that his feelings were already pro-Allid. It is only when, after the death of Mu'awiya, the hopes of the partisans of 'Alī's family began to rise again, that al-Mukhtār emerges from obscurity: he took part in the rising of Muslim b. 'Aqil in 61 and, imprisoned by the governor 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād, he was only released after the failure of al-Hasan's attempt and returned to Mecca, where 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair was secretly engaged in preparing the movement which was to take him to the head of the anti-Umayyad rising. It is alleged that al-Mukhtār, after vainly trying to compromise Ibn al-Zubair prematurely, disappeared from Mecca for a whole year which he spent in his native town of al-Ta'if. It was no doubt in this period that the ideas ripened in him which made him the initiator and leader in a new political and religious phase of the Shi'a movement; but of the way in which his ideas came to him, their immediate origin and the influences which went to form them, history unfortunately knows nothing.

In any case, al-Mukhtār returned to al-Zubair, who had in the meanwhile been publicly recognised as caliph, and fought bravely at the first siege of Mecca in 64. But his adhesion to the cause of Ibn al-Zubair had no other object than to enable him to return to Kūfa which was then under the anti-Umayyad caliph. According to one source which is in contradiction to Tabari, al-Mukhtār was sent by al-Zubair himself to the capital of the 'Irāq to take charge of its administration, having promised him the support of the 'Alid party (al-Ma'ādī, *Mawā'id*, v. 70); it seems more probable that, as Tabari says, he went there of his own accord to carry out his plans for a Shi'a revival.

The Shi'is of Kūfa were at this time (Ramadān 64) under the influence of Sulaimān b. Surād [q. v.]. Al-Mukhtār did not wish to join his party and began propaganda of his own, saying he was the emissary of Muhammad, son of 'Alī called Ibn al-Hanafīya from the name of his mother's tribe

[cf. MUHAMMAD B. AL-HANAFIYA]. The motives which gave al-Mukhtār the idea that he could pass off as the legitimate successor to the rights of 'Alī, this son, who was not born of Fātima, the daughter of the Prophet, have not been fully explained; but as the other children of 'Alī who had escaped the massacre of Kerbela were quite incapable, al-Mukhtār's choice was limited. In any case, his fiery and peculiar eloquence (he pronounced his discourses in *saj'* with obscure phrases and expressions which recalled the Qur'an, without being a slavish imitation of it; he also said or allowed it to be said of him that he was inspired by the angel Gabriel) was able to gain partisans for the idea of the Mahdī whose imminent coming would restore the rule of the true religion. Without being yet openly hostile to the rule of Ibn al-Zubair, al-Mukhtār's attitude was suspected. He was therefore imprisoned by the Zubairid governor 'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī but his captivity was not rigorous and enabled him to remain in contact with the people of Kūfa. After the defeat and death of Sulaimān b. Surād, which he had predicted, he was set at liberty on guaranteeing he would not fight against the Zubairid government. Al-Mukhtār took advantage of the liberty restored to him to secure the cooperation of Ibrāhīm b. al-Aḥtar, son of 'Alī's famous general, who kept up his father's traditions. The latter hesitated long before accepting al-Mukhtār's proposals and only agreed on receiving a letter, undoubtedly a forgery, in which Ibn al-Hanafīya introduced al-Mukhtār to him as his plenipotentiary (*amīn*) and minister (*wasīr*).

The rising then began (14 Rabī' I 66): the resistance of the chiefs of the tribes (the *Ashraf*), who while opposed to the Umayyads and former fighters by the side of 'Alī, had long lost their enthusiasm for the cause of his family, was overcome by the onslaught of the troops, composed for the most part of adventurers and *muḥālī* led by Ibn al-Aḥtar, a most capable warrior. The Zubairid governor fled (he was at this time 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥ' al-Kurashī); the Ashraf capitulated and al-Mukhtār, undisputed lord of Kūfa, rapidly extended his power over Mesopotamia and the eastern provinces, to which he at once appointed governors: the south alone, with Basra, remained to Ibn al-Zubair.

Al-Mukhtār had naturally to give the Ashraf positions of authority in his organisation but he could not completely gain their confidence. Although old partisans of 'Alī, or sons of partisans, they were moderates who distrusted al-Mukhtār as an extremist and demagogue: indeed, the favour which the latter showed to the *muḥālī*, who formed his real support, threatened to overthrow the system on which the political and economic supremacy of the Arabs over the native population was based, for not even the conversion of the latter to Islam had made them equal to their conquerors. Al-Mukhtār therefore was faced with the necessity of deciding for one or other. He preferred the *muḥālī* party, probably more from genuine conviction than for political reasons: he must have believed that the triumph of the Mahdī whom he foretold would make all believers equal without distinction of race. During the absence of the army which had gone under Ibn al-Aḥtar to fight 'Abd al-Malik's troops, the Ashraf made an attempt to overthrow al-Mukhtār who was forced to temporize with them; but succeeding in informing Ibn al-

Ashtar of his difficulty, the latter returned to Kufa and completely routed the enemies of al-Mukhtar. This was the signal for putting into execution the latter's full Shi'a programme; all those who had taken part in the murder of al-Husain, or had neglected to defend him, were put to death. This bloody deed seemed to have divine approval, for two days later the Syrian army which had set out for the Iraq was completely routed on the banks of the Khazir by Ibn al-Ashtar, and its leader 'Ubad Allah b. Ziyad, who had defeated and killed al-Husain, was killed in the battle (Muharram 67). In the fanatical enthusiasm of these days in which the Shi'a cause seemed to have won a definite success there took place episodes of great religious interest although unfortunately not yet clearly explained, notably the worship of the empty chair (Tabari, ii. 702—706; cf. al-Mubarrad, *al-Kamil*, ed. Wright, p. 597—600).

But in spite of his successes at home and abroad, al-Mukhtar was threatened by the presence in Basra of the brother of 'Abd Allah b. al-Zubair, Mus'ab, whose army, organised by al-Muhallab b. Abi Sufra, hardened in the war with the Khazirids and strengthened by the accession of the Kufan Ashraf who had left the town, was one to be feared. Indeed, the Shi'a troops were defeated by it at al-Madhat on the Tigris; a little later at Harura they suffered a complete rout, mainly because of the absence of Ibn al-Ashtar who was in the north at al-Mawil and whom al-Mukhtar either through distrust of him or through excess of confidence in himself had neglected to recall. Al-Mukhtar who had taken refuge in the citadel of Kufa held out there valiantly for four months. Finally abandoned by most of his men, he was slain in a desperate sortie (Ramadan 14, 67). His body was mutilated, his hand suspended at the gate of the great mosque (and it was only taken down many years later by al-Hajjaj); one of his wives, who would not disown him, was executed in brutal fashion, although she was the daughter of al-Nu'man b. Bashir al-Ansari, who had been governor of Kufa under Mu'awiya. A great many of al-Mukhtar's followers were also massacred.

The nature of the movement led by al-Mukhtar has been variously judged by modern historians. The historical tradition which grew up in Kufa, especially in the milieu of the Ashraf, is naturally hostile and regards him as an adventurer and false prophet. His conduct was undoubtedly somewhat crooked occasionally; the way in which he exploited the name of Ibn al-Hanafiya (who never wished to be completely compromised in the business of the Mahdi) was not quite fair. But neither these doings nor his double dealing with regard to the Ashraf (they paid him back however only too well) are sufficient to convict him of bad faith. They were tactical expedients which every one who wants to stir the masses is justified in employing for the triumph of his cause. It seems certain that al-Mukhtar sincerely believed in his mission, and his equalitarian ideas about the *masad*, although premature, were, as the future was to show, the only ones which could secure to Islam its later expansion and transform it from the exclusively Arab movement it was at first into a world wide civilization. What is still and will remain mysterious in the personality of al-Mukhtar (Wellhausen rightly observes that "demoniac" natures like his are always problematic), is the

manner in which he arrived (no doubt through a crisis within himself) at the religious and eschatological conception of the Shi'a of which he was the creator and which is infinitely greater than the expiatory sacrifice of the *awwalin* of Sulaiman b. Surad. It is owing to this conception that the importance of the movement started by al-Mukhtar is far greater than the ephemeral political success which he enjoyed; in the popular enthusiasm which welcomed his propaganda we see the germs of the ideas which transformed the Shi'a from a political movement to a religious doctrine. In what measure these ideas were in existence before al-Mukhtar, in what relation they stood to that enigmatical personage 'Abd Allah b. Salim and his disciples are points that are still obscure. But if he was not the inventor of the doctrine of the Mahdi, it was undoubtedly he who in locating in a real person, Muhammad b. al-Hanafiya, the mystical figure of the Messiah, the restorer of the true religion, gave it the stamp which was henceforth typical of *imami* doctrines.

The name Mukhtariya is borne by one of the many Shi'a subdivisions given in the lists of the writers on heresies; but it is doubtful if it ever had a real existence as an organised sect, especially as the sources which mention it do not clearly distinguish it from the Kala'aniya [q.v.] and the Khazabiya [q.v.], which seem very likely to be the legitimate successors of the teachings of al-Mukhtar.

Bibliography: The principal and almost the only source for the history of al-Mukhtar is al-Tabari (ed. de Goeje), ii. 530—752 and *passim*, which is based for the most part on the statements of eye-witnesses of the events. The secondary sources add practically nothing new; they are quoted in Caefani, *Chronographia islamica*, 2. 64 § 13, 65 § 6, 66 §§ 5—7, 9—12, 67 §§ 2, 4, 42 (a few details also in the biography of Muhammad b. al-Hanafiya in Ibn Sa'd, v. 71—77); H. D. van Gelder, *Muhtār al-walī al-nabī*, Leyden 1888; J. Wellhausen, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Oppositionen im alten Islam* (Abh. G. W. Gott., N. S., v. 2, 1901), p. 74—89. Cf. also the bibliography given in the articles KALA'ANIYA and KHABABIYA (add al-Nawbakhti, *Firak al-Shi'a*, ed. Ritter [Bibl. Islamica, iv., 1931], p. 20—30). (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

MUKHTAR PASHA, GHANIM AHMAD, a Turkish general and statesman, was born in Sept. 1832, the son of a high official in Brusa, and received a military training there and in Constantinople (officer in 1854). He took part in the Crimean War, from 1860 taught in the Mekteb-i Harbiye as professor of the art of war and in 1865 was tutor to the prince Yusuf 'Izz al-Din. After holding a command in Albania (1867—1870) he distinguished himself under Redif Pasha in the Yaman campaign, the conduct of which he took over in 1871 as General of Division and Pasha. On his return he was given the title of *muhtār*. In the Herzegovina he was defeated in 1876 at the Duga Pass. After the declaration of war by Russia (April 24, 1877) he was given the supreme command on the Caucasus front, where after at first having to retire to Kopruköy, he counter-attacked at Dahar (June 21) and Ziwin (June 25) and forced the Russians under the Armenian generals Loris-Melikoff and Ter-Hugassoff, to evacuate Ottoman territory and occupied Sukhum.

Successes in August on the Yaghnī Dagh and at Kifl-Tepe (near Bash Gedikler) earned him the title of honour of *Qāsi* [q. v.] but did not prevent the collapse of the army in Oct.—Nov. [cf. DEWE BOYON, KARS and ERZERUM]. Appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Artillery, he restored peace in Crete in 1878; in 1879—1885 he served as commissioner on the Greek frontier. As a result of the Anglo-Turkish agreement of Oct. 24, 1885, he became the first High Commissioner of the Porte in Egypt, holding the post till 1906 and playing a part in the Taba affair. In this period he busied himself with the question of reforming the calendar; he advocated a uniform Hijra solar year for all Muslims (see *Bibl.*).

From Dec. 1908 Vice-President of the Ottoman Senate, he proposed in the National Assembly of April 27, 1909 to give prince Reşid the name Mehmed V in memory of the first conqueror (*Fatih*) of Constantinople [see MUHAMMAD II] (communication of 'Abd al-Rahmān Sharaf to Martin Hartmann); he himself led the deputation which announced his accession as Sultān-Caliph and brought him to the War Ministry to receive the oath of allegiance [cf. *Baṭā*]. On Oct. 14, 1911 he succeeded Sa'id Pasha [q. v.] as President of the Senate and on July 22, 1912 as grand-vizier in the cabinet of the "Great Ones" (*Buyukler*). Under pressure from the association of old-Turkish officers (*Akavutçular*) he persuaded the Senate on Aug. 4 by a bold interpretation of the constitution to declare the session of Parliament closed. He endeavoured to free the army and civil service from politics, obtained an amnesty for Albania, recalled Ahmad 'Izzet Pasha from the Yaman, instituted the Naval Medal and Medal of the Red Crescent, obtained favourable terms in the treaty of peace with Italy (Oct. 18, 1912) but could not avert the catastrophe in the Balkan War. On Oct. 29, 1912 he retired in favour of Kamil Pasha, but remained a member of the Senate till 1918, in which on Feb. 12, 1917 he advocated the adoption of the Gregorian calendar and rejection of the Christian reckoning for the financial year. He died on Jan. 21, 1919. Mahmūd Mukhtār Pasha is his son.

Bibliography: Général Izet-Fuad, *Autres Occasions perdues... Critique stratégique de la Campagne d'Asie Mineure 1877—1878*, Paris 1908 (Izzet-Fuad Pasha makes use of Mehmed 'Arif Bey's book *Bahmülâ Gelenler* which was inspired by Mukhtār Pasha); Ghazi Ahmed Moukhtar Pasha, *La Réforme du Calendrier* (transl. O. N. E.), Leyden 1893; Collection *Düstūr, Tertibi* (İkânî, vol. I, v. vii.; *Osmanischer Lloyd*, Constantinople 1908—1912 and other scattered sources. (G. JÄSCHKE).

MUKHTARĪ, SHARAF AL-DIN 'UHMĀN b. MUHAMMAD AL-MUKHTARĪ AL-GHAZNAWĪ, court poet of the later Ghaznavids Ibrāhīm b. Ma'ūd II (1059—1099) and Ma'ūd III b. Ibrāhīm (1099—1114). He lived for a considerable period in Kirmān, where he wrote panegyrics on the Saldjuk Arslān-Shāh b. Kirmānshāh (1101—1141). The great poet Majdī al-Din Sanā'ī showed him the greatest reverence and celebrated him in a long *ḥajda* as the best poet of his time. He could not have been Sanā'ī's teacher, as the Bankipore Catalogue (i. 32) says, since he must have been only a year or two older than Sanā'ī. His influence however is quite marked in many of Sanā'ī's

works. One of Mukhtārī's philosophical *ḥajdas* may be regarded as the one of the finest examples of the old Persian school of poetry since *naṭras* on it were written by the best poets such as Khāṣṣānī, Amīr Khusrāw, Alīrī Aḥṣakānī, 'Abd al-Rahmān Djāmi and Nawā'ī. His chief work is a large *Divān* of lyrics, the majority of which are panegyrics in the style of the old Ghaznavid poets like 'Unsuri and Farrukhī, and dedicated to Arslān-Shāh, Bahrām-Shāh, Adud al-Dawla Dailami, Tamghash-Khān and a number of viziers. Besides these *ḥajdas* there were in the *Divān* a few short *mathnawī's*, one of which of an astronomical nature seems to have had a great influence on later poetry. We should probably also ascribe to our poet the authorship of the *Shāhriyār-nāma*, an imitation of the *Shāh-nāma*, the hero of which is Shāhriyār son of Barīd son of Suhrah, i. e. a great-grandson of Rustam, and the action of which is laid in India. The poem is dedicated to Ma'ūd III in the preface the poet says that he has worked at it for three years and hoped for a present worthy of this labour. If he does not receive this gift however, he will not write a satire this; seems to be a direct reference to Firdawsi. The year of Mukhtārī's death is not exactly known, 530 (1135), 534 (1139), 544 (1149) and 554 (1159) are mentioned. The last date seems to be the right one.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, *Neupersische Literatur* (Gr. I. Ph., ii. 234, 250—257); Dawlatshāh, p. 93; *Majma' al-Fuṣūḥ*, i. 598—607. A manuscript of the *Shāhriyār-nāma* in Rieu, ii. 542. (E. BRÜHLER).

AL-MUKIT. [See ALLĀH, II.]

MUKRĀ, a district and village in the Yaman, a day's journey south of Sanā'. The Arab geographers mention a cornelian mine here. The name is also given to a mountain in the Yaman Sarāt. According to Sprenger, we cannot connect the Himyar tribe of this name with the *Moufira* of Ptolemy.

Bibliography: al-Hamīdānī, *Ṣifat Djāmi'at al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller (Leyden 1884—1891), p. 68, 104 sq.; al-Mukāddasī, *B.G.A.*, iii. 91; al-Hamādānī, *B.G.A.*, v. 36; Ibn Khurdādhbih, vi. 141; al-Yā'qūbī, *B.G.A.*, vii. 319; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, iii. 130; iv. 437, 603; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, p. 244. (A. GROHMANN).

MUKTADAB, name of the thirteenth metre in Arabic prosody, very little used; in theory it consists of three feet, with two successive *mustaf'ilun*, in each hemistich; but in practice it has only two.

There is one *'arūḍ* and one *ḡarḥ*:
maṣ'ūlātu mustaf'ilun: maṣ'ūlātu mustaf'ilun.
 However, *maṣ'ūlātū* should lose its *f* (*maṣ'ūlātu* = *faṣ'ūlātu*) or change its *ā* to *u*, which is very frequent (*maṣ'ūlātu* = *faṣ'ūlātu*).

Mustaf'ilun can never retain its *f* (*mustaf'ilun* = *muṣṭaf'ilun*). (MOH. BENCHENEN).

AL-MUKTADĪ BI-AMR; 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-KĀSHIM 'ABD ALLĀH b. MUHAMMAD, 'Abbāsīd caliph. His father was a son of the caliph al-Kā'im and his mother an Armenian slave girl named Urdjuwān. After the death of his grandfather al-Kā'im in Sha'ban 467 (April 1075), al-Muktadī succeeded him as caliph. The real ruler was the Saldjuk sultān Malikshāh [q. v.] to whose daughter al-Muktadī was married in 480 (1087). By 482 (1089) however, she had returned to her father because

she was neglected by the caliph. Malikshāh, who wished to prevent the caliph interfering in affairs of state, endeavoured to induce him to leave Baghdad and take up his residence in another town; this plan however came to nothing through the death of the sultan in Shawwāl 485 (Nov. 1092) and al-Muktadir was left in peace in the capital. About this time the power of the Saljuqs reached its greatest height and in all the lands conquered by them the spiritual supremacy of the caliph was recognised. Al-Muktadir died suddenly on 15th or 19th Muharram 487 (4th or 8th Feb. 1094) at the age of 38. He was perhaps poisoned by Malikshāh's son and successor, Barkiyārūk [q.v.] whom he had offended by confirming the selection of his minor brother Mahmūd as sultan.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athir, ed. Tornberg, i, see Index; Ibn al-Tiktākā, *al-Fahri*, ed. Dorenbourg, p. 398—403; Muhammad b. Shākir, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, i, 233; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ithar*, iii, 472 sqq.; Hamd Allāh Mustawfī-Kāzwinī, *Tārīkh-i Gostāda*, ed. Browne, i, 359 sq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii, 121—137; Houtama, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seljoukides*, ii, 12, 22, 45, 49—81; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 283, 292 sq., 326. (K. V. ZETTERSTERN)

AL-MUKTADIR. [See ALLAH, II.]

AL-MUKTADIR ibn 'alī, abu 'l-faḍl, dīnār FAR H. AHMAD, 'Abbasid caliph, son of al-Mu'tadid and a slave named Shaghāb. After the death of his brother al-Muktafi in Dhū 'l-Ka'da 295 (Aug. 908), al-Muktadir who was only 13 at the time was proclaimed caliph. Many however preferred 'Abd Allāh, son of the caliph al-Mu'tazz, and after the murder of the vizier al-'Abbās b. al-Ḥasan b. Ahmad [q.v.], al-Muktadir was declared to be deposed and Ibn al-Mu'tazz elected caliph. The eunuch Mu'nis [q.v.] came forward to save al-Muktadir; Ibn al-Mu'tazz was slain and al-Muktadir retained the caliphate. He showed very little independence however and allowed himself to be guided, sometimes by the personnel of the harem and sometimes by the viziers among whom special mention may be made of the intriguing Ibn al-Furāt [q.v.] and the brave Ibn al-Djarrāh [q.v.]. Al-Muktadir's caliphate was therefore marked by a gradual decline. In his reign the dynasties of the Fātimids [q.v.] and Ḥamdānids [q.v.] became independent. The Karmāniyās also rebelled once more. In the years 307 (919—920) and 311 (923) Basra was plundered by the Karmāniyā chief Abū 'Tāhir Sulaimān [cf. al-DjANNAKI] and at the end of the year 311 (924) he fell upon the pilgrim caravan returning from Mecca. In Dhū 'l-Ka'da of the following year (925) he attacked the caravan which was going on the pilgrimage to Mecca from Baghdad and put it to flight. He next plundered al-Kūfa and then returned to Bahrain. An army sent against the Karmāniyās under the command of Mu'nis arrived only after they had retired. In 314 (926—927) Yūsuf b. Abī 'l-Shāh was summoned from Adharbāydjān to help, but Sulaimān defeated him in Shawwāl of the following year (Dec. 927) and took him prisoner. The caliph's troops did not dare to give battle and in Muharram 316 (March 928) Sulaimān seized the town of al-Rāḥaba. After an unsuccessful attack on al-Rāḥaba he retired; in 317 (929—930), or, according to others, in 316, he plundered Mecca and carried off the Black Stone.

On the Byzantine frontier both sides continued their raids with varying fortunes. In 305 (917) the Byzantines made an offer of peace and after two years peace was definitely concluded, but hostilities very soon broke out again. In 314 (926—927) the Byzantines ravaged the district of Malatya and in the following year they crossed a considerable part of Armenia. After taking several Armenian cities which belonged to the Arabs (316 = 928—929) and occupying northern Mesopotamia (317 = 929—930) they lost all their gains in 319—320 (= 931—932). In Muharram 317 (Feb. 929) a rebellion broke out in the capital. Al-Muktadir was forced to abdicate but was brought to a place of safety by Mu'nis, while the soldiery plundered the palace. His brother Muḥammad was summoned to be Commander of the Faithful in his stead with the style al-Kāhir; but since the chief leader of the rebels, the head of police Nāṣir, could not satisfy the demands of the troops for higher pay, al-Kāhir was deposed after a few days and al-Muktadir placed on the throne once more. In Baghdad the confusion increased and in 320 (932) the catastrophe came. The enemies of Mu'nis took advantage of his absence to persuade the caliph that Mu'nis intended to dethrone him and when Mu'nis approached at the head of his army, al-Muktadir was persuaded with great reluctance to take the field against him; he fell at the beginning of the encounter (27th Shawwāl 320 = Oct. 31, 932). See also the article MUḤAMMAD H. YAKUT.

Bibliography: Tabari, ed. de Goeje, iii, 2280—2294; 'Arb, ed. de Goeje, p. 21—186; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdj*, ed. Paris, viii, 247—286; ix, 6, 8, 47, 52; *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, ii, 76; v, 32; Ibn al-Athir, ed. Tornberg, viii, 6 sqq.; Ibn al-Tiktākā, *al-Fahri*, ed. Dorenbourg, p. 352—374; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ithar*, iii, 358 sqq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii, 540 sqq.; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i, 532 sqq.; Muir, *The caliphate, its rise, decline, and fall*, new ed. by Weil, p. 563, 565; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, see Index; do., *A Greek Embassy to Baghdad in 971 A.D.*, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1897, p. 35 sqq.; M. Bowen, *Life and Times 'Alī ibn 'Isā*, Cambridge 1928.

(K. V. ZETTERSTERN)

AL-MUKTAFI ibn 'amr, 'alī, abu 'abd allāh MUḤAMMAD, 'Abbasid caliph, born on 12th Rabī' II 489 (April 2, 1096), son of al-Mustashir and a slave girl. After the deposition of his nephew al-Rashid, al-Muktafi was acknowledged as caliph on the 8th Dhū 'l-Hijja 530 (Sept. 17, 1136). While the Saljuqs were fighting among themselves, he did his best not only to maintain his independence but also to extend his rule and one district after the other in the 'Irāk fell into his hands. In 543 (1148) a number of emirs announced their allegiance to Sulṭān Mas'ūd and marched on Baghdad but dispersed after several encounters with the caliph's troops. According to some sources, the same thing took place again next year. In Rajab 547 (Oct. 1152) Mas'ūd died, and was succeeded by his nephew Malikshāh who was deposed in a few months and succeeded by his brother Muḥammad. In the meanwhile the caliph seized the two towns of al-Hilla and Wasī. In the following year Sulṭān Sandjar who lived in Khurāsān was attacked and taken prisoner by the rebel Ghuzz [q.v.] whereupon his emirs proclaimed Mas'ūd's

brother Sulaimānshāh sultān. In Muharram 551 (Feb.—March 1156) the latter was recognised by the caliph on condition that he did not interfere in the affairs of the 'Irāq. Although al-Muktāfi supported him he was defeated in Dījmadā I (June—July) of the same year by his nephew Muhammad and the latter's auxiliary. In Dhū l-Hijja (Jan.—Feb. 1157) Sultān Muhammad advanced on Baghdad to take vengeance on the caliph. The latter had to retire to the eastern part of the town and was besieged there for several months. In Rabi' I 552 (May 1151) however, the sultān suddenly raised the siege because Malikshāh was advancing on Hamadān. As the latter therefore retired, hostilities automatically ceased and Muhammad is said to have later made his peace with al-Muktāfi. The latter twice besieged Takrit in vain; on the other hand, he succeeded in taking Lāh. The Crusaders continued their hostilities in al-Muktāfi's caliphate. The most powerful pillar of Islām was the Atābeg of al-Mawālī, Imād al-Dīn Zangī, and his son Nūr al-Dīn Mahmūd in Syria. Al-Muktāfi died on 2nd Rabi' I 555 (March 12, 1160).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), xi. 27 sq.; Ibn al-Tikfāk, *al-Fakhri* (ed. Detenbourg), p. 416—425; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, iii. 512 sq.; Humd Allāh Mustawfī-i Qazwīnī, *Tārīkh-i Gūda* (ed. Browne), i. 364 sq.; Weil, *Geich. d. Chalifen*, iii. 219, 258—306; Houtsma, *Receuil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seljoukides*, ii., see Index.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

AL-MUKTAFI ʾALI b. ʾALLĪ, ARḌ MUḤAMMAD ʾALI b. AHMAD, ʾAbbāsīd caliph, son of al-Muʾtadīd and a Turkish slave girl named Çiçek (Arabic Dīdjak). In 281 (894—895) he was appointed by his father governor of al-Kaly and several towns in the neighbourhood, and five years later he was made governor of Mesopotamia and took up his quarters in al-Rakka. After the death of al-Muʾtadīd on 22nd Rabi' II, 289 (April 5, 902), he ascended the throne and at once won the good-will of the people by his liberality and by destroying the subterranean dungeons in the capital. He proved a brave and fearless leader who fought with success against the many enemies of the caliphate. The Karmatians were ravaging Syria; one town after another fell into their hands and Damascus itself was plundered. On the 6th Muharram 291 (Nov. 29, 903) the general Muhammad b. Sulaimān finally succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat on them and they scattered in all directions. Muhammad then turned his attention to Egypt where he put an end to the rule of the Tulūnids. Many of their followers joined him and after the Tulūnid Hārūn b. Khumārāwāsh had been slain, the capital had to surrender (Safar 292 = Jan. 905) and ʾIsā al-Nūsharī was appointed governor of Egypt. An attempt to restore the Tulūnids was easily crushed (293 = 905—906). About this time the Karmatians again began to be troublesome and at the beginning of the year 294 (Oct.—Nov. 906) they attacked the great pilgrim caravan returning from Mecca, massacred the men and carried off the women and children. In Rabi' I of the same year (Dec. 906—Jan. 907) they were defeated near al-Kadisiya by the caliph's troops under Waṣīf b. Sawātegin. The war with the Byzantines was also vigorously pursued. In 291 (903—904) a Greek named Leo who had adopted Islām undertook a number of raids on the Greek coasts with

his fleet of 54 ships. The Byzantines however had the advantage by land. In 292 (904—905) Marāsh, al-Maṣṣīra and Tarsūs were taken by the Greek general Andronicus and in the following year the Byzantines advanced as far as Halab. Then the Muslims gained the upper hand and Andronicus went over to them. Al-Muktāfi died in Dhū l-Ka'da 295 (Aug. 908) at the age of 31; cf. also the article **AL-ʾABBĀS** b. AL-ḤASAN b. AHMAD.

Bibliography: Tabari (ed. de Goeje), iii. 2140 sqq., 2207—2281; ʾArib (ed. de Goeje), p. 1 sqq.; Masʾūdi, *Murūjī* (ed. Paris), viii. 215—247; ix. 47, 52; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, viii. 34; ix. 141; xv. 99; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), vii. 324 sqq.; viii. 4 sqq.; Ibn al-Tikfāk, *al-Fakhri* (ed. Detenbourg), p. 350—352; Muhammad b. Shākir, *Fawa'id al-Wafayāt*, ii. 41 sq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, iii. 352 sqq.; Weil, *Geich. d. Chalifen*, iii. 483, 488, 516 sqq.; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Decline, and Fall*, new ed., p. 554 sqq.; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 120, 195, 252 sqq. (K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

AL-MUKTANĀ, BAHĀ' AL-DIN, a Druse missionary and author, with his teacher Ḥamza (b. ʾAlī; q. v.) founder of the theological system of the Druses [q. v.], the fifth minister of the Druse theogony, with several titles of honour, in addition to the above two: al-Ḥanān, al-Aṣar, al-Talī, al-Khayāl, al-Mukāsir etc. His "secular" name was Abū ʾl-Ḥasan ʾAlī b. Ahmad al-Samāki. Of his life practically nothing is known. As Arab historians are silent about him (Silvestre de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druses*, ii. 320), his own writings are almost the only source. According to Druse tradition, he was kādī in Alexandria in al-Ḥakīm's time [q. v.] (M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelalter zum Persischen Golf*, L. Berlin 1899, p. 135). As his works reveal quite a good knowledge (not without misunderstandings) of Christian religion and literature, he may have been born a Christian, probably in Syria. Only for the period of his teaching do we have chronological exactness. His *taḥṣīl* of investiture is dated on the 13th Sha'ban of the third year of Ḥamza's mission i. e. 411 (1020) (S. de Sacy, *op. cit.*, i. 474—475; ii. 309, 313; transl., *ibid.*, ii. 297—309). The earliest of his known writings is of the tenth year of Ḥamza, 418 A.H. (*ibid.*, ii. 326). In consequence one must assume that he came to the front after the disappearance of al-Ḥakīm and Ḥamza. His activity was not a continuous one and he had even to live for a time in concealment (about the year 17—18 of Ḥamza; see S. de Sacy, *op. cit.*, ii. 364); whether in Egypt or Syria is not certain (H. Guys, *La nation druse*, p. 114). The latest date known in his writings is the 26th year of Ḥamza, i. e. 433—434 (1042) (S. de Sacy, *op. cit.*, i. 496; ii. 379). His farewell epistle dates from this year; according to it he had retired into concealment (*ibid.*, i. 514—515; ii. 358); nothing more is known of him. The "Druse theogony" does not agree with these dates; it gives 17 years as the period of his activity (H. Guys, *op. cit.*, p. 107). Ph. Hitti's assertion (*The Origins of the Druse People*, p. 11) that he died in 1031 is due to a misunderstanding.

Druse tradition not unjustly ranks him with Ḥamza and regards him as the greatest theological writer, to whom four of the sacred books are ascribed (M. v. Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, i. 135—137). These are not books

in the proper sense but collections of separate tracts, usually in the form of epistles, directed to followers of the Druse teaching or of other creeds in various lands (Byzantium, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, India). They are to this day frequently read by the Druses in their *ḥalawāt*; commentaries were written on some of them by the last independent Druse theologian 'Abd Allāh al-Tanūkhī (d. 1480; on him see Ph. Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 53, 71; M. v. Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, i. 137). Of the some 110 Druse treatises so far known in Europe, 70 are ascribed by S. de Sacy to al-Muktanā (*op. cit.*, i. 484 and 496). Except for a few short texts published by S. de Sacy along with other writings of Hama (see *Bibl.*) very few have been printed, namely the *Kitāb al-Bad'* by Chr. Seybold (s. *Bibl.*) and *al-Risālat al-Kaṣṣāfiyya*, sent in 1028 to the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VIII., by J. Khalil and L. Ronzevalle (s. *Bibl.* and extracts in Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 64–67). Others are accessible only in translations and extracts (espec. in Silvestre de Sacy; *al-Risālat al-Mariḡiyya*, a synopsis in Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 68–70). As with other Druse writers, the style is very obscure and artificial, frequently embellished with rhymed prose.

Silvestre de Sacy, whose book still is the most important collection of material, regards al-Muktanā as "un enthousiaste de bonne foi" (*op. cit.*, i. 308). It is highly desirable that some one should devote a special study to his life and work, paying particular attention to the authenticity of his works and to a critical edition of them.

Bibliography: (cf. also the references in the text): Silvestre de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druses*, ii., Paris 1838, p. 297–384 and *passim*. The German version is still valuable for its Index: Ph. Wolff, *Die Drusen und ihre Vorläufer*, Leipzig 1845, p. 394–402 and *passim*; H. Guys, *La nation druse*, Paris 1863, p. 106–115 and *do.*, *Théogonie des Druses*, Paris 1863, p. 66–68, 119–120; Philip R. Hitti, *The Origins of the Druse People and Religion*, New York 1928, Index; Silvestre de Sacy, *Chréto-mathie arabe*, ii., Paris 1826, p. 67–105 (text) and p. 191–273 (transl.), by al-Muktanā are Nos. 9–11 and probably No. 7; Chr. Seybold, *Die Drusenschrift Kitāb Alanaq' Walhawā'ir. Das Buch der Punkte und Kreise*, Kirchheim N.-L., 1902, p. ix. and p. 76–79 (*Kitāb al-Bad'*); J. Khalil and L. Ronzevalle, *L'Épître à Constantin*, in *M.F.O.B.*, iii., Beirut 1909, p. 493–534. (IGN. KRATSKHORSKY)

MULAL [See MAWLĀ.]

MULK (A.), royal power, is used in the Qur'ān with reference to God and to certain pre-Islamic personages, who all appear in the Old Testament, and in the former case is synonymous with *malakūt*; the latter word however occurs only four times in the Qur'ān and always with a dependent genitive (*kull shay' or al-ramawāt wa 'l-ard'*) while *mulk* is often used absolutely. To God alone belongs *mulk*, He has no associate therein; to Him belongs *mulk* over heaven and earth as well as over the judgment. He gives *mulk* to whom He will; the unbelievers have no share in it. Shaiṭān promised Adam imperishable *mulk* and tempted him with this promise to eat of the *shajarat al-ḥuld* (Sūra xx. 118). Nimrūd endeavours to claim for himself God's *mulk* against Ibrāhīm (ii. 260) but God gives *mulk* to the family of Ibrāhīm (iv. 57). Yūsuf thanks God in prayer

for the *mulk* which He has given him (xxi. 102). Fir'awn boasts of his right to the *mulk* *Misr* (xliii. 50); God wills to give Tālūt *mulk* over the recalcitrant Israelites and to send the *āḥūt* as a sign (ii. 248 *iqq.*) Dāwūd's *mulk* is mentioned ii. 252 and xxxviii. 19 and Sulaimān's ii. 96; the latter prays for it (xxxviii. 34).

That the conception of *mulk* was not carried over into Muslim law generally has been explained in the article *MAḤK*; an exception is Egypt during the Ayyūbid period and in quite modern times. Cf. also the article *TĀJ* and G. Richter, *Studien zur Geschichte der älteren arab. Fürstentpiegel* (Leipz. Sem. Studien, N. F., iii., 1932), esp. p. 6. (M. PLESSNER)

MULTĀN is an ancient town of the Panjāb situated in 30° 12' N. and 71° 31' E., and has been known at various times as Kashtpūr, Hanspūr, Bāgpūr, Sanb or Sanābpūr, and finally Mulasthān, of which Multān is a corruption. This name is derived from that of the idol and temple of the sun, a shrine of vast wealth, which the Arabs, who plundered it, named *dār al-ghahab*, or the house of gold. It remained the Arab capital, and the outpost of Islām in India, for three centuries but by A. D. 900 its ruler had become independent of Baghdad. At this time it was seized by 'Abd Allāh the Karmatī, and became a stronghold of the Karmatīan heretics, who were crushed and expelled by the orthodox Maḥmūd of Ghazni. The town and province remained nominally subject to his descendants until Khusrāw Malik, the last of them, was carried into captivity by Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām, when it became a province of his Indian empire. On his death the governor, Nāṣir al-Dīn Kaḥāza, attempted to establish his independence of Delhi, but Kutb al-Dīn Aibak reduced him to obedience, and the province remained nominally subject to Delhi from 1206 to 1438 when Shaikh Yūṣuf Kuraishī became independent ruler of Multān and was followed by the kings of the Langāh tribe, who reigned until 1527. The town was occupied both by Timūr in 1397 and by Bābūr in 1528.

The province was one of the *subas* of Akbar's empire, and remained nominally subject to his successors until 1752, when its allegiance was transferred to Kābul. It was threatened by the Sikhs as early as 1771, but was not annexed by them until 1818, when Randjit Singh took the city by storm. It was not affected by the first Sikh war, but the murder of two British officers by Mūlradj led to the second Sikh war, and the city was captured on January 3, 1849. Its fortifications were dismantled in 1854 and its garrison was disbanded in the mutiny of 1857.

Bibliography: Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* (Bombay 1832); *Tuhafāt-i Akhbarī*, by Niḡām al-Dīn Ahmad; Sir Edward D. MacLagan, *Gauttier of the Multan District* (Lahore 1902).

(T. W. HARG.)

MU'MIN, title of sūra xl. See also ALLĀH, II and IMĀN.

AL-MU'MINŪN, title of sūra xxiii.

AL-MUMIT. [See ALLĀH, II.]

MUMKIN. [See MANTĪQ.]

AL-MUMTAHINA, title of sūra lx.

MUMTĀZ, BAKHWURDĀR B. MAḤMŪD TURK-MĀN FARĀHĪ, a Persian writer, a contemporary of the Ṣafawid Sultān Ḥusain (1694–1722). At an early age he left his native town of Farāh

and went to Marw where he entered the service of the governor Aḥmad Khān. After two years however, he left this post and became munshi with Ḥasan Kūli Khān Shāmī Kūrī-bāghī in Isfahān. At a banquet there at his master's house he heard a story which attracted him exceedingly. He wrote it down and it became the foundation of a great collection, *Maḥṣūrāt*, which contained about 400 stories and consisted of a *muḥaddama*, eight *ṣab* and a *ḥikāya*. Soon afterwards he returned to Farāh, spent some time in Herāt and Meshhed and then entered the service of the emir Minūchir Khān b. Kārēghāy whose duty it was to defend Darīn and Khahūghān against raids by the wild nomad tribes. His stay there was disastrous for Mumtāz, since he lost all his goods and chattels and the valuable manuscript of his *Maḥṣūrāt* during a nomad raid; he did not have another copy of it. He resolved however to restore the book and wrote all the stories that he could remember a second time. Thus arose the second version of the *Maḥṣūrāt*, which consists of a *muḥaddama*, five *ṣab* and a *ḥikāya* and has come down to us under the title *Maḥṣūrāt al-Kutub*. The book is written in an extravagantly artificial style. The *ḥikāya* is the best part; it contains the celebrated story of Zuhā and Ra'nā, which is very common in Persia in a simplified form in many editions from the popular presses.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, *Neupersische Literatur* (G. I. Ph.), ii. 333. A MS. of the *Maḥṣūrāt al-Kutub* in Rieu, ii. 767, 1093; lith. Bombay 1852 (Edwards, *Catalogue*, p. 150). See also Malcolm, *History of Persia*, i. 614.

(E. BERTHELS)

MUMTĀZ MAḤALL, wife of Shāh Dīshān, and the lady for whom the Tādj Mahall (q. v.) was built. She was the daughter of Abū Ḥasan Aḥmad Khān, who was Nūr Dīshān's brother. Her name was Arḡumand Bīnu, the title Mumtāz Mahall being conferred on her after Shāh Dīshān's accession. She was his favourite wife and bore him fourteen children, seven of whom grew up. She was born in 1593, married in 1612, and died, at Burhānpūr in the Deccan, very shortly after the birth of a daughter in 1631. She was beautiful and amiable, and Shāh Dīshān loved her tenderly.

Bibliography: Khwāfī Khān, *Muntahab al-Lubāb*, i. 459; 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Lahūrī, *Bād-ṣhānūma* i. 384; Manucci, *Storia de Mogor*, translated by W. Irvine; Elliot-Dowson, vii. 27; *Indian Magazine* for December 1913, p. 316.

(H. BEVERIDGE)

MUNADJIDJIM. [See ASTROLOGY.]

MUNADJIDJIM BASHI is the name by which the author of the most important general historical work written in Turkey is known. His real name was Aḥmad Efendi, son of Luṭf Allāh, a native of Ereğli near Konya. He was born in Selānik, in the first half of the xvth century, received a scholarly education and served in his youth for fifteen years in the Mewlewī-khāne of Kāsim Pasha under Shāikh Khalīl Dede (*Sigill-i 'otmānī*, ii. 287). Afterwards he studied astronomy and astrology and became court astrologer (*munadjidjim bashi*) in 1078 (1667—1668). In 1086 (1675—1676) he was admitted to the intimate circle of Sultān Muḥammad IV as *muḥabib-i pādishāhi*. He was dismissed in Muḥarram 1099 (November 1687) and banished to Egypt. From here he went

some years later to Mecca, where he became *shāikh* of the Mewlewī-khān. In 1105 (1693—1694) he was obliged to move to Medina, where he lived for seven years. Soon after his return to Mecca he died there on the 29th of Ramaḍān 1113 (February 27th 1702) and was buried near the tomb of Khadija.

Besides writing his historical work, Munadjidjim Bashi displayed a considerable literary activity. Of his works are mentioned a *ḥikāya* on the Kūrān commentary of Bajdawī, a commentary on the *Asṣūl al-'Aḥdīya* of al-Jāzī, a *Luṭ'if-nāma*, a translation of the anecdotes of 'Ubaid-i Zakānī, and a number of treatises on geometry, mysticism and music. His Turkish *divān* also gives him a place in the ranks of Turkish mystical poets; his *takhalluṣ* was 'Aḥlī.

The general history was written in Arabic under the title *Djāmī al-Dawal*, but although manuscripts of the Arabic original exist (the *Semā'-Khān-i Edab* of 'Alī Enwer mentions two MSS. not mentioned by Babinger, viz. one in the library of the mosque of Selīm II in Adrianople and the other in the imperial palace, in the library of Aḥmad III), it is much better known in the Turkish translation made by the poet Nedīm (q. v.) in the xviith century under the title *Şaḥīṣ al-Aḥkār* (printed in three volumes in Constantinople in 1285). It is a world history, arranged, after the fashion of similar Arabic works, according to dynasties, with a main division into three parts: the first treating of the history of Muḥammad, the second the non-Muḥammadan dynasties and the third the Muḥammadan dynasties. In the introductory chapters the author cites his numerous sources, not a few of which are lost in the original. Therefore the work has a special value for the knowledge of many smaller dynasties and for this reason it has been especially used by E. Sachau for *Ein Verzeichnis muḥammadanischer Dynastien*, in *SB. Pr. Ak. W.*, Berlin 1923 (cf. the introduction). The last dynasty treated is that of the Ottoman Sultāns; it is proportionately longer and more detailed than the history of the other Muḥammadan dynasties and based on several imperfectly known sources; the last part, which ends in 1089 (1678), gives contemporary history. The Turkish translation of Nedīm is very readable and not composed in the high-flown literary style that prevailed in his period. For this reason it is especially praised and represented in Ebuzziyā Tewfīk's *Nūmūn-i Edebiyyāt-i 'osmāniye*, Constantinople 1330.

Bibliography: F. Babinger, *O. G. W.* and the sources mentioned there.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-MUNĀFIKŪN (A.), the term applied in the Kūrān to those Medinese upon whose fidelity and zeal Muḥammad could not absolutely rely. The Arabs (e.g. Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 153) derive the word from *nāfiḥa* ("one of the entrances to the hole of a fieldmouse"), but it is certainly the borrowed Ethiopic *manāṣe* "heretic" from *nafaṣa* to "split", *nafaṣa* "to be divided, irresolute". The meaning "waverer", "doubter" quite fits the usual use of the word in the Kūrān, while the usual translation "hypocrite" only suits a few passages. Another description of the same people in the Kūrān is: "those in whose hearts there is sickness (weakness, doubt)", again in contrast to the unshakably firm believers. Sometimes (ix. 68

xxiii. 73; alvii. 6; lvii. 13) there are references to women of this type (*munāfiqāt*) in addition to the male *munāfiqūn*. A closer consideration of the passages in question shows we have not to think of a regular, rigidly defined party; sometimes the reference is to such Medinese as had only joined the Prophet under compulsion or reluctantly, and sometimes to those who had quite honestly joined him but had not been able to retain their belief and enthusiasm (ix. 67; lxiii. 3). Maḥammad also on one occasion speaks of *munāfiqūn* among the Beduins. The first group found their leader in 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy [q. v.] who would have been the chosen head of the Kaiba tribe, if a new and superior force, which he could not meet, had not opposed him in Maḥammad. Nevertheless these grumblers, joined by other unreliable elements, were strong enough to cause the greatest embarrassment to the Prophet in critical moments e.g. before the battle of Uhud (iii. 160 sq.), in the War of the Ditch (xxxiii. 1, 12—24, 60, 73) and before the march on Tabūk (ix. 65—69, 74, 78), as he had always to be careful not to drive them over into the enemy's camp. It is no wonder then that his utterances about them are always made in a tone of great irritation. He describes them as hypocrites, who say something different from what they mean in their hearts (iii. 161; xiii. 1); in their irresolution they join, according to their view of the future, sometimes the Muslims and sometimes the enemy (iv. 137—142; v. 57); if it goes badly with the believers, they think that their religion has deceived them (viii. 51). When they are together among themselves they revenge themselves for the restraint which they must put upon themselves by malicious remarks about the Prophet and his revelations, but are in great anxiety, lest Allāh may communicate their secret conversations (ix. 65 sqq.; x. 79, 125 sqq.). They are indolent at prayer (iv. 141), refuse to take part in the fighting or to contribute from their means (alvii. 22, 31; lvii. 1 sq.; lxiii. 71; cf. iv. 40 sqq.); they hope for a weakening of his power so that the more worthy may expel the meaner (lxiii. 8). As representatives of the true Meccan aristocracy, their attitude and eloquence made a certain impression on the Prophet but on closer examination they are nothing but "propped timbers" (lxiii. 4). In a word, they are no better than the unbelievers. God makes them err (iv. 50 sqq.) and their abode shall be hellfire (ix. 74; lvii. 13 sq.). We cannot help feeling in some ways a certain sympathy for these men who were deprived of their rights; but in the end they deserved their fate for their complete lack of ideas and courage at decisive moments and their conduct with regard to the Jews in Medina, whom they incited to resist Maḥammad and then left in the lurch (cf. iv. 11), makes a very unfavourable impression. With the death of 'Abd Allāh they lost their leader and their opposition was forced to be silent before the great successes of Maḥammad's last years.

The word *munāfiq* remained however and like other Qur'anic terms was used in the fighting between the various parties as a term of abuse; cf. e.g. its application to Ibn Zubair (Ṭabari, ii. 467, 2) and his party (Ahlwārī, *Anonymous arab. Chronik*, p. 73, 4).

In the Qur'an Sūra lxiii. is called after the *Munāfiqūn*; it is connected by most commentators

with the campaign against the Banū Muṣṭalik.

Bibliography: Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*?, p. 232; Noldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 48 sq.; Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte der Qurān*, p. 88 sq., 167 sq., 209; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 411—413, 546 sq., 558—560, 631, 670, 688, 726, 734, 894. (Fr. Buhl.)

AL-MUNDHIR u. MUḤAMMAD. [See UMAYYADS II.]

AL-MUNDJIYA, title of sūra lxvii., which is also called *al-mulk* and *al-wāḥiya*.

MUNGIR (Monghyr), the head-quarters of the Mungir District in Bihar and Orissa in India, situated in 25° 23' N. and 86° 28' E. on the south bank of the Ganges. The population of the district in 1911 was 2,132,893, of whom 200,339 were Muhammadans. Muhammadan historians state that Bakhtiyār Khuldī was the first Muhammadan who conquered Mungir during his subjugation of Bihar about 595 (1198). Henceforth it became a place of military importance. In 1177 (1763) Nawwāb Mir Kāsim, the Nawwāb Sābadār of Bengal, when he proposed to fight against the British made Mungir his military head-quarters. He founded here an arsenal under Gurgin (Gregory) Khān, his Armenian general. The gun-making industry for which the town is famous is said to date from the establishment of this arsenal.

Bibliography: *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xvii. 401—403; O'Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers, Monghyr*, Calcutta 1909, xvii.

(M. Hidayet Hossain)

MUNIS DEDE or DERWISH MUNIS, Ottoman poet of Adrianople. He belonged to the Mewlewī Order. He received his education from the famous Entis Dede (d. 1147 = 1734). He died in 1145 (1732) in Adrianople, where he is buried.

Bibliography: Faṭmā, *Teskere*, Constantinople 1271, p. 385; Ḥusayn, *Shajrillat al-ḥamānī*, iv. 527; Ali Enwer, *Semā'ihān-i Edeb*, Istanbul 1309, p. 226. (Th. Mezzel.)

MUNIS AL-MUẒAFFAR, ABU 'L-ḤASAN, principal 'Abbāsīd general from 296 to 321 (908—933), and latterly virtual dictator (usual attribution to him of *nisba* al-Kaḥḥirī seems to rest on passage — p. 347 — in *Ḥilāl al-Sābi's Kitāb al-Wusarā* [ed. Amedroz], where Naṣr should be read for Mu'nis), a eunuch (passage of Ibn Miskawayh [ed. Amedroz and Margoliouth, i. 160] shows that *ghulam* in this case does not mean merely freedman, as suggested by Massignon, *al-Hallaḥ*, p. 205, No. 2), said by al-Jahābī, *Ta'rikh al-Islām* (followed by Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Juynboll, ii. 255) to have been 90 years old at death (though this age would seem incredibly great for a recently active commander), i.e., to have been born in 231 (845—846), and to have held the rank of *amir* for 60 years.

Mu'nis first appears (if passage of al-Ṭabari, iii. 1953, refers to him) as a *ghulam* of al-Mu'taḍid (not yet caliph) in Zandj [q. v.] campaign of 267 (880—881); and is mentioned as Chief of Police in caliph's camp in 287 (900). Al-Jahābī (also Ibn Taghribirdī, *loc. cit.*) states, again, that he was banished to Mecca by al-Mu'taḍid, to be recalled on accession of al-Mu'taḍir [q. v.]; and as Mu'nis is nowhere referred to during intervening reign of al-Mu'taḍī, the statement may be true. (If so, in al-Mas'ūdi's description, *Murūf*

al-Dhahab, ed. B. de Meynard, viii. 212, of al-Mu'tadid's death, for *al-Dhahab* read *al-Dhahab*, as in 'Arib, ed. de Goeje, p. 29).

Mu'nis owed his later eminence mainly to his leading the defence, in 296 (908), of the Ḥammīd palace at Baghdād for al-Mu'tadid against the partisans of the latter's cousin, the pretender Ibn al-Mu'tazz [q. v.]. During the caliph's youth his gratitude and that of his powerful mother for this service assured Mu'nis's position; and though later al-Mu'tadid's favour turned to enmity, by that time Mu'nis's authority was hardly in need of support, owing chiefly to his almost invariably successful generalship. For though he undertook no very important campaigns, except perhaps the repulse of the Fātimid al-Mahdī [q. v.] in 307 (919–920) (for which he received the *laqab al-MuẒaffar*), and the defence of Baghdād from the Karmatians [q. v.] in 315 (927–928), he was only once defeated — in 306 (918).

Mu'nis early fell out with the wazīr Ibn al-Furāt [q. v.], repeatedly opposing him, till in 312 (924), on Ibn al-Furāt's third term of office, Mu'nis played a prominent part in securing his dismissal and execution. He now became all-powerful, being invariably consulted on the appointment of viziers and so controlling the government. Hence the change of al-Mu'tadid's affection to dislike, first signalized (315 = 927) in an abortive plot of the caliph's to murder him. In 316 Mu'nis lent himself to al-Mu'tadid's deposition in favour of his half-brother al-Kāhir [q. v.]. He almost immediately restored him, however, thereby becoming more absolutely his master than ever. Al-Mu'tadid eventually defied Mu'nis (319 = 931), who thereupon left Baghdād. Next year, however, having meanwhile collected a strong force, he marched on the capital intending to reimpose his authority. He duly defeated the caliph's army outside the walls, but al-Mu'tadid himself was killed on the field.

Mu'nis now restored al-Kāhir. But by resuming his dictatorial ways he soon so alienated him also that he was obliged in self-defence to keep the new caliph a prisoner in the palace. He even contemplated deposing him. Al-Kāhir, however, succeeded in luring Mu'nis, together with his chief supporters, into the palace, where he shortly had them executed in Sha'bān 321 (August 933).

Mu'nis' influence was on the whole exerted for good; but he was neither strong nor intelligent enough to prevent the decline of the caliphate. His example of depriving the caliph of real power was pernicious. It was to be followed all too soon by the series of adventurers who, with the style of *amir al-umara'* [q. v.], were to dominate al-Kāhir's successors.

Bibliography: In addition to the authorities cited above: Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil*, viii.; al-Kindī, *Governors and Judges of Egypt* (G. M. S., xix.), p. 273, 277–278; Hīlāl al-Sābi', *Kitāb al-Wuṣṣā'* (ed. Amedroz), index; Ibn Miskawaih, *Taḡārīb al-Umam*, v., *passim* (= Amedroz and Margoliouth, *Eclipses of the Abbasid Caliphate*, vols. i. and iv.); 'Arib, ed. de Goeje, index; H. Bowen, *Life and Times of 'Alī b. 'Isā*, Cambridge 1928, index. (HAROLD BOWEN)

MUNKAR WA-NAKIR (the forms with the article are also found), the names of the two angels who examine and if necessary punish the dead in their tombs. To the

examination in the tomb the infidels and the faithful — the righteous as well as the sinners — are liable. They are set upright in their tombs and must state their opinion regarding Maḥammad. The righteous faithful will answer, that he is the Apostle of Allāh; thereupon they will be left alone till the Day of Resurrection. The sinners and the infidels, on the other hand, will have no satisfactory answer at hand. In consequence of this the angels will beat them severely, as long as it will please Allāh, according to some authorities till the Day of Resurrection, except on Fridays.

In some sources a distinction is made between the punishment and the pressure (*ḡaḡḡa*) in the tomb, the righteous faithful being exempt from the former, not from the latter, whereas the infidels and the sinners suffer punishment as well as pressure (Abu 'l-Mu'ta Maimūn b. Muḥammad al-Nasafi, as cited in the commentary on the *Waḡīyat Abi Ḥanifa*, Haidarābād 1321, p. 22).

The punishment in the tomb is not plainly mentioned in the Qur'ān. Allusions to the idea may be found in several passages, e.g. sūra xlvii. 29: "But how when the angels, causing them to die, shall smite them on their faces and backs"; sūra vi. 93: "But couldst thou see, when the ungodly are in the floods of death, and the angels reach forth their hands, saying, Yield up your souls: this day shall ye be recompensed with a humiliating punishment"; sūra viii. 52: "And if thou wert to see when the angels take the life of the unbelievers; they smite their faces and their backs, and taste ye the torture of burning" (cf. further sūra ix. 102; xxiii. 21; lii. 47).

The punishment of the tomb is very frequently mentioned in Tradition (see *Bibliography*), often, however, without the mention of angels. In the latter group of traditions it is simply said, that the dead are punished in their tombs, or why, e.g. on account of special sins they have committed, or on account of the wailing of the living.

The names of Munkar and Nakir do not appear in the Qur'ān, and, so far as I can see, once only in canonical Tradition (Tirmidhī, *Ḍaḡā'ir*, bāb 70). Apparently these names do not belong to the old stock of traditions. Moreover, in some traditions one anonymous angel only is mentioned as the angel who interrogates and punishes the dead (Muslim, *Imān*, trad. 163; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunna*, hāb 39^b; Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, iii. 233, 346; iv. 150; Tāyālīsī, N^o. 753).

So there seem to be four stages in the traditions regarding this subject: the first without any angel being mentioned, the second mentioning "the" angel, the third two angels, the fourth being acquainted with the names Munkar and Nakir.

This state of things as reflected in *ḥadīth* finds a similar reflex in the early forms of the creed. In the *Fīḡh Akbar* i., which may date from the middle of the viiith century A.D., the punishment of the tomb appears as the only eschatological representation (art. 10). In the *Waḡīyat Abi Ḥanifa*, which may represent the orthodox views of the middle of the viiith century, we find, apart from an elaborate eschatology, the two following articles (arts. 15, 19): "We confess, that the punishment in the tomb shall without fail take place. We confess, that in view of the traditions on the subject, the interrogation by Munkar and Nakir is a reality". The term "reality" is apparently intended to oppose the

allegorical interpretation of eschatological representations as taught by the Mu'tazilīs.

The *Fih al-Akbar* II., which may represent the new orthodoxy of the middle of the 12th century A.D., is still more elaborate on this point (art. 23): *The interrogation of the dead in the tomb by Munkar and Nakir is a reality and the reunion of the body with the spirit in the tomb is a reality. The pressure and the punishment in the tomb are a reality that will take place in the case of all the infidels, and a reality that may take place in the case of some sinners belonging to the faithful". In the later creeds and works on dogmatics the punishment and the interrogation in the tomb by Munkar and Nakir are expressed in similar ways.

The Karāmiyya [q. v.] taught the identity of Munkar and Nakir with the two guardian angels who accompany man ('Abd al-Kāfir al-Raghdādi, *Uṣūl al-Dīn*, Istanbul 1928, p. 246). Ghazālī admits the idea that eschatological representations are a reality that takes place in the *malakūt*.

The origin of the names is uncertain; the meaning "disliked" seems doubtful. The idea of the examination and the punishment of the dead in their tombs is found among other peoples also. The details to be found in Jewish sources (*Shibbūṭ ha-piber*) are strikingly parallel to the Muslim ones.

Bibliography: The passages from *ḥadīth* in Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muh. Tradition*, s. v. Grave(s); further E. Sell, *The Faith of Islam*, London 1880, p. 145; Mouradgea d'Ohason, *Tableau de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris 1787, I. 46; Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, General Index, s. v. Punishment and Munkar and Nakir; J. C. G. Bodenschatz, *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden*, Erlangen 1748, III. 95 sq.; al-Tahāwī, *Bayān al-Sunna wa'l-Ijtihād*, Haleb 1344, p. 9; Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Nasafī, *Aḥādīd*, Istanbul 1313, with the commentary of Taḥṣīnī, p. 132 sqq.; al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā'*, Cairo 1302, IV. 451 sqq.; do., *al-Durra al-fakhira*, ed. Gautier, p. 23 sqq.; *Kitāb Ahwāl al-Khāṣṣa*, ed. M. Wolff, p. 40 sq.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

MUNSARIH, the name of the tenth metre in Arabic prosody; it has three feet to the hemistich. It has three *arūḍ* and four *qarḥ*:

1st *arūḍ* { *mustaf'ilun maf'ūlātu mustaf'ilun*
mustaf'ilun maf'ūlātu mustaf'ilun
mustaf'ilun maf'ūlātu mustaf'ilun
mustaf'ilun maf'ūlātu mustaf'ilun
 2nd *arūḍ*: *mustaf'ilun maf'ūlun*
 3rd *arūḍ*: *mustaf'ilun maf'ūlun*.

We rarely find *mustaf'ilun* in the *qarḥ* of the first *arūḍ*. The second *qarḥ* of the first *arūḍ* is not indicated by al-Khulī b. Ahmad but Ibn Barri notes it was much used by the *muwallad* poets, among them Ibn al-Rūmī. It may be noted that the second and third *arūḍ* are regarded as belonging to the *raḍf* metre.

Mustaf'ilun may lose: 1. its *s* except when used as the first *qarḥ* in the first *arūḍ*; 2. its *f* and the foot becomes (*mustaf'ilun* ⇒) *mustaf'ilun*; 3. its *s* and *f* at the same time (which is very bad) and the foot becomes (*mustaf'ilun* ⇒) *fa'ilatun*. This last change could not be undergone by the first *arūḍ*.

Maf'ūlātu loses 1. its *f*, which is very bad and the foot becomes (*maf'ūlātu* ⇒) *maf'ūlū*; 2. its *w* and the foot becomes (*maf'ūlātu* ⇒) *fa'ilatun*;

3. its *f* and *w* at the same time which is very bad and we have (*maf'ūlātu* ⇒) *fa'ilatun*.

Maf'ūlātun and *maf'ūlūn* may lose their *f* and become (*maf'ūlātun* ⇒) *fa'ilātun* and (*maf'ūlūn* ⇒) *fa'ilūn*. (MOH. BEN CHENEB)

MUNSHI'. [See *INSHĀ'*.]

MUNSHIF (A.), part. active IV. of *n-ṣ-f*, "to be just, to act with justice", the title of a native judge of the lowest grade in India.

Bibliography: Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. moonshiff.

AL-MUNTAḤIF, a section of the Arab tribe of the Banū 'Ukail, which in turn is a subdivision of the great group of the 'Amir b. Sa'ya [q. v.]. Genealogy: al-Muntaḥif b. 'Amir b. 'Ukail (Wüstenfeld, *Gen. Tab.*, D. 19). The very scanty information in Wüstenfeld can be supplemented by the notice which Ibn al-Kalbi gives of the Banu 'l-Muntaḥif (*Dīwān al-Aḥwāl*, MS. Brit. Mus., fol. 130v-131v); but this little clan nowhere appears to play a great part in early history. The territory inhabited by the Banu 'l-Muntaḥif is the same as that of the other divisions of the Banū 'Ukail, in the southwest of Yamama; some places belonging to them are quoted by al-Bakrī (*Mudjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 567), Yāqūt (*Mudjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, I. 793-794; IV. 712, I. 78; we may note that in these two passages al-Muntaḥif is said to be the surname of Mu'awiya b. 'Ukail while the usual genealogy makes this Mu'awiya a son of al-Muntaḥif), al-Hamḍānī (*Dīwān*, ed. D. H. Müller, p. 177, I. 12-15; note the mention of gold mines in their territory). The Banu 'l-Muntaḥif numbered among their clients the Banū Ṭaḥr (Wüstenfeld, *Gen. Tab.*, C. 13) whose eponym was said to have been made a prisoner by them (*Kitāb al-Aḥwāl*, VII. 110); one of the few episodes of the pre-Islamic period in which this clan is mentioned is the battle of Shīb Djabala where Kais b. al-Muntaḥif distinguished himself (*Aḥwāl*, X. 44; *Nakā'id*, ed. Bevan, p. 671 I. 12-672, I. 14, where Ibn Ṭufail should be deleted). In the history of the origins of Islām, several of them appear as ambassadors of the Banū 'Ukail to the Prophet: such were Anas b. Kais b. al-Muntaḥif and Laḥī b. 'Amir b. al-Muntaḥif (Ibn Sa'd, I/ii. 45 etc.); on the latter the biographical collections have long discussions as to whether he is to be identified with this or that *muḥaddith*: cf. among others Ibn Ḥaḍjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, VIII. 456). In the period of the conquests, the Banu 'l-Muntaḥif settled in the marshy region between Kufa and Basra (al-Kalkashandī, *Nikāyat al-Arab*, p. 65-66). All that we know of them after this period is the names of a few individuals who held public offices: a certain 'Amr b. Mu'awiya b. al-Muntaḥif, mentioned by Ṭabari, I. 3284 at end, as fighting at Siffin, is said by Ibn al-Kalbi to have been governor of Armenia and Ādharbāidjān under Mu'awiya; according to Ibn al-Kalbi, 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'awiya b. Rabbā b. 'Amir b. al-Muntaḥif was governor of Marw and Ahwāz, also under Mu'awiya, and 'Abida b. Kais b. al-Muntaḥif of Armenia, under Yazīd I. These men are not mentioned elsewhere: the same is true of the poet Dīhām b. 'Awf b. al-Husain b. al-Muntaḥif (Ibn Ḥaḍjar, *Libā* [ed. Sharafīya, Cairo 1325], v. 124 follows Ibn al-Kalbi).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

AL-MUNTAKIM. [See *ALLĀH II*.]

AL-MUNTAŠIR (also called Mustansir) b. LĀLĀ, ABU DĪ'Ā'AR MUHAMMAD b. DĪ'Ā'AR, 'Abhāsīd caliph, son of al-Mutawakkil by a Greek slave. After his father had been murdered in Shawwāl 247 (Dec. 861) by conspirators, among whom was al-Muntašir, the latter ascended the throne, aged 25 according to the usual statement. As a ruler he was only a tool in the hands of the vizier Ahmad b. al-Khaṣīb and the Turkish generals. His brothers al-Mu'tazz and al-Mu'ayyad were forced to renounce their claims to the throne and Waṣīf, the commander of the bodyguard, was sent to the Byzantine frontier. Unlike his father, he treated the 'Alids with great consideration; nothing else remarkable is recorded of him. Al-Muntašir died in Rabi' II 248 (June 862) or, according to a less trustworthy report end of Rabi' I, in Sāmarrā after a reign of six months.

Bibliography: Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtama), ii. 594—596, 601—603; Tabarī, iii. 1379 299; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, Paris, vii. 290—323; ix. 46, 52, 72; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabetiques*; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), vii. 27 299; Ibn al-Tikṭāk, *al-Faḡhārī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 327—329; Muḥammad b. Shākir, *Fawā'id al-Wafayāt*, ii. 184; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Iṭhar*, iii. 282; Weil, *Geogr. d. Chalifen*, ii. 351 299; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, p. 531. (K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

MURĀBĪT. [See ALMORAVIDS.]

MURĀD, the name of an Arab tribe, belonging to the great southern group of the Maḍhijīd [q. v.]; genealogical tradition (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djāmhara al-Ansāb*, Escorial MS., fol. 114b—117b, which is followed by Ibn Durraid, *Kitāb al-Ishāb*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 238, 4; cf. also *Lisān al-'Arab*, iv. 409) regards Murād as a nickname, for this tribe was said to have been the first to rebel (*tamarrada*) in the Yaman: an etymology which is not convincing. Murād's own name is said to have been Yuhābir b. Maḍhijīd and he was therefore a brother of the 'Am and the Sa'd al-'Ashira (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, p. 7, 11). Although they were neighbours of the South Arabian civilization, the Murād have always retained a typically Beduin character; their country (usually called al-Djawl and placed to the east of Najrān and Ma'rib) is bare and sterile (cf. the picturesque description given of it by the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, xviii. 135 and 'the mountains of the Murād' mentioned by Yāqūt, *Mo'djam*, ii. 78) and its inhabitants are notorious as brigands (*fak* Murād; cf. *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, x. 147). The land inhabited by the Murād and by their neighbours, the Hamdān [q. v.], had once belonged to the Taiy (Yāqūt, *Mo'djam*, i. 129), who had left it to settle in the north of the Arabian peninsula; it is probable that it was from the old masters of the country that the Murād and the Hamdān inherited the cult of the god Yaghūth (cf. below).

The Murād appear for the first time in history in connection with an episode, not however at all clear, of the last days of the dynasty of the Lakhmids of al-Hira; as the king 'Amr b. al-Mundhir (III) b. Mā' al-Samā' had excluded his half-brother 'Amr, a son of Usāma, sister of Hind mother of the first-named 'Amr, from a share in the kingdom, the latter sought refuge with the Murād, who recognised him as their chief but when he began to rule tyrannically, they killed him, which gave 'Amr b. Hind a pretext for invading the land of the Murād and putting to death

the murderer of 'Amr b. Usāma (al-Mufaḡḡal al-Dabbī, *Amṣār al-'Arab*, Constantinople 1300, p. 68—69, who gives a more satisfactory account than that contained in the passages quoted by G. Rothstein, *Die Dyn. der Lakhmiden*, p. 99, in which Yāqūt, iv. 130 should be read for i. 130). 'Amr is said to have been killed by a certain Ibn al-Dhū'aid (the same story is given by Ibn al-Kalbi, *Djāmhara*); according to Yāqūt on the other hand by Huhaim b. 'Abd Yaghūth surnamed al-Makshūh; the latter's son Ka'is seems to have been one of the most powerful chiefs of the Murād at the time of the rise of Islām.

The Murād had just then suffered a disastrous defeat, which had considerably weakened them, at the hands of the Hamdān, as the result of a quarrel which had arisen in connection with the control of the worship of the god Yaghūth (cf. Wellhausen, *Reise arab. Hidentums*?, p. 19—22 and the sources mentioned by him). It is probably this defeat (Yawm al-Razm), which tradition places in the same year as the battle of Badr, which made a section of the Murād think it advisable to seek an alliance with Muḥammad; but Ka'is b. al-Makshūh refused to join in this. It was therefore another Murādi chief, Farwa b. Musailk, who went to al-Madina in the year 10 A. H., and concluded a treaty there with the Prophet (cf. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii. 332). To what extent tradition is right in saying that Farwa was given authority to levy *zakāt* on all the tribes of the Yaman, is very difficult to ascertain. In any case, the policy of the Murād was not oriented towards Muḥammad under the leadership of Ka'is b. al-Makshūh. In the great rising led by al-Aswad al-Ansi against Persian hegemony in the Yaman, the Murād were against him. But if, as tradition has it, Muḥammad used his connections with some chiefs of the Yaman to prevent al-Aswad's success, after the death of the Prophet these same chiefs refused obedience to Abū Bakr and resolutely threw themselves into the struggle against Islām. It is again Ka'is b. al-Makshūh who plays the chief part in these events. Taken prisoner, Abū Bakr granted him his life and henceforth the chief of the Murād and his tribe played their part bravely in the conquests. We find them sometimes in Syria, sometimes in the 'Irāk, and Ka'is everywhere distinguishing himself by his exploits. He lost an eye at the battle of Yarmūk (cf. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i.—v., index s. v. Qays b. Habbayrah). But the account of his death in the civil war between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya at the battle of Siffin is based on confusion with another man of the same name of the tribe of Badjila (this fact, which is clearly indicated by Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djāmhara* and Tabarī, i. 3301—3302, has already been noted by Ibn Hadjar, *Iṣāha*, ed. Sharafiya, v. 281; *Annali dell' Islām*, ix. 638 should be corrected). We also find the Murād in the conquest of Egypt (*Annali*, iv. 573, 21 A. H., § 191 & [29]). But it was at Kufa that they settled in the largest numbers. It was there that one of them, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muljam, assassinated the caliph 'Alī; it was there also that in 60 (679) Hānī b. 'Urwa al-Murādi was executed by orders of the governor 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād after being found guilty of conspiring with Muslim b. 'Aqil in favour of al-Husain (Tabarī, ii. 227 19). He was a descendant of the poet 'Amr b. Qī'as (*R. S. O.*, xiii. 58, 327¹), one of the very few poets

of this tribe, which does not seem to have produced many individuals of note either during the Djahliya or under Islām. We may however mention Uwais al-Karani (of the Banū Karan b. Radmān b. Nādiyya b. Murād; Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tab.*, p. 7, 23), one of the prototypes of Muslim asceticism.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

MURĀD I, according to the common tradition the third ruler of the Ottoman state, was a son of Orkhān and the Byzantine lady Nihiser. Although some Ottoman sources profess to know the year of his birth (*Siddīl-i 'otkūmān*, i. 74 gives the year 726 = 1326), this date, like all dates given by Turkish sources relating to this period, is far from certain. The name Murād (Greek sources such as Phrantzes have Ἀμυράτης, from which later Latin sources make Amurath, while contemporary Latin sources from Italy have Moratibei) must have originated in mystical circles and hardly occurs in earlier times. An 'Abdal Murād lived in Orkhān's time (cf. *Siddīl-i 'otkūmān*, iv. 354; 'Ashik Pasha Zāde, ed. Giese, *Im neuen Anatolien*, Leipzig 1928, plates 9 and 10). The ancient Turkish chronicles often call Murād Ghāzi Khunkār, later Turkish historians Khudāwendikār (q.v.).

During his father's lifetime Murād had already been entrusted with the governorship of In Ōnu and later of Brusa. His brother Sulaimān Pasha had held the more important sandjaks and was destined to become Orkhān's successor. Sulaimān's untimely death, shortly before that of Orkhān himself, placed Murād unexpectedly at the head of the Ottoman principality. This happened about 1360; the date of Orkhān's death is uncertain.

Murād I became the first great Ottoman conqueror on European soil. In this he followed the footsteps of his brother Sulaimān Pasha and of other Turkish emirs before him.

It is not yet possible to gain a clear idea of the succession of the military achievements by which the Ottomans succeeded in establishing themselves firmly on the Balkan Peninsula. Even the outstanding victories are confounded with each other in the Ottoman and Western sources, and the exact dating of even important events is subject to great difficulties. The Byzantine sources, the most reliable of all, are mainly concerned with the tortuous policy of the Byzantine rulers. On the other hand, many tales of a legendary character have entered the historical accounts of later times. The impression on the whole is, that the Ottoman successes were mainly due to the mutual rivalry between the then existing Balkan states, Byzantium, and the Bulgarian and Serbian kingdoms, complicated by the struggle of Venice and Genoa for an advantageous position in the Levant, and the zeal of the popes for bringing the Greek church back to Rome. This secured the Ottomans at all times allies in the Christian camp itself. Nor is it possible to ascertain which Ottoman expeditions were really planned by Murād and his councillors and which were merely successful raids by Turkish hands. All this makes it extremely difficult to form an adequate judgment of Murād's personality as a warrior and as a statesman.

Provisionally three periods can be distinguished. The first begins shortly after Murād's accession with the conquest of Western Thrace, in which

were taken Čorlu, Demotika (if this town had not already been taken under Orkhān), Gümüldjina, Adrianople (about 1362; cf. ZIEGLER) and Philippopolis, mainly through the activity of the beglerbeg Lala Shāhin and Ewrenos Beg. These conquests provoked a coalition of Servians, Bosnians and Hungarians, who were beaten on the river Maritza by Hüdājī Ilbeki. The western part of Bulgaria was raided up to the Balkan Mountains and the Byzantine Emperor John Palaeologos made his first submission as vassal to Murād. Murād himself had been on a campaign in Anatolia, which brought him as far as Toğat [q.v.] during which he consolidated the Ottoman hold on Angora (already taken by Sulaimān Pasha in 1354; cf. Wittek, *Festschrift Jacob*, 1932, p. 347, 351 sqq.). He then came to Rūm-ili and took up his residence in Demotika, to change this town in 1366 for Adrianople, from this time on the European capital of the Ottomans. The story about a treaty between Ragusa and Murād concluded in 1365 has a legendary character (cf. Giese, *Festschrift Jacob*, 1932, p. 42, after Jireček). In the meantime the hostility between Byzantines and Bulgarians gave Murād the opportunity of taking Ishtebol (Szeropolis) near Burgas, and the same hostility led to the failure, about 1366, of a crusade undertaken at the instigation of Pope Urban V by count Amadeo of Savoy to come to the rescue of the Byzantine Emperor; the expedition only drove the Turks from Gallipoli for a short time.

A second period of Murād's reign may be said to begin with the crushing of a Serbian advance on the Maritza, near Cirmen, probably in 1371. This Serbian defeat is known to the Turkish sources as *İrf (İstikbal)* and gave the Turks during the following years the important Macedonian towns of Seres, Drama and Kavalas, and at the same time the possibility of advancing west of the Vardar. These conquests were made by Ewrenos and Djan-darī Khalīl Pasha, while Lala Shāhin obtained about the same time successes in eastern Bulgaria (battle of Samakow). Then followed again some years of comparative tranquillity, in which the newly won regions were partly colonized with Ottomans; the still unsubdued northern parts of Serbia and Bulgaria were governed by the local rulers as vassals of Murād. The latter had more than once to interfere with the dynastic affairs of the Palaeologoi. After John Palaeologos had sold in 1375 the island of Tenedos to Venice, this led to an action of Genoa in combination with the Turks, in course of which John lost his throne and was imprisoned, until, by the favour of Murād, he became Emperor again in 1379; his dependency went so far as to help the Turks, together with his son Manuel, in the conquest of Philadelphia (Ala Shehir), the only remaining Greek fortress in Asia Minor. The end of this second period is marked by an increased activity in Anatolia. A part of the territory of the Germiyan-Oghlu [q.v.] was acquired as a wedding gift to prince Bayazid when he married the daughter of that ruler (probably in 1381); this territorial accession was followed by the sale of the greater part of the lands of the Hamid-Oghlu to Murād and by the conquest of a part of the principality of Tekke.

About 1385 there followed new conquests in Europe. Turkish troops intervened in Epirus and Albania (under Khalīl Pasha), but decisive for the establishment of Ottoman power in the Balkans

was the taking of Sofia (1385?) and Nish (1386?). About the same time, the Italian republics, Genoa and Venice, obtained by treaties with Murād, concluded respectively in 1385 and 1388, commercial privileges in Turkish territory. Immediately after the successes in Serbia, probably also in 1386, Murād went to war with the Karamān-Oghlu 'Alā' al-Dīn, his son-in-law; this conflict had long been threatening [cf. KARAMĀN-OGHLU]; now the Ottoman power had grown so far as to destroy the political equilibrium in Anatolia. Murād was victorious in the battle of Konya, but left 'Alā' al-Dīn in his possessions and set the example, henceforward traditional, of leniency in dealing with the Anatolian population. This caused a lively discontent amongst the Serbian troops who had taken part in the battle of Konya. These Serbians are said to have contributed to the anti-Turkish feeling among the Serbians in general, who, under the leadership of Lazar Gresljanowitch, and with the Bosnian king Tvrtko as a powerful ally, were preparing a last effort to free themselves from Turkish vassalage. They succeeded in defeating an Ottoman army at Plochnik (1388). The results were meagre, however, for at the same time the Turks made new conquests in Bulgaria (Shumla and Timovo) and even raided Morea. In 1389 Murād himself marched against the Serbians and their allies and fought the famous battle of Kosovo Polje (Turkish: Kösowa), where he himself lost his life, although the Serbians, partly owing to treachery in their own ranks, were defeated. The most probable date is June 20, 1389 (Gibbons, cf. also Giese, in *Ephemerides Orientales*, No. 34, April 1928, p. 2 sq.). The way in which Murād was killed, during or after the battle, is not clear from the early sources; the later Serbian epic tradition has the well-known tale that Murād was murdered by Miloš Obradowitch, Lazar's son-in-law, who, claiming to be a deserter, had obtained an audience with Murād after the battle, was admitted to his presence and killed him with a dagger. Murād's body was transported to Brusa and buried in a *türbe* near the mosque which he had built at Çekirge in Brusa (cf. Ahmed Tewhid, in *T. O. E. M.*, vol. iii.).

Murād I was the first ruler under whom the state founded by Öghmān rose to be more than one of the then existing Turkoman principalities in Asia Minor. This development is symbolised in the successive change of titles given to him in different building inscriptions dated in his reign (cf. Taeschner, in *Isl.*, xx, 131 sqq.). While the oldest inscription calls him simply Bey, like his father Orkhān, and gives him a *şahāh* (Shihāb al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn) after the Saljuq fashion, he is already called Sultān [q. v.] in 1385 (1383), while in the inscription from 790 (1388) on the 'Imāret built by him in Iznik, we find the style which afterwards became a tradition with the Ottoman sultāns (*al-malik al-mu'azzam al-shāh al-mubārak al-sultān ibn al-sultān*). It was a time when the old Saljuq traditional institutions no longer held and new forms of government and administration came into being, to which the example of Byzantine institutions, and also those of Mamlūk Egypt may have contributed. Even if it is not true that Djandarl Khair al-Dīn Khalil Pasha — who was appointed Murād's vizier at the beginning of his reign and died about 789 (1387) — was the first Ottoman grand vizier, it

cannot be denied that the activity of this man — who by his origin belonged to a higher culture than the Ottoman — as Murād's councillor as well as his military deputy and administrator in Macedonia, makes him a true prototype of the grand viziers of a later age (cf. Taeschner and Wittek, in *Isl.*, xviii, 66 sqq.). His son 'Alī Pasha began also to play an important military part during the later years of Murād's reign. It is also with Khalil Pasha that the old Turkish sources connect the institution of the Janissaries as troops formed from converted Christian prisoners of war. In the administration of the *timārs* [q. v.] a *Kānūn* of Murād I is said to have brought improvements. Some of these measures were closely connected with the problem of acquiring a quiet and loyal population in the newly conquered Christian territories; this was not possible by Turkish colonisation only but succeeded mainly through a humane treatment of the original inhabitants, after the region had once been conquered.

The more important buildings of Murād I are all in Asia Minor. The best known are the Khudawendikār Djāmi' in Çekirge, near Brusa, where Murād himself is buried, and the Ulu Djāmi' in Brusa; further a mosque in Bilecik, the Nispeti 'Imāret in Iznik (recently described by Taeschner, in *Isl.*, xx, 127 sqq.). There is also a mosque of Murād in Serres. The old Ottoman chronicles enumerate his foundations. — On Murād I's coins cf. 'Alī, in *T. T. E. M.*, xiv, 224.

Bibliography. The information given by the old Turkish chronicles ('Ashik Pasha Zāde, Anonymus, ed. Giese, Urüd), the translations of Leunclavius, also *Disfūr-nāme-i Emverī*, ed. Mukrimin Khalil, Istanbul 1928 and this editor's *Medhal*, Istanbul 1930) is sometimes supplemented by the later historiographers (Sa'd al-Dīn, 'Alī, Münedjdim-Basfi). The Byzantine historians (Phrantzes, Ducas, Chalcondyles), however, give a far clearer survey of this period so far as it came under their attention, while documents from Venice, Genoa and Rome throw light on the diplomatic activities provoked by the advance of the Turks in Europe. Ibn Hādjar al-Asqalāni, *Inbā' al-Ghaur fī Anbā' al-'Umr*, contains also a biography of Murād I. Further the historical works of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga, and H. A. Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford 1916, p. 110 sqq.; C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, Gotha 1918. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MURAD II, sixth ruler of the Ottoman Empire, was born in 806 (1403—1404) and ascended the throne in May 1421, when he arrived in Adrianople some days after his father Muhammed I's death; his decease had been kept secret on the advice of the vizier 'Iwād Pasha until the new sultan's arrival. As crown prince he had resided at Magnisia, and he had taken part in the suppression of the revolt of Simawna Oghlu Badr al-Dīn. Immediately after his accession he had to face the pretender known in Turkish history as Döme Mustafa [q. v.] and his ally Djunaid [q. v.]. Both were supported by the Byzantine emperor Manuel and at first were successful in the European part of the empire. Bayazid Pasha, sent from Brusa, was defeated and killed in the battle of Sızil Ders (between Seres and Adrianople) and the allied Greek forces took Gallipoli. Then Murād himself had to face them in Asia; he suc-

ceeded in sowing discord between Mustafa and Djunaid and defeated the first in the battle of the bridge of Ulubad. Then Murad went over, with the help of ships from the Genoese colony of New Phocaea (Yeni Foça), recovered Gallipoli, after which he entered Adrianople and killed the pretender. In 1422 he began a siege of Constantinople; this siege was raised, either by the effect of Byzantine gold (through the intermediary of the græcophil vizier İbrâhîm Paşa) or as a result of the rise of a new pretender in İznik in the person of Murad's younger brother Mustafa. The latter was at last betrayed by his former supporter İlyâs Paşa and killed. Then followed a struggle with Djunaid, who had established himself again at Aidin, but surrendered at last in 1425, after which he was killed. Murad was now at peace with all his European neighbours and vassals; the Emperor Manuel had died in 1424 and was followed by John Palæologos, with whom peace was concluded. Several towns had been taken in the meantime in Morea, and Wallachia paid tribute. In Anatolia there had been a conflict in 1423 with İsfendiâr of Sinûb, ending with the acquisition of a part of his territory by Murad; after 1425 the Ottoman power was confirmed in Teke and Monteshe and the Karamân Oghlu İbrâhîm, who tried to take the already Ottoman Adalia, had to retire and made peace. In eastern Anatolia Yürkedj Paşa subdued the Turkomans round Tokat and Amasia and of the region of Djanik. In 1428 there began difficulties on the Hungarian frontier. The most noteworthy exploit of this period was however the capture of Saloniki (Selanik; q.v.) in March 1430; after the Greeks had sold this town to Venice in 1427; Murad had never given up the plan of avenging that transaction. Peace with Venice soon followed.

Occasionally the Turks had taken several fortresses in Epirus and Albania, but their interest began more and more to concentrate on the north-western regions, where George Brankovitch ruled as vassal over Serbia. With this latter peace was renewed in 1432 and his daughter Mara was given to Murad, but the Turkish raids continued in Serbia as well as far into Hungarian territory. In 1438 the Turks made, together with Serbians and Wallachians, incursions in Hungary (capture of Semendria); in 1440 they beleaguered Belgrad in vain and in 1442 Turkish troops under Merid Bey laid siege to Hermannstadt. Here they suffered a heavy defeat by John Hunyadi, who in the coming years was to act as champion of Hungary and Christian Europe. He was the leader, in 1443, of a big crusading army including Serbians, Poles and Germans; the Turks were thrown back at Nish, after which Sofia was taken. The campaign ended with a heavy defeat of the Turks at Jalowaz, between Sofia and Philippopolis. In the same year Murad had to oppose again the Karamân Oghlu, who supported the Christian allies. But the peace with Hungary, concluded in July 1444 at Szeged, though advantageous to Hungary, maintained the former frontiers of the Ottoman political influence; only Wallachia became tributary to Hungary.

After this peace, which was to last ten years and seemed to Murad a guarantee for the future, he abdicated in favour of his son Muhammad, leaving with him Khalil Paşa, son of İbrâhîm Paşa (who had died of the plague in 1429) and Khusrav Molla [q.v.] as councillors. He retired

himself to Magnisia, but had to come back when, in September of the same year, the Hungarians, flouting the peace treaty, were preparing a new crusade. They marched south of the Danube to Varna; here the army of Murad inflicted on them a crushing defeat, in which King Ladislas of Hungary was killed. Again Murad II went back to Magnisia, but in the following year a Janissary revolt broke out in Adrianople and it was the vizier Khalil who invited Murad to return a second time, as the young Muhammad did not seem to be able to face the situation.

During the last six years of his reign Murad led again several campaigns in the Balkan peninsula. In 1446 an action was undertaken against the Palæologoi in the Morea (destruction of the Hexamilion, capture of Corinth and Patras); in 1447 against Albania, where the activity of Skander Beg [q.v.] had begun in 1443; in 1448 he faced again a Hungarian invading army, which was beaten on the plain of Kossowa; and in 1450 he was again in Albania (siege of Croja). In that year Constantine Palæologos became, by the grace of Murad II, the last Byzantine Emperor, after the death of John. Shortly afterwards, in the first days of February 1451, Murad died at Adrianople. He was buried in Brusa at the side of his mosque (cf. Ahmad Tewhid, in *T.O.E.A.M.*, iii, 1856).

His reign was of extraordinary importance for the future political and cultural development of the Ottoman Empire. After the first critical years he continued his father's work of consolidation. His aim was mainly to live on peaceful terms with the vassal princes, of whom the ruler of Sinûb and the despot of Serbia gave their daughters to Murad. This peaceful policy was in concordance with his character; the Byzantine historians and other Christian sources describe him as a truthful, mild and humane ruler. His most influential viziers were not yet the renegades of later times; they belonged to the old families that had supported the cause of Murad's forefathers and were becoming a kind of hereditary nobility: İbrâhîm Paşa and Khalil Paşa of the Djandarli Oghullari (F. Taeschner and P. Wittek, in *Isl.*, xviii, 92-107), Hüdâdjî 'Iwaç Paşa (Taeschner, in *Isl.*, xx, 154-159), the sons of Timurtash, of Ewrenos and others. The mystical tradition was strong in his surroundings, as is proved by the great influence of a man like the Shaikh Amr Bukhari; other shaikhs came to his court from Persia and Mesopotamia. This determined also the direction which the classical Ottoman literature was to take in following centuries. Murad II was the first Ottoman prince whose court became a brilliant centre of poets, literary men and Muhammadan scholars (see *TURKIA*, B, iii.). But also to non-Islamic envoys and visitors Murad's court seemed a centre of culture (cf. Jorga, i, 464-199, which description applies principally to Murad II). Amongst the sultan's buildings a mosque in Brusa (cf. H. Wilde, *Brusa*, p. 51) and one in Adrianople (the *Uç Şerheli Dîmî*), are notable and some large bridges. His army organisation is well known from a full description by Chalcondylas.

Bibliography: The older Turkish sources: Neshrî (Haniwaldanus), 'Ashkî Paşa Zâde, Urođj, Rûhi, Anonymus Giese, are completed by the Byzantine historians Phrantzes (who himself played a part in the diplomatic history of the time), Ducas and Chalcondylas, and also by

the later Ottoman authors Sa'd al-Din, 'Ali and Münedžjim Başlı. A curious contemporary description is that of an unknown captive from Mählenbach in Transylvania (captured 1438) in his *Tractatus de moribus conditionibus et nequitia Turcorum* (cf. K. Foy, in *M.S.O.S.*, iv., v.).

General later descriptions of Murad II's reign in the works of von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, I.; Zinkeisen, I. and Jorga, I.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MURAD III, twelfth ruler of the Ottoman Empire, was born on the 3th Dümada 1953 (4th July 1546; *Sigill-i 'othmāni*, I. 76) as son of the later sultan Selim II and the *Āḥī-ye Nūr* Bānū. He arrived at Constantinople on Dec. 21st, 1574, after Selim II's death and reigned until his death on January 16, 1595 or a few days later. His reign is not characterized by great conquests in Europe. The peaceful relations with Austria were officially maintained; peace was several times confirmed (in 1575 and 1584) by a new treaty and by extraordinary Austrian embassies. Nevertheless there were continual Turkish raids into Austrian territory, especially in Croatia in 1578 — where even a new sandjak was formed — followed by triumphal processions in the capital, which the Austrian envoys were forced to witness. It was only in 1593 that a formal war broke out, in which the then grand vizier Sinan Pasha took the town of Raab (1594). The relations with Venice were of the same kind as with Austria; notwithstanding several serious naval collisions peace was maintained, mainly through the influence of Murad's *Āḥī-ye Şafiye* (of the family of Baffa) and the Kapudan Pasha, who were Italian renegades. In the Danube principalities the never ending dynastic disputes went on; this was also the case in Transylvania. Even Poland was considered more or less as an Ottoman tributary vassal state; the Polish king, Stephan Bathory, owed his crown to the sultan's protection and after his death (1587) the new king Sigismund began to reign by the grace of Murad. The Porte had to intervene several times in the disturbances caused by Polish cossacks in Moldavia and the Tatar Khānate and by Tatar incursions in Poland. In the Crimea the Ottoman intervention was even stronger, because the Persian war necessitated in 1581 and 1583 expeditions by the way of Kaffa and the Crimea against Daghistan and Transcaucasia.

The most outstanding military exploit of the Ottoman Empire during Murad III's reign was the war with Persia, which lasted from 1577 to 1590. Persia passed, after Shāh Tahmasp's death in 1576, through serious inner troubles. This gave the Turks a favourable opportunity of enlarging their territory. Between 1577 and 1584 the chief theatre of the war was Georgia; Lala Mustafa Pasha won the battle of Lake Çaldır (August 9, 1578), after which the princes of the small Georgian kingdoms became nominally Ottoman vassals, while several towns, like Tiflis and Shaki, came under direct military occupation. In 1579 the town of Kars was fortified. That same year Sinan Pasha became serasker on the Georgian front. The completion of the conquests confronted the Ottoman armies with serious difficulties, especially after Simon, the former king of Kartli, had come back from exile in Persia. This made necessary the already mentioned expedition by the way of the Crimea in 1581, under Özdemir 'Othmān Pasha

who was joined in 1583, by the same way, by Dja'fer Pasha; they came back to Constantinople again via the Crimea and 'Othmān Pasha was received with great honour by the sultan after his return, although it would seem that the real aim of the expedition — a junction with the Turkish forces of the south — was not reached, owing to the combined efforts of the people of Georgia and Shirwān (cf. W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, London 1932, p. 157). The second phase of the Persian war began with the taking of Tabriz in 1585 by 'Othmān Pasha, followed by other successes on Persian territory (Gandja in Transcaucasia and Nihāwend). In 1587 Shāh 'Abbās I ascended the throne; soon afterwards there began peace negotiations, ending in a peace treaty (March 21, 1590) which left Georgia, Shirwān, Karabagh, Tabriz and Luristan to the Ottoman Empire. One of the peace conditions was that the Persians should give up most of their anti-Sunni religious practices.

During Murad III's first years Muhammad Pasha Sokolli [q.v.] had continued to administer the huge Empire as grand vizier, but his once unquestioned authority began to wane under the influence of the sultan's courtiers like Shems Pasha and the defterdar Uweis; an influential personality also was the *Khawāja* Sa'd al-Din — the historian — and the eunuch Ghazanfer Agha. Home and foreign politics were influenced also by Murad's mother Nur Bānū and the already mentioned *Āḥī-ye Şafiye* (Baffa), who used as a powerful agent outside the palace the Jewess Kira (Chieraza in the Italian sources). Sokolli's confidants were relegated from the capital (as the *nihānchī* Feridūn) or executed (like Michael Cantacuzenos). But he was still grand vizier, when he was murdered on October 11, 1579. After him the grand vizierate was changed no less than ten times under Murad III. Sinan Pasha, already mentioned, held the office three times; 'Othmān Pasha, appointed in 1585, after his return from Daghistan, died eight months afterwards. As the sultan, though well-intentioned, was too weak himself to direct a consistent policy, — as he acknowledged himself according to 'Ali (cf. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, II. 567) — all kinds of abuses gradually began in this epoch, especially in the administration of the fiefs [cf. *rimāz*] and the enrolling of the Janissaries; they are summed up in Koçi Bey's *Risāla*. This sultan's reign witnessed for the first time revolts of the Janissaries directed against the imperial *divān* itself. The first mutiny, in April 1589, was caused by depreciation of the coinage and could be appeased only — as so often afterwards — by the sacrifice of the lives of high officials. In 1592 there was a similar Sipahi revolt. More than one provincial rebellion had to be subdued by force; the most celebrated expedition was that of Ibrahim Pasha, the later *istāmlā* and favourite of Muhammad III, to Egypt and Syria in 1585; in Syria he persecuted severely the Banū Ma'an, the leaders of the Druses, but very soon afterwards the successful career of Fakhr al-Din [q.v.] began.

Murad's reign can be characterized as the beginning of the internal weakening of the Ottoman power. The sultan did not possess the strong personality of his grand father; his amorous tendencies were much encouraged by his mother and his wife Şafiye, and he had far more than a hundred

children. Besides he was inclined to mysticism; he protected mystic poets and himself wrote poems under the *tashtullu* Murâdî, besides a mystical treatise called *Furûsât al-Siyâm* (Hâdjî Khalîfa, N^o. 1003). It is possible that he was in sympathy with the repeated outbursts of Muhammadan fanaticism that occurred during his reign and led to the conversion of several churches in the capital into mosques, amongst them the church of the Greek Patriarchate. These actions caused violent but vain remonstrations from the representatives of France and other Catholic powers. The outward splendour of the court was extravagant; the festival of the circumcision of his son Muhammad, in June 1582, seems to have surpassed all similar ceremonies in the Ottoman history (description by Leonclavius).

Bibliography: The Turkish contemporary sources are the historical works of 'Alî (a *Nuṣrat-nâme* of 'Alî is dedicated to the Georgian campaign), Peḫewî, Selânikî, Solak Zâde and Hasan Bey Zâde; Na'imâ and the *Fedâlekz* of Hâdjî Khalîfa begin with the year 1001 of the hidjra (October 1592). Contemporaneous western sources are the *Relazioni* of the Venetian barlo's, the diary of Gerlach; further v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iv. and the historical works of Zinkeisen, *l.c.*, Jorga, iii.; E. J. W. Gibb, *H.O.P.*, iii. 170-177. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MURÂD IV, fifth son of sultân Aḥmad I, and seventeenth ruler of the Ottoman Empire, was born 28th Djumâdî I 1021 (July 27, 1612) and called to the throne as a result of the mutiny of the Janissaries and Sipâhis, which had forced Muṣṭafâ I to abdicate, on September 11, 1623. When the lives of Murâd and his brothers were in danger, they had been hidden by Khalfî Paṣha. But even after his enthronement Murâd IV's position was far from strong. The turbulent and continuously mutinying Janissaries and Sipâhis were the real masters of the situation and the seven grand viziers that succeeded each other between the accession and 1632 were more or less dependent on the momentary wishes of those militias. The young sultân and his mother Kösem [q.v.] were at first unable to restore the authority of the government, and more than once they were constrained to sacrifice a high official to the mutinous soldateska, amongst them the grand vizier Hâfî Paṣha [q.v.] in February 1632. Gradually the old experienced statesmen of 'Othmân II's time regained their influence, and sometimes the sultân was able to suppress unreliable officials, as already in April 1624 by the execution of the grand vizier Kemânkeşî 'Alî Paṣha [q.v.], but it was only in 1632 that he became real master of the situation; in that year he had the grand vizier Redjeb Paṣha — until that time one of the most influential men at court — executed, after which began Murâd IV's personal reign of terror.

During this period from 1623—1632 the Asiatic affairs of the Empire required all the available energy of the Porte. In 1623 Baghdâd had fallen after many atrocities into the hands of the Persians as a result of the intrigues of the Turkish *paḫsâ* Bekir; Mâyul also became Persian, and the Anatolian army under Hâfî Paṣha was powerless. Abâza Paṣha [q.v.] was still in revolt at Erzerûm; in 1624 an agreement was reached with him, but only in 1628 the grand vizier Khosrew Paṣha

forced him to surrender, after which Abâza played a part as governor of Bosnia and of Silistria. In the meantime several vain efforts were made to recover Baghdâd, by Hâfî Aḥmad Paṣha in 1626, and by Khosrew Paṣha [q.v.] in 1630.

From 1632 Murâd IV prepared with incredible energy the mobilisation of all the country's resources for the war against Persia, where Shâh 'Abbâs I had died in 1627. He suppressed with great cruelty the rebellious movements among the Janissaries and reduced their number by not applying the *dergâhîr* for twelve years. New and more reliable troops were formed from the *dîbedîs*, *bistandîs* and especially the *seghîns* (*aymens*). The necessary funds were procured by drastic financial measures, amongst them the confiscation of large fortunes. Every attempt at opposition was cruelly suppressed; in 1633 even the Shaikh al-Islâm Aḥmî-Zâde Husain was executed. In October 1633 an army under the new grand vizier Tabanî Vâsî Muhammad Paṣha left Constantinople, but that year and the following no important military operations took place. The Kapudan Paṣha Dîa'far, however, was successful in suppressing the power of the Druse Amir Fakhr al-Dîn [q.v.] and bringing him alive to Constantinople. In 1635 Murâd himself left the capital, joined the grand-vizier's army in Erzerûm and conquered Eriwan (August 1635). Then the undefended Tabriz was taken and destroyed, after which the sultân returned. In the following year the Persians recaptured Eriwan. Finally, in 1638, Murâd took the field for the second time with the grand vizier Taiyâr Muhammad Paṣha; Baghdâd was taken by them in December 1638, and thousands of Shî'îs were massacred. This was the end of the Persian war; in 1639 a peace was concluded, which left Baghdâd to Turkey and Eriwan to Persia.

In comparison with the events in Asia, European affairs were of secondary importance. The peace with Austria was several times renewed (1625 at Gyarmath and 1627 at Sâbn) although predatory raids from both sides never ceased. Serious trouble was caused in 1624 by the appearance of Cossack ships in the Bosphorus; they were defeated only in 1626. Another hotbed of unrest was the Crimea, where from 1624 till 1628 the Porte had to suffer against its will the Khân Muhammad Girây and his brother Shâhin Girây, who even took Kaffa for a time. After 1628 the Tatar Mirâ Kântemir (or Kântimîr), chief of the Noghays, became the most powerful man in the khânate; his continual incursions caused serious conflicts with Poland (peace restored in 1634) and in Moldavia. At last Kântemir was executed at Constantinople in 1637.

The peaceful relations with Venice and the western sea powers continued; in 1624 the capitulations had been renewed, but as the Porte was without authority over the Barbary states of Algiers and Tunis, England, Holland and France concluded separate treaties with their rulers in order to avert as much as possible the damage done to their trade by the ships of the corsairs. In 1638 a more serious battle took place in the Adriatic between the Venetian fleet and Barbary corsairs; at first Murâd ordered the massacre of all Venetians in his Empire, but in 1639 peace was restored. In Constantinople the ministers of Holland (Haga) and England (Roe) intervened successfully in the

troubles between the Porte and the Greek Patriarchate.

Murād IV died on February 9, 1640 and was buried in the turbe of the mosque of his father Ahmad; he was the last warlike sultan of the Empire; by his energy he restored for some time its military authority, but his reforms did not last after him. Still a separate *ẓān-nāme* bears Murād IV's name. He was a man of considerable physical strength and of high personal erudition and he liked the company of poets. His attachment to the poet Tifti [q. v.] is famous in literary tradition. The poet Nef'i [q. v.] on the other hand was executed by his order. On verses written by Murād cf. Gibb, *H.O.P.*, iii. 248 *seqq.* He had four sons, all of whom died young; at his death there was only his brother Ibrāhīm to take the succession. His brothers Bāyazīd and Sulaimān were killed by his order during the Eriwan campaign, and later also his brother Kāsim. In course of time Murād had become ever more ferocious, and he is said to have sworn in 1639 that he would subdue all his Christian neighbours (Jorga, iv. 1).

Bibliography: The chief Turkish sources are Na'imā, Pečewi and Kara Çelebi Zāde's *Rawdat al-Abrār*. Further the continuation of 'Atāyī's biographical work by 'Ushāki-Zāde (*G.O.W.*, p. 259); Ewliyā Çelebi's *Siyāhat-nāme* is also particularly rich in information about the reign of Murād IV. Of Western contemporary sources must be mentioned the Venetian *Relazioni* and the correspondence of Sir Thomas Roe and Cornelius Haga (*Rijks geschiedkundige Publicatien*, x.; *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Levantischen Handel, 1590—1660*, II, 's Gravenhage 1910). Later treatments of this period in the general works of von Hammer (v.), Zinkeisen (iv.) and Jorga (iii.).

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MURĀD V, Ottoman Sultan from May 31 till Sept. 7, 1876. He was born on Sept. 21, 1840 as son of Sultan 'Abd al-Majid and was deprived of all influence on public affairs during the reign of his elder brother 'Abd al-'Aziz, who had the plan of altering the succession in favour of his own descendants, so as to deprive Murād of his rights. Murād was called to the throne by the coup d'état of the recently established cabinet, of which Midhat Pasha [q. v.], Muhammad Rushdi and Husain 'Awni were the leading members. By deposing Sultan 'Abd al-'Aziz they hoped to eliminate the influence of reactionary elements who were opposed to their schemes of reform and they expected to find an ally in Murād. In the night from 30th to 31st May 1876 Murād was induced with some difficulty to proceed to the Seraskerate in Constantinople, where he received the homage of the troops and the high dignitaries. He confirmed the cabinet in office. Very soon afterwards took place the suicide of the deposed sultan (June 5) and the murder of the ministers Husain 'Awni and Rashid Pasha during a cabinet meeting in Midhat's house (June 15). These events seem to have been fatal to the mental equilibrium of the new sultan, who, already in the night of his accession, had shown signs of abnormal nervous excitement. He was unable to appear before his people at the *istislah*, nor could the sword-girding ceremony (*miladi alay*) be applied to him. Midhat Pasha and his friends, although fearing that a new

change of ruler might endanger their plans, had to arrange another deposition; they had the sultan's health examined by a number of physicians and, on their report, obtained a *fatwa* from the Shaikh al-Islām Hasan Khair Allāh Efendi, authorizing Murād's deposition (September 1). His younger brother 'Abd al-Hamid II became sultan and Murād went to live in the Çiraghan Palace, where he died on August 29, 1904. His confinement during 'Abd al-Hamid's reign continued to excite speculation as a yet unsolved mystery and was occasionally represented as one of the crimes of the Hamidian regime.

Bibliography: Keratry, *Mourad V, prince, sultan, prisonnier d'état 1840—1876*, Paris 1878; Djemaleddin Bey, *Sultan Murad V, the Turkish Dynasty Mystery 1876—1895*, London 1895; Tewfik Nūr al-Dīn, *Sultan 'Ati' al-Khalī wa-Intikār*, Constantinople 1324; Ahmad Sa'ib, *Tārīkh-i Sultan Muhammad Khānīr*, Cairo 1326; Husain Hifzī, *Sultan Murād Khānīr wa-Sebebi Khalfi*, Constantinople 1326; 'Othmān Nūrī, *'Abd al-Hamid Thāni wa-Dawri Saltanati*, Constantinople 1327, i. 30 *seqq.* 91 *seqq.*; Ali Haydar Midhat, *Life of Midhat Pasha*, London 1903.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MURĀD PASHA, Turkish grand vizier under Ahmad I, was a Croatian by birth and was born about 1520. He served the empire as military commander and later as *wālī* in different provinces (Egypt, Yaman, Anatolia) and was made prisoner by the Persians in the battle of Tahrit (Sept. 1585), where Çiğhāle's army was defeated. In 1601 he was pasha of Budin and in 1603 commander-in-chief on the Hungarian front. In these posts he repeatedly conducted for the Porte peace negotiations with Austria. He was the chief negotiator of the peace of Zsitvatorok (Nov. 11, 1606). A month afterwards (Dec. 11, 1606), after the execution of Derwish Pasha in Constantinople, he was appointed grand vizier, being then already about 80 years of age.

As grand vizier Murād Pasha became particularly famous by his relentless persecution and repression of the many rebellions in the Asiatic provinces. In 1607 he defeated the Kurd Dhanbulād [q. v.] in North Syria (battle of Urudj Owāl in Oct. 1607). After having passed the winter in Aleppo, he succeeded in crushing the forces of the arch-rebel Kālander Oghlu at the pass of Gökseun in Cappadocia (July 1608), where he decided the battle by his personal courage. Then he pursued from Siwās the rebel Maimūn and defeated him near Baiburt. His habit of throwing the captured rebels into pits dug for that purpose brought him the name of Koyudju Murād Pasha. Notwithstanding the sultan's order — provoked by his enemies in the capital — that he should proceed immediately against Persia, he returned in December to Constantinople, where he was received with great honours. Poets celebrated his achievements against the rebels. In 1609 Murād Pasha went to Scutari for the Persian campaign, but he went no further that year, because he wished first to deal with two remaining dangerous rebels: Muselli-Çağh in İrāq and Yūsuf Pasha in Aidin. By false propositions of reconciliation these two were at last induced to surrender and afterwards killed. Murād Pasha had to make use more than once of his personal influence with the sultan to restrain the latter's impatience before his plans had succeeded.

On the other hand, the sultan had to protect several dignitaries against the personal hatred of the terrible old man. In 1610 the grand vizier at last marched to Persia and destroyed Tabriz; then he went to Esfahan, from where he began long and extended negotiations with Shāh 'Abbas. Before the following year's campaign had begun, he died (August 5, 1611). He was buried in a *tūrbe* near the *madrase* he had founded in the quarter *Wazmedjiler* in Constantinople.

By his successes in restoring the internal order of the empire Murād Pasha is considered as one of the most able grand viziers; the historians give ample proofs of his sound judgment of persons and situations. To his initiative is due a compilation of the *qānūns* regulating the *timār* administration (G. O. W., p. 141).

Bibliography: 'Othmān Zāde, *Hādīkat al-Wuzarā'*, p. 55; the historians Na'imā, Pedewi, Hādjdī Khalifa (*Fedhīke*) and Hasan Beg Zāde. Mostly after them von Hammer, G. O. R., iv.; Zinkeisen, iv.; Jorga, iii. (J. H. KRAMERS)

MURĀD ŠÜ. [See AL-FURĀY.]

MURĀDĀBĀD. [See MURĀDĀBĀD.]

MURĀDĪ, *tajkhalīq* of Murād III [q. v.] and Murād IV [q. v.].

MURCIA (Ar. *Mursiya*), a town in the S. E. of Spain, 140 feet above sea level in the centre of the famous *huerta de Murcia* ("gardens of Murcia") watered by the river Segura (Ar. *Wādī Shuhūrā* [q. v.] or *Wādī 'l-abyaḍ*, "the white river"). The area of Murcia has a large population: over 150,000, although the town in the strict sense has barely 30,000. Murcia is the capital of the province of the same name and the see of a bishop; it has also a university. Its port, 40 miles to the south on the Mediterranean coast, is Cartagena, the *Karṭājanna* or *Karṭājannat al-Khulafā'* of the Arabs.

The situation of Murcia in the centre of very fertile gardens, forming an island of vegetation in a bare country poorly endowed by nature, had been noticed already by the Arab geographers who give more or less long accounts of it. Abu 'l-Fidā', for example, says that it was like Seville for the number of its groves and parks (*muntazahāt*), among which he mentions the famous al-Rushāka.

Murcia in the Umayyad period was the capital of a province or *kūra* which bore the name of Todmir [q. v., iv. 805]. This name which is connected with the name of Theodemir, a Visigothic chief of the region at the time of the Muslim conquest, was also applied to the town of Murcia itself, from the time when it supplanted Orihuela [q. v.] as the chief town of the region. Indeed almost all the Arab authors who speak of Murcia agree in saying that it was a comparatively recent foundation; it was built by order of the Umayyad emir 'Abd al-Rahmān II al-Hakam about the year 210 (825), according to the *al-Rawḍ al-miṣbāḥ* in 216 by the governor Dīshir b. Mālik b. Labid.

The land of Todmir and with it of course Murcia was much involved in the civil wars provoked by the rivalry of the Yamanis and the Muḍaris of Spain in the period of the independent emirs of Cordova. In the reign of 'Abd Allāh (275-300 = 888-912), a rebel, the renegade Daisam b. Ishāk, rose there with the connivance of the famous agitator Ibn Hafṣūn [cf. Umayyads II]. He ruled independently all the province

of Todmir until the emir of Cordova sent to suppress him in 283 (896) an army led by his uncle Hishām b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Hakam and the general Ahmad b. Muhammad Ibn Abi 'Abda. Daisam was defeated between Alcedo and Lorca and the latter town besieged. The country was only definitely pacified and restored to the central power in Cordova in the reign of the caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III and his successor al-Hakam II.

During the events which ended in the break up of Umayyad Spain, Murcia became, like the majority of the great towns of the Peninsula, the capital of a little independent state. At first in the hands of the "Slavs" [cf. *SAKALIBA*] Khairūn and Zuhair, along with Almería and Jaén, the principality of Murcia was then for some time attached to the kingdom of Valencia, in the reigns of 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Manṣūr Ibn Abi 'Amr and his son 'Abd al-Malik al-Muḥaffar. The governor who then ruled Murcia was Abū Bakr Ahmad b. Ishāk Ibn Tāhir; when he died in 455 (1063) after amassing a considerable fortune, he was succeeded by his son Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān Muhammad who soon proclaimed himself independent and repudiated the authority of the Valencian dynasty.

The principality of Ibn Tāhir soon aroused the covetousness of the minister of al-Mu'tamid [q. v.] Ibn 'Abbād, king of Seville, and an expedition was sent against Murcia with the help of an independent lord of the district, Ibn Rashīk. Ibn Tāhir was taken prisoner and shut up in Montegudo, but escaping, he reached Valencia where after acting as adviser to al-Qādir Ibn Dhi 'l-Nūn [q. v.] and having almost succeeded him, he finally died in 508 (1119). The conquest of the kingdom of Murcia by Ibn 'Anmār in the name of the 'Abbāsids took place in 471 (1078), but it was only nominal and it was Ibn Rashīk who exercised the real power instead of Ibn Tāhir.

The kingdom of Murcia was one of the first districts of the Peninsula to be conquered by the Almoravids. Murcia was taken for Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn [q. v.] in Shawwāl 484 (Nov.-Dec. 1091) by the Lamtūnian general Ibn 'A'isha who next took Denia and Játiva. Ibn 'A'isha remained governor of Murcia; he was replaced later by Abū Bakr b. Ibrāhīm Ibn Tiflūt, then by a brother of the sultan 'Alī b. Yūsuf, Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm.

A general rising against the Almoravids took place in Spain in the beginning of the 12th century and gave rise to the formation of a new series of kingdoms of "taifas". Murcia therefore between 1145 and 1147 was in the hands of two rival leaders, 'Abd Allāh b. Iyād and 'Abd Allāh b. Faraj, until the Valencian ruler Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Sa'īd Ibn Mardaniṣh seized it and took up his residence there. This individual, who was of Spanish origin (cf. above, ii., p. 403), soon became the powerful ruler of all S. E. Spain, between Valencia and Almería, and instituted a series of fruitful alliances with the Christian rulers of Catalonia, Aragon and Castile. He was for long able to resist the attacks of the first Almohads 'Abd al-Mu'min [q. v.] and Yūsuf [q. v.], and it was only after his death in 567 (1172) during the siege of his capital Murcia that his kingdom passed finally to the Mu'minid sovereigns.

From the fall of the Almohad empire in Spain until its conquest by the Christians Murcia had

a very troubled existence. It was in turn the residence (from the beginning of the thirteenth century) of princes of the family of the Banū Hūd of Saragossa: Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Mutawakkil, the latter's uncle, Muḥammad, Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Wāḥid, then it passed to the Nasrīds of Granada to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī Ibn Ashkīlūla. For details of the obscure history of this period see the monograph by Gaspar Remiro quoted below. According to Ibn al-Abḥār (cf. M. Bencheh, *Notes chronologiques sur la conquête de l'Espagne*, in *Mélanges René Basire*, Paris 1923, ii, 73), Murcia was surrendered to the Christians by Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Hūd, son of the governor, on Thursday 10th Shawwāl 640 (April 2, 1243). But if we may believe the Christian chronicles it was in February 1266 that Don Jaime of Aragon took definite possession of Murcia.

Bibliography: al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. and transl. Dozy and de Goeje, p. 194—236; Abū 'l-Fidā', *Taḥmīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 178—256; Yāqūt, *Mo'djam*, ed. Wustenfeld, iv, 497; Ibn 'Abd al-Mu'īn al-Himyari, *al-Rawḍ al-miṣbūr*, art. *Murziya*; *Akhbār madī-mū'a*, Ibn al-Kaṭīyā, *Istīḥāḥ al-Andalus*, *passim*; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mugharib*, ii, and iii, *indices*; all the historians and biographers of the Muslim west; European writers: A good monograph has been written on Muslim Murcia by M. Gaspar Remiro, *Historia de Murcia Musulmana*, Saragossa 1905. Cf. also Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, 2nd ed., *index*; do., *Recherches*, *passim*; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la España Musulmana*, p. 37, 82, 88; A. Prieto Vives, *Los Reyes de Túfayl*, Madrid 1926; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leyden—Paris 1931, p. 96 *sqq.*; do., *L'Espagne musulmane du X^e siècle*, *Institutions et vie sociale*, Paris 1932, *index*; E. Tormo, *Levante* (Guia Calpe), Madrid 1923. (E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

MURDĀDH (r.), the fifth month of the Persian solar year running from July 19 to Aug. 18 (*Murdādh māh*). *Murdādh* is also the name of the seventh day of each month (*Murdādh rūḥ*); it is the last of the series of the days which are called after the Amesha Spentas. *Murdādh* (Pehlevi *amurdādh* "immortality") forms with *Khur-dādh* [q.v.] (Pehlevi *khurdādh* "perfection") an indivisible pair and the days which bear these names come together. They denote a pair of archangels, of whom *Murdādh* has charge of the gifts of the earth on which the life of man depends. The seventh day of the month *Murdādh* on which the names of the day and of the month are the same is called *Murdādhgān*.

Bibliography: al-Birūnī, *Ākhār*, ed. Sachau, p. 42, 43, 70, 221; Geiger-Kuhn, *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 638, 675 *sqq.* (M. PLESSNER)

AL-MURDĪ'A, name of one of the early sects of Islām, the extreme opponents of the Khārijites [q.v.]. The latter thought that a Muslim by committing a mortal sin becomes a *kāfir*. The *Murđī'a*, on the other hand, were of opinion that a Muslim does not lose his faith through sin. This doctrine led them to a far-reaching quietism in politics; according to their doctrine, the *imām* who was guilty of mortal sins did not cease to be a Muslim and must be obeyed. The *qalāt* performed behind him was valid.

Occidental and Oriental explanations of the name show considerable divergencies (cf. e.g. Sale, *Preliminary Discourse*, p. 229 *sq.*; Goldziher, *Richtungen der islam. Karamanlegung*, p. 179; v. Kremer, *Gesch. d. herrschenden Ideen*, p. 20; Houtsma, *Strijd over het dogma*, p. 34). It seems to me that the origin of the name must be sought in the term *irḡā'*, in this way that *Murđī'a* meant adherents of the doctrine of *irḡā'* ('Abd al-Kāhīr al-Baḡhdādī uses the term for their doctrine) and that this term goes back to verse 107 of *sūra ix*. The context of this verse not only explains the term *irḡā'*, but may also give an insight into the evolution of the ideas of the *Murđī'ites*. In the preceding verses Muḥammad makes a distinction between two groups among the Madinese who had forsaken him in the expedition to Tabūk [q.v.]: some had shown *nifāq* without penitence; they were to receive punishment in this and in the other world (verse 102). Others had shown penitence (*tawba*); they were left to Allāh's mercy (verse 103). The third group, who had not made penitence, were left in suspense (*murđj'ana*, or, according to a different reading, *murđj'ama*).

The situation in Madina after the expedition to Tabūk was generalised by later sects. As a matter of fact, the third group mentioned in the passage discussed — viz. sinners who did not show penitence — was relegated to Hell by the Khārijites. In opposition to this, the *Murđī'ites* taught the doctrine of *irḡā'* mentioned in *sūra ix*, 107 and therefore they were called *Murđī'a*, i.e. the adherents of the doctrine of respite or hope; for this the term *irḡā'* means; the variants *murđj'ana* and *murđj'ama* are irrelevant in this respect.

In the course of time the doctrine of the *Murđī'a* assumed a double aspect. Their chief thesis was the indelible character of faith, in opposition to the Khārijites. Their second thesis was of an eschatological nature: where there is faith, sins will do no harm. On account of the latter doctrine they were called the adherents of promise (*ahl al-wa'd*), in contrast to the *Ma'tazila* [q.v.] who were called the adherents of threats (*ahl al-wa'id*). So the doctrine of *irḡā'* had acquired a triple aspect — which accounts for the divergent explanations of the name —, viz. the doctrine of faith bearing an indelible character, an indulgent attitude towards sinners in the Muslim community, and a hopeful prospect for them in the Last Judgment.

These are the chief tenets of the *Murđī'a* as they appear to us as well as to later Muslim writers such as al-Shahrastānī. Earlier authors enumerate a number of divergencies among the different groups of *Murđī'ites*. Al-Aḡḥārī mentions their variety of opinion regarding faith, unbelief, sins, *kufr*, interpretation of the Qur'ān, eschatology, mortal and venial sins, forgiveness of mortal sins, the impeccability of the Prophets, punishment of sins, the question whether there were infidels among the early generations of Islām, redress of wrongs, the beatific vision, the nature of the Qur'ān, the *quidditas* of Allāh, His names and *isfāt*, predestination.

'Abd al-Kāhīr al-Baḡhdādī mentions three groups of *Murđī'a*: a. those who taught *irḡā'* regarding faith and free-will; to this group belonged Ghallān Abū Marwān al-Dimashqī, Abū Shāmir, Muḥammad b. Abī Shāhib al-Baḡrī; b. those who taught *irḡā'* regarding faith and compulsion (*ijbār*); c. those who gave faith the pre-eminence before works and

belonged neither to the adherents of the doctrine of free will nor to those of predetermination; to the latter group belonged the followers of Yūnus b. 'Awa, Ghassān, Abū Thawbān, Abū Mu'adh al-Tawmānī, Bishr b. Ghayāth al-Marāṭī [q. v.]. The followers of Ghassān reckoned Abū Hanīfa as one of their friends, not, however, quite rightly, according to al-Baghādādī. That Abū Hanīfa shared the general views of the Murdjī'a, appears from his (unedited) letter to al-Battī, which is preserved in a MS. in the library of Cairo.

Although al-Baghādādī mentions a *ḥadīth* in which the Murdjī'a are cursed, the high esteem in which Abū Hanīfa stood as a dogmatist and as a doctor of the law would be in itself sufficient proof of the fact that the "sect" was not too eccentric. As a matter of fact, their political quietism was largely practised by orthodoxy itself. As regards eschatological punishment, the *Fiḥḥ Akbar*, ii. (art. 14) rejects the Murdjī'a doctrine of our good deeds being accepted and of our sins being forgiven, Allāh being free to punish the sinner or to grant him forgiveness. — The same *ʿaḥida*, however, shares the Murdjī'a doctrine of the constancy of faith (art. 18).

Bibliography: M. Th. Houtama, *De strijd over het dogma in den Islam tot op al-Ash'ari*, Leyden 1875, p. 34 sqq.; I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg 1910, Index, s. v. Murschī'a; A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, General index, s. v. Murschītes; al-Ash'ari, *Makālat al-Islāmiyyin*, ed. Ritter, Stanbul 1929, i. 132 sqq.; Abū al-Kāhūr al-Baghādādī, *Kitāb al-Faḥḥ bain al-Firāḥ*, ed. Muḥ. Badr, Cairo 1328, p. 190 sqq.; al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milāl wa 'l-Nihāl*, ed. Cureton, p. 103 sqq.; Ibn Hārm, *Kitāb al-Fīḥḥ*, ii. 112 sqq.; iv. 44 sqq., 204 sqq.; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, x. 29; Muir, *The Life of Muḥammad*, 3rd ed., Edinburgh 1914, p. 431.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

MURGHĀB. [See MERW AL-SHĀHĪDĀN.]

MURID, novice, the term applied during his period of preparation to one who wishes to enter a dervish order [TARĪQA; q. v.; cf. also DRUWISH] or a guild [ḡIR; q. v.]. The task of the murīd and his obligations to his master (*shaykh*, *pir*) and to his ideal and their mystic and erotic foundations have been often and fully discussed, so that it is here sufficient to give a reference to the most important literature of modern times, which will guide one to the sources themselves. In the wider application of the word murīd has become a term for mystic in general.

Bibliography: the articles mentioned and GHAD; H. Thurnham, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens* (Turk. Bibl., xvi., 1913); R. Hartmann, *al-Faḥḥāḥīl Darstellung des Sūfīsm* (Turk. Bibl., xviii., 1914); *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, ed. Sprenger, s. v.; Asín Palacios, *El Islam cristianizado*, 1931, esp. p. 145-158. (M. PLESSNER)

AL-MURİYĀNĪ, Abū Aiyūb Sulaimān al-Khūzī, vizier of the caliph al-Manṣūr. When the governor of Fārs Sulaimān b. Ḥabīb al-Muhallabī in the Umayyad period had the future caliph al-Manṣūr, who was accused of embezzling state funds, flogged and intended to treat him with still greater indignity, the latter was saved by Abū Aiyūb al-Murīyānī who was Sulaimān's secretary. According to another story, al-Manṣūr purchased him as a young boy and sent him in

some capacity to his brother, the caliph al-Saffāh, who was so pleased with him that he at once took him into his service and retained him there after his manumission. Al-Murīyānī was in any case appointed vizier by al-Manṣūr in succession to Khālid b. Barmak. He had a great influence over the caliph; in 153 (770) however, he was arrested with his brother and the latter's sons and deprived of all his property. According to some, his crime was that he had embezzled a large sum received from al-Manṣūr to make a district in Khūzistān arable and deceived the caliph when he came to inspect it by making the place look as if it were cultivated. According to others, he had a son of al-Manṣūr murdered. He died in prison in 154 (770/1). — The nisba *al-Murīyānī* comes from Murīyān, a town in Khūzistān.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wāstenfeld), No. 275 (transl. de Slane, i. 595 sq.); Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtama), ii. 468; Tabarī, ed. Leyden, iii. 379, 372; Mas'ūdī, *Mar'ūj* (ed. Paris), vi. 165 sq.; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), v. 466 sqq.; Ibn al-Tiktāk, *al-Fakhri* (ed. Denonbourg), p. 236-239. (K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

MURSAL (A.), part. pass. IV from *arsala* "to send". As a technical term it denotes a: an apostle of Allāh; b, traditions of which the *imād* is defective in a certain sense; cf. *ḤADITH*, iii. c.

AL-MURSALĀT, title of *sūra* lxxvii., after the first verse: "By those which are sent by Allāh, following one another in a continual series". According to some interpreters a certain group of angels is meant here; according to others, however, the *mursalāt* are the verses of the *Qur'ān*. See the commentaries on the *Qur'ān* on *sūra* lxxvii. 1.

MURSHIDĀBĀD, district in the Presidency Division of Bengal; area 2,143 sq. m.; pop. 1,372,274, of whom 713,152 are Muslims. The public offices are at Barhampūr, but the old capital is at Murshidābād, which before Murshīd Kullī's appointment was known as Makhdūdābād or Makhdūdābād. The district is mainly agricultural, and produces much rice, jute, etc., and is famous for its mangoes. The silk industry was formerly of great importance, but has now much declined. The district played a very prominent part in the history of Bengal, and is full of historical sites though Plassey is now outside its borders. The history of Calcutta and of the English in Bengal is intimately connected with Murshidābād. But the Nawābs are no longer of political importance.

Bibliography: J. H. T. Walsh, *History of Murshidabad District*, London 1902; Pama Ch. Mazumdar, *Murshidabad*, Murshidabad 1905; Ghulam Husain al-Tabāḥibāḥī, *Siyar al-Mutahakkikīn*, translated by Muḥammad, a French renegade, in 1789; Ghulam Husain of Māldā, *Riyāḥ al-Salāṭīn* (Bibl. Ind., text and translation); reference may also be made to Anquetil Du Perron's account of his travels, to Mrs. Sherwood's *Autobiography*, Bishop Heber's *Journal*, and to Macaulay's *Essays*; *Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the Hon. East India Company*, 1812; *Census of India*, 1911, vol. v., parts i. and ii.; *Imperial Census of India*, vol. xviii.; W. W. Hunter, *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. ix.; Rev. J. Long, *The Banks of the Bhāgmati* (Calcutta Review); S. C. Hill, *Bengal in 1756-1757* (Indian Records Series). (H. BEVERIDGE)

AL-MURTADĀ AL-SHARĪF ABU 'L-KĀSIM 'ALI b. AL-TAHIR DHU 'L-MANĀJIN ABI AHMAD AL-HURBAIN b. MUSA b. MUHAMMAD b. IBRAHIM b. MUSA AL-KĀSIM b. DHA'IR AL-SADIQ b. MUHAMMAD AL-BAKIR b. 'ALI ZAIN AL-'ABIDIN b. AL-HUSAIN b. 'ALI n. ABI TALIB, 'ALAM AL-HUDA, Arab author born in 355 (966), died in 436 (1044) as *Nafih* of the 'Alids in Baghdad. Of his works, which are detailed in Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der Hds. in Berlin*, No. 16, we still have the following: 1. His principal work *Qhurar al-Fawa'id wa-Durar al-Kal'id bi 'l-Muqaddarat*, usually called briefly *al-Durar wa 'l-Qhurar*, which he finished on the 22nd Djamādā I 413 (Aug. 24, 1022) is an *adab* book which to the discussion of verses of the Qur'an and traditions adds numerous philological and lexicographical notes and extensive references to poets and is divided into 80 (82) *madjalis*, lith. Tihra 1273, 1277, pr. Cairo 1325 as the *Kitāb al-Amālī*; 2. *Kitāb al-Sūfi*, a defence of the imamate of the Twelvers against the *Mughni* of the Mu'tazili chief kadi of the Shāfi'is in Raiy Abu 'l-Hasan 'Abd al-Qabbār b. Ahmad al-Asadābādī († 415 = 1024), along with an abbreviation of the year 432 (1040) by Shaikh al-Tusi entitled *Talhiq al-Sūfi* printed in one volume Tihra 1301; 3. *Irshād al-'Awāmm* in a collected volume Tihra 1304 (s. E. G. Browne, *A Year among the Persians*, p. 554); 4. *al-Dhar'ā ilā Uqūl al-Shar'a*, Brit. Mus. Or. 5581 (*Descriptive List*, No. 21); 5. *al-Mawā'il al-Nafisiya* in the collected volume *al-Djawnūn al-Fihriya*, Tihra 1276; 6. *al-Intiqār*, on the differences between the Shāfi' and the other *madhāhib*, lith. Bombay 1315 (s. Goldziher, *Verl. über den Islam*, p. 271); 7. *al-Shikāh f 'l-Sharīh wa 'l-Shahād*, pr. Stambul (Djawa'ib) 1302 in a *Madjmu'a*, Tihra 1272 (s. Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, II, p. xxi, lvi.).

He is also regarded by some as the author of the *Nahj al-Balagh*, a collection of reputed sayings of 'Ali, which others (so always in Yemen, according to MSS. of the Ambrosiana, see R.S.O., III, 574) attribute to his brother al-Ra'ī Abu 'l-Husain Muhammad, born in 359 (969), d. 406 (1015) [s. vol. IV, p. 354 sq.]; lith. Tabriz 1247, Tihra 1271, Cairo n.d., Bairat 1885 with commentary by Muhammad 'Abduh (d. 1905), Cairo 1290, 1328, with footnotes by Muhammad Hasan Na'il al-Masafi, 1925. Commentaries on it were written by: 1. his contemporary 'Ali b. al-Nāsir al-Husaini entitled *Fihm Nahj al-Balagh*, a *Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Bihār Library*, No. 413, II; 2. 'Izz al-Din Abū Hāmid 'Abd al-Hamid b. Hibat Allāh b. Abi 'l-Hadid al-Madī'ī, d. 655 (1257) [*G.A.L.*, I, 249—282], Bombay 1304; Tihra 1270, 2 vols., 1281, 10 vols.; Cairo 1330, 20 vols.; 3. Kamāl al-Din Mitham b. 'Ali b. Mitham al-Nadīrān in 776 (1374), *Fihris*, Cairo, IV, b, 60; 4. 'Imād al-Din Yahyā b. Ibrāhīm b. Yahyā al-Djāhshī (s. Brit. Mus. Suppl., No. 1228, IV; his *Diwan* in Munich, Glaser, No. 104) in the Ambrosiana, C 7, s. R.S.O., VI, 1304; 5. (Persian) Fakhr al-Din 'Ali b. Hasan al-Zawāri in the reign of Shah Tahmāsp I (930—984 = 1524—1576); s. *Story, Pers. Literature*, I, 14; 6. (Persian) the latter's contemporary Husain b. 'Abd al-Hakīm al-Ithī al-Astarābādī, s. Ivanov, *Cat. At. Soc. Bengal*, No. 1107. The book was also several times translated into Persian e.g. by 'Ali b. Hasan al-Zawāri about 647 (1249) entitled *Rawdat al-Abrār*, s. *Catalogue Browne*, p. 10; by Fath Allāh b.

Shukr Allāh al-Kāshāni (d. 978 = 1570; according to the *Katib al-Hudūd*, p. 143 in 997 = 1589) entitled *Tanbih al-Ghāfilin wa-Tadhkirat al-'Arifin*, s. Rich, *Brit. Mus.*, No. 18, 1120—1121; Ivanov, *Cat. At. Soc. Bengal*, II, 372; *Cambridge Suppl.*, No. 1342; Asafiyu, II, 1608, No. 185.

While the authorship of the *Nahj al-Balagh* must remain open the anthology *Talif al-Khayāl* is to be ascribed to our author and not with Derenbourg, *Cat. Escur.*, No. 348 to his brother, as in the preface he quotes his own work mentioned under No. 7. He and not his brother as in the article SHARIF PASHA is to be credited with the *Madjāsāt al-Kur'an*, which Hādījī Khalifa No. 11377 ascribes as *al-Madjāsāt al-Ra'ī* and he is probably also the author of the *Kitāb al-Madjāsāt al-nabawiya*, also ascribed to al-Ra'ī and extant in a manuscript in the British Museum (s. *Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, p. 137, No. 2) and was printed at Baghdad in 1328. This also holds of the *Kitāb Ma'āni al-Kur'an*, there quoted but now lost. The Turkish commentary on the *Diwan* ascribed to 'Ali also credits him with the authorship.

Bibliography: Ibn Khalikān, ed. Wāstenfeld, No. 454; Cairo ed., I, 243; al-Bakharī, *Dumyat al-Kayr*, p. 75; Tusi, *List of Shia Books*, p. 472. (C. BROCKELMANN)

MURTADD (A.), "one who turns back", especially from Islam, an apostate. Apostasy is called *irtidād* or *riḍā*; it may be committed verbally by denying a principle of belief or by an action, for example treating a copy of the Qur'an with disrespect.

1. In the Qur'an the apostate is threatened with punishment in the next world only; the "wrath of God" will fall upon him according to a Sūra of the latest Meccan period (xvi, 108 sq.) and severe punishment (*adhāb*) "except he did it under compulsion and his heart is steadfast in belief". Similarly it is written in the Medina Sūra iii, 80 sq.: "... This is the punishment for them, that the curse of Allāh, the Angels and of men is upon them for all time (82); the punishment shall not be lightened for them and they shall not be granted alteration, (83) except for those who later repent and make good their fault, for Allāh is forgiving and merciful. (84) Those who disbelieve after believing and increase in unbelief, shall not have their repentance accepted; they are the erring ones. (85) Those who are unbelievers and die as unbelievers, from none of them shall be accepted the earth-full of gold even if he should wish to ransom himself with it; this is a painful punishment for them and there will be no helpers for them" (cf. also iv, 136; v, 59; ix, 67). Sūra ii, 214 is to be interpreted in the same way although it is adduced by Shāfi' as the main evidence for the death penalty: "... He among you who falls away from his belief and dies an unbeliever — these, their works are fruitless in this world and the next, and they are the companions of the fire for ever".

2. There is little echo of these punishments in the next world in the Traditions (cf. Ibn Māja, *Hudūd*, bāb 2; Ibn Hanbal, I, 409, 430, 464 sq.; v, 4, 5). Instead we have in many traditions a new element, the death penalty. Thus Ibn 'Abbās transmits an utterance of the Prophet: "Slay him, who changes his religion" or "behead him" (Ibn Māja, *Hudūd*, bāb 2; Nasā'i, *Taḥrim al-Dam*,

bab 14; Tayāliṣ, N^o. 2689; Mālik, *Aḥḍiyā*, tr. 15; cf. also Bukhārī, *Istīṣāḥ al-Murtaddīn*, bab 2; Tirmidhī, *Hudūd*, bab 25; Abū Dāwūd, *Hudūd*, bab 1; Ibn Hanbal, l. 217, 282, 322. According to another tradition of Ibn 'Abbās and 'A'isha, the Prophet is said to have permitted the blood to be shed of him "who abandons his religion and separates himself from the community (*Djama'a*)" (Bukhārī, *Ḍiyāt*, bab 6; Muslim, *Kaṣāma*, tr. 25, 26; Nasa'i, *Tahrim al-Dam*, bab 5, 14; *Kaṣāma*, bab 6; Ibn Mājā, *Hudūd*, bab 1; Abū Dāwūd, *Hudūd*, bab 1; Tirmidhī, *Ḍiyāt*, bab 10; *Fitan*, bab 1; Ibn Hanbal, l. 382, 444). But there was no agreement from the first on the nature of the death penalty; thus 'Ikrima (d. 106 = 724) and Anas b. Mālik (d. 91 = 710) criticise 'Alī for having burned apostates (Bukhārī, *Istīṣāḥ al-Murtaddīn*, bab 2; Tirmidhī, *Hudūd*, bab 25; Abū Dāwūd, *Hudūd*, bab 1; Ibn Hanbal, l. 217; according to a variant the reference is to Zindīka or Zaqq, who served idols; Nasa'i, *Tahrim al-Dam*, bab 14; Ibn Hanbal, l. 282, 322). According to a tradition of 'A'isha's, apostates are to be slain, crucified or banished (Nasa'i, *Tahrim al-Dam*, bab 11; *Kaṣāma*, bab 13; Abū Dāwūd, *Hudūd*, bab 1).

On the question whether the apostate should be given an opportunity to repent, traditions differ. According to one tradition of Abū Burda (d. 104 = 722), Mu'adh b. Djaḥal refused to sit down until an apostate brought before him had been slain "in accordance with the decision of God and of his apostle" (Bukhārī, *Maḡāzī*, bab 60; *Istīṣāḥ al-Murtaddīn*, bab 2; *Aḥḍiyā*, bab 12; Muslim, *Imāra*, tr. 15; Abū Dāwūd, *Hudūd*, bab 1; Ibn Hanbal, v. 231). In the same tradition in Abū Dāwūd however, it is added that they had tried in vain for 20 nights to convert the apostate. The caliph 'Umar is also represented as disapproving of this proceeding with the words: "Did you then not shut him up for three days and give him a round loaf (*ragīf*) daily and try to induce him to repent. Perhaps he would have repented and returned to obedience to God. O God! I was not there, I did not order it and I do not approve; see, it was thus reported to me" (Mālik, *Aḥḍiyā*, tr. 15). There are also traditions according to which God does not accept the repentance of an apostate (Ibn Hanbal, v. 2 *qq.*) and others according to which even the Prophet forgave apostates (Nasa'i, *Tahrim al-Dam*, bab 14, 15; Abū Dāwūd, *Hudūd*, bab 1; Ibn Hanbal, l. 247; Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, iii. 223).

3. a. In the Fikḥ there is unanimity that the male apostate must be put to death, but only if he is grown up (*balīḡ*) and compos mentis (*ʿaql*) and has not acted under compulsion (*mukḥḍar*). A woman on the other hand is imprisoned, according to Hanafī and Shī'ī teaching, until she again adopts Islam, while according to al-Awzā'ī, Ibn Hanbal (Tirmidhī, *Hudūd*, bab 25), the Malīkīs and Shāfi'īs (cf. *Umm*, i. 131, where Shāfi'ī vigorously attacks Abū Yūsuf who is not mentioned by name) she also is put to death. Although this punishment is not properly *ḥadd* (cf. thereon Shāfi'ī, *Umm*, vii. 330, 30-31) it is regarded as such by some jurists, as it is a question of a *ḥaqq al-dam* (cf. e.g. Sarakhsī, *Siyar*, iv. 162); therefore the execution of the punishment lies with the imām; in the case of a slave however, the *manūṣ* can carry it out, as with any other *ḥadd* punishment. Execution should be by the sword. According

to the above traditions, apostates must sometimes have been tortured to death. The caliph 'Umar II had them tied to a post and a lance thrust into their hearts (Abū Yūsuf, *Kharāḍī*, p. 112). Bāḡūrī expressly forbids any form of torture, like burning, drowning, strangling, impaling, flaying; according to him, Sultān Balḡār (708-709 = 1308-1309) was the first to introduce torture (Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschiedenis*, ii. 198). Lane (*Manners and Customs*, ch. iii., near the end) records the case of a woman who had apostatised and was led through the streets of Cairo on an ass, then strangled in a boat in the middle of the Nile and thrown into the Nile was already usual in Cairo in the Fātimid period; cf. Mez, *Renaissance d. Isl.*, p. 29. In quite recent times followers of the Qādīyānī or Ahmadiyya sect in Afghanistan were stoned to death (*O.M.*, v. [1925], 138). In former Turkish territory and Egypt as well as in Muslim lands under European rule since the middle of the sixteenth century, under European influence the execution of an apostate on a *qāḍī's* sentence has been abolished, but we still have imprisonment and deportation (cf. Isabel Burton, *The inner Life of Syria*, London 1875; l. 180 *qq.*); but nevertheless renegades are not sure of their lives as their Muslim relatives endeavour secretly to dispose of them by poison or otherwise. Occasionally modern Islamic writers (Ahmadiyya movement) endeavour to prove that Islam knows of no death penalty for apostasy; the Indian apologist Muḥammad 'Alī lays great stress on the fact there is not once an indication of the death penalty in the Qur'ān (Zweimer, *The Law of Apostasy*, in *Islam*, p. 17, 37 *qq.*, London 1924; *O.M.*, v. [1925], 262).

I should like here to call attention to an agreement which is probably not accidental. As in Islam, in addition to apostasy, unchastity and unnatural vice (even by stoning are punished by death) according to both Shāfi'īs and Malīkīs, as well as blaspheming God or a prophet and magic, we find in Islam all crimes punished by death which in the Mishna (*Sanhedrin*, vii. 4) are threatened with stoning.

b. Whether attempts at conversion must be made is a question of *ikhtilāf*. A number of jurists of the first and second (viith and viiith) centuries deny this (as do the Zāhirīs) or like 'A'ī (d. 115 = 733) make a distinction between the apostate born in Islam and one converted to Islam; the former is to be put to death at once (so also the Shī'īs). Others insist on three attempts at conversion (relying on Sūra iv. 136; cf. Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, v. 103 *qq.*) or have him in the first place imprisoned for three days (cf. above 2). According to others again one should await the round of the five times of prayer and ask him to perform the *ḡalāt* at each; only when he has refused at each is the death punishment to be enforced. If however he repents and professes Islam once more, he is released (cf. thereon Shāfi'ī, *Umm*, i. 228; Abū Yūsuf, *Kharāḍī*, p. 109). In later times *istīṣāḥ* was always applied.

c. Apart from the fact that apostasy deprives the murtadd of burial with Muslim rites it has certain civil consequences. The property of the murtadd is *fa'i'* according to Shāfi'ī and the Malīkīs; if the fugitive murtadd returns penitent, he is given back what remains (cf. *Umm*, i. 231 *qq.*), where Shāfi'ī opposes the contrary Hanafī view). Others, especially later Shāfi'īs, regard the rights

of ownership of the apostate as suspended (*manwāf*) and regard him as one who is under guardianship (*maḥfūr*); only if the fugitive apostate dies in the *dār al-harb*, does his property become *fa'* (Shāfi'i, *Mukaddimah*, Cairo 1343, ii. 240; cf. Shāfi'i, *Umm*, vii. 355). Among the Hanafis and Shāfi'is the estate is allotted by the *qādī* to the legal heirs (cf. also the traditions in Dārimī, *Faṣṣid*, liib 40), the *mudabbir* and *umm walad* are set free, even when the apostate escapes into the *dār al-harb*, for this is equivalent to his death. If he comes back penitent, however, he receives of his property what still exists; the heirs however are not liable for compensation. — The marriage of the *murtadd* is void (*bāṭil*). Of his legal undertakings the *istilāq* is effective (*nāfiḥ*), i. e. the *umm walad* becomes free; the *kitāba* also continues. Other legal activities, like manumission, endowment, testament, sale are suspended (*manwāf*) according to Abū Ḥanifa; according to Abū Yūsuf they are effective as in the case of a person in good health, according to Muḥammad al-Shāfi'i however only as in the case of an invalid, i. e. they cannot deal with more than one third of the estate. In the case of the female apostate however, they are always effective. If the apostate makes such legal arrangements after his flight into the *dār al-harb*, they are invalid (Sarakhṣī, *Siyar*, iv. 152; cf. also Abū Yūsuf, *Kharāj*, p. 111). But since according to Shāfi'i and Mālik his whole estate becomes *fa'*, such legal arrangements are invalid; only the manumission of a slave remains suspended until his possible return penitent; in the case of his death also this slave becomes *fa'* (cf. however above the view of later Shāfi'is).

He is punished for crimes committed before apostasy, if he returns penitent; for crimes committed during *rida*, no notice is taken of the *ḥukūḥ Allāh* (i. e. no *ḥadd*) but only of the *ḥukūḥ al-ʿibād*, and he must for example pay the *diya* (Sarakhṣī, *Siyar*, iv. 163, 208 *iq.*; cf. Shāfi'i, *Umm*, i. 231).

Bibliography: In addition to the books on Tradition and Fiqh see especially: Shāfi'i, *Kitāb al-Umm*, Cairo 1321, i. 227—234; v. 51; vii. 330 *iq.*, 355; Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, Cairo 1302, p. 109—112; Sarakhṣī, *Sharḥ al-Siyar al-kabir*, Haidarābād 1336, iv. 146—219; Dabḥānī, *Ta'is al-Naḥar*, Cairo n. d., p. 22; Goldziher, *Musl. Studien*, Halle 1890, ii. 215 *iq.*; Santiliana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, Rom 1926, i. 131—134; Zwemer, *The Law of Apostasy in Islam*, London 1924, German transl., Gütersloh 1926.

(HEFFENING)

MUSA, the prophet Moses of the Bible. 1. In the Qur'ān. Muḥammad regards Mūsā as his predecessor, his model, and believes he had already been foretold by Mūsā (vii. 156); his religion is also Mūsā's religion (xlii. 11). Mūsā is also conceived in Muḥammad's image. Charges are brought against him similar to those made against Muḥammad: he is said to want to pervert people from the faith of their fathers, (x. 79); he practises magic (xxviii. 18). Mūsā and Hārūn seem rather to be sent to the stubborn Pharaoh than to the believing Israelites. Revelation is granted him: *tawrāt*, *kitāb*, *furqān*, *juhūf* (ii. 50; xxi. 49; liii. 37; lxxxvii. 19), illumination, instruction and guidance. The picture of him is made up of Biblical, Haggadic and new elements. Mūsā is exposed, watched by his sister,

refuses the milk of other nurses and is suckled by his own mother. Coming to the assistance of a hard pressed Israelite he kills an Egyptian but repents of this crime to which Satan had tempted him. He is pursued and escapes to Madyan. At a well there he waters the flocks of the two daughters of a *shaikh*. One of them invites him home modestly. He receives her as his wife at the price of 8—10 years service. This preliminary history is told in Sūra xxviii. 1—28; the mission itself is often mentioned.

Mūsā receives from the burning bush in the holy valley of Tuwān (xx. 12; lxxix. 16) orders to take off his shoes, the message to Pharaoh, the signs of his mission, the rod, the snake, the hand that becomes white. His speech is difficult to understand (xlii. 52); Hārūn accompanies him as warr (xx. 30; xxv. 37). Pharaoh reproaches Mūsā with ingratitude, saying he had been brought up by them (xxvi. 17). Pharaoh assembles his magicians but their rods are devoured by Mūsā's. The magicians profess their belief in God and are mutilated in punishment (vii. 106—123; xx. 59—78; xxvi. 36—51). Pharaoh wishes prayers to be offered to him as God, orders Hāmān to build him a tower so that he can reach the God of Mūsā (xxviii. 38; xl. 38). Mūsā performs nine miracles (xvii. 103; xx. 59—78; xxvii. 12). These are: 1. the rod and make; 2. white hand; 3. deluge; 4. locusts; 5. lice; 6. frogs; 7. blood; 8. darkness; 9. dividing the sea (cf. e. g. Tabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 485).

Mūsā spends 30 and 10 nights with God (vii. 138). He brings instruction and admonition on the tablets. In his absence Sāmīri makes the lowing golden calf (vii. 146; xx. 79—98). Mūsā breaks the tablets. He desires to see God. God crumbles the hill to dust (vii. 139). Israel fears war and has to wander 40 years in the wilderness (v. 24—29). Mūsā's enemies, Kārūn (Korah), Pharaoh and Hāmān, perish (xxix. 38).

Some details differ from the Biblical story. Instead of Pharaoh's daughter, it is his wife who rescues the infant; instead of seven shepherdesses Mūsā assists two. Instead of ten plagues, Muḥammad speaks of nine miracles. Mūsā strikes twelve springs out of the rock, one for each tribe (ii. 57, a memory of the twelve springs of Elim, Exodus xv. 27). The divergence is greater when Hāmān is made minister to Pharaoh. Then there are new features: Mūsā repents of having slain the Egyptian. Mūsā sees the burning bush at night and desires to take a brand from its fire for his home (xx. 10; xxviii. 29). Pharaoh's magicians die for their belief in God.

The following seems to originate in Haggada: God forbids the infant to be suckled by an Egyptian mother (xxviii. 11). In the Haggada Moses is offered to all Egyptian suckling mothers; but the month that is to speak with God cannot imbibe anything impure (*Sṣṣa*, 12^b). That God tilts the mountain over Israel (ii. 60, 87; vii. 170) is explained from the Haggada: Israel hesitated to accept the Torah and God tilted Sinai over them: Torah or death (*Sabbath*, 80^a; *Aboda Zara*, 2^b). The turning of the sabbath breakers into apes (ii. 61; iv. 50; v. 65; vii. 166) recalls the Haggada in which the builders of the tower of Babel become apes (*Sanhedrin*, 109^a). Kārūn is represented as an exceedingly rich man the keys of whose treasure can hardly be carried by many strong men (xviii. 76, 79); the Haggada

says that Korah found a hidden Egyptian treasure; 300 mules carried the keys of his treasury (*Periplus*, 119a; *Sanhedrin*, 110a; *Pal. Sanh.*, x. 27d; Ginzberg, *Legends*, vi. 99, 560). — The Kur'anic story of a believer at the court of Pharaoh who wants to save Musā is not quite clear (xl. 29). Ought we to compare Jethro in the Haggada who advises clemency at Pharaoh's court? (*Shu'a*, 11a; *Sanhedrin*, 106a; Ginzberg, v. 392, 21; v. 412, 101).

The story of Musā accompanying a wise man on a journey seems without parallel (xviii. 59–81). The attempt is often made to distinguish this Musā of Khadir as Musā b. Manasse from Musā b. Imrūn (cf. the article *KHADIR*).

2. Musā in post-Kur'anic legend. The histories of the prophet (especially Tha'labi's) supplement the Kur'anic story with much from the Bible, Haggada and folklore.

Much is added from Haggada. Pharaoh's sick daughters are cured as soon as they touch Moses's cradle. *Exodus Rabba*, i. 23 makes Pharaoh's daughter be cured of leprosy. — The infant Musā scratches Pharaoh's chin. Pharaoh wants to slay him. On the intercession of Asiya he tests him by putting gold and jewels on one side and burning coals on the other. Musā reaches for the gold but Gabriel directs his hand to the burning coal. Musā puts his burned hand on his tongue and therefore becomes a stammerer (Ginzberg, v. 402, 25; Hamilton, *Zeitschr. f. romanische Philologie*, xxxvi. 125–159).

Elements of other legends are woven into the legend of Musā. The Ibrahim-Namrud legend supplies the following features: Pharaoh frightened by dreams persecutes the infants; Musā is hidden from the assassins in the burning oven but the fire becomes cool and does him no harm. Pharaoh orders prayers to be offered to himself as to a god, has a tower built, shoots an arrow against heaven; the arrow comes back blood-stained and Pharaoh boasts he has slain God (Tabari, i. 469). — From the story of Jacob and Laban come the following: Musā serves 8–10 years for his wife (xviii. 27). His father-in-law offers him the spotted lambs born in his flock and the ewes for the watering troughs bear spotted lambs (Tha'labi, p. 112). There are frequent references to a pious Egyptian woman who is martyred by Pharaoh with her seven children, the youngest of whom is still at its mother's breast (in Tha'labi, p. 118, 139); this is of course modelled on the martyr mother of the Maccabees.

There are many fanciful embellishments, e.g. the miracle of the snakes, the plagues, the scenes on the Red Sea; Moses's rod in particular plays a great part. It came from Paradise; Adam, Hābil, Shīth, Idrīs, Nūh, Hūd, Šālīh, Ibrāhīm, Ismā'il, Ishāq and Ya'qūb had previously used it (Kisā'i, p. 208). In Tabari (p. 460 ff.) an angel brought the rod. Musā obtained it from his wife; his father-in-law quarrels with him about its ownership and an angel decides in favour of Musā. It is a miraculous rod and Tha'labi (p. 114–116) in particular relates the wonders it performs. It shines in the darkness; it gives water in a drought, and placed in the ground it becomes a tree bearing fruit; it produces milk and honey and fragrant scent; against an enemy it becomes a double dragon. It pierces mountains and rocks; it leads over rivers and sea; it is also a shepherd's staff

and keeps beasts of prey from the herds of Moses. When Musā was asleep on one occasion the rod slew a dragon, on another occasion seven of Pharaoh's assassins.

The varied Biblical, Haggadic, legendary and fairy tale features in the Islamic legend of Musā are thus blended into a very full picture and in Tha'labi form a regular romance.

Bibliography: Sūra ii. 48–130; vii. 101–160; x. 76–88; xx. 8–93; xxi. 9–65; xxviii. 2–76; xl. 24–56 and the commentaries thereon; Tabari, ed. Leyden, i. 414–449; Tha'labi, *Kisā'i al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1325, p. 105–156; Kisā'i, *Kisā'i al-Anbiyā'* ed. Eisenberg, p. 194–240; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, Bulak, i. 61–75; Alr. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed...*, 1902², p. 149–177; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 153–185; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, p. 141–143; R. Basset, *1001 Center, Récits et légendes arabes*, iii. 67, 85; D. Sidersky, *Les Origines des Légendes musulmanes dans le Coran et dans la Vie des Prophètes*, Paris 1933, p. 73–103; J. Walker, *Bible Characters in the Koran*, p. 84–111. (BERNHARD HELLER.)

MUSĀ b. NUŠĀIR b. 'ABD AL-RAHMAN b. ZAID AL-LAKHMI (or AL-BAKEI) ABU 'ABD AL-RAHMAN, Arab governor, conqueror of the western Maghrib and of Spain. He was born in 19 (640); his father had been in the immediate entourage of Mu'awiya [q. v.]. Musā was at first appointed by the caliph 'Abd al-Malik to collect the *khurāṣ* at al-Basra, but having been suspected of embezzlement, he fled and took refuge with the caliph's brother, the governor of Egypt 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Marwān; the latter took Musā to Syria to the caliph who fined him 100,000 dinārs. 'Abd al-'Aziz provided half of this sum for Musā and brought him to Egypt where he gave him the governorship of Ifrikiya which had been previously held by Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān. The various chronicles are not agreed as to the date of his appointment to the office but it possibly took place in 79 (698) or the following year.

Musā and his troops thereupon entered on a career of successful conquest which ended in the consolidation of Arab power in Ifrikiya and in the conquest of the rest of north Africa and of Spain. Here we give only the most essential details. Assisted by his son 'Abd Allāh al-Marwān he sent successful expeditions against Zaghwān and Sadjūma and reduced the Hawwāra, the Zanāta and the Kutāma. The Berbers taking refuge in the west of the Maghrib, Musā decided to bring them to subjection; confirmed in his office by 'Abd al-Malik's successor al-Walid, he continued his advance to Tangier and Sūs [q. v.] and returned to Ifrikiya leaving as his deputy in the Maghrib his freedman Tārik [q. v.]. The latter in 92 (710–711) invaded Spain and Musā anxious about and at the same time jealous of the progress made by his lieutenant crossed himself in the following year leaving his son 'Abd Allāh as governor of Ifrikiya. Landing at Algeciras in Ramaḍān 93 (June–July 712) with his other son 'Abd al-'Aziz, he refused to take the same route as Tārik and taking the towns of Sīdona (Shadhūna; q. v.), Carmona, Seville and Merida, he was on his way to Toledo when Tārik came to meet him and was bitterly reproached by his master. Musā b. Nušair then continued his march and completely subjugated the north of Spain from Saragossa to Na-

varre. In 95, he left Spain with immense booty, leaving his son 'Abd al-'Aziz as governor; he reached Kairawān at the end of the year and continued by land to Syria in a triumphal procession of Arab chiefs and Berber and Spanish prisoners. The caliph al-Walid then near his end urged him to hurry while his brother and heir presumptive Sulaimān, eager to appropriate the vast wealth brought by Mūsā, tried to delay him. He arrived in Damascus shortly before the death of al-Walid and when Sulaimān assumed power he at once displayed his hatred of the conqueror. Regarding Mūsā b. Nušair's stay in Syria before his death in 98 (716—717), the Arab historians give a number of details which are obviously of quite a legendary character.

Bibliography: All the Muslim chroniclers who deal with the conquest of Africa and Spain deal more or less fully with Mūsā b. Nušair. We may mention among the more important: Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, Yale Univ. Press, 1922; Ibn al-Kutayb, *Islāḥ al-'Andalus*, ed. Ribers; *Akhbār muḥimma*, ed. Lafuente y Alcázar; Ibn 'Idhār, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, I. and II.; Ibn al-Athir, *Kāmil*, etc. — Biographical notes on Mūsā b. Nušair are given by Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, iii. 475; Ibn al-Faraj, *Tawārīkh 'Ulamā' al-'Andalus*, in *B. A. H.*, viii, No. 1454; al-Dabbī, *Bughyat al-Mulṭamiz*, in *B. A. H.*, iii, No. 1334; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Iḥṣāl al-siyarā*, ed. Dozy, (*Notices sur quelques manuscrits arabes*, Leyden 1847—1851), p. 30—32. Cf. also Fournel, *Les Berbères, Étude sur la conquête de l'Afrique par les Arabes*, Paris 1857—1875; Saavedra, *Estudio sobre la invasión de los Arabes en España*, Madrid 1892; Dozy, *Hist. des Mus. d'Espagne*, new ed. Leyden 1932, I. 121.

(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

MUSĀ ĆELEBİ, one of the younger sons of the Ottoman sultan Bāyezid I. According to some sources he was younger than his brother Muḥammad I [q. v.], who is generally considered as the youngest. Mūsā had been taken prisoner in the battle of Angora (1402) and was left by Timūr in custody with the Germiyan Oghlā Ya'qūb Beg. The latter sent him afterwards to his brother Muḥammad in Amasia, and for some time he became Muḥammad's helper in the re-establishment of Ottoman power in Anatolia; he is even said to have driven their brother 'Isā from Brusa, though the current opinion is that Muḥammad went there himself. When, in 1404, their eldest brother Sulaimān Ćelebī appeared in his turn in Brusa, Mūsā first opposed him in the name of Muḥammad and went afterwards, with the latter's consent, to Europe, where he hoped to make an end of Sulaimān's reign with the aid of Mirke of Walachia and Stephan of Serbia. At first this enterprise failed through a defeat inflicted on Mūsā near the walls of Constantinople. Sulaimān resided in Adrianople. Here Mūsā appeared suddenly in 1411 (or 1410); Sulaimān had to flee and was killed on his way to Constantinople, after which Mūsā took his place as ruler of the Ottoman territory in Europe, surrounded by the military and political councillors of Sulaimān, as Ewrenos Beg and the Džandarī Oghlā Ibrāhīm Paṣha. Mūsā began his short reign with great energy, recovering nearly all the Ottoman possessions in Serbia and Thessaly, and sending raiding ex-

peditions as far as Carinthia. At the same time he adopted a despotic attitude which displeased his entourage and prepared the final victory of his brother Muḥammad. Ibrāhīm Paṣha, sent to Constantinople to exact tribute, went from there to Muḥammad's court (cf. Taeschner and Wittek, in *Isl.*, xviii. 94) and, when Mūsā soon afterwards began a siege of Constantinople, Muḥammad came to the rescue of the emperor. In this he failed for the moment and he was obliged to return to Anatolia. But in 1413 Muḥammad appeared again in Europe, having found allies in the Serbians. Meanwhile, the Turkish commanders in Serbia and Thessaly were drawn to Muḥammad's side and even the old Ewrenos prepared to leave Mūsā's cause; his son and other military chiefs went over openly to Muḥammad. The latter approached Adrianople from the north and followed from here Mūsā's army beyond Philip; polls; then he joined his allies in Serbia and met Mūsā's army on the plain of Camurlu, east of Sofia. Here Mūsā's army was defeated (July 1413) and Mūsā himself perished in the flight. His corpse was found and buried in the *türbe* of Marīd I in Brusa.

Bibliography: The ancient Ottoman chronicles of 'Aḥlī Paṣha Zāde, Neḥrī, Ürüđi Beg and *Tawārīkh-i 'Alī 'Oṭmān* (Anonymus, ed. Giese), besides the Byzantine historians Phrantzes, Ducas and Chalcondylas. Further all general Ottoman histories since the *Tārīḥ al-Tawārīkh*, and the modern works of von Hammer (*G. O. A.*, I.), Zinkeisen and Jorga; Mehmed Zaki, *Makṣūṣ Shihādāt*, Constantinople 1332, p. 11 222.

(J. H. KRAMER)

MUSĀ, AND MUHAMMAD AL-HADİ, an 'Abīdī caliph. After the death of his father on Muḥarram 22, 169 (Aug. 4, 785) al-Hadī ascended the throne and at once put an end to the influence of his mother al-Khairun, by forbidding her to interfere in the slightest in matters of state. When he proposed to exclude his brother Ḥārūn from the succession in favour of his son Džafar, he met with vigorous opposition from the Harakid Yahyā b. Khālid [q. v.]. When the latter boldly persisted in his opposition, he was arrested; but the caliph's plan came to nothing for he died suddenly in Rabi' I 170 (Sept. 786) in 'Isābūd near Baghdad. According to the usual but not at all certain story, he was poisoned or stabbed by his mother's orders. Al-Hadī who was only 26 when he died is described as brave, just, liberal and full of *joie-de-vivre*. The most important event of his brief reign was an 'Alid rising in Mecca and Medina. 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, the governor of Medina, had punished an 'Alid along with some other citizens of the town for drinking wine. As a result the 'Alids rebelled and renounced their allegiance to the caliph. After several days fighting the ringleader of the movement, a descendant of 'Alī called al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī, marched on Mecca where he obtained a number of additional followers. Soon afterwards the pilgrims arrived; at Fakhkh near Mecca, a battle took place and al-Ḥusain was killed (Qhu 'l-Hidjja 169 = June 786). As regards the fighting with the Byzantines, the Muslims under Ma'yās b. Yahyā invaded Asia Minor where they took much booty.

Bibliography: Ibn Kūtaiba, *Kitāb al-Ma'arīf* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 193; Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtsma), II. 476, 487—491, 515; Balādhuri

(ed. de Goeje), p. 190 sq., 233, 297, 323; Tabari, iii. 467 sq., 533—599; Mas'udi, *Murūf* (ed. Paris), vi. 261—287; viii. 294; ix. 44, 51, 66; *Kitāb al-Aghani*, see Guidi, *Tabliss al-ahbab*; Ibn al-Athir (ed. Tornberg), vi. 13—74; Ibn al-Tikfa, *al-Fakhri* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 254—263; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, iii. 208 sq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 104, 112, 118—121; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 477 sq.; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, p. 463—477; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 193 sq. (K. V. ZETTERSTEN).

MUSA AL-KAZIM the seventh Imam of the Twelver Shi'a, son of Dja'far b. Muhammad al-Sadiq [q.v.], was born about 128 (745) at al-Abwa' [q.v.], the traditional burial-place of Amina, mother of the Prophet. He grew to manhood in his father's house in Medina and remained there as Imam after the latter's death in 148 (765) without playing any part in politics. In particular he took no share in the great rising of the Hasanid Alids which collapsed at Fakhkh in 169 (786). Nevertheless the caliph was suspicious of him. He was perhaps already imprisoned by al-Mahdi. In 179 (795) Harun had him brought first to Basra and then to Baghdad; he is said to have been released for a time but he died in prison in Baghdad, according to the usual story in Rajab 183 (Aug.-Sept. 799).

Little attention was paid to Musa outside the Shi'a, but we find him occasionally, as the Shi'a point out, quoted as an authority, for example for a strongly pro-'Alid tradition in Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, i. 77 infra (cf. al-Dhahabi, *Miftah al-'Irfan*, No. 1835). The Shi'a records are more voluminous. He is said to have had the honorific al-Kazim "he who restrains his anger" because he returned kindness for injury to an opponent so that the latter came over to him. As evidence of his fitness for the imamate he is reputed to have had a great knowledge of fish and is thus brought into connection with Abu Hanifa. The chapters on miracles, usual in all biographies of the imams, credit him with being born with a knowledge of languages, e.g. Ethiopic and the language of birds, in later stories also of "Frankish" to fit a story, modelled on a later Kербель motif, that Harun could not find a Muslim to assassinate him and therefore brought Franks, who were so impressed by his nobility that they refused to kill him. Prayers by Musa have been handed down; a letter of warning to al-Hasan b. 'Ali b. al-Hasan, the leader of the Fakhkh rising; letters from prison; a statement of his claims to the imamate against Harun through relationship with the Prophet, not through 'Ali like the Abbāsids through 'Abbas but through Fatima, whom he compares with the mother of Jesus. Considerable portions of the biography are the result of the disputes within the Shi'a, even the account of his conception and birth. That his mother was bought from a slave dealer is not disputed; but great pains are devoted to proving she was a virgin. When at the death of his father a group of the Nawustya "remained" steadfast to him, the Isma'iliya [q.v.] and the Fathiya branched off, the claims of Musa had to be based on a will of Dja'far, the authenticity of which is as doubtful as that of Musa in favour of his son 'Ali al-Rida; this was used against the followers of another son Ahmad, as well as against

the Mamūra who "remained" by Musa himself and a similar party in the Musawiya (Musa'iya); for details see the writers on heresy, especially al-Ash'ari, *Maqalat*, ed. Ritter, Constantinople 1930, p. 25 sqq. The dispute with the latter groups also explains the very detailed stories of witnesses who had seen Musa's corpse. Ritter differences of opinion within the family are revealed by the fact that even Musa's son Ibrahim for a long time denied his father's death, and also by the fact that Musa's brother Ibrahim or a nephew 'Ali b. Isma'il played the traitor with Harun, inciting him by pointing out the great sums which were given to Musa as the true caliph by his followers; on the other hand, the incautious acknowledgment of Musa's imamate by the theologian Hisham b. al-Hakam is made responsible for his capture. — The kunya of Musa is Abu Ibrahim or Abu 'I-Hasan, also Abu 'Ali; the statements regarding the number of his children vary between 30 and 60; 37 is the usual figure. Besides his successor 'Ali al-Rida some prominence was attained by the partial imam Ahmad, but more by Zaid, who at the time of the great rising of Abu 'I-Saraya in Basra, by burning the houses and followers of the 'Abbāsids acquired the name Zaid al-Nar, "Zaid of the fire" (Tabari, iii. 986), and Ibrahim, who on account of similar activities in San'a was called al-Djazar, "the butcher" (Tabari, iii. 987); a daughter Fatima, who died in Kumm, has given to this city in her tomb its most important sanctuary. Musa himself was buried in the cemetery of the Kuraish in Baghdad, where his grandson, the ninth imam Muhammad al-Djawad [q.v.], was in time interred beside him; thus arose the twin sanctuaries al-Kazimain [q.v.].

Bibliography: Mufid, *al-Irfan* (Teheran without date or pagination arranged in the order of the imams); Ibn Hibba, *Uyun Akhbar al-Rida* (MS. Berl. N^o. 9663), esp. fol. 10^b—52^a; comprehensive collection of Shi'a accounts with references to the sources in Muhammad Bakir al-Majlisi, *Bihar al-Anwar*, xi, Teheran 1303, p. 230—317; Abu 'I-Faraj al-Isbahani, *Ma'ajim al-Fakhkh*, Teheran 1307, p. 172—176; Ibn Khallikan, *Wafayat*, Bulak 1299, ii. 172 sq. (from al-Khatib, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*); Mas'udi, *Murūf* (ed. Barbier de Meynard), vi. 309 sqq., 329 sq.; E. de Zarnhau, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, Hanover 1927, table D. — As the importance of imams like Musa lies less in their own personality than in the views of the dogmatists upon them, their *wasit* should also be compared: cf. in Kashsh, *Wasifat Akhbar al-Rida*, Bombay 1317, section *Akhbar Musa b. Dja'far wa-'Ali b. Musa*, p. 344 sqq. and also the *wasit* of Hisham b. al-Hakam, Hisham al-Dhawali, 'Amr b. Musa al-Saba'i etc.; and the same names in the alphabetically arranged works of Nadjashi, *al-Rida*, Bombay 1917; Tusi, *Fikhr al-Rida*, Calcutta 1853—1855; Astarabadi, *Manhaj al-Ma'ajim*, Teheran 1306. (R. STROTHMANN)

BANU MUSA, more precisely BANU MUSA b. SHAKIR, the usual name for the three brothers Abu Dja'far Muhammad, Abu 'I-Kasim Ahmad and al-Hasan b. Musa b. Shakir, who made a reputation under the 'Abbāsids from al-Ma'mun to al-Mutawakkil as mathematicians, astronomers and technicians and also at times played a part in politics. The father is said

to have begun life as a bandit in Khurāsān, then to have become an astronomer and geometer. We have no means of testing such stories or learning how a bandit could become an astronomer. If we assume however that Mūsā b. Shākir like Muhammad b. Mūsā al-Kh-wārizmī joined al-Ma'mūn's train in Khurāsān as astronomer and astrologist and then came with him to Baghdad, we can understand that al-Ma'mūn took his three sons, still young, into his service on Mūsā's death and had them educated in mathematical sciences by the astronomer Yahyā b. Abi Manṣūr. The Banū Mūsā thus at a comparatively early age were admitted to that circle of scholars who, by their thorough and expert translations, introduced Greek science to Islām and by their own researches laid the foundation for the glorious development of the sciences in the 11th (11th) and 12th (12th) centuries. Attaining fame and fortune, they used their wealth to purchase Greek manuscripts and sent agents into the Byzantine provinces to seek for and purchase books. Of Muhammad b. Mūsā it is related that he met Thābit b. Qurra in Harrān while on a journey and induced him to settle at the caliph's court. It may be assumed they these scientific expeditions to seek books and scholars did not take place without the caliph's support.

History also records political and literary feuds. A particular enmity is said to have existed between al-Kindī and the three brothers, because the caliph al-Mu'taḥim did not entrust them but al-Kindī with the education of his son Ahmad. The feud went so far that the Banū Mūsā are later said to have intrigued against the choice of Ahmad as caliph. This story can only be understood in connection with court intrigues, in which the ambitions of the brothers and the jealousy of the courtiers played the same parts as elsewhere. If all is true that is recorded of the malevolent attitude of the brothers to recognised scholars, little praise can be bestowed on their character. The stories of the huge incomes, especially that of Muhammad b. Mūsā — he is said to have had for a time an annual income of £300,000 — exceed all that even the most liberal caliph could heap upon a scholar.

The works of the Banū Mūsā include translations and original works on geometry, astronomy and mechanics. Many of their works are written jointly by two or three brothers, others only by one. Muhammad b. Mūsā is regarded as the most versatile, al-Ḥasan the best mathematician, Ahmad as especially interested in mechanical and technical problems. The astronomical and metrological observations of the brothers were probably made mainly in Sāmarrā; their tables of observations of the sun are mentioned by Ibn Yūnus. M. Curtze, H. Suter, F. Wiedemann and F. Hauser have devoted special attention to the editing and elucidation of these works that have survived in Arabic or Latin.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 271; Ibn al-Kifī, ed. J. Lippert, p. 315 and 441–443; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, No. 718, transl. de Siane, iii, 315; Cassin de Perceval, in *N.E.*, 1803–1804; M. Steinschneider, *Die Schut des Musa b. Shākir*, in *Bibl. math.*, N. S., i, 1887, p. 44–48, 71–75; M. Cantor, *Ahmed und sein Buch über die Proportionen*, in *Bibl. math.*, N. S., ii, 1888, p. 7; H. Suter, *Das Mathematikerverzeichnis der Fihrist*, in *Abh. z. Gesch. d. Math.*, vi., 1892, p. 24; H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und*

Astronomen der Araber, *ibid.*, x., 1900, No. 43; M. Curtze, *Der Liber trium fratrum de geometria*, in *Nepa Acta Acad. Germ. Nat. curiosorum*, vol. xlix., Halle 1885; E. Wiedemann, *Brüderge*, vi., 1906; x., 1906 and xii., 1907; F. Hauser, *Über das k. al-Bīyāt der Banū Mūsā*, in *Abh. z. Gesch. d. Naturw. u. d. Med.*, i., 1922; E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser, *Über Trinkgefäße und Tafelaufsätze nach al-Jazari und den Banū Mūsā*, in *Isl.*, viii, 55–93, 268–291; Ibn Abi Usayb'a, ed. Müller, index; Tabari, ed. de Goeje, indices; Carra de Vaux, *Les genres de l'Islam*, ii., Paris 1921, p. 140; Abu 'l-Fidā, ed. Reiske, ii. 241; Abu 'l-Faraj, *Ta'rikh Muḥṭaqar al-Duwal*, ed. Pococke, Oxford 1665, text, p. 280; transl., p. 183. (J. RUKKA)

MUṢAB b. 'UMAIR, a follower of Muhammad of the Quraysh family of 'Abd al-Dār. The son of rich parents, this handsome young man had attracted attention by his elegant appearance when Muhammad's preaching made so deep an impression upon him that he abandoned the advantages of his social position to join the despised adherents of the Prophet. Tradition dilates on the contrast between his former luxurious life and later poverty but these, like such stories in general, are somewhat suspicious, although not impossible, since the people in Muṣab's time had not yet acquired wealth and could not have been accustomed to luxury.

When his parents endeavoured to prevent him taking part in the worship of the believers, he went with several of the faithful to Abyssinia from which he returned however before the Hijra. The Prophet thought highly of him and sent him after the first meeting at 'Akāba as a missionary to Medina where he won a number of followers for Islām. According to some traditions, he on this occasion, following the practice of the Jews [see MUHAMMAD], introduced the common Friday salā, which however, as was noted as early as by Mūsā b. 'Ukba, others ascribe to the Medinese As'ad b. Zurāra, while others in an effort at harmonising say that As'ad conducted the common salā during the absence of Muṣab.

At Badr and at Uhud he carried the Prophet's banner in memory of the old privilege of the 'Abd al-Dār; he met his death in the latter battle. With what ardour he adopted the new teaching is seen from his attitude to his mother who is depicted as a most lovable character and particularly from his words at the capture of his brother in the battle of Badr. His wife was Hanna bint Dajsh of the Aam.

Bibliography: Mūsā b. 'Ukba, ed. Sachau, in *S.B. Fr. Ak. W.*, 1904, p. 451; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 208, 241, 289 sq., 459 sq., 487, 560, 566, 586; Tabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 1182, 1214 sq., 1337, 1386, 1394, 1404, 1475; al-Wākidī, transl. Wellhausen, p. 49, 68, 79, 106, 114, 135, 143; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, iii/l., 81–86; iii/l., 130; Nawawi, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 556 sq.; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqālānī, *Iṣāba*, ed. Sprenger, iii. 861; Wensinck, *Mohammed in de Joden te Medina*, p. 111 sq. (Fr. BUN)

MUṢAB b. AL-ZUBAIR, son of the famous ancestor of the Prophet, al-Zubair, and brother of the anti-Caliph 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair. Handsome, chivalrous, generous to the most foolish prodigality, he resembled his elder brother 'Abd Allāh and the family of the Zubairids only in his bravery and in fits of severity in exacting punish-

ment which bordered on barbarity. He began his military career at the beginning of the caliphate of Marwān I by a badly planned invasion of Palestine. Later sent as governor to Basra by his brother 'Abd Allāh, he soon found himself called to the help of the people of Kūfa, tired of the yoke of Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubad [q. v.]. He began by putting to flight the army brought against him by the redoubtable Thaqafi agitator and then besieged him for four months in the citadel of Kūfa. On the death of Mukhtār, Muṣ'ab ordered several thousands of his followers to be executed and by this savage act made as many enemies as the victims had relatives. He was less successful against 'Ubad Allāh b. al-Hurr [q. v.] who had been sent into the 'Irāk to stir up a counter-revolution in favour of the Marwānids. A similar attempt at Basra by the Umayyad Khālid b. Asid failed. But by proceeding with great severity against Khālid's followers Muṣ'ab alienated the most influential personages in the city.

Soon he found he had to defend the 'Irāk which was directly threatened by the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik; troops were massed at Bādjumaira. Muṣ'ab awaited the Syrian army here and then retired to Dair al-Djāhlik [q. v.]. His position soon became critical for the Basran troops refused to follow him. The best troops of the province were far away with Muḥallab, engaged in an interminable campaign against the Khāridjīs. The Zubairid's troops displayed only moderate enthusiasm. His officers tired of his iron hand were prepared to betray him and entered into negotiations with 'Abd al-Malik. The Marwānid was not stingy in his promises. He also tried to negotiate with Muṣ'ab, who learning of the perfidy of his followers rejected all offers and decided to die like a brave man. Among his followers Ibrahim b. al-Ashtar alone fought vigorously in the battle; the others folded their arms during the fighting or went over to the Syrian ranks. 'Abd al-Malik offered Muṣ'ab his life for the last time with the government of the 'Irāk, but in vain. Thrown from his horse, the Zubairid received the coup-de-grace from an avenging Bakrī, 'Ubad Allāh b. Zahrān. This took place about the middle of Djumādā I (October) of 72 (691). 'Abd al-Malik wept for him and ordered his poets to commemorate his heroic end. Muṣ'ab's great generosity earned him numerous eulogies from poets. He is also famous for the fact that he had in his harem the two most independent and haughtiest women of the time, belonging to the most undoubted aristocracy of Islām, 'Ā'isha bint Talha [q. v.], the second *Amūsa* of the Prophet, and Sukaina, granddaughter of 'Alī; feminine types, remarkable in spite of their frivolity for having bravely tried to fight against the degradation of their sex in Muslim society.

Bibliography: Tabari (ed. de Goeje), I. 1330; II. 59, 60, 118, 340—349, 481, 576, 592—593, 602—603, 662—678, 688, 716—727, 531—535, 749—745, 748—753, 764—765, 670—680, 783—822, 830—831, 1064—1072, 1260, 1266, 1466; *Kitaḥ al-Aghānī*, II. 138, 139; III. 103—104, 122; VIII. 85, 138, 178; X. 54—57; XIII. 33, 38, 42; XIV. 84, 166—172; XVII. 262—266; XX. 10; Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-Ashraf* (ed. Ahlwardt), p. 3—4, 8, 10, 16—19, 23—24; Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, (ed. Barbier de Meynard), v. 240—242, 247—49; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* (Cairo), IV. 123—124, 137, 139; H. D. van Gelder, *Muḥtār de valiche prefect*, Leyden 1888, p. 125 ff. (H. LAMMENS)

AL-MUSABBIHĀT, name of sūra's liii, lix, lxi, liii, liiv, as a group, after the first word of each of them, *sabbāḥa* or *yusabbihūn*. The name is old, cf. Muslim, *Zakāt*, trad. 119.

MUSĀFIRIDS (Kangari or Sallari), a dynasty of Dailami origin which came from Tārom [q. v.] and reigned in the fourth and fifth centuries of the Hījra in Ādharbāidjān, Arrān and Armenia.

Its coming to power was one of the manifestations of the great movement of Iranian liberation which formed a kind of interlude between the end of Arab domination and the first Turkish invasions. While in Khurāsān and Transoxania this movement culminated in the rule of the Sāmānids [q. v.], in western Persia and Mesopotamia its standard-bearers were the Dailamis and to a smaller extent the Kurds (cf. V. Minorsky, *La domination des Dailamites*, Paris 1932).

The Musāfirids and the Djuṣṭānids. According to a genuine document quoted in Yāqūt (III. 148—50), the Kangari family only comes into history after seizing the famous stronghold of Shamirān in the district of Tārom [q. v.] which was under Kāzwīn. The Kangaris have therefore to be distinguished from the ruling family of Dailam, i. e. the Djuṣṭānids of Rūbār, of whom seven are known from between 189 and 316 (805—928), while members of the family can be traced till 434 (1042). We know that Muḥammad, son of Musāfir, the eponym of the dynasty (whose real Iranian name must have been Aswār, cf. Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, IX. 16), had married Kharrāsiya, daughter of the Djuṣṭānid Djuṣṭān III (from 250 until after 300). From such alliances the names peculiar to the ruling family of Dailam (Djuṣṭān, Wahsūdān, Marzubān) became popular among the Musāfirids. In 307 (919) Muḥammad killed his wife's uncle 'Alī b. Wahsūdān to avenge the death of his father-in-law Djuṣṭān b. Wahsūdān. Henceforth there was a breach between the two families. The last Djuṣṭānid took refuge with the Dailami chief Asfār (lord of Raiy and Kāzwīn) who sent the Ziyārid Mardāwīd against Muḥammad but instead of fighting they joined forces and Mardāwīd slew Asfār. Muḥammad was an important ruler and Mus'ir b. Muḥallil speaks with praise of his buildings at Shamirān (1,850 houses) on which 5,000 workmen were employed (the ruins of Shamirān have been described in Brugsch, *Reise d. preuss. Gesandtschaft*, 1862, II. 471—472) but he was a difficult character and did not agree even with the members of his own family.

The two branches of Musāfirids. In 330 (941) his sons Marzubān and Wahsūdān by arrangement with Kharrāsiya, seized Shamirān and shut their father up in a fortress, after which the dynasty broke up into two branches: Wahsūdān remained in the hereditary fief of Tārom, while Marzubān extended his power over Ādharbāidjān, eastern Transcaucasia and some districts of Armenia.

The fourth generation of the Musāfirids consisted of the sons of Marzubān: Djuṣṭān, Ibrahim, Nāṣir and Kay Khuraw, and of the sons of Wahsūdān (330—355): Isma'īl, Nuḥ and Ḥaydar (?). Marzubān. This ruler (330—346 = 941—957) is the most important figure in the dynasty. After the death in 314 (926) of the Sājjid [q. v.] Yūsuf, Ādharbāidjān became the scene of the struggle between the Khāridjī Kurd Daisam b. Ibrahim and Lashkari b. Mardī, a native of Gilān, whom the Ziyārid Wushmagīr supported alternately

Laghkatt died in Armenia and Daisam was betrayed by his vizier Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. Dja'far who had come to an arrangement with Marzubān for both were *šāhin* (Ibn Miskawāh, II. 32). Marzubān occupied Ardabil and Tabriz and finally Daisam surrendered to Marzubān and received from him a castle in Tārom. Marzubān extended his territory northward as far as Darband. In 333 (943-944) the Russians (*Rūs*) came by the Caspian and the river Kur and took the capital of Arrān [q.v.]. Barda's [q.v.] in spite of the resistance of the subjects of Marzubān. At the same time, the Hamdānids of Mawṣil had conceived designs on Ādharbāidjān and Marzubān had to deal with a force under Abū 'Abd Allāh Husain b. Sa'īd b. Hamdān and the Hadhānt Kuc Dja'far b. Shakkīya, which had reached Salmās [q.v.] but was soon recalled to Mawṣil by Nāṣir al-Dawla. On the other hand, the Russians, decimated by disease and harassed by the Muslims, beat a retreat (cf. the sources on the Russian invasion including the Armenian historian of the tenth century, Moses Kāhankatvatsi, in Dorn, *Caspia*, St. Petersburg 1876; the text of Ibn Miskawāh, II. 62-67, was translated with commentary by Yakubowski in the *Vizant. Vremennik*, Leningrad 1926, xlix, p. 63-92).

A new danger arose in the south-east of the lands of Marzubān when in 335 (946) the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla occupied Ray (disputed by the Sāmānids and Ziyārids). Marzubān filled with wrath at the Būyids decided to attack them in 336. But Rukn had time to get reinforcements from his brothers. In 338 (949) Marzubān, defeated near Karwin, was besieged in the castle of Sumairam (in Fārs).

The fugitives from his army gathered round his father Muḥammad and occupied Ardabil while Wahsūdān remained in Tārom. Muḥammad soon gave dissatisfaction to his captains and was shut up by Wahsūdān in his castle at Shisagān (?). Rukn al-Dawla sent to Ādharbāidjān Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Razzāk, the former governor of Tūs [q.v.], who had deserted the Sāmānids. Wahsūdān released Daisam in the hope that he would be able to organize resistance. Daisam who had time to take Ardabil, was defeated by Ibn 'Abd al-Razzāk but the latter disgusted by the intrigues around him returned to Ray in 338 (949). Daisam reoccupied Ardabil but the advance of 'Alī b. Muḥḥi, a supporter of Marzubān, forced him to seek shelter with the Artunids of Waspurakan [cf. WKS].

In the meanwhile by an ingeniously planned coup, Marzubān escaped from Sumairam and recovered all his strongholds and treasures (in 342). After a long series of adventures which brought him to Mawṣil, Baghlād and Aleppo, Daisam in 344 (955) collected a force and read the *shahāda* at Salmās in the name of the Hamdānid of Aleppo Saif al-Dawla. Marzubān quickly put down a rising in Darband and later drove Daisam back, who once again sought refuge with the Artunids who handed him over to Marzubān under threats from the latter.

In an important passage, Ibn Hawqal, p. 251-253, gives the list of the tributaries of Marzubān compiled by his minister Abu 'l-Qāsim (in 344). The names include those of the lords of Shirwān, Abkhāz (I uncertain name of a district north of Shirwān; cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 174: *Abkhāz), of Shakkī (q.v.), of 𐌌𐌔𐌌, of Džurran wa-Saghyan (Gurizān and Saghyan to the west of Shirwān), of Vayots-dzor (district of Simla), of

Ahar and Wazzān (N. E. of Tabriz), of Khirān (N. of Baku?), as well as the Artunids, Bagratids and the princes of Khācen (west of Barda').

Wahsūdān and his nephews. Marzubān died in Rumāḡān 346 (Dec. 957) and while questioning the power to his brother Wahsūdān forgot to cancel his first will by which his sons Džustān, Ibrāhīm and Nāṣir were to succeed him in succession.

The commanders of the fortresses would not surrender them to Wahsūdān who returned to Tārom in disgust. Džustān b. Marzubān was recognized by his brothers but was only interested in his fārem. Marzubān's old general Džustān b. Sharmazan set up in Urmīya [q.v.] and won to his side Ibrāhīm, with whom he occupied Marāgha.

In 349 (960) the grandson of the caliph Muḥammad Iahāk b. 'Isā rebelled in Gilān and took the name of Mustafīr bi 'l-Iḥā. Džustān and Ibrāhīm became reconciled and defeated the rebels at Mūḡān [q.v.].

Wahsūdān began intriguing among his nephews and detached Nāṣir from Džustān but the quarrel was of short duration. Under assurances from Wahsūdān, Džustān with his mother and Nāṣir came to Tārom but were thrown into prison. Wahsūdān sent his son Ismā'īl to Ādharbāidjān. Ibrāhīm who was ruling Armenia (Dwin) made a move in 349 or 350 which gave Wahsūdān an excuse to massacre his prisoners. Ismā'īl soon afterwards died at Ardabil after which Ibrāhīm reoccupied Ādharbāidjān and laid Tārom waste while Wahsūdān sought refuge in Dailam. Meanwhile Wahsūdān's general Sharmazan b. Muḥḥi, however, succeeded in defeating Ibrāhīm and the latter, abandoned by all his soldiers, sought refuge with his brother-in-law Rukn al-Dawla, who had married a daughter of Marzubān (355 = 966).

Rukn al-Dawla with his usual chivalry besped favours on Ibrāhīm and sent to Ādharbāidjān his famous minister Ibn al-'Asid (Usādā Ra'is) who reinstated Ibrāhīm and subjected the Kurds and Džustān b. Sharmazan to him. Ibn al-'Asid who was much impressed by the wealth of Ādharbāidjān proposed to Rukn al-Dawla to annex this province but his master recalled him to Ray, saying that he did not wish to be accused of coveting the inheritance of one who had sought his protection. After the return of Ibn al-'Asid matters went badly and from the allusions in Ibn Miskawāh we know only that Ibrāhīm was deposed and imprisoned (probably about 369 = 979, the year in which the *Tağfārīn al-Umam* wrote).

The end of the Musāfirids. In the Muslim sources the situation in Ādharbāidjān till 420 is obscure but the statements of the Armenian historian Stephen Asotik, *Hist. Universalis*, part II, book III, transl. by Macler, Paris 1917, ch. 11, 12, 18, 19, 29, 38 and 41, enable us to fill the gaps. According to Kasrawi, in 369 (979) Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān was dispossessed of his lands in Ādharbāidjān by the Rawwādī family (on which see the articles MARĀGHĀ, MARAND, TARRIZ and KASRAWI, *op. cit.*, II). The son of Ibrāhīm Abu 'l-Hādīd (the 'Abīhādī Delmestani' of Asotik) remained Dwin [q.v.] and on the invitation of king Muḥḥi of Kars in 982-983 made an expedition into Armenia where he desecrated the churches. This Abīhādī later lost all his lands to his neighbour Abutlup of Gokhn (i.e. Abū Dulaf Shāhān, lord of Ordubad). He later wandered in Georgia and Armenia and even visited the Byzantine emperor

Beal II; he was killed by his servants at Ukhahik (Oli). Finally another Abū Ḥadī, son of Roūd, amīr of Atropatakan (Abū Ḥadī b. Rawwād of Ḍhar-ḥajjān), took from Abū Dalaḥ "the towns of Salas and after sacking Gokha marched on Dwin, seized this town and demanded from the Armenians the arrears of tribute" (Asotik, ch. xviii.). King Smbat II hastened to accede to the demand. The Rawwādis thus gained possession of the remainder of the possessions of the Musafirids of whom they claimed to be the successors. There is no reason to connect the Arab-Kurd Rawwādis with the Musafirids, who were of Dailami origin, although there may have been intermarriage between the two families.

The Tārom branch. After the disappearance of the descendants of Marzubān, Tārom, the original seat of the dynasty, alone remained in their hands. Wahūdān had extended his power over the adjacent districts of Zandjān, Abhar and Suhraward (the latter name is usually mutilated in the sources). A *ḥajab* of Maṭanahīl (Kasrawī, *op. cit.*, I, 45) dated probably in 354 suggests that Rukn al-Dawla drove Wahūdān from Tārom for a time, but his family had remained there, for from Yaḳūt, III, 148—150 we learn that in 379 (989) the Būyid Fakhr al-Dawla took Shamsirān from the young son of Nūḥ b. Wahūdān, whose mother he married (the child's name was probably Dīstān; cf. Yaḳūt, *ṭahṭā al-Aḥḥā*, II, 308).

In 387 (997) after the death of Fakhr al-Dawla, Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān b. Ismāʿīl b. Wahūdān seized the fortress of Saḍḍijān and Tārom. In 411 (1020) even Kāwīn was in his hands (cf. *Nuḥḥat al-Kulūb*, in *G. M. S.*, p. 58). When Maḥmūd of Ghazna had taken Kāy, he sent against him the Dailamī Kharāmīl. After the return of Maḥmūd to Khurāsān (420), his son Maʿūd attacked Ibrāhīm but only captured him by a stratagem. Saḍḍijān, however, remained in the hands of Ibrāhīm's son. In 427 (1037) we find the "sālār of Tārom" in his fist again.

Nāṣir-i Khusrāw who was in this region in 437 (1045), speaks in high terms of the lord of Shamsirān Dīstān (b.) Ibrāhīm whose title was "Marzubān al-Dailamī Dīstān Abū Ḥalīb, Mawla Amīr al-Ma'mūnīn".

Under 454 (1062) Ibn al-Athīr records the visit of Tughlūk to Tārom, where he imposed a tribute of 100,000 dinārs on Musafir, who is the last Musafirid known. From Yaḳūt's words we may conclude that the Ismāʿīlīs of Alamūt put an end to the rule of the family when they dismantled Shamsirān.

Bibliography: Cf. the articles MARKGHIA, MARAND, YEKOM, TABRIZ, URMIA. The principal source is Ibn Miskawayh, ed. Amedroz and Margoliouth (abridged in Ibn al-Athīr, viii.—ix.). The *Ta'rikh Ḍḥarḥajjān* of Ibn Abī Ḥadī b. Rawwādī (cf. Safadi, in *J. A.*, 1912, xix., March, p. 249, and Hādīdī Khālifa, II, 107) has not yet been found. Cf. also Mānādīfīm Bahl, *Ṣaḥā'if al-Aḥḥā*, I, 505.

Sauvare, *Sur quelques manuscrits... de M. de l'Écluse*, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1881, p. 380—398 (résumé of Ibn al-Athīr; description of a dīḥm struck at Ardabil in 343 in the names of "Sālār Abū Maḥmūd" [perhaps Wahūdān] and "Malik al-Ma'mūd Marzubān b. Muhammad Abū Nāṣir", and of a dīḥm struck at Marāgha in 347 in the names of Ibrāhīm and Dīstān, son of Marzubān); Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 1895, p. 441;

Marquart, *Notiz on... Mayyafārīqin*, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 170—176; Sir E. D. Ross, *On three Muhammadan Dynasties in Northern Persia*, in *Asia Major*, 1925, II, 2, p. 212—215 (cf. also Sir E. D. Ross, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1924, p. 617—619); Huart, *Mosāḥīdīn de l'Ḍḥarḥajjān*, in *A Volume... presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, p. 229—256; R. Vasserot, *Zur Chronologie d. Gatastiden und Sallārīden*, in *Islamica*, 1927, III, 2, p. 168—186; Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie*, Hanover 1927, p. 180; Sayyid Ahmad Kasrawī, *Fāḥḥān-i gumnām*, Teheran, I, 1928, and *passim*, II, —III, 1929—1930 (a very good book analysing all the Muslim and even some Armenian sources); Markwart, *Die Entstehung d. armenischen Hītōmer*, in *O. C.*, xxvii, 2, N° 80, Rome 1932, p. 150—151 (recognises the identity of the Rawwādis of Tabriz and Marāgha). (V. MINOVSKY)

MUSAILIMA (a contemptuous diminutive from Maslama, which is the form of his name given in Muḥarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 443, 5; Balādhurī, ed. de Goeje, p. 422 ult.; cf. Tulaiha [q. v.] for Talha), a prophet of the Banū Ḥanīfa in Yamama contemporary with Muḥammad. His genealogy is variously given but always contains the name Ḥalīb; his *umma* was Abū Ṭhumāma. According to the usual account, he appeared as a prophet soon after the death of Muḥammad, after having visited the latter in Medina with a deputation. There is however another tradition according to which he began his prophetic career before Muḥammad dīl, and D. S. Margoliouth has given very cogent reasons for accepting this. According to Ibn Ishāq (Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 200), Muḥammad's enemies reproached him with having obtained his wisdom from a man of Yamama named Raḥmān. Now we have ample evidence (Wāḥidī, transl. Wellhausen, p. 28; Tabarī, I, 1935, 14; Balādhurī, p. 105; Baghawī on Sūra xxv, 61) that Musailima, who preached in the name of Raḥmān, was himself called Raḥmān. Further the story recurring in all traditions that Musailima proposed to the Medinese prophet a division of authority or a transfer of his power to him on his death (a similar story is told of the Ḥanīfa chief Hawḍha) becomes more intelligible if this prophet already occupied in Yamama a position similar to that of Muḥammad in Medina. It is also worthy of note that the prophetic utterances attributed to Musailima recall the earliest Meccan *sūras* with their short rhyming sentences and curious oaths and have no resemblance at all to the later Medinese *sūras*. In particular the fact that all the Banū Ḥanīfa followed him into battle against the Medinese shortly after the death of Muḥammad shows that he must have been active for a considerable time and was no isolated imitator of Muḥammad. That the latter was the usual method of explaining the "ḥar" Musailima, is readily intelligible, nor is it to be wondered at that orthodox tradition could not deny itself the pleasure of depicting his relations with the Tamīm prophets Saḍḍāh [q. v.] in the most scurrilous fashion. Fortunately however, the otherwise little reliable Saif gives quite a different story, which although influenced by later ideas (Musailima in order to gain followers reduces the five daily *ṣalāts* to three; he has a *mal'adḥīn* and a *muḥḥīn*; he tries in vain to imitate Muḥammad's miracles, etc.), gives a picture of him which is in the main correct and we can agree with Wellhausen that his utterances have a distinctly Yamama

colouring. According to Saif's account, he must have been considerably influenced by Christianity for he speaks of the kingdom of heaven and of him who will come from heaven. Like several other men of the time in Arabia of deep religious feelings he favoured asceticism. He forbade wine and marital intercourse after the birth of a son. It is interesting that Palgrave on his journey into Najd found a number of sayings still current under Musallima's name; unfortunately he did not trouble to record them so that we cannot compare them with what is recorded of his utterances in literature. This rival community in the heart of Arabia meant a serious danger to the young faith of Islām. Therefore when the first attempts to repress it had failed, Abū Bakr sent his ablest leader Khalid b. al-Walid against Musallima and the Banū Hanifa. A battle was fought at 'Akraba' [q. v.] in 12 A. H. which at first went against the Muslims, but Khalid's superior strategy finally prevailed and Musallima and many of his followers fell martyrs for their faith. The battle was unusually fierce and the Muslims also suffered heavily, among the fallen being a number of the best authorities on the revelations of Muḥammad.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 945 sq., 964 sq., 971, 996 sq.; al-Baladhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 86 sqq.; Tabari, ed. de Goeje, i. 1737–1739, 1748–1750, 1795–1797, 1871, 1880, 1915–1921, 1929–1937; Ibn Kutilba, *Kitāb al-Maʿarif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 206; Masʿūdi, *Tanbih*, in *B. G. A.*, vii. 275, 284 sq.; Balhaki, *Kitāb al-Maʿāziz*, ed. Schwally, p. 32; Muir, *Annals of the Early Caliphate*, p. 31, 38–46; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv. 102, 115, 156 sq.; vi. 15–19; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii. 450 sq., 635–648, 727–738; Hirschfeld, *New Researches*, p. 25; D. S. Margoliouth, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 485 sqq.; against him Lyall, *ibid.*, p. 771 sq.; Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, i. 382.

MUSALLĀ (A.), part. pass. II of *ṣ-ḥ*, place where the *ḡalāt* is performed on certain occasions. When Muḥammad had fixed his abode in Medina, he performed the ordinary *ḡalāt* in his *ḡār*, which was also his *maḡḡid* (not in the sense of temple). The extraordinary *ḡalāt*'s, however, were performed on a place situated southwest of the city in the territory of the Banū Salima, outside the wall, northeast of the bridge on the wādī, where at present the street from the suburb al-'Anḡariya reaches the market-place Barr al-Munākḡha (cf. Burton, *Personal Narrative*, plan opp. i. 256; picture of the musallā as well as of the mosque of 'Umar situated on the place, opp. i. 329; al-Batānī, *al-Riḡla al-ḡalāt*, 2nd ed., plan of Medina opp. p. 252; picture of the Barr al-Munākḡha, *ibid.*, opp. p. 264; Caetani, *Annali*, vol. II, opp. p. 72).

On this spot the *ḡalāt* was performed on the 1st Shawwāl and on the 10th Dhū l-ḡiḡḡa (Tabari, i. 1281, 1362). On the latter day the *ḡalāt* was combined with the slaughtering of two spotted rams (Bukḡārī, *Aḡḡā*, bāb 6). On the two days of festival Muḥammad and his followers on their way to the musallā were preceded by Bilāl who bore the spear (*ḡanaḡ*; q. v.).

It is also said that the *ḡalāt* for rain was held on the musallā (copious data in Tradition, cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, s. v. Rain; and do., *Moham-*

med en de Joden, p. 141). Further it is related that the service for the dead was performed on this spot (Bukḡārī, *ḡḡanāʿis*, bāb 4, 61; Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden*, p. 140). Finally the musallā is mentioned as the place where executions took place (Bukḡārī, *ḡalāt*, bāb 11; Tabari, i. 1903). The sacred character of the place appears in the fact that menstruating women were taught to avoid it (Bukḡārī, *ḡalāt*, bāb 23). According to Caetani (A. H. i. § 55, note 3; cf. A. H. 2, § 24, note 1), the musallā was used more frequently.

It was not only in Medina but in a large number of other places that the rites mentioned, or some of them, were performed on a musallā. According to al-Nawawī (commentary on Muslim's *ḡalāt*, Cairo 1283, ii. 296), this was the practice of most of the capitals. The custom prevails up to the present day. According to Doutté, the North-African musallā is used for the rites of the 10th Dhū l-ḡiḡḡa. It is a large threshing-floor, with a wall provided with a *miḡrāb*; there is also an elevated place for the *ḡalāt*. This is the form of the musallā in many towns of Morocco.

To the doctors of the law it was questionable whether the festival ceremonies should be performed on the musallā or in the mosque. There was divergency of opinion on this point, even within the *madḡḡab*'s (Abū Ishāḡ al-Shirāʿī, *Tanbih*, ed. Jaynboll, p. 41, where 'the field' (*al-ḡalāt*) is mentioned side by side with the mosque; Zuhri, comm. on the *Muwaffā*, i. 328; Khalid b. Ishāḡ, *Mukḡḡḡat*, Paris 1318, p. 33 sq.; al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*, ii. 296).

Wensinck has conjectured that even in pre-Islāmic times rites of several kinds were performed on an open area, threshing-floor, musallā or the like. The connection between all those rites and the special place is sought by him therein, that they had a special connection with the fertile earth, of which the threshing-floor and the like were symbols.

Bibliography: Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, A. H. 2, § 7, 24, note 1, 67, 91, 101; A. H. 6, § 19; A. H. 11, § 55, note 3, 159; Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, transl. Schaefer, Leipzig 1930, p. 205, 233; R. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage...*, London 1857, i. 378; Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden in Medina*, Leiden 1908, p. 25, 138–142; do., *Handbook of Early Mus. Tradition*, s. v.; do., *Rites of Mourning and Religion*, in *Verh. Ak. Amsterdam*, vol. XVIII, p. 1 sqq.; Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1908, p. 462; Samḡūdi, *ḡalāt al-Waḡḡ*, Cairo 1285, p. 187 sqq.; Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der Stadt Medina*, in *Abh. G. W. Göttingen*, ix., separate ed., Göttingen 1860, p. 127 sqq.; Ibn al-Aḡḡir, ed. Tornberg, ii. 89; al-Yaḡḡūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 47; al-Diyārbaḡrī, *Taḡḡīḡ al-ḡalāt*, ii. 14; Yāḡḡūbī, *Muḡḡam*, iii. 104, 703; iv. 51 (poetic references); Vule and Burnell, *Hobson-Johnson*, s. v. *musallay*.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

MUSAWI. [See MECCA, ii. 4.]

AL-MUSAWWIR. [See ALĀḡH II.]

MUSH, town in Western Armenia near the southern bank of the Murād Su (Arasian), some 70 km. as the crow flies to the west of Eḡbiḡ. In pre-Muḡḡammadian times it was the principal town of the district of Taran (Hübschmann, *Idg. Forsch.*, xvi. 326; J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires Historiques et Géographiques sur l'Arménie*, i., Paris 1818, p. 102). In Islāmic times the name Tarta

(as spelled by Yāqūt, iv. 534) is sometimes used for the town itself as in Tabarī, iii. 1408 (cf. J. Markwart, *Süd-Arménien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, p. 354). The tradition of the Armenian historians connects the foundation of Mūsh with Muḥab Mamikonean, the ancestor of the powerful, originally non-Armenian family of the Mamikoneans, who lived in the 4th century A. D. To him is ascribed the construction of a castle, the ruins of which are still visible on one of the hills that dominate Mūsh. This town itself is situated at the mouth of a mountain gorge and before it extends, as far as the river, a large fertile plain, the "plain of Mūsh". During the first centuries after the Muhammadan conquest, Mūsh remained a centre of Armenian national life; from 825–851 it was the residence of the Bagratid Bagrat. After the abduction of this prince to Baghdad in 851, the inhabitants revolted and killed the Muhammadan governor Yūsuf b. Abī Sa'īd al-Marwānī (Tabarī, iii. 1408 sq.). Later on it was part of the vassal kingdom of the Bagratids. Occasionally it was occupied by Muhammadan adventurers, as in the days of Saif al-Dawla (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 408) in 353 (964). About this time the name Mūsh appears for the first time in Islamic geographical literature (al-Maḥallī, p. 150). In Seldjūq times the influence of Islām became stronger; the atabegs of the Armanjūh dynasty disputed the territory of Khilāt and Mūsh with the Urtukids and even the Aiyūbid Naḍīm al-Dīn laid siege to Mūsh in 604 (1207) (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 169, 180), and in 625 (1228) Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārimshāh was master of the country; in that year a battle was fought by him and lost on the plain of Mūsh against the Seldjūq ruler of Erzerūm (Ibn al-Athīr, xii. 314; Djuwainī, *Tārīkh-i Djihān-gushā*, ii. 181). This accounts for the ruined state of the town in the middle of the 14th century (Hamd Allāh Mustawfī). After the Mongol period Mūsh was razed by Timūr in 1386, when he invaded the possessions of the Kara Koyunlu (Sharaf al-Dīn, ix. 419). In 1473 the power of the Ak Koyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan was definitely broken in Armenia and from that time on Mūsh belonged to the Ottoman Empire. At that time the population of its surroundings was already strongly mixed with Kurds and Turcomans. The direct authority was exercised by Kurdish local chieftains, who, in the ruling system of the Empire, were subordinated, as sandjak beys, either to the pasha of Bitlis or to that of Wan. At the beginning of the 16th century ruled the Kurdish *wirimirān* Emin Pasha, who was deposed in 1828–1829 (Ritter, x. 676 and *Sijill-i 'Uthmānī*, i. 426). In the middle of that century, Mūsh became the chief town in the *marka* *ḥaṣṣ* Mūsh, in the sandjak Mūsh in the *wilāyat* of Bitlis, and in the Turkish republic it is a *ḥaṣṣ* in the *wilāyat* of Bitlis. The population of the town (some 5,000 inhabitants) was, until the Great War, half Armenian and half Muhammadan; one of the Armenian churches had been converted in 979 (1571) into a mosque, according to an inscription (Ritter). The environs of Mūsh had also a mixed population, where, however, ancient Christian sanctuaries had long continued to exist, such as the monastery of Surb Karpet, called by the Turks Çanlı Kılıse and described by Ewliya Çelebi.

During the Armenian troubles in the last years of 'Abd al-Hamid II's reign, in 1905, there began

in Mūsh a revolutionary movement of Armenian tashnakists, which brought about an intervention of the Kurds and a suppression by government troops, in which the population suffered much. In the Great War the Russian advance in Armenia had gone as far as Mūsh, when, in accordance with the treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1917), the Russian troops retired in 1918, leaving this part of Armenia again in Turkish possession.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, iv. 682; Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p. 392–393; Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, p. 106; Hādjdj Khalifa, *Djihān-nūmā*, ed. Constantinople, p. 416; Ewliya Çelebi, *Siyāhat-nāme*, iii. 228; C. Ritter, *Erdennde*, x., Berlin 1843, p. 662 sqq., 676 sqq.; V. Guinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i., Paris 1841, p. 551, 575. (J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-MUSHABBIḤA. [see TAḤḤIḤ.]

MUŞHAF (A.), Ethiopic loanword (cf. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 49 sq.); the forms *miḥṣaf* and *maḥṣaf* occur also; according to some grammarians they are less correct, especially the latter, coddex, or, according to the definition of Arabic lexicographers, leaves (*ṣūḥuf*, plural of *ṣaḥifa*), when they are bound together between two covers. In the tradition on the redaction of the Qur'ān [q.v.] by Huḍhāifa b. al-Yamān during 'Uthmān's caliphate, it is said indeed, that the collection of leaves that had been made by Zaid b. Thābit at 'Umar's instigation, was copied and arranged into *maḥṣaf*. These were sent to all regions (as standard copies); the *ṣūḥuf* were restored to 'Umar's daughter Hafsa, in whose possession they had been ever since her father's death. Other *ṣūḥuf* were annihilated as often as occasion offered itself (Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il al-Kur'ān*, bāb 3; *Ibn*, bāb 7; *Djihād*, bāb 12; *Tafsīr*, sūra 9, bāb 20; *Aḥkām*, bāb 37; Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, sūra 9, trad. 19).

From the time of the redaction of the Qur'ān under 'Uthmān *maḥṣaf* are frequently mentioned in Arabic literature. In a tradition on 'Amr b. al-'Ās's well known stratagem during the battle of Siffin it is said that a huge *muḥṣaf* from Damascus was tied to the points of three lances (al-Dīnawarī, *Kitāb al-Aḥkām al-Fiṣṣal*, ed. Girgass, p. 201 sq.; Naḥr b. Muḥṣim, *Wafat Siffin*, Bairūt 1921, p. 350; cf. p. 353); in other traditions "copies of the Qur'ān" in several numbers are mentioned (e.g. Tabarī, i. 3329).

In a tradition on the *ṣaḥāb* it is assumed that in the mosque of Medina the *muḥṣaf* had a fixed place (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥāb*, bāb 95; Muslim, *Ṣaḥāb*, trad. 263, 264); nowadays this place is by the *alḥa* (cf. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, chap. Religion and Laws; and *supra*, art. MASJID, I, D, f. -).

It is said that 'Ā'isha had a *muḥṣaf* copied for her private use by her mawla Abū Yūnus (Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, sūra 2, trad. 29; cf. Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il al-Kur'ān*, bāb 6).

Maḥṣaf were taken into the field by Muslim soldiers (cf. Tirmidhī, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 28; Abū Dāwūd, *Djihād*, bāb 135); this practice met, however, with objections (cf. Bukhārī, *Djihād*, bāb 129; Muslim, *Imāra*, trad. 92, 93), founded on the fear that they might fall into impure hands. For a similar reason persons impure in a ritual sense were prohibited from touching *maḥṣaf*, save in a special cover (*ṣaḥāfa*; Bukhārī, *Ḥudūd*, bāb 3).

Bibliography: The lexicons, s. v.

(A. J. WENINK)

MUSHİR (A.), councillor, Turkish pronunciation *müshir* and *müshir* (modern orthography *müshir*) with meaning "Marshal". *Müshir* literally means "one who points out, advises". Cf. also the article *MUSTASHİR*.

According to some authorities, *mushir* was at first (before the 'Abbasids) the title of the ministers (later *wasir*; q. v.) or secretaries of state (*kاتب*). So at least we are told by Ibn al-Tiqṭāṣ (ed. Derenbourg, p. 206; transl. Amar, p. 244). Khalil al-Zahiri (ed. Ravniass, p. 106 and 114) says that "formerly" an official to whom he gives fourth rank in the hierarchy, which shows he clearly distinguishes him from the *wasir*, bore the title of *mushir*. We seem however to have very little other information about this dignity. On the other hand, the word *mushir* in a non-technical sense is often found along with *wasir* of which it sometimes seems to be a doublet or synonym (cf. Makrisi, ed. Wiet, iv, fasc. I, p. 20 and 74; Nöldeke, *Die Erwählungen von Mamlukönig und seinen Ministern*, Göttingen 1879, p. 55: *mushir nāṣir*, *wasir nāṣir*).

We may note however that this older and broader conception did not survive. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the *wasir* is, it is true, an "assistant" to the sovereign, but to his predecessor Māwardī (*Les statuts gouvernementaux*, transl. Fagnon, p. 43 sqq.) the *wasir* is not the adviser of the *imām* but his delegate.

If Ibn al-Tiqṭāṣ's statement is correct we must see a survival of this older state of affairs in the usage of the Mamlūk chancellery where we find among the honorific *ṭabaq* of the *wasir* that of *mushir al-dawla* (or *al-salṭana* or *al-mamlūk wa'l-salṭana*). Cf. Kalkschandī, vi, 70.

The same usage, which perhaps came from the Seldjūqs, is still more clearly established in the Ottoman chancellery. We actually find the word *mushir* among the *alṭāq* of the Turkish *wasir* (*vezir*) and almost at the head of the formula, which shows its importance: *düstūr-i müberrrem, müshir-i muṣabḥḥam, nāṣir al-ṣalṭana* etc. Whence is the epistolary style the epithets *mushir* and *mushirane* used along with *düstūr* and *düstūrane* or *khidm* and *khidmāne* to designate all that belongs to an official of the rank of *wasir*.

Mahmūd II in creating the principal ministries naturally thought of again giving a real value to this title of *mushir*, which he gave to the principal ministers, and in the reign of his successor 'Abd al-Majīd "the privy council (*meclis-i khāṣṣ*), a regular council of ministers) consisted of the grand vizier, the *shakh al-islām*, eleven *mushir* and three officials of the first rank" (Bianchi, *Le premier annuaire impérial de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1848, p. 7; Bianchi translates *mushir* by "councillor or under-secretary of state" and has been followed by Barthès de Meynard in his *Supplément*, the references in which should be taken with this reservation). In 1250 (1834–1835) the title of *mushir* was given to the new *naṣir* of the Interior (*mukhtār nāṣir* = the former *katib*) and of Foreign Affairs (*khāṣṣ nāṣir* = the former *reṣ* al-kātib; cf. Lutfi, v, 29). The *naṣir* *mushir* *khāṣṣ* was created in 1263 (1846) (Lutfi, viii, 87).

Mahmūd II also created the post of *baylarbey* *wasir* or chief of the imperial guard, who bore the title *mushir-i müshir-i khāṣṣ* (*poṣṭa*), an officer who took rank after the *ser'asker* or War Minister

(Hammer, *Hist. de l'Emp. Ott.*, xvii, 188 and 189). This title was soon to be contrasted with that of *mushir-i 'azīm-i shāhāne* by the other troops (Lutfi, v, 28).

The ministers did not long bear the title of *mushir* which gave place to *nāṣir*, but the former of these titles, perhaps under the influence of the word "marshal", which it more or less resembles, became a special military title. It became the highest rank in the army, corresponding to vizier in the civil service and of *ḥaşakir* in the religious hierarchy. At first the title *radī-i manṣure müshir* (cf. Lutfi, v, 68, 74) was given to the *waṭṭā* of certain provinces, or simply *mushir* of such and such a province (*Ibid.*, p. 165 sqq.; vi, 102, 103; vii, 70). This corresponded to the demarcation of the army corps.

The number of *mushir* or "marshals" soon increased and in the reign of 'Abd al-Hamid II, there were 39 in 1890 and in 1895, 31 (see the *Salmā-i 'asker* of the years 1306 and 1311). Those who had the right to this title were the *ser'asker*, the *topḥāne-i 'amire müshir* or "grand master of artillery", the *ser'asker müshir* or "grand master of the Palace" (replacing the old *lamanā-ḥāḥi*, according to Ahmad Rāsim, *Tarih*, i, 156 and 186), the *khāṣṣ müshir* (as under Mahmūd II), the commanders of the seven army corps (*bol uṣṭa*), the heads of the army services, the *asān* de camp to the *sulṭān* (*yāver-i shrem*). The only duty of five of the *mushir* was to superintend the ceremony of the *Selāmlik* (*selāmlik esmā-i 'āliyye meṣṣur*). The officer in charge of the police station (*merke*) of Beşiktaş, near the Yıldız Kişik, was also a *mushir* (*M.S.O.S.*, vii, 1908, part 2, p. 40). Instead of *ser'asker müshir* the more usual phrase was *müşeyy müshir* (Lutfi, vii, 62).

The honorific form of address for a *mushir* was *devletli* (*devletli*) *efendim* *hazretleri*. In the plural the Persian form *mushirān* or with epithet *mushirān-i 'āṣm*. The name of the office is *mushiriyet* or *mushirlik*, more rarely *mushiri* (Lutfi, v, 91).

The title of *mushir*, which has been borne by Muṣṭafā Kemal Pāshā himself, has survived in the Turkish republic but there is at present only one *mushir* in office, the Chief of the General Staff, Fewa Pāshā.

In Khedivial Egypt they stopped at a stage where the influence of the reforms of Mahmūd II was still felt. The *raṭab* *mushir* there was down to the present reign exclusively the highest grade of officers but without distinction between military and civil offices. It was also in theory a civil rank (*raṭab mülkiyye*) to which all the princes of the khedivial house had a claim.

In Persian the title *mushir* has been rarely used. Cf. however the case of the *mushir al-dawla* (cf. the similar title above) borne by an aide-de-camp of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (Pevrier, *Trois ans à la Cour de Perse*, p. 135–136).

Bibliography: Cf. J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, Cairo 1930, index, s. v. *moushir*; Mue Kilisli-Mehemet-Pasha, *30 ans dans les Harems d'Orient*, Paris 1875, p. 126 (description of a ceremonial presentation of a *mushir*'s firman); on the word *mushiriyet* in actual use in Damascus, cf. Sauvery, *Les mots turcs dans le dialecte arabe de Damas*, in *Mél. de l'Inst. fr. de Damas*, i, 1929, p. 117.

(J. DENY)

MUSHRIK [See *SHIRK*]

AL-MUSHTARI, the planet Jupiter, Pers. *Harmand* < *Harmand* (*Akura-mandāh*). The name of the planet is in Sumerian *Šulpa*, later also *Šulpa-khar* "the white star" (= *Meluzāpa* in Hesychios; cf. Meissner, *Babylonian and Assyrian*, Heidelberg 1925, II. 404); in the later Accadian period it is always identified with the mimen supremum Marduk (Biblical Merodach). In Hebrew it is called *Šofēf*, in Greek — just as among the Babylonians, as the symbol of the highest deity — *ἡ ἄρσ ἀρκά*. As a synonym of al-Mushtari we find (e.g. in Hadith) the name *Baridjū* (cf. *Lisān al-Arab*, VII. 323).

The Arab astronomers, like Pythagoras and Ptolemy, put Jupiter in the sixth sphere (*falak*) from within i.e. the third from without. On the interior it adjoins the outer surface of the sphere of Mars and on the exterior the inner surface of the sphere of Saturn. The following table gives the least, mean and greatest distance of Jupiter from the centre of the earth, expressed in radii of the earth, as given by al-Battāni (*Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, ch. 50), al-Farghāni (*Compendium*, ch. 21), Ibn Rusta (*Ḥikāṭ al-Aṣṭāl*, ed. de Goeje, p. 18-20) and Abū Ḥayyā (*Sphaera mundi*, ch. 9), as well as the Hindu values given by al-Bīrūnī from the compilation by Ya'qub b. Tārīk of the year 101 A.H., and the modern figures for these distances:

	least distance (perigee)	mean distance	greatest distance (apogee)
al-Battāni	8,022 rad. of the earth	10,473 rad. of the earth	12,924 rad. of the earth
al-Farghāni	8,876 "	11,640 ¹ / ₂ "	14,403 "
Ibn Rusta	8,820 "	11,503 ¹ / ₂ "	14,187 "
Bar Ḥayyā	8,000 "	10,200 "	12,400 "
Hindu			
(al-Bīrūnī)	8,019 ¹ / ₂₁ "	10,866 ² / ₃ "	13,714 ³ / ₇ "
Modern	92,500 "	122,250 "	152,000 "

be expected from the *Almagest*, taking into account the precession.

The movement of Jupiter is as in the *Almagest* represented to be through four circles ("spheres", *uṣṭāk*) (cf. al-Battāni, *Op. astr.*, ch. 31). The astronomical tables take for its mean daily sidereal motion the value of 5'. Its period of sidereal revolution is given by al-Kāzwinī (*Āḥḥār*, ed. Wüstenfeld, I. 26) at 11 years, 10 months, 15 days.

Al-Mushtari in astrology. Al-Mushtari is the ruler (*rāḥ*) of the *Ḥayāt al-Rūm* (Sagittarius, night-house) and *al-Ḥayāt* (Pisces, day-house), also night-ruler of the 1. *Muthallatha* (Trigonum), which consist of *al-Ḥamal* (Aries), *al-Aḥad* (Leo) and *al-Rūm* (Sagittarius), whose ruler by day is the sun, and finally companion (*raṣīd*) of the 3. *Muthallatha*. It has its *Sharaf* (exaltation) in the 15° of *al-Sarāḥ* (Cancer), its *Ḥabīb* in the 15° of *al-Ḥayāt* (Capricornus). According to al-Kāzwinī (I. 22), "the astrologers call al-Mushtari the larger star of fortune", *al-Sūd al-aḥbar*, because its good influence surpasses that of Venus; they attribute to it numerous happy states and the greatest good fortune. The idea that the planet Jupiter is a star of good fortune is general among other peoples also; we also find it in Babylonia, India and China. For further details of the part played by Jupiter in Arab astrology see the works of Abū Ma'shar.

Bibliography: See that of the articles 'UṢṬĀD and MINTAḤA. (W. HARTNER)

MUSIKI or موسيقا or موسيقى as it was

written in the West (al-Fārābī, *Ḥikāṭ al-Uṣṭūḥ*; Schiaparelli, *Vocabolista in Arabico* = Latin *musica*), is the name given to the science of music. It is a post-classical word derived from the Greek *μουσική*, and was already current at the time of Ishāq al-Mawṣilī (d. 236 = 850) [q. v.]. In the *Mafāḥ al-Uṣṭūḥ* (10th = 11th century) *musīqī* is one of the four mathematical sciences. Its author says: "As for *musīqī*, its meaning is the [science of the] composing of melodies (*al-ḥikma*). It is a Greek word, and it is named the *musīqī*. And the composer of the melodies is the *musīqār* or *musīqār* (p. 236)". The contemporary Ṭḥawwā al-Sāḥī say (I. 87): "*Musīqī* is *ghinā'*, and the *musīqār* is the *muḥabbib*, and the *musīqār* (*musīqārīya* in Dieterici) is the instrument of music (*ghinā'*)". Ibn al-Musīqī was the name given by the Arabs to the Greek or mathematical theory of music as distinct from 'ilm al-*ghinā'* which was the Arabian practical theory, as we know from the *Kitāb al-Aḥḥād* and Yahyā b. 'Alī b. Yahyā b. Abū Ma'shar (d. 300 = 912). The latter tells us (Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 236v) of the "disagreement between the masters of Arabian *ghinā'* and the masters of [Greek] *musīqī*". Of course, the Arabs and Persians possessed a theory of music long before they became influenced by the translations made from the Greek

The radius of the earth is here estimated at 3,250 (al-Battāni, al-Farghāni and Bar Ḥayyā) and 3,818 Arab miles respectively (Ibn Rusta) while, according to al-Bīrūnī, the Hindus give it as 4,050 (*ṭasakī*) = 5,150 Arab miles (1 Ar. m. = 1,973 metres; cf. Nallino, *Il valore metrico del grado di meridiano*). The true geocentric distances of the planet Jupiter are actually about 11¹/₂ times greater than given by al-Battāni for example. It should however be pointed out that the relation of 37:23 = 11¹/₂ for the greatest and least observed apparent diameter taken by this scholar, with the help of which the distance of the apogee was calculated from the estimated distance of the perigee at 8,022 radii of the earth agrees remarkably well with the modern estimate. The apparent diameter of Jupiter at the mean distance is given by al-Battāni as ¹/₁₂ of the diameter of the sun. From this and the mean distance he calculates the true diameter of Jupiter at 4¹/₂ diameters of the earth (= 82¹/₂ radii), and its volume at 81 times that of the earth (i.e. [4¹/₂]³). The true values are 2.56 (i.e. 170 times larger); diameter of Jupiter = 11.14 diameters of the earth, volume = 1,380 times the volume of the earth.

Following Ptolemy (*Almagest*) al-Battāni gives the greatest observed northern (geocentric) latitude as 2° 4', the greatest southern as 2° 8'. On the other hand, he points out (ch. 31 and 45) that he found the length of the apogee of the geocentric circle from his observations to be about 8° smaller (in 879 A.D., 164° 28') than was to

at the end of the 11th (viiith) and beginning of the 12th (ixth) century.

The Pre-Islamic System. The source of both Persian and Arabian theory of music was an older Semitic one which had influenced, if it had not been the actual foundation of Greek theory (cf. Farmer, *Hist. Facti...*, p. 123). No Persian or Arabic technical nomenclature of a theory of *mūsīqā* (i.e. speculative theory) has come down to us from pre-Islamic times, although it must have existed. Al-Fārābī (d. 339 = 950) describes a musical instrument, still used in his day, called the *tanbūr al-baghdādī* or *al-mīrānī*, the frets (*darāt*, a Persian word) of which gave a "pre-Islamic scale" (Kosegarten, *Lit. cant.*, p. 89; *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*). It was a quarter-tone scale which was arrived at by dividing a string into forty equal parts. The idea could be traced to Eratosthenes (Ptolemy, *Harm.*, ed. Wallis, ii. 14) but probably was of far greater antiquity (Farmer, *Influences of Music*, in *Proceedings, Musical Association*, 1926, p. 121). Although al-Fārābī's instrument did not actually give the following scale, yet the theoretical division mentioned above would produce a scale which, expressed in cyclic cents, would register:

Fret	Nut	2nd	4th	6th	8th	10th
Cents	0	89	182	281	380	498

J. P. N. Land was of opinion that the later Pythagorean lute scale of the Old Arabian School was derived from the system of the *tanbūr al-baghdādī*. It is more likely however, that there was an earlier lute scale than that of the Old Arabian School, as has been hinted elsewhere (Farmer, *Hist. of Arabian Music*, p. 70). This was a one-octave scale fixed by the accordatura (*tarāṭya*) C-D-G-a, the frets of which gave the following scale:

Cents	0	204	408	498	702	906	1110	1200
-------	---	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------	------

For a discussion of this scale see Farmer, *An Old Moorish Lute Tutor*, p. 27; do., *Hist. Facti...*, p. 310.

The Old Arabian System. In the 10th (viiith) century we get definite glimpses of a theory in the music of the Arabs and Persians. We read of a certain Ibn Miqdāsh [q.v.] (d. ca. 97 = 715) who had learned Persian music (*ghinā'*) and accomplishments in playing (*qār*), and had received instruction from Byzantine (*rūmī*) barbiton players (*barbaṭīya*) and theorists (*usūkhānīya* = *psaltes*). These borrowings from abroad he incorporated into a system which came to be recognized throughout the peninsula (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, iii. 84). We are told however, that Ibn Miqdāsh rejected from Persian and Byzantine methods what he found to be "alien to Arabian music" (*ghinā'*). This would appear to show, as Land once pointed out (*Remarks*, p. 156), that these foreign importations "did not supersede the national music, but were grafted upon an Arabic root with a character of its own". We know that about the same time, or perhaps slightly later (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, i. 98), that the Arabs adopted the Persian lute in the place of their own instrument. This latter, as we have seen, gave a one-octave scale based on the accordatura C-D-G-a, whilst the Persian lute was tuned in fourths thus: A-D-G-c, which enabled the performer to attain (with a shift) the double octave. Yet only the highest and the lowest strings of their old lute needed to be altered, and these were given the Persian names of *sir* and

hamm, whilst the second and third strings retained their old Arabic names of *mathnā* and *mathlath*. The new accordatura of the lute brought about a change in the scale (*qabaṣa*) as the following distribution of the frets shows (Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 237). The lute with the Arabs was the basis of all "theory", just as the lyre was with the Greeks.

FRETS	STRINGS			
	<i>Bumw</i>	<i>Mathnā</i>	<i>Mathlath</i>	<i>Sir</i>
<i>Muṣṭafā</i> (Open string)	0	498	996	294
<i>Sabbāba</i> (1 st Finger)	204	702	1200	498
<i>Wusṭā</i> (2 nd Finger)	294	792	90	588
<i>Binjir</i> (3 rd Finger)	408	906	204	702
<i>Kānjir</i> (4 th Finger)	498	996	294	792

Nevertheless, this scale did not satisfy everyone, and we find that the Persians introduced a new *wusṭā* fret at 303 cents, whilst later a famous musician at Hārūn's court named Zalsal [q.v.] (d. 175 = 791) adopted a fret at 355 cents, half-way between the new Persian *wusṭā* fret and the *binjir* fret. By the time of Ishāk al-Mawṣilī (d. 236 = 850) these Persian and Zalsalian frets seem to have created such confusion that this musician attempted to recast the lute scale in its old Pythagorean mould, which, we are told, he did without recourse to Euclid or a solitary book of the "Ancients" as the Greeks of old were called (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, v. 52-53; *Iqd al-farīd*, iii. 188). His reform appears to have been successful in 'Irāq and lasted there until the 15th (xth) century (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, i. 2; *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Safā*, i. 98). Elsewhere however, the Persian and Zalsalian notes continued in favour, as we know from al-Fārābī (Kosegarten, *Lit. cant.*, p. 85) and the *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, p. 239. A century later, whilst the Persian note of 303 cents had disappeared, that of Zalsal was still popular (Ibn Sina, *Ṣifā*, India Office MS., fol. 173).

There is but little preserved of the writings of the theorists of the Old Arabian School. Whether the books of Yūnus al-Katīb (d. ca. 148 = 765) [q.v.] and the more famous al-Kharrī (d. 175 = 791) [q.v.] on music (*nagham* and *ilā'*) dealt with these theories we know not since they have perished (*Fihrist*, p. 43, 143). A similar fate appears to have overtaken the music books of 'Uḥayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir (d. ca. 300 = 912), 'Alī b. Hārūn b. 'Alī b. Yahyā b. Abī Manṣūr (d. 352 = 963) and Sulaimān b. Aiyūb al-Madīnī (*Kitāb al-Aghānī*, v. 45; *Fihrist*, p. 144, 148). Beyond the sparse information given in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and the *Murūṣṣi* of al-Mas'ūdī (viii. 89-99), we have only the *Risāla fī 'l-Mūsīqā* of Yahyā b. 'Alī b. Yahyā b. Abī Manṣūr (d. 300 = 912) to depend on, since the *Kitāb al-Lahw wa 'l-Malah* of Ibn Khur-dādhbih (d. ca. 300 = 912) [q.v.] is in private hands (*Hilf*, xxviii. 204).

Although we read that Ishāk al-Mawṣilī made his calculations by *ghinā'* (Yahyā b. 'Alī, fol. 237), yet the Old Arabian School, so far as we know from Yahyā b. 'Alī b. Yahyā, did not adjust the

frets of the lute (*ūd*) or pandore (*ṭunbūr*) by this method. Their rule for fixing the frets was based on tuning a note with its octave or, as they termed it, its *ṣūbḥ* or *dīf*, although the latter term shows that they recognized the interval ratio 1:2. When the Greek scholastics came to deal with the theory of music all this was changed.

The Greek Scholastics. By the middle of the 11th (10th) century, the effects of the writings of the ancient Greeks on music, which had been translated into Arabic, began to be felt. Among these treatises were Aristotle's *Problems* and *De anima*, the commentaries of Themistius and Alexander Aphrodisiensis on the latter, two works by Aristoxenus — including the *ερωγέα* it would seem, the two books on music attributed to Euclid, a treatise by Nicomachus, presumably the lost book, and the *Harmonics* of Ptolemy, all or most of which had been translated by the first half of the 10th (9th) century at least, as we know from al-Fārābī (*Fihrist*, p. 266, 269, 270; Ibn al-Kifī, p. 65; al-Maḥḥārī, *Anal.*, ii. 87; *ʿIqd al-Jarīd*, iii. 186; B. G. A., vii. 128; *Rasāʾil Iḥwān al-Safā*, I. 102; and Farmer, *Greek Theorists of Music in Arabic Translation*, in *lit.*, xiii, p. 325).

The *ʿilm al-mūsīqī* now became one of the courses of the *ʿulūm ṣābiya* or *quadrivium*, and was studied by most savants at this period although later a few fought shy of the subject probably, as in Western Europe (Farmer, *Hist. Facts*..., p. 184), because it was too abstruse (Ibn Khallikān, iii. 471). The early scholastics dealt with the theory of sound (*ṣawr*), intervals (*al-ʿād*), genres (*ajnās*), species (*anwāʾ*), systems (*ʿimnāt*, *ʿjamāʿāt*), mutation (*intiqāl*) and composition (*taʿlīf*), after the manner of the Greeks, and from the above order we see that Euclid influenced them in this respect. To this was added rhythm (*īzāʿ*). All this was of immense value to Arab theorists and their later copyists, the Persians and Turks. Instead of the old method of describing intervals according to their frets they were now given definite names and recognized by ratios. The octave became *al-kull* ("the whole"), whilst the fifth, fourth, and ditone were given identical names in Arabic. The tone was variously known as the *ṭanin*, *ʿawda* or *mudda*. The semitone or *nusf ṭanin* was recognized in its two forms, the *inṣaf* or *ḍarwāḥ*, and the *ḥaḍḥa* or *ḥaḍḥa* which was the *ḥaḍḥa*, whilst the quarter-tone was the *irḥāḥ*. In some ways the Scholastics were slavish and diffuse in what they borrowed, although in others they were eclectic. On the question of the physical bases of sound however, and their treatment of musical instruments, they pushed ahead of their masters.

The first to take advantage of the newly-found treasures of the "Ancients" was al-Kindī (d. 260 = 874) [q. v.]. Seven treatises on music theory appear under his name (*Fihrist*, p. 255—257; Ibn al-Kifī, p. 370; Ibn Abī Uṣayb'a, I. 210), and four of them would seem to have survived (Farmer, *Hist. of Arabian Music*, p. 127; do., *Some musical MSS. identified*, p. 91). Three of them are at Berlin (Ahlwardt, *Verz.*, Nos. 5503, 5530, 5531): *Risāla fī l-ḥikm al-ḥabariyya al-mūsīqī*, *Risāla fī l-ḥikm*, and another without title. The fourth, the *Risāla fī l-ḥikm al-ḥabariyya al-mūsīqī*, is in the British Museum (Or. 2361), and is probably later than the others. In the latter we see the author's indebtedness to Euclid and Ptolemy. He had written a *Risāla fī l-ḥikm al-ḥabariyya*, presumably Euclid's *Sectio*

canonis. He uses a one-octave alphabetic (*abjad*) notation which was an improvement on Greek methods, but his pointing the way to a reform of the scale was probably of greater import to the Arabs. By introducing a fifth string on the lute, so as to reach the double octave without recourse to the shift, he obtained the Complete System (*ʿJamʿ al-ʿaṣām*: Ptolemy's *ερωγέα ῥήμα*). To accomplish this a fret called the *muḥjannab* had to be introduced at 114 cents between the *muṣṭafā* and the *sabāḥa* fret, which in itself created another problem, and eventually led to frets being tried between the *muṣṭafā* and the above *muḥjannab* at 90 cents and between the *muṣṭafā* and *ḥaḍḥa* frets at 384 cents. Here was the germ of the *limma*, *limma*, *comma* scale of the later *ṭunbūr al-ḥabariyya*, the forerunner of the Systematist scale.

After al-Kindī, we have a gap of a century in actual documents. There are names of theorists in abundance but their works have not survived. Al-Kindī's two disciples, Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Sarakhsi (d. 286 = 899) and Manṣūr b. Ṭāḥa b. Ṭāḥir, contributed works on the theory of music, the former writing six (*Fihrist*, p. 117, 149, 261). More important perhaps, were the three books of Ṭāḥit b. Kurra (d. 288 = 901) [q. v.], as well as those of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzi (d. 320 = 932) [q. v.] and Kūṣā b. Lūṭī (d. ca. 320 = 932) [q. v.] (*Fihrist*, p. 276, 295; Ibn Abī Uṣayb'a, I. 309; *Kitāb al-Aghniya*, viii. 34; *Ḥadith al-Khalīf*, v. 161). The greatest of all the scholastics however was al-Fārābī (d. 339 = 950) [q. v.] (Ibn al-Kifī, p. 277; Ibn Abī Uṣayb'a, II. 134; Stein-schneider, *al-Fārābī*). Although we lack two of his books on music, the *Kalām fī l-Mūsīqī* and the *Kitāb fī l-ḥikm al-ḥabariyya*, yet his greatest work, the *Kitāb al-Mūsīqī al-kabīr*, has been preserved. This treatise, so he tells us, was written because he found an "incompleteness" in what had been handed down from the Greeks. It has been called "the most important treatise on the theory of Oriental music" (cf. vol. II. 54), but it probably deserved to rank as one of the greatest works that had been written on music. His treatment of the physical and physiological principles of sound and music is certainly an advance on the Greeks, whilst he was the first to devote a detailed study to musical instruments, a subject on which nothing has come down to us from the Greeks. Al-Fārābī was a good mathematician and physicist, and that enabled him to do justice to what the Arabs called the *ʿilm al-naṣarī* or speculative theory, even to not repeating the errors of the Greeks (Farmer, *Hist. Facts*..., p. 292—293). Yet he was something more. He was a practical musician and could appreciate the art as well as the science, which was more than Themistius could do, as al-Fārābī himself mentions. As a performer with a reputation (Ibn Khallikān, iii. 309; *Rasāʾil Iḥwān al-Safā*, I. 85) he could bring the *ʿilm al-amālī* or practical art to bear upon the discussions. So whilst he was more thorough than the Greeks in handling the physical bases of sound, he could also make valuable contributions to physiological acoustics, i.e. the sensations of tone, a question which the Greeks left practically untouched.

By the time of al-Fārābī further additions had been made to the scale. The principle by which the Persian and Zalalian *muṣṭafā* frets at 303 and 355 cents had been determined, was also applied to the insertion of corresponding *muḥjannab* frets,

between the *muṣṣaf* and the *sabbāḥ*, at 145 and 168 cents, with the result that there were now three *muḡannab* frets known respectively as the Ancient, Persian and Zalzalīan, whilst the one at 114 cents had disappeared. Here is the fretting of the lute in al-Fārābī's day:

	FRETS				
	STRINGS				
	<i>Ḥamm</i>	<i>Maṭṭāḥ</i>	<i>Maḍḍāḥ</i>	<i>Zir</i>	<i>Ḥadd</i>
<i>Muṣṣaf</i>	0	498	996	294	792
<i>Ancient muḡannab</i>	90	588	1086	384	882
<i>Persian muḡannab</i>	145	643	1141	439	937
<i>Zalzalīan muḡannab</i>	168	666	1164	462	960
<i>Sabbāḥ</i>	204	702	1200	498	996
<i>Ancient wusṭā</i>	294	792	90	588	1086
<i>Persian wusṭā</i>	303	801	99	597	1095
<i>Zalzalīan wusṭā</i>	355	853	151	649	1147
<i>Bimjir</i>	408	906	204	702	1200
<i>Khānīr</i>	498	996	294	792	90

Al-Fārābī also noted the scale of the *ṭunbūr al-khurāsānī* proceeding by a *ṭimma*, *ṭimma*, *ṭimma*, which doubtless was prompted by al-Kindī's speculations. It became the parent of the later theory of the Systematist School. In describing the scales of the *rabab* or *rebec* he shows one that gave the just minor third (316) and just major third (386).

The next great writer after al-Fārābī was Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Buzjantī (d. 388 = 998) (q.v.), the most eminent of the Arabic writers on mathematics. His book on rhythm (*ṭabā'*) has unfortunately disappeared, although its importance has been testified to (*Bibl. Ind.*, 1849, p. 93). The contemporary encyclopaedists, the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* in their *Rasā'il*, and Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Khwarizmi in his *Mafāṭīḥ al-ʿUlūm*, also deal with the theory of music. The latter does not break fresh ground although his work is helpful in controlling others. The former, however, are of considerable import because of their able and lucid treatment of acoustics. Here is an instance. According to Helmholtz (*op. cit.*, p. 10), musical tones are distinguished by their force, pitch, and quality, and the force of a musical tone, he says, increases and diminishes with the extent or so-called amplitude of the oscillations of the particles of the sounding body. Preece and Stroh refused to accept this definition and pointed out that loudness does not depend upon amplitude of vibration only, but upon the quantity of air put in vibration (*P. R. S.*, xxviii, p. 366). The *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* had already enunciated this opinion. "Hollow bodies" they say, "like vessels... will resound for a long time after they are struck, because the air within them reverberates time after time until it becomes still. Consequently, the wider the vessels are, the greater the sound, because more air is put in vibration" (i. 89). They also recognized the spherical propagation of sound (i. 88), which was an improvement on the Aristotelian *De audibilibus* (802, a) which said that "the direction of sound follows a straight line" (cf. Vitruvius, *De arch.*, v. 3).

The next writers whose works have been spared us are Ibn Sīnā (d. 428 = 1037) (q.v.) and Ibn Zayla (d. 440 = 1048). Two treatises on music stand to the credit of Avicenna, as he was known in Europe, and they are contained in the *Shifā'*

(India Office MS., 1811) and the *Nagāt* (Bodleian MS. Marsh, 521) (Ibn al-Kifī, p. 413; Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, ii. 2; cf. Casiri, i. 271). Unlike al-Fārābī, the *ṭabā'* al-*ra'is* was not a practical musician, yet his biographers claim that he dealt with questions on the theory of music which were neglected by the Greeks. He is scientific and philosophic in his approach, and even critical at times, but he displays little of that originality that is so apparent in his other writings. Ibn Zayla was his disciple and echoed his opinions, although some fresh details emerge when dealing with the practical art. He quotes from al-Kindī on the question of rhythm, and is useful on that account.

Egypt also contributed its quota of music theorists, two outstanding writers being Ibn al-Haitham (d. 430 = 1039) (q.v.) and Abu 'l-Ṣalt Umāyya (d. 528 = 1134). Ibn al-Haitham appears however to have written commentaries on both the *zawajir* *ṣawāḥ* and the *Elasaryūn* *ṣawāḥ* of Euclid (Ibn al-Kifī, p. 168; Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, ii. 90). Although there were several Arabic commentaries on Euclid's *Canon* not one appears to have survived. Yet we have two at least in Hebrew whose authors probably depended on Arabic works. One of these was Moses N... Levy (Halevy) who quotes Shem Tob b. Isaac Shafrūt, and the other was Isaac b. Isaac (*Beṭh eṣar haṣṣiphurim*, Year L, xxix, xxi.). The *Risāla fī 'l-Musīqā* by Abu 'l-Ṣalt was probably of some importance since it is quoted by Jewish writers (Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, ii. 52; Ahlwardt, *Fors.*, No. 5536 [5]; P. Duran, *Grammar*, Vienna 1863, p. 37). In Syria we have Ibn al-Naḡgāsh (d. 574 = 1178), Abu 'l-Hakam al-Bāḥillī and his son Abu 'l-Maḡdī Muhammad (d. 576 = 1180), and 'Alam al-Dīn Kaiṣar (d. 649 = 1251), all of whom were interested in music theory (Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, ii. 144, 155, 162, 181; Ibn Khallikān, iii. 471), whilst further East we have such names as Ibn Man'a (d. 551 = 1156), 'Abd al-Mu'min b. Ṣaṭf al-Dīn (vith = xiith century), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāṣī (d. 606 = 1209) (q.v.), and Naṣr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 673 = 1274) (q.v.) (Ibn Khallikān, iii. 467; Bodleian MS. Ouseley, No. 117; Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2972; Paris Bibl. Nat. MS., Arabe, No. 2466). In the West, the two theorists of consequence are Ibn Bāḡdja (d. 532 = 1138) (q.v.) whose book on music enjoyed the same reputation in the West as that of al-Fārābī in the East (al-Maḡkārī, *Anal.*, ii. 125), and Ibn Rushd (d. 594 = 1198) (q.v.) whose commentary on Aristotle's *De anima* reveals that lucidity of treatment in the section dealing with the phenomena of sound that made him so famous on other questions.

The Systematist School. After Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zayla, the most thorough exposition of the theory of music, so far as existing documents show, was made by a musician in the service of the last Caliph of Baghdad, named Ṣaṭf al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min b. Faḡhīr (d. 692 = 1294) (q.v.), the author of two estimable works, the *Risāla al-Sharafiya* and the *Kitāb al-Adwār*, which almost every subsequent writer in music uses as his principal authorities. A later theorist, 'Abd al-Qādir b. Ḥabīb, frankly admitted that Ṣaṭf al-Dīn was the fountain head in music theory, whilst a modern has called him "the Zarlino of the Orient" (Kienewetter, p. 13), and many commentaries have been penned on his theories. Ṣaṭf al-Dīn was no mean physicist, and he attacks both al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā when

he finds that their terms and definitions are inexact. Much of it may be mere quibbling over verbal niceties, but it redounds to his credit that he realized that in a science we must start off with terminological exactitudes. Like al-Fārābī, he was a practical musician, and the reform of the scale, which must be attributed to him (cf. Helmholtz, p. 280), was possibly due to this fact. The Greek scholiasts had done much to stabilize Arabian music theory, yet anomalies still existed. The most notable was the Zalzalīan *wuṣṣā* note at 555 cents together with its attendant sixth at 853 cents. These did not conform to the scholiasts' scale which produced a succession of fourths (cf. Helmholtz, p. 281). It was to remedy this defect, it would seem, that Ṣāfi al-Dīn laid down a new theory of the scale in which the octave was divided into seventeen intervals in the succession of *limma*, *limma* and *comma*, which enabled him to embrace the fractious Zalzalīan notes of 555 and 853 cents by close approximations which worked out at 384 and 882 cents. This scale, which has been considered "the most perfect ever devised" (Parry, *Art of Music*, 1st ed., p. 29), gave consonances purer than our scale of equal temperament can afford us (Riemann, *Catechism of Musical History*, i. 65). It is no wonder therefore that Helmholtz has considered the theory of the Systematist School so "noteworthy in the history of the development of music" (p. 283). Here is the scale of Ṣāfi al-Dīn:

VEETS	STRINGS				
	<i>Ḥamm</i>	<i>Muthlaḥ</i>	<i>Madhūn</i>	<i>Zir</i>	<i>Ḥadd</i>
<i>Mutlaḥ</i>	0	498	996	294	792
<i>Zaid</i>	90	588	1086	384	882
<i>Muḍḡannab</i>	180	678	1176	474	972
<i>Sahbāḥa</i>	204	702	1200	498	996
<i>Persian wuṣṣā</i>	294	792	90	388	1086
<i>Zalzalīan wuṣṣā</i>	384	882	180	678	1176
<i>Binjir</i>	408	906	204	702	1200
<i>Shinqir</i>	498	996	294	792	90

After the fall of Bagdad (654 = 1256), the hub of culture moved further East, and the writings of the Systematist School have to be sought as much in Persian as in Arabic. Most of this literature has been preserved. Kūṭh al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 710 = 1310) [q. v.], who devoted a valuable *ḡunna* to the "science of music" in his *Durrat al-Tāḡ* (Brit. Mus., MS. Add. 7694), was the first of these writers in Persian. He was followed by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-ʿAmulī (viiith = xivth century), whose *Nafāʾis al-Funūn* also has a section on music (Brit. Mus., MS. Add. 16827). Another xivth century Persian work deserving of mention is the *Kanz al-Tuhaf* (Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2361). More important were the four works of ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Ghālibī (d. 839 = 1435) [q. v.], entitled the *Djāmiʿ al-ʿAlhān*, with its two epitomes the *Mafāḥid al-ʿAlhān* and the *Mughṭaṭar al-ʿAlhān* (Bodleian MSS., Marsh, N^o. 282, Ouseley, N^o. 264, 385), and the *Sharḥ al-ʿAdwār*. A fifth work, the *Kanz al-ʿAlhān*, the most precious of all since it contained noted music, has disappeared. Ibn Ghālibī depends on al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, and Ṣāfi al-Dīn, but is by no means servile. What he adds to our knowledge of the music of his day concerns the practical art. Both his son and his

grandson were theorists, and their works still exist, the *Nabḥat al-ʿAdwār* and the *Mafāḥid al-ʿAdwār* (Nūrī ʿUṭmāniya Library, Nos. 3646, 3649). They were in the service of the Turkish sultāns, who were now patronising this class of servants, and we find two theorists, Khidr b. ʿAbd Allāh and Aḥmad Ughla Shakhullāh, writing in Turkish, the latter translating the *Kitāb al-ʿAdwār* of Ṣāfi al-Dīn (Lavignac, N^o. 2978). They were eclipsed, however, by two Arabic writers, the author (fl. 855—886 = 1451—1481) of the *Muḥammad b. Murād Treatise* (Brit. Mus., MS. Or. 2361), and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamid al-Lādīkī (fl. 886—918 = 1481—1512), the author of the *Risālat al-Fathāya* (Brit. Mus., MS. Or. 6629). Al-Lādīkī is the last writer to deal in an appreciable way with the speculative theory of music which had been suscitiated by the Scholists (cf. Kiesewetter, p. 88). As for the author of the *Muḥammad b. Murād Treatise*, we have in him an able mathematician who places the *Arithmāṭikī* of Nicomachus and Ibn Sīnā under contribution. He is replete with argument and carefully examines the statements of his predecessors on questions of acoustics. We find him saying that he had put certain theories to practical test and found them wanting. He gives divisions of the string other than those laid down by Ṣāfi al-Dīn.

The contemporary encyclopædias also contain a section on music, the most noteworthy being the *Durr al-Naḡm* (Vienna MS., N^o. 4) or *Irshād al-Ḥāqid* (Bibl. Ind., 1849) of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Akfānī (d. 749 = 1348), the *Makḥḥat al-ʿUlūm* (Brit. Mus., MS. Or. 3143) attributed to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Djurdjānī (d. 816 = 1413), and the *Unwūḍḥ al-ʿUlūm* (Vienna MS., N. F., N^o. 7) of Muḥammad Shāh ʿĀlebi b. Muḥammad al-Fanāḥī (d. 839 = 1435). To al-Djurdjānī may also be ascribed the *Sharḥ Mawḥḥat al-Mukṭarab Sāḥā*, the most thorough and illuminating commentary on the theories of Ṣāfi al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, and the most strikingly original treatment of the physical and physiological rudiments of sound (Brit. Mus., MS. Or. 2361). After the close of the 15th (xvth) century, treatises on the *ʿilm al-mūsīqī* are rare. Writers abound who profess to deal with it, but actually they are only concerned with the practical art. If any *ʿilm* is displayed in these later books it is the *ʿilm al-nuḡm*, and authors fill their pages with astrological tables linking up the twelve *ḥayāt* of the heavens with the twelve *maḥmūdāt*, and so forth. Many treatises are written in *verse*, a form which, however much it may attract the pure *alsh* lover, is scarcely suitable in dealing with a science. The author of one of these however, Shams al-Dīn al-Saydāwī al-Dihābī (or al-Dimashqī), is worthy of attention by reason of his use of a staff for the purpose of a musical notation, a device which may be traced to the year 1200 at least (Bodleian MS., Marsh, N^o. 82; Paris Bibl. Nat. MS., Arabic, N^o. 2480). In the West, treatises on the theory of music are scarcer still. Ibn Khaldūn (d. 809 = 1406) [q. v.] gives a glimpse of what was taught under this heading in his day (*Prolog.*, ii. 410), but actual works are rare. A certain ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Fāṣī wrote a treatise in 1650 entitled the *Kitāb al-Djūmūʿ fī ʿIlm al-Mūsīqī wa ʿl-Taḥḥīl* (Ahlwardt, *Verz.*, N^o. 5521), but its author borrows his theory from older authorities (Farmer, *An Old Moorish Lute Tuner*, p. 14).

The Modern School. The chief feature of this school is the so-called quarter-tone system, and its most important theorist is Miḥḥā'il Muḥḥāḥ (d. 1888) [q. v.]. The system was not invented or introduced by him as Parisot thought (*Rapport*, p. 21) because Muḥḥāḥ himself tells us that it existed before his day (*M. F. O. B.*, vi. 52, 105). Nor can we say that the sixteenth century was the period of its origin (cf. Lachmann, *Greene's Dict. of Music*, iii. 576) since we know that it was practised in the xviiith century as Baron de Tott (La Borde, i. 436-439), Toderini (i. 243) and Murat (Féris, ii. 363) have shown. Nor can it be traced in a MS. mentioned by Villoteau, as Land suggested (*Recherches*, p. 77-78), because this work can be identified with a MS. entitled *al-Shuḥḥāra dhāt al-Aḥmām* (Brit. Mus., MS. Or. 1535) in which there is no mention of the quarter-tone theory. How did the system originate? Dr. Lachmann holds that it was due to the needs of transposition (*Greene's Dict. of Music*, iii. 567). On the other hand, Collangettes avers that in actual practice (for the lute is no longer fretted) it is simply the Systematist scale to which several smaller intervals have been added (p. 419). Some of the technical terms used in the system are of Persian origin such as those for the quarter-tone, three quarter-tone, and tone, *nim'araba*, *tiḥ'araba*, and *larḥa*. Further, as early as the xvth century, as we know from Ibn Qaḥḥib, Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Aḥḥāmī, and the author of the Muḥḥammad b. Muḥḥad Trentise, intervals finer even than those of the Systematist School were being used in the newly-adopted *ḥuḥḥā* or modal extensions, which were not used in the time of Saḥī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Muḥḥin, although they are part of the earlier (?) Persian system as reflected in the *Bahḥat al-Aḥḥā* by 'Abd al-Muḥḥin b. Saḥī al-Dīn (Bodleian MS., Ouseley, No. 117). A Persian origin of the quarter-tone system is, therefore, not unlikely, although Maḥḥmūd Rāḥḥib, a well known writer on Turkish music, argues in favour of a Greek origin (see the Turkish journals *Milli Maḥḥmūd*, May-Oct., 1927, and the *Turkische Post*, June and Aug., 1928). In the xviiith century we have evidence (La Borde, i. 436) that the octave was divided into twenty-four equal parts of 50 cents each producing a scale comprising three major tones of 200 cents, each divided into four quarter-tones, and four minor tones of 150 cents, each divided into three quarter-tones:

TONES	Aḥḥā	Dhāḥā	Shāḥā	Ljāḥāḥāḥā	Nawā	Ḥuḥḥāḥ	Awḥ	Māḥḥā
CENTS	200	150	150	200	200	150	150	Total 1200

Muḥḥāḥ tells us that he was dissatisfied with the theorists of his day in regard to their division of the octave (cf. Murat's division of the octave into 55 *commas*). There was certainly a difference so far as Egypt was concerned, since one theorist divided even the minor tones into four parts as well as the major tones, thus giving twenty-eight intervals to the octave (Muḥḥammad b. Ismā'il Shihāb al-Dīn). At any rate, Muḥḥāḥ attempted to lay down a principle that would establish the quarter-tone (*ḥuḥḥā*) system on a proper basis. His method is by no means clear (Land, *Recherches*, p. 75; Collangettes, p. 417, 418), but Ellis (*J. S. A.*,

p. 497) and Parisot (*Mus. orient.*, p. 15-16) believe that he was aiming at a quarter-tone scale of equal temperament, twenty-four to the octave, which was actually the scale (see La Borde, i. 436) that he found in use (cf. Collangettes, p. 419).

NOTES	Yāḥḥā	Uḥḥāḥāḥ	Ḥāḥ	Aḥḥā	Dhāḥā	Shāḥā	Ljāḥāḥāḥ	Nawā
CENTS	0	200	350	500	700	850	1000	1200

This is the same scale as the preceding with the exception that the base has been given a lower note in the system, i.e. *yāḥḥā* instead of *ḥāḥ*. The system of the quarter-tone scale is generally accepted to-day throughout the Islamic Near East (Collangettes, p. 415), and even the Middle East ('Alī Naḥḥī Khān Wasīḥ).

Although in the Maghrib very little is written about the theory of music nowadays, yet in Egypt, Syria, Persia, and Turkey, there is no lack of books on the subject, as the *Bibliography* will show, although many of the treatises are merely manuals for practitioners. Even in Turkestan, under the auspices of the Soviet, works are being published. During the last decade a great impetus has been given to the study of the theory of music by the establishment of conservatories of music in the great Oriental capitals and chief cities, notably the *Dār al-'Alīm* at Constantinople and the *Nāḥī 'l-Muḥḥāḥ al-Shuḥḥā* at Cairo.

Bibliography: General works quoted:

Kitāb al-Aḥḥāḥ, Būlāḥ 1869; *The twenty-first vol. of the ... Aḥḥāḥ*, Leyden 1888; Casiri, *Bibl. Arab.-Hisp. Encarnación*, Madrid 1760-1770; Ḥāḥḥidī Khālifa, ed. Flügel, London 1835-1858; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, *Ḥāḥ al-farḥā*, Cairo 1887-1888; Ibn Abī Uḥḥāḥ, *Uḥḥāḥ al-Aḥḥā*, ed. A. Müller, Königsberg 1882-1884; Ibn Khālifa, ed. Wāḥḥfeld, London 1843-1871; Ibn al-Kūḥḥ, *Ta'rikḥ al-Ḥuḥḥāḥ*, ed. Lippert, Leipzig 1903; al-Maḥḥārī, *Analectes*, Leyden 1855-1861; al-Maḥḥādī, *Les premiers d'or*, Paris 1861-1877; Steinschneider, *al-Farḥāḥ (Alpharabius)*, St. Petersburg 1869; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel; Suter, *Die Mathematiker u. Astronomen der Araber*, in *Abh. z. Gesch. d. Math.*, x., xiv., Leipzig 1900-1902.

Theoretical Treatises. Medieval

Arabic Texts: al-Aḥḥāḥ, *Ḥuḥḥāḥ al-Ḥuḥḥāḥ*, in *Bibl. Ind.*, 1849; Muḥḥammad b. Aḥḥmad al-Khāḥḥāḥ, *Maḥḥāḥ al-'Uḥḥāḥ*, ed. van Vloten, Leyden 1895; Iḥḥāḥ al-Saḥḥā, *Ruḥḥāḥ*, Bombay 1887-9; *Die Abhandlungen d. Iḥḥāḥ al-Saḥḥā*, ed. Dieterici, Leipzig 1886; al-Farḥāḥ, *Min Kitāb al-Muḥḥāḥ (Actes du VI^{me} Cong. Orient.)*, Leyden 1884; *Farḥāḥ al-Muḥḥāḥ*, in *Ḥuḥḥāḥ al-'Uḥḥāḥ (al-Ḥuḥḥāḥ)*, vi., Saḥḥā 1921; Muḥḥammad b. 'Alī al-'Iḥḥāḥ, *Ljāḥāḥ al-Niḥḥāḥ*, in *Maḥḥāḥ*, xiv.; Ibn Khālifa, *Muḥḥāḥḥāḥ*, in *N. E.*, xvi., xvii., xviii.; i., ii., iii., Paris 1858. — **Modern Arabic Texts:** Muḥḥammad b. Ismā'il Shihāb al-Dīn, *Safīnat al-Muḥḥāḥ*, Cairo 1892; Aḥḥmad Afāḥḥ al-Saḥḥāḥ al-Jālīnī, *al-Safīnat al-'Aḥḥāḥāḥ*, Damascus 1891; 'Uḥḥāḥ b. Muḥḥammad al-Djūḥḥī, *Saḥḥāḥ al-Maḥḥāḥāḥ*, Cairo 1895; Miḥḥāḥ al-Muḥḥāḥāḥ, *Riḥḥāḥ al-Shihāḥāḥāḥ fī 'l-Safīnat al-Muḥḥāḥāḥ*, Bairūt 1899; and in *M. F. O. B.*, vi., 1913; Aḥḥmad Afāḥḥ al-Aḥḥāḥ al-Dīk, *Nāḥī al-Aḥḥāḥ fī Muḥḥāḥāḥ al-Aḥḥāḥāḥ*

ma 'l-'Arab, Cairo 1902; Muhammad Kamil al-Khalaf, *al-Musiqi al-gharbi*, Cairo 1904; *Naf' al-Anadisi fi Duruh al-Aghani*, n.d.; Abu 'Ali al-Ghawthi, *Katib al-Kina*, Algiers 1904; Darwish Muhammad, *Safat al-Anadisi fi 'Ilm al-Naghamat*, Cairo 1910; Tanjawi Djawhari, *al-Musiqi al-'arabiya*, Cairo 1914. — Modern Persian Texts: Muhammad Wajid 'Ali, *Sawt al-Mubarak*, Lucknow 1853; Muhammad 'Uthman Khan, *Sawt al-Nafas*, Lucknow 1874; 'Ali Naki Khan Waziri, *Ta'limat Musiqi*, Berlin n.d. — Modern Turkish Texts: Th. Djamil, *Ruhbet-i Musiqi*, 1904; Fakih Bey, *Nazariyat-i 'Ilm-i Ud Davlari*; Ra'uf Vekta Bey, *Sharh Musiqi Ta'rikhi*, Constantinople 1924; *Türk Musiki nazariyati*, Constantinople 1924; Fitrat, *Uzbek klavirli Musiqisi*, Tashkent 1927. See Borrel, *Contributions à la bibliographie de la Musique turque au XIX^e siècle*, in *R. E. Isl.*, 1928. — Translations: Dienerich, *Die Prosopäutik der Araber* [Ikhwan al-Salat], Berlin 1865; Lanil, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la gamme arabe* [al-Farabi] (*Actes du V^{ème} Congr. Orient.*, 1883), Leyden 1884; Wiedemann, *Über al-Fārābī's Auffassung der Wissenschaften, De Scientiis*, in *S.B.P.M.S. Erg.*, xxxix., Erlangen 1907; do., *Abchnitt über die Musik aus Schlüssel der Wissenschaft* [Mafatih al-'Ulum], in *S.B.P.M.S. Erg.*, liv., Erlangen 1922; do., *Angaben von al-Aḥḥān über die Musik*, in *S.B.P.M.S. Erg.*, liv., Erlangen 1922; Djalāl al-Dīn Muhammad, *Practical Philosophy of the Muhammadan People*... transl. by W. F. Thompson, London 1839; Carra de Vaux, *Le traité des rapports musicaux*... par Saḥ al-Dīn 'Abd al-Muḥsin, in *J. A.*, 1891; Mac Guckin de Slane, *Prolegomena hist. d'Ebn Khaldoun*, in *N. E.*, xix., xx., xxi.; Ronzevalle, *Un traité de Musique arabe moderne* [Mushāfa], in *M. F. O. B.*, 1913; E. Smith, *A Treatise on Arab Music*... [Mushāfa], in *J. Am. O. S.*, i.; R. D'Eranger, *La musique arabe* [al-Fārabi], Paris 1930; Farmer, *An Old Moorish Lute Tutor* [Lisan al-Din, etc.], Glasgow 1933; do., *al-Fārabi's Arabic-Latin Writings on Music*, London 1934; do., *Ibn Khurdaḡhābi on musical instruments*, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1928; Lachmann, *Gettschaft z. Erforschung der Musik des Orients*, i. [al-Kindi], Berlin 1931.

General works on Arabian, Persian, and Turkish music theory. Laborde, *Essai sur la Musique ancienne et moderne*, Paris 1780; Toderini, *Letteratura Turchea*, Venico 1787; Villoteau, *Description de l'Égypte, état moderne*, Paris 1809—1826; Klesewetter, *Die Musik der Araber*, Leipzig 1842; Kosegarten, *Alii Ispahanensis Liber cantilenarum magnus*... 1840—1843; Soriano-Fuertes, *Musica Árabe-Española*... Barcelona 1853; do., *Historia de la música Española*... Madrid 1855; Murat, *Einiges über die Musik der Orientalen, insonderheit über das dominierende persisch-türkische Tonsystem* (in *Ästhetische Rundschau*, 1867), Vienna 1867; Fétis, *Histoire générale de la Musique*, Paris 1869—1876; Mendel, *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon*, Berlin 1870—1879. [All the afore-mentioned must be used with caution, and reliance can only be placed on Kosegarten, and, in some respects, on Klesewetter]. — Caussin de Perceval, *Notices sur les principaux musiciens arabes*... in *J. A.*, 1873; Barbier de Meynard, *Ibrāhīm fī al-Madī*, in *J. A.*, 1869; Land, *Recherches sur l'hist. de*

la gamme arabe (*Actes du V^{ème} Congr. Inter. Orient.*, 1883), Leyden 1884; do., *Remarks on the earliest development of Arabic music* (*Trans. 15th Congr. Orient.*, 1892), London 1893; do., *Essai de notation musicale chez les Arabes et les Persans*, in *Études... dédiées à Dr. C. Lecomte*, Leyden 1885; do., *Tenischtrivernische u. Melodieproben aus dem muhammedanischen Mittelalter*, in *Vierteljahrsschrift f. Musikwissenschaft*, ii., Leipzig 1886; Roussnet, *La musique arabe*, in Lavignac's *Encyclopédie de la musique*, v., Paris 1913—1925; do., *Les visages de la musique musulmane*, in *La revue musicale*, Paris 1923; Von Hornbostel, *Phonographierte tanzische Melodien*, in *S.I.M.G.*, viii., Leipzig 1906; do., *Musikalische Tonysteme*, in *Handbuch der Physik*, viii., Berlin 1927; Lachmann, *Die Musik in den tansischen Städten*, in *Arch. f. Musikwissenschaft*, vi., 1923; do., *Musik des Orients*, Breslau 1929; Idelsohn, *Die Maqamat der arabischen Musik*, in *S.I.M.G.*, xv., Leipzig 1913; Bartok, *Die Volksmusik der Araber von Bihra u. Umgebung*, in *Zeitschr. f. Musikwiss.*, ii., Leipzig 1920; Parisot, *Musique orientale*, Paris 1898; do., *Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1899; do., *Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Turquie et Syrie*, 1903; Dalman, *Palästinaische Divan*, Leipzig 1901; Collangettes, *Étude sur la musique arabe*, in *J. A.*, 1904, 1906; Ronzevalle, *op. cit.*; Tripodo, *Lo stato degli studi sulla Musica degli Arabi*, Rome 1904; Mihjani, *L'Orientalisme musical et la Musique arabe*, in *M.O.*, i., Uppsala 1906; Helmholtz, *On the Sensations of Tone*... transl. by A. J. Ellis, 3rd Eng. ed., London 1895; Ellis, *On the musical Scales of various Nations*, in *Journ. Soc. Arts*, London 1885; Ribera, *La música de las Cantigas*... Madrid 1922; do., *Historia de la música arabe medieval y su influencia en la Española*, Madrid 1927; do., *La musica andalusa medieval*... Madrid 1923—1925; Ibrahim Bey Mustafa, *La valeur des intervalles dans la Musique arabe*, in *B. E. E.*, ii., Cairo 1888; Raouf Vekta Bey, *La Musique et les modes orientaux*, in *Revue musicale*, Paris 1907; *La Musique turque*, in Lavignac's *Encyclopédie de la Musique*, v., Paris 1913—1925; Farmer, *Hist. of Arabian Music*, London 1929; do., *Arabic musical MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, 1925; do., *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence*, London 1930; do., *The Organ of the Ancients from Eastern Sources*... London 1931; do., *Studies in Oriental musical Instruments*, London 1931; do., *Some musical MSS. identified*, in *J. R. A. S.*, London 1926; Uspensky, *Klassicheskaya muzyka Uzbekov* (Soviet'sky Uzbekistan), Tashkent 1927; Uspensky and Belaiter, *Turkmenzhaya muzyka*, Moscow 1928; Gaidner, *The Source and Character of Oriental Music*, in *M. W.*, vi., 1916; Chilesotti, *Le scale arabopersiane e indo*, in *S. I. M. G.*, iii., Leipzig 1902; Fleischer, *Review of Land's Recherches*... *gamme arabe*, in *Viert. f. Musikwissenschaft*, ii., Leipzig 1886; Stumpf, *Review of Ellis' On the musical Scales of various Nations*, in *Viert. f. Musikwissenschaft*, ii., Leipzig 1886.

(H. G. FARMER)

MUSLIM (A.), part. IV of *Islam*, denotes the adherent of Islam [q.v.]. The term has become current in some European languages (also in the forms *moslem*, *muslem*), as a noun or as an

adjective or as both, side by side with *Maham-madan* (in different forms). It has replaced *Musulman* (in different forms), except in French, where the latter term is used as a noun and as an adjective. The origin of *musulman* is probably *muslim* with the ending *-an* of the adjective in Persian. In some countries, e.g. Germany and the Netherlands, popular etymology has taken *man* for the vernacular "Mann, man", whence the plural forms *Muslimänner*, *Muslimänner* etc. These forms have, however, become antiquated. — In Arabic literature the term *Muslim* is and has always been used to denote the adherents of Islam. See further the artt. *IMĀN*, *AMR AL-MUSLIMIN*.

Bibliography: H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. *Musliman*; H. Lammens, *Remarques sur les mots français tirés de l'arabe*, Beyrouth 1890, p. 176; E. Littmann, *Morgenländische Wörter im Deutschen*, 2nd ed., Tübingen 1924, p. 61 sq.; R. Dozy, *Oesterling-en*, 's-Gravenhage-Leyden-Arnhem 1867, p. 44. (A. J. WENSINCK)

MUSLIM b. AḲĪL, cousin of HUSAIN b.

All. The latter, taking refuge in Mecca after the death of Mu'awiya I, sent him to study the situation in Kufa where the partisans of 'Alī were inviting him to come and proclaim himself caliph. Muslim there received promise of support from thousands of Shī'as. He wrote to Husain imploring him to hasten there and take command of the movement in person. In the meanwhile, the energetic Ubaid Allāh b. Ziyād had replaced the irresolute Nu'mān b. Bashir [q. v.]. Realising the seriousness of this change Muslim took refuge with Hānī b. 'Urwa [q. v.]. A stratagem devised by the new governor soon revealed his hiding place. Hānī having been captured, Muslim, abandoned by all his followers, wandered from one place of concealment to another. The descendants of Ash'ath b. Kaïs [q. v.] revealed the secret of his last hiding-place — a deed which earned the family the hatred of the Shī'a. The unfortunate 'Alid when discovered surrendered without resistance to the minions of 'Ubaid Allāh. His head was sent to the caliph Yazid I.

Bibliography: Taha'i, ed. de Goeje, ii. 227—229, 231—272, 281, 284—286, 292—294. For other references see the writer's *Califat de Yazid*, i. 136—145 (in *M.F.O.B.*, v.).

(H. LAMMENS)

MUSLIM b. AL-HADJĪJĀDĪ ABU 'L-HUSAIN

AL-KUHAIRI AL-NISĀBURI WAS BORN AT NISĀBUR IN 202 (817) or in 206 (821). He died in 261 (875) and was buried at Nāzābād, a suburb of Nisābur. An anecdote regarding the cause of his death is related by Ibn Hajar (see *Bibliography*). His fame is based upon his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which, along with Bukhārī's book of the same name, enjoys the highest fame among the collections of traditions.

Muslim travelled widely to collect traditions, in Arabia, Egypt, Syria and 'Irāq, where he heard famous authorities such as Ahmad b. Hanbal, Hammāla, a pupil of Shāfi'i, and Ishāq b. Rāhūya. His *Ṣaḥīḥ* is said to have been composed out of 300,000 traditions collected by himself. He wrote a large number of other books, on *ḥadīṭ*, traditions and biography, none of which seems to have survived.

The *Ṣaḥīḥ* differs from the other collections of canonical *ḥadīṭ* in that the books are not subdivided into chapters, whereas in Bukhārī's work the traditions act as examples of the *tarḡīma*'s.

Still, it is not difficult to trace in the order of the traditions in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* a close connection with corresponding ideas of *ḥadīṭ*. As a matter of fact the groups of traditions have been provided with superscriptions which may be compared with Bukhārī's *tarḡīma*'s; this was not, however, done by Muslim himself, as appears from the fact that the headings are not uniform in the different editions of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

A second difference between Muslim and the other collections consists in the fact that he pays peculiar attention to the *imād*'s, to such an extent that a tradition in his work is often followed by several different *imād*'s which serve as an introduction to either the same or to a slightly different *sunna*. Such a new *imād* is indicated in the text by *ḥ* (*ṭahawt* or *ḥawāla* "change"). Muslim is praised for his accuracy regarding this point; in other respects, however, Bukhārī is superior to him, as is even recognised by a man so devoted to him as al-Nawawī, who wrote upon the *Ṣaḥīḥ* a commentary, which in itself is a work of immense value for our knowledge of Muslim theology and *ḥadīṭ*.

Muslim has prefixed to his work an introduction to the science of tradition. The work itself consists of 52 books which deal with the common subjects of *ḥadīṭ*: the five pillars, marriage, slavery, harter, hereditary law, war, sacrifice, manners and customs, the Prophets and the Companions, predomination and other theological and eschatological subjects. The book closes with a chapter on the *Kur'ān* (*Tafsīr*), the shortness of which is several times outweighed by the value of the *Kitāb al-Imān*, which opens the work, and which is a complete survey of the early theology of Islam.

On the commentaries upon the *Ṣaḥīḥ* see Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 160, to which may be added: 'Alī b. Sulaimān al-Maghribī, *Wasayt al-Dibādī* 'alā *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim b. al-Hadījījādī*, Cairo 1298.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 160 sq.; al-Nawawī, *Tahḥīṭ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 548 sq.; Ibn Khallikān, *Wasayt al-A'yan*, ed. Wüstenfeld, N° 727, 19, 153; Ibn Hajar al-Asqalānī, *Tahḥīṭ al-Tahḥīṭ*, Haidarābād 1327, x. 126—128; Ḥadījīj Khalfā, ed. Fligel, *Index auctorum*, s. v. *Abū Ḥusain Muslim Ben Ḥajjāj*; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur'ān*, ii. 149 sq.; Goldziher, *Mus. Studien*, ii. 245 sq.; J. E. Sarkis, *Ma'jam al-Muḥḥiṭ al-'Arabīya wa 'l-ma'arraba*, Cairo 1346 (1924), col. 1746. (A. J. WENSINCK)

MUSLIM b. KURAISH SHARAF AL-DAWLĀ

ABU 'L-MAKARIM OF THE ARAB FAMILY OF THE 'UḤAYYID [see 'UḤAYYID] WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT ruler of the last great Arab dynasty in the Near East; during his reign the struggle between Fāṭimids and 'Abbasids for supremacy in Syria and Mesopotamia was decided in favour of the latter. In the year 433 (1042) the 20 year old Muslim was chosen chief of the tribe after the death of his father Kuraish b. Badrān and succeeded him as ruler of Mōsul. Like most Arab rulers of the lands of the Euphrates he recognised the Fāṭimid caliph in Cairo as his suzerain partly because he was himself a Shī'i. Quite early in his reign he began to cherish the ambitious plan of gradually extending the rule of his tribe over Mesopotamia. Every means of extending his power was taken by him. The first opportunity occurred

when in 458 (1066) the Saljuq Sultan Alp Arslan [q. v.] after conquering the Kh̲arizmians was proceeding to establish his supremacy in Syria. For this he had to entice the Arab chiefs from the sphere of influence of the Fatimid caliph and win them over to an alliance with him and to a recognition of the Abbāsid caliph. He therefore concluded an alliance with Muslim and granted him several towns in Mesopotamia. As a partner in this alliance Muslim defeated the Banū Kilāb who were vassals of the Fatimids. In 463 (1070) Alp Arslan died. The alliance was renewed with his son Sultan Malik Shāh [q. v.]. With his help Muslim was able a few years later to extend his power into Syria and take Aleppo. In 472 (1079) this town had no strong owner; the town was ruled by the ʔādī al-ʔh̲atāʔ, and the citadel by one of the last Mirdāsids [cf. the article ʔALAS]. There was a lack of provisions, as the town was continually threatened by enemies and the roads to it were cut off.

Damascus was in possession of Sultan Tutuḡ [q. v.], to whom his brother Malik Shāh had granted Syria, which was still to be conquered. It was natural for Tutuḡ to wish to bring Aleppo also into his power but the people did not care for him because of his cruelty and greed, shut their gates against him and appealed for help to Muslim. After Tutuḡ had withdrawn, Muslim approached the town with large supplies of provisions and after lengthy negotiations both town and citadel were handed over to him [see ʔALAS] and the Mirdāsīd chiefs received some smaller towns in compensation. He received a grant of confirmation from Malik Shāh, who did not want his brother to become too powerful, on paying a considerable annual tribute (£ 150,000). Muslim extended his territory by adding to it Ruḡā (Edessa), Harrān and a number of smaller fortresses, out of which he drove the leaders of Turkish bands so that his power stretched from Northern Syria to the Euphrates. Instead of being content with this his unbounded ambition made him overestimate his strength. Like Tutuḡ he had dreams of conquering all Syria, especially Damascus. He could not obtain the town from Malik Shāh who had granted Central Syria to Tutuḡ. He therefore again joined forces with the enemy of the Saljuqs, the Fatimid caliph, who promised to send troops to assist him to take Damascus. Muslim took advantage of the absence of Tutuḡ who was engaged in a campaign against the Byzantines in Antioch, to advance on Damascus. He occupied several towns in Central Syria, including Baalbek [q. v.]. But the Fatimid help did not materialise and Tutuḡ was called back by his vassals who hated Muslim. These circumstances and a rising in Harrān forced him to retire. To replace Muslim who had deserted him, Malik Shāh bestowed his favour on the sons of a former vizier of the Abbāsids, Ibn Djaḡir, and sent them against a supporter of the Fatimids, the Marwāsīd Maḡḡūr, to deprive him of his chief possession Amid. The latter found support from Muslim. They joined forces, were attacked at Amid and withdrew into the fortified town leaving their other possessions undefended. Sultan Malik Shāh seized the opportunity to send ʔamid al-Dawla, another son of Djaḡir, to Mōsul, to take this city from Muslim who had in the meanwhile escaped from Amid. When Muslim saw that he had lost his possessions he made overtures to the Sultan through

the son of the vizier Niḡām al-Mulk and humbly begged for mercy. The Sultan, who thought Muslim no longer dangerous, pardoned him and restored his lands to him but Muslim could not be at peace. Perhaps in secret agreement with Malik Shāh, he turned in 477 (1084) against a Saljuq prince of Asia Minor, Sulaimān b. ʔuṭalmish, who had taken Antioch from the Byzantines and demanded from him the same tribute as the Byzantines had paid. When Sulaimān refused to pay, he advanced against him with a force of Arabs and Turkomans. In the neighbourhood of Antioch in Safar 478 (May 1085) the forces met, unexpectedly for Sharaf al-Dawla; his troops, who hated Muslim, went over to Sulaimān. Muslim was defeated and slain along with 400 of his Arabs (cf. Ibn al-ʔAdīm, fol. 68b). With his death the power of the ʔUḡalids was at an end. They lost Aleppo on Muslim's death and only survived a few years longer (till 489 = 1090) as governors of Mōsul [see ʔUḡALIDS]. Muslim is described as an able and just man and his tolerance of Christians was remarkable. His rule is said to have been able and orderly and indeed he did bring the finances of Aleppo into order in a very short time after taking it. In any case he had wide vision and successfully endeavoured to maintain the power of the Arab tribes in Syria and Mesopotamia. It ceased with him; Turkish generals became the rulers of Syria and Mesopotamia.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aṭṭir, *al-Kāmil*, index; E. v. Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie*, index, s. v. (M. SOBERNHEIM)

MUSLIM b. ʔUḤBA of the tribe of the Banū Murra, a famous leader in the armies of the Sufyānid caliphs. We know very little about the early stages of his career. We find him early established in Syria to which he probably came with the first conquerors. Completely devoted to the Umayyads and of great personal valour, he led a division of Syrian infantry at the battle of Siffīn. But he failed in an attempt to take the oasis of Dūmat al-Djandal [q. v.] from ʔAlī. The caliph Muʔāwīya appointed him to take charge of the *ḡharāḡ*, the finances, of Palestine, a lucrative office in which he refused to enrich himself. Muslim was prominent at the death-bed of Muʔāwīya. The caliph had charged him and Djaḡḡāḡ b. ʔaṣīb [q. v.] with the regency until the return of Yazīd who was in Anatolia at the head of his troops. The confidence which the great Sufyānid had in his loyalty is seen in his advice to his heir: "If you ever have trouble with the Hidsās, just send the one-eyed man of the tribe of Murra there" (Muslim had only one eye). This time had now come.

Muslim had been a member of the embassy sent to Medina to bring the Anṣār back to obedience. All other efforts at conciliation having failed, Yazīd I decided to resort to force. In spite of Muslim's age and infirmities, Yazīd felt he was the man to command the expedition. He was obliged to travel in a litter so infirm was he. At Wādī ʔ-ʔurāḡ, Muslim met some Umayyads who had been driven out of Medina; these exiles informed him of the military situation of the town. When he reached the oasis of Medina, Muslim encamped on the *ḡarra* of Wāḡim and for three days awaited the result of the negotiations begun with the rebels, Anṣār and descendants of the *muhājirūn* of the ʔuraish. On the fourth day, all overtures

having been rejected, he made his plans for battle. It was a Wednesday, the third last day of *Uhu* 'l-Hidjja 63 (Aug. 26-27, 683). After a slight initial advantage for the Ansār, the battle ended at midday in the complete rout of the rebels. The Syrians followed them into Medina and began to plunder the city. Anti-Umayyad legend has much exaggerated the horrors and the duration of this pillaging which it extends to three days. On the day after the battle, Muslim's intervention restored order and he used the next few days in drawing up the case against, and trying the principal leaders of the rebellion who had fallen into his power.

Having established order in the town, which he left in charge of Rawh b. Zinba', in spite of the aggravation of his malady, he resumed his march on Mecca to deal with 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair [q. v.] who had rebelled against the Umayyads. Arriving at Mughallā [q. v.] he became so ill that he had to stop. In obedience to the caliph Yazīd's instructions, he appointed to succeed him in command of the army Husain b. al-Numair [q. v.], his second in command. He died at Mughallā, where his tomb long continued to be stoned by the passers-by. Writers with Shi'a sympathies are fond of twisting the name Muslim into *Murif* (criminal: an allusion to Qur'ān, v. 36; vii. 79; xl. 29, 36 and *passim*). One statement which must be a ridiculous exaggeration puts his age at 90. Every thing, however, points to his having been born before the Hidjja. He died a poor man. This disinterestedness is not the only feature in his character which makes us take him as one of the most representative of the types of this generation of soldiers and statesmen, whose talents contributed so much to establish the power of the Umayyads. Doss described him as "un Hérouin mécréant". Muslim, it is true, retained all the proverbial uncouthness (*ghifā'*) of the Banī Murra. But his whole career reveals the Murri general as a convinced Muslim of a rectitude rare in this period of unsettlement, which saw so many extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune and wavering loyalties.

Bibliography: Tabart, ed. de Goeje, i. 3283; ii. 198, 409-425, 427. Other references are given in the writer's *Califat de Yazīd Ier*, p. 223 *seq.*, reprint from *M.F.O.B.*, v. 225 *seq.* and in his *Étude sur le règne du calife omayyade Mo'awia Ier*, in *M.F.O.B.*, i. 299, p. 19, 45, 269, 373. (H. LAMMENS)

MUSLIM B. AL-WALID AL-ANṢĀRĪ (called *Ṣarf* al-*Ḡhawānī* = "he who is laid low by the fair ones", as was al-Kuṭāimī [q. v.] before him), an Arab poet of the early 'Abbāsid period, born in Kufa c. 130-140 (747-757), d. 208 (823) in Djurdjān. His father, a *muṣawwif* [q. v.] of the Ansār [q. v.], was a weaver. Nothing is known of the poet's education. He probably got his literary training not from particular teachers or from books but in the busy life of the Mesopotamian cities, the intellectual life of which had risen to a still higher level with the advent of the 'Abbāsids. Like most of his contemporaries he earned his living as a poet by writing panegyrics and was acquainted with many statesmen and emirs. Among the former were the general Yazīd b. Ma'ād al-Shibānī (see *Dirwān*, N^o. 1, 6, 10, 16, 49), Dāwūd b. Yazīd al-Mughallabī (N^o. 20), Ma'mūr b. Yazīd al-Himyārī (N^o. 31) and many others. He gradually

won the favour of the influential Barmakids (cf. N^o. 17, 40, 45) and of the caliph Harūn al-Rashīd (N^o. 14, 41, 57); according to one story, he received his nickname from the latter on account of a verse of his (N^o. 3, 35; cf. also N^o. 23, 39). He even mentions the caliph's sister 'Abbas in an ode (N^o. 57, 12). The fall of the Barmakids about 187 (803) did not affect his career: he dedicated some of his odes to al-Amin (N^o. 7, 28, 30) but his principal patron in later times was al-Ma'mūn's vizier Faḍl b. Saḥl [q. v.]. Through his intervention he received from al-Ma'mūn an official post (probably *qāḥib al-harīf*) in Djurdjān. He remained faithful to Faḍl b. Saḥl until his death in 202 (818), and out of grief for him he wrote no more. There is a story told by his rawī according to which he destroyed a considerable part of his poems before his death.

As regards the matter and style of his poems he was on quite traditional ground. In addition to his old-fashioned odes and elegies his satires are particularly interesting in this respect; in his polemics with the (otherwise little known) poet Ibn al-Kanhar on the merits of the Ansār and Kuraish he revived the coarse and bitter tone of the polemics of an al-Farazdaq [q. v.] or an al-Tirmidhī [q. v.] on a similar subject. The two hundred years of development of Arabic poetry were naturally not without influence on him; in his *nawā'id* we frequently find the style of an 'Umar b. al-Raḍ'a or al-'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf (see *THE AL-AḤNAF*), Muslim's contemporaries. His drinking songs deserve special mention. Although Nöldeke only very rarely finds in them "the natural effusion of Bacchantic joy as so frequently in Abū Nuwās [q. v.]", Arab critics are of another opinion. These two poets are to them practically the same in this respect and we must confess they are right. His drinking-songs are not only of great value for the descriptions of society and social life in the cities but from the point of view of poetry they are among the best of Muslim's work. If we must, as regards subject matter, number Muslim among the imitators of the old poets, in style he belongs to a more modern period. The historians of Arabic literature frequently mention him as the first to introduce the "new style", *al-baḍi'*, with its tropes and figures. This is however not quite such a simple point; the "new style" arose only gradually in Arabic poetry, although Muslim with his contemporaries, Baḥshār b. Burd [q. v.], Abū Nuwās etc., was one of the first who definitely struck out on the new path. The younger generation, especially Abū Tammām [q. v.], drove this new style to banality.

Muslim was on terms of friendship or enmity with many contemporary poets, e.g. Abū Nuwās, Abū 'Alīyah [q. v.], al-'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf (who maliciously called him *Ṣarf* al-*Ḡhawānī* or *Ṣarf* al-*Kāṣ*; cf. *Dirwān*, N^o. 44), Abū 'Alīyah [q. v.], al-Ḥasain al-Khalīl etc. His literary influence was not inconsiderable. Dhū'ill [q. v.] was his pupil (which did not prevent him exchanging satires with Muslim), Abū Tammām was particularly fond of studying his poems. His *Dirwān* has been transmitted in very unsatisfactory fashion; it was collected in alphabetical order by al-Sull [q. v.] but this edition has not come down to us (there are a few traces of it in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*); another story speaks of the collection made by the philologist al-Mubarrad. The only known European manuscript (Leyden)

on which de Goeje's edition is based, contains only a portion of his poems (including a few epigrams; see Barbier de Meynard, *op. cit.*, p. 17 sq.); it represents an unknown edition and is of little importance for the criticism of the text.

Bibliography: *Diwan Poetas Abu-l-Walid Moïssa ibn-l-Walid al-Ahmedi cognominus Cario-gharibî*, ed. de Goeje, Leyden 1875 (unfortunately without an index of rhymes); the Cairo edition of 1325 (Maḥabāt Madrasat Wāḍi-dāt 'Abbās al-Awwal, 8°, p. 97) although called *al-Taḍ'a al-ālā*, repeats de Goeje's text in an alphabetical arrangement; the Bombay lithograph of 1303 (1886) is not accessible to me (see Rescher, *op. cit.*; it claims to give a better text than the Leyden edition; see Sarkis, *op. cit.*). Most of the sources are given by de Goeje in his edition (p. 228—310); the most important is of course the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (p. 228—271). Of others we may note: Ibn Kutaiba, *Kitāb al-Sū'ar*, ed. de Goeje, p. 528—535, *passim* (s. index); Ibn al-Maṭar, *Tabaḥāt al-Sha'ar al-muḥadḥin* (MS. Escorial, N^o. 279), fol. 15^v—15^v; al-Marzubān, *al-Muwaḥḥid*, Cairo 1343 (*al-Maḥabāt al-sha'fiyya*), s. index. — Modern literature: Th. Nöldeke, review of de Goeje's edition, in *G. G. A.*, June 9, 1875, p. 705—713; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, L. 77, N^o. 7 (with misprint in date of death: 803 for 823); M. Barbier de Meynard, *Un poète arabe du XI^e siècle de l'Algérie (Actes du XI^e Congrès des Orientalistes, section IV., Paris 1899, p. 1—21)*; Cl. Huart, *Littérature arabe* 2, Paris 1912, p. 72—74 (with the same error as in Brockelmann); Djirdi Zaidān, *Ta'rikh Adab al-Lughā al-arabiyya*, II, Cairo 1912, p. 66; A. F. RIFĀ', *Aḥd al-Ma'mūn*, II, Cairo 1927, p. 374—392; J. E. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de bibliographie arabe*, Cairo 1930, col. 1746—1747; O. Rescher, *Abriß der arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Lieferung IV, Stambul 1929, p. 22—15. (IGN. KRATSKHOKSKY)

MUSNAD. [See HADITH, IV.]

AL-MUSTADĪ BI-AMR 'ILĀH, ABŪ MUHAMMAD AL-HAKAM, 'Abbāsid caliph, born on 23rd Sha'bān 536 (March 23, 1142), son of al-Mustandjīd and an Armenian slave named Ghāḍi. After his father's death on 9th Rabi' II 566 (Dec. 20, 1170) al-Mustadī succeeded him and at the beginning of the following year was formally recognised as caliph in Egypt also, which passed into the hands of the Ayyūbids at this time [see the article *ṬAYYIBS*, II. 96]. The assassins of al-Mustandjīd soon quarrelled among themselves. 'Aḍud al-Dīn [q. v.] whom al-Mustadī had been forced to make vizier was dismissed by 567 (1171—1172) at the instigation of the emir Kaīmaz. In 570 (May 1175) the latter was about to attack the treasurer Zāhir al-Dīn b. al-'Atīr, but the latter fled to the caliph whereupon Kaīmaz began to besiege the palace of the latter. Al-Mustadī appealed to the people to help him; the house of Kaīmaz was pillaged and he himself fled but died soon afterwards and 'Aḍud al-Dīn again became vizier. Al-Mustandjīd already had quarrelled with Shīrāz, lord of Khirāsān. In 569 (1173—1174) a war broke out between the latter's nephew Ibn Shānkā and al-Mustadī; Ibn Shānkā was soon taken prisoner and put to death. The insignificant al-Mustadī died on the 2nd Dhū l-Ka'da or, ac-

ording to another statement, at the end of Shawwāl 575 (end of March 1180).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, xi, 237 sq.; Ibn al-Tikṭāk, *al-Fakhri*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 428—433; Muḥammad b. Shākir, *Fawā'id al-Wafayāt*, I, 137 sq.; Ibn Khallūdān, *al-'Ibar*, III, 525 sq.; Hamd Allāh Mustawfī-Kāzimi, *Ta'rikh al-Ghazā*, ed. Browne, I, 367—369; Weil, *Geich. d. Chalifen*, III, 337—363; Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoukides*, II, 304; La Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbāsid Caliphate*, p. 87, 195, 260, 280. (K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

MUSTADJĀB-KHĀN BAHĀDUR (NAWĀB), thirteenth son of the celebrated Rohilla leader Hāfiḥ al-Mulk Hāfiḥ Rahmat-Khān (1707—1774) and author of a biography of his father, which he wrote in Persian under the title *Gulistan-i Rahmat*. Hāfiḥ Rahmat-Khān, who was an Afghān of the tribe of Yūsuf-zāi by descent, had been since 1748 a chief in Rohilkhand (Kātehr) and throughout his life waged a bitter warfare with the Mahrattās. He fell in 1774 in a fight at Muzāpur Kātra where he was fighting against the combined forces of the Nawāb of Oudh Shujā' al-Mulk and the English. Warren Hastings' act in supporting the Nawāb with English troops became the subject of a judicial investigation. Mustadjāb Khān's book describes Hāfiḥ Rahmat Khān as a fine representative of Afghān chivalry and contains much of value for studying the relations between the individual Afghān tribes.

Bibliography: I do not know of any edition of the original text of the *Gulistan-i Rahmat*. There is an abbreviated English translation by Ch. Elliott, *The Life of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, written by his son the Nawab Mustajab Khan Bahadur and the Nawab Gulistan-i Rahmat*, London 1831; H. Hamilton, *The East-India Gazetteer* 2, London 1828, II, 468; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, London 1908, xx, 138 and xxi, 307 sq. (E. BENTHELE)

MUSTAFA I, the fifteenth Ottoman Sultan, was born in the year 1000 (1591) as son of Muḥammad III. He owed his life to the relaxation of the *ḥukm* authorising the killing of all the brothers of a new sultan, and was called to succeed his brother Aḥmad I at the latter's death on November 22, 1617. But his weakmindedness — which is said to have him made escape death on account of superstitious fear of Aḥmad — made him absolutely incapable of ruling. Aḥmad's son 'Othmān, who felt himself entitled to the succession, had little difficulty in procuring Mustafa's deposition in a meeting of the Imperial *Dīwān*, by the *ḫisr ağa*, the *muffi* and the *ḥā'im-maḥmūd*, the grand-vizier Khallī Pasha [q. v.] being absent. This happened on February 26, 1618.

Unexpectedly Mustafa I was again called to the throne when, on May 19, 1622, the rebellion of the Janissaries broke out against 'Othmān II. He was taken by force from his seclusion in the harem and the Janissaries forced the 'ulama' to acknowledge him as sultan. The next day 'Othmān was killed and until June the grand-vizier Dāwūd Pasha, the man responsible for the murder, remained in power. Then he was deposed by the *trullide*. The real masters were the Janissaries and Sipahī's; several grand-viziers were nominated and deposed again at their pleasure. The Sipahī

party began, after some time, to exact vengeance for 'Othmān and in January 1623, when Gurdji Muhammad Pasha [q. v.] was grand-vizier, Dāwid Pasha was killed. Soon the janissary party came again to influence under the grand-vizier Mere Husain Pasha (Feb. 3). The latter succeeded in maintaining himself until August 20; then the general feeling amongst the 'ulama' and the people, combined with the steadily growing opposition in the provinces against the tyranny of the military to the capital, as manifested by the action of Sali al-Din Oghlu in Tripolis and still more by the revolt of Abaza Pasha [q. v.] in Erzerum, brought about Mere Husain's deposition. The new grand-vizier, Kemānkeş 'Alī Pasha, together with the *mufti*, deposed the sultan on Sept. 10, 1623 and called Ahmad's son Murād to the throne.

During all his reign Mustafā had continued to give signs of his complete mental aberration; he died in 1638 and was buried in the Aya Sofia. The only important international act that took place during his reign was the peace concluded with Poland in February 1623.

Bibliography: The Turkish sources for this period are the historical works of Na'imā, Hādji Kāhā (Fāhā), Pecevi, Hasan Bey Zade and Tūht. Contemporaneous reports in the Memoirs of the English envoy Sir Thomas Roe. Further the general historical works of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUSTAFA II, the twenty-second Ottoman sultan, was a son of Muhammad IV. Born in 1604, he succeeded to his uncle Ahmad II. on February 6, 1695, at a time when the empire was at war with Austria, Poland, Russia and Venice. The new sultan in a remarkable *khass-i shari* proclaimed a Holy War and carried out, against the decision of the *Divan*, his desire to take part in the campaign against Austria. Before his departure a mutiny of the janissaries had cost the grand vizier Desterliar 'Alī Pasha his life (April 24, 1693) and the campaign was led by the new grand vizier Elmās Muhammad Pasha [q. v.]. The Turkish army operated not without success in the region of Temesvár, taking Lippa, Lugos and Sebes. The Venetians had been beaten in February near Chios and were beaten again in September. In October Azof was delivered from the Russian siege. Next year the sultan and his army were again successful in raising the siege of Temesvár, but no part of the lost territory could be recovered from the Austrians. That year, however, the Russians took Azof. The campaign of 1696 is memorable for the heavy defeat inflicted on the Turks near Zenta on the Theiss (Sept. 11), where Elmās Muhammad lost his life, while the sultan, who had already crossed the river, had to fly to Temesvár. The imperial seal fell into the hands of the Austrians. From Temesvár Mustafā nominated 'Amūdja Zade Husain [q. v.], of the Kōprülü family, his grand vizier. Under this very able statesman peace was at last concluded. In 1698 the grand vizier went to the frontier, while the sultan stayed at Adrianople, but the peace negotiations were pursued more earnestly than the war. In October of that year began the peace negotiations at Karlowitz (Turk. Karlofta, see CARLOWITZ) on the Danube, where on February 26, 1699 peace was concluded with Austria, Poland and Venice. With Russia only

an armistice was concluded to be followed in 1700 by a definite peace. The English and Dutch ministers took part in the negotiations as intermediaries. The peace treaty meant the loss of Hungary and Transylvania, with the exception of the district of Temesvár; Poland recovered Kamieniec, while Venice had to cede Lepanto and some other towns in Morea. With Russia the Dniestr became the frontier.

The peace enabled the grand vizier to bring order into the affairs of state, which had suffered by the long and disastrous war. The Re'is Efendi Rāmi and the *mufti* Feizullah, who had great influence with the sultan, were his collaborators. Some interior troubles were easily appeased; only in 1701 a campaign in 'Ilişk was needed to take Bagra from the hands of a local party that had submitted to Persia. Fortresses were put in a better state of defence and a new *Asiān-nāme* was issued for the fleet. Husain Pasha resigned his office in Sept. 1702 and died soon afterwards. His deposition was partly the work of the *mufti* Feizullah, who made the sultan appoint in his place Daltaban Muhammad Pasha. When the latter showed himself of too warlike a disposition and caused at the same time unrest in the capital by favouring the claims of the Tatar Khan, the influence of the *mufti* caused his deposition and execution (Jan. 1703). Rāmi [q. v.] became grand-vizier. Rāmi's measures to enforce the authority of the central government were salutary but made him many enemies; moreover the janissaries were not contented with a grand-vizier who was not a military man. The general unrest was increased by the permanent residence of sultan Mustafā in Adrianople. All these circumstances brought about in July 1703 a janissary revolt in Constantinople, directed at first against Rāmi Pasha and against the *mufti*. The latter's deposition was obtained without much difficulty, but the rebellion continued under the leadership and organisation of a certain Hasan Agha. A deputation of the rebels to Adrianople was imprisoned and treated in an insolent way. Too late the sultan promised to come himself to Constantinople; the 'ulama' were constrained to give a *fetvā* authorising the sultan's deposition. In August 1703 a rebel army went on its way to Adrianople, after having agreed on Mustafā's brother Ahmad as successor to the throne. When Mustafā saw himself at last abandoned by his own janissaries he resigned on August 21. He died soon afterwards on Dec. 31, 1703 and was buried in the Aya Sofia. He is rightly considered as a wise and good ruler, as is proved by his careful choice of able statesmen. He wrote poems under the *takhallus* of Meftān and Ikbalī. Under him the imperial *tughra* appeared for the first time on the Ottoman coins.

Bibliography: The chief source is the *Tarīkh* of Rashīd, besides an anonymous historical work, used by von Hammer and only mentioned in a note by Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 247 and 248. Useful information also in the history of the Crimea by Mehmed Girāy (*G. O. W.*, p. 235) and Saiyid Mehmed Ridā (*G. O. W.*, p. 281). The *Inshā* of the grand-vizier Rāmi Pasha (not mentioned in *G. O. W.*) has importance as containing contemporary documents. Further the general histories of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUSTAFA III, the twenty-sixth ruler of the Ottoman Empire, was one of the younger sons of Ahmad III and was born on Safar 14, 1129 = January 28, 1717 (*Sicâ-i Âlemiyye*, I, 80). When he succeeded to the throne, after 'Othman III's death on October 30, 1757, his much more popular brother and heir to the throne, Muhammad, had recently died, in December 1756. Turkey enjoyed at that time, since the peace of Belgrad of 1739, a period of peace with her neighbours. Since December 1756 the very able Râghib Pasha [q. v.] was grand vizier and remained the real administrator of the empire until his death in 1763. Râghib had removed from the capital all those who might have counteracted his influence, taking at the same time wise financial measures and endeavouring to keep the military forces in good condition. The sultan meanwhile, who was of a vivid and active temperament, busied himself, like his predecessor, with regulations concerning the clothes of his non-Muslim subjects and the appearance in public of Muhammadan women; at this time there was also taken up again the never realized plan of linking the gulf of Izniç with the Black Sea (see SABANDIA). The Seven Years' War in Europe (1756—1763) had not remained without influence on the policy of the Porte; after long hesitation Turkey agreed at last to conclude a treaty of friendship with Prussia (March 29, 1761). Râghib himself was inclined to conclude even an alliance, but the sultan and the influential 'ulamâ were peacefully minded.

After Râghib's death Mustafa began to reign himself and different grand viziers succeeded one another at short intervals. From 1765 to 1768 the grand vizierate was held by Muhsin Zâde Muhammad Pasha, under whom the disastrous war with Russia broke out. Difficulties with Russia had already commenced in 1762, when Russia had supported the ruler of Georgia against the Turkish Pasha of Akhişkha (Caldır); here, as well as in Montenegro, Russian emissaries worked in secret against the Turkish rule. Moreover the Khân of the Crimea repeatedly complained about Russian military measures on his northern frontier, while the party of the Confederates in Poland urgently appealed for the intervention of the Porte against the aggression of Catherine's government on Polish liberty. In these circumstances the Porte had no more interest in seeking the alliance of Prussia, where, in 1764, Ahmad Rasmi Efendi had gone as envoy, of which embassy he afterwards wrote his well-known *Sefâret-nâme*. The sultan himself was decidedly anti-Russian, but the diplomacy of the Russian minister Obreskoff and the pacifism of the 'ulamâ delayed the war, until, in August 1768, Mustafa obtained from the then *mufîs* Wâh al-Dîn a *fatwâ* authorizing the war with Russia. War was declared only on October 6, after the dismissal of the grand vizier Muhsin Zâde, who had advised delay until the spring. Obreskoff was imprisoned in Yedi Kule.

The war began in January with destructive raids of the Crimean Tatars in southern Russia under their newly appointed Khân Kırım Girây; at that time de Tott was an eye-witness with the Tatar army. In March 1769 the then grand-vizier Muhammad Emin Pasha left Constantinople with the Holy Banner; on this occasion there was an outburst of Muhammadan fanaticism against the Austrian Intendant and his party, who had come

to witness the procession. While the grand vizier went to the Dobruča, the Russians made an attack on Chotin (Turk. Khotin), which they were able to take only in August. In the meantime the grand-vizier had been deposed and executed; his place was taken by Moldowabdjî 'Ali Pasha, who had encounters with the Russians on both sides of the Dniestr. Other Russian armies took Jassy and Buczarest and advanced into Transcaucasia. The year 1770 was still more disastrous for Turkey. The Russians reached, through Rumania, the Danube and in the autumn they took Kilia, Bender and Braila, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Turkish general headquarters in Baba Daght. In the same year a Russian fleet appeared in the Mediterranean; several towns in Morea were conquered and evacuated again, but the heaviest blow was the burning of the Turkish fleet in the bay of Çeshme (July 1770). Moldowabdjî 'Ali — already dispossessed of his grand vizierate — was sent to strengthen, with de Tott, the defences of the Dardanelles. But the Russian fleet had ceased to be a danger and the Danube campaign of the following spring also was rather favourable for the Turks. In the beginning of 1771 the military organisation had been improved. That year, however, the Russians forced the isthmus of Perekop and conquered the entire Crimea. This was a definite loss for Turkey, and a great majority of the Tatars declared their allegiance to the Russian empress. The Turks were able, however, to remain in Olakow and Kilburna. In Constantinople meanwhile laborious diplomatic negotiations went on with the envoys of the European powers who offered to mediate, notably Austria and Prussia. With Austria the Porte concluded in July 1771 a secret "treaty of subsidy" for diplomatic services, while the Porte disinterested herself completely in Polish affairs, going so far as to propose a partition of Poland. The result was an armistice, concluded in June 1772 at Giurgewo, followed by the peace congress of Połani (August 1772), where Turkey's chief representative was the arrogant *nişancı* 'Othman Efendi. After the failure of the negotiations the armistice was prolonged and a new conference began at Buczarest in November. These negotiations were again broken off in March 1773, mainly from lack of agreement on the subject of the Turkish fortresses on the Black Sea; as to the Crimea, Turkey had already agreed to a formula such as was later adopted in the peace of Kütük Kalınardjî. In Constantinople it was chiefly the 'ulamâ who had opposed the Russian peace conditions. The war in 1773 was not very eventful; the general headquarters had been transferred to Shumna after Muhsin Zâde had become grand vizier a second time (Dec. 1771). The Russians won a victory at Karsu in the Dobruča, but attacked Silistra and Warna in vain. Bairût was bombarded by Russian ships in connection with the rebellion of the Mamlûk 'Ali Bey [q. v.] in Egypt, who was supported by them. In the summer of 1773 sultan Mustafa made known his desire to accompany the army against the Russians, but he was prevented from doing so by his *ostourage* and by his illness, to which he succumbed on December 24, 1773, to be succeeded by his brother 'Abd al-Hamid I. Mustafa was buried in his own *türbe*, connected with the Lâleli Djâmi'i, which he had begun to build in 1759 (*Hadîkat al-Djâmi'î*, I, 83).

Mustafa III is praised in the Turkish sources as a good ruler. He had a special liking for religious disputations in his presence and was particularly interested in astrological calculations. He took an interest in the least important affairs and this prevented him from such a real statesmanlike insight as was much wanted in the later years of his reign. In his way he was an "enlightened despot". But even a more able ruler would probably have failed to save Turkey from her military inferiority against the Russian armies; measures of military organisation were taken with the aid of de Tott, but this could not prevent the desertion of the troops from assuming disastrous dimensions during certain episodes of the war. Besides the *Laleli Dîmî*, Mustafa built the *Ayazma Dîmî* at Scutari for his mother; he caused a new suburb of Stambul to be built outside the *Yeni Kapu*. His reign is further marked by the extremely severe earthquake that laid large parts of the capital in ruins in 1766.

Bibliography: *The Tarih of Wâsil* (q.v.) is the chief historical source for Mustafa's reign; Wâsil himself played a prominent part as secretary during the long-drawn-out peace negotiations with Russia. It is completed by the *Tarih of Evverî*. The *Wakâ'î-nâmê of Diyârî*, son of Hâkîm Oğlu 'Ali Pasha, seems not to be preserved (*G. O. W.*, p. 300). The well-known Ahmad Rasmi Efendi wrote a history of the war with Russia under the title *Khutâat al-'irâk* (*G. O. W.*, p. 310). The *Talâhât* of the learned grand vizier Râghîb Pasha (*G. O. W.*, p. 288) give documents from the beginning of Mustafa's reign. A contemporary western source is the *Mémoires sur les Turcs et les Tartares* of Baron Fr. de Tott, Maastricht 1785. Further the historical works of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUSTAFA IV, twenty-ninth sultan of the Ottoman Empire, was a son of 'Abd al-Hamid I and was born on Sha'bân 26, 1193 = Sept. 19, 1778 (Mehmed Thüreya, *Siddik-i 'otmânî*, i. 81). When the anti-reform party, headed by the *hâ'im-ma'âm* Müst Pasha and the *mufî*, and supported by the Janissaries and the auxiliary troops of the Yamaqs had dethroned Selim III (q.v.) on May 29, 1807, Mustafa was proclaimed sultan. Immediately afterwards, the unpopular *nişân-i 'âdîd* corps was dissolved and Kâhâk'dî Oğlu, the leader of the Yamaqs, was made commander of the Bosphorus fortresses. Turkey was at that time at war with Russia and England, but peace negotiations had already begun and, moreover, the foreign affairs of the empire were really governed by general European politics. A secret article annexed to the peace treaty of Tilsit (July 7, 1807) had in view — already at that time — a conditional partition of Turkey. Turkey's ally, France, tried to urge a peace with Russia and obtained a Russo-Turkish armistice at Siobozia (near Gîngewo), by the terms of which the Danube principalities were to be evacuated. When in the end Russia was unwilling to put into effect the terms of the armistice, relations with France became strained (departure of Sebastiani in April 1808) and new preparations for war followed, while overtures were made to England; the English admiral Codrington had already entered into negotiations with 'Ali Pasha of Yanina.

Meanwhile the *hâ'im-ma'âm* and the *mufî* were

the real rulers in Constantinople; the grand vizier Celebi Mustafa Pasha remained with the army in Adrianople and had no influence. The Janissaries and Yamaqs, however, continued to be rebellious; measures had to be taken against them and the sultan himself went so far as to favour secret plans for restoring the *nişân-i 'âdîd* under another name. In December 1807 Müst Pasha was dismissed from the office of *hâ'im-ma'âm* — on account of dissension with the *mufî* — and was succeeded by Tayyar Pasha. The latter, dismissed in his turn, fled to Bairakdâr Mustafa Pasha (q.v.), an acknowledged friend of the reform party, in Ruscuk. From here began the action against the régime in the capital. Bairakdâr went first to Adrianople and joined forces with the grand vizier in June 1808. They arrived in July before the gates of Constantinople at Dâvûd Pasha. Sultan Mustafa came there on July 23 to accept their terms, which for the moment were only the destruction of the ruling party and of the Yamaqs. On July 28 Bairakdâr, after having seized the sultan's seal from the grand vizier, began to act on his own account. He went with his troops to the palace, where the sultan — who had left shortly before for an excursion — returned in haste. He had only the time to order the execution of Selim III but was deposed immediately afterwards by the intruders, who put his younger brother Mahmûd on the throne. After having passed some months in confinement, he was killed by order of the new sultan on November 16, in the days of the general revolt against Bairakdâr's régime, when the existence of the former sultan had become a real danger for Mahmûd's position. Mustafa was buried in the *türbe* of his father 'Abd al-Hamid I, near the *Yeni Dîmî*.

Bibliography: Djewdet Pasha, *Tarih*, 2nd ed., viii. (Stambul 1303), p. 145-147; 'Âşim, *Tarih*, ii. (where large use has been made of Sa'id Efendi's *Tarih*; cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 338); A. de Juchereau de St. Denis, *Révolutions de Constantinople de 1807 et 1808*, new ed., Paris 1825; Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vii.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUSTAFA, name of several princes belonging to the Ottoman dynasty:

1. Mustafa Celebi, eldest son of Bayazid I; the date of his birth is not recorded. He disappeared in the battle of Angora (July 1402). This Mustafa is the first Ottoman prince to bear this name, which, like such other names as İsyazid and Murad, originated in mystical circles in Asia Minor in the sixth century. According to the Byzantine sources, this Mustafa is the same as the person called by the majority of the Turkish sources:

Döşme Mustafa, who came forward in 1419 as pretender to the Ottoman throne against Muhammad I. He was supported by Mirce of Wallachia and by the İmir Oğlu Dînaid (q.v.). Near Selânik they were beaten by Muhammad and Mustafa took refuge in the town together with Dînaid; the Byzantine commander refused to give them up to the sultan and sent them to Constantinople. In a treaty concluded with the emperor Manuel, the sultan promised to pay a yearly subsidy to provide for the maintenance of the prisoners, while the emperor undertook to keep them in custody. This treaty was observed until Muhammad's

death; Mustafa was relegated to a monastery on the island of Lemnos. After Muhammad's death, however, he was released and the emperor supported him against Murad II [q.v.]. In a short time he was master of the Ottoman territories in Europe; the army sent against him under Bayazid Pasha went over to his side at Sarız Dere between Serres and Adrianople. He was joined likewise by great feudal lords like the sons of Ewrenos. He soon felt strong enough to break his alliance with the Greeks and expelled them from the recently taken Gallipoli. After having resided some time in Adrianople, he went together with Djanaid to Asia Minor, where they met Murad's army in a battle near the bridge of Uludağ. By the treacherous retreat of Djanaid, Mustafa was beaten and fled to Gallipoli and Adrianople; from here he tried to reach Wallachia, but was taken by Murad's troops and executed at Adrianople. All this happened in the first year of Murad II's reign (1421—1422).

Bibliography: Ducas and Chalcondylas relate the events before Muhammad's death; so does the chronicle of Neshri, but the other early Turkish chronicles know only of what happened in the beginning of Murad's reign. On coins struck by Mustafa: *T. O. E. M.*, xv, 387; von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i.; Mehmed Zeki, *Mahtûl Şekâideler*, Constantinople 1332, p. 45 199.

2. Mustafa, son of Muhammad I and younger brother of Murad II, was supported as pretender against the latter in 1423, while Murad besieged Constantinople. This Mustafa was about 13 years of age; he had fled to the Karman Oghla with his *tafa* İlyas. From here they took İznik and marched against Bursa. Mustafa even went for some time to Constantinople, but Murad, raising the siege, returned to Bursa, where Mustafa was delivered to him by the treachery of İlyas; he was executed by the sultan's orders.

Bibliography: The Byzantine writers Ducas and Chalcondylas; the old Turkish chronicles and after them the later historians; von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i.; Mehmed Zeki, *Mahtûl Şekâideler*, p. 53 197.

3. Mustafa, son of Sulaimân the Magnificent, was born in 921 (1515) (Mehmed Thürciyâ, *Sifillat-ı Şahânî*, i, 79). He had been made, in 1533, governor of Sarukhân in Magnesia; later he became governor of Konya, while Sulaimân's favourite son Muhammad was given Sarukhân. When Muhammad died in 1545, Sarukhân was given to Mustafa's younger half-brother Selim and he himself was placed in Amasia. This setting aside of the elder, more talented and more brilliant son was the work of Khurram Sulân (Roxelane), mother of Selim, and of her son-in-law, the grand vizier Rustam Pasha. Already some years before there had been signs of Sulân Sulaimân's lack of confidence in Mustafa's loyalty. When, in 1553, a new campaign had been planned against Persia, of which Rustam was to be the commander, Sulaimân decided at the last moment to accompany the army himself, being warned again against Mustafa through the intermediary of Selim's favourite Shamsi Agha. Selim joined him on the way and, when at Eregh near Konya, prince Mustafa came to pay homage to his father, he was killed by order of Sulaimân on October 6, 1553. His corpse was conveyed to Bursa and buried in the *şâde* of Murad II. This execution of an Ottoman prince is one of those events that made the deepest impression in the

empire. It caused immediately the threatening of a Janissary revolt, which could only be appeased by the dismissal of the grand vizier Rustam Pasha. It is said that his brother Dîhangir died soon after him of grief; a minor son of his was killed in Bursa shortly after his execution. Mustafa had also made himself beloved as a patron of poets and scholars, amongst whom Surlî is to be mentioned in the first place. Several poets lamented his death in elegies, in which Rustam and others were openly accused of having caused the murder; best known is the *merthiye* of the poet Yahyâ Bey. Mustafa wrote poetry under the *tasallu* Mukhlîs. There is further strong evidence for the probability that Mustafa wrote a history of his father's reign, a *Sulaimân-nâme*, under the pseudonym Ferid (cf. *G. O. W.*, p. 83).

Bibliography: The historical works of 'Âlî, Solak Zâde and Peçewî. The tragic death of the prince is also treated with more or less veracity in contemporary sources, as the *Letters* of Busbecq. In later times von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iii.; 'Âli Dîcwâl, *Tarîkîh-i Aulâ Şehîdler*; *Şekâide Sulân Mustafa*, Constantinople, n. d. (cf. Fr. Bahinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 398); Ahmad Rafîk, *Kadîmler Sultanat*, i, Constantinople 1914; Mehmed Zeki, *Mahtûl Şekâideler*, Constantinople 1336, p. 223 199. (J. H. KRAMERS).

MUSTAFA KÂMİL PASHA, leader of the second nationalist movement in Egypt (on the first, see the articles 'ARÂM PASHA and ENKIHV).

The son of an Egyptian engineer, he was born in Cairo on 1st Raddjâb 1291 (Aug. 14, 1874), studied at the Khedivial school of law there and after taking his examination went to study in Toulouse where in 1894 he took his "licence en droit". When still a student of 18 he began his political activity and entered into personal relations with the Khedive 'Abbâs II [q.v.]. On his return from France he founded in 1894 the second Egyptian nationalist party (*al-Hizb al-wahtanî*) with the object of inducing England by appeals to justice to abandon the occupation and restore the complete independence of Egypt. Later he also aimed at getting the Sûlân handed back to Egypt and tried to prepare the Egyptians by modern education for parliamentary government. As the representative of his party he spent each year a considerable time in Europe, especially France where he consorted with politicians and journalists and conducted a vigorous propaganda for his object. All his life he was very friendly with the journalist Juliette Adam; he had dealings with Rochefort, Drumont, Col. Marchand, Pierre Loti and in 1896 had a correspondence with Gladstone. Later he visited Constantinople where he was highly thought of because he insisted on the Sûlân's suzerainty over Egypt; Sûlân 'Abd al-Hamid II [q.v.] gave him in 1904 the title of Pasha. In Cairo he founded in 1898 a school for training the youth in nationalist ideas, and in 1899 started the newspaper *al-Liwâ* (The Banner), which appeared early in 1900, had a great success and from 1907 appeared also in English and French editions. From 1902 he published the nationalist quarterly *Mahtallat al-Liwâ*. In his speeches and articles he emphasised his aims with fiery eloquence; at the same time he expressed his approval of the building of the Turkish strategic Hijâz railway and his sympathy with the Japanese

in their war with Russia (1904—1905). Muştafâ Kâmil also regularly emphasised the privileged position of Muslims as belonging to the state religion and recognised the sultan as caliph and head of Islam and thus contributed to the pan-Islamic movement which began early in the twentieth century.

The "Entente Cordiale" concluded on April 8, 1904 between England and France was a severe blow to him and the nationalist party; by it France, in return for a free hand in Morocco, dropped its objections to the English occupation of Egypt. The Egyptian nationalists thus lost all hope of open or secret support from the French government and were thrown upon their own resources. This situation caused Muştafâ Kâmil to redouble his energy and in vigorous speeches and writings against France and England, in travelling and negotiating with statesmen of different lands, he endeavoured to make Egypt's point of view clear. As a result of the intensity of his agitation there was a breach between him and the Khedive 'Abdûs II (Oct. 1904); on the other hand, his following in Egypt rapidly increased and began to be troublesome to Lord Cromer who had so far treated the new nationalism created by Muştafâ Kâmil as a "quantité négligeable". The Dimhawî (a village near Tanja in the Delta) affair gave the nationalists a great stimulus; on June 13, 1906, some English officers on shooting were said to have wounded an Egyptian woman and were attacked by fellâhin with clubs and one of the officers was killed. A special court set up by the English government sentenced four fellâhin to death and 17 to prison or flogging and the sentence was carried out next day. The indignation in Egypt and Europe rose to great heights and even in the House of Commons the authorities were criticised. Muştafâ Kâmil hurried to London and discussed the matter with the Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, whom he endeavoured to convince of the necessity of recalling Lord Cromer and giving greater freedom to Egyptians. On this occasion he mentioned as suitable representatives in a parliamentary system of government all those Egyptians who in the later political movement after the war played important parts. On his return to Egypt, through the press and mass meetings in which he urged Egyptians to unite against England, he gave a great stimulus to the nationalist movement and soon had the satisfaction of seeing Lord Cromer recalled — although he was not at all the only cause of this — and replaced by Sir Eldon Gorst. The latter adopted a milder tone with the Egyptians, was on good terms with the Khedive and endeavoured to support him with a newly founded party. Muştafâ Pasha attacked this representative of England vigorously also, in Oct. 1907 put his national party on a broader basis and summoned it to a "national congress", which met on Dec. 7 of the same year in Cairo; 1,017 delegates from all over Egypt appeared and after a speech by Muştafâ Kâmil which carried them away the latter was elected life-President of the party. This was however his swan-song — he had been ill since the summer of 1906; he died on Feb. 10, 1908 (8th Muharram 1326) at the age of 34 of a slow internal trouble (intestinal tuberculosis). The rumour spread that he had been poisoned at English instigation. His funeral was an impressive expression of the national grief.

Muştafâ's creations did not long survive him and his party, which produced no leader to equal him and was broken up by dissensions, gradually sank into insignificance. Although he obtained no positive results by his agitation, he prepared the way for the third and greatest nationalist movement (under Sa'd Zaghlûl Pasha from Nov. 13, 1918). It is to his credit that he conducted his whole campaign without any appeal to force, which would have been quite useless against the British Empire, and without bloodshed.

Of his numerous writings only the more important can be mentioned; many of them were only printed after his death, some in the great (never completed) biography by his brother 'Alî Bey Fahmî Kâmil: *al-Ma'ala 'l-shar'îya* (1898 and 1909); *Miqr wa 'l-Ihtilâl al-Ingilîzî* (collection of speeches and essays, Cairo 1313); *Diḡa' al-Miqr 'an Bilādihî*, Cairo 1324 (1906); *al-Shams al-mushriḡa* (Cairo 1904, on the Russo-Japanese war); *Lettres françaises-égyptiennes* (Cairo 1909; also in Arabic and English transl. His letters to Juliette Adam); *Égyptiens et Anglais*, Paris 1906 (speech of July 4, 1895 in Toulouse); *Le péril anglais*, Paris 1899; *What the National Party wants* (Cairo 1907, speech of Oct. 22, 1907).

Bibliography: 'Alî Fahmî Kâmil, *Muştafâ Kâmil Bâḡh fî 34 Raḡḡa* (Cairo 1326—1328 = 1908—1910, 9 vols.; his life and speeches to Feb. 1900); do., *Sirat Muştafâ Kâmil fî arāb wa-thaḡāḡihî Raḡḡa*, vol. I, Cairo 1344 (1926), only to August 1899; Mahmûd Haṡh, *Fahd al-Waḡān wa 'l-Umma al-maḡḡāra laka Muştafâ Kâmil Bâḡh* (in *Maḡallāt al-Maḡallāt al-'arabiya*, Cairo Febr. 10, 1908, year 8); Muḡammad Ḥusain Haikal, *Tarāḡḡim miqrîya wa-'arabiya*, Cairo 1929, p. 139—162; Juliette Adam, *L'Angleterre en Égypte*, Paris 1922, p. 144—198; Aḡmad Shaḡfî Bâḡh, *Ḥawāyât Miqr al-siyāḡiya*, vol. I, Cairo 1345 (1926), passim; Th. Rothstein, *Égypt: Ruin*, London 1910, p. 366 sqq.; W. S. Blunt, *Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt*, London 1907, passim; do., *My Diaries 1888—1914*, London 1919—1920, passim; H. R. F. Bourne, *Egypt under British Control*, London 1906, passim; A. Colvin, *The Making of Modern Egypt*, London 1909, passim; E. Dacey, *Our Position in Egypt* (*Empire Review*, xl, London 1906, p. 322—338); Mohamed Duss, *In the Land of the Pharaohs*, London 1911, passim; H. Spender, *England, Egypt and Turkey*, London 1906; *Foreign Office, Egypt 1906*, No. 3—5, London 1906; Ad. Hasenclever, *Geschichte Ägyptens im 19. Jahrhundert 1798—1914*, Halle a/S. 1917, p. 462—466; P. G. Elgood, *The Transit of Egypt*, London 1928, p. 147 sq. and 184 sq. (MAX MEYERHOF)

AL-MUŞTAFÂ 'L-DÎN ALLÂH. [See NIZAR B. AL-MUŞTANIR.]

MUŞTAFÂ PASHA BAIRAKDÂR, Turkish grand vizier in 1808, was the son of a wealthy Janissary at Ruscuk, born about 1750. He distinguished himself in the war with Russia under Muştafâ III, and acquired in these years the surname of *bairakdâr*. After the war he lived on his estates near Ruscuk, and acquired the semi-official position of *a'yân* of Hesaḡḡrâd and later of Ruscuk. With other *a'yân* he took part in an action against the government at Adrianople, but became finally a reliable supporter of the govern-

ment. Having already received the honorary offices of *kaptan-ı bahri* and of *mîr asker*, he was, in 1806, promoted to the rank of Pasha of Silistria and at the same time was appointed *ar-râiser* on the Danube frontier against the advancing Russian army. This made him one of the most influential men in Rûm-ili. He had become a zealous supporter of Selim III's reform policy and, after that sultan's deposition, it was to him that the enemies of the new reactionary government turned. In June 1808 he was joined by the dismissed *âim-makâm* of the grand vizierate in Constantinople, Tayyar Pasha; from Rusuk they went to Adrianople, where they joined forces with the grand vizier Celebi Mustafa Pasha. So the entire Rumelian army marched against the capital, where they dictated their will to sultan Mustafa IV (July 23). On July 26 Baikadâr (or 'Alemdâr as he was called officially) was appointed commander in chief and on July 28, after having taken by force the sultan's seal from the weak grand vizier, he marched with his troops to the palace of the sultan, under the pretext of bringing back the holy standard of the prophet. At first he was allowed only to enter the first court of the serây, while sultan Mustafa — who had been absent — returned in haste from the seaside. As Baikadâr had made known his intention of restoring Selim III to the throne, Mustafa had just time to have his predecessor killed. But immediately afterwards he was himself deposed and Baikadâr now recognized Mahmûd II [q. v.] as sultan.

After this began the short personal regime of Baikadâr Mustafa Pasha as grand vizier. He had a number of the supporters of the former sultan executed, arranged a magnificent funeral for Selim III and began to form a corps of troops called this time *nişânîl 'asker*. At the same time he summoned a great imperial conference in the capital, to which all the high-placed officials of the empire were invited. Many of them answered the appeal and subscribed to the extensive programme of reforms which the grand vizier laid before them in a solemn meeting in the first days of October and which was also approved of by a *fatwâ* of the *mufî*. But the precipitation with which the new measures were taken in hand and the tactless procedure in the abolition of long established abuses, made him ever more unpopular. The influential '*ulama*' were also alienated by the exaggerated reforming zeal. His only support were his Rumelian troops and a small number of friends, such as Begdî Efendi and Râmîz Pasha, together with Kâdî Pasha of Karamân who had remained in the capital after the imperial conference. Matters came to a head on November 14, 1808, in the last days of Ramadân 1222, by a rebellion of the Janissaries. The night following that day they surrounded the grand vizier's residence and set the quarter on fire. Baikadâr, surprised by the fire, saw no way of escape; he hid himself in a tower of his palace, where his body was found three days afterwards, after the fire was quenched. The rumour had been spread that Baikadâr had escaped, which had caused much uncertainty.

The grand vizier was buried in the fortress of Yedi Kule, where his bones were dug up in 1911 during railway works; they were transported to the mosque of Zeinab Sultan.

Bibliography: Djewdet Pasha, *Ta'rih*,

2nd ed., viii.; Shâhî Zâde, *Ta'rih*, i.; Mehmed Thüreyyâ, *Sijill-i 'ethmânî*, iv. 460; Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vii. 555-599; Afşar al-Dîn, *'Alemdâr Mustafa Pasha*, in *T. O. E. M.*, ii., iii., iv. (with portrait on ii. 528).

(J. H. KRAMER)

MUSTAFA PASHA BUSHATLI, the last hereditary wasir of Scutari (hence often called *İşkodralı*), the son of the celebrated Kara Mahmûd Pasha Bushatli [q. v.], succeeded his uncle İbrâhîm Pasha about 1810 and received the rank of wasir in 1812. In 1820 the sandjak of Berat and in 1824 those of Ohrid and Elbasan were put under his government and he received the title of Ser'asker. Nevertheless like his father he aimed at greater independence and when Mahmûd II's reforms threatened to deprive him of his hereditary rights and privileges, he became strongly hostile to the Sultan and maintained friendly relations with the Serbian prince Miloš, the discontented Bosniaks (cf. i. p. 757) and the Egyptian Muhammad 'Alî (cf. J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, p. 264 and 553). He therefore maintained quite a passive attitude in the Russo-Turkish war (1828) and only towards the end of it, in May 1829, did he appear with his Albanians on the Danube (Vişin, Kabaovo), then went on to Sofia and Philippopolis, but without taking any active part in the fighting.

On the conclusion of peace the Porte (beg. of 1831) demanded of Mustafa Pasha that he should hand over the districts previously held by him (Dukakîn, Delvar, Elbasan, Ohrid and Trgoviste) to the grand vizier Reshid Mehmed Pasha (on him cf. *Sijill-i 'ethmânî*, ii. 391) and carry through certain reforms in Scutari itself. Mustafa Pasha resisted and with the financial and moral support of prince Miloš, led an army in the middle of March 1831 against the grand vizier. He was joined by the other Pashas of northern Albania and old Serbia who objected to reforms. The rebels had at first certain successes including the occupation of Sofia but they were completely routed at Pilep by the regular troops led by the grand vizier (beginning of May). Mustafa Pasha hurried back to Scutari via Skopje and Prizren and shut himself up in the fortress. When he surrendered on Nov. 10, 1831 after six months' siege, he was pardoned on Metternich's intercession and taken to Constantinople.

Fifteen years later he again held various governorships, chiefly in Anatolia (from 1846), then in the Herzegovina (1853) and lastly in Medina where he died on May 27, 1860.

Bibliography: Kâzım al-'Âlâm, ii. 982; 'Abd al-Rahmân Sherif, *Ta'rih-i Devlet-i 'Othmânîye*, ii. 331-332; Mehmed Thüreyyâ, *Sijill-i 'ethmânî*, iv. 477 (full account of his career); Dr. Mih. Gavrilović, *Milod Obradović*, iii. (1827-1835), Belgrad 1912, p. 91-96, 102-114, 124-126, 332-350, 361; Drag. M. Pavlović, *Pokret u Bosni i u Albaniji protiv reformama Mahmuda II*, Belgrad 1913, chap. viii. and ix.; Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, v. 356 and 379 (brief). (FERİD BAKIRTAŞEVİÇ)

MUSTAFA PASHA KÖPRÜLÜ. [See KÖPRÜLÜ.]

MUSTAFA PASHA LALA, a famous military commander in the Ottoman history of the xviii century. The date of his birth is not given. He was a native of Şoğol, the

same Bosnian locality from which came the grand vizier Şokollı [q. v.], and began his service in the imperial seray. He rose in rank under the grand vizier Ahmed (1553—1555), but was not in favour with the latter's successor Rustam Paşa, who made him in 1556 *halî* to prince Selim with the object of ruining him. The outcome of this nomination was the contrary of what was expected; Muştafâ became the chief originator of the intrigues by which Selim came into conflict with his brother Bayazid and which ended with Bayazid's execution in Persia [cf. SELİM II]. After these events Rustam Paşa managed to relegate the intriguer in administrative functions to different parts of the empire; for eight years he was *valî* in Damascus. Nor was the grand vizier Şokollı favourably disposed to Muştafâ, but in the beginning of 1569 Sultan Selim II called back his former *halî* as *kubbe vezîri* in the capital. Very soon afterwards Şokollı appointed him *ser-asker* in the Yaman; Muştafâ went to Cairo to take charge of his command, but here he became involved in serious disputes with the *valî* Sinân Paşa on the equipment of his army. The end was that Sinân was appointed in Muştafâ's stead and the latter had to return to Constantinople. Sultan Selim's protection saved him from death and in the beginning of the following year he was appointed again *ser-asker* of the army destined for the conquest of the island of Cyprus. Lala Muştafâ Paşa led this memorable campaign with complete success; Nicosia was taken in July 1570, while Famagusta surrendered in August 1571. With the surrender of this town is connected the brutal and cruel execution of the Venetian commander Bragadino. After his return he became a serious candidate for the grand vizierate, should Şokollı disappear from the scene. His only rival was Sinân Paşa. When in 1577 the war with Persia broke out [cf. MUSAHD III] both were appointed *ser-asker*, but, on account of Sinân's arrogant character, the latter's appointment had to be withdrawn. In April Lala Muştafâ began his campaign in Georgia, fought the memorable victory of Căldir (August 1578) and took Tiflis besides a number of other towns. These military glories did not bring him to the ambition of his life. After Şokollı's assassination, Rustam's son-in-law Ahmed Paşa had been made grand vizier and, on the latter's death in May 1580, it was Sinân [q. v.] who got the sultan's seal. Lala Muştafâ died in October of the same year and was buried in the court of the mosque at Aylub. Apart from the unquestionably important events in which he played a prominent part, Lala Muştafâ Paşa has a particular importance in Ottoman historiography because the historian 'Alî [q. v.] had been attached to his person as scribe since the beginning of his career. Therefore his able, but intriguing and reckless character is known better than that of many other Turkish statesmen or generals. By his marriage with the grand-daughter of the last Mamlûk Sultan Kânûn Ghûri he was a very wealthy man, who, notwithstanding his reputed avarice, founded several mosques (as in Erzerûm) and many buildings of public utility in the different places where he resided as governor.

Bibliography: The chief Turkish source is, as has been said, 'Alî, not only in his *Künûh al-Ahşâr*, but also in a treatise entitled *Nâdirat al-Mahârib*, describing the war between Selim and Bayazid (MS. unknown; cf. Babinger, *G.O.* W., p. 132) and in his *Nuṣrat-nâme*, which

gives a description of the Georgian campaign. Other sources are the works of Pačewi and Solak Zâde. Western contemporary sources are the Diary of Gerlach, the Letters of Busbeck and, especially for the conquest of Cyprus, the Italian historical descriptions.

(J. H. KRAMER)

MUŞTAFĀ PAŞA RASHİD. [See RASHİD.]

MUSTAḤABB. [See SHARAF.]

MUSTA'IDD KHÂN, MUHAMMAD SAKT, born about 1601 (1650), was brought up as an adopted son by Muhammad Bakhtawar Khân, whom he faithfully assisted in various capacities. After the death of his patron he passed into the service of Awrangzeb. In the reign of Shâh 'Ālam Bahâdur Shâh I (1118—1124 = 1707—1712), he became the secretary of 'Inayat Allâh Khân, son of Mirzâ Shukr Allâh, the minister of Bahâdur Shâh, and by his desire Musta'idd Khân composed the history of the reign of Awrangzeb, entitled *Ma'athir-i 'Ālamgiri*. Part i. is a mere abridgement of Mirzâ Kāzīm's history of the first ten years of the emperor's reign; part ii. contains the history of the last forty years of 'Ālamgiri's reign (edited in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta 1870—1871).

He died at the age of seventy-five at Dillî in 1136 (1723).

Bibliography: Khân Khân, *Muntahab al-Lubâb*, ii. 211; *Ma'athir-i 'Ālamgiri*, p. 255, 255, 407, 462; Ouseley, *Critical Essay*, p. 42; Rieu, *Cat. Br. Mus.*, p. 270; Eibl, *Ind. Offit. Cat.*, No. 365; and Elliot-Dawson, *History of India*, vii. 181.

(M. Hidayet Hosain)

AL-MUSTA'IN IBN 'ULĀH, ABU 'L-'ABRĀS AHMAD B. MUHAMMAD, an 'Abbāsid caliph. His father was a son of the caliph al-Mu'tasim, his mother a slave-girl named Mukharriq of Slav origin. After the death in Rabi' II 248 (June 862) of al-Mu'tasir the pretorians appointed his cousin Ahmad caliph under the name al-Musta'in. The choice aroused discontent in Sāmarrā and unrest broke out among those who supported al-Mu'tazz [q. v.] which was only put down after much bloodshed by the Turkish soldiers. When al-Musta'in was recognised as caliph he confirmed the governor of Baghdad, Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir [q. v.], in office. He bought all the property of al-Mu'tazz and his brother al-Mu'ayyad and then had them arrested. The Turks wanted to put them to death but they were protected by the vizier Ahmad b. al-Khashi who soon afterwards fell into disgrace and was banished to Crete. In 249 (863) trouble broke out as a result of a defeat of the army by the Byzantines; the rebels were however scattered by the vizier Utāmiḡ and the two Turkish generals Wasif and Bogha Junior. Utāmiḡ was soon afterwards murdered at the instigation of the latter. As the caliph no longer felt safe in Sāmarrā he went to Baghdad in Muharram 251 (Feb. 865). Al-Mu'tazz was then taken by his supporters out of his prison in Sāmarrā and a war broke out which ended in Dhū 'l-Hijja 252 (Jan. 866) in the abdication of al-Musta'in [cf. BAGHDAD]. By the arrangement made the latter was to live in Medina in future; but he was detained in Wasif and murdered in Shawwāl 252 (Oct. 866) at the age of 35. See also the article MUHAMMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. TĀHIR.

Bibliography: Ibn Kutāiba, *Kiṣṣat al-Mu'arraf*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 200; Ya'qubī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 603—610; Tāharī, iii. 150 pp.;

to murder the heir-apparent when he entered his father's apartment. Al-Mustanjid however heard of the plot and had the instigator and her son arrested. A few years after his accession the Maryasids were expelled [q. v.]. The end of the Fātimids also fell within his reign although the 'Abbāsids were only officially recognised as caliphs of Egypt under his successor al-Mustaḍī. In 562 (1166–1167) Shmīla, lord of Khiristān, invaded the 'Irāq and demanded from the caliph the grant of a portion of the lower Euphrates territory as a fief. The caliph however sent an army against him. Shmīla's nephew, Kīlūf, was routed and Shmīla returned home. Al-Mustanjid died on 9th Rabi' II 566 (Dec. 20, 1170). When he was very ill, his physician arranged with his chamberlain Aḡad al-Dīn [q. v.] and the emir Kaṭb al-Dīn Kaīmar to give him a bath to hasten his end. The caliph refused to agree; he was nevertheless shut up in the bath until he died.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, xi. 81, 169 sqq.; Ibn al-Tiṭṭāḥ, *al-Fakhri*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 425–428; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, p. 522 sqq.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī-Kāzwinī, *Ta'rikh-i Guldā*, ed. Browne, i. 365–367; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 307–336; Houtama, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoukides*, ii. 223, 289, 291–294.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEN).

AL-MUSTANŠIR BI 'LLAH, ABU DĪ'FAR AL-MANŠŪR B. AL-ZĀHIR, 'Abbāsīd caliph; like his father whom he succeeded on the 14th Radsjab 623 (July 11, 1226), he is described as a just and devout man and was generally liked although he played no great part in politics. He acquired Irbil by a legacy in 630 (1232–1233) and eight years later his lands were increased by the acquisition of the town of 'Ana which he bought from its previous owner. About this time the Mongols began to threaten the lands of Islām. Čingis-Khān [q. v.] had died in Ramaḡān 624 (Aug. 1227) but his sons continued his campaigns of conquest. In 635 (1237–1238) the Mongols were defeated by the caliph's troops; the strongest defender of Islām however was Djalāl al-Dīn, Shāh of Khwārizm [q. v.]. Al-Mustanšir died on 20th Djumāda I or 10th Djumāda II 640 (Nov. 15 or Dec. 5, 1242). According to Ibn Khaldūn however, he did not die till the following year. The al-Mustanširiya university founded by him in Baghdād bears his name.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, xii. 299; Ibn al-Tiṭṭāḥ, *al-Fakhri*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 445–446; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, iii. 535 sq.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī-Kāzwinī, *Ta'rikh-i Guldā*, ed. Browne, i. 370 sq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 453–469; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 194 sq., 266 sqq., 337 sq.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEN).

AL-MUSTANŠIR BI 'LLAH, ABU TAMīm MA'ADD B. 'ALĪ AL-ZĀHIR, eighth Fātimīd Caliph, born 16th Djumāda II, 420 (July 2, 1029) (according to Idrisi, on 16th Ramaḡān = Sept. 29), succeeded his father al-Zāhir [q. v.], 15th Shaḡbān 427 (June 13, 1036), and died 18th Dhu l-Hiḡḡa 487 (Jan. 10, 1094), after the longest recorded reign of any Muslim ruler and one which, besides being marked by the most violent fluctuations of fortune, was of critical importance in the history of the Fātimīd Imā'ili movement.

Internal history. During the childhood of

al-Mustanšir the authority remained at first in the strong hands of his father's waṣīr Abū 'l-Ḥāsim al-Jarḡarī. On his death (7th Ramaḡān 436 = March 28, 1045) it was seized by the evil genius of al-Mustanšir's reign, his mother, who was a Sūdān slave, and her former master, the Jewish merchant Abū Sa'd al-Tustarī. When Abū Sa'd was assassinated in 439 (1047), after an outbreak of rioting between the Turkish and Berber troops, his place as the queen-mother's agent was taken by his brother Abū Naṣr Ḥārūn (see however the documents published by Mann [ibid.]) and the kādī Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Yazīrī, who eventually accepted also the waṣīrate (7th Muḡarram 442 = June 1, 1050) and held it for eight years (cf. AL-YAZIRI). Meanwhile there was considerable unrest and perhaps also economic unsettlement in the country. If a statement in al-Maḡristā (i. 82 [99]; ed. Wiet, ii. 4 [67]) is to be believed, the *sharaff* of the Egyptian provinces amounted only to one million dinars in the time of al-Yazīrī, but this may have been exceptional, though it is plain from other sources that the government had already been forced to the familiar expedient of confiscations and indemnities. The Delta was disturbed by Arab risings, the most serious of which, that of the Banū Qurra, was put down only with great difficulty by Naṣīr al-Dawla (see below) with the Tayi and other Arab troops at Kūm Sharīk in 443 (1051) (cf. Ibn al-Sārafi, p. 42 sq.; Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 396 sq. and for the date Ibn al-Kalānisi, p. 85). At the capital there was an increasing state of tension between the Turkish and Berber troops and the enormous bodies of Sūdān slaves raised by the Caliph's mother (cf. Maḡristā, i. 94 [ed. Wiet, ii. 45] and p. 335; detailed but probably unreliable figures also in Naṣīr-i Khusrāw, ed. Kāviani, p. 66). In striking contrast to this is the magnificence of the court and prosperity of Misr-Fustāt as described by Naṣīr-i Khusrāw [q. v.]. There can be little doubt that the source of much of this prosperity, apart from the manufacture and supply of luxuries to the court, is already to be sought in the commercial relations between Egypt and the Indian Ocean on the one hand (cf. Naṣīr-i Khusrāw's account of 'Aḡḡāb) and Constantinople on the other. The general insecurity deepened after the execution of al-Yazīrī, who was the last waṣīr to attempt to control the situation. He was followed by a rapid succession of puppets in office, many of whom, despite the pompous titles duly recorded by Ibn al-Sārafi, held the position for no more than a few days at a time.

The Fātimīd Caliphate was now destined to pass in a few shattering years through the same agony as the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate at Baghdād had suffered in the early part of the previous century. The breakdown of the civil administration and subsequent exhaustion of the treasury gave a free hand to the military, and the sinister policy of the Caliph's mother brought matters speedily to a head. In a pitched battle at Kūm al-Riḡḡ (close to Cairo) in 454 (1062) (sometimes confused with the previous battle at Kūm Sharīk) the Turkish and Berber troops led by Naṣīr al-Dawla Ibn Ḥamīdan, a descendant of the Ḥamdānids of Mūḡul, defeated and drove the Sūdāns into the Sa'īd, but the struggle continued for some years and the blacks were not finally routed and driven out until 459 (1067); thereafter they were confined to the Sa'īd.

(443) 7

Additions and Corrections

p. 701^a, l. 48. To be added: in an early period Turkish has also known the form *maḥar* (from Sanskrit *maḍra*, mong. *maḥar*, cf. W. Bang and A. von Gutsch. *Ferd. Turfan-Forsch.*, c. 31).

p. 701^b, l. 66. To be added: signature was something of a privilege. Of the surviving emperors of Istanbul two only possessed it: Ḥamīd, the son of a famous father of that name, and 'Ashīq. The personal seals in Latin characters, made up to this day (1933), are, with a few exceptions, barbarous.

The ethnographic museum at Ankara possesses a curious collection of metal seals presented from the sheikhs of the now dissolved *ḥalīs* of the *Beḥāshīs*.

p. 702^a. *Brassigraphy* of the art. *maḥar*. To be added: CG. Z. B., i. 28. rec. (aperture of a *maḥar*/a "Sogutmaḥar"). — On the "Second seal of the Prophet", cf. *P.O.E.M.*, ii. 372—377.



THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

A DICTIONARY OF THE GEOGRAPHY,
ETHNOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY OF THE
MUHAMMADAN PEOPLES

PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF LEADING ORIENTALISTS

EDITED BY

M. TH. HOUTSMA, A. J. WENSINCK,
H. A. R. GIBB, W. HEFFENING and E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL

NUMBER 49

AL-MUSTAḤSIR BI 'LLAH — AL-KAFUSA



LEYDEN
LATE E. J. BRILL Ltd 1934
PUBLISHERS AND PRINTERS

LONDON
LUZAC & Co
37 GREAT RUSSELL STREET

ARTHUR FOUNTAIN,
Official Interpreter
34 St. Russell Street
British Museum
LONDON, W.C.

which suffered severely from their plundering and devastations. Nāṣir al-Dawla in turn quarrelled with the Turks, and, defeated in battle by a force commanded by al-Mustansir in person (461 = 1068-1069), appealed to the Saljuqid Alp-Arslan (q. v.). Without waiting for his help, however, he regained control of Cairo and the Delta with the aid of the Arabs and Lawāṭa Berbers, reduced al-Mustansir (it is said) to the state of a pensioner on a hundred dinars a month, assumed the title of Sulṭān al-Dawla, and attempted, but unsuccessfully, to restore the 'Abbasid *khilāfa*. In Rajab 465 (March 1073) he and all his house were killed by the rival Turkish faction, led by Iltigaz, under whom the Caliph fared little better. Meanwhile the constant anarchy and remorseless plundering of the country by the troops brought agriculture to a standstill (although the Nile floods seem to have been uniformly good). The result was a famine which lasted from 459 to 464 (1067-1072) and became progressively more severe. During these years the country was a prey to the utmost misery; the royal city and palaces were looted, and Faṣṭāṭ was twice plundered and even burned by Nāṣir al-Dawla. Large numbers of the population, including even the Caliph's own family, sought refuge in Syria and 'Irāq (for the depopulation and shrinkage of Faṣṭāṭ cf. Makrūṣ, I, 5; cf. Wiet, I, 12; on the fate of the royal library see also Noga Pinto, *Le Biblioteche degli Arabi*, Rome 1928, p. 25-26). The Sunni historians dwell on this famine with some complacency, regarding it as the retribution for the impious attack of al-Hamdanī on the 'Abbasid Caliphate (see below), and circumstantial stories are related of the extreme destitution to which al-Mustansir himself was reduced. That these must be accepted with some reserve is clear from such passages as Ibn Taghribardi, II/ii, 186, 18-19.

At length in 465 (1073) al-Mustansir, taking courage of despair, secretly invited the governor of Akka, the Armenian general Badr al-Djūmālī, to assume supreme control in Egypt. Badr accepted the commission, on condition of bringing his own troops with him, and sailing from Akka in the winter, reached Cairo on 28th Djuṣadā I, 466 (Jan. 29, 1074). His rapid and energetic movements took the Turks by surprise, and he put to death the whole body of their leaders, together with a large number of Egyptian notables and officials. For his further military and administrative measures, by which he restored order and relative prosperity in Egypt (the total revenue of Egypt and its remaining Syrian possessions, which in 466 had amounted to 2,800,000 dinars, rose by 483 to 3,100,000 dinars; Makrūṣ, I, 100; cf. Wiet, II, 68; cf. *Ann. Sult.*, fol. 71-99) see the article name al-Djūmālī. The alliance between general and caliph was cemented by the marriage of Badr's daughter to al-Mustansir's youngest son Abmad, the future Caliph al-Musta'li (q. v.). The Fatimid Caliphate was saved but, like its 'Abbasid rival, at the cost of abandoning its temporal authority to a series of military commanders, entitled *umara' al-djuyush*, from whose control it never afterwards succeeded in emancipating itself.

Al-Mustansir is described in contemporary sources as upright and amiable in character, and just and equitable in his dealings, but as a ruler his soundness is entirely obscured by the numerous

warres and generals who kept him virtually a prisoner. The statements of the later anti-Fatimid writers must, of course, be entirely discounted; the Fatimid sources, on the other hand, praise his sagacity and infallibility (*ṣiṣma*) as Imam.

External relations. The empire to which al-Mustansir succeeded was beyond any doubt the most powerful Muslim state of its time. It extended from Ifrikiya and Sicily to Mecca and Central Syria, and maintained an active propagandist organization in 'Irāq, Persia and Khurāsān (see the following section). Within a few years of his accession its territories were still further expanded by Anūshirvān's conquest of Aleppo in Shabān 429 (May 1038) [cf. the articles *FATIMIDS* and *HALAB*] and extension of his authority even across the Euphrates, on the one hand, and on the other by the conquests of 'Alī al-Salṭānī in the Yaman, after establishing himself at Maṣār in the same year (cf. *Ṣulṭ.*); also H. F. al-Hamdanī, in *Journal of the Royal Central-Asian Society*, 1931 p. 305-307, and in *J. R. A. S.*, 1932, p. 126-129. After the deaths of Anūshirvān and the wazīr al-Ljūdīkī, who in spite of their rivalry resolutely maintained the interests of the dynasty, the power and prestige of the Egyptian court steadily declined. The Arab tribes in Syria, though defeated in the field, remained unsubdued, and the Caliph had to be content with the little more than nominal allegiance of the Mirdāsids (q. v.) at Aleppo. At Damascus, the rivalries between the Berber and Turkish troops and the hostility of the citizens reduced the governors to impotence. The disturbed state of Syria was the more disastrous that it made it impossible for the Fatimid government to give effective support to the amir al-Baṣṣirī (q. v.; see the list of war material and subventions sent from Egypt; Ibn Taghribardi, p. 177) in his attempt to oppose the advancing Saljuqid power, with the result that his occupation of Baghdad and proclamation of al-Mustansir in 459 (1058-1059) was speedily brought to an end. The unseemly military and economic disorders in Egypt allowed a free hand to the Turkmen (*Ghuzz*) bands, who had appeared in Northern Syria as early as 447 (1055), though it was not until 463 (1071) that the first Saljuqid armies entered Northern Syria and the Ghuzz bands under Atis (q. v.) occupied Palestine and began to harass Damascus. In many of the other towns and districts of Syria the authority was seized by local chiefs, such as the *ḥallā* Ibn 'Ammār (q. v.; also G. Wiet, in *Min. Henri Barthe*, p. 279-280) at Tarsūs and Ibn Abī 'Akīl at Tyre, though both of these acknowledged the spiritual authority of the Fatimid Caliph (cf. also the account of the foundation of the castle of Sakhāb by Ḥasan b. Miamār al-Kalbi in 466 (1073-1074), quoted from Sibī b. al-Djwān in Ibn Taghribardi, p. 253). The menace of the Saljuqids became more substantial after the arrival of Tutuṣh (q. v.) in 470 (1077-1078), but the latter never actually organized a full campaign against the Fatimids. On the contrary, the offensive was taken by Badr, who succeeded in restoring Egyptian control on the coast as far as Tyre, Sidon and Djubail in 482 (1089), but not in recovering the interior of Palestine and Damascus (lost in 468), in spite of a certain revulsion of feeling in Syria in favour of the Fatimids. It is difficult to know how much weight to lay on the story (Ibn Taghribardi,

p. 272-273) that Tutuḡ at one time proposed to ally himself in marriage with Bādā.

The success of the Saljuḡids also affected the position of the Fāṭimids in Arabia. In 462 (1069) the 'Abbāsid Caliph was acknowledged in the Holy Cities, and after a brief return to the Fāṭimid obedience between 467 and 473 the Hijāz passed definitely to the 'Abbāsid cause. In the Yaman, the Sulāhid in the interior and the Zuhārid in the important commercial centre of 'Aden maintained the suzerainty of the Fāṭimids, the latter until the Ayyūbid conquest by Tārḡashāh in 569 (1173) [cf. the art. SALADIN].

Meanwhile the Fāṭimid empire had been similarly shorn of its possessions in the West. About 435 (1043-1044) al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs [q. v.], the Zirid lieutenant of the Fāṭimid Caliph in Kairuān, began a series of repressive measures against the Shī'ites of Ifrīkiya; in 440 he seems to have made the first overt gesture of independence, and in 441 superseded the Fāṭimid coinage; but it was not until 445 (1051) that he formally renounced the Fāṭimid suzerainty and obtained an investiture from the 'Abbāsid Caliph. According to the traditional account (already fully developed in Ibn al-Saīra), the wazīr al-Yazīd in revenge launched against him the nomad bands of the Banū Hilāl (q. v.; the tribes mentioned in the Egyptian sources are Zaghba, Riyāh, al-Aṭṭahjī, and 'Adī), who had been a cause of much trouble to the government in the Sa'īd and were now given a free hand to plunder the territories of the Zirids [cf. TRAVIS, vol. iv, §51^a]. As Wüstenfeld has already indicated (p. 234 n.), the story as it stands is open to serious objections, and there can be little doubt that it has been amplified by popular legend. The westward movement of the Hilāl tribes began as early as 440, and there is no reason to reject the account of Ibn 'Idhārī that it was al-Mu'izz himself who invited the Arab tribes, then in Barḡa, to enter Ifrīkiya as his *ghazā* (since he was not on good terms with the Saḥhāḡja), and that they, having set out in response to his invitation, began to plunder on their own account and already before the close of 445 had inflicted a severe defeat on his troops. The two traditions are not, however, mutually exclusive and may be reconciled by supposing that the Banū Hilāl were transported in the first instance to Barḡa (the governor of which had thrown in his lot with al-Mu'izz), and that their advance into Ifrīkiya was facilitated, for opposite reasons, by both al-Mu'izz and the wazīr (cf. also Ibn al-Aṭṭar, ix, 387-388). During the first years of his reign, the son and successor of al-Mu'izz, Tamīm (453-501 = 1061-1107), temporarily returned to the Fāṭimid allegiance (Lane-Poole, p. 138 n. 1), but with the conquest of Sicily by the Normans in 463 (1070) Barḡa became the western limit of the Fāṭimid state.

The diplomatic relations of al-Mustanṣir with non-Muslim states covered a wide field. In 429 (1038) the existing treaty with the Byzantine Emperor was renewed and relatively cordial relations established. If Nāṣir-i Khuraw (ed. Kaviṃi, p. 67) is to be trusted, the Egyptian government was in communication in 439 (1047) also with the Georgians, the Dailamites, the Khāḡān of Turkistān and even the rājā of Iḥlī, all of whom shared with Egypt a common hostility to the Saljuḡids and the Ghaznavids. The friendly relations with Constantinople, however, were broken off in 446

(1054), when the Empress Theodora demanded an offensive alliance against the Saljuḡids. Egyptian troops were despatched on an unsuccessful expedition against al-Iḥlīkiya, the Empress retaliated by opening negotiations with the Saljuḡids, and al-Mustanṣir seized the treasures of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (*al-Kusāma*). This breach with Constantinople had important consequences for the future of Egypt, since to it may perhaps be ascribed the opening up of direct commercial relations with the Italian trading cities, though documentary evidence on the point is lacking (cf. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, i, 105, 124).

Religious Conditions. The wide expansion of the Fāṭimid power under al-Mustanṣir is reflected also in the religious situation. Propaganda on behalf of the Fāṭimids is synonymous with the dissemination of the official state religion of the Fāṭimids, the Imā'ili-Shī'ite faith. Not only in Egypt and other lands in actual subjection to the Fāṭimid authority, but in all quarters of the Islamic world, we learn of missionaries (*da'īs*), who during the long reign of al-Mustanṣir struggled, in part with great success, to secure recognition of his claim to be the religious Imam. In the East, in Persia, and especially in Shīrāz, at the court of the Būyid prince Abū Kalbāḡir [q. v.], we can trace the activities at least since 429 (1037-1038) of the *da'ī* Alī Naṣr Hilāl Allāh b. Mūsā al-Mu'ayyad (cf. Dīn Allāh [see AL-MU'AYYAD]), doubtless the most prominent personality of his time in the Imā'ili *da'wa*. He endeavoured to win over the court and the Dailamite troops to the Fāṭimid cause, but was forced to leave his post in 439 (1047-1048) as the result of pro-'Abbāsid intrigues. In the first part of his autobiography (see *Bih.*) al-Mu'ayyad gives a detailed account of his activity, and in particular publishes his correspondence with an unnamed Sunni from Khurāsān, in which he explains the religious and political principles of his mission. To what an extent the power of the Fāṭimids and the success of their emissaries in Iraq and Persia was feared at Baghdad is shown by the fact that several times and latterly in 444 (1052), there was published a document, to which the 'Alids also subscribed, with the object of declaring false the claim of the Fāṭimids to descent from 'Alī. At the same time the Fāṭimid cause gained also new ground in the Yaman. After the political power of the Fāṭimids had been reduced there to a minimum in the course of the fourth century, it now acquired in the Sulāhid 'Alī b. Maḡammad a powerful supporter. He and his successors regarded themselves not only as political but also as religious representatives of the Fāṭimid Imām in the Yaman. The voluminous correspondence between the Sulāhid ruler and al-Mustanṣir, which is still preserved, collected in a separate work (*Kitaḡ al-Sigillāt wa'l-Tawḡifāt wa'l-Kutub li-Maḡmūn al-Mustanṣir bi'illāh*, MS. Sch. Or. St.; many of these letters are also reproduced in Idris, vol. vii. [see *Bih.*]), deals, along with political questions, in the first place with the position of the *da'wa* in the Yaman and in the Fāṭimid state.

In Egypt itself, soon after the accession of al-Mustanṣir, the doctrines of the moderate official Imā'iliyya were threatened by the appearance of extremists related to the Druzes [q. v.]. A pretender, al-Sikkīn, together with his associate al-'Anī, gave himself out as the returned Caliph al-Hākim, but

was promptly unmasked (Idris, vi. 296). Al-Mu'ayyad, who came to Cairo in 439 and won the goodwill of Mustanšir, was entrusted with the leadership of the religious mission as *ḥafīẓ al-dīn* (it should be remarked, however, that al-Yāfurī during his lifetime also held the title of *ḥafīẓ al-dīn*, cf. Ibn al-Sayrafī, p. 40). In the reopened seminary in Cairo, where the *ḥafīẓ* of the various countries received instruction, he gave his lectures and gathered into his hands the strings of the whole *da'wa*. He appears to have exercised a special influence over the development of the *da'wa* in the Yaman, as the future Yamanite *ḥafīẓ* Laṣṣak b. Maḥkūm was numbered amongst his pupils. From Persia the newly-converted Ismā'īlī Nāsir-i Khusrāw [q. v.] came to Egypt, to find his master in him. At the same time al-Mu'ayyad seems also to have played an important political role. In his autobiography he quotes numerous letters which he wrote to al-Bakrī and other generals of the Fātimids in Syria and Mesopotamia. In particular it was at his instigation that the *khawāṣṣ* for the Fātimids was introduced into the prayer at Baghdad in 450 (cf. Ibn Muyassar, p. 8, i; 10, 4-5). In his poems he eulogizes the Imām al-Mustanšir in a similar manner to Nāsir-i Khusrāw. Other Ismā'īlī authors of this period were the poet Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb, the *ḥafīẓ* Ahmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nisābūrī, and the author of the *Kitāb al-Maḥfūl al-Mustanširīya* (lectures in which the Imām of al-Mustanšir is demonstrated with the aid of the Ismā'īlī *ḥafīẓ*), which are ascribed by the Fātimid tradition to Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥamālī. — For the Fātimid propaganda in Transoxania see also Barthold, *Turkestan* 2, G. M. S., p. 304-305.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Sayrafī, *al-Ḥisra al-Manāla* (I. Wāṣṣa, ed. A. Makhlis, Cairo 1924, p. 57-77; Ibn al-Kalānī, *Ḥaṣṣat al-Dīnawarī*, ed. Amedroz, p. 84-128; Nāsir-i Khusrāw, *Safar-Nāma*, ed. Kaviānī, Berlin 1341, p. 34-82; transl. Schefer, Paris 1881, p. 110-162; Abū Salih, ed. Everett, fol. 98, 24-5, 33, 51; Ḥamālī al-Dīn al-Ḥamālī, *Taṣṣiḥ al-Dīn al-Mustanširīya*, British Museum Or. 3685, fol. 68-74; Gotha No. 1555, fol. 152-158; Ibn al-Aṭhār, *al-Aṭhār*, ed. Fockenberg, (x. 304-x. 161; Ibn 'Ishārī, ed. Douy, i. 285-292, 298-299; Sibī b. al-Djāwī, *Mir'at al-Zamān*, vol. xii, Paris 641 [not consulted]; Ibn Muyassar (I. Mūṣṣar), *Al-Ḥisra*, ed. Massé, Cairo 1919, p. 1-43; Ibn Khallikān, transl. de Slane, iii. 381; Ibn Taghribardī, *al-Nuḡm al-Zahira*, ed. Popper, ii/ii. 168-206; al-Maḥrūq, *al-Ḥisra*, ed. Bullūq, i. 99-100, 335-336, and other passages; Ibn Ḥammūd, *Al-Ḥisra*, ed. Vonderheyden, p. 59; Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan (d. 572), *Uyūn al-Aḥkām*, vi. 202-vii. 150; al-Mu'ayyad b. I. Dīn, *al-Sīra al-Mu'ayyadīya* (Autobiography) (the latter two in MSS. in the collection of H. F. al-Ḥamālī). — The section dealing with religious conditions is also based on other unpublished MSS. in the same collection. — F. Wustenfeld, *Gesch. der Fat. Caliphen*, p. 227-271; S. Lane-Poole, *Hist. of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 130-161; J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs*, Oxford 1920-1922, i. 75-83; ii. 79-80, 376-377; and the articles quoted above.

(H. A. R. GUN and P. KRAUS)

MUSTA'RIB(A) (أ.), "arabized", the name of one of the groups into which the Arab

genealogists divide the population of Arabia. The first is the *'Arab 'Arabi*, the original Arabs of pure stock; they numbered nine (some say seven) tribes which are regarded as the descendants of Aram b. Sam b. Nuh [q. v.] and the first settlers in Arabia: 'Ad, Thamūd, 'Umayyīm, 'Abīl, Tasm, Dhiyās, 'Imīlī, Dharham and Wabār. These are extinct except for a few remnants incorporated in other tribes. The second group comprises the *mustaribā* [q. v.] who are not pure blooded Arabs. They are regarded as descendants of Kaḥṭān (the Yokān of the list of nations in Gen. x. 25-29) and live in southern Arabia. The third group is called *mustaribā*; this name is also applied to tribes who were not originally Arab; they trace their descent from Ma'add b. 'Adnān, a descendant of Ismā'īl [q. v.]. All the north Arabian tribes are included among the *mustaribā*, so that the Banī Kuraysh to which Maḥammad belonged is one of them; his genealogy is in this way traced back to Abraham and he thus thought he could prove his connection with the Biblical prophets. The old term *mustaribā*, for tribes not originally of Arab descent, obtained a new meaning after the conquest of Spain. It was applied to the Christian Spaniards who adopted Islam; the word *mustaribā* was corrupted to Mozarab [q. v.].

Bibliography: Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, i. 343; do., *Studi di Storia Orientale*, i. 306, 39; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*, i. 6-199; C. Ritter, *Arabien*, i. 57; al-Suyūṭī, *Mushir*, i. Naw'; *Taḍq al-'Arab*, i. 371; cf. Lane, *Lex.*, s. v.

(ILSE LICHTENSTÄUVER)

AL-MUSTARSHID BI 'LLĀH, ABŪ MAḤMŪD AL-FADL, 'Abbasid caliph, born in 486 (1093-1094), son of al-Mustanjir and a slave-girl. Al-Mustarshid, who was proclaimed his father's successor after the latter's death on 16m Rabi' II 512 (Aug. 6, 1118), was the first caliph since the occupation of Baghdad by the Buyids who was not content with spiritual supremacy but also endeavoured to revive the caliph's authority in temporal matters. The Saljuq sultan had died before al-Mustanjir (Dhu l-Hiddjja 511 = April 1118) and his son Mahmūd [q. v.] was appointed his successor. His uncle Sanjar and his brother Ma'ūd both rebelled against the new sultan and the turbulent Mazyadī Duhais b. Saḍāḥa [q. v.] was raising trouble in the 'Irāq and had also quarrelled with the caliph. The latter defeated him in 517 (1123) and after al-Mustarshid had repelled a regular attack on the capital he was able to adopt a more independent attitude to the Saljuqs. But as his increasing power aroused the misgivings of the governor of Baghdad, the latter in Rajab 520 (July-Aug. 1126) went to Salṭān Maḥmūd and asked him to put a limit to the caliph's powers. Maḥmūd agreed and attacked the capital while al-Mustarshid sent an army against Wasīt in order to seize this town. The attempt failed however; towards the end of the year Maḥmūd entered Baghdad and al-Mustarshid could not hold out indefinitely but had to make peace, whereupon the sultan appointed 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī governor of Baghdad and all the 'Irāq. But in Dhu'l-Hiddjja 521 (July 1127) the latter was given the governorship of al-Mawjil and after Maḥmūd's death (525 = 1131) the succession was again disputed. In 526 Duhais and Zangī undertook a campaign against Baghdad but were defeated by the caliph at the

end of Rājshab (June 1132) and in the same year Mas'ūd [q. v.] had to give him complete control of Baghdad and the surrounding country. After some time he attacked the sultan but was taken prisoner in Ramadān 529 (Jan. 1135) and murdered in Dhū l-Ka'da of the same year (Aug. 1135) [cf. the art. DUBAD L. SADAQA].

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athir, ed. Tornberg, s. xl, see index; Ibn al-Tikfa, *al-Fakhri*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 406—415; Muhammad b. Shākir, *Fawā'id al-Wafayāt*, ii. 124 sq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, iii. 495 sq.; Hamd Allāh Mu'tawfi-i Karwīn, *Ta'rikh-i Gūda*, ed. Browne, i. 361 sq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 212—253; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendlande*, ii. 127 sq.; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, new ed., p. 583 sq.; Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoukides*, ii. 104, 120, 152, 160, 174—178; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 195, 259, 275. (K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

MUSTASHAR (A.), councillor, Turkish pronunciation *müştəşār*, meaning "general secretary to a ministry" or "under-secretary of state". The word which means literally "one who is consulted" comes from the same root as *mushār* [q. v.] which properly means "he who gives advice". Sāmī Bey regards the word *müştəşār* as a synonym of the old Turkish *imāl*. — The office was called *müştəşārī* or more simply *müştəşārīllā*.

Like the title *mühür*, that of *müştəşār* was created by Mahmūd II. There were at first two *müştəşār* in the grand-vizierate, one for foreign and the other for home affairs. The latter was later replaced by a Minister of the Interior who had in his turn a *müştəşār*. The number of *müştəşār* gradually increased but some less important departments had *müştəşār* "assistant, deputy" (in 1296 for example there were *müştəşār* in the finance and police departments). The office has been retained under the present republic and each ministry or *meklûlât* has its *müştəşār*; that of national defence has three (for army, navy and air force).

The chief judge of Istanbul used to have a *müştəşār*. According to Lufti Efendi, the post of *müştəşār* of the Navy was created in 1253 (v., p. 91) and that of *müştəşār* of the treasury or of the two *hazines* in 1262 (viii., p. 127). On the honorary grades of *müştəşār* cf. the same author, vi., p. 66; cf. also p. 103, line 8 from below.

Müştəşār is also the name given to the "councillors" of Turkish or foreign embassies or legations. The title of *müştəşār* was also borne by the ambassador himself, sent by the Sultan of Morocco to Istanbul in 1197, is inexplicable to us (cf. Djewdet Pasha, edition 1309, ii., p. 251; cf. *Recueil de Mémoires Orientaux de l'Er. des Langues Orientales à Paris*, 1905, p. 6).

As to the term *müştəşir*, a synonym of the preceding and from the same root, it is applied to technical advisers, whether foreigners or not; *kubāḥ mūştəşirī* "legal adviser".

Bibliography: Cf. the various Ottoman encyclopaedias. The historians Ahmed Djewdet and Lufti, following their predecessors, give no details of the administrative organisation. (J. DERNY)

AL-MUSTA'ŠIM BI' ALLĀH, ABO AHMAD ABO ALLĀH B. AL-MUSTA'ŠIM, the 1211 'ABD-ŪS-ŪD caliph of Baghdad, born in 609 (1212/3). After the death of his father in Jumādī I or II 640 (Nov./Dec. 1242) he was raised to the caliph's

throne but he had neither the talent nor the strength to avert the catastrophe threatening from the Mongols; he allowed himself to be guided by bad councillors who were not agreed among themselves but working against one another. In 683 (1255/6) the Mongol Khan Hülāgū [q. v.] demanded that the Muslim rulers should make war on the infidels. The caliph did not trouble about this and in Rabi' I 655 (March/April 1257) a Mongol embassy came to Baghdad and demanded that al-Musta'šim should raise the defences of the city and appear in person before Hülāgū for further negotiations or send a deputy. As the caliph refused to meet these demands, Hülāgū threatened him with war. After another message in which al-Musta'šim tried to intimidate Hülāgū, the latter set out against the ancient city of the caliphs. On the way he met another embassy, offering him an annual tribute but this effort to appease the cruel foe was useless and by Muharram 656 (Jan. 1258) the Mongols were at the gates of Baghdad. Preparations for the siege advanced rapidly and after all attempts to resume negotiations had failed against the relentless Hülāgū, al-Musta'šim had to surrender on 4th Safar (10th Feb.) and the city was sacked. Ten days later Hülāgū had the caliph with some of his relations put to death [cf. the art. SAGHDAD].

Bibliography: Ibn al-Tikfa, *al-Fakhri* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 448—458; Muhammad b. Shākir, *Fawā'id al-Wafayāt*, i. 237—239; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, iii. 336 sq.; Rashid al-Din (ed. Quatremère), i. 228 sq.; Hamd Allāh Mu'tawfi-i Karwīn, *Ta'rikh-i Gūda* (ed. Browne), i. 371—373; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 470—478; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, see index; A. Müller, *Der Islam*, i. 640; ii. 228 sq.; Muir, *The Caliphate*, new ed., p. 590 sq. (K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

MUSTAWFI, an official in charge of government accounts. Under the Turkish systems, e.g. under the Ghaznawids and Seldjūks, the title was borne by a functionary of high rank who was at the head of the *dimās* concerned with keeping the tally of public income and expenditure. Under the Nizām al-Mulk the office of the *mustawfi* was second only to that of the vizier (Bundhart, ed. Houtsma, p. 100) and appears to have corresponded to the *drōn al-simān* or *drōn al-animma*, the "Bureau of (Financial) Control" of the 'Abbasids (Tahart, iii. 522), although the Seldjūks also had a *drōn* of this name tenable by the *mustawfi* himself (Bundhart, p. 58). The qualities requisite in him were such as to fit him for the vizierate itself (*ibid.*, p. 96), and indeed there were duties which were common to the two offices so that the same man could act as the *mīl* in both (*ibid.*, p. 129, last line). The vizierate might be refused by a powerful *mustawfi* holding all the reins of government in his hands and reluctant to expose himself to the dangers inherent in the nominally more exalted office (*ibid.*, p. 136, 141). But no officer was safe from a capricious or greedy monarch and the *mustawfi* Šafī al-Din suffered death and the confiscation of a large part of his property at the hands of Salāh Mas'ūd (*ibid.*, p. 171). It is probable that the actual title of the State *mustawfi* was *mustawfi kawnalaka* or something similar (*ibid.*, p. 31), the ordinary *mustawfi*, or accountant, holding a subordinate position (*ibid.*, p. 31, 3).

Under the Mongols the title was given to the superintendents of provincial finances (e.g. Hamd Allāh Mustawfī and his great-grandfather; cf. E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, iii. 87), and under the Timūrids, Safawids and Qājārs, the *mustawfī* 'Uzunmīlāh filled the office of a secretary of state in charge of the public treasury accounts while the ordinary *mustawfī* was one of the lesser officers of the court (R. du Maine, *État de la Perse en 1660*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1890, p. 26, 178 sq.; A. Olearius, *Voyages and Travels*, London 1669, p. 274; Sir J. Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1815, ii. 437; R. G. Watson, *History of Persia*, London 1866, p. 16 sq.). *Mustawfī* 'Uzunmīlāh might however, under the latest Qājārs, be a title personal to a particular individual, who might be the Minister of the Interior (as in 1890) or even Prime Minister (as in 1910).

In Egypt, under the Fatimids and Mamlūks, the *mustawfī* might be the head of a *diwān* (as of the *diwān al-ḥaṣṣ*) or hold a less exalted, but still important, position as financial controller in such matters as the *ḥaṣṣ*, or military fiefs (cf. Makrizī, *Khitaṭ*, Bulak 1270, ii. 193, middle and p. 227, under *ḥaṣṣ al-ḥaṣṣ*). The ordinary *mustawfī* was a minor official of the status of a clerk employed under a *ḥadd*, or overseer, in land-surveys or crop-estimation or else in a government office such as the depot of the government grain monopoly (cp. *cit.*, ed. Wiet, ii., ch. 32, p. 23—25).

Bibliography: In addition to works cited in the article, see Quatremère, *Hist. des Sultans mamluks de Mahrūt*, i/i, p. 202 sq.; Mirza Maḥammad Ḥazwini, *Mukhallaṣat al-Diḡawāt*, Tārīkh al-Diḡān-gushā (in G.M.S.), i/xi (2).

(R. LEVY)

MUSTAẒFĪ [see ḤAMD ALLĀH]

AL-MUSTAẒHIR BI 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. AL-MUSTAẒFĪ, 'Abbāsid caliph. After the death of his father in Muḥarram 487 (Feb. 1094) the young al-Mustaẓhir succeeded him; about this time the power of the Saljuqs was beginning to be weakened by internal dissensions [cf. BARKIYĀRUK]. The Assassins, who had already appeared on the scene in al-Muqtadi's reign, were able to take advantage of the situation and fighting this dangerous sect soon became one of the most important tasks of the sultāns and caliphs. The Crusades also began at this time. In Shā'ban 492 (July 1099) Jerusalem was taken and in the following years numerous fugitives reached Baghdad who urged Salḡan Maḥammad to take part in the struggle. He therefore sent an army under the emir Mawḍūd against the Crusaders in 505 (1111/12). Al-Mustaẓhir, who is hardly ever mentioned in the political history of this period, died on 16 Rabi' II 512 (Aug. 6, 1118) at the age of 41.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aṭhir (ed. Torberg), i. 154 sq.; Ibn al-Tijānī, *al-Fakhri* (ed. Denonbourg), p. 403—406; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, iii. 480 sq.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī-i Ḥazwini, *Tārīkh-i Ḥusayn* (ed. Browne), i. 360 sq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 138 sq.; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, new ed., p. 582 sq.; Houtsma, *Receuil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjucides*, ii. 83, 95, 119, 261, 265; Le Strange, *Baghdād during the Abbāsid Caliphate*, see index.

(K. V. ZETTERSTERN)

MUSULMAN [see MUSLIM]

MUTA, a town in the centre of a fertile plain in the land east of Jordan, east of the southern end of the Dead Sea, about two hours' journey south of Kerk, celebrated for the defeat of the Muslims there in Dhu'l-Ḥijja 1 of the year 8. According to the Arabic account, the reason why Muḥammad sent 3,000 men to this region was that an envoy whom he had sent to the king (presumably the imperial commandant) of Bosra had been murdered by a Ghassanid, but the real reason seems to have been that he wished to bring the (Christian or pagan) Arabs living there under his control. If the story is correct that he chose three leaders for the expedition, Zaid b. Ḥarīthā [q.v.] and if he fell his cousin Dja'far b. Abi Ṭālib [q.v.] and if he also fell the poet 'Abd Allāh b. Rawḥa [q.v.], he must have fully recognised the hazardous nature of the enterprise; but the tendency of the stories to describe the dangers of the expedition and the overwhelming nature of the opposing force as very great in order to put the unfortunate result of the battle in a better light is quite evident. In Ḥassān b. Thābit (xii., cf. cxviii.) we are only told that the three leaders above mentioned fell in succession. When the Muslims arrived in Ma'ān in eastern Edom, they learned that no less than 100,000 Byzantine soldiers and Beduins — a much exaggerated figure which Ibn Hishām doubles — had assembled in Ma'ān. Muḥammad (Arabia Petraea, i. 29) locates this Ma'ān, which according to Tabari, i. 2108, was not a town but a camp (*ḥaṣṣ*), at Laḡdījā, a place near a spring with traces of an old Roman camp. But Abu 'l-Fida' identifies it with al-Kabbā which he describes as a village on the site of the former capital of the district, i.e. Rabbat Moab or Arcopolis (P. Thomsen, *Lea Sacra*, p. 25; Brunnow, *M. N. D. P. V.*, 1895, p. 70 sq. with photographs; Muḥ., *op. cit.*, p. 370 sq. 381). According to the Arab story, it was the emperor Heraclius himself who assembled this great army in Ma'ān, which is of course not true. When the Muslims heard this, we are told, they lost courage and wanted to wait until the Prophet could send them reinforcements but 'Abd Allāh b. Rawḥa was able to fill them with such enthusiasm for a possible martyr's death that they marched on the imperial army. According to Ibn Hishām, the latter met them at a village belonging to Balqa' called Maḡharif, but this must be a misunderstanding as this term means the Syrian fortresses on the edge of the desert. At the sight of the great force of the enemy, they withdrew to the south but fighting began at the village of Mu'ta and they were routed. When the three leaders named by Muḥammad had fallen in the order indicated, they wanted Thābit b. Arḡan to take command but he gave it to Khalid b. al-Walid who succeeded in saving the rest of the force; this was the first occasion on which his military talents benefitted the Muslims; how he did it, we do not know as the straggles related by Wāḡidī, p. 512 is not to be taken seriously. Besides the Muslim account, we have a Byzantine one, the earliest in the history of the Prophet, by the historian Theophanes, whose version bears the stamp of veracity. According to him Muḥammad sent four chiefs to the land east of Jordan against the Christian Arabs there. They went to a village named Mucneon, which de Goeje, *Mémoires sur la conquête de la Syrie* 2, p. 6 sq., takes

to be a copyist's error for Ma'ab, while Muail, *op. cit.*, p. 155, identifies it with Khirbat al-Mahna which lies in a broad depression, in order to fall upon the Arabs on a feastday (*ḥadṣa* 28; *al-Bihar* 20:22; *ḥadṣa*, which seems to indicate a heathen rather than a Christian population) but the *vicarius* Theodoros there learned of their plans and rapidly collecting the garrisons of the fortresses, fell upon the Muslims at Ma'm and defeated them. Three of the leaders and most of the force were killed and Chalefos who was called the "sword of God", alone succeeded in escaping. The tombs of the martyrs who fell there used to be pointed out at Mu'ta, where a mausoleum was built over them.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wustenfeld, p. 791 *sqq.*; Tabari, ed. de Goëje, I. 1610 *sqq.*; Waki, transl. Wellhausen; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, *II*, 92 *sqq.*, cf. *III*, 82, 14; *iv*, 22 *sqq.*; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, II. 80-88; Ma'ab, *B. G. A.*, VIII. 127; Theophanes, ed. de Boor, I. 335; Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, p. 176; Ya'qubi, *B. G. A.*, VII. 326; Mukaddasi, *B. G. A.*, III. 178; Yāqūt, *Ma'ājam*, ed. Wustenfeld, *iv*, 677; Abu'l-Fida', ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 247; Muail, *Arabia Petraea*, I. 152; Probst, *Die geogr. Verhältnisse Syriens u. Palästinas nach Willhelm v. Tyrus (Das Land der Bibel)*, 1927, I. 73. (F. B. H. N.)

MUTA (A), temporary marriage (according to the Arab lexicographers "marriage of pleasure"), a marriage which is contracted for a fixed period on rewarding the woman.

1. Before Islam. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, *xiv*, 4, temporary marriage was in use among the Arabs already in the fourth century A. D.; but this can hardly be a reference to mut'a as the woman brings a lance and tent to the man and can leave him if she likes after the period has elapsed. It is also doubtful if there is a distinct mut'a character in the marriage of Hāshim with Salma bint 'Amr, whom he married during a temporary stay in Yathrib and left with her family there after the birth of her child (Caetani, I. 111, § 92). From the passage *Aghāni*, *xvi*, 65 (*mut'atun khaṭa* 'f-talla) as well as from Muslim traditions it may be concluded that mut'a was known in the Qabilis. If we remember that the same kind of temporary marriage as the mut'a was known in Erythraea (Coul. Rossini, *Principi di diritto consuetudinario*, Rome 1916, p. 189, 249) it seems to me certain that mut'a is an old Arabian institution. (Temporary marriage is also found among other peoples; cf. Wilken, p. 21 *sq.*; Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, London 1925, III. 267 *sq.*; cf. also the *ḥypaḡos γάμος* in Egypt, to which Grifflin, p. 327 calls attention; in a domestic document there is a reference to such a marriage for five months; cf. Mitteis-Wilcken, *Grundzüge der Papyrkunde*, *II*, p. 203 *sqq.*).

II. In the Qur'ān there is undoubtedly a reference to this form of marriage in the Medinan *sūra* *iv*, 28, although the orthodox explanation of this passage as early as the first century refers it to the ordinary *nikaḥ*; after giving a list of the classes of women with whom marriage is forbidden, it goes on: "And further you are permitted to seek out wives with your wealth, in modest conduct but not in fornication; but give them their reward (*uḡḡa*) for what you have enjoyed of them (*istamta'na*) in keeping with your promise". After *istamta'na*, 'Ubay' b. Ka'b and Ibn 'Abbas read the

words *lā aḡḡab minnamm* "for a definite period" (Tabari, *Tafsir*, v. 6), a reading which naturally has not found its way into Sunni circles but is often added in Shi'a books.

III. The traditions are contradictory on the question of mut'a. According to some, it was in use in the time of the Prophet and he was even said to have practised it (*mut'a* 242; Tabari, *An-nabī*, I. 1775, 1776; cf. Caetani, II. 478, N^o. 17 and 19). In return for a robe or a handful of dates one could take an unmarried woman (*ḡayām*) for a period of cohabitation (Muslim, *Nikaḥ*, II. 13, 17; Tayālis, N^o. 1637). Especially when a man came to a strange town he could marry a woman there for the period of his stay so that she could look after him (Tirmidhi, *Nikaḥ*, *lāb* 28).

On the other hand, according to one tradition related by 'Alī, it was forbidden by the Prophet on the day (or in the year) of Khaibar (Bukhārī, *Maḡḡā*, *lāb* 38; *Ḍaḡḡā*, *lāb* 28; *Nikaḥ*, *lāb* 33; Muslim, *Nikaḥ*, tr. 31-34; Nasa'i, *Nikaḥ*, *lāb* 71 ["on the day of Hunain" must here be a mistake for Khaibar]; *Sa'id*, *lāb* 51; Ibn Maḡḡā, *Nikaḥ*, *lāb* 44; Tirmidhi, *Nikaḥ*, *lāb* 28; *Aḡḡā*, *lāb* 6; Mālik, *Nikaḥ*, tr. 41; Ahmad b. Hanbal, I. 79, 103, 142; Tayālis, N^o. 111; Zaid, *Maḡḡā*, N^o. 718).

According to other traditions, he is said to have permitted it for a short time on particular occasions. In this connection we have a group of traditions which goes back to Salma b. Ma'ad; the various accounts of this, some long, some short, which supplement one another, are in part given without date (Muslim, *Nikaḥ*, tr. 20, 26; Nasa'i, *Nikaḥ*, *lāb* 71; Abū Dawūd, *Nikaḥ*, *lāb* 13; Ahmad b. Hanbal, III. 404), in part referred to the conquest of Mecca (Muslim, *Nikaḥ*, tr. 21, 24, 25, 27, 28; Tirmidhi, *Nikaḥ*, *lāb* 16; Ahmad b. Hanbal, III. 404, 405), and in part to the farewell pilgrimage (Ibn Maḡḡā, *Nikaḥ*, *lāb* 44; Tirmidhi, *Nikaḥ*, *lāb* 16; Abū Dawūd, *Nikaḥ*, *lāb* 13; Ahmad b. Hanbal, III. 404 *sq.*). Their substance is as follows: The Prophet permitted mut'a; Salma therefore went with a companion to a woman and each offered her his cloak. She chose the younger with the shablier cloak and slept three nights with him; thereupon the Prophet forbade it. According to the stories associated with the farewell pilgrimage, the woman wished mut'a only for a fixed period so that ten days or nights was agreed upon, but the Prophet forbade it after the first night, saying: "Whoever of you has married a woman for a period, shall give her what he promised and ask nothing of it back and he shall separate from her; for God has forbidden this up to the day of resurrection". (For the conclusion cf. also the fragments of this in Muslim, *Nikaḥ*, tr. 23, 30).

According to a second group of traditions, which goes back to Ḍaḡḡā b. 'Abd Allāh and Salma b. al-Akwa', the Prophet permitted mut'a for three days on a campaign (Bukhārī, *Nikaḥ*, *lāb* 71; Muslim, *Nikaḥ*, tr. 14, 15; Ahmad b. Hanbal, IV. 47, 51; according to Muslim, *Nikaḥ*, tr. 19 and Ahmad b. Hanbal, IV. 55, this was in the year of Awjās, i. e. shortly after the capture of Mecca). In Bukhārī we have at the end: "The partnership of the two parties lasted three nights; and if they agreed to extend it, they did so, and if they wished to separate, they did so". A prohibition is given only in two versions in this group.

According to other traditions, mut'a was first forbidden by the caliph 'Umar at the end of his caliphate (Muslim, *Nihāṣ*, tr. 16-18; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii. 304, 380 and iii. 325, 356, 363, where there is a reference to the two kinds of mut'a, i.e. *tamattu'* on the pilgrimage and *mut'a al-ahwa'*). 'Umar threatened the punishment of stoning so that he regarded mut'a as fornication (Ibn Māḍja, *Nihāṣ*, bāb 44; Mālik, *Nihāṣ*, tr. 42; Faylālī, N° 1792). Cf. the angry exclamation of Ibn 'Umar when he was asked about mut'a: "By Allah, we were not immodest in the time of the Prophet of Allah nor fornicators" (Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii. 95, 104).

What then is at the bottom of these contradictory traditions? While Wellhausen regards mut'a as simply prostitution and not an old Arabian custom, Caetani points out that the traditions agree in connecting mut'a with an entrance of the Prophet into Mecca and sometimes even with the *hajj al-dī* and that a three days' duration is a feature of the mut'a; taking account of other considerations, he concludes that mut'a in the pagan period was religious prostitution on the occasion of the Meccan festival. However tampering this explanation may be, there is a complete lack of evidence for any religious prostitution in Mecca. With Wilken and Robertson Smith, we must rather regard mut'a as the survival into Islam of an old Arabian custom. The Prophet gives this custom sanction in the Qur'an and also practised it himself. The traditions, if examined carefully, only mention two cases of prohibition by the Prophet: Khaibar and Mecca. As both these are later than the above Qur'anic passage (years 3-5, according to Nöldake-Schwally, I. 198) this prohibition would be quite possible. But since on the other hand the caliph 'Umar prohibited mut'a, which there is no reason to doubt, we might regard the tradition of prohibition as representing later views, which, as is often the case, are put back to the time of the Prophet.

IV. Attitude of the fuḳahā'. Ibn Abīn (d. 68) was an ardent champion of mut'a (Bukhārī, *Nihāṣ*, bāb 31; Muslim, *Nihāṣ*, tr. 18; Tayalīn, N° 1792; Rāzī, *Maṭālib al-ḡhalīb*, Cairo 1324, iii. 195). In Mecca and the Yaman, according to Ibn Ruḡdā (*Ḥidāya*, Cairo 1339, ii. 54), he also had followers; but before his death he is said to have been converted to the opposite view (Tirmidhī, *Nihāṣ*, bāb 28; Rāzī, *loc. cit.*). In later times, people still spoke derisively of a marriage by a *fiṭwa* of Ibn Abīn. In the second half of the first century in Mecca, *fiṭwas* were still given permitting mut'a (Muslim, *Nihāṣ*, tr. 29). The Qur'an commentators Maḍḥid (d. 100), Sa'īd b. Djaḥr (d. 95), and al-Suddī (d. 127) also referred the above verse of the Qur'an to mut'a. Suddī says that it is a marriage for a fixed period and that it should be concluded with the permission of the *mawla* and with two witnesses; that after the expiry of this period the man has no longer any claim on the woman and that the two parties cannot inherit from one another (Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, v. 8). With the second century, the contrary view begins to predominate; although individuals like 'Aur b. Dīnār (d. 120), Ibn Djarūdī (d. 150) and the Zaidī sect of the Djarūdīya permit mut'a (Ibn Ruḡdā, *loc. cit.*; van Arendonk, *Ophomet* etc., Leyden 1919, p. 72, note 9), al-Thawrī (d. 161), Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181) (Tirmidhī, *Nihāṣ*, bāb 28)

and all the Sunnī schools of law as well as the Zaidīs (al-Nuḥḥ bi'l-Ḥaḥḥ, *Takrīr*, Berlin MS., Glasses 74, fol. 53b) consider mut'a forbidden. Its recognition was now limited to the Shī'a. And if the caliph Ma'mūn tried to introduce mut'a again, this was certainly due to his Shī'a tendencies (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii. 218).

At the same time, we still have in the second century the opinions of a period of transition. According to Zafar (d. 158), the marriage concluded under the form of mut'a was valid as a marriage but its limitation in time was invalid (Sarakhḥī, *Mabṣūṭ*, v. 133; cf. also Bukhārī, *Ḥiyāl*, bāb 4). According to al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād al-Lu'ī (d. 204), the mut'a was valid if the partners could not survive the time fixed, e.g. 100 years or more (Sarakhḥī, *loc. cit.*).

But in spite of their refusal to recognise mut'a, the Sunnīs made concessions by which mut'a gained a footing in another form. It became the practice not to insert a definite period in the contract; any agreement made outside the contract was not affected by the law. Al-Shāfi'ī (*Umm*, v. 71) for example, declared a marriage valid when it was concluded with the unuttered resolution (*niyya*) to observe it only for the period of stay in a place or for a few days only, so long as this was not expressly stipulated in the contract. Similarly if agreement to this effect (*sur'atunafā*) had been previously made and even if made on oath; but he describes such an agreement as *maḥrāḡ*. There are also traces in later literature of a decision by Mālik by which he permitted mut'a (Sarakhḥī, v. 152; Baḍ'ā'īnī, *Muntahān al-Tawārīḡ*, ed. Lees, ii. 208, 299), although only the contrary is recorded in the *Muwaṭṭa'* and *Mudawwana* (iv. 46).

A good exposition of the two opposite points of view is given from the Sunnī side by Kāḥnānī (d. 387), *Bad' al-Sunnā*, Cairo 1327, ii. 272-274 and in Rāzī, *op. cit.*, iii. 193-198 and from the Shī'a side by 'Alam al-Hudā al-Murtadā, *In-ṣifār*, Teheran 1315, p. 60-65. The Sunnīs refer the verse above mentioned from the Qur'an to regular marriage and declare the *agfir* to be *maḥr*, while the Shī'īs base their view on this verse and consider the traditions of prohibition not to be abrogatory and do not consider 'Umar authoritative for a prohibition. The Imāmīs even go so far as to say: "The believer is only perfect when he has experienced a mut'a" (al-Hurr al-'Amīlī, v. 69, 2).

V. The teachings of the Imāmīs.

1. Form. Mut'a is an irrevocable (*lāzim*) contract which, like every contract, comes into existence through *ṭabāṭ* and *ajfāḥ*. It may be concluded with the words *nihāṣ*, *ṭamattu'* or *tamattu'*, but must always contain a precise statement of the period (*ajfāl*) and a definite recompense (*agfir* or *maḥr*). This recompense may be the dowry usual in other marriages or a handful of corn, a dirham or such like. The period may vary from a day to months or even years. Witnesses are not necessary; nor need it be concluded before the *ḡdi*, if the partners are capable of using the formulae correctly. If the *maḥr* is not given, the contract is invalid. If the period is not given, according to some it is a regular marriage if the word *tamattu'* was not used at the end of the ceremony; in the latter case the contract is again invalid.

2. The two partners must naturally fulfil the usual conditions for the conclusion of an agreement. The woman must further be unmarried.

and chaste (*ʿafīf*) and if possible ought to know about mut'a, i.e. be a Shi'ī, and can only contract a temporary marriage with a Muslim. According to Ibn Bāṭūya (d. 381) and al-Mufīd (d. 413), mut'a with an unbeliever is forbidden, even with a member of the possessors of a scripture (*ḥudūdīy*). The *ṣawāḥib* (extreme Khāridjīs) are included among the unbelievers. According to most Imāmi (and Tūṭī also) however, mut'a with a Christian or Jewish woman is permitted but *makrūh* with a *madhūbiyya*. Mut'a with a slave-girl is only admitted with the consent of her master. Usually the woman contracts the marriage without a *maṭl*; only a virgin (*ḥikr*), according to some, requires her father's consent (Abū Ḥ-Salīh, d. 82; Ibn Bāṭūya, d. 381; Ibn al-Barrādj, d. 451; cf. Hilli, III, 92). The man may in this way take other wives in addition to his four legal wives, especially on journeys. He must not, however, take two sisters at the same time, not even during the *ʿidda*.

3. The mut'a ends on the expiry of the period agreed upon. It cannot be prolonged by arrangement between the two parties; a new temporary marriage with a new *maḥr* must rather be contracted at the end of the period. Divorce is impossible; according to some, however, *ḥāḍ* and *ḡhar* are permitted.

4. There is no obligation on the man to provide food and home for the woman. The two partners cannot inherit from one another; but according to some, inheritance may be provided for in the contract. The *ʿidda* after the expiry of the mut'a is two periods or 45 days, i.e. the *ʿidda* of a slave-girl. There is, however, disagreement whether on the man's death the period of waiting is the usual one for a wife or that for a slave. The children go with the father.

VI. Modern practice. Although these Shi'ī views have a certain amount of moral support, the mut'a in many cases can only be described as legalised prostitution. It is true that in Persia such marriages are made for very long periods, e.g. 99 years, but the Persian, when on a journey, temporarily marries in any place where he is stopping for some time and in the towns and caravanserais *mullās* and other brokers offer a wife to each new arrival. To make this business more profitable, the *ʿidda* period is evaded by concluding a second temporary marriage with the same man after the expiry of the first, for in the case of such a marriage the *ʿidda* is not necessary. This marriage and a woman of this kind is called in Persia *ḡḡḡ* (lit. 'form' i.e. of the contract). Cf. Orentius [1637], *Muscovit. u. pers. Reyer*, Schlesswig 1656, p. 609; Chardin [1673], *Voyages*, Paris 1811, II, 222–223, 225–227; Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, I, 207 ff.; E. G. Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, Cambridge 1927, p. 505 ff.; H. Norden, *Persien*, Leipzig 1929, p. 148, 167; and the romance of the traveller James Morier, *The adventures of Hajji Baba of Isfahan*, 1824, part III, chap. 6–8.

The constantly quoted story (first in Wilken, p. 19) of Alex. Hamilton (*A new account of the East Indies*, Edinburgh 1727, I, 51) that at the beginning of the 17th century temporary marriages were publicly negotiated in Soanah (= San'a) in South Arabia and concluded before the *ḡḡḡ*, is a very improbable one; for Hamilton knew only the coast-towns from his own observation and wrote

his account of his travels later from memory. He seems to be confusing them with conditions in Persian towns, and he makes mistakes on other matters.

In Mecca, in modern as well as ancient times (for the middle ages cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab: wa-muṭʿat al-tawāḡif bi-Makha minha*), temporary marriages were concluded among the Sunnis but nothing is said of this in the marriage contract or this would make it invalid; everything necessary is arranged previously by word of mouth. On the conclusion of the contract, the man utters the *ṭalāq* formula with a time limit. Such agreements are as a rule kept (Snoeck Hurgonje, *Mekka*, II, 156; do., *Perser. Geschiedten*, VI, 150). The same practice is used in such cases as Shi'ī indicated long ago (cf. above).

Bibliography: Early History: G. A. Wilken, *Materiales*, Leipzig 1884, p. 9–25; W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, London 1903, p. 82 sqq.; Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern*, in *N. G. W. Göttingen*, 1893, p. 464 sq.; Caetani, *Annali*, Milan 1910, III, 894–903; Griffini in Zaid, *Corpus iuris*, Milan, 1919 p. 324–332. — In addition to the usual works on Fiqh and tradition: al-Mufīd (d. 413 = 1022), *Muḥṣaṭṭ*, Tabriz 1274, p. 77 sqq.; commentary thereon: Tūṭī (d. 459 = 1067), *Tahḍīb al-Aḥkām*, Teheran 1318, II, 183 sqq.; al-Muḥḥikī (d. 676 = 1277–1278), *Shurūṭ al-Lisān*, transl. Query as *Droit musulman*, Paris 1871, I, 689 sqq.; Ibn al-Muḥḥar al-Hillī (d. 726 = 1326), *Muḥḥṭaṭ al-Ṣifa fī Aḥkām al-Sharʿa*, Teheran 1323–1324, IV, 8–14; al-Hur al-ʿAmīdī (d. 1099 = 1688), *Wasāʾil al-Sharʿa*, Teheran 1288, V, 68–76; ʿAlī b. Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Tahḥabī (written in 1192 = 1778), *Riḡāṭ al-Maṭāʾil*, Teheran 1267, II, 133–141. — Tornauw, *Moslem. Ethik*, Leipzig 1855, p. 80; P. Kitabgi Khan, *Droit musulman syrien. Le mariage et le divorce*, Lausanne 1904, p. 79 sqq.; R. K. Wilson, *Anglo-Muhammadian Law*, London 1912, p. 452–458; Jayuboll, *Handelsding*, Leyden 1925, p. 193 sq.; Goldziber, *Vorlesungen*, Heidelberg 1910, p. 338.

(HEFFENING)

AL-MUTAʿALĪ. (See ALLĪ, II.)

MUTAʿARRIB(A) (A.) 'arabised', the term applied to the descendants of Kaḥṭān (the Biblical Yaktān) who were regarded by the genealogists as 'having become Arabs' in contrast to the supposed native 'pure' Arab tribes like ʿAd, Thamūd, etc. They settled in South Arabia and adopted Arabic from the 'pure' Arabs. The latter had learned it through Qurḥum, the only man who spoke Arabic in Noah's ark (all the rest spoke Syriac), and his son-in-law Aram b. Šam b. Nūh was the ancestor of the ʿAd and Thamūd etc. From South Arabia, their main centre, tribes of the Banī Kaḥṭān migrated to the north, so that there are in Northern Arabia also tribes whose genealogies make them belong to the Banī Kaḥṭān (cf. the article MUSTAʿRIB(A) where the literature is given). (See LITERATURES.)

MUTADARIK, name of the sixteenth metre in Arabic prosody, added to al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad's list by al-Aḥḥash al-Awsat [q. v.]. It is also called *maḥḥṭar*, *maḥḥṭaḥ*, *ḡḡḡ*, *maḥḥṭ*, *darb al-ḡḡḡ*, *raḡḡ al-ḡḡḡ*, and *al-nāḡḡ*. It does not seem to have been used by the poets before Iḥṣān or of the first century A.H.

It has four feet to the hemistich and two 'arūḍ and four *darḥ*:

1st 'arūḍ { *Fā'ilun fā'ilun fā'ilun fā'ilun*
fā'ilun fā'ilun fā'ilun fā'ilun
Fā'ilun fā'ilun fā'ilun
fā'ilun fā'ilun fā'ilun
 2nd 'arūḍ { *Fā'ilun fā'ilun fā'ilun*
fā'ilun fā'ilun fā'ilun
Fā'ilun fā'ilun fā'ilun
fā'ilun fā'ilun fā'ilun
Fā'ilun fā'ilun fā'ilun
fā'ilun fā'ilun fā'ilun

fā'ilun may change to *fā'ilun* (*fā'inn* =) *fā'ilun*.
 (MONT. BEN CHENED.)

AL-MUTADĪD BI'LLĀH, ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AR-
 MAD B. TALĪḤA, 'Abbāsid caliph, son of al-
 Mawaffak, co-regent with the caliph al-Mutamīd
 [q. v.], and a Greek slave named Dīnāt. Al-Mutadīd
 was already the real ruler in the two last years
 of al-Mawaffak's life and after the death of al-
 Mutamid in Raddah 279 (Oct. 892) he ascended
 the throne. The new caliph who had inherited
 his father's gifts as a ruler and was distinguished
 alike for his economy and military ability is one
 of the greatest of the 'Abbāsids in spite of his
 strictness and cruelty. On the accession of al-
 Mutadīd the Tālibid Khumārāwaih [q. v.], worried
 of the long war, concluded peace and gave the
 caliph his daughter in marriage. While the Khā-
 ridjīs in Mesopotamia were weakened by internal
 dissensions, al-Mutadīd in 280 (893–894) under-
 took an expedition against the rebel Banū Shāibān
 and brought them to obedience. In the next two
 years the allies of the Khāridjī chief Hārūn b.
 'Abd Allāh were defeated and in 283 (896)
 the latter fell into the hands of Husain b. Hamdān,
 and was sent to Baghdad where the caliph had
 him crucified. The influence of the Hamdānids
 now began to increase in Baghdad. The Dulafids
 [q. v.] who had given the caliph much trouble
 were soon finally conquered. After al-Hārith b.
 'Abd al-'Azīz called Abū Laṭīf had been defeated
 and slain in Dhu 'l-Hijjah 284 (Jan. 898) near
 Isfahān, al-Mutadīd had the other Dulafids im-
 prisoned and the family now disappears from history.
 The Sāmānids increased their power at the expense
 of the Saffarids and the 'Alids. In 287 (900) the
 Saffarid 'Amr b. al-Laṭīf [q. v.] was captured and
 brought to Baghdad. In the same year the 'Alid
 Muḥammad b. Zaid, lord of Tabaristān, occupied
 Dīrdj, marched against Khurāsān but was defeated
 by the Sāmānid general Muḥammad b. Hārūn and
 died of his wounds while Ibn Hārūn took possession
 of Dīrdj and Tabaristān in the name of the
 Sāmānids. About the same time the governor of
 Armenia and Adharbāidjān Muḥammad b. Abi
 'l-'Sād] endeavoured in combination with his freed-
 man Waṣīf to conquer Egypt. The latter however
 was taken prisoner by the caliph's troops and as
 the most influential men in Tarsus had promised
 their help, al-Mutadīd had them arrested and
 the fleet there burned. Muḥammad was however
 allowed to retain his post but died soon after-
 wards of the plague. The Karmānians [q. v.] now
 appeared on the scene and in the same year the
 Karmānian leader al-Djunnabi [q. v.] inflicted a
 complete defeat on the caliph's troops. Al-Mutadīd
 died in Baghdad on 22 Rabb' II, 289 (April 5,
 902) at the age of 40 or 47. According to some he
 was poisoned. — Cf. also the art. *IMĀTIL* B. *SULMIL*.

Bibliography: Tahari (ed. de Goeje), iii
 2134 sqq.; 'Arb (ed. de Goeje), see Index;
 Mas'udi, *Murūḡ* (ed. Paris), viii, 112–213;

ix, 47, 52; *Kitaḥ al-Aghlāl*, see Guidi, *Tables
 alphabétiques*; Ibn al-Athir (ed. Torberg), vii,
 234 sqq.; Ibn al-Tijān, *al-Fahḥ* (ed. Deren-
 boug), p. 348–350; Muḥammad b. Shākir,
Fawā'id al-Wafayāt, i, 45 sq.; Ibn Khaldūn,
al-Iḥār, iii, 346 sqq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*,
 ii, 433, 460, 476 sqq.; Muir, *The Caliphate, its
 Rise, Decline, and Fall*, new ed., index; Le
 Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbāsid Caliphate*,
 see index; A. Maller, *Der Islam*, I, 531.

(K. V. ZETTERSTERN)

AL-MUTADĪD BI'LLĀH, ABU 'AMR 'ABBĀS
 B. MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABBĀS, the most important and
 most powerful sovereign of the 'Abbāsid
 dynasty [q. v.] who reigned over the little king-
 dom formed by his father Abu 'l-Kāsim Muḥammad
 b. 'Abbād, with Seville [q. v.] as his capital, at
 the time of the break up of the Umayyad caliphate
 of Spain and the rise of the *reyes de taifas* (*mulūk
 al-tamā'if*); in the course of a reign of nearly
 30 years (433–460 A.H. = 1042–1069 A.D.), he
 very considerably increased his territory by making
 himself the champion of the Spanish Arabs against
 the Berbers in Spain whose numbers, already very
 large in the tenth century, had been much increased
 since the period of the 'Amirid dictators.

When he succeeded his father, the new king of
 Seville, who was then 26, following the usual
 practice of the period, assumed the title of *ḥakīm*,
 and a little later the *ḥakīm* of al-Mutadīd bi'LLĀH
 by which he is best known. Gifted with real
 political ability, he was not long in revealing his
 character, that of an autocratic ruler, ambitious
 and cruel and little scrupulous in the means
 which he used to achieve his ends. As soon as
 he came to the throne he continued the war
 begun by his father against the petty Berber
 ruler of Cádiz [q. v.], Muḥammad b. 'Abd
 Allāh al-Birzūlī, then against the latter's son
 and successor Iṣḥāk. At the same time, al-Mutadīd
 was extending his kingdom in the west between
 Seville and the Atlantic Ocean. It was with this
 object that he attacked and defeated successively
 Ibn Tāifūr, lord (*ḥakīm*) of Merinā, and
 Muḥammad b. Yahyā al-Yahyūbi, lord of
 Niebla (Ar. *Lubla*) [q. v.] who in spite of his Arab
 descent had had the audacity to ally himself
 with the Berber chiefs. In face of these successes
 of the king of Seville, the other *mulūk al-tamā'if*
 who distrusted him formed a kind of league into
 which entered the princes of Badajoz [q. v.], Alge-
 ciras [q. v.], Granada [q. v.] and Málaga [q. v.].
 This soon became a war between the 'Abbāsid
 of Seville and the Afḥad [q. v.] of Badajoz al-
 Muḥaffar [q. v.]; it was to last for many years
 in spite of the efforts at mediation by the Djab-
 warid ruler of Cordova which only achieved their
 end in 1051. Down to this year, while harassing
 the frontiers of the kingdom of Badajoz, al-Mutadīd
 displayed other activities. In succession he defeated
 Muḥammad b. Aiyūb al-Bakrī, lord of Huelva
 [q. v.] and of Saltes [q. v.] (whose son was the
 famous geographer), the Banū Mazān, lords
 of Silves [q. v.] and Muḥammad b. Sa'īd Ibn
 Hārūn, lord of Santa Maria de Algarve [q. v.],
 and annexed their territories. To justify these an-
 nexations, al-Mutadīd used a very crude pretext:
 he alleged that he had found the unfortunate
 Hishām II, who had really died in obscurity a
 few years before, and would go on till he had
 restored to him his former empire subdued and

pacified in its integrity. In order not to be exposed to the cruelty of the king of Seville, the majority of the petty Berber chiefs settled in the mountains of the south of Andalusia, sequestered in this make-believe and paid homage to the 'Abbāsid and to the Commander of the Faithful miraculously restored to aid the cause of al-Mu'tadīd but at the same time carefully concealed by him. It was labour lost for them. One day the 'Abbāsid invited to his palace in Seville all these petty chiefs with their suites and put them to death by asphyxiating them in baths the openings in which he walled up. In this way he took Arcos (q.v.), the capital of the principality of the Banū Khirān, Moron (q.v.) defended by the Banū Dammār, and Ronda (q.v.), capital of the Banū Ifrān (1053).

This aroused the wrath of the most powerful Berber ruler in Spain, Bādīs b. Ḥabīb al-Zirīd (q.v.) who ruled in Granada and who alone seemed able to resist al-Mu'tadīd. The latter however found that fortune favoured him in this war and a little later took Algeciras from the Hammūdīd al-Ḳāsim b. Hammūd. He next tried to seize Cordova and sent an expedition against it in charge of his son Imā'ūl; the latter tried to profit by the occasion to rebel and create for himself a kingdom with Algeciras as capital. This rash plan cost him his life, which his father took with his own hand, just as before him 'Abd al-Rahmān III and al-Mansūr b. Abī 'Amr had inflicted the supreme penalty on their unworthy sons. This was the beginning of the political career of al-Mu'tadīd's other son, Muhammad al-Mu'tasimīd (q.v.) who was to succeed him on his death; by his father's orders he went with an army to support the Arabs of Malaga, who had rebelled against the tyrannical ruler of Bādīs, the despotic Berber of Granada. But the latter routed the Sevilian army and al-Mu'tasimīd in sorry state reached Ronda from which he sought and received the pardon of his terrible father. The latter had long before repudiated the fiction of the pseudo-Ḥabīb which he no longer needed. He was now by far the most redoubtable and the most feared of the Spanish rulers. He had no enemies but the Berbers, Muslims like himself but much further removed from his social ideal of a Spaniard than his Christian neighbours in the north. In another land he might have been called "Berberoktonos". But the bitterness of his hatred cast a shadow over his last days; it was not without fear that he followed events in the western Maghrib, hitherto the fief of Muslim Spain; at least in the sub-Mediterranean zone. The irresistible advance of the Almoravids (q.v.) following Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn through all Morocco would not find the straits of Gibraltār an insurmountable obstacle for long. Al-Mu'tadīd realised this very well. Death at least prevented him from seeing his kingdom, entirely built up by his own energy and bold initiative, pass in a few weeks into the hands of invaders, brethren of these Berbers of Spain whom he had detested and in part destroyed.

Bibliography: All the texts of Arabic historians relating to the 'Abbāsids (particularly Ibn Ḥayyān and Ibn Bazzām, *Ḍakhkhira*, Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn al-Athār, Maḳḳarī) have been published by R. Dozy in his *Scriptores arabum loci de Abbāsidis*, Leyden 1846. Add also: Ibn 'Idārī, *al-Bayān al-maghrib fī al-Abbās Mulūk al-Andalus wa'l-Maghrib*, vol. III, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1930, and appendices (cf.

indices); Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Imāt al-ḥam fī man ḥayya fah al-ḥilām min Mulūk al-Andalus*, part relating to the history of Spain, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934 (in the press). Cf. also Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, new ed., Leyden 1932, index; A. Prieto Vives, *Los reyes de laifor*, Madrid 1926; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1929, p. 73—75. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL.)

MUTAFARRIḲA (A), name of a corps of guards, who were especially attached to the person of the Ottoman Sultān in the ancient Turkish court. The name is also applied to a member of the guard. Their occupations were similar to those of the *Ḳumūsh* (q.v.), not of military character, nor for court service only, but they were used for more or less important public or political missions. Like the *Ḳumūsh*, the *Mutafarrīka* were a mounted guard. In later times there were two classes, the *gedikli* or *al-ḡamdi* *Mutafarrīka*, and the *ḡamdi*. Their chief was the *Mutafarrīka Aghāz*. In course of time their number constantly increased; at the end of the xvth century the maximum was fixed at 120 (*G.O.R.* 2, iii. 890, after Rāshid), but in the beginning of the sixteenth century von Hammer gives the number 300 for the total. The Porte needed sometimes to lay stress on the importance of the office to make them acceptable as extraordinary envoys by foreign governments (*G.O.R.* 2, iii. 929, after Rāshid).

Among those who have occupied this rank was the well-known first Turkish printer İbrahim Mutafarrīka.

Although different explanations of the title *mutafarrīka* are given, the most probable interpretation is, that these functionaries were not given a special duty but formed originally a corps used for "different matters". This is still the use of the word in modern Turkish.

Bibliography: J. von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverwaltung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, ii. 55, 105; Ricaut, *Histoire de l'Etat Present de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1670, p. 338. (J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-MUTAKABBIR. [See ALLĀH, II.]

MUTAKALLIM. [See KALĀM.]

MUTAKĀRIB, name of the fifteenth metre in Arabic prosody: it contains four feet to the hemistich. There are two 'arūḍ and six *ḡarib*:

	<i>fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun</i>
	<i>fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun</i>
	<i>fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun</i>
1 st 'arūḍ	<i>fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun</i>
	<i>fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun</i>
	<i>fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun</i>
	<i>fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun</i>
	<i>fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun</i>
	<i>fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun</i>
2 nd 'arūḍ	<i>fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun</i>
	<i>fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun</i>
	<i>fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun fa'ūlun</i>

Outside of the *ḡarib*, the foot *fa'ūlun* often loses its *w* and becomes *fa'ān*; used as the first 'arūḍ, it further undergoes the following changes: *fa'ān* and (*fa'ān*) *fa'ān*. According to al-Kharrī, the foot which precedes the *ḡarib* cannot suffer any change. The first foot of the first hemistich of the first line of a piece of verse may become (*fa'ān*) *fa'ān* and (*fa'ān*) *fa'ān*. (MOT. DES CHIFFRES)

MUTAKĀWIS, term in prosody; cf. the art. *ḲAFIYA*.

MUTAMAD KHAN, MUHAMMAD SPARLY, WAS born in an obscure family in Persia, but coming to India, he attained high honours in the reigns of Djalāngir and Shāh Jihān. He received in the third year of Djalāngir a military command and the title of Mutamad Khān (the trustworthy Lord). Subsequently he joined prince Shāh Jihān in his campaign in the Deccan as a *babāshī* (paymaster). On his return to court, in the 17th year of Djalāngir's reign, he was entrusted with the duty of writing the Emperor's memoirs. He attained a higher rank in the service of Shāh Jihān and was appointed *amir babāshī* (adjutant-general) in the 10th year of the new reign. He died in (1639) (1639). He is the author of a history called *Ḥis̄t Nāmā Djalāngiri*, in three volumes: 1, the history of Akbar's ancestors; 2, Akbar's reign (MSS. in the India Office Library and in the Bankipore Library); 3, the reign of Djalāngir (printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta 1865 and in Lucknow, A. H. 1286).

Bibliography: *Muṭṭah al-Umarā*, iii. 431; *Tauṣiṭ Djalāngiri*, p. 352; *J. N. A. S.*, N. S., iii. 459; Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vi. 400; Rien, *Cat. Br. Museum*, i. 255; Ethé, *Cat. of the India Office Library*, p. 121 and Morley, *Catalogue*, p. 120.

(M. HIDAYET HOSSAIN)

AL-MUTAMID 'ALA 'LLĀH, AMIR 'L-ABREX AHMAD & **DJA'FAR**, 'ABBĀSID caliph, son of al-Mutawakkil and a slave-girl named Fīyān from Kūfa. He ascended the throne on the deposition of al-Muḥtadī in Rādīyah 256 (June 870). He had no ability as a ruler, but relied on the vizier 'Ubayd Allāh b. Yahyā b. Khāṣṣān and left most of the affairs of government in the hands of his brother Abī Ahmad al-Muwaffaq. In Shawwāl 261 (July 875) he designated his son Dja'far al-Mufawwid as his successor and governor of the western provinces and al-Muwaffaq as his successor and governor of the east. The able al-Muwaffaq soon became the real ruler and gradually restored order in the empire again while the caliph himself exercised no influence. Already in the reign of al-Muḥtadī a dangerous rising had broken out among the Zaidī negro slaves in the lower Euphrates valley, but it was not till 270 (883) that its leader 'Alī b. Muḥammad [q. v.] was conquered by al-Muwaffaq. Some time after the accession of al-Mutamid — according to the usual statement in 259 (873) — the dynasty of the Tūhirids was overthrown by Ya'qūb b. al-Lath [q. v.] and soon afterwards the Sāmānids appeared in Transoxania. On the death of Ya'qūb in 265 (879) his brother 'Amr [q. v.] submitted to the caliph and received the eastern provinces as a fief. About the same time Ahmad b. Tūlūn [q. v.] made himself independent in Egypt and after his death (270 = 884) his son Khumārāwān waged a desperate struggle against the 'Abbāsid caliphate. In al-Mawwāl and the surrounding country the Khāridīs continued their destructive career, but were finally subdued. Peace was also often disturbed by 'Alid rebels and there was also the war with the Byzantines. The Paulicians who had stood by the Muslims faithfully were repeatedly defeated by the emperor Basil and in 263 (876) the latter retook the fortress of Lu'lu'a near Tarsus which al-Mutamid had taken. It was not till 270 (883) that the Muslims were able to inflict a complete defeat on the Byzantines. The war was however continued. After the death

of al-Muwaffaq in 278 (891) the caliph had to proclaim the latter's son al-Mutamid [q. v.] as his successor instead of Dja'far al-Mufawwid. In the following year al-Mutamid left Samarra and moved the capital to Baghdad again. Here he died in Rādīyah 279 (Oct. 892) at the age of 48 or 50. According to some he was poisoned by al-Mutamid.

Bibliography: Ibn Kātib, *Kitaḥ al-Maḥṣif* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 200; Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtsma), ii. 619—624; Tabari, iii. see Index; Mas'ūdi, *Murūḡ* (ed. Paris), viii. 38—112; ix. 47, 52; *Kitaḥ al-Aghani*, see Guidi, *Taḥṣiṭ al-Aghani*; Ibn al-Athir (ed. Tornberg), vii. 156—199; Ibn al-Tikāṭi, *al-Fakḥ* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 341—348; Ibn Khulḍūn, *al-Iḥṣā*, iii. 303—349; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 422—449; Muir, *The Caliphate, its rise, decline, and fall*, new ed., p. 544—549; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 531, 539; L. E. Struensee, *Baghdad during the Abbāsid Caliphate*, p. 193, 195, 229, 247—249; do., *The Lords of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 36, 55.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

AL-MUTAMID 'ALA 'LLĀH, the *ṣaḥāb* by which the third and last member of the dynasty of the 'Abbāsidīs [q. v.] of Seville in the 10th century is best known; his real name was MUHAMMAD b. 'ABBĀD AL-MUTAMID [q. v.] b. MUHAMMAD b. IMĀD b. 'ABBĀD. While still a boy — barely 13, having been born in 431 (1040) — he was placed by his father in nominal command of an expedition against Silves (Ar. *Shilb* [q. v.]), then in the possession of Ibn Muzān, and this town was taken by assault as was Santa Maria d'Algarve soon after (Ar. *Shanmariyat al-Gharb*, now Faro [q. v.]) which was held by Muhammad b. Sa'īd Ibn Hārūn [q. v.] (444 = 1052). The young 'Abbāsid prince was then appointed by his father governor of these two towns. His elder brother Imād having been executed in punishment for his rebellion (455 = 1063; cf. AL-MUTAMID), Muhammad al-Mutamid became heir-presumptive to the throne of Seville. A little later, the army which he was leading to the help of the Arabs of Málaga, who had rebelled against the tyranny of Balaḥ b. Ḥabbās, the Berber ruler of Granada of the Zīrid [q. v.] dynasty, was routed by the latter and al-Mutamid had to take refuge in Ronda [q. v.] to which his father, at first very angry at his failure, finally sent him his forgiveness. When the powerful ruler of Seville died in 461 (1069), his son succeeded to a considerably extended kingdom which included the greater part of the southwest of the Iberian peninsula.

A whole series of more or less romantic episodes is associated with the reign and life of al-Mutamid. If we may believe several authors of the Muslim west, an individual called Ibn 'Ammār, vizier and poet, exerted a very considerable influence during the greater part of the career of this prince from his governorship of Silves. Al-Mutamid's relations with a young slave girl al-Rumaykya, gifted with considerable poetic talent, has also been the subject of much literary embellishment. It was from the surname of this young woman *l'umayd*, that al-Mutamid is said to have adopted his which comes from the same root. She became his favourite wife and presented him with several sons. As to Ibn 'Ammār, exiled by al-Mutamid, he was recalled on the accession of his patron to Seville from which he went at his own request

to be governor of Silves before being appointed grand vizier.

In the second year of his reign, al-Mu'tamid was able to annex to his kingdom the principality of Cordova [q. v.], over which the Dshwarids had been ruling, in spite of the efforts of the king of Toledo, al-Ma'mun [q. v.]. The young prince 'Abd al-'Aziz was appointed governor of the old capital of the Umayyads. But at the instigation of the king of Toledo, an adventurer named Ibn 'Ukasha was able in 468 (1075) to take Cordova by surprise and put to death the young 'Abd al-'Aziz prince and his general Muhammad b. Martin. Al-Ma'mun took possession of the town where he died six months later. Al-Mu'tamid whose paternal affection had been wounded and pride insulted tried for three years vainly to reconquer Cordova. He was not successful until 471 (1078); Ibn 'Ukasha was put to death and the part of the kingdom of Toledo between the Guadalquivir and the Guadiana conquered by the armies of Seville. Nevertheless at this time it took all the skill of the vizier Ibn 'Ammar to conclude peace by paying double tribute with Alfonso VI of Castile when he sent an expedition against Seville.

This was just the time when through the energy and tenacity of the Christian princes taking advantage of the feuds which were setting the Muslim rulers of the *taifas* against one another, the *reconquista*, which had received a check and then a setback from the last Umayyads, resumed its advance on the south of the Peninsula. In spite of their successes, of which the Muslim chroniclers make a great deal, it must not be forgotten that by the middle of the 5th (11th) century, many Muslim dynasties of Spain were being forced to seek on payment of heavy tribute the temporary neutrality of their Christian neighbours. Shortly before the taking of Toledo, which had far-reaching effects, by Alfonso VI in 478 (1085), al-Mu'tamid began to be involved in serious difficulties. On the imprudent advice of his vizier Ibn 'Ammar, al-Mu'tamid tried to add to his kingdom, after the principality of Cordova, that of Murcia [q. v.], which was ruled by a prince of Arab origin, Muhammad b. Ahmad Ibn Tahir. In 471 (1078), Ibn 'Ammar went to the Count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer II, and asked him for assistance to conquer Murcia in return for a payment of 10,000 dinars; until this sum was paid al-Rashid, a son of al-Mu'tamid, was to remain as hostage. After animated negotiations which ended in the payment of a sum three times as large to the Count of Barcelona, Ibn 'Ammar resumed his plan of conquering Murcia and soon succeeded in doing so with the help of the lord of the castle of Bilibi (now Vilches), Ibn Rashid. In Murcia however, Ibn 'Ammar soon rendered himself obnoxious to his master by assuming the attitude of an independent ruler and on al-Mu'tamid's reproaching him he replied by insults to the king of Seville, his wife and his sons. Betrayed by Ibn Rashid, he had to take refuge in Murcia and then successively in Leon, Saragossa and Lerida. Returning to Saragossa, he endeavoured to assist its ruler al-Mu'tamin Ibn Hisham [cf. SARAGOSSA] on his expedition against Segura, but he was taken prisoner and handed over to al-Mu'tamid, who in spite of the bonds of friendship which had so long linked them together, slew him with his own hand.

In the meanwhile, Alfonso VI was no longer

concealing his designs on Toledo, the siege of which he began in 473 (1080). Two years later, when he sent a mission to enforce payment of the annual tribute due to him from al-Mu'tamid, its members were insulted and the Jewish treasurer Ibn Shalith who accompanied it was put to death because he had refused to accept debased money. He therefore invaded the kingdom of Seville, sacked the flourishing town of Aljarafe (Ar. al-Sharaf, q. v.), advanced through the district of Sidona (Ar. Shadhana, q. v.) as far as Tarifa [q. v.] where he uttered his celebrated remark expressing his pride at having reached the utmost limits of Spain.

The capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI dealt a serious blow to Islam in Spain. The king of Castile soon demanded of al-Mu'tamid that he should surrender those of his lands which had formed part of the kingdom of the Ibn 'Umayyads (a part of the modern provinces of Ciudad-Real and Cuenca). Throughout Muslim Spain, his demands which increased every day, made the position very serious. In spite of their reluctance, the Muslim rulers in Spain, led by al-Mu'tamid, were forced to seek the help of the Almoravid sultan Yusuf b. Tashfin [cf. ALMORAVIDS] who had just conquered the whole of Morocco in an irresistible advance. It was decided to send him an embassy consisting of the vizier Abd Bakr b. Zaidin and the *khadis* of Badajoz, Cordova and Granada. An agreement having been reached, not without difficulty, Yusuf b. Tashfin crossed the Straits of Gibraltar and on the 22nd Rabi' al-Awwal 479 (Oct. 23, 1085) inflicted on the Christian troops the disastrous defeat of Zalaka [q. v.] not far from Badajoz. We need not recall here how Yusuf b. Tashfin recalled to Africa, could not follow up his victory as the Muslim rulers of Spain had hoped, who through the influence exercised by the Spanish *fakhirs* on the Almoravid, soon lost all prestige in his eyes. After his departure the Christians began again to harass Muslim lands, to such an extent that al-Mu'tamid had this time to go in person to Yusuf b. Tashfin in Morocco to ask him to cross the Straits once more with his troops. Yusuf consented and landed at Algeiras in the following spring (482 = 1090). He laid siege to the fortress of Alcazar but without taking it; then stimulated by popular feeling and the advice of the *fakhirs*, he came to the conclusion that it would be more advantageous for him to wage the *ghihad* in Spain on his own account and proceeded to dethrone and dispossess the princes who had sought his intervention. With this object he sent an army to invade the kingdom of Seville under Sur b. Abd Bakr, who at the end of 1090 took Tarifa, then Cordova where one of al-Mu'tamid's sons, Fath al-Mu'min, who was in command of it, was killed, Carmona, then Seville, which was captured in spite of a heroic sortie by al-Mu'tamid. The latter was taken prisoner by the Almoravid and sent with his wives and children first to Tangier, then to Meknes and a few months later to Aghmat [q. v.], near Marrakech. There he led a miserable existence for several years until his death at the age of 55 in 487 (1095).

The sad end of al-Mu'tamid touched all his biographers, who are particularly numerous and expatiate on his natural gifts, poetical talents, generosity and chivalrous spirit. He is one of the most representative types of the enlightened Spanish Muslims of the Middle Ages, patrons of letters

and scholarship, liberal and tolerant, but living in an atmosphere of luxury and ease little compatible with the care of a kingdom with frontiers open to envious neighbours on all sides. Not so great a ruler as his father al-Mu'tadid, al-Mu'tamid is however a much more attractive figure, perhaps just on account of his misfortunes. He is entitled to a place among the great figures of Spanish Islam, alongside of Abd al-Rahmān III, al-Hakam II, al-Mansūr b. Abi 'Amr and at a later date Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khatīb.

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhakhira*, iv.; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Hallat al-sayra* (ed. Dozy, *Notes*...); 'Abd al-Wahid al-Marrākushi, *al-Mu'djib*, ed. Dozy, transl. Fagnan; Ibn al-Khatīb, *Ihṣā'*, do.; *Fiṣṣat al-'Uṣṣ*, ed. Lévi-Provençal; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mugharrib*, iii., ed. Lévi-Provençal; al-Fath ibn Khayyān, *Kalīd al-Iḥyān and Maṭwāh*; Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, iv., and *Historie des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, ii.; *al-Hudūd al-mawṣūṣa*, Tunis; Ibn Abi Zar', *Rasā' al-Kirfā*, ed. Tornberg and in *Fās*; etc. — The majority of the references to al-Mu'tamid have been collected by R. Dozy, *Scriptorium arabum loci de Abbadid*, Leyden 1846. Cf. also the long discussion of al-Mu'tamid by Dozy in Bk. IV of his *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, new ed., Leyden 1952, vol. iii.; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1929, p. 77 ff.; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leyden-Paris 1931; A. Prieto Vives, *Los reyes de califas* (mainly numismatic), Madrid 1926. — The life and touching end of al-Mu'tamid have just been put on the stage in Cairo. He is also discussed in numerous monographs — mostly at second hand — composed in recent years in the east (mainly in Egypt) on the Muslim past of Spain.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL.)

MUTAMMIM = **NUWAIRA**, a poet, contemporary with the Prophet. He was the brother of Malik b. Nuwaira (q.v.), chief of the Banū Yarbū', a large clan of the Banū Tamīm. Mutammim owes his fame to the elegies in which he lamented the tragic death of his brother Malik and these poems have made the latter's name immortal. The Arabs said there was nothing comparable to these elegies, overflowing with emotion. They regarded their author as the type of brotherly devotion.

Mutammim does not seem to have played any prominent part before the Hijra. He was eclipsed by the striking personality of his brother, to whose qualities he never hesitated to pay homage. He is represented as having been of unprepossessing appearance, one-eyed and short in stature. The Bakri chief al-Hawfān eulogized the humanity with which Mutammim treated him during his captivity. Falling in his turn into the hands of the Banū Taghlib, Mutammim was delivered by a stratagem devised by his brother. He seems to have adopted Islam at the same time as his brother. Like the latter, he is numbered among the "Companions" although we never find him in direct relations with the Prophet. He escaped from the disaster in which Malik was overwhelmed; a few fragments of other poems suggest he did not write elegies exclusively.

But after the death of Malik he devoted himself to celebrating his memory and demanding vengeance for his death. Refused by the Caliph Abū

Bakr, he thought he might have more success on the accession of 'Umar. He hurried to Madīna where he was very well received by 'Umar. The latter listened with delight to his elegies, regretted that he himself had not the gift of poetry so that he might worthily celebrate his brother Zaid who had fallen in the wars of al-Yamama, but he refused to reverse Abū Bakr's decision and limited himself to dismissing Khalid b. al-Walid, a step which probably owed something to the poetical exhortations of Mutammim.

After this, tradition says that the poet became almost blind through weeping, and that he wandered over the many routes of Arabia, uttering his complaints everywhere. He found himself abandoned by his wives who became tired of his incurable sadness and wandering life. He left two sons Liswād and Ibrāhīm, also poets. He survived 'Umar II, as Ibn Khallikān says (ed. Wüstenfeld, No. 792), he is really the author of an elegy on the death of this caliph.

Bibliography. The principal references are given in Noldeke, *Beitr. zur Kenntnis der Poesie*, p. 95—152; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 39; Ch. Haart, *Littérature arabe*, Paris 1903, p. 43; *Mafḥūḍ al-ḥayy*, ed. L. Yall, No. ix., lxvii., lxviii.; Baḥrūrī, *Ḥamāṣ*, photo. ed. Leyden, p. 138, 334, 341, 371; *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, xiv. 66—76; Ibn Katalba, *Kitāb al-Shi'r*, ed. de Goeje, p. 192—4; Ibn al-Athir, *Uṣṣ al-Ghābi*, iv. 398—9; Ibn Hajar al-Asqalāni, *al-Iḥṣā*, Cairo, vi. 40—1; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, iii. 368—369.

(H. LAMMENS.)

AL-MUTANABBI, "he who professes to be a prophet", the surname by which the Arab poet ABU 'L-TAYYIB AHMAD b. AL-HURAYM AL-DUB'Ī is usually known (cf. in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* [Cairo 1310], I. 36, two genealogies, which do not agree, going back to his great-grandfather). Abū 'L-Tayyib was born in Kūfa in 303 (915) in the Kinda quarter whence the ethnic *al-Kindi* sometimes given him. His family in very humble circumstances claimed descent from the Yamani clan of the Dju'f and he himself all his life was convinced of the superiority of the Arabs of the south over those of the north (cf. al-Wāḥidī, *Sharḥ Dima' al-Mutanabbi*, ed. Dieterici, p. 48—49; al-Yazidī, *al-Uṣṣ al-tayyib*, p. 29 [these two works will be quoted as *Wah.* and *Yaz.*]). The boy received his early education in his native town and soon distinguished himself by his intelligence, his prodigious memory and his precocity as a poet. He now passed under Shi'i influences, perhaps Zaidi (cf. 'Abd al-Kādir al-Baghādī, *al-Iḥṣā*, i. 382, 22) which affected the development of his philosophy, a subject to which we shall return. Circumstances were however to accelerate the speed of Abū 'L-Tayyib's religious development. Towards the end of 312 (924), undoubtedly under pressure from the Ḥarmatians (q.v.) who had just taken and sacked Kūfa, Abū 'L-Tayyib and his family made a first stay of two years (cf. al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 306 ba; al-Badrī, *al-Shubḥ al-munib*, i. 67) in Samāwa, the region lying between the Sawad of Kūfa in the east and Palmyrene in the west. The Banū Kalb who led a nomadic life in these desert steppes had been much cultivated by the Ḥarmatians *dā'ira*. It is possible that the young poet at this time came into contact with some of these heretics. It is however not very probable,

in view of his youth, that this first contact had any definite effect upon him. On the other hand, this stay among the Beduins certainly gave Abu 'l-Taiyib that profound knowledge of the Arabic language of which he was later so very proud.

On returning to Kūfa, at the beginning of 325 (927), Abu 'l-Taiyib seems to have decided to devote himself entirely to poetry. At this time he most admired the great panegyrist of the preceding century, Abū Tammūz and al-Buhturī [q. v.]. Like them and like the majority of his contemporaries, he sees in poetry a sure means of attaining wealth and power. He at once attached himself to a certain Abū 'l-Faḍl, of Kūfa, to whom he dedicated a short piece (Wah., p. 17—21; Yāz., p. 10—11). Perhaps a convert to Karmatism, in any case a complete agnostic — the praises which he allows to be offered him show this —, this individual seems to have exercised a considerable influence on the religious and philosophical development of al-Mutanabbi (cf. also *Adhūm*, I, 382 below). Prepared by the Shi'a atmosphere in which he had passed his childhood and by the relations he had had with the Karmatians in Samāwa, Abū 'l-Taiyib in contact with this patron cast off religious dogmas which he regarded as spiritual instruments of oppression. He then adopted a staid and pessimistic philosophy, echoes of which are found throughout his work. The world is made up of seductions which death destroys (cf. Wah., p. 39, l. 8—13; p. 162, l. 12—13; Yāz., p. 23 and 97); stupidity and evil alone triumph there (cf. Wah., p. 161, l. 8—10; Yāz., p. 97); the Arabs — representatives of a superior race in his eyes — are overwhelmed in it by cowardly and barbarous foreigners (cf. Wah., p. 148, l. 1—5; p. 160, l. 2—6; Yāz., p. 87 and 96). In contact with this world with which he was out of harmony, the consciousness of his talent, which Abū 'l-Taiyib had developed rapidly; his vanity increased to a degree which is almost inconceivable (cf. Wah., p. 60; Yāz., p. 34). His Arab particularism, as with all anti-Shi'ites (cf. *Abū 'l-Taiyib*), incited him to attack foreign oppressors (Wah., p. 58, l. 30—34; Yāz., p. 33). This is why, by a contradiction from which he is hardly ever free, al-Mutanabbi covered all his life those riches and power which he scorned in his heart, while he stands out from the mass of his contemporaries by his rigid morality and austerity (cf. al-Badī, *op. cit.*, I, 78—81).

At first however, Abū 'l-Taiyib thought only of conquering the world by his poetic gifts, and to find a more favourable field for his activity he left Kūfa towards the end of 326 (928), probably as a result of the town being again sacked by the Karmatians. He was naturally attracted to Baghdad (cf. al-Badī, *op. cit.*, I, 82—83) and there became the panegyrist of a compatriot of his, Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-'Alawī (cf. Wah., p. 6—7; Yāz., p. 3—4). From there he went to Syria. For two years he led the life of a wandering troubadour of the period (cf. *Mez. Renaissance des Islams*, p. 256). It is impossible to follow him in his wanderings for his *Diwan*, our only guide, does not present his poems in a satisfactory chronological order. Some pieces of the period are addressed to Beduin chiefs of the region of Manbij [q. v.] (cf. Wah., p. 24—25, 38—39, 86—87; Yāz., p. 12—13, 22—23, 28—29); others are dedicated to men of letters of Tripoli (Wah., p. 88—89; Yāz., p. 19—20), al-Ladhikiya (Latakia)

(cf. Wah., p. 116—133; Yāz., p. 66—78). The poems of this period are hurriedly written and mediocre in quality, but traces of his real genius are already apparent. With the exception of a *marthiya* (lament) and some impromptu pieces they are all *hazaj* in neo-classical lines. The influence of Abū Tammūz and al-Buhturī preponderates.

In the course of this period of experiment, Abū 'l-Taiyib was irritated at not finding his merit recognised. Gradually he looks forward to his dreams of domination being realised by violence (cf. Wah., p. 138, l. 3—7; Yāz., p. 79). Finally he abandoned the work of a paid panegyrist and returning to al-Ladhikiya he began revolutionary propaganda, the nature of which has long been misunderstood. According to Oriental writers (al-Badī, *op. cit.*, I, 25—30; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nashat al-'Alawī*, p. 309), Abū 'l-Taiyib proclaimed himself a prophet in al-Samāwa, was taken prisoner by Ikhshidid [q. v.] troops and then received his epithet of al-Mutanabbi, Kratschkowsky (*Mutanabbi i Abu 'l-A'la*, St. Petersburg 1909, p. 9—11) does justice to these traditions, without however taking full account of some clear allusions in the *Diwan*. The latter contains pieces which prove beyond all possible doubt that a rebellion was led by al-Mutanabbi (cf. Wah., p. 49—58, 86; Yāz., p. 28—33, 50). This rising, as usual at this period, must have been political as well as religious. The rising began in al-Ladhikiya and then extended to the western borders of Samāwa where the Banū Kalb constituted an element always ready to rebel. Without adhering to Karmatism, al-Mutanabbi exploited its principles which found only too ready an echo among the marauding Beduins (cf. Wah., p. 57, l. 22—23; Yāz., p. 32; allusion to the massacre of pilgrims by the Karmatians Abū Tāhir, in 317 = 930). The ambiguity of the utterances of the rebel, the opportunism of his doctrines and his conception of the infinite on Karmatian lines, may have caused some misunderstanding of his preaching, since at this time any agitator was regarded as a Karmatian. After some initial successes, al-Mutanabbi and his Beduins were defeated; he was captured and imprisoned at Hama (towards the end of 322 = 933). After a trial and two years' imprisonment (*Diwan*, Faris MS., No. 3002, fol. 16^v), Abū 'l-Taiyib was condemned to retract his errors and set free. From this adventure he gained only the epithet of al-Mutanabbi and the conviction that poetry alone would lead him to the realisation of his ambitious dreams.

The poems composed by Abū 'l-Taiyib immediately before and during his rebellion are distinguished by spontaneity of inspiration, by the liberty which the poet takes with poetic forms, by the vigour of the style, which has a much more personal character than in his first manner.

As soon as al-Mutanabbi had returned to his profession of panegyrist, he naturally resumed his wandering life (beginning of 325 = 937). For several years he led a precarious existence and had to be content to sing the praises of citizens and minor officials of Antioch, Damascus, Aleppo etc. who paid him very badly (cf. Wah., p. 93—106; Yāz., p. 51—53; Yāz., *Irshād*, v. 203). Little by little however, his fame grew. At the beginning of 328 (939), we find him becoming court poet to the emir Badr al-Sharhūnī (the Badr b. 'Ammār of the *Diwan*), governor of Damascus for the *ex-amic al-amara* Ibn Ra'īq [q. v.],

who had just taken possession of Syria. Of Arab origin, Badr was regarded by al-Mutanabbi as the Maecenas for whom he had been waiting so long. The panegyrics and occasional poems which are dedicated to this emir reveal a sincere admiration for him and possess a sustained inspiration (cf. Wāḥ., p. 206—245; Yāz., p. 132—163). These pieces and those that precede them, after Abu 'l-Taiyib's return to literature, constitute what might be called the third manner of the poet. With the exception of a poem on hunting in the style of Abū Nuwās [q. v.] (cf. Wāḥ., p. 201—202; Yāz., p. 128—129) and a number of impromptu poems of no particular interest, al-Mutanabbi wrote only *ḥamās* during this period. He would seem then to have returned to his first manner, if the work of this period did not show considerable progress in form.

The friendship between Badr and al-Mutanabbi lasted only about a year and a half and as a result of intrigues of jealous rivals (cf. Wāḥ., p. 253, lines 13—16; Yāz., p. 169), Abu 'l-Taiyib feeling no longer safe, sought refuge in the Syrian desert (cf. Wāḥ., p. 251—252; Yāz., p. 168—169). There the idea of rebelling again took possession of him (cf. Wāḥ., p. 253—254; Yāz., p. 170—171). Fortunately the departure of Badr for the 'Irāk enabled him to leave his hiding-place and resume his profession of panegyrist. He now sang the praises of several individuals of second rank (cf. Wāḥ., p. 107—108, 284—348; Yāz., p. 60—61, 194—241). Lastly he succeeded in establishing himself at the Ḥamdānīd court in Aleppo where he became the official poet of the emir Saif al-Dawla [q. v.] at the beginning of 337 (948).

From the literary point of view, the work of this period which runs roughly from the middle of 329 (940), date of the quarrel with Badr, to the beginning of 337 (948), marks his fourth manner, to which he remained faithful till his death. It is characterised by a compromise between the pure neo-classical tradition and a freer form which the poet had adopted in the poems of the period of his rebellion. Without rejecting the framework of the neo-classical *ḥamāsa*, he reduces the erotic prologue to a minimum, sometimes even replacing it by a philosophical and lyrical opening which breathes his dreams, disillusionments and angers.

Al-Mutanabbi stayed nine years with Saif al-Dawla. He was genuinely attached to this patron, who was in his eyes the personification of the ideal Arab chief, brave, magnanimous and generous. Saif al-Dawla in his turn recognised the worth of his panegyrist whom he overwhelmed with gifts and never treated with arrogance. Al-Mutanabbi accompanied him on his expeditions and on returning to Aleppo sang of his exploits against the Byzantines and the Beduins of the desert. In the brief intervals of leisure between the campaigns of the Ḥamdānīd, the poet shared in the leisure of the court of Aleppo, devoting himself to improvisation and writing panegyrics at occasion arose (cf. Wāḥ., p. 322—337; Yāz., p. 376—395) or laments (*marḥūm*) on the deaths of relatives of Saif al-Dawla (cf. Wāḥ., p. 388—389, 408—409, 577—578; Yāz., p. 271—272, 286—287, 427—428). The difficult character of al-Mutanabbi and the repute which he enjoyed did not fail to gain him implacable enemies. A few devoted friends like the poet al-Babbaghā [q. v.] tried, it is true, to defend him but their zeal could do nothing against

the enmity of the hostile group led by the famous Abū Firas [q. v.]. Saif al-Dawla at first paid no attention to the attacks made upon his favourite. When he grew wearied and his protection ceased, Abu 'l-Taiyib no longer felt his life safe, and secretly from Aleppo with all his family and sought refuge in Damascus (end of 346—957).

Eastern critics generally are agreed that the poems composed by al-Mutanabbi during his stay with Saif al-Dawla mark the highest point in his work. Although there is a certain degree of exaggeration in this, it is certain that the poet, while continuing his fourth manner, reveals in the highest degree the mastery which he had acquired in his art during this period. Much more than Abū Firas, with whom he is often contrasted, he was able to depict the glories of Saif al-Dawla's campaigns against the Byzantines. His verse, it is true, has not the charm of that of Abū Firas but it is fuller and more epic in style.

From Damascus, Abu 'l-Taiyib went to Egypt to al-Faṣṭāṭ [q. v.] where he obtained the patronage of the Ḥshshid Kāfir [q. v.]. Al-Mutanabbi's career now reveals the necessities to which poets in the fourth (tenth) century had to submit. Deprived of moral and material independence Abu 'l-Taiyib was forced to sing the praises of a patron for whom in his heart he felt only contempt. The panegyrics which he devoted to him lately conceal his regret at losing the favour of Saif al-Dawla. They are somewhat forced and contain points against Kāfir (cf. al-Badrī, *op. cit.*, I, 125—126). The poet perhaps only agreed to celebrate this patron because the latter had promised him the governorship of Ṣaydā (Sidon) (cf. *ibid.*, I, 115). When he saw that these promises were not being fulfilled, he tried to gain the favour of another Ḥshshid general, Abū Shaddād Faṭk (*ibid.*, I, 131—132), but the latter dying in 350 (960) and relations with Kāfir still being strained, al-Mutanabbi had once more to decide to fly. On the day of the feast of sacrifices of this year, after writing a satire on Kāfir, he left al-Faṣṭāṭ secretly and crossing Arabia after great trials (cf. al-Badrī, *op. cit.*, I, 139—140), he reached the 'Irāk, spent some time in Kūfa, then settled in Baghdād. He perhaps thought of attaching himself to the famous Buyid vizier al-Muḥallabī who had gathered a very brilliant court around him. He had however to abandon hope of this in face of the hostility to him evinced by poets and scholars established at the court of al-Muḥallabī, such as Ibn al-Ḥadīdīdī [q. v.] and Abū 'l-Faraj al-Iṣḥāqī, author of the *Kātib al-Aghāni*. During his stay here, as he had already begun to do in Egypt (cf. Ibn al-Farajī, *Tarīkh al-Andalus*, No. 453), al-Mutanabbi gave lectures in which he expounded to a group of friends the work he had done till that date (cf. Dhahabī, *Tarīkh al-Islām*, Paris, No. 1581, fol. 265^v). The year 353 (964) was spent in this fashion. The poet perhaps also visited Kūfa about this time (cf. F. Gabrieli, *Vita di al-Mutanabbi*, p. 60, note 4). At the beginning of 354 (965) in any case, he left the 'Irāk and went via al-Ahwāz to Arrādīn [q. v.] in Sūsiya where he received the patronage of the Buyid vizier Ibn al-'Amīd [q. v.]. Al-Mutanabbi devoted some panegyrics to him (cf. Wāḥ., p. 740—741; Yāz., p. 564—565), then he left him to go to Sūsiya in Fārs where he rejoined the Buyid Sultan 'Aḍud al-Dawla [q. v.] who had expressed a desire to have him at his court. After

addressing to the Buyid Sultan several panegyrics which are among his best work. Abu 'l-Tayyib left Shiraz for reasons not clearly known, perhaps simply out of nostalgia (cf. Wab., p. 766, line 1—3; Yāz., p. 389). He was returning by short stages from Persia to Baghdad when he was attacked by marauding Beduins near Dair al-Aḥḥā [q.v.] at the end of Ramaḥān 354 (Aug. 955). He and his son were killed in the fighting and all his baggage, including the autograph MSS. of his *Diwān*, was scattered (cf. al-Badrī, *op. cit.*, i. 227—239).

Even in his lifetime, al-Mutanabbi had been surrounded by ardent admirers who defended his work in its entirety against the attacks of detractors no less eager to run him down. Among the latter however, the majority only criticised him as a poet because they objected to his character as a man. The criticism was therefore not distinguished by impartiality and only reflects the opinions of a coterie. It required the death of Abu 'l-Tayyib to produce a third class of admirers who were more clear-sighted than the first and sufficiently impartial not to fall into the exaggerations of the second (cf. al-Djurdjani, *al-Waḥīd*, p. 11—12, 45—46). It was the opinion of this new category that prevailed and when Mutanabbi's contemporaries had all disappeared, the literary public remained decidedly favourable to Saif al-Dawla's bard (except al-'Askari [q.v.] and Ibn Khaldūn). From the fifth (eleventh) century the name of al-Mutanabbi became a synonym for "great poet". His literary influence became one of the most considerable ever exercised on Arabic poetry. Annotated by Ibn Djinnī [q.v.] and later by Abu 'l-'Alā' [q.v.], by al-Wāḥidī, al-Jahizī, al-Ukbarī and Ibn Sida [q.v.], to mention only the most eminent, the *Diwān* of Abu 'l-Tayyib throughout the middle ages and in modern times has been made accessible to scholars and literary men from Persia to Spain by learned men, often more zealous than intelligent. Space does not permit us to estimate what later poetry owes to al-Mutanabbi. We are content to point out that in different ways all Arab panegyrists have been influenced by Abu 'l-Tayyib. At the present day he is still one of the most read in North Africa, Syria and Egypt also hold him in very high esteem and many critics have devoted studies full of praise to him. It seems however that in the last named country al-Mutanabbi attracts at least as much by the boldness of his philosophy and the ardour of his pro-Arab feelings as by his purely literary qualities.

Bibliography: Numerous biographies of al-Mutanabbi have been written by eastern authors; only five of these contain original matter. These are: 1. 'Abd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Muḥṣilāt li-Sayr al-Mutanabbi*, in the *Khiṣṣat al-Adab* of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī (Cairo 1299), i. 382—389; 2. al-Tha'libī, *Yatimat al-Dahr* (Damascus 1304), i. 78—162, *passim*; 3. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tarīkh Baghdad* (Paris MS. No. 2129), fol. 105—106, reproduced in the *Nuḥat al-Aḥbāb* of Ibn al-Anbārī (Cairo 1294), p. 366—374 and in the *Amūd* of al-Sam'ānī (Leyden 1912), fol. 506b; 4. Ibn Khaldūn, *Wafayāt al-A'yān* (Cairo 1310), i. 36—38; 5. al-Badrī, *al-Sayr al-muḥṣilāt 'an Ḥaithiyat al-Mutanabbi* (on the margin of the commentary of al-Ukbarī on the *Diwān* of al-Mutanabbi, Cairo 1308), i. 5—245. — Al-Mutanabbi's work has been studied in the east, in addition to

commentators, by Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Djurdjani, *al-Waḥīd* *lata al-Mutanabbi wa-Khawāṣṣih* (Saida 1336); by al-Tha'libī, *op. cit.*; by Diyā al-Dīn Ibn al-Aḥir, *al-Muḥall al-ḥāṣṣ* (Istanbul 1282). A list of commentators, but incomplete, is given in Ḥādījī Khalīfa, *Lixicon*, iii. 306—312. The most celebrated commentaries are those of al-Wāḥidī, *Mutanabbi carmina cum commentario Wahidii* (ed. Dieterici, Berlin 1861); of al-Ukbarī, *al-Tibyan fi Sharḥ al-Diwan* (Cairo 1308); Nāṣir al-Yāzī, *al-'Urf al-fayyūḥ fi Sharḥ Diwan Abi 'l-Tayyib* (Bairūt 1305). Orientalists have often studied the work of al-Mutanabbi either in parts or as a whole. Here we only give general studies: Rohlen, *Commentatio de Motenabbi* (Bonn 1824); Hammer-Purgstall, *Mutanabbi, der grösste arabische Dichter* (Vienna 1824); Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 87—88; Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (London 1923), p. 304—313; F. Gabrieli, *La Vita di al-Mutanabbi* (R. S. O., ii.), 27—42; do., *Studi sulla poesia di al-Mutanabbi* (*Rendic. della Accad. ... dei Lincei*, 1927); do., *La Poesia di al-Mutanabbi* (*Giornali della Soc. asiat. italiana*, 1929), ii/1; R. Blachère, *Le Poète arabe al-Mutanabbi et l'Occident musulman* (R. E. J., 1929), p. 127 sq.; do., *Mutanabbi* (monograph in preparation). (R. BLACHÈRE)

MUTARĀDIF, term in prosody; cf. the art.

ḤAFIYA.

MUTARĀKIB, term in prosody; cf. the art.

ḤAFIYA.

MUTARRIZI, Abū 'l-Faṭṭaḥ Nāṣir b. 'Abd al-Sayyid b. Alī b. al-Mutarriz, grammarian, *adīb* and jurist, was born in Kh̲w̲ārizm in Radjab 338 (1144). He was a pupil of al-Mawwāḥ b. Ahmad known as Akḥab Kh̲w̲ārizm. As he was born in the same province and in the year in which al-Zamakhshari died, he was called Khalīfat al-Zamakhshari; al-Suyūṭī's assumption that he was a pupil of Zamakhshari was deduced from this epithet and is of course wrong. Al-Mutarriz was an adherent of the Mutazila. As a jurist of the Ḥanafī school he enjoyed particular prestige and his work *al-Muḥṣilāt* b. 'l-Lughā, a dictionary, arranged alphabetically, of terms used in tradition and of the legal terms of the jurists of the Ḥanafī school, was regarded by the scholars of this madhhab with the same respect as the *Ghorib al-Fikḥ* of al-Azhari by the Shāfi'is. For his son he compiled a lexicon of synonyms entitled *al-Ḥuṣṣ li-mā ḥawṣa taht al-Kinā*, which the latter was to study after he had learned the Qur'ān by heart. It is a kind of text-book giving a comprehensive survey of the subject. In al-Mutarriz's opinion the existing works on this subject were either too big or not full enough. The work deals only with "good and usual" words, omitting the "bad and unusual" ones. Modern and ancient linguistic usage are distinguished and verses often quoted in illustration. His *al-Muḥṣilāt* b. 'l-Naḥw, which deals with the grammar of the Arabic language, was also written for his son. It was much used by students and often commented upon. Super-commentaries were added to the commentaries; one of the latter was even translated into Turkish. Al-Mutarriz was also an expositor and prepared a commentary on the *Maḥāṣil* of Hariri. He also was a poet, among his efforts being a poem in which he set himself to use nothing but synonyms. In 601 (1204) he was in Baghdad where he had

disputations with the scholars of that city. In *Ummat* I of 610 (1213) he died in his native town.

Bibliography: W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der Handschriften*... Berlin, No. 69467, 6968; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, I, 293; Hādīdh Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, I, 329, 384; II, 33; V, 582, 648; VI, 62, 87; Sayyid, *Biḡyat al-Waṣīf* fī *Tahāṣṣi al-Lughawīn wa l-Nuḥāt*, Cairo 1326; Yāqūt, *Irṣād al-Arīd* (Iṣṣaṣat al-Adīb), ed. Margoliouth, in *G.A.S.*, VII, 202.

(LIEB. LEUCHTERSTÄDTER)

MUTAŠARRIF. [See SANJUAQ.]

AL-MUTAŠIM (عَلِيّ بْن أَبِي إِسْحَاقَ مُحَمَّدًا), an Abbāsid caliph, born in 179 (795–796) or 180 (796–7), the son of Hārūn al-Rashīd and a slave-girl named Mārīda. In the reign of his brother al-Ma'mūn (q.v.) he took part in the fighting against the Byzantines in Asia Minor and received the governorship of Egypt. After the death of al-Ma'mūn in Rājāb 218 (Aug. 833) he ascended the throne and was soon afterwards acknowledged even by his nephew al-Abbās b. al-Ma'mūn (q.v.) whom the troops had proclaimed caliph and the army also then paid him homage. An Abbāsid pretender, Muḥammad b. al-Kāsim, was disposed of by the governor of Khurāsān 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir (q.v.). After concluding a truce with the Byzantine emperor Theophilus, al-Mutašim sent an army commanded by the Arab general 'Uḡayf b. 'Aḡḡab against the Zang (q.v.) who had migrated from India in the Sāsānian period and settled in the swamps between Baṣra and Wāsiṭ. They had been frequently used in their wars by the Muslims. After the death of al-Ma'mūn however, they began to ravage and lay waste the country round as if it were hostile territory. They submitted after seven months' fighting at the turn of the year 219–220 (834–835) and in Muḥarram 220 (Jan. 835) they were brought in ships to Baghdad and banished by al-Mutašim to 'Ain Zarḥa (q.v.). In the same year he appointed Ḥaidar b. Ka'us, usually called al-Aḡḡāh (q.v.), commander-in-chief in the war against Bābak (q.v.), but it was only after two years that he was victorious. The intolerance of the caliph against all those who would not share the opinions of the Muṭawila made him unpopular with the people and in addition there was the dissatisfaction of the citizens of the capital with the undisciplined Berbers and Turkish mercenaries whom al-Mutašim took into his service. At the end of 220 (835) he therefore resolved to move his residence to a smaller place. While his son Hārūn al-Waṣīf remained in Baghdad as governor, the caliph established himself first on the al-Kāṣāl canal and then in Sāmarrā three days' journey up the river. Here in the course of the year 221 (836) there arose a splendid palace with numerous buildings for the troops (cf. the art. *BAḤDĀD*). Very soon afterwards the war with the Byzantines blazed up again. The emperor Theophilus invaded Muslim territory on the Upper Tigris, captured Zābāṭa and wrought tremendous havoc in northern Syria and Mesopotamia. In *Ummat* I 223 (April 838) al-Mutašim himself took the field, accompanied by his ablest generals. The huge force advanced in three columns: the eastern army was commanded by al-Aḡḡāh, the two divisions of the western one by al-Mutašim and Aḡḡāh. Al-Aḡḡāh very soon put the emperor to flight and in Shawwāl (Sept.) of the same year

Amorium after 55 days' siege passed through treachery into the hands of the caliph who had the town destroyed. But the victory had no permanent results. As winter was coming on, al-Mutašim had to retire, particularly as a conspiracy in favour of his nephew al-Abbās b. al-Ma'mūn (q.v.) demanded urgent measures. About the same time the ispaḥbad of Tabaristān Māziyār b. Kārin rebelled, but the rising was suppressed by 'Alid Allāh b. Tāhir (q.v.). In 226 (840–841) or 227 troubles again broke out in Fārsistān where the Umayyads still had many supporters. The leader, Abū Ḥarīr al-Mubārka', claimed to be a descendant of the Umayyads and everywhere preached rebellion against the caliph until Rādjā b. Ayyūb al-Ḥidāri, whom al-Mutašim sent against him, took him prisoner and brought him to Sāmarrā. Al-Mutašim died on 18th Rādjā 227 (Jan. 5 842) in Sāmarrā. By favouring the Turks and suppressing the Arab element he hastened the decline of the Abbāsid empire. Unlike al-Ma'mūn, he was comparatively uneducated. That learning was not allowed to fall into oblivion in his reign is rather due to the chief kadi Ahmad b. Abī Du'ād (q.v.).

Bibliography: Ibn Kāsim, *Kitaḥ al-Ma'rif* (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 199 sq.; Ya'kūbī (ed. Houtama), II, 366–370, 574–584; Baladhuri (ed. de Goeje), see index; Ahmad b. Abī Tāhir Ṭāifir, *Kitaḥ al-Baḡdād*, VI (ed. Keller), *passim*; Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje), III, 757 sq., 1164–1169; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (Paris), VII, 102–145; IX, 45, 51, 69; *Kitaḥ al-Aḡḡāh*, see Goudi, *Tahāṣṣi al-ḡḡāḡiq*, III, al-Aḡḡāh (ed. Gieseler), VI, 201 sq., 310–376; Ibn al-Ḥakīm, *al-Faḡḡir* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 316–324; Muḥammad b. Shākir, *Farāṣat al-Wafayāt*, II, 270; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Iḡḡāh*, III, 256 sq.; Weil, *Geich. d. Chāḡḡim*, II, 240 sq., 295–336; Müller, *Der Islam in Morgen- und Abendland*, I, 520 sq., 537 sq.; Muir, *The Caliphate, Its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, p. 513 sq.; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbāsid Caliphate*, see index; do., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, *passim*; Bury, *Muslim's March through Cappadocia*, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXIX, 120–129.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEIN)

AL-MUTAŠIM, MUḤAMMAD b. MA'N b. MUḤAMMAD (عَلِيّ بْن مُحَمَّدٍ ابْنِ تُوغْلُك), second ruler of the dynasty of Indjibids (q.v.) of the kingdom of Almería (q.v.), reigned from 443 to 484 (1051–1091). Gifted like his contemporary al-Mutamīd (q.v.) of Seville with a certain amount of poetic talent, he made his capital during his long reign one of the great centres of culture in the Peninsula. But like the other *amīr al-ḡḡāḡ* of Spain, he was for the most of his time at war with one or other of his neighbours. He was without doubt implicated in the conspiracy fomented by the Jew Yūsuf against his master Bādīs, king of Granada (cf. *MUḤAD*). Later his forces took part with those of Yūsuf b. Iḡḡḡāh in the famous battle of Zallāḡa (q.v.). Like the other Muslim rulers of Spain he felt in the following years the weight of the Almoravid sultan's arm. After unsuccessfully besieging the fortress of Aland and inciting Yūsuf to act harshly against al-Mutamīd, whom he hated personally, he realised on his death-bed that his capital would be besieged by the Almoravids as Seville had been. This is why he advised his son and successor Ahmad Mu'izz al-Dawla to seek an asylum with the lords of

Bougie [q. v.]. Almeria was taken very soon afterwards by the Almoravids.

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām, *al-Muḥāsib*; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Ḥisāba wa'l-ʿIlām*; Ibn al-ʿAbdī, *al-Ḥuḍūd al-ʿArabiyya*, ed. Dozy, p. 172, 174; ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākušī, *al-Muḥāsib*, ed. Dozy, transl. Fagnan; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Muḥāsib*, iii, ed. Léri-Provençal; Dozy, *Histoire des Almouhades d'Espagne*, new ed., iii, do.; *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature des Arabes d'Espagne*, vol. i. (memoir on the Tudjids). (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL.)

AL-MUTAWAKKIL ʿALA ʿLLĀH, ABU ʿL-FATĤ. DĪʾFĀR b. MUHAMMAD, an ʿAbbāsīd Caliph, born in Shawwāl 206 (Feb.-March 822), son of the caliph al-Muʿtāsim and a slave-girl from Kh̲wārizm named Shadīḡ. He ascended the throne in Dhu ʿl-Hijja 232 (Aug. 847) on the death of his brother al-Wathīq. His old opponent, the vizier Ibn al-Zayyāt, soon fell a victim to the cruelty of the new caliph and a similar fate befell the Turkish general ʿIṣḡh, although the latter along with Waṣīf had helped him to the throne. The caliph dreaded his influence and had him thrown into prison where he died of thirst (Djūmādā II 235 = Dec. 849-Jan. 850). From the religious point of view al-Mutawakkil was thoroughly orthodox. Soon after his accession he forbade any disputation about the K̲urʾān. Those who had been arrested because they would not recognize the teachings of the Muʿtazila were released and in 235 (849-850) he revived and intensified the regulations for special dress for Jews and Christians which went back to the caliph ʿUmar. The synagogues and churches recently built in Baghdad were taken down and the Muʿtazili chief kādī Aḥmad b. Abī Dīʾād [q. v.] with his sons dismissed and the office of chief kādī given to the Sunnī Yahyā b. Akṭham. The ʿAlids also fell under his ban. In 236 (850-851) he had the mausoleum of al-Ḥusayn in Kerbela destroyed and pilgrimage to this place forbidden. The provinces were frequently ravaged by rebels and foreign foes. In Adharbiḍjān in 234 (848-849) Muḥammad b. al-Baʿṭh rebelled; he had earlier been taken prisoner and brought to Sāmarrā but had escaped; he established himself in the strong town of Marand. The caliph's troops could do nothing against him until Bogha al-Sharīḡ [q. v.] took command. After a long siege the latter offered him a pardon; but when Ibn al-Baʿṭh tried to escape he was seized and brought to Sāmarrā, where he soon died in prison. When al-Mutawakkil attempted to treat semi-independent Armenia like a conquered province, a dangerous rising broke out there in 237 (851-852), which was suppressed in the following year, but only with difficulty, by Bogha al-Kābir. About the same time (238), the Byzantines landed in Egypt and plundered Damietta and in Asia Minor the war went on in the traditional fashion against the Byzantines. When the Paulician sect was persecuted by the empress Theodora they went over to the Muslims in masses. The Byzantines, however, succeeded in taking many prisoners. Those who would not become converted were massacred; but when al-Mutawakkil who had moved his residence in Suḡar 244 (May-June 858) to Damascus but left it after only two months, sent Bogha with the Turkish cavalry against the Byzantines, the fortune of war turned. Bogha fought with success against the enemy and in the following year the

emperor Michael himself was defeated at Samosata. In 246 (860-861) the Muslim generals took a considerable number of prisoners; but no permanent change in the situation was produced. In Syria also trouble broke out. Two governors in succession were driven out of Hims and only with the help of the troops from Damascus and al-Ramla was order restored (241 = 855-856). About the same time al-Mutawakkil sent an army under command of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kaṣmī against the rebel Beḡlā. The latter were completely defeated but their leader ʿAlī Bāḡā was pardoned. In the reign of al-Mutawakkil the dynasty of the Ṣaffarids [q. v.] was established in Sijḡstān. To keep the people of Baghdad in check, he sent for the governor of Khurāsān, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir [q. v.], and when the turbulent praetorians made trouble he built a new residence at Dīʾfariya in 245 (859-860) outside of Sāmarrā, which swallowed up enormous sums. Poets and scholars were rewarded with princely munificence by this caliph. The extravagance, capriciousness and cruelty of the caliph, however, made him hated, and finally he quarrelled with the commander of the Turkish bodyguard. In Dhu ʿl-Hijja 235 (July 850) he had arranged that his eldest son Muḥammad al-Muntasir should succeed him and the two other sons Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Muʿtazz and Ibrahim al-Muʿtāyad were each to receive a governorship with a claim to the throne after al-Muntasir. He began to favour al-Muʿtazz; however, and thus aroused al-Muntasir's discontent. The latter conspired with a few others of the same sentiments and in Shawwāl 247 (Dec. 861) al-Mutawakkil was murdered [s. AL-FATĤ b. KĪẖĀṢN].

Bibliography: Ibn Kūṭalba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 200; Yaʿqūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 391-602; Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, see index; Ṭabarī, ed. de Goeje, iii. 1368-1404; Masʿūdi, *Murūʿij*, ed. Paris, vii. 289-289; i. 46, 51, 71; *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, see Guldī, *Tabaṭ al-Aghāni*; Ibn al-ʿAṭhīr ed. Tornberg, vii. 21-100; Ibn al-Ṭīṭakā, *al-Fakhri*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 325-327; Muḥammad b. Shākir, *Fawaṭ al-Wafayāt*, i. 103-104; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Iṭhar*, iii. 273-100; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 347-372; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 523-100, 538-100; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall*, p. 526-100; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 54-100, 78, 141, 355-100.

(K. V. ZETTERSTERN)

MUTAWÄTIR (A.), part. act. vi. from *wa-t-r*, "that which comes successively". It is used as a technical term in two senses:

a. In the theory of cognition it is applied to historical knowledge (*ḥikāma*), if the latter is generally acknowledged; e.g. the knowledge that there is a city called Makka and that there has existed a king called Alexander.

Definitions of the term show slight differences. According to al-Djurdjānī knowledge is mutawātir, when it is supplied by so many persons that either their number or their trustworthiness excludes doubt of its truth (*Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Fliegel, p. 210; cf. Sprenger, *Dictionary of Technical Terms*, p. 1471).

According to Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Nasafī († 537 = 1142) reports are mutawātir when handed down without deviation by persons who cannot be supposed to have plotted a lie. Taḥāzūl in his

commentary (p. 33 sq.) mentions two objections. The first is, that Jews and Christians accept as mutawātir reports that are rejected by Muslims. To this objection Tafāṣṣil simply replies that the possibility that these reports should be mutawātir, is excluded. The second objection is, that the reports of every single reporter (shāhid, q. v.) represent an opinion only and that an accumulation of opinions cannot be said to afford certainty. To this Tafāṣṣil replies that often plurality has a power of which singleness is devoid, e.g. a cord made of hair.

For the place of this source of knowledge within the theory of cognition, cf. the *Supplement*, s. v. 'ILM.

6. In prosody the term is applied to the rhyme in which one moving letter intervenes between the quiescents.

Bibliography: a. 'Abd al-Kāfir al-Bagh-dādī, *Uqāl al-Dīn*, Sтамбул 1928, p. 11 sq.; *Waqyat Abi Hanifa*, art. 16; Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Nasāfi, *Aḥida*, ed. Cureton, p. 1 sq.; Abū 'I-Barakāt al-Nasāfi, *Umda*, ed. Cureton, p. 1; Tafāṣṣil, commentary on Nasāfi's *Aḥida*, Sтамбул 1313, p. 33 sq.; *Liṭān al-'Arab*, vii. 137; Goldsamer, *Le livre d'Ibn Tawmatt*, p. 47 sq.; A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, index, s. v. b. Freytag, *Darstellung der arab. Verknüpfung*, Bonn 1830, p. 303, 305; W. Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 3rd ed., new impression, Cambridge 1933, li. 355. (A. J. WENSINCK)

MUTAWWIF, Meccan pilgrims' guide. The word literally means one who leads the *ṭawāf* [q. v.]. The task of the *mutawwif* is however by no means limited to assisting pilgrims from foreign lands, who entrust themselves to their guidance, to go through the ceremonies required at the circumambulation of the Ka'ba. On the contrary they act as guides at the *ṣafā* also and at all other ceremonies which are prescribed or only recommended for the *ḥājj* or *umra* [q. v.]. The *mutawwif* also cater very completely for the physical welfare of the pilgrims. As soon as the pilgrims arrive in Ḥidda, their agents are ready on the arrival of the steamers to provide all the services they require from disembarkment to departure for Mecca. In Mecca the *mutawwif* or members of their families and servants take charge of the pilgrims. During the whole of their stay they provide the pilgrims with lodging, service, food, purchases (necessary and unnecessary), attend them if they fall ill and in case of death take charge of what they leave behind them.

The *mutawwif* of course do not do all this for nothing. They are appropriately paid for their trouble and see that, if the pilgrim is rich, their friends and relations also make something out of him. Of the money which they themselves receive, they have to hand over a considerable part in the form of fees, presents etc. to the shāikh of the gild and to the treasury. — another reason for getting as much as possible out of those entrusted to their care. It is therefore no wonder that many pilgrims have complained bitterly about the covetousness of these particularly prominent representatives of the Meccan pilgrim industry. Recently the fees for guides have been fixed by a legal enactment of the Ḥijāz government (*O. M.*, xii [1932], 249).

Reference has already been made to the fact that the *mutawwif* are organised in gilds; they

are divided up into separate groups who sometimes have the right to exploit the pilgrims from a definite area only (e.g. Lower Egypt). All these groups together form the gild with a chief shāikh officially recognised at their head. The gild is also very exclusive. "Wild" (i.e. independent) guides (*ḥarrār*) have to be content with the scanty pickings left over for them by the organised *mutawwif*.

Bibliography: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, The Hague 1888 sq., ii. 28-38, 98-101, 295 sqq., *passim*; Jyngholl, *Handbuch des islamischen Geistes*, Leyden—Leipzig 1910, p. 150; Gaudelroy-Demonbynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekka*, Paris 1923, p. 200-204; F. Duguet, *Le pèlerinage de la Mecque au point de vue religieux, social et sanitaire*, Paris 1932, p. 70 sq., 82 sq.; J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, i. 354-360; for modern times: E. Rutter, *The holy Cities of Arabia*, New York—London 1928, i. 80 sq., 113 sq.; ii. 139 sq., 143-148; Shakhb Arslān, *al-ḥisāmāt al-līfāt fī Ḥatāt al-Ḥājj* li-*Abd al-Majīd*, Cairo 1350, p. 71-80.

(R. PARET)

AL-MUTĀZILA is the name of the great theological school which created the speculative dogmatics of Islām. The meaning of the name is clear from al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vi. 22: the *Mutāzilīs* are those who profess the doctrine of *ʿtād*, i.e. the doctrine of the *manzila baina 'l-manzilatayn* or the state intermediate between belief and scepticism, the fundamental doctrine of the school (see below). A tradition which emanates from the *ahl al-ḥadīth* derives the name *Mutāzila* from a schism which took place in the circle of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī: after laying down their doctrine of the *manzila baina 'l-manzilatayn*, Wāṣil b. 'Aṭ' and 'Amr b. 'Ubalid are said to have separated (*ṭāzala*) from al-Ḥasan's circle to found an independent school or rather to have been expelled from it by the latter. These traditions are not entirely without historical foundation but the interpretation of the name deduced from them is certainly wrong. The *Mutāzilīs* were proud of their name, which they certainly would not have been if it had been a nickname invented by their enemies. We have here, as the variety of versions also shows, a tendentious invention of the *ahl al-sunna wa 'l-ḥadīth* anxious to rehabilitate al-Ḥasan and brand the *Mutāzilīs* as heretics.

Origins and political history. There are quite definite indications that the *Mutāzila* was of political origin and that it arose under the same constellation as the *Shi'ī* and *Khārījī* movements. The accession of 'Alī (Ibn 'l-ḥadīth 35) is the great watershed in the currents of the history of Islām. It is well known that several notable Companions of the Prophet refused to pay 'Alī the homage which he demanded or offered it reluctantly. The most frequently mentioned were Talha and al-Zubair but the names of many others have been preserved: Sa'd b. Abī Waḥḥā, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Omar, Muḥammad b. Maslama, Usama b. Zaid, Ṣahāb b. Sinān and Zaid b. Thābit (al-Ṭabarī, i. 3072). Of these Talha and al-Zubair openly rebelled against 'Alī but the majority remained neutral. The Medinese in general followed the example of the latter and in Baṣra al-Aḥnaf b. Ka'is with 6,000 Tamīmīs and a group of Azalis under Ṣahra b. Shalmān also stood aside from the quarrel (al-Ṭabarī, i. 3169, 3178). In

speaking of the latter the text uses the verb *ʿaṣaba*, which still has its proper sense of 'to separate from', but which is already on the way to become a political term meaning 'to take up a neutral attitude in the quarrel between 'Alī and his adversaries'. Now al-Nawbakhti mentions (*Kitāb Firaḡ al-Ḥaḡa*, ed. Ritter, p. 5) a party which on the accession of 'Alī separated and followed Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Omar, Muḥammad b. Maṣlama and Usāma b. Zaid. 'These separated (*ʿaṣabū*) from 'Alī and refused either to fight against him or to take his side although they had paid homage to him and had received him favourably; they were called *al-Mu'tazila* and are the ancestors of all the later Mu'tazila'. The Mu'tazila as a theological school must therefore have been preceded by a political Mu'tazila, which determined its structure.

This hypothesis seems to be confirmed if we analyse carefully what is recorded of the founders of the theological school. According to a unanimous tradition, this school originated with two natives of Basra, Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā [q. v.] and 'Amr b. 'Ubaid [q. v.]. The period of their activity covers practically the reign of the caliph Hishām and his Umayyad successors, i.e. the years 105–131 (723–48). We have a good deal of quite early information about them, not always free from lacunae, but sufficient to enable us to grasp the leading ideas in their theological work (see *Bibl.*). It is clear from all these traditions that the doctrine of *ʿaṣā* formed the starting point for the creation of the school, that Wāṣil was the first to formulate it and that he later won over 'Amr to his teaching. This is how al-Kharrāṣī records the origin of the idea of *ʿaṣā*. Muslims were agreed that he who committed a grave sin deserved the name of *fāsiq* and of *fāḡir*, but opinions varied as to the character of the individual who received these epithets. The Kharrāṣī said he was an infidel. The Murjī said he was a believer in spite of his *fisq* and his *fudḡar*; al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and his circle described him as a hypocrite (*munāfiq*). Wāṣil demonstrates that the description given in the Qur'ān of a believer and an infidel cannot be applied to a believer who has committed a grave sin; the latter is therefore neither believer nor infidel. Now it is impossible to regard him as a hypocrite as al-Ḥasan wants to do, for a hypocrite must pass as a believer until his hypocrisy is brought to light. The only possible course then is to put the *fāsiq* in a special category of those who are in an intermediate state (*munāfiḡ bain al-Imānīlātīn*). These same ideas are found in the conversation by which Wāṣil is said to have won 'Amr over to the doctrine of *ʿaṣā* (al-Saliyid al-Murṭaḡā, *Amālī*, I, 114 sq. = Ibn al-Murṭaḡā, *al-Mu'tazilah*, p. 22 sq.; source probably al-Kharrāṣī).

There are political problems concealed behind these speculations. The doctrine of *munāfiḡ bain al-Imānīlātīn* is not the result of interest in pure speculation, but arose out of a clearly defined opinion on the individuals who took part in the quarrels that raged round the caliphate of 'Alī. It is striking how much space is occupied by the question of 'Alī, of Talḡa, of al-Zuhair and of 'Ā'isha in the rather scanty information which we possess regarding the theology of Wāṣil and 'Amr; we cannot doubt that here they were dealing with a central problem. Wāṣil and 'Amr took neither side in the dispute

(*Kitāb al-Intiqār*, p. 97–98). According to them, 'Alī, Talḡa, al-Zuhair and 'Ā'isha were originally true and pious believers. But the war which broke out among them divided them into two parties who could not both be right; one of these parties committed a sin but we do not know which. We must therefore leave their cause to Him who knows it but in their relations with one another we cannot regard them as true believers in the strict sense of the word. As a result if one of these individuals bears witness against another of the opposite party, we cannot accept this evidence; relatively to the one, the other is *fāsiq* and vice-versa (cf. also Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Farḡ*, p. 100). If we may believe the *ahl al-hadīṡ*, 'Amr showed himself more severe than Wāṣil; he is said to have refused to accept the deposition made by any member of these parties against any member of the community on any matter whatever (*Ta'rikḡ Baghdādī*, xii, 178; al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Farḡ*, p. 100); for he declared guilty (*fasiḡ*) *per se* both the parties engaged in the battle of the Camel. It is therefore not surprising that Wāṣil and 'Amr have sometimes been confused with the Kharrāṣīs (verse of Ishāḡ b. Suxaid al-'Adawī, *al-Djāḡī, Bayān*, I, 13).

However, the opinion of the leaders of the Mu'tazila on 'Alī is based on quite a different foundation. To understand the position correctly it is important to note that 1. Wāṣil and the whole Mu'tazila were definitely enemies of the Umayyads and that 2. Wāṣil adopted a somewhat ambiguous attitude regarding 'Othmān and his murderers (*Kitāb al-Intiqār*, p. 97–98). This tacitly implies a declaration in favour of the 'Alids, the first actors in the drama played at Mecca in the year 35. Indeed Wāṣil was on somewhat intimate terms with the 'Alids of Medina (Ibn al-Murṭaḡā, *al-Mu'tazilah*, p. 20); the Zaidiyya reveres him as one of their leaders, and Zaidi theology is essentially based on that of Wāṣil. This is true not only of the speculative theology; there is agreement also on political doctrines. The Zaidis do not say that the first caliphs Abū Bakr and 'Umar were usurpers as the extreme Shī'is do; Wāṣil and with him the whole Mu'tazila regards the caliphate of Abū Bakr as legitimate (commentary of Ibn al-Ḥadīd on *Nabḡ al-Balāḡā*, Cairo 1329, I, 3); he left undecided the question of knowing who had the superior claim, Abū Bakr, 'Umar or 'Alī, but he credited 'Alī with a superior claim to 'Othmān. This attitude, a little complicated as regards 'Alī, and therefore prudent towards the extreme Shī'is, at the same time unreservedly hostile to the Umayyads, can in my opinion only be interpreted in one way. All these apparently dissimilar lines converge on a common centre: the 'Abbasid movement. It is precisely Wāṣil's attitude which we must regard as characteristic of the partisans of the 'Abbasids. The latter regarding themselves as the true *ahl al-bait*, it was evidently in their interest to lower somewhat the preponderating position attributed to 'Alī by the extreme Shī'is in order themselves to profit by the prestige enjoyed by the family of the Prophet; but on the other hand, they had every reason not to cut the links with the Shī'is who were indispensable as allies to them. It is obvious that in these circumstances it was particularly important for them to win over the relatively moderate Zaidi faction to their cause. In a general

way, the teaching of Wāṣil on *al-manāṣila* can only be perfectly understood if we see in it the theoretical crystallisation of the political programme of the 'Abbāsids before their accession to power. Everything leads us to believe that the theology of Wāṣil and of the early Mu'tazila represents the official theology of the 'Abbāsid movement. This gives an unforced explanation of the fact that it was the official doctrine of the 'Abbāsid court for at least a century. It seems even probable that Wāṣil and his disciples took direct part in the 'Abbāsid propaganda. In his *fatāwa*, mentioned below Saḥwān al-Anṣārī tells us that Wāṣil had emissaries (*da'īs*) in all parts of the Muslim world. Saḥwān describes them as ardent believers and ascetics who were distinguished from other men in physiognomy and dress; they were the supports (*awṣiā*) of God in all lands and centres in which his commandments were made manifest and in which the art of disputation (with the enemies of the faith) flourished. The period of this activity coincides exactly with that of the most intense 'Abbāsid propaganda, in which all the forces working for the ruin of the Umayyads were co-operating; it is impossible not to believe there was a connection between the two. That Wāṣil did actually extend his propaganda very far to the west is proved by the fact that there existed long after the fall of the Umayyads a Wāṣilī community at Tāshert (Vākūt, i. 815) numbering about 3,000 members who had allied themselves with the 'Rāfiḍa. They had rebelled against Manṣūr under Jāḥs b. 'Abd Allāh al-Hasanī (al-Shahrastānī, p. 31; on these happenings see Ṭabarī, iii. 561); they were therefore reckoned among the enemies of the first 'Abbāsid caliph. It is interesting to note that the connection between Wāṣil and the Kharijīs, supposed by Ishāq b. Suwaid al-'Adawī to exist (see above) was here an actuality.

The quarrels of Wāṣil and his followers with Ḍjāḥm b. Ṣafwān (q. v.) form a difficult problem which has not yet been solved. On the one hand, Ḍjāḥm's theology left distinct traces on that of the Mu'tazila; the doctrine of the created Qur'ān which was later to become a fundamental Mu'tazila thesis was probably formulated by Ḍjāḥm and in the doctrine of the divine attributes there are coincidences on both sides which cannot be accidental. On the other hand, there are many serious differences which are probably practical and political in their nature. Ḍjāḥm professed in the most extreme form the doctrine of predestination (*qāḍi*). All the actions of man are involuntary. Wāṣil maintained the opposite thesis of free will. Now once again we have political problems hidden behind these theological controversies; the Umayyads in general preferred the dogma of predestination while the opposition accepted the dogma of free will in its widest interpretation; in Damascus, Ghailān al-Dimashqī, who figures among the fathers of the Mu'tazila (Ibn al-Murtazā, *al-Mu'tazila*, p. 15-17), was put to death by the caliph Hishām for holding the doctrine of free will (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 1733).

Once the hypothesis of a definite connection between the Mu'tazila and the 'Abbāsids is admitted, the question of the relations between the Mu'tazila founded by Wāṣil and the early Mu'tazila of the period of 'Alī presents itself in a new aspect. It will be admitted that there is a striking resemblance

between the attitude of these former companions of the Prophet and that of the 'Abbāsids. It is true that 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Abbās entered the service of 'Alī after the death of 'Othmān but his true sentiments were somewhat ambiguous; he was a great friend of 'Othmān but a rather lukewarm partisan of 'Alī and after the latter's death he placed himself at the service of the Umayyads. His descendants did not remain at Medina, probably because the 'Alids were their rivals there; after a stay in Damascus, his son went to Hama near Adhram and here a formal rapprochement took place in 98 between the 'Abbāsids and the 'Alids (Wellhausen, *Das arabisches Reich*, p. 312 sq.). Before this event, we may regard the 'Abbāsids as a kind of Mu'tazila in the old sense of the word.

With 'Amr b. 'Ubaid a new element enters the Mu'tazila as founded by Wāṣil. 'Amr originally was one of the *ahl al-hadīth*; brought up in the circle of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, he transmitted a large number of ḥadīths from his master and he is remembered as one of the *muhaddithūn*. His conversion to the doctrine of *i'tisāl* brought about a rupture between him and these circles; but with him a considerable section of the Ḳadariyāt of the *ahl al-hadīth* joined the Mu'tazila, thus reinforcing the more politically inclined Ḳadariya, of which Wāṣil was the champion. *Ḳadari* and *mu'tazilī* were soon to become synonymous terms. 'Amr seems to have been decidedly anti-'Alid (see above), in any case he preferred 'Abd Bakr to 'Alī (Ibn Abi Ḥadīd on *Nahj al-Balāgha*, i. 3). This attitude implies a certain predilection for 'Othmān, which is foreign to Wāṣil; indeed, a section of the old Baṣra, among them al-Djāhī, is said to have belonged to the party called *al-'Othmāniya*. 'Amr's point of view was of great importance for the development of the Mu'tazila. After their final triumph, the 'Abbāsids immediately dissolved the alliance with the Shī'a, which had only been a political instrument for them. As regards the extreme Shī'a, the Rawāfiḍ, the Mu'tazila unreservedly followed the direction of their new masters; but it is fairly evident that some of them did not decide to break so abruptly with the moderate Shī'a. It resulted in a schism. One section remained faithful to the alliance with the moderate Shī'a; this section was later to form a special Mu'tazila school in Baghdad. But the Mu'tazila of Baṣra with 'Amr at their head seem to have attached themselves without protest to the 'Abbāsid cause. 'Amr even became the intimate friend of Manṣūr and so to speak his spiritual father. In the west, the Mu'tazila allied with the Kharijīs rebelled against the 'Abbāsids (see above).

Let us sum up the characteristic features of the Mu'tazila at the beginning of the 'Abbāsid period. The Mu'tazila was: 1. in general devoted to the cause of the 'Abbāsid caliphs, only a faction being opposed to them; 2. decidedly hostile to the extreme Shī'a, the Rāfiḍa; 3. hostile to the Ḍjahmiya, by which however it was a little influenced; 4. *Ḳadari* in reuniting several of the old factions of this name; 5. in serious disagreement with the *ahl al-hadīth*, who soon declared it heretical. This position had a decisive influence in determining the structure of the Mu'tazila theology. The beginnings of this theology go back to Wāṣil and 'Amr and are connected with the fight against the Rāfiḍa. The extreme Shī'is had quite early assimilated a good number of

non-Muslim beliefs; we need not doubt that Manichaeism played a part in them; in any case certain gnostic and dualist ideas had found a way into Islam through the intermediary of these Shi'is. These tendencies, very marked in Kufa, were also represented at Basra; in the house of an Azdi who was a *ṣūfī* or Buddhist, Wāḡil and 'Amr had frequent meetings with 'Abd al-Karīm b. Abi 'l-'Awḡā and Siliḥ b. 'Abd al-Kuddūs, who professed dualist doctrines (*al-ḥamawīya*; we should probably understand by this Manichaean views) and the poet Baḡhār b. Burd [q.v.] (*Kitāb al-Aghāni*, iii, 24). A serious schism broke up this curious *madīna*. This event decided the whole future of the Mu'tazila. Henceforth the fight against *ṣanāda* and *ḥamawīya* is a cardinal point in the programme of the Mu'tazila. Wāḡil himself composed a refutation of Manichaeism which al-Bihili (c. 300 A.H.) was still able to peruse (*al-Mu'tazila*, p. 21). But they also found themselves compelled to combat these heresies in a positive fashion; to the doctrine of fire professed by Baḡhār they offered a theology of earth, so to speak, a theology based on the natural philosophy of the time. The poems of Saḡwān al-Anṣārī (al-Dīḡhī, *Kitāb al-Bayān*, i, 16—19) afford us a specimen of this theology; here we have one of the fundamental documents for the history of Mu'tazila dogmatics. It is not yet clear whence came the philosophy put at the service of theology but its general character is apparent; it is the philosophy of the alchemists, physicists of late antiquity, a kind of *summa* of the scientific principles which seem to have been accepted everywhere in Asiatic Hellenism. Saḡwān perhaps gives us a hint as to the circles from which it came to the Mu'tazila, when he tells us that Baḡhār called Wāḡil and his friends *Daḡhānī*; this is in any case worth noting. In a general way those who handed on this natural philosophy seem to have been the school called *Dahriya* by Muslims. The Mu'tazila fought these Dahris with a vigour which reveals the dependence on this heretical philosophy of which they were conscious. The true founder of the dogmatic system of the Mu'tazila was Abu 'l-Hudhail Muḥammad b. al-Hudhail al-'Alīf [q.v.]. Abu 'l-Hudhail, his friends and pupils, continued on a large scale the polemic against Manichaeism, a polemic which is certainly not unconnected with the persecution begun by the 'Abbāsids against the open or secret adherents of this religion. On the other hand, he fought the Rāfida most vigorously, then represented by the very remarkable theologian Ḥiḡām b. al-Ḥakam [q.v.]; and it was through his disputes with the latter that he was led to study the books of the philosophers, which furnished him with a system of dogmatics, a little bold, but full of fertile new ideas. Alongside of him there was a crowd of important theologians at Basra: Mu'ammār, an independent mind whose ideas have not yet been sufficiently analysed; Ḥiḡām b. 'Amr al-Fuwaṣṣ and al-Asamm, adversaries of Abu 'l-Hudhail and several others. Among the pupils of Abu 'l-Hudhail mention must first be made of Ibrāhīm b. Sa'yār al-Naḡām [q.v.]. These theologians gave Mu'tazila dogmatics its essential character. This theology is: 1. apologetic; it aims at defending the revelation of the Prophet; as a result it is 2. strictly Qur'anic; the sacred book is the only source of the theological denomina-

tions (*asmā'*) and of the precepts of religion (*aḥkām*); it is 3. polemical; it vigorously invaded the domains of other religions and other Muslim parties to fight them on their own ground; it is 4. speculative; it has recourse to philosophical means to refute its adversaries and formulate its dogmas; consequently it is 5. Intellectualist: it envisages the problem of religion under the purely intellectual aspect. Nothing could then be less justifiable than to regard the Mu'tazila as philosophers, free thinkers or liberals. On the contrary, they are theologians of the strictest school; their ideal is dogmatic orthodoxy; philosophy for them is only an *ancilla fidei*; they are nothing less than tolerant. What they created was Muslim scholasticism.

Parallel to the school of Basra, a Mu'tazila school was founded in Baghād by Biḡr b. al-Mu'tamī (q.v.; d. 210 = 825—826). This school was pro-'Alid ('Alī preferable to Abū Bakr), and Biḡr was persecuted by Ḥārūn al-Rashīd. But under Ma'mūn (q.v.; 198—218 = 813—833), a decidedly pro-'Alid caliph, the school of Biḡr gained a preponderating influence mainly through the theologians Thumām b. Aḡrās (d. in 210 = 825—826) and Ibn Abi Du'ād (d. in 240 = 854—855). This school particularly attacked those who held the doctrine of the uncreated Qur'ān [q.v.]. This attack however had disastrous consequences for the Mu'tazila. Abandoned by the caliph al-Mutawakkil (232—247) who adopted the doctrine of the uncreated Qur'ān, it rapidly fell from its influential position and soon found itself surrounded by implacable enemies. In the second half of the third century, Ibn al-Rawandī, a partisan of the Baghād school, made a stir when he left the Mu'tazila for the most advanced Rāfida; a man of violent temperament, he criticised the Mu'tazila in a scathing way which did it much damage. Towards the end of the third century, the Karmatian movement came on the scene, reinforcing the extreme Rāfida and causing trouble in every secular and spiritual sphere. In the struggle against the Karmatians it is no longer the Mu'tazila who appear at the head of the defenders of orthodoxy but the *ahl al-ḥadīth*. In the year 300, al-Aḡarī broke with the Mu'tazila of Basra, of which he had been a convinced supporter, to introduce speculative dogmatics among the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, who were soon to give its character to Sunni theology.

Among the Mu'tazila theologians of the third century we may mention the following. At Basra the tradition of Abu 'l-Hudhail al-'Alīf was propagated by a flourishing school represented by Vūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh al-Shahḥām, Abū 'Alī al-Aswārī and others. 'Abd b. Sulaimān was the pupil of Ḥiḡām al-Fuwaṣṣ. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl known as Ibn 'Ulāya (d. 218) was the pupil of al-Asamm. The school of al-Naḡām developed certain special doctrines which the later Mu'tazila rejected (Faḡl al-Hadāthi and Ahmad b. Ḥalī, *Kitāb al-Intiqār*, p. 222—223); but among the disciples of al-Naḡām we also find al-Dīḡhī [q.v.]. In the second half of the century, the most important Basra theologian was undoubtedly Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Djabbā'ī [q.v.]. In Baghād we find in addition to the theologians already mentioned 'Isā b. Subāh al-Murdār, contemporary of Biḡr b. al-Mu'tamī; then 'the two Dja'far': Dja'far b. Mubashshir (d. 234) and Dja'far

b. Harb (d. 236), at a later date Muhammad b. Shaddad al-Mirza'i, Zurkân (d. in 278) and Abu 'l-Husain 'Abd al-Rahim b. Muhammad al-Khayyâ, the great authority on the history of the Mu'tazila (d. at the end of the century). On the Mu'tazila of Syria we are not well informed; and only a little better on that of Egypt. The first Mu'tazili here was Ibn 'Ulayya (cf. above) who had disputations with al-Sha'fi; with him Hafs al-Fard came to Cairo; this last represented the official theology in Cairo during the *miḥna* of al-Walīd. Hafs was declared a heretic by al-Khayyâ (*Kitāb al-Intiqāṣ*, p. 133—134). — In Spain the Mu'tazili teaching was disseminated by Abū Bakr Parāzī al-Kurtubī who had visited the east and studied there with al-Djāhiz; it was therefore al-Djāhizīya — at bottom al-Nazzāmiya — that was known in Spain; very soon the Mu'tazila seems to have become undistinguishable from the Bāṭiniya (Asin Palacios, *Ahenamarra y su escuela*, Madrid 1914, p. 21—22).

The fourth century saw the Shī'a flourishing and Abhāsid power disappearing; the favour of several Būyid governors now to some degree made good the loss of prestige which had been suffered by the Mu'tazila. The schools continued their work and the Mu'tazila spread to the east. At Baṣra, al-Djubbā'i had left a large number of disciples but his school was soon surpassed by that of his son Abū Hāshim [q. v.]; representatives of the latter were among others Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Husain b. 'Alī al-Baṣrī (d. 369); Abū 'l-Husain al-Aṣṣāḥ (Ahmad b. Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb) al-Tanūkhī (d. 377), a member of the well known al-Tanūkhī family; Abū Ishāq Ibrahim b. 'Atyāsh al-Baṣrī and his pupil the Kāfi 'Abd al-Djabbār b. Ahmad al-Hamadhāni. The latter, the most remarkable of the Baṣra theologians of the period, migrated in 360 to Ra'y where he founded an influential school and died in 415. In Baghdad the school of Abū Bakr Ahmad b. 'Alī al-Djishdī (d. in 320) dominated the whole century. A very celebrated Baghdadī, Abū 'l-Kāsim 'Abd Allāh b. Ahmad al-Balkhī al-Ka'bi, a pupil of al-Khayyā, founded a school at Naṣaf, where he died in 319; among his pupils we find al-Aḥdab Abū 'l-Ḥasan. We also find the Mu'tazila in Isfahān, where Abū Bakr Muhammad b. Ibrahim al-Zubairī of the school of Abū 'l-Hudhail had introduced Mu'tazila doctrines; at Kirmīn (school of Abū Hāshim), Gurgān, Nīshāpūr and in several other towns of Khurāsān. During the fifth century it was the theology of 'Abd al-Djāhiz which dominated at Baṣra; one of his pupils, Abū Muhammad al-Ḥasan b. Ahmad b. Mattawāhi, handed down the great work on dogmatics of his master, *al-Muḥit bi 'l-Taklīf*; another theologian, Abū Raḥmān Sa'īd b. Muhammad al-Nasābūrī (d. in 460), compiled a résumé of the questions disputed in the schools of Baṣra and Baghdad. Several theologians of Baghdad are known; some of them must have belonged to the Zaidīya and generally speaking the Baghdad school becomes more and more merged in the Zaidīya. The last great theologian of the Mu'tazila was al-Zamakhshārī [q. v.] (d. in 538) but the schools continued to exist long after him, especially in the east. It was probably the invasion of the Mongols that put an end to them; the Mu'tazila has however survived to our day in the Zaidīya.

It was not speculative dogmatics alone that

formed the subject of Mu'tazila activity. Their part in the history of the exegesis of the Qur'ān is a very considerable one; it was they who introduced the strictly grammatical method. There is a very close connection between them and the philological school of Baṣra, the representatives of which in general taught Mu'tazila doctrines (e.g. al-Asma'i). The exegetical works of the Mu'tazila, for the most part now lost, were utilised to a large extent by their adversaries, e.g. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. — All questions of *fiqh* were vigorously discussed in the Mu'tazila schools; the influence of the Mu'tazila on the *uṣūl al-fiqh* and the *madhāhib* has still to be examined. — Lastly the science of *ḥadīth* certainly received various stimuli from the Mu'tazila criticism of the *ahl al-ḥadīth*.

Madhhab. Mu'tazila theology is summed up under five principles (*uṣūl*) or fundamental doctrines which one must accept in their integrity to be recognised as a Mu'tazili (al-Mas'ūdī, *Mu'ūḍ*, vi. 22). As these were probably in origin the principal points in the programme of Mu'tazili propaganda, these *uṣūl* later became a kind of framework of speculative dogmatics.

1. *Ahl al-tawḥīd*: the strictest profession of monotheism (against any kind of dualism); denial of all resemblance between Allāh and his creatures (against the anthropomorphisms of the *muhaddithūn* on the one hand and those of the Rāfida and Manichaeans on the other); the divine attributes recognised (against the Djahmīya) but deprived of their real existence: they are not entities added to the divine being (this would be *shirk*; against the *Ṣifariya* among the *ahl al-ḥadīth*) but identical with the being (Wāṣil, Abū 'l-Hudhail); allegorical interpretation of the anthropomorphisms of the Qur'ān; denial of the beatific vision; vigorous affirmation of a personal God and creator (against the Dabīriya); integral affirmation of the revelation of the Prophet but distinction between a natural theology and a revealed theology. Problems discussed here: t. The nature of God and his attributes: a. omnipresence: God is in all places, in the sense that he directs everything (Abū 'l-Hudhail; al-Djubbā'i) — he is not in any place (general thesis); b. perceptibility: he is not perceived by the senses (thesis generally adopted) — he is perceived by the heart (Abū 'l-Hudhail) — he has a hidden *ma'āniya* which will be perceived in another world with the help of a sixth sense which God will then create (Hafs al-Fard and others; thesis declared heretical); c. the attributes (eternal; names of the essence): identical with the essence (Abū 'l-Hudhail; thesis generally adopted) — inherent in the essence through *ma'āni* (Mu'ammār) — through *shams* (Abū Hāshim); expressing positive aspects (Abū 'l-Hudhail and generally) — negative (knowledge: negation of ignorance etc.; al-Nazzām). 2. The structure of the created world: a. starting-point anthropology treated in a positive way (exact definition of religious duties) and negative (refutation of *ghana'īya*): man is the empirical phenomenon which we see, the body (*ḡaym*) which is composed of a certain number of indivisible entities (atoms) and which supports the accidents: life, the senses, colours etc.; *nafs* is *ma'nā* and distinct from *rūh* (Abū 'l-Hudhail) — man is composed of body (*ḡadan*) and *rūh* (identical with *nafs*) which are mutually interpenetrant (*muḍāḡḡā*); the colours, senses, sensations, forms and spirits form different categories of *ḡawāḡib* (not

London 1903; Galland, *Essai sur les Mu'tazilites*, Paris n. d. (1906); Horowitz, *Über den Einfluss der griechischen Philosophie auf die Entwicklung des Kalam*, Breslau 1909; Horten, *Die philosophischen Probleme der spekulativen Theologie im Islam*, Bonn 1910; do., *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, Bonn 1912; do., *Die Modus-Theorie des Abū Ḥāsim*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxxiii. (1909), 303-24; do., *Die Lehre vom Kumūn bei Naẓām*, *ibid.*, p. 774-792; do.,

Was bedeutet معنّى als philosophischer Terminus?, *ibid.*, lxxiv. (1910), 391-396; Goldziher, *Aus der Theologie des Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*, Islam, iii. (1912), 213-347; do., *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, 2nd ed., Heidelberg 1925, ch. 3; Nallino, *Di una strana opinione attribuita ad al-Ghāzī intorno al Cerano*, in *R.S.O.*, vii. (1916-1918), 421-428; do., *Sull'origine del nome dei Mu'tazilīti*, *ibid.*, p. 429-454; do., *Rapporti fra la dottrina mu'tazilīta e quella degli Ḥanbalīti dell'Africa settentrionale*, *ibid.*, p. 455-560; do., *Sul nome di "Qadiriyya"*, *ibid.*, p. 461-466; Andrae, *Die Perzan Muhammad*, Stockholm 1917, p. 108-116, 139-145; v. Arénson, *De Ophémiat van het Zaiditische Imamāt in Yemen*, Leyden 1919, introduction; Musignion, *La passion d'al-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, *passim*; Snouck Hurgronje, in *Chantepie de la Saunaye*, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* 2, Tübingen 1925, i., p. 722-738; Nyberg, introduction to the *Kitāb al-Intiqār* (s. below); do., *Zu den Grundrissen und zur Geschichte der Mu'tazila*, in *Éphémérides Orientales* publ. by O. Harrassowitz, N° 31 (1927), 10-12; do., *Zum Kampf zwischen Islam und Manichäismus*, in *O.L.Z.*, 1929, p. 426-441; Pretzl, *Die frühislamische Atomlehre*, in *Isl.* xix. (1931), 117-130; Strothmann, *Islamische Konfessionskunde und der Sektensbuch des Aḥmad*, *ibid.*, p. 193-242; Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932; al-Khalyātī, *Kitāb al-Intiqār wa 'l-Radd 'alā Ibn al-Rawandī al-muḥid*, *Le livre du triomphe*, ed. H. S. Nyberg, Cairo 1925; al-Ash'arī, *Mafāḥīṣ al-islāmīya*, ed. Ritter, Istanbul 1920-1933 (*Bibliotheca Islamica*, i., a-c); *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, in *W. Z. K. M.*, iv. (1890), p. 217-235; al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Farḥ*, Cairo 1910, p. 93-189; do., *Uṣūl al-Dīn*, Istanbul 1928; al-Salyid al-Murtadā, *Awālī*, Cairo 1325, i. 113-143; do., *Kitāb al-Saḥīḥ fī 'l-faḥm wa 'l-Nahd 'alā Kitāb al-Mughzī li 'l-Radd 'alā al-Djabbār*, lith. Teheran 1301; Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-Fiqal*; al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milāl*, ed. Cureton, p. 29-60; al-Idrī, *Mawāḥiṣ*, Cairo 1327, viii. 377-384; Sa'id al-Anṣārī, *Muṭabāt Dfānī al-Tiḥwī li-Muḥammad al-Tamīl*, *Shikil Academy Series*, vol. 14, London 1921 (fragments of the *Tafsīr* of the Mu'tazilī Abū Muslim Muḥ. b. Bahr al-Iṣḥānī, d. in 322; selections from the *Mafāḥīṣ* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī); *Abd al-Djabbār*, *Tamīl al-Kur'ān 'an li-Maḥīṣ*, Cairo (al-Ash'ariya press) 1329; Abū Raḥmān, *Kitāb al-Mawāḥiṣ fī 'l-Katāf haina 'l-Baḥrīya wa 'l-Baghdādīya*, ch. i., ed. by Biram (*Die atomistische Substantienlehre aus dem Buch der Streitfragen etc.*, Berlin 1902); do., *al-Mu'tazilāt: Being an Extract from the Kitāb al-Milāl wa 'l-Nahd* by al-Muḥid Ḥ. b. al-Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtadā, ed. by T. W. Arnold, Leipzig 1902; also the works mentioned in the text.

(H. S. NYBERG)

AL-MU'TAZZ BI 'LLĀH, ABU 'ABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD (OF AL-ZUBAIR) B. DJĀFAR, AN 'ABBĀSID

caliph, son of al-Mutawakkil and a slave-girl named Kabiṣa. After al-Mu'tazil had been forced to abdicate, al-Mu'tazz was proclaimed caliph on 4th Muharram 252 (Jan. 25, 866). When he wanted to get rid of the two Turkish generals Waṣīf and Bogha the younger, they got wind of his intentions and went back to Sāmarrā. On the other hand, he succeeded in putting his brother and successor designate al-Mu'ayyad to death and throwing the third brother Abū Aḥmad into prison. In the following year Waṣīf was killed by the troops when they mutinied for their pay and he attempted to appease them. After the death in Dhu 'l-Ḥiḍja 253 (Nov. 867) of the governor Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh [q. v.], trouble broke out in Baghdad and in the following year Bogha was murdered at the caliph's instigation. As the latter could not pay the troops they mutinied. Al-Mu'tazz applied to his mother who possessed immense wealth, but she refused to help him and at the end of Raddj 255 (July 869) the cruel and faithless caliph was deposed. He was put in a subterranean dungeon where he died of starvation in 3 days at the age of 24. In his reign the dynasty of the Tullunids was founded and Ya'qūb b. Laith [q. v.] was recognised as governor of Sijistān. The Kharrīdīn sacked al-Mawṣil and in Asia Minor the Muslims were defeated by the Byzantines. Cf. also the articles AL-MUTAWAKKIL, AL-MUSTAḤIR and AL-MUSTA'IN.

Bibliography: Ibn Kutaiba, *Kitaḥ al-Ma'arīf*, ed. Wustenfeld, p. 200; Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 593, 595, 603, 610-616; Tahari, ed. de Goeje, iii. 1388 *sqq.*; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ed. Paris, vii. 193, 273, 304, 364 *sqq.*; ix. 46, 52; *Kitāb al-Aghlāl*, see Guidi, *Tables alphabétiques*; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, vii. 32 *sqq.*; Ibn al-Tikṭāk, *al-Fakhri*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 332-335; Muhammad b. Shākir, *Faḥṣ al-Wafayāt*, ii. 185; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Iḥṣār*, iii. 287 *sqq.*; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 355, 374, 385 *sqq.*; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, p. 529 *sqq.*; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 528 *sq.*; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 171, 247, 311-313. (K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

MUTHALLATH, also MUTHALLATHA, plur. always *muthallathāt*, triangle; it forms the first category of plane surfaces bounded by straight lines (*al-baḥā'if al-mumṣṣṭaba al-mustakimāt al-ḥuṣūf*) (cf. al-Khwarizmi, *Mafāḥīṣ*, p. 206). Following Euclid's *Elements*, i., *Prop.* 24-29, the Arab mathematicians classify triangles from two points of view: either according to the sides (*ḥil'*, pl. *aḥlā'*) into equilateral (*al-muthallath al-mutawāṣṭi 'l-aḥlā'*, in Euclid *τρίγωνον ἰσοσκελές*), isosceles (*al-muthallath al-mutawāṣṭi 'l-ḥil' ain*, *τρίγωνον ἰσοκέλευς*) and scalene (*al-muthallath al-muthallath al-aḥlā'*, *τρίγωνον σκαλενόν*), or according to the angles (*ḥil'*, pl. *ḥawāṣṣ*), into right-angled (*al-muthallath al-ḥā'im al-aḥlā'*, *τρίγωνον ὀρθόγωνον*), obtuse-angled (*al-muthallath al-munfarid al-aḥlā'*, *τρίγωνον ὀβηρωγόνον*) and acute-angled (*al-muthallath al-ḥā'id al-aḥlā'* [*ḥawāṣṣ*], *τρίγωνον ἄκρωγόνον*).

In the equilateral triangle the base is called *al-ḥā'idā*, the apex *al-ra's*, the sides *al-ḥil'ān* (see above), in the right-angled triangle the hypotenuse is called *al-ḥuṣf*, i. e. "diameter" (because the hypotenuse represents the diameter of the circle described around the right-angled triangle); for the two sides the term *al-ḥil'ān* is generally used.

Muṣṣṭabāt al-muthallathāt as a technical term

means trigonometry (cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, i. 163).

MUTHALLATHA (always with the feminine ending) is a technical term in astrology. Astrology divides the zodiacal circle (*minṣajha* [q. v.]) into four *muthallathā* (Gr. *τρίγωνοι*, Lat. *trigona*, *triquetra*), each of which includes three signs 120° apart. These "are situated together in the trigonal plane" (*mutḥallith*, Gr. *τρίγωνοι*, Lat. *aspectus trinus*); the word *mutḥallith* itself is frequently found as a synonym of *muthallatha* which comes from the same root (*ḥ-l-th*) (cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, p. 162b).

In star nomenclature *Kawkab al-Muthallath* is the constellation of the (northern) Triangle (in Eratosthenes *Διαγώνιον*, in Ptolemy *Τρίγωνον*) which is adjoined in the east by Perseus in the north by Andromeda, in the west by Pegasus and in the south by Aries. According to Ptolemy (*Almagest*) and al-Sūfi (ed. Schjellerup, p. 123 ff.), it consists of three stars of the third magnitude and one of the fifth. The star at the apex (*a Trianguli*) is an astrolabe star and is called *Rā's al-Muthallath*. The latter name is found in *Libros del saber de astronomia del rey D. Alfonso X de Castilla* in the corrupted form "alcededes".

Bibliography: al-Khwarizmi, *Kitāb Maṣāliḥ al-Ulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leyden 1893; Codex Leidensis 399. 1. *Euclidis Elementa et interpretatione al-Hadickschadechicki*, Copenhagen 1893—1932, vol. 1; 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sūfi, *al-Kawābik wa 'l-Shu'ar* (*Description des étoiles fixes*), ed. H. C. F. C. Schjellerup, St. Petersburg 1874. (WILLY HARTNER)

AL-MUTṬI [See ALLAH, II.]

AL-MUTṬI LI 'LLAH, ABU 'L-KĀMM AL-FAṢL, an 'Abbāsīd caliph, son of al-Muṭṭadīr [q. v.], brother of al-Rādī and of al-Muttaqī [q. v.]. Al-Muṭṭi was a bitter enemy of al-Mustakfi [q. v.] and therefore went into hiding on the latter's accession and after Mu'izz al-Dawla [q. v.] had become the real ruler, al-Muṭṭi is said to have taken refuge with him and incited him against al-Mustakfi. After the deposition of the latter in Djumādī II or Shabān 334 (Jan. or March 946) al-Muṭṭi was recognised as caliph. His reign marks a very unfortunate period in the history of the 'Abbāsids. The caliph himself had not the slightest authority; the power was in the hands of Mu'izz al-Dawla and after his death (356 = 967) in those of his son Bakhtiyār. The Fātimids were growing more and more powerful and the Sāmānids also declined to recognise al-Muṭṭi as the legitimate suzerain. The Hamdānids were weakened by their wars with the Būyids and the Fātimids. In Baghdād the Sunnis and Shī'is were fighting one another and several Shī'ī usages were introduced by the Būyids who had 'Alid sympathies. At last the weak and sickly caliph was forced by the Turks to abdicate in favour of his son 'Abd al-Kārim al-Tā'ī (13th Dhū 'l-Ka'da 363 = August 5, 974). Al-Muṭṭi died in Muḥarram 364 (September—October 974) in Dair al-'Aḳūl.

Bibliography: Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* (ed. Patin), i. 29, ix. 48, 52; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), viii. 315, 338 sqq.; Ibn al-Tikīṭa, *al-Faḡhārī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 390 sq.; Muhammad b. Shākir, *Fawā'id al-Wafāyāt*, ii. 125; Weil, *Gench. d. Chalifen*, iii. 1 sq. (K. V. ZETTERSTERN)

MUTLAQ (A.), part. pass. IV from *ḥ-l-q*, "to loose the bond (*ḥud*) of an animal, so as to let it free" (e.g. Muslim, *Ḍiḥād*, trad. 46; Abū Dawūd, *Ḍiḥād*, bāb 100). The term is also applied

to the loosening of the bowstring (Bukhārī, *Ḍiḥād*, b. 170), of the garments, the hair etc. Thence the common meaning absolute, as opposed to restricted (*muḥayyad*), and further the accusative *mutlaqan* "absolutely". The use of the term is so widely diffused, that a few examples only can be given.

In grammar the term *maf'ūl mutlaq* denotes the absolute object (cognate accusative), i.e. the objectivized verb of the sentence, such as "a sitting" in the sentence: he sat a sitting.

In the doctrine of the roots of *fiḥā* the term is applied to the *mutḥalliths* of the heroic age, the founders of the *mutḥalliths* who are called *mutḥallith mutlaq*, an epithet which none after them has borne (cf. *Ḍiḥād*).

In dogmatics the term is applied to existence, so that *al-wuḡūd al-mutlaq* denotes Allāh, as opposed to His creation, which does not possess existence in the deepest sense.

In ontology the term is also applied to existence (*wuḡūd*) in connection with the question of the nature of the latter. Here *al-wuḡūd al-mutlaq* is opposed to *al-wuḡūd al-maḥmūl li 'l-mawḍū'*. See the art. *MANTIḤ*, supra p. 259b.

In other surroundings the term has the meaning "general" as opposed to *ḥaṣṣ*; cf. the definition in *Ḍiḥād*: *Ṭa'īfāt*. *Mutlaq* denotes the one without specification. Cf. further the *Dictionary of the Technical Terms*.

On the meaning of *rawi mutlaq* in prosody, cf. Freytag, *Darstellung d. arab. Verskunst*, Bonn 1830, p. 311.

Bibliography: de Sacy, *Grammaire arabe*, second ed., I. Paris 1831, p. 208; Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 3rd ed., new impression, Cambridge 1933, ii. 54 sqq.; M. S. Howell, *A Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language*, Allahābad, 1883, i. 139—142; Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de wsh. wet*, Leyden 1925, p. 24; Snouck Hurgronje in *Z. D. M. G.*, liii. 140 sqq. (*Verpr. Geschiedenis*, ii. 385 sqq.); Houton, *Die speculative und positive Theologie im Islam*, Leipzig 1912, Anhang I and II, s. v.; al-Jāḥi, *Mawḍūf*, Constantinople 1239, p. 184 sq.; al-Ḍiḥādī, *Ṭa'īfāt*, ed. Flügel, p. 233; Muḥ. Aḥ. al-Tahānawī, *Dict. of the Technical Terms*, Calcutta 1862, p. 921—924. (A. J. WENNING)

AL-MUTTAQI LI 'LLAH, ABU IḤSĀN IBRĀHĪM, an 'Abbāsīd caliph, son of al-Muṭṭadīr [q. v.] and a slave-girl named Khālīḥ. In Rabi' I 329 (Dec. 940) he succeeded his brother al-Rādī [q. v.]; by this time the caliphate had sunk so low that five days passed after the death of al-Rādī before steps were taken to choose his successor. Al-Muttaqī at once confirmed the Amir al-Umair Bedikem [q. v.] in office; after his death however, the Turks and Dailāms in the army began to quarrel with one another. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Bayḍī [see AL-BAYḌĪ] seized the capital but could only hold it a few weeks. He was driven out by the Dailāmi chief Kūrtigin who however was soon overthrown by Ibn Rā'ik [q. v.]. When Abū 'Abd Allāh sent his brother Abū 'l-Ḥasan with an army against Baghdād, the caliph and Ibn Rā'ik escaped to al-Mawṣil to the Hamdānids (Djumādī II 330 = Feb.—March 942). After the assassination of Ibn Rā'ik the Hamdānīd Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan was appointed Amir al-Umair and received the honorific title of Nāṣir al-Dawla. The occu-

pation of Baghdad offered him no difficulty; the Turkish general Tuzun rebelled a little later and Nāṣir al-Dawla had to evacuate the capital which was entered by Tuzun in Ramaḍān 331 (June 943) as Amīr al-Umār'. Al-Muttaqī soon found himself forced to seek the protection of the Hamānids again and at the beginning of the following year (autumn 943) he fled to al-Mawṣil. Then he settled in al-Raqqa but when Tuzun made peace with Nāṣir al-Dawla, al-Muttaqī appealed for help to the Ikhshīd of Egypt; the latter came to al-Raqqa in Rajab 332 (March 944); the negotiations however were unsuccessful and finally the caliph put his trust in Tuzun, who after assuring him of his loyalty by the most sacred oaths had him blinded (Safar 333 = Oct. 944). Al-Muttaqī was then declared to have been deposed. He died in Sha'bān 357 (July 968).

Bibliography: Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, ed. Paris, viii. 344—376; ix. 48, 52; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, viii. 275 sq.; Ibn al-Tiktākī, *al-Fakhr*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 385—388; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, iii. 409 sq.; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, ii. 680 sq.; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 566 sq.; Muir, *The Caliphate in its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, p. 575 sq.; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 56, 195. (K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

AL-MUTTAQĪ AL-HINDĪ, author of several works in Arabic, whose real name was 'Alī b. Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Abd al-Malik b. Kāpī KHĀN al-SABĪH al-KADIRI, was born at Burhānpūr in Gūjārāt of a respectable family of Dīwānpūr [q.v.]. He first joined the Cīṣṭī order, as a disciple of 'Abd al-Karīm b. Shāh Bājā at Burhānpūr and afterwards went to Multān where he read with Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Muttaqī, after whom he is called al-Muttaqī. He spent the remaining portion of his Indian life at Aḥmadābād during the reign of Bahādur Shāh, but left India for Mecca after Ḥumāyūn defeated Bahādur Shāh in 941 (1534). He spent his last days in Mecca where he lived for thirty years more, during which he read with Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī and others and entered the Kāfirī and Shādhilī orders. His high spiritual life and learning led many people to become his *murīd* (spiritual disciple). He died a highly respected saint and scholar in Mecca 975 (1567) at the age of ninety. He is the author of the following works:

1. *al-Burhān fī 'Alāmāt Maḥdī aḥqir al-Zamān*, an account of the Mahdī and of his coming at the end of the world;
2. *al-Burhān al-Jalī fī Ma'rīfat al-Walī*;
3. *Talḥīq al-Bayān fī 'Alāmāt Maḥdī aḥqir al-Zamān*;
4. *Dīwān al-Kalīm fī 'I-Mawṣi' wa 'l-Hikām*, a collection of sentences on morals;
5. *Ḥidāyat Rabbi 'inda Faḥād al-Murabbī*;
6. *al-Hikām*;
7. *Kanz al-Ummāl fī Sunan al-Aḥwāl*, a combined edition of Suyūṭī's *Djāmī al-Masūdī* or *Djāmī al-Dīwānī* or *al-Djāmī al-kabīr*, newly arranged according to chapters (printed in Haidarābād 1312);
8. *al-Mawṣi' al-'aliya fī Djāmī al-Hikām al-ḥurūfīya wa 'l-hadīthīya*;
9. *Minhāj al-Ummāl fī Sunan al-Aḥwāl*, an abridgement of Suyūṭī's well-known alphabetically arranged work *al-Djāmī al-ṣāghir* containing a collection of traditions from authentic sources,

newly arranged according to chapters together with a supplement;

10. *Mukhtasar al-Nihāya*, an abridgement of Dhazārī's dictionary of traditions entitled *al-Nihāya fī Ghārīb al-Hadīth*;

11. *Nisām al-Mi'yār wa 'l-Mi'yār li-Ma'rīfat Marātib al-Nās*, a short tract on the classification of man.

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Hakīm al-Dihlawī, *Aḥqār al-Aḥqār*, p. 249; 'Azād al-Bilgrāmī, *Subḥat al-Mardīn*, p. 43; Faḥr Muḥammad al-Lāhūtī, *Ḥadīth al-Hanafīya*, p. 382; Siddīq Ḥasan al-Kannūjī, *Aḥḥād al-Ulūm*, p. 895; Rieu, *Persian Cat.*, p. 356; and Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 384. (M. HADAYET HOSAIN)

MUWALLAD (A.) means properly one born of non-Arab parents but brought up among Arabs. This is how it is usually to be translated in the Hadīth (e.g. Malik, *Nihāya*, bāb 42). Later it was used to distinguish from the new convert the children of converts, who were brought up in Islām. The common translation "renegade" is wrong as is the *adoptado* of Pedro de Alcalá. In theory they had equal rights with the old Muslims but the caliph 'Umar in the interest of the state's finances ordered that they should pay the land-tax (*kharāj*) while the old Muslims only paid a tenth of the yield. The muwalladūn were of special importance in Muslim Spain, especially from the time of 'Abd al-Rahmān II, when conversions to Islām became more and more numerous. Some even retained their old family-names (Banū Angelino, Banū Sabarico). This section of the population among whom were often crypto-christians (*Christiani occulti*) played the largest part in the frequent revolutions against Muslim authority in Spain.

The post-classical poets were called muwalladūn in contrast to the *islāmīyān*, their language was no longer considered a model of grammar, lexicography and prosody. The boundary between the two lies about the end of the first century. Among best known muwalladūn were al-Buḥārī, al-Mutanabbī and, according to some, also al-Farāsidī and Djarīr.

Bibliography: The dictionaries; v. Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, ii. 154; Dory, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Leyden 1932, i. 283 sq.; E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane*, Paris 1932, p. 18 sq.

(HEFFENING)

MUWASHSHAH, MUWASHSHAHJA or TAWSHIḤ, an ode or poem intended to be sung, is so called by comparison with the *wishāḥ*, which is a double belt ornamented with pearls and rubies or a band of leather studded with pearls which a woman wears across her body from the shoulder to the opposite hip, thus going round the body. The muwashshah is composed of two parts one of which contains complete lines and the other hemistiches.

The muwashshah, which belongs to the "seven kinds or branches" (*ṣunūn*) considered to be post-classical, is composed according to the rules of the purest syntax.

The muwashshah is divided into "stanzas", the technical name of which is not exactly settled; they are usually called *ḡun* or *ḡal*, i.e. its most perfect form, it usually begins with one or two lines, a sort of prelude to the actual poem; this prelude is called *madḥab*, *ḡhūn* or *maṭla'*; we

also sometimes find the *taqrīf*; if it is a distich, the first hemistich of each verse rhyme together and the two second hemistiches also. If A be the rhyme of the first hemistich and B that of the second, the *madhhab* or *ghayn* is of the following form:

2 lines	{	_____ A _____ B
		_____ A _____ B
1 line	}	_____ A _____ B

After the *madhhab* or *ghayn* come the stanzas proper called: *ghuz'* or *hail*.

The *ghuz'* or *hail* contains two parts: the first consisting of a varying number of hemistiches with the same or alternate rhymes, which however are never those of the *madhhab* or *ghayn*. This first part is called *dawr* or *simf*. The second part which is exactly like the *madhhab* or *ghayn*, both as regards number of lines and rhymes, is called *ḥaṣṣa* or *ḥuṣṣa*. The stanza therefore presents the following form:

First type	_____ C
	_____ C
	_____ C
	_____ A _____ B
Second type	_____ C
	_____ D
	_____ C
	_____ D
	_____ C
	_____ D
	_____ A _____ B
	_____ A _____ B

The rhyme or rhymes of the *dawr* or *simf* vary from one stanza to another; but those of the *ḥaṣṣa* are always the same as those of the *madhhab* or *ghayn*. The *ḥaṣṣa* is a sort of refrain which does not fail to make an impression on the listeners by the repetition of the same sounds and rhythms.

These are the most usual models of the *muwashshah*; but the poets, not being bound by hard and inflexible rules, have, each according to his temperament, exercised their imagination considerably in this genre.

Thus Ibn Sana' al-Mulk composed a poem in which the first foot of each hemistich is *fā'ilun* and has the same rhyme as the hemistich of which it forms part. This is the scheme:

<i>madhhab</i>	{	_____ A _____ A
or <i>ghayn</i>	}	_____ A _____ A
<i>dawr</i>	{	_____ B _____ B
or <i>simf</i>	}	_____ B _____ B
<i>ḥaṣṣa</i>	{	_____ A _____ A
		_____ A _____ A
		_____ C _____ C
<i>dawr</i>	{	_____ C _____ C
		_____ C _____ C
<i>ḥaṣṣa</i>	{	_____ A _____ A
		_____ A _____ A

etc.

The blind poet of Tudela shortened the hemistiches which gives a more lively rhythm:

_____ A _____ B
_____ C
_____ A _____ B
_____ C

It would be wearisome to give all the forms of stanzas which are found in the *muwashshah*.

From the point of view of metre, very great variety is found. Martin Hartmann recognised 146 which may go back to the 16 classical metres. Three other types which are found do not seem to be derived from any well defined form:

maf'ūlātū new type
mutafā'ilātū type approaching the *ḥaṣṣa*
mutaf'ilātū *mutaf'ilūn*

a type which might be connected with *dū hail*.

From the historical point of view, Freytag thinks that the *muwashshah* belongs to an old type which has now disappeared. There is certainly no doubt that the pre-Islamic poets composed poems similar to the *muwashshah*; these are known as *musammat*; we find here again the word *simf* applied to the longest part of the stanza or couplet of the *muwashshah*.

The *musammat* began with an opening line with *taqrīf*; then came four hemistiches rhyming together on a different rhyme from the first line; next came a fifth hemistich rhyming with the first and completing the stanza. A new stanza followed with four hemistiches not rhyming with those of the first stanza; it ended with a hemistich rhyming with the opening line. Here is the scheme:

_____ A _____ A
_____ B _____ B
_____ B _____ B
_____ A
_____ C _____ C
_____ C _____ C
_____ A

Ibn 'I-Kais is said to have composed a piece of this nature but it does not seem to be genuine.

The inventor of the *muwashshah* is said to have been Maqaddam b. Mu'āfā, a poet at the court of 'Abd Allāh b. Muhammad al-Marwānī who ruled in Spain (275—300 = 888—913). He was followed by Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, author of *al-'Iḥd al-farid*. Their *muwashshah* are however believed to be lost.

The first to shine in this genre was 'Ubādat al-Qazās, a poet of al-Ma'tasim b. Šamādīh, prince of Almería. Al-A'lam al-Baṭalyawī records that he heard Abū Bakr b. Zuhri say: "All the composers of *muwashshah* are simply children beside 'Ubādat al-Qazās". In the opinion of all men of letters no contemporary writer could rival 'Ubādat al-Qazās in the days of the *mulūk al-fawā'id*.

After him comes Abū 'Abd Allāh Iḥdā' Ra'sah, the court poet of al-Ma'mūn b. Dhū 'I-Nūn, prince of Toledo. In the time of the Almoravid dynasty there flourished a group of poets among whom may be mentioned the blind poet of Tudela, Ibn Bakr, Abū Bakr b. al-Abyaḍ, Abū Bakr b. Rādja.

In the time of the Almohads the most famous

composers of muwashshah were Muhammad b. Ali al-Faḍl and Ibn Hālyūn. At a later period we have Ibrahim b. Sahl al-Iṣṣā'ī, a poet of Seville and of Ceuta, Ibn Khalf al-Djazzā'ī (of Algiers), Ibn Khazār of Bougie, the vizier and celebrated man of letters, Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khatīb.

Eastern poets have followed those of Spain. One of them, Ibn Sana' al-Mulk al-Miṣrī (551—608 = 1156—1212), acquired a reputation in both east and west.

As to the subjects of the muwashshah they are the same as those of the traditional *qasidas*; but as they are composed with the definite object of being sung to the accompaniment of stringed instruments they are usually love-poems.

On the musical origins of the muwashshah see the article *Ṭarīk*.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolegomena*, transl. de Slane, Paris 1868, iii. 422; 'Abd al-Wahid al-Marrākushī, *al-Bayān*, Leyden 1881, p. 63; transl. Fagnan, Algiers 1893, p. 77; Ibn Abūhi, *Muṣṭafā*, Būlak 1292, ii. 258; al-Mubīhi, *Khulāṣat al-Aḥbar*, Cairo 1284, i. 108; Ibn Rashīq, *al-Umda*, Cairo 1325 (1907), i. 118; Muḥammad Diyāb, *Tarīkh Adīb al-Lughat al-Uṣṣā'iyā*, Cairo n.d., i. 129; Muḥammad Taḥat, *Ḥāyat al-Arab fī Šimā' Šār al-Arab*, Cairo 1316 (1898), p. 93; Muḥammad al-Dumanhūrī, *Ḥāḍira 'ala l-Kāfi*, Cairo 1316, p. 36; Aḥmad al-Ḥāshimī, *Muḥabba al-Dhahab fī Šimā' Šār al-Arab*, Cairo n.d., p. 132; 'Abd al-Ḥādī Naḍja al-Abyārī, *Šimā' al-Muṣṭafā' fī Šimā' al-Muṣṭafā'*, Būlak 1283, i. 381; Ibrāhīm Miḥnā'īl Fāṭṭa, *al-Baṣṭ al-Ḥāfi fī Šimā' Šār al-Arab wa l-Kawāfi*, Bairūt 1890, p. 103; L. Cheikho, *Ḥis al-Aḍab*, Bairūt 1908 (6th ed.), p. 422; Būstānī, *Ḥāḍira al-Muṣṭafā'*, Bairūt 1870, p. 2252 (sub *wa-ḥ-ḥ*); Ibn Khallikān, *transl. de Slane*, London 1843—1871, i. introd. p. xxxv; Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verfassungen*, Bonn 1830, p. 421; Martin Hartmann, *Über die Muwallah genannte Art der Strophen Gedichte bei den Arabern* (Extr. from the *Actes du X^{ème} Congr. des Orient.*, Genova 1894), Leyden 1896; do., *Das arabisches Strophen Gedicht*, i. *Das Muwallah*, Weimar 1897; H. Gies, *Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des neueren arabischen Verses*, Leipzig 1879, p. 17; Hammer-Purgstall, art. on the *muwashshah* and the *zajal*, in *J.A.*, 1839, 1849; A. F. von Schack, *Poesie und Kunst der Araber in Spanien und Sicilien*, Berlin 1865; Guyard, in *J.A.*, 1876; Grangerot de Lagrange, *Anthologie arabe*, Paris 1825, p. 200; W. Lane, transl. of the *1001 Nights*, ii. 288, note 52; Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhahira*, note on the *muwashshah* in *Revue de l'Acad. ar. de Damas*, 1922, p. 380. (MOH. BENSCHENEN)

AL-MUẒAFFAR, the honorific *laqab* by which the second of the 'Amirid dictators of Muslim Spain is best known, the son of the celebrated al-Manṣūr [q.v.]. **Abū MARWĀN** AND **AL-MALIK** IBN **Abū 'AMIR** AL-MUẒAFFAR. He was invested with the office of *ḥāfi* by the caliph Hishām II, on the death of his father, on 28th Ramaḍān 392 (Aug. 10, 1002) and ruled as absolute master the territory of al-Andalus until his death of angina as he was setting out on an expedition against Castile on 16th Šafar 399 (Oct. 20, 1008).

The relatively short period of the *ḥāfi*ate of 'Abd al-Malik al-MuẒaffar was until quite recently almost unknown for lack of documents and in his

Histoire, Dory had to pass it over almost in silence in spite of its importance in the history of the early 11th century in Spain. I have been able in the course of recent years to fill this gap, thanks to the discovery of accounts of the *ḥāfi*ate of al-MuẒaffar in the *Dhahira* of Ibn Bassām and the *Bayān* of Ibn 'Idhārī and the unpublished chapter devoted to him by Ibn al-Khatīb in his *l'māl al-l'ām*. The result is the discovery that the septennium of 'Abd al-Malik was for Muslim Spain a period of peace and prosperity, a regular golden age, just on the eve of the first upheavals which preceded the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate; the chroniclers compare this period to the first week of a marriage (*šabī' al-ʿarūs*; cf. Dory, *Suppl. Dict. Ar.*, i. 626—627).

Al-Manṣūr had actually left his son and successor an empire not only completely pacified and solidly organised but also enjoying an economic prosperity hitherto unprecedented. 'Abd al-Malik aimed at following scrupulously the line of conduct laid down for him in his father's last wishes: to preserve and justify the popularity of the 'Amirid régime by peace at home and the continual harassing of the Christian foe beyond the marches (*ḥuḡār*). Every year of MuẒaffar's rule was therefore marked by a summer expedition (*šāfi'a*) or a winter one (*ḡāfi'a*); in 393 (1003) he led his armies against Catalonia (*biṭāl al-Iṣṣā'iyā*), laid waste the country round Barcelona and destroyed 35 strongholds before returning to Cordova; in 395 (1005) an expedition was led against Castile by the *ḥāfi*; in the following year his objective was the town of Pampeluna [q.v.], which he seems to have approached but not reached; in 397 (1007) took place, against Catalonia, the expedition known as the "victorious" (*ḡāfi'a al-najr*): 'Abd al-Malik forced his way into Clania and carried off a vast booty. This triumph earned for him from the nominal sovereign the title of "Victor" (*al-MuẒaffar*) which henceforth replaced his previous *laqab* of Saif al-Dawla. In the course of the winter of 398 (1007—1008) there was an expedition which ended in the capture of a castle of San Martín which has not been identified. The last expedition undertaken by him as mentioned above came to nothing but at least enabled him to die like his father on the way to wage war on the infidel.

At home al-MuẒaffar maintained intact the strong administrative organisation which dated from the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III [cf. Umayyads, ii.] which al-Manṣūr had maintained intact, while removing from it the representatives of the Arab aristocracy. On his accession to office, he won the good graces of the Cordovans by reducing taxes by a sixth. He was easily able to dispose of several conspiracies against him. He left to his brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sanchio a heritage which the latter might easily have preserved if he had not at once exasperated his subjects against him by displaying a hateful partiality and attempting to arrogate to himself the caliphate completely.

Bibliography: Ibn Bassām, *al-Dhahira*, vol. iv (my own MS.); Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-muḡrib*, vol. iii., ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1930, p. 3—37, and transl. in the new edition by the same of the *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne* of R. Dory, Leyden 1932, iii. 185 sqq.; Ibn al-Khatīb, *l'māl al-l'ām fī man ḡāfi'a ḡābi al-Iṣṣā'iyā min Muṣṭafā' al-l'ām*, the part referring to the history of Spain, ed. E.

Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934 (in print), p. 97 sq.; al-Makharri, *Nafḥ al-Fīḥ* (Analekten), ed. Leyden, index; Ibn Khaldūn, *Iḥār*, iv.; E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane au X^e siècle, Institutions et vie sociale*, Paris 1932, index.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL.)

AL-MUZAFFAR B. 'ALLI. [See 'IMRĀN B. SHĀHIN.]

AL-MUZAFFAR 'OMAR B. AIVER. [See AIVU-RIDES, HAMA.]

MUZAFFAR AL-DĪN, fifth Shāh of Persia of the Kādjar [q.v.] dynasty, was born on March 25, 1853. He was Shāh Nāṣir al-Dīn's second son, the eldest son Zill al-Saltān being of lower birth by his mother. As crown prince Muzaḥfar al-Dīn had been some time governor of Adharbāidjān (a description of him as crown prince in *Curzon, Persia and the Persian Question*, i. 413). After his father's assassination Muzaḥfar al-Dīn was enthroned on June 8, 1896. With this new reign the rivalry between England and Russia for commercial and political influence in Persia became ever more apparent. The sympathy of the high officials, which was divided between the two powers, and the economic and military strength of the country was since long too weak to enable Persia to follow an independent policy. Under the relatively strong rule of Nāṣir al-Dīn popular discontent with the increasing misery had been suppressed; the new Shāh, however, though well-intentioned, did not possess the character of a strong ruler and, besides, did nothing to check the extravagancy of the court. His financial difficulties made Persia the debtor of Russia; in 1898, 1900 and 1901 considerable loans were given by Russia, guaranteed by large parts of the custom receipts, the collecting of the custom duties being administered by Belgian officials. A good deal of the borrowed money was used for the expensive journeys to Europe undertaken by the Shāh in 1900, 1902 and 1905. In the meantime, the condition of the people became more and more miserable; headed by some influential merchants and some high ecclesiastics they protested against the heavy taxes and the tariffs as fixed in the commercial agreements with Russia and England of 1903. The growing discontent took several forms: some wished to call in the Turkish Sultān as Caliph and at other times there were outbreaks against the Bābī's in Yazd and Isfahān. Besides there were special grievances against several high officials, amongst them the chief Belgian inspector of taxes. In December 1905 a popular movement took place in Teherān, with the aim of obtaining the deposition of the then grand vizier 'Ain al-Dawla (since 1903). An ever increasing number of merchants, mulla's and citizens took refuge (*hazf*) in the shrine of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm. At last the Shāh promised 'Ain al-Dawla's dismissal and some reforms, but in the course of the following year none of these promises were fulfilled. So in 1906 the discontent reached again a culminating point, directed this time by some more or less secret patriotic associations. In July large crowds of the people of the capital went with the mullas to Kum, to take refuge in the sanctuary there; at the same time the British Legation accorded asylum to a considerable number of merchants and citizens. The results were that on July 30 'Ain al-Dawla was dismissed and that on August 3, all the demands of the protesting people were granted, including

a constitution. The ecclesiastical leaders returned from Kum. There followed some friction with the government about the elections and other matters, but at last, on October 7, 1906, the first Persian *Majlis* or National Assembly was opened by the Shāh. The new *Majlis* had to face immediately some difficult problems and showed from the beginning its determination not to be a mere toy in the hands of the court party. Progress was hampered, however, by discussions amongst clerical and non-clerical members of the popular party, while there were disturbances in Tabriz, owing to the tyranny of the crown prince Muḥammad 'Ali. The Constitution (*Kānūn-i Asāsī*; q.v.) was ratified by the Shāh only on December 30, 1906. Muzaḥfar al-Dīn himself died on January 8, 1907 after a long illness, leaving his country to the eventful reign of Muḥammad 'Ali Shāh.

Bibliography: E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905—1909*, Cambridge 1910, p. 98 sqq.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

MUZAFFARIDS, a Persian dynasty. Their ancestors came from Arabia and had settled in Khurāsān at the time of the Muslim conquest, where they lived for several centuries. On the approach of the Mongols, the emir Ghiyāth al-Dīn Ḥādījī, with his three sons Abū Bakr, Muḥammad and Manṣūr, retired to Yazd. The two first named entered the service of the Atābeg of Yazd, 'Ala' al-Dawla, and when Ḥādījī [q.v.] marched on Baghdad, Abū Bakr followed him with 300 horse. After the capture of Baghdad he was sent with an army to the Egyptian frontier. Here he fell in an encounter with the Arab tribe of Khafāja whereupon his brother Muḥammad succeeded him as a vassal of the Atābeg of Yazd while Manṣūr remained with his father in the little town of Maibūdh near Yazd. Manṣūr had three sons, Muḥarrir al-Dīn Muḥammad, Zain al-Dīn 'Ali and Sharaf al-Dīn Muzaḥfar, the latter of whom became the ancestor of the dynasty of the Muzaḥfarids. Appointed governor of Maibūdh by Yūsuf Shāh, 'Ala' al-Dawla's son and successor, he cleared the hills of the robber hands from Shirāz and when Yūsuf Shāh, who had put to death the envoys of the Ilkhān Arghūn had to take to flight and went to Sīstān, Muḥammad followed him but left him on the way and went to Kirmān where he was kindly received by Sultān Djalāl al-Dīn Sūrghatmush Kara Khitai (685 = 1286—1287). After some time he returned to Yazd and was presented to Arghūn who took him into his service. He was also on good terms with Arghūn's successors Galkhātū and Ghāṣān. The latter appointed him *amir-i hasāra* "commander of a thousand", and after the accession of Uljāitū (703 = 1303—1304) he was given custody of the roads from Ardistan to Kirmānshāh and from Herāt and Marw to Abarkūh. Muzaḥfar died on 13th Dhū l-Ka'da 713 (March 1, 1314). He was succeeded by his 13 year old son Muḥarrir al-Dīn Muḥammad who is described as brave and devout but at the same time cruel, bloodthirsty and treacherous. He continued to live at the court of Uljāitū; on the latter's death in Shawwāl 716 (Dec. 1316) and the accession of his son Abū Sa'īd he returned to Maibūdh. Along with the lord of the southern coast of Persia, the emir Kaikhosraw B. Mahmūd Shāh Indjā, he very soon fell upon the Atābeg of Yazd, Ḥādījī Shāh, and succeeded in taking

the town from him (718 or 719 = 1318 or 1319). A short time after this event the people of Satalin, the Nikūstārs, arose in rebellion; Muhammad attacked them and their leader Nawrūz was defeated and slain. The rebels however gathered together again and Muhammad had to fight no less than 21 battles before they were finally suppressed. After the death of Abū Sa'īd (736 = 1335-1336), complete chaos began and pretenders arose in different parts of the wide empire. The emir Abū Ishāq b. Mahmūd Shāh Indjū endeavoured to take the town of Yazd but was driven back. After some time Muhammad took this province from the Mongol governor in Kirmān, Malik Kutb al-Dīn. In the end however, Abū Ishāq succeeded in taking Shirāz and had the khutbas read and coins struck in his name. In Šafar 748 (May-June 1347) he set out to subjugate Kirmān and laid waste Sirdjān, but returned when he heard that Muhammad was ready to offer vigorous resistance to his advance. One of the viziers of Abū Ishāq then undertook a campaign against Kirmān but was defeated, whereupon Abū Ishāq put himself at the head of a new army and marched on Kirmān to take vengeance on Muhammad. But this effort also failed; Abū Ishāq was completely defeated and had to take to flight. In 751 (1350-1351) he went to Yazd and began to besiege the town but returned, having achieved nothing. In spite of all his failures however, Abū Ishāq never lost heart. In the following year he sent a new army under the emir Beg Dīkās to Kirmān and when the latter met Muhammad on the plain of Pandī Angūst in Djumādī I 753 (June-July 1352) a battle resulted. Dīkās was defeated. Muhammad to follow up his victory, went to Shirāz and laid siege to it. On the 3rd Shawwāl 754 (Nov. 1, 1353), the governor had to surrender and Abū Ishāq fled to Isfahān. In the following year Muhammad took the oath of homage to the 'Abbasid caliph in Egypt. Isfahān was now besieged. But as Muhammad had also to deal with other rebels the siege was somewhat prolonged. Resistance was in the end overcome and the town had to surrender. At the same time Abū Ishāq fell into his hands and was at once executed (21st Djumādī I 757 or 758 = May 22, 1356 or May 11, 1357). After Muhammad had defeated all his enemies and become undisputed lord of Fārs and the 'Irāk, an envoy appeared from the ruler of the Golden Horde, Džāni Beg Khān b. Urbeg Khān, who announced that the Khān had taken Tābriz and wanted to appoint Muhammad *yāzawāl* 'Marshal'. Muhammad gave the envoy an arrogant and unfriendly answer; but when he heard soon afterwards that Džāni Beg had returned home and left the emir Akhi Dīkās in Tābriz he decided to take the town. Soon afterwards the news of Džāni Beg's death arrived; Muhammad at once set out and met Akhi Dīkās at Miyanā in Ašharhāqjān. The latter was defeated and Muhammad entered Tābriz. But as a large army was approaching from Baghdad he dared not risk remaining but decided to begin to retreat. In Kamādān 759 (Aug. 1358) he was surprised and taken prisoner by his own son Shāh Shudjā (q.v.) who believed himself suppressed and ill-treated by his father, in concert with some other relatives. Muhammad was blinded and kept in prison for several years until his death at the end of Rabi' I 765 (Jan. 1364) at the age of 65. He was succeeded by Shāh Shudjā, who shortly before his death

appointed his son Zain al-'Abidin 'Alī his successor in Shirāz and gave his brother 'Imād al-Dīn Ahmad b. Muhammad the governorship of Kirmān. As soon as Zain al-'Abidin had begun to reign his cousin Shāh Yahyā b. Sharaf al-Dīn Muzaffar set out from Isfahān to attack him. Fortunately however, the threatened war was averted by a friendly agreement; but Shāh Yahyā could not stay long in Isfahān; he was driven out by the turbulent and fickle inhabitants and fled to Yazd whereupon Zain al-'Abidin appointed his maternal uncle Muzaffar-i Kāshī governor of Isfahān. In 787 (1385-1386) an envoy from Timūr arrived in Kirmān bringing assurances of his peaceful and friendly intentions and Sulṭān Ahmad hastened to offer his humble homage to the powerful conqueror. In Shawwāl 789 (Oct.-Nov. 1387) it was reported that Timūr had invaded the 'Irāk and that Muzaffar-i Kāshī had given him the keys of the towns and fortresses whereupon Zain al-'Abidin left Shirāz and went to Baghdad while Shāh Yahyā endeavoured to procure suitable gifts to pacify Timūr and ordered that a sufficient sum should be paid out to maintain his army. But when Timūr's officials appeared in Isfahān to take the money, they were attacked and killed by the citizens. In consequence the Mongols carried out a dreadful massacre among the people of Isfahān, in which 200,000 were said to have perished. Timūr then went to Fārs and confirmed Sulṭān Ahmad as lord of Fārs, the 'Irāk and Kirmān, whereupon he returned to Samarqand. When Zain al-'Abidin had left Shirāz, he met his cousin Shāh Manṣūr b. Sharaf al-Dīn Muzaffar at Shūstar and was at first welcomed, then suddenly attacked and imprisoned. Shāh Manṣūr was now able to occupy Shirāz without opposition, while Shāh Yahyā retired to Yazd. After the former had established himself securely in Shirāz, Zain al-'Abidin was released by his jailers and brought to Isfahān where the people welcomed him. In the meanwhile he had been persuaded by Shāh Yahyā to combine with Sulṭān Ahmad to take vengeance on Shāh Manṣūr. The plan failed however, the allies were defeated and Shāh Manṣūr seized the whole of the 'Irāk. When Zain al-'Abidin wanted to escape to Khurāsān, he was treacherously seized by the governor of al-Ray and brought to Shāh Manṣūr who at once had him blinded. The latter then tried to form a coalition against Timūr. In 795 (1393) however, Timūr left his winter quarters in Mazandarān and marched on Shūstar. After storming Kal'a-i Sefid which was considered impregnable he marched on Shāh Manṣūr's capital and a battle was fought near Shirāz. Although Shāh Manṣūr's chief emir abandoned him with most of his troops, the battle lasted till far into the night. The undismayed Muzaffarid fought with desperate courage, but finally fell in the mêlée, after fighting his way to Timūr and giving him two cuts with his sword, which however the strong helmet of the Mongol leader averted. Shāh Manṣūr's relations then submitted; nevertheless Timūr a week later (Radjab 795 = May 1393) had all the Muzaffarids executed.

Bibliography: Mahmūd Kutbi in Hamid Allāh Mustawfī-i Qazwīnī, *Tārīkh-i Guzide* (ed. Browne), i. 613-755; Delcromy, *Mémoires historiques sur la destruction de la dynastie des Muzaffarides*, in *J. A.*, ser. iv., vol. iv., v.; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii. 693-

716; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, II, 284 sq., 296 sq.; Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, p. 249 sq.; do., *Die Welt der Islamiten* (transl. Khalil Edhem), p. 395 sq.; E. de Lambaux, *Manuel de géologie et de chronologie*, Hanover 1927, p. 254.

(K. V. ZETTERSTERN)

MUZĀWADJA, a term in rhetoric (*badʿ*) which means the association of two things in the relation of condition (*ṣharf*) and result (*ḥisā*) and then employing the same combination for two other things in the same conditions. Here is an example from the *Diwān* of al-Baḥrī (Cairo 1329, p. 317):

*Idha ʿḥarabat yamman fa-faḍat dūmūʿuhā
tadhakkarat al-ḥarūʾa fa-faḍat dūmūʿuhā*

"When they (the boracemen) are one day fighting and their blood flows in profusion, they remember their bonds of kinship and their tears flow abundantly". The poet associates fighting with recalling bonds of kinship in the two parts of the conditional statement, then he completes the first by adding their blood flows in profusion and the second by saying their tears flow abundantly.

Bibliography: al-Kawmī al-Khaṭīb, *Talḥīṭ al-Mufaḥḥis*, Cairo 1322, p. 354; Ibn Hujjāt al-Hamawī, *Ḥisānat al-Adab*, Cairo 1304, p. 435; Garcin de Tassy, *Rhetor. et prosod. des lang. de l'Or. Mus.*, Paris 1873, p. 87.

(MOH. BENCHENEN)

al-MUZDALIFA, a place roughly half-way between Minā and ʿArafāt where the pilgrims returning from ʿArafāt spend the night between the 9th and 10th Dhu l-Hijja, after performing the two evening ṣalāts. On the next morning they set off before sunrise and climb up through the valley of Maḥasir to Minā. Other names for this place are *al-Maḥṣar al-ḥaram*, from Sūra II, 194 and *Djām* (cf. *Lailat Djām*: Ibn Saʿd, II/I, 129, 4); but *Djām*, according to another statement, comprises the whole stretch between ʿArafāt and Minā, both included, so that *Yamun Djām* (*Kitaḥ al-Aḥqām*, VI, 30, 11) is explained as the day of ʿArafāt and *Ayam Djām* as the days of Minā. The rites associated with the night of Muzdalifa go back to the old pagan period, which the Arabs themselves recognise when they make *Kuṣayl* introduce the kindling of the sacred fire in this night and say that guiding of the departure for Minā is a privilege of the family of Adnān.

The sacred place in Muzdalifa was the hill of *Kuṣayl* [q. v.]. Even after Muḥammad in deliberate contrast to the pagan practice had declared all Muzdalifa to be *maṣrif* [cf. HADDAD, I, c.], this hill retained its ancient sanctity. According to Azraqī, there was a thick round tower upon it on which the Muzdalifa fire was kindled; in the time of Hārūn al-Raṣīd it was a fire of wood; later it was illuminated with wax-candles. In the Muslim period a mosque was built about 400 yards from the tower, of which Azraqī gives a detailed description while Muḥaddam speaks of a place of prayer, a public fountain and a minaret. Burton also mentions a high isolated tower at Muzdalifa but the illumination in the night of Muzdalifa now takes place on the mosque.

Bibliography: Ibn Hujjāt, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 77; Ibn Saʿd, ed. Sachau, I/I, 41; II/I, 125, 129; Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, I, 1105, 1755;

Azraqī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 36, 130, 411 sqq., 415 sqq.; D. G. A., I, 17; II, 24; III, 76 sq.; Bakrī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 243 sq., 509 sq.; Vāḡīr, ed. Wüstenfeld, IV, 519 sq.; Burckhardt, *Kaṭīb in Arabien*, p. 412 sq.; Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Medina and Meccah*, III, 1856; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, p. 154—158; Wellhausen, *Reise arabischen Heidentums*, p. 81 sq., 120; Juyaboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Geistes*, p. 157.

(FR. BURL)

MUZDAWIJ means among philologists the use of two terms in which the form of one is changed to make it resemble that of the other. For example in this *ḥadīth* (Ibn Maḍja, *Sunan*, Cairo 1313, II, 246): *irḡīnu maʿārāt ḡair maʿḡūrāt*, "return home laden with sin and not with rewards", the word *maʿārāt* from the root *w-ḡ-r* has been changed into *maʿḡūrāt* to give it the same form as *maʿḡūrāt*. It is similar in the phrases (cf. *Lisān*, XIX, 353): *ḡhāyāt wa-ʿaḡḡyāt*, *ḡhāyāt wa-ʿuḡḡyāt*, *bi-l-ḡhāyāt wa-l-ʿuḡḡyāt* "mornings and evenings" in which the form of the first word has been adapted to that of the second.

The *muzdawij*, among rhetoricians, consists in establishing a kind of alliteration between two adjacent words having the same form, the same metrical quantity and the same rhyme (*rawi*), e.g. in this verse of the *Kurʾān* (XXVII, 22): *wa-ḡḡḡḡba min Sabaʾin bi-nabaʾin* "I have brought thee news from Sabaʾin where we have the resemblance between *Sabaʾin* and *nabaʾin*". We may give as another example this *ḥadīth* (Ibn al-Aṭṭar, *Nihāya*, Cairo 1911, IV, 291 under 2-7-7): *al-muʾminūna ḡaiyūna ḡaiyūna* "Believers are peaceable and mild in character" and the phrase (cf. *Lisān*, XVII, 280, 331) *ḡaiyūna ḡaiyūna*.

The object of the *muzdawij* among poets is to make the hemistichs of a poem rhyme together two by two. As a rule, it is only used in dialectic *uḡḡḡḡas* (like the *Alfiya* of Ibn Mālik, al-ʿAmīlī, however, in his *Kaṣḥāt* (Cairo 1302) has used it with the *uḡḡḡḡ* and *ramal* metres (p. 76, 78, 83). In Persian and Turkish, it is called *maḡḡḡḡ* (*maḡḡḡḡ*) and composed in the metres *ramal*, *ḡḡḡḡ* and *maḡḡḡḡ*. In this kind of composition, it is necessary that the last foot of the two hemistichs should be alike. Among the Arabs there is a kind of poem in the *uḡḡḡḡ* metre (and sometimes some verses follow strictly the *uḡḡḡḡ* metre) called *muzdawijāt* (a collection of them was published in Cairo in 1299); they consist of strophes of five hemistichs in which the first four hemistichs rhyme together and the fifth have a common rhyme. Sometimes the strophe has only four hemistichs, the first three rhyming together and the fourth rhyming jointly as in *al-ʿIḡm bi-Muḡḡḡḡ al-Kaḡm* of Ibn Mālik (Cairo 1329) and *Nail al-Arab fi Muḡḡḡḡḡ al-ʿArab* of Ḥasan Kowāldir al-Khalīf (Bulāḡ 1301).

Bibliography: Dḡurdjān, *Taʾrīḡāt*, Constantinople 1307, p. 142; Muḡḡḡḡ ʿAlī b. ʿAlī al-Tiḡḡḡḡ, *Kaḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡ al-Funūn*, Constantinople 1317, I, 199, 672; Muḡḡḡḡ b. Kaḡḡ al-Rānī, *al-Muḡḡḡḡ fi Maḡḡḡḡ al-ʿArab*, Leyden 1909, p. 390; Garcin de Tassy, *Rhetorique et prosodie des langues de l'Or. Musul.*, Paris 1873, p. 375.

(MOH. BENCHENEN)

AL-MUZZAMMIL, title of sūra lxxiii, taken from the first verse: "O thou wrapped up", viz. Muhammad, who wrapped himself up in his garment or was wrapped up by others. For explanations of the allusion cf. Sale's note as well as the commentaries on the Qur'an. Variants of al-muz-

zammil, which stands for *al-muzammamil*, are *al-muzammal*, *al-muzammil* (Baidāwī).

Bibliography: Besides the works mentioned in the art., cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte der Qurān*, I, Leipzig 1909, p. 98.

N

AL-NABA', title of sūra lxxviii, taken from the opening verses: "Concerning what do the unbelievers ask questions of one another? Concerning the great news". According to the commentaries the great news alluded to is the resurrection, the subject of lively discussions among the Meccans.

Bibliography: The commentaries and translations of the Qur'an; Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qurān*, I, Leipzig 1909, p. 104.

NABATAEANS, an Arab people who lived in ancient times in Arabia Petraea. — As early as the seventh century B. C. the Nabayāti are mentioned by Assurbanipal (*Kellinschr. Bibl.*, II, 216 sq.). Whether the Nabayāti of the Old Testament are to be identified with them is uncertain (against the identification: Nöldeke in Schenkel's *Bibelleskon*, s. v. Nabatäer; for it amongst others: Mušl, *Arabia Deserta*, New York 1937, p. 492). The Nabataeans were never completely subjected either by the Assyrians, or the Medes, Persians or the Macedonian kings (Diodor. II, 48). In 312 B. C. Antigonos sent two expeditions against them without success. They were then a nomadic people of shepherds and traders, with a few natural fortresses like Petra, Bozra, Salkhad, al-Hidjir which served as depots for their arms and riches. Living round the Dead Sea they exploited from time to time the remunerative asphalt deposits on its eastern shore. They were often on friendly terms with their neighbours; e. g. with the Jews under the Maazabers and especially with the Salamians (Arab. Sulaim; cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, II, 594, s. v. Birma), with whom according to Stephanos Byzantios and the testimony of the Nabataean inscriptions, they were in close alliance (cf. SULAIM N. MANOJA and B. MORITZ, *Salamii*, in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencykl.*, vol. I, A, col. 1824 sq.). The capital of the kingdom, called Nabatān in the inscriptions, was Petra on the Djabal Hārūn, according to Nöldeke (*Z. D. M. G.*, xxv, 259 sq.) Hebrew Sela', Arab. Ḥiṣn Sal' in the Wādī Mušl in the hills of al-Sharā (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 117, 13; *Muhtariḥ*, p. 252, s.), while Mušl (*Arabia Petraea*, II, 337, note 2, on p. 318) identifies this with Kāṣr es-Sel'. The ruins reveal a peculiar mixture of Nabataean and Hellenistic architecture while they have yielded remarkably few Nabataean inscriptions (on these see Dalman, *Petra und seine Felskelligtümer*, 1908; do., *Neue Petra-Forschungen*, 1912; Bachmann, Watzinger, Wiegand, *Petra*, 1921; A. B. W. Kennedy, *Petra, its History and Monuments*, 1925).

The Nabataean kingdom comprised the lands

of southern and eastern Palestine as well as Idumaea and Peraea, from 88 B. C. also Hawrān; twice (85 B. C. and c. 34–62 A. D., perhaps also in the interval, cf. Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.*, v, 476, note 3), Damascus also belonged to it (cf. I, p. 903). In the southwest it stretched over the ancient Midian as far as the coast of the Red Sea where 'Obodat I founded the town of Hawrān (Steph. Byz., s. v. Αὐαρά, probably = Αὐαὴ ἡμεῖς, now perhaps al-Hawrā'), in the interior as far as al-'Ula (Dedan) and al-Hidjir [q. v.] on the frontier of the Ḥijāz. The Nabataeans also penetrated into the nome of Arabia in the eastern Nile delta as an inscription from Tell el-Shughafīye in the Wādī Tūmīlāt shows (Clermont-Ganneau, *Les Nabatéens en Egypte*, in *Recueil d'Arch. Or.*, VIII, [1924], p. 229–257). A number of their kings can be dated with approximate exactness: Hārithat (Aretas) I 169 B. C., Hārithat II c. 110–96, 'Obodat (Obodas) I c. 90, Rabb'el Rabilos I c. 87, Hārithat III (Ἀρέτας Φιλάδελφος) c. 86–62, ['Obodat II c. 62–47?], Māliku (Malchus) I c. 47–30, 'Obodat II (III?) before 25–c. 9 B. C., Hārithat IV Kāhem-'ammeh (Φιλάδαμος) c. 9 A. D. — 40 A. D., Māliku II 40–70/71, Rabb'el II Zūrāy 70/71–106 A. D. (Māliku III, 106 A. D.; cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil*, VIII, 247). The real founder of their power is said to have been king Erotimos, who is probably the same as Hārithat III whose reign fell in the period of decline of the Seleucid empire (E. Täubler, in *Klio*, x, 251–253). As "allies", the Nabataeans were able to maintain to some extent their independence of the Romans. At a very early date, like the Palmyrans, they attained through their trade the position of monopolists in Nearer Asia. At the beginning of the Roman empire they dropped their nomadic life and became peacefully settled. Just as in the east they have left their inscriptions particularly on the trade-routes followed by their caravans, e. g. from Petra to Damascus and Tadmor, to Forat at the mouth of the Euphrates, to Gerrha (Arab. al-Djār'a near al-Katīf), to the Sinai peninsula and Egypt and to Gaza, so we find in the Roman empire epigraphic traces of Nabataean merchants as far as Upper Egypt (Dendera), in Miletus, Rome and Patroli. In 106 A. D. the emperor Trajan conquered Petra and made the most important part of the Nabataean kingdom the Roman *Provincia Arabia*. The remainder of the territory left to the Nabataeans in the desert suffered economic ruin about 200 A. D. when the Palmyrans gradually obtained control of the remunerative carrying trade.

The king, who was assisted by a vizier, the highest official (Greek *ἐπίσκοπος*), with the title "brother", had under him a number of *shakhs* (*ἑταῖροι*) of the separate tribes (*φύλας*); we also find the titles *eparchos* and *strategos*. The high social position of women is noteworthy; they could possess property independently and dispose of it as they liked (Nöldeke in Euting, *Nabat. Inschr.*, p. 79 *sq.*); the coins often bear portraits of the queens (Kammerer, *Petra et la Nabatène*, Paris 1929, p. 377; *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Greek Coins: Arabia etc.*, London 1922, Plates I and II).

Our only source for Nabataean law is their epitaphs, the threats of punishment in which are based on a formula of the Greek law of property and contract which elsewhere is only found in tomb-inscriptions in Asia Minor (B. Keil, *Hermet.*, xlili. [1908], p. 567—572).

As nomads, simple in their customs and rarely owning slaves, the Nabataeans, as a trading people, had a great respect for wealth. The mention in inscriptions of physicians, wise men and poets, shows a certain level of intellectual culture. Whether circumcision was practised among them is uncertain (Kammerer, *op. cit.*, p. 375 *sq.*).

The Nabataean pantheon is known to us mainly from tomb and votive inscriptions. The principal god was Dushara [cf. DHU 'L-SHARA], the principal goddess Allāt [cf. AL-LAT]; the goddesses Manāthu (= Aram. M'nāwāth; cf. MANĀṬ), Kaisha, Nutaba and Hubal [q.v.] are also mentioned. Their kings were perhaps worshipped as gods after their deaths (cf. C. I. S., ii. 354).

As Nöldeke was the first to emphasise, the Nabataeans were pure Arabs as their names show; but in written intercourse they used Aramaic, the usual written and business language of Nearer Asia. Many aramaisms thus entered their language in the north of the country (like *ḥabrā*, *nafḥā*, *arwā*). Arab writers therefore even used the term "Nabataean" for "Aramaic"; in the southern Hijāz (al-Hijāz) on the other hand, the Nabataean Arabic retained its greatest purity; the Arabic script developed out of the Nabataean cursive at the close of the ancient period [cf. ARABIA, d.].

In the Muslim period the Arabs called those inhabitants of Syria and of the 'Irāk, who were neither shepherds nor soldiers, "Nabataeans" (Ibn al-Kalbi in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, iii. 634), a term also applied in a somewhat contemptuous tone to the Aramaic-speaking peasants (Nöldeke, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xiv. 124). When then we find "Nabataeans" (Nabī, Nabī etc.) mentioned in Malaya as well as on the Djāhān, in Syria, on the Khābūr and in the 'Irāk, in 'Omān and Bahrain, the name is not to be taken in the ethnographical sense (Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 125). As the grammarians of the 'Irāk paid special attention to the "Nabataean" language of the Aramaic country people, by "Nabataeans" was frequently meant the inhabitants of the 'Irāk and especially of the Baṣṣā (Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 127).

The inhabitants of the district of Hīsmā in the most northern part of the Hijāz, once the Djūdham [q.v.], now the Hawāṣit [q.v.], are regarded as the descendants of the Nabataeans [cf. ARABIA, a.].

Bibliography: Nöldeke, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xiv. 1871, p. 122—128; J. Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, Berlin 1885; do., *Sinaitische Inschriften*, Berlin 1891; do., *Tagebuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, ii., Leyden 1914, p. 293 (Index);

C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, ii., Cambridge 1888, p. 638 (Index); C. I. S., i/1, 1889, p. 181 *sq.*; ii/1, 1907, p. 1 *sq.*; Clermont-Ganneau, *Revue d'Arch. Or.*, vol. i—viii, *passim*; H. Vincent, *Les Nabatéens, in Revue Bibl.*, vii., 1898, p. 567—588; Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, i. 4, Leipzig 1901, p. 726—744; Dussaud and Macler, *Mission dans la région désertique de la Syrie moyenne*, Paris 1903; G. A. Cooke, *A text-book of North-Semitic inscriptions*, Oxford 1903, p. 214—262; do., art. *Nabataeans*, in J. Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ix., Edinburgh 1917, p. 121 *sq.*; Dussaud, *Numismatique des rois de Nabatène*, in *J. A.*, 1904, p. 189—238; Brünnow and v. Domaszewsky, *Provincia Arabia*, i.—iii., 1904—1909; E. Lippmann, *Nabataean Inscriptions, in Public. of an American Archaeol. Exped. to Syria in 1899—1900*, part iv., New York 1905; *Semitic Inschr.*, p. 85—97; do., *Nabat. Inschr., in Public. of the Princeton Archaeol. Exped. to Syria in 1904—1905 and 1909*, division vi., section A, Leyden 1914; Musil, *Arabia Petrea, i/1* (Edom), Vienna 1907, p. 159—161, 337; do., *Arabia Deserta*, New York 1927, index, p. 614; Head, *Historia nummaria*?, Oxford 1911, p. 810 *sq.*; G. F. Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat., Greek Coins of Arabia*, London 1922; Janssen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, i.—iii., Paris 1909—1922; W. W. Tarn, *Phoeny II and Arabia*, in *Journ. of Egypt. Archaeol.*, xv., 1929, p. 9—25; A. Kammerer, *Petra et la Nabatène*, Paris 1929; J. Cantinon, *Les Nabatéens*, i.—ii., Paris 1930—1932; J. H. Mordtmann, *Ein Nabatäer im Südrandlande*, in *Klio*, xxv., 1932, p. 429 *sq.* (E. HONIGMANN).

NABI (A.), prophet, borrowed from Hebr. *nabī* or Aram. *nebiyā*, is found in the Qur'ān from the second Meccan period in the singular and plural *nabīyūn*; in the Medina period we find also the broken plural *anbiyā'*. Lists of the *nabīyūn* are given in Sūra vi. 83 *sq.*; iii. 34; iv. 161 *sq.*; further information about them is given in several passages of Sūra xix. and in xvii. 57. The list consists exclusively of names from the Old and New Testaments (if we leave out Idriis in Sūra xix. 57, whose name Muḥammad had however also learned from a Christian source; see above ii., p. 442—450; Horowitz, *Koran. Unters.*, p. 88 *sq.*); while messengers of God (*rasūl* [q.v.], plur. *rasūl*; *muṣallin*) had also been sent to other peoples of the past — e.g. Hūd or Šālīḥ —, according to the Qur'ānic idea "prophets" had appeared only among the *Ahl al-Kitāb* [q.v.]. Only a minority of the individuals called prophets in the Qur'ān are so described in the Bible, and Yūnus b. Mattai [q.v.] is the only one of the *anbiyā'* of the Qur'ān who appears among the literary prophets of the Bible. Muḥammad himself did not claim the name nabī until he was in Medina when he was addressed as the Prophet (*ya ayyuha 'l-nabī*) and, as finally closing the series of prophets, is called their "seal" (*khātam*). When Muḥammad in Sūra vii. 156 and 158 is called *al-nabī al-ummi*, this is to distinguish him as the prophet who has arisen among the heathen; the Jews called the heathen *ummiyyūn* *al-islam* ("peoples of the world") and also recognised prophets who had arisen among them; among these they included e.g. Balaam and Job. This Jewish name for the heathen became the *al-ummiyyūn* of the Qur'ān (Sūra liii. 2; iii. 19, 69); that

ummiyūn refers to the heathen is quite clear from Sūra iii. 19, where they are contrasted with those who have received the scripture. When Sūra ii. 73 refers to the *ummiyūn min Ahl al-Kutub*, the reference is most probably (with Wellhausen, *Stimmen*, iv. 13, note 2) to originally pagan Arabs who had adopted Judaism. The derivation of *ummi* from Hebrew *ummi* *am-šam* therefore fits all the Qur'anic passages, while that most generally adopted from Hebrew *am ha-āreṣ*, "people of the country", a term for Jews who did not know the Jewish law, would at best fit only Sūra ii. 73, but even for this passage is not absolutely essential.

The post-Qur'anic ideas about the prophethood of Muhammad are discussed in the article MUHAMMAD (cf. also Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads in Lehre und Glaube seiner Gemeinde*, Stockholm 1918). The accounts of the other prophets which found a way into Islām in the post-Qur'anic period are collected in the works on the *Kiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*. These, however, are not confined to the prophets proper who appear in the Qur'an by name or anonymously, and to other figures of Jewish and Christian Biblical and post-Biblical tradition, but deal also with the history of such personalities as Idrīs and Sulaymān to whom there is not the slightest reference in the Qur'an.

Bibliography: Wensinck, in *Acta Orientalia*, ii. 173 199; Lidbarski, *Die prophetische quat dicatur legendi*; Horowitz, in *Z.D.M.G.*, iv. 319 199; do., *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin and Leipzig 1926, p. 44 199.

(J. HOROWITZ)

NABI, YŪSUF, an Ottoman poet; Yaṣmī Nābī came from Urfa (Ruhā, hence Rūhāwī, not Rūhīmī as one often finds). From there he came in the reign of Muhammad IV to Stambul and became a favourite of the grandvizier Kara Mustafa. He held a post as *ḥayyā*, made the pilgrimage after Kara Mustafa's death and later settled in Aleppo. When the governor there, Muhammad Rahadī [q. v.], became grandvizier, he took Nābī to Stambul and gave him the post of superintendent of the department of the Anatolian chief accountant (*Anadolu mühürbeğlisi*). Later he gave up this office for another and died aged about 90 on 3rd Rabi' I 1124 (April 10, 1712). He was buried in Skutari in the Karadja Ahmad cemetery near the Miskinler monastery; the inscription on his tombstone is given by Sa'd al-Dīn Nūzhet, *Meṣr Kutubleri*, Stambul 1932, p. 11.

Nābī wrote several historical works in a florid style which was considered classical in his time and even later, such as an account of the conquest of Kameniec in Podolia (1083 = 1672) called *Ta'rikh-i Wajih-i Kamīna*, *Fethnâme-i Kamīna* or simply *Ta'rikh-i Kamīna*. He also wrote in prose and verse a description of his pilgrimage to the holy places (1089 = 1678; the work was written only in 1093 = 1682) entitled *Tuhfat al-Haramain*. His very popular *Dimān* with supplement earned him the title of "king of poets". In his *Khair-nāme*, usually called *Khairiye*, he gives his son Abū 'l-Khair moral admonitions and advice. His letters (*Munshā'at*) were at one time highly esteemed and are of some historical value. He continued Wāsi's *Siyar* in a *Dhail-i Siyar-i Wāsi*. Printed works: *Dimān*, Bulak 1257 and Stambul 1292; *Dhail-i Siyar-i Wāsi*, Bulak 1248; *Khairiye* in: *Conseils de Nābī Efendi à son fils Abū 'l-Khair*, publiés en turc avec la traduction française et des

notes par M. Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1857; *Ta'rikh-i Kamīna*, Stambul 1281; *Siyar-i Khairiye*, s.l. (= Stambul, about 1870), deals with questions of pedagogues; *Tuhfa*, Stambul 1288; *Tuhfat al-Haramain*, s.l. [Stambul] 1265. For further information see F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 237–239.

Bibliography: Cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 239, where it should be noted that there is also a MS. of *Dhail-i Siyar-i Wāsi* in London, Brit. Museum, Add. 7863 (cf. Rieu, *Cat. of Turk. MSS.*, No. 37) and in Heidelberg, Univ.-Library, Cod. or., No. 439 (copy of the year 1175 A.H.). *Tuhfat al-Haramain* in Paris, coll. Cl. Huart, Stambul, *Hamidiye*, No. 400–401, and the *Khairiye* in Agram, Ak. der Wiss., coll. Babinger, No. 826, i. On the printed copy of the *Ta'rikh-i Kamīna* cf. *J.A.*, 1868, i. 471 199. — On a Nābī-nāme Naṣīm Bey cf. Bräunel Muhammad Tahir, *Ottomani Müellifleri*, ii. 467 199.

NABI YŪNUS. (See NINAWA.)

NABIDH (A.), a comprehensive designation for intoxicating drinks, several kinds of which were produced in early Arabia, such as *mir* (from barley), *ḥit* (from honey, Bukhārī, *Maḥab*, bāb 60; *Ashriba*, bāb 4; *Asab*, bāb 80; or from spelt: Ahmad b. Hanbal, iv. 402), *fudhḥ* (from different kinds of dates: Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 3, 21).

Grapes being scarce in Arabia, it is said that in al-Madīna "wine" was usually prepared from kinds of dates, exceptionally from grapes (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, bāb 2, 3; Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 3, 6). This may be true. Yet even these traditions betray a tendency connected with the question whether the prohibition of wine included that of intoxicating drinks. Generally speaking *ḥadīth* favours the affirmative answer and is consequently anxious to point out that the *ḥām* which was prohibited by Muhammad included nabidh.

The question was difficult in so far as these kinds of drinks were intoxicating to degrees which partly depended upon the duration of the process of fermentation. This appears e.g. from the copious traditions in which 'A'isha relates how nabidh was prepared for Muhammad and at what time the beverage was done away with (cf. KHAMR), as well as from the traditions in which the previous prohibition of certain vessels (*quntar*, *muṣaffat*, etc.) was abrogated and all kinds of vessels declared allowed, provided the drinks prepared in them were not intoxicating (Muslim, *Djāmi'*, trad. 106; *Ashriba*, trad. 63–65, 67–75 etc.). A series of traditions which could be adduced by the Hanafites in favour of their view, according to which nabidh is not included in the prohibition of wine, is to be found in al-Nasā'ī's collection, *Ashriba*, bāb 48. Cf. further the art. KHAMR.

Side by side with milk and honey nabidh was also the beverage that was offered to the pilgrims in Makka. The institution, *al-nāḥya* (also the name of the building, close to Zamzam, where the distribution took place), was an office held by the 'Abbasids (Ahmad b. Hanbal, *Musnad*, i. 372; Muslim, *Ḥaṣṣ*, trad. 347; Abū Dawūd, *Mamārik*, bāb 90). The descriptions by Ibn Sa'd († 230 = 845) and al-Azraqī († 244 = 858) give the impression of referring to the present state of things; in the time of al-Muqaddasī († about 1000 A.D.) the institution had already passed into desuetude. For details, cf. the work of Gaudefroy-Demombynes.

Bibliography: cf. the *Bibliography* of the article *GHASSĀN*; further: *Faḥṣat 'Alamghar*, Calcutta 1251 (1835), vi. 607; Santillana, *Il "Muḥ-taṣar"* . . . , Milan 1919, li. 739 sqq.; Ibn Ḥaḍjar al-Haithamī, *Tuḥfa*, Cairo 1282, iv. 118 sqq.; Aḥu 'I-Kāsim al-Muḥabbibī, *Kitaḥ Sharaf al-filām*, Calcutta 1255, p. 522; Querry, *Recueil de l'été com. les musulmans schyites*, Paris 1872, li. 237 sqq.; Th. W. Juyaboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de mos. wet*, Leyden 1925, p. 173; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het nikkaansche Feest*, Leyden 1880, p. 169 (*Verp. Guehr*, I. 111); Gaudetroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923 (*Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibl. d'études*, N° 23), p. 71 sqq.; al-Aṣṭaḥī, ed. Wästenfeld, p. 335 sqq.

(A. J. WENHINCK)

NĀBIGHA AL-DHUBYĀNĪ, a famous poet of the pre-Muḥammadan period. His real name was Ziyād b. Ma'ūwiya and he belonged to the tribe of Dhubyān. He probably flourished in the second half of the century which preceded Muḥammad and died shortly before the beginning of Islām. Caussin de Perceval (*Histoire des Arabes*, 2nd ed., li. 502) puts the date of his birth in 535 A. D. and Father Cheikh (Poète arabe chrétien, p. 640) dates his death in 604 A. D. These dates however can only be conjectural.

The surname Nābigha has been variously interpreted by Arab writers. According to some, our poet was so called because in one of his verses he uses the verb *nabigha*: "She stopped among the Banū Kain b. Dīnār and they felt the effects of our attacks". But this verse is apocryphal and the process recalls that used to justify the etymologies of Muḥallil and of Mutalammis [q. v.]. According to others, he was so called because he did not write poetry until he reached manhood or more simply because in Nābigha poetry "flows from the spring".

We know nothing about his family; his noble birth asserted by the *Kitaḥ al-Aghānī* (ix. 162) and Ibn Kataliba (ed. de Goeje, p. 74) is doubtful and we know nothing definite about his childhood and youth.

At some date which it is impossible to ascertain definitely, Nābigha was admitted to the court of the Lakhmid princes (cf. *LAḤM*) of al-Hira, vassals of Persia; in the reigns of the kings al-Mundhir III and al-Mundhir IV in particular this Christian semi-Persian, semi-Arab city had become an important literary centre and the focus of a brilliant culture.

Our poet sang the praises of these two sovereigns and received gifts from them but his fortunes reached their zenith in the reign of Nu'mān Abū Kaḥbā whose boon companion and favourite singer he became. The poet lived on intimate terms with the king in the lap of luxury and opulence. Such favour could not fail to excite the envy and jealousy of the other courtiers; hence his enemies, notably Murra b. Sa'd, resolved to break the king's attachment to him. The trick attempted by his enemies was a crude one and the king was not deceived by it: the attack on the poet failed.

Far from being discouraged, Murra patiently awaited another opportunity to avenge himself: this soon appeared. According to the *Kitaḥ al-Aghānī*, Nābigha, who had free access to the palace of Nu'mān, one day unexpectedly entered the apartments of queen Mutadjarrida, famous for her beauty. Taken by surprise, she dropped her

veil, showing to the delighted eyes of the poet "a part of her statue-like body". By the time she could replace it, it was too late. Struck to the heart, Nābigha composed in honour of this "beauty" his famous poem which begins with the line "Go and leave Maiya in all haste . . ." (Derenbourg, *Dīwan*, xiv.). Unfortunately he was imprudent enough to recite it to his enemy Murra who hastened to report it to Nu'mān. The latter in his anger decided on the poet's ruin.

According to another tradition, one evening when Nābigha was seated beside the queen in company of the king and another poet, Munakhkhal al-Yashkuri, Nu'mān asked Nābigha to describe Mutadjarrida to him. Nābigha at once obeyed and recited the poem which he had composed shortly before. Munakhkhal, who was said to be the queen's lover, exclaimed: "Sire, this description is that of an eye-witness"; and the poet's days were now numbered. Warned by his friend, the chamberlain 'Iṣām, the poet hurriedly fled and sought refuge with the princes of Ghassān.

These stories, on the whole little probable, seem to have been invented to explain Nābigha's disgrace. In his book *Fi 'l-Adab al-ḡahilī* (Cairo 1927, p. 332), Tāḥa Ḥasān disputes their authenticity and acutely points out that nothing in poem xiii.: "It has reached me, mayest thou avoid the censure etc." supports these stories. He supposes on the other hand, relying on this *ḡazal*, that the princes of Ghassān won the good graces of Nābigha at some time by their largesse and the poet showed his gratitude by singing their praises; this having come to the ears of Nu'mān, the latter took umbrage and decided on the ruin of his favourite.

Nābigha was by no means unknown to the Ghassānids, phylarchs of Byzantium and rivals of al-Hira. He had been very well received by the princes al-Hārith b. Abū Shammār and al-Hārith al-Aḡhar. The former at the poet's request had released a large number of the Banū Asad taken prisoner at the battle of Ḥalima; the latter, also at Nābigha's request, had released a number of the Banū Asad and Banū Fāḥra after the battle of 'Alu Ubāḡh. This leads us to say a word about Nābigha's political activities.

The poet in the course of the wars of his tribe never lost interest in his fellow tribesmen and their allies; we have mentioned his interventions on their behalf with the Ghassānids; during the celebrated war of Dīḥ between 'Aḥu and Dhubyān, it was his constant care to maintain the alliances contracted with the Banū Asad and Banū Tamīm. In the reign of the Ghassānid Nu'mān b. Hārith Abū Kaḥbā, he had once more to intercede on behalf of the Banū Dhubyān defeated in the battle of Dīḥ Ukār; later, in view of his devotion to his patron and his love for his own tribe, he appealed to Nu'mān to abandon his war on the Banū Dhubyān allied with the Banū Hann. As a result of refusing to listen to him, the king was defeated.

At the court of Ghassān, Nābigha was overwhelmed with favours by 'Amr b. Hārith and later by his successor Nu'mān. He celebrates the former's generosity in a *ḡazal* full of gratitude (Derenbourg, iii.) and his elegy on the death of Nu'mān (Derenbourg, xiv.) is characterised by deep emotion.

In spite of his luxurious life, Nābigha felt his heart and his thoughts turning towards al-Hira and his king. Therefore on the death of Nu'mān b. Hārith Abū Karb he decided to return to al-Hira to attempt to regain the favour of the son of al-Mundhir.

Learning that Nu'mān was ill, he set out accompanied by two Fāsāris, Manḡlir b. Zabāla and Salyār b. 'Amr, friends of the prince; when they arrived at al-Hira, Nu'mān had recovered. Hearing of the arrival of his two friends, he had a tent of leather pitched for them and sent them a woman singer to entertain them. He himself often came to visit them. One evening at a party the singer sang Nābigha's poem "O abode of Maḡnā" (*Dumān*, l. 3); the prince delighted exclaimed: "That is an excellent poem!" The Fāsāris thereupon seized the opportunity to intercede on behalf of Nābigha and the generous prince forgave the poet. A little later Nu'mān was put to death by order of the Sāsānian king Kīrā Fārēz for having refused to give him one of his relatives as a wife. Nābigha lamented his patron and retired to his tribe. We do not know when he died.

Before giving an estimate of Nābigha as a poet, we have still to discuss his religion. Darnbourg makes him a monotheist, and in support of his opinion quotes a number of verses in which the poet speaks of God, of the feast of palms, of the cross of Zawa'. On the other hand, Cheikhō thinks he was a Christian. We find, he says (*Christianisme en Arabie avant l'Islam*, Beirut 1923, p. 429-430), in the poems of Nābigha evidence of his belief in God, of his religion and piety, but the arguments are not numerous or of great cogency: a vague mention of God, of David and his son Solomon, of priests present at the obsequies of Mundhir, of the cross of Zawa'. As a matter of fact, Nābigha was a pagan and there is nothing Christian in his poems. The allusions in his poems, even if we accept them as authentic, are in reality only rather faded memories of the Christian ceremonies which the poet had witnessed at al-Hira, and Ghassān and a distant echo of the religious ideas current in the peninsula at this period. As to the word Allāh, it is undoubtedly the result of a substitution for al-Lā [q. v.] made at a later date by some Muslim poet.

Nābigha al-Dhubyānī holds a high position among the poets of ancient Arabia; he is unanimously placed "in the first rank of poets".

In our opinion he possesses in a high degree the two qualities which make a great poet: sensitiveness and imagination. To sincerity of feeling, he adds splendour of imagery and freshness of expression. In him ideas and words, feeling and turn of phrase, matter and form are in perfect harmony. His verses are often bitter, ironical and scathing.

He is also an artist who skillfully uses all resources, all effects and all artifices. His verse is compact, solid and uniform and readily impresses itself on the memory with the idea which it expresses. Of course it is not without its faults: we find a few weaknesses and examples of lack of care.

Tāhā Ḥamīd (*al-Sā'ir al-Jāhili*, Cairo 1926) has recently raised the question once more of the authenticity of the poems of Nābigha and other pre-Islamic poets. Rejecting all that has been handed down about it he regards the old poetry as apocryphal. The discussion of this question however,

as can easily be understood, lies outside the scope of this article.

Bibliography: *Kitaḥ al-Aghānī*, 2nd ed., Cairo, in 154 vols.; Ibn Kutāiba, ed. de Goeje, Leyden, p. 74 sqq.; *Djāmi'at al-ʿArab al-Arab*, Beirut 1308; al-Baḡdādī, *Kitaḥat al-Adab*, Beirut 1299, i. 287 sqq.; al-Abbās, *Maʿāhid al-Taqdī*, Cairo 1316; Sayfī, *Mushir*, Cairo 1325; Abkarīus Iskandar Agha, *Tawḥīd Nihāyat al-ʿArab*, Beirut 1867; F. E. al-Bastānī, *Rawāʿiz*, N° 30, Beirut 1931; Ibn Sallām, *Tabaḥāt*, Cairo n. d.; Derynbourg, *Le Dima de Nabigha*, Paris 1869; Cheikhō, *Poètes arabes chrétiens*, Beirut 1890; Ahlwardt, *Six siècles*, London 1870; *Khams Dimāḥīn*, Cairo, several editions; Cheikhō, *Le Christianisme et la littérature chrétienne en Arabie avant l'Islam*, Beirut 1923, vol. iii.; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, 2nd ed., Paris 1902, vol. ii.; Sylvestre de Sacy, *Christianisme*, 1st ed., vol. iii.; do., *Anthologie grammaticale*, p. 435; Lyall, *Translations of ancient Arabian Poetry*, London 1885, p. 95 sqq.; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 22; Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, 2nd ed., London 1914. (MAURICE CHEROUL)

NABOB. (See NĒ'ĒB.)

NĀBULUS, a town in central Palestine, the name of which is derived from that of Flavia Neapolis built in honour of Vespasian. Its Old Testament predecessor was Shechem, which however lay more to the east, on the site of the present village of Balīza (the name is explained by S. Klein, in *Z.D.P.F.*, xxxv. 38 sq.; cf. R. Hartmann, *Ibid.*, xxviii. 175 sq., as "platanus", from the evidence of the pilgrim of Bordeaux and the *Midrash Gen. 48*, c. 84, § 3). According to Eusebius, the place where the old town stood was pointed out in a suburb of Neapolis. The correctness of this identification of the site of Shechem has now been completely proved by Sellin's excavations; and this also explains how the old name did not as usual drive out the late Greek one. In the time of the Arab writers, the name Shechem was long forgotten and what they tell us refers to Neapolis-Nābulus.

Nābulus is in a long valley (running from east to west) formed by two chains of hills, on the south side Garizim, Arabic [Jabal al-Tur or al-Kiblt] (2,900 feet high), on the north side Ebal, Arabic [Jabal ʿAlāmiya or al-Shamāl] (3,140 feet high). G. Hübscher (*Z.D.P.F.*, xxviii. 98) refers the older name of Neapolis: Mabartha (Mamortha) in Pliny and Josephus (i.e. "crossing", *na'haru*) to the low saddle running right across the valley. The town with its 22 springs is unusually rich in water, which is heard running everywhere and produces a very luxuriant vegetation. Where the road from the south turns westwards into the valley there is a well with the ruins of a church. Unanimous tradition since the fourth century A.D. locates here Jacob's well and it is undoubtedly the same as is mentioned in John iv. 5. About a thousand yards to the north is a building where tradition locates Joseph's grave.

In the post-exilic period Shechem belonged to the territory of the mixed people of the Samaritans whose capital it became after they had built on the hill of Garizim (the Samaritan text of Deut. xxvii. 5 has this name instead of Ebal) a temple as a rival to that of Jerusalem. They were continually at strife with the Jews and in the end John Hyrcanus

in 129 B.C. destroyed Shechem and its temple. At a later date this always turbulent people was equally hostile to the Romans, which caused Vespasian to attack them on Garizim when a large number were slain. Christianity gradually spread in the country and Neapolis became a bishopric. The result was that the Samaritans now turned their arms against the Christians and treated them with great cruelty. After a deadly raid by them, the Byzantine emperor Zeno (474—491) had them driven from Garizim and built a church there. They wrought still greater havoc in the time of Justinian who punished them with great severity and destroyed their synagogues while he rebuilt the churches. This finally broke their spirit; many of them fled to Persia while others became Christians. Their part had been played by the time when Nābulus with many other towns fell into the hands of the Muslims.

The notices of the Arab authors about the town are very scanty. They know that it was inhabited by Samaritans (cf. *al-Sāmīrī*) and some add that, according to the Jews, they are found nowhere else, but it should be noted that Balādhuri (ed. de Goeje, p. 138) speaks of Samaritans in Filasṭīn and Urdunn. Ya'qūbī mentions (p. 328), Nābulus a town near two sacred hills with a population of Jews, foreigners and Samaritans. Below the town is a subterranean city, hewn out of the rock. Muḥaddasī says "Nābulus lies in a valley between two hills, is rich in olive-trees and a stream flows through it. The houses are of stone and there are mills there; the mosque in the centre has a beautiful paved courtyard". In the Crusading period Nābulus is mentioned as unfortified. On Jan. 25, 1120, an assembly of prelates and secular notables was held here with the object of improving the morals of the Christians. Idriṣī mentions the well of Jacob where Christ had the conversation with the woman of Samaria; a fine church had then been built on the spot. The Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela (1160—1173) records that there were no Jews in Nābulus, but about 100 Kutannas (Samaritans) who offered burned offerings on the altar on Garizim at the passover and on other feast-days. His contemporary 'Alī al-Harawī says the Samaritans are very numerous. He, as does Yāqūt, always writes Garizim as Kariṣim, a corruption which we already have in the "Agazaren" of the pilgrim of Bordesous. A terrible earthquake in 1202 added to the miseries inflicted on the town by the continual wars between Franks and Muslims. Under the great Mamlūk Sultān Balbars (q.v.) it finally passed into possession of the Muslims. Yāqūt remarks on the wealth of water and fertility of the district; here, he says, is the hill on which according to the Jews, Abraham wanted to sacrifice Isaac (not Ishmael as the Muslims say). When praying, the Samaritans turn towards Garizim. Dimashqī says that Nābulus is like a palace surrounded by gardens; he mentions the pilgrimages of the Samaritans to Garizim where they sacrificed lambs. The Muslims had a fine mosque in the town, where the Qur'ān was recited day and night. According to Khalīl al-Zāhirī (d. 872=1467), the area included 300 villages.

The people of Nābulus retained their unfriendly character and fondness for rebellion so that the town was less visited by pilgrims. Only the modern period has brought order and greater security, but even now the dislike of the Samaritans to strangers as spectators during their passover sacrifices may give rise to trouble.

Bibliography: Sellin, in *Z.D.P.V.*, xlix. 2295 sq.; i. 205 sqq., 265 sqq. (on the excavations in the ancient Shechem); Holscher, *ibid.*, xxxiii. 98 sqq.; R. Hartmann, *ibid.*, xxxiii. 175; P. Thomsen, *Loca sancta*, p. 93; 108 sq.; Robinson, *Palestina*, iii. 336 sqq.; Gurin, *Samaria*, i. 390 sqq.; Ya'qūbī, in *B.G.A.*, vii. 32; Isakhrī, *ibid.*, i. 58; Muḥaddasī, *ibid.*, iii. 174; Idriṣī, *ibid.*, viii. 122 (text, p. 4); Le Strange, *Palestine under the Muslims*, p. 512; Sir George Adam Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, index, s.v. Nābulus; *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. A. Ascher, 1840, i. 66—68; Yāqūt, *Muḥaddasī*, ed. Wustenfeld, iv. 724; Dimashqī, ed. Mehren, p. 200; Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Königreichs Jerusalem*, p. 146, 205, 411, 684 and *passim*; Propst, *Die geogr. Verhältnisse Syriens und Palästinas nach Wilhelm von Tyrus*, i. 55 sq. (Fr. Bohl).

AL-NABULUSI. [See **ABD AL-GHANI.**]

NADHR (A., plural *nadhūr*; Sūra iii. 57), used as a noun agentis from *n-ḏ-h-r* iv., with the meaning of warner; sometimes also as an infinitive, e.g. Sūra lxvii. 17. The plural *nadhūr* is also found in the sense of an infinitive, e.g. Sūra lxxvii. 6. The term occurs frequently in the Qur'ān; it is even said to be synonymous with *warā*; its opposite is *baḥīr*, *nubāḥīr*. *Nadhūr* as well as *baḥīr* are applied to the prophets, the former when they are represented as warners, the latter as announcers of good tidings (cf. Sūra xvii. 106; xxv. 58; xxxiii. 44; xlviii. 8: *nubāḥīr* *wa-nadhūr*). As an epithet it is used especially in connection with Noah, the great warner before the Deluge, and with Muḥammad himself who thereby receives the stamp of a second Noah (cf. Sūra xxvi. 115; i. 51; lxxi. 2 with Sūra xxxix. 49; xxv. 21; xxxviii. 70; lxvii. 26). Sometimes Muḥammad emphasises his being only a warner (Sūra xli. 8), or his being the first warner who was sent to his people (Sūra xxviii. 46; xxxiv. 43).

The term is found in ḥadīth apart from the common use, known from the Qur'ān, in the curious expression *nadhūr 'uryūn* (Bukhārī, *Niḥāy*, liib 26; *Tiḥām*, liib 2; Muslim, *Faḍḥ*, trad. 16) with which Muḥammad denotes himself. The tradition runs as follows: "Myself and my mission are like a man who went to some people saying: I have seen the army (of the enemy) with my eyes and I am the naked warner". Several anecdotal stories are told by the commentators in explanation of this expression. It is also said by some of them, that in early Arabia a man who saw an approaching danger, stripped himself of his clothes and wound them around his head in order to warn his tribespeople. — The meaning *Nasirite* which in several dictionaries is given to the term *nadhūr* is in the first place does not occur in the Qur'ān, nor in ḥadīth, nor in *Lisān al-Arab* nor in *Taḍqīd al-Arūḥ*; it is, however, used in translations of the Bible.

Bibliography: *Lisān al-Arab*, vii. 54 sqq.; *Taḍqīd al-Arūḥ*, iii. 561 sq.; Ibn al-Aṭṭār, *Niḥāy*, iv. 136; Kasāllān, i. 305; Nawawī's commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1283, v. 71.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

NADHR, v.o.w., was taken over into Islām from the pre-Muḥammadian Arabs and underwent modification by the new religion. The idea of dedication is associated with the root *n-ḏ-h-r* which is also found in South Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic and to some extent in Assyrian. An animal could

be the object of dedication among the Arabs. For example, they dedicated by *nadh*r certain of their sheep, etc., for the 'atira feast in Raddah (*Liṣān al-Arab* and *Djauharī*, s.v.); the dedication which was expressed in solemn formulae signified that the animals were removed from the mundane sphere and placed in the sacred one.

As a rule, a sacrifice was dedicated in order to obtain good fortune in a particular respect. The promise to dedicate an animal when the herd had reached the number of a hundred (*cf. cit.*) had an effect on the prosperity of the animals because the word anticipated the fact. According to the story, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib similarly dedicated a son to be slain beside the Ka'ba if he should have ten sons and they grew up (*Ibn Hiṣḥām*, p. 97 ff.) but for his *nadh*r 100 camels were substituted. — A childless woman could also vow if she had a son to dedicate him to the sanctuary (*Ibid.*, p. 76; perhaps this story is a literary borrowing). According to the *ḥadīth* of Maimūn bint Karam, her father promised to sacrifice 50 sheep if he had a son (*Yāqūt*, i. 754; *Abū Dāwūd*, *Aimūn*, ḥāb 19; *Ibn Mājjā*, *Kuṣṣarāt*, ḥāb 18). If a child was sick, its mother could dedicate it by a vow as *aḥnas* (from *ḥams*) if it recovered (*Azrakī*, p. 123, s. *eqq.*). Escape from every difficulty was sought by a *nadh*r. During a battle a camel used to be dedicated as a sacrifice (*Wāḳidī-Wellhausen*, p. 39). The traveller in the desert used to make a vow on account of the danger (see the verse in Lane and *Liṣān al-Arab*, s.v.). In distress at sea one promised offerings to God or a saint or vowed to do something oneself, such as fasting (*Sūra* x. 23; xxix. 65; *Abū Dāwūd*, *Aimūn*, ḥāb 20; see also Goldziher, *Mus. Stud.*, ii. 311). During a drought 'Umar vowed to taste neither *sams*, nor milk nor meat till the rain fell (*Tabarī*, ed. de Goeje, i. 2573, s. *eqq.*).

Even if a sacrifice were promised, the vow also affected the person concerned, as we see from the fact that he had his hair shorn not only on the *ḥadīd* but also, for example, when sacrificing after a journey (*Ibn Hiṣḥām*, p. 15, 749; *Wāḳidī-Wellhausen*, p. 324, 381, 429 ff.; *Bukhārī*, *Ḥadīd*, ḥāb 125); for the cutting of the hair ended, as in the case of the Israelite Nazirite, the state of consecration. The vow therefore had always more or less the character of a self-dedication. This aspect was often quite prominent. Ordinary sacred duties such as participation in the *ḥadīd* were assumed as a consecration by *nadh*r (*Sūra* xxii. 30) at which special obligations were assumed e.g. to go to the sanctuary on foot, or barefooted (*Bukhārī*, *Djauhar* *al-Salāt*, ḥāb 27; *Tirmidhī*, *al-Nadh*r wa 'l-Aimūn, ḥāb 17). The sacred condition of *ḥikāf* was assumed as a *nadh*r; thus before his conversion 'Umar vowed to make a nightly *ḥikāf* in the Meccan sanctuary (*Bukhārī*, *Masāḥid*, ḥāb 54; *Aimūn*, ḥāb 29). Such a vow to separate oneself from everyday life in some special way was very frequent among the ancient Arabs; for Labid (p. 17, 19) compares an antelope buck alone among the bushes to one fulfilling his vow (*ḥāḍi* 'l-*nadh*r).

This isolation had the definite object of spiritual concentration and strengthening the soul and thereby influencing the deity. Abstinence was therefore practised in preparation for great deeds, especially in war. The Arabs 'touched no perfume, married no woman, drank no wine and avoided all pleasures

when they were seeking vengeance, until they attained it" (*Ḥamāsa*, p. 447, v. 3 *schol.*); avoidance of wine (*Ḥamāsa*, p. 237, v. 4 *eqq.*) and women (*Killab al-Aghani*, xv. 161; 2nd ed., p. 154) is specially mentioned. These abstinences like the *ḥadīd* rites and the *ḥikāf* are also the objects of a *nadh*r. The form of this vow is for example "wine and women are *ḥarām* to me until I have slain 100 Asadi" (*Aghani*, viii. 68; 2nd ed., p. 65). A definite term may be fixed, such as drinking no wine for 30 days in order to obtain vengeance (*Kais b. al-Khatim*, ed. Kowalski, iv. 28). Forms of abstinence are not to eat meat, not to wash the head, so that the *ḥanūka* is not removed (*Aghani*, ix. 149; 2nd ed., p. 141; xiii. 69; 2nd ed., p. 66; *Ibn Hiṣḥām*, p. 543, 980; *Ḥudhaylīnīlāder*, ed. Wellhausen, N^o. 189), not to anoint oneself (*Wāḳidī-Wellhausen*, p. 201). Refraining from meat, wine, ointment, washing and sexual intercourse are mentioned together (*Aghani*, vi. 99; 2nd ed., p. 97; viii. 68; 2nd ed., p. 66; *Ibn Hiṣḥām*, p. 543; *Wāḳidī-Wellhausen*, p. 73, 94). There is also evidence of complete fasting (*Wāḳidī-Wellhausen*, p. 105, 402). The abstinences, the offering and the deed to be done form the content of the *nadh*r. It is said: *nadh*rta 'ala nafsi and *nadh*rta mālī (*Djauhar* and *Liṣān al-Arab*, s.v.) as well as *nadh*ra dami fulān ('Antara, p. 21, 84; *Kais al-Ruḳaiyat*, p. 52, 5). After a wish has been fulfilled a vow of gratitude may also be taken (*Wāḳidī*, p. 290).

The consecration placed the person making the vow in connection with the divine powers, the *nadh*r was an 'add (*Sūra* ix. 76; xxiii. 27; xviii. 10), whereby he pledged himself. A neglect of the *nadh*r was a sin against the deity (*Imra' al-Kais*, p. 51, 10). The sacred obligation of living made this a *nadh*r or (synonymous) *nadh*r, which one should fulfil (*ḥāḍi*), instead of wandering aimlessly (*Sūra* xxiii. 23; *Wāḳidī*, p. 120; *Labid*, p. 41, 1; *Kumail*, *Ḥāḍiyyāt*, ed. Horowitz, p. 4, 48). The importance of the binding pledge gradually becomes more prominent (*cf. Liṣān al-Arab*, where *nadh*ra is explained by *amḥāda*, ironically *amḥāḍi*, p. 7, 1); the emphasis on the material dedication gradually became less. The abstinences mentioned receive their importance on the one hand from works meritorious to the deity, on the other from the unpleasant deprivations, by which the person taking the vow disciplines himself. Both points of view are seen in the examples quoted. The releasing of slaves or divorcing of wives often form the subject of a kind of vow by which a man pledges himself under certain conditions. A man may also vow to sacrifice all his camels if he is lying (*Ḥamāsa*, p. 667, v. 3). The strict obligation inherent in the *nadh*r makes it closely related to the oath (see *KASAM*).

One can also bind one's family by a vow. A mother swears not to comb her hair or to seek shade until her son or daughter fulfils her wish (*Aghani*, xviii. 205; 2nd ed., p. 205; *Ibn Hiṣḥām*, p. 319; ii. 90). The strength of this kind of "conjunction" is based on the relationship between the two partners. If a dying man vows that his tribe shall slay 50 to avenge him, this binds the tribe (*Ḥamāsa*, p. 442 19). There thus arose in Islām the problem of how far unfulfilled vows had to be fulfilled by the descendants (*Muslim*, *Nadh*r, trad. 1; *Bukhārī*, *Waqḍa*, ḥāb 19; *cf. Goldziher*, *Zshirten*, p. 80).

In Islām the vow and the oath are treated together. In the Qur'ān it is prescribed that unconsidered expressions (*laghw*) in an oath may be broken and expiated (Sūra ii. 225; v. 91). The context shows that the reference is to vows of abstinence, especially relating to food and women. Sūra ii. 226—227 in continuation says that those who bind themselves by *Uā'* not to touch a woman should either break the vow after 4 months or pronounce the formula of divorce. The breach of the oath then requires the *kaffāra*. The *qāḥar* formula is absolutely forbidden (Sūra lviii. 1—5; cf. xxiii. 4); it is a great sin in the eyes of the law, while the *Uā'* is not a sin (see Juynboll, *Handbuch*, p. 284 *sqq.*; Sachau, *Mus. Recht*, p. 13, 68 *sqq.*). The "release from the oath" promised in Sūra lxi. 2 refers to a vow of continence. The same *kaffāra* holds for a broken vow as for an oath. It is probable in this case that we have Jewish influence (cf. *Mishna, Nedūrim*) but the principle of releasing oneself from a vow by doing something else is certainly also originally Arab. But with Islām comes the view that *nagħūr* are useless because they cannot influence God (Bukhārī, *Amān*, bāb 26; *Kādar*, bāb 6; Muslim, *Nagħūr*, trad. 2). Thus we find hadiths which urge the fulfilment of vows as well as those that forbid them. Following hints in the hadiths, we find a systematic division into vows of piety (*nagħūr al-taharrur*), which are intended to acquire merit by a pious deed (*ʿibāʿa*), and vows by oaths which, since they are conditioned, serve to incite, prevent or strengthen. The latter are called *nagħūr al-ladīf* or *ʿiḥḥāf*. They are deprecated but must be treated like oaths. Their matter must not be sinful; according to some, such a vow is invalid, according to others, it is valid but must be broken. Their matter must not already be an individual duty (*wājib ʿind*). The person taking the vow must, like him taking an oath, be *mukallaf* and be acting of his own free-will.

Bibliography: J. Wellhausen, *Reise arabischen Heidentums*, Berlin 1897, p. 122 *sqq.*; W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, ed. S. A. Cook (1927), p. 332, 481 *sqq.*; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch der islamischen Geistes*, Leyden 1910, p. 268 *sq.*; Khalil b. Ishāq, *Muḥḥaṭṭar*, transl. I. Guidi (1919), p. 371—383; Johs. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, Strassburg 1914, index, s.v. *Gelübde*; W. Gottschalk, *Das Gelübde nach älterer arabischer Auffassung*, Berlin 1919; the hadith-material quoted here and A. J. Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s.v. *Vow*.

(JOHS. PEDERSEN)

AL-NADIM, ABU 'L-FARAJ MUHAMMAD b. ABI YA'QUB ISHĀQ AL-WARRĀQ AL-NADIM AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, Arabic bibliographer, compiled the *Fihrist* in 377 (987—988). Little is known about his life. According to a statement which goes back to Ibn al-Nadīm's (d. 643 = 1245) *Ḍhal' al-Tarīkh* Baghdad (see Flügel's edition, p. xii, note 2), he died in 385, according to another statement (see Ibn Hadjar al-Asqalānī, *Lisān al-Millāt*, v. 72) probably 388 (the figure is damaged in the Haidarabad edition). Both dates are in contradiction to the fact that in the *Fihrist* events of 392 (p. 87, a) and "after 400" (p. 169, 13) are mentioned, unless these are additions by another hand. A clue to the date of his birth is given from his account (p. 337, a) of a meeting with a learned

man in the year 340; this suggests 325 as the latest date for his birth. Nothing is known of his family. There is no reason to connect him with Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawallī al-Nadīm (d. 235 = 849) or with Vahyā b. al-Nadīm, a pupil of al-Balādhurī (d. 279 = 892). His father was a bookseller (*warraq*) (p. 303, 21, 318, 6, 351, 14). Whether the epithet *al-Nadīm* "table companion", i.e. member of the circle of a caliph or other great man, refers to the father or to a remote ancestor is unknown. It is not impossible that it refers to the author of the *Fihrist* himself; against this however is the fact that he is usually quoted as Ibn al-Nadīm. That Baghdad, if not his birthplace, was at least his place of abode is evident from passages, like p. 337, 26, 349, 17 (see below) and the frequent mention of Baghdad among his acquaintances (p. 132, 6, 219, 25, 236, 19, 266, 2). He several times mentions a stay in Mōsul (p. 86, 22, 160, 21, 190, 21, 265, 23; cf. also p. 283, 2). We know nothing of other journeys by al-Nadīm (Dār al-Rūm, p. 349, 24 is the name of the Latin quarter in Baghdad as V. v. Rosen has shown). His teachers and authorities also point to Baghdad. He most frequently quotes the authority of the grammarian al-Sirāfi (d. 368) (all the quotations can be found in the latter's *Akhbār al-Nahwīyīn al-Baghdādīyīn*). Personal relations are indicated by p. 56, 23 and the mention of his sons (p. 31, 23, 45, 11, 62, 23). Al-Nadīm also studied under Ibn al-Munajjid (p. 144, 11). He gives traditions heard from Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Nakīf (p. 24, 22, 23, 2). He also gives traditions from Abu 'l-Faraj al-Ishāqī (p. 141, 17 = *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, i. 3 *sqq.*) and from Abu 'l-Faḥ b. al-Nahwī (p. 145, 23) celebrated for the reliability of his transcripts (p. 145, 23). He also mentions as his teacher Abū Sulaimān al-Manṣūrī (p. 241, 14) whom we know from Abū Ḥayyān's *Muḥḥaṭṭar*. He was friendly also with the logician Ibn al-Djarrāḥ (p. 244, 6, 245, 12) and with the Christian philosopher Ibn al-Kharrāb (p. 245, 12) and with Vahyā b. 'Adī (p. 264, 8). This circle of friends is very much in keeping with al-Nadīm's friendly nature, the breadth of his intellectual interests, his intelligent interest in other religions and his tolerance, which finds expression in *Maḥāla*'s 5 and 9 of his work. That he was a Shi'ī and Mu'tazilī did not escape his biographers (cf. Goldziher, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxvi. 278 *sqq.*); thus he uses *Shi'ī* and *Imāmī* in the sense of Shi'ī and Sunni respectively, calls the Sunni traditionalists *al-Hadhwiya* (p. 231, 12), claims many of their leaders for the Zaidiya (p. 178, p. 23), says that al-Shāfi'ī was a man of decidedly Shi'ī outlook (p. 209, 12) and praises al-Wāḥidī (p. 98, 20) as a Shi'ī. Shi'īs were numerous among his friends (p. 139, 27 and p. 154, 23) and acquaintances (p. 178, 6, 190, 21, 197, 11, 198, 4). Al-Nadīm like his father was a bookseller. This is nowhere expressly stated but is evident from the whole plan of his work in which he faithfully records not only scientific literature but also the numerous diwāns of contemporary poets and the vast mass of anonymous light literature, love stories, fairy tales and books of adventure, indeed even works of a popular nature neglected alike by scholars and bibliophiles, books on good manners, cookery books, books on poison, books dealing with hunting and sport, down to collections of farces, books on magic and on prophecy, in brief everything that was on the Baghdad book market in the fourth

(tenth) century. That he was a bookseller is also indicated by the frequent particulars about the size of the books dealt with (cf. especially, p. 159, 12), about copies in the hand of famous scholars, about the demand for books (p. 70, 1; p. 77, 14; 79, 23) and about the book trade (p. 271, 3; 359, 20). He several times mentions other booksellers (p. 264, 1; 299, 4; 355, 12).

The *Fihrist* exists in two recensions (on the manuscripts, see *Z.D.M.G.*, lxxiv, 111 *sqq.* and the literature there given; to these may now be added a fragment in Tonk and a private manuscript in Medina). Both were made in the year 377 (987). The longer contains ten *maḥṣūṣāt*, of which the first six deal with the literature of Islām (1. *Qurʾān*, 2. grammar, 3. history etc., 4. poetry, 5. dogmatics, 6. law), while the last four deal with non-Islamic literature (7. philosophy and "ancient sciences", 8. light literature, 9. history of religion, 10. alchemy). The shorter version contains only the four last *maḥṣūṣāt* of the longer one, i.e. the Arabic translations from the Greek, Syriac, Persian and Sanskrit and the other literature based on these models. It is mentioned by Ḥajjī Khalifa (Sambul, ii, 211) under the title *Fann al-Ulūm*. The two recensions have in common an introductory section on the various forms of writing. — A survey of the contents of the *Fihrist* follows the preface (see also Flügel, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xiii, 190 *sqq.*). The arrangement there given is strictly adhered to in the book. The special quality of the book and its value lies in the fact that it gives the Arabic literature of the first four centuries in a bibliographical arrangement while the biographical method is the only one used in other contemporary sources. Al-Nadīm, it is true, as a rule treats of his subjects in biographical sketches but it is the list of works of the author that is the main thing. Sometimes a branch of literature is treated purely bibliographically under its various branches (e.g. the literature of *Qurʾānic* exegesis, p. 35, 20—37, 11; also p. 87, 88, 170, 171). This arrangement was necessary with the anonymous literature, especially in the eighth *maḥṣūṣa* (p. 305 *sqq.*). A further step towards treatment from the point of view of the literary historian is found in the brief introductions and surveys (e.g. on the pre-Othmanic recensions of the *Qurʾān*, p. 26 *sqq.* on the beginnings of Arabic grammar, p. 40 *sqq.*). In the last four *maḥṣūṣāt*, such sections (e.g. on the origins of philosophy, of medicine, of alchemy, the beginning of the translated literature, the origin of the "1000 tales") are so extensive that they have the character of a regular history of literature to a much greater degree than the more bibliographical first six *maḥṣūṣāt*. The ninth *maḥṣūṣa* occupies a special position; it is a treatise on the history of religion in which the bibliographical element is not at all prominent. — The sources used by al-Nadīm are mainly of a literary nature. He prefers to use works in copies from the hand of reliable copyists. He comparatively rarely quotes personal authority. — Although a younger contemporary of al-Nadīm's, al-Waṣṣṭ al-Maghribī (d. 418 = 1027), prepared an improved edition of the work, it seems at first to have had only slight influence. The earliest author to make considerable use of the first four *maḥṣūṣāt* (in al-Maghribī's edition) was Yāqūt (d. 626 = 1228) (see Bergsträsser, in *Z.S.*, ii, 185). He claims to have consulted a copy in al-Nadīm's own hand, as does the lexicographer

al-Saghānī, d. 650 (1252) (see *Kātibnāt al-Adab*, iii, 83 *po*). Ibn al-Kāfī (d. 624 = 1226) and Ibn Abī Uṣayb'a (d. 668 = 1269) copied much from the *Fihrist*. In later times it is only occasionally quoted, e.g. by al-Dhahabī (d. 748 = 1347) and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852 = 1448) and lastly by Ḥajjī Khalifa (d. 1067 = 1656) and al-Khafāḍī (d. 969 = 1561). — Al-Nadīm also wrote a *Kitāb al-Awṣāf wa 'l-Taḥṣībāt* (*Fihrist*, p. 12, 2) which has not come down to us.

Bibliography: *Das Kitāb al-Fihrist mit Anmerkungen* hrsg. v. G. Flügel, 2 vols., Leipzig 1871—1872; reprinted Cairo 1345 (also contains the text of the Leyden fragments published by Houtama, in *W.Z.K.M.*, iv, 217 *sqq.*). A new edition is in preparation for the *Bibliotheca Islamica*. — The earlier literature is given in the preface and in the notes to Flügel's edition. — Yāqūt, *Irshād al-Arīb*, ed. Margoliouth, vi, 408; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Liṣān al-Miʿān*, Haidar-ābād 1331, v, 78; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i, 147; J. Fück, *Eine arab. Literaturgeschichte aus dem 10. Jahrhundert* (*Z. D. M. G.*, lxxiv, 11 *sqq.*); H. Ritter, *Zu den Handschriften des Fihrist* (*lit.*, xvii, 15 *sqq.*). Considerable sections of the *Fihrist* are dealt with separately in the following works: A. Müller, *Die griechischen Philosophen in d. arab. Überlieferung*, Halle 1872; Suter, *Das Mathematikerverständnis im Fihrist* (*Abh. z. Gesch. d. math. Wiss.*, vi, 1892); do., *ibid.*, x, 1900 and xiv, 1902; M. Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen u. d. Griech.* (*S. Z. D. M. G.*, i, 371 *sqq.*); Kessler, *Mani*, Berlin 1889, i, 331 *sqq.*; Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen-âge*, Paris 1893, iii, 26 *sqq.* (JOHANN FÜCK).

NADIM, AHMAD, an Ottoman poet, born in Stambul, the son of a judge named Muḥammad Bey who had come from Mersin. His grandfather (according to Gibb, *H. O. P.*, iv, 30) was a military judge named Muṣṭafā. Ahmad Raṣṣ mentions as his great-grandfather Kara-Çelebi-çāde [q. v.] Maḥmūd Efendi who also was a military judge. The genealogy given by Ahmad Raṣṣ is however wrong because he confuses Karaṣmūt Muḥammad Paṣha [q. v.] with Rūm Muḥammad Paṣha. The statement that Ahmad Nadim is descended from Djalāl al-Dīn is therefore simply the result of confusion. Little is known of his life. He was a *shadervān*, later on intimate terms with Ahmad III and his grandvizier Dāmūd İbrāhīm Paṣha [q. v.]. He probably got his *laqab* al-Nadīm from this friendship. Latterly he held the office of librarian in the library founded by his patron Dāmūd İbrāhīm Paṣha. On hearing of the end of İbrāhīm Paṣha and the deposition of the sultan, Nadim lost his life at the beginning of October 1730 (Rabī' I, 1143) in a horrible way; while escaping from the mob leaving the grand-vizier's palace he fell from the roof and was killed. He was buried in Ayās Paṣha in Pera beside the historian Fındıklı İbrāhīm Muḥammad Agha.

Ahmad Nadim is regarded as one of the greatest of Ottoman poets, who is still appreciated for his pure language, free from foreign additions. Many literary historians have discussed his merits as a poet (cf. the specimens collected by Gibb, *H. O. P.*, iv, 30 *sqq.*). His collected poems (*Diwān*; printed Būlak, n. d.; a more recent critical edition with introductions by Ahmad Raṣṣ Bey and Muḥammad Fu'ād Bey appeared in 1338—1340 in Stambul; there are manuscripts of the

Divan in Europe in Munich, London and Vienna) enjoys great popularity. Nadir translated into Turkish the history of Minedjidim-bashi Ahmad Efendi (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 234 sq.; cf. thereon *J. A.*, ser. 7, xlii, 272); he was also one of the Turkish translators of 'Aini's history (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 259 sqq.; the edict relating to this is in Ahmad Rafiq, *Ilari on ikinci azirda Istanbul kuyati, 1100—1200*, Stambul 1930, p. 84 sq.) but the MS. seems to be lost.

Bibliography: Ahmad Rafiq's preface to the new edition of the *Divan*; *Sigill-i 'othmani*, iv, 549 (very superficial; here his grandfather is said to have been a certain *Sadr* Muslih al-Din and his father the judge Muhammad); *Irsmali Muhammad Fu'ad, 'Othmani Mu'ellifi*, ii, 453 sq.; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *G. O. D.*, iv, 310 sqq. (who does not appreciate him highly); Gibb, *H. O. P.*, iv, 30 sqq.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

NADIR SHAH, king of Persia (1147—1160 = 1736—1747).

Origins. Nadir b. Imam-kuli b. Nadir-kuli belonged to the Kirghiz clan of the Turkoman tribe of the Afshars, of which a section had settled in northern Khurasan, and was born on the 28th Muharram 1100 (Oct. 22, 1688) at Kukhan. Entering the service of Tahmasp II, he was called Tahmasp-kuli Khan but after his coronation his original name was improved to Nadir, "the rare one". At an early date Nadir distinguished himself in the incessant fighting with the Turkomans of Nasir, the Camishgazzak Kurds of Khabushan (Kūshān), the Orbeks, the Tatars of Marw and even against his Afshar fellow tribesmen. The little nucleus around Nadir consisted of his Afshar relatives, some Kurds of Daragaz and Ahiward, and 300—400 families of Djalayir Turkomans with their chief Tahmasp-kuli Wakil.

Fighting in Khurasan. During the Afghān invasion of Persia, Mashhad was occupied by Malik Mahmūd, a scion of the Sistan family. Nadir fought against Malik Mahmūd at first on his own initiative. When the Safawid Tahmasp II, driven from his other lands, arrived in Khurasan, Nadir very cleverly supplanted the commander-in-chief Fath 'Ali Khan Kadir and on 16th Rabi' II (Dec. 22) captured Mashhad with the help of treachery. Henceforth it became his headquarters. There were already signs of a breach between Nadir and Tahmasp II at this time.

The Shah urged Nadir to set out against his enemies the Ghilzai Afghans but Nadir wished first of all to dispose of the nearer enemy, the Abdali Afghans of Herat, but the campaigns of 1728 (against the Abdali and the Turkomans) had no success. Nadir however was able to extend the sphere of his activities; he ousted from Astarabad and Mazandaran the governors appointed by Tahmasp and came into conflict with the Russians and the Ghilzai Afghans.

The Abdali. In the meanwhile trouble had broken out in Herat between Allah-yar Khan and Dhu 'l-Fikar Khan. Nadir re-established Allah-yar Khan but transplanted many tribes to Khurasan (1147 = 1727).

The Ghilzai. At this time Ashraf Ghilzai laid siege to Simnan while his general Saydal had gone to Bistun. On the 6th Rabi' I (Nov. 27, 1729), Nadir defeated the Afghans on the banks of the river Mihnanduz. This victory he followed up by others.

Nadir in S.W. Persia. Tahmasp appealed to Nadir to complete the deliverance of the country. Leaving Shiraz and crossing Laristan, Nadir arrived in Burujird where the Shah sent him a crown set with precious stones and a commission (*shah-nama*) as wali of all Khurasan along with Mazandaran, Yazd, Kirman and Sistan (cf. also 'Ali Hasa, p. 189). Tahmasp also gave his sister Gawhar-ahad to Nadir and betrothed his other sister Fatima-sultan to Rida-kuli Mirza.

The Ottomans who then occupied the whole of western Persia and the greater part of Transcaucasia were reluctant to leave Persia. Nadir occupied Nihawand, defeated the Turks at Malayer, retook Hamadan and on the 27th Muharram 1143 (Aug. 13, 1730) Tabriz was retaken.

Nadir returns to the east. Nadir learned in Tabriz that Dhu 'l-Fikar Abdali having driven Allah-yar Khan from Herat was fighting Nadir's brother Ibrahim Khan under the walls of Mashhad. Nadir at once set out for Khurasan, crossing the steppe of the Yomut Turkomans and towards the end of Rabi' II (Nov. 1730) was at Mashhad where he reviewed 56,000 families of the tribes transplanted from other provinces.

On the 4th Shawwal (April 12, 1731) Nadir was 3 farsakhs from Herat. In the month of August the Abdali restored Nadir's candidate Allah-yar Khan but the latter regaining contact with his tribe now rebelled. It was not till Ramadan 1, 1144 (Feb. 27, 1732) that Herat was taken.

Failure of Tahmasp II. Taking advantage of the absence of his commander-in-chief, the Shah resumed the initiative in the military operations and in Djumada II 1143 (end of Dec. 1730) set out against the Ottomans. Fearing the return of Nadir the Ottomans on Jan. 10, 1732 signed a preliminary treaty at Baghdad by which the Persians retained only the lands south of the Araxes. Later on Jan. 21—Feb. 1, 1732 the Shah's representatives signed at Rasht a treaty with the Russians by which the latter bound themselves to evacuate the lands south of Saliyan (on the Kur) while the return of Bakli and Darband was made dependent on the reconquest of Transcaucasia by the Persians.

Deposition of Tahmasp II. Nadir was indignant at the peace with the Turks signed after a defeat. Setting aside the Shah's authority, Nadir Shah denounced the treaty and appointed his own governors everywhere. Tahmasp was deported to Khurasan and his son 'Abbasa III, an infant in the cradle, proclaimed king on the 17th Rabi' I 1145 (July 7, 1732).

First campaign against the Ottomans. Having punished the Bakhtiarys and the Kurds, Nadir occupied Zohab and besieged Baghdad (Jan. 1733). Ahmad Pasha made the negotiations drag on until the army commanded by Topal 'Othman Pasha had time to come to Mesopotamia. On 6th Safar 1146 (July 19, 1733) Nadir Shah lost the battle fought on the Tigris and returned to Hamadan via Bahriz and Mandandjin (Mandal).

Arriving there on 22nd Safar (Aug. 4) Nadir set out again for Zohab on the 22nd Rabi' II (Oct. 2) and then attacked Memish Pasha who had occupied the pass of Agh-darband (1st Djumada II = Nov. 9, 1733). Then Topal 'Othman Pasha with the bulk of his army intervened in the battle but lost it and had his head cut off. The Ottomans hastened to abandon Adharbaidjan. By the 15th Radjab (Dec. 22) Nadir was already on his way

to Persia via Baghshay (Ba-kushay), Bayat, Bayan and Shidaktar.

Mahmūd Bālūc. The reason of this hurried move was the rebellion raised by Mahmūd Khān Bālūc in S. W. Persia. Mahmūd Khān was quickly driven from the pass of Shūlīstān and on 27th Shawwāl (Feb. 1, 1734) Nadir reoccupied Shīrāz.

Campaign in Transcaucasia. In Isfahān Nadir received the Turkish ambassador 'Abd al-Karīm Efendi and informed him that the retrocession of Transcaucasia was a *pace qua non* of peace. On the other hand, prince S. D. Golitsine was received at Isfahān on May 20-31, 1734 and thereafter by Nadir's order accompanied him everywhere (his itinerary in Lerch-Schmese). On the 12th Muharram 1147 (June 17, 1734) Nadir left Isfahān for Āghar-bāydān and as the Turks did not reply, Nadir began by attacking the Daghestān chief (Ghāzi-Kumūk) Surkhay whom the Porte had appointed governor of Shirwān. Tahmasp Kuli Djalayir defeated the Daghestānians near Dīwā-batān (in the district of Kābala) while Nadir to cut off the retreat penetrated into the heart of the extremely difficult region of Ghāzi-Kumūk. In spite of the exploits of the Abdālī the success gained in Daghestān was only partial for Surkhay had escaped to the north.

On 6th Djumādā II (Nov. 3, 1734) Nadir was before the walls of Gandja, which was defended by 'Alī Pāshā. The siege necessitated considerable works and prince Golitsine procured Russian engineers for Nadir. On March 21, 1735 a treaty was signed at Gandja by which Russia and Persia became practically allies.

On 1st Muharram 1148 (May 26, 1735) Nadir went first to Kars but the encounter with 'Abd Allāh Pāshā Köprülü-bade took place near Erivān on the plain of Baghsward; on 26th Muharram (June 18, 1735) the Ottomans were defeated. Gandja thereupon capitulated on the 17th Safar (July 8) and Tiflis on 22nd Rabi' I (Aug. 13).

Nadir returns to Daghestān. Via Tiflis [q. v.], from which 6,000 families were transferred to Khurāsān, Nadir attacked the Lezgi of Dār and Tala (north of the Alazan). The Khān of the Crimea Kaplan Giray, who had in the meanwhile advanced as far as Darband and had placed his nominees everywhere, withdrew to the Crimea and Nadir endeavoured to pacify Daghestān but Surkhay still evaded capture.

Nadir proclaimed king. On 13th Ramaḍān (Jan. 27, 1736) Nadir came to Mughān [q. v.] where in the meanwhile the governors and notables of the province had assembled. It was explained to them that Nadir, having liberated Persia, wished to retire to Khurāsān and that the delegates were free to put the government in the hands of Tahmasp II or 'Abbās III "who were alive". Nadir finally accepted the crown but on condition that the Persians abandoned the Shi'a practices introduced by Ismā'īl I which were "contrary to the beliefs of Nadir's ancestors". The Persians were to form a fifth orthodox madhhab, placed under the patronage of the Imām Djalāl Sādiq. A document to this effect was sealed by the assembly. The five clauses of the treaty to be proposed to Turkey were next drawn up: 1. the Turks were to recognise the new Djalālī rite; 2. the latter was to be given a place of prayer (*rakna*) at Mecca; 3. Persia was to send an amir al-hudūd every year through Syria; 4. prisoners should be exchanged and 5. ambas-

sadors were to be exchanged after mutual approval of the appointments. The formal coronation of Nadir took place on Thursday, 24th Shawwāl 1148.

Kandahār. This principality in which Husain Khān, brother of Mahmūd, still asserted himself remained the only black spot on the horizon. Leaving Isfahān on 2nd Shawwāl (Feb. 3, 1737), Nadir was before Kandahār before Nawrūz 1149 (March 1737) and had a new town built on the site of his camp (Surkha-Shir) which was called Nadirābād.

Kandahār capitulated on the 2nd Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1150 (March 23, 1738). The citadel was dismantled.

Expedition into India. So far Nadir's military expeditions had been dictated by a desire to reestablish the old frontiers of the Safawid empire. The expedition to India was provoked solely by the attraction of ill-guarded provinces and by the desire to replenish the treasury exhausted by repeated campaigns. Ghazni was occupied on the 22nd Safar 1151 (June 11, 1738), Kābul on 12th Rabi' I (June 30), Djalālābād on 8th Djumādā II (Sept. 17). From the neighbourhood of the latter town, the prince Rida-Kuli was sent back to Persia to act as regent; he and his brother Naṣr Allāh were given crowns.

Going via Sarēbbā Nadir avoided the Khairat Pass and took prisoner Naṣr-Khān, governor of Faghāwar. On 15th Ramaḍān (Dec. 27) Nadir left this town. He next took Lahore and reappointed the local governor Zakariyā-Khān (a Khurāsānian). (Naṣr-Khān also was restored to his post). Leaving Lahore on 26th Shawwāl (Feb. 6, 1739) Nadir learned that Muhammad Shāh had reached Kānāi and was in a place between the jungle and the river. He succeeded in cutting Muhammad Shāh off from his capital and hastened to attack the reinforcements which Sa'ādat-Khān (a Khurāsānian) was bringing from the province of Oudh. Thus began the decisive battle of 15th Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1151 (Feb. 24, 1739) in which the commander-in-chief Khān Dawrān was mortally wounded and Sa'ādat-Khān captured. Nadir and Muhammad Shāh entered the capital where Nadir's name was inserted in the *khutbas* and coins struck in his name. On the 15th Dhu 'l-Hijjā (March 26, 1739) a rumour spread that Nadir had been assassinated and the populace massacred 3,000-7,000 of his soldiers. Next morning Nadir went to the mosque and gave the signal for the massacre of the inhabitants. On 26th Dhu 'l-Hijjā (April 6) Naṣr Allāh Mirzā was married to a Mughal princess. On 31st Safar 1152 (May 12, 1739) a great council was held in Dihli in the course of which Nadir replaced the crown on the head of Muhammad Shāh but the latter had in return to cede to Nadir all the provinces north of the Indus. The amount levied by Nadir cannot be estimated. According to Anandām, who was attached to the vizier's office, it amounted to 6,000,000 rupees in specie and 500,000,000 in jewels and precious stones, including the Koh-i-Nūr diamond and the Peacock throne. Large sums were distributed among the soldiers and the people of Persia exempted from taxation for three years.

Nadir left Dihli and reached Kābul on 1st Ramaḍān (Dec. 12). Now took place one of the most remarkable of his expeditions. He suddenly turned back to reduce the lord of Sind Khudā-yar Khān 'Abdālī (a native of Siwt, cf. Malcolm, *op. cit.*, ii. 88) and going via Bangash, Lākānā and Shahdād-pūr penetrated into the desert south of

the Indus and took Khudā-yār prisoner; he had shut himself up in Umārkot (north of Thar and Parkar in the province of Bombay). Having organised his Indian possessions in three provinces Nadir returned to Nadir-ābād (via Stwt and Shāl) on 7th Šafar (May 5, 1749).

Nadir in Turkestan. Nadir returned to Herāt on 10th Rabi' I (June 5) and after a fortnight devoted to festivities set out for Balkh which he reached on 7th Djumādā I (July 31). Arriving before Bukhārā on 19th Djumādā II (Sept. 22), Nadir treated Khān Abu 'l-Faiz kindly and renewed his investiture by crowning him with his own hands. The Oxus was proclaimed the frontier and the Khān had to supply Nadir with 20,000 Ozbegs and Turkomans, which indirectly left in the hands of the conqueror the control of the internal affairs of Bukhārā.

On the 16th Radjab (Oct. 7), Nadir had set out for Khwārizm. The fleet followed the army. The Khān Il-Bars of Hazārāsp retired to his fortress of Khanakāh which surrendered on 24th Šahbān after bombardment. Finally Khrwa, the capital of the kingdom, also capitulated. By 4th Shawwāl (Dec. 23) Nadir had returned to Čardjūly and entered Mashhad at the end of Shawwāl.

Nadir sets out again for Transcaucasia. While in India, Nadir had learned of the death of his brother Ibrahim Khān who had been killed by the Lari rebels of Džar and Tala. To punish them, Nadir left Mashhad and on his way learned that the Abdālī troops who had been sent in advance had already ravaged Džar, Džawukh (?) and Aškīr, but the pacification of Daghestān was by no means complete.

An incident that followed marks the turning-point in the career of Nadir Shah. On the 28th Šafar (May 15, 1741) near Kafā-yi Awlād (Mazandarān) an unknown man concealed in the brushwood shot at Nadir, wounding him slightly. Connecting this with events in Daghestān Mahdī Khān says that the crime was committed by a slave of the son of Dilāwar Khān Tāimani (q. v.) but suspicion very soon turned upon the prince Rījā-Kulī who had besides not behaved well during his regency. He was sent for the time to Tihīn while Nadir continued his march via Kāzwīn, Karadjadagh, Bards' and Kābala.

In June 1741, for the third time, Nadir entered Daghestān and remained there a year and a half. The shamkhāl of Tarkhān, the *umī* of the Kara-Kaytak and Surkhāy Khān of the Ghāzī Kumūk came over to Nadir but new difficulties kept cropping up. Relations with Russia became somewhat strained for the Russian representatives suspected Nadir of designs on the northern Caucasus. As a precaution the Russians in May 1742 concentrated 42,000 men at Kīrlar (s. Butbow, I. 220). Cares were undermining the health and character of Nadir. At the beginning of Dec. 1742 when the camp was at Bāghlu the heir to the throne Rījā-Kulī, denounced by the author of the attempt on Nadir in Mazandarān, was blinded after a form of trial. Nadir himself was thoroughly upset by this incident. Rebellion was now threatening everywhere (in Khwārizm and in Balkh).

Third campaign against the Turks. In Dhu 'l-Kāda I 1742, the Turkish ambassador brought from Constantinople a letter from the Sultan refusing to recognise the fifth *madghab*. Nadir then reminded the Sultan that the whole

of Persian territory had not been regained from Turkey and added that he soon would take the field to make his own terms.

Nadir left Daghestān on the 16th Dhu 'l-Hijja (Feb. 7, 1742) and came to Kirkūk (14th Djumādā II = Aug. 5, 1742) which capitulated as did Irbil. On the 26th Radjab (Oct. 5) Nadir arrived near Mawqil but the siege of this fortress was unsuccessful and on 2nd Ramaḡān (Oct. 20) he retreated to Kirkūk and Khanakān. Friendly relations were established with Ahmad Pasha of Baghdad. Nadir with his wives made the pilgrimage to the Shi' and Sunnī sanctuaries of Mesopotamia and on the 24th Shawwāl 1156 (Dec. 12, 1743) summoned a great assembly of ecclesiastics at Najaf. The document drawn up by Mahdī Khān summing up the discussions confirmed the renunciation by the Persians of the "heresy of Šahā Ismā'īl", while the "ulama" of Mesopotamia and Transcaucasia recognised the claims of Džāfar al-Šadīk and declared the special features (*farūq*) of the Persian beliefs compatible with Islām. The Sunnī theologian 'Abd Allāh b. Husain al-Suwaidī, *Kitāb al-Hudūd al-farīya li-tafah al-Firāk al-Ilāmīya*, Cairo 1324, also gives a very interesting summary of this dispute; cf. Ritter, *ib.*, xv., 1926, I. 106 and the detailed account by Prof. A. E. Schmidt, *Ishtori-i sunnī-ko-chīlīskīh atnashenī* in the *Id al-Djumāl* (Barthold Festschrift, Tashkent 1927, p. 69-107).

Rebellions. The strange abandonment of the campaign in Mesopotamia is to be explained by the new risings in the east. Much more important was the rising in Fārs led by the beglerbegi Taqī Khān, a great favourite of Nadir. He was ultimately captured and castrated. In Astarābād the Kādžars rose against the oppression of the governor's son (Hanway, *Hist. Account*, I. 192). Nadir had to send his nephew 'Alī Kulī to Khwārizm. Finally the Ottomans of Kārs disseminated in Aḡharbāldjān letters from the new pretender Šafī Mirzā (Muḡammad 'Alī Rafsīndjānī) and then refused to begin an exchange of prisoners.

Fourth Campaign against the Turks. In the meanwhile the Porte equipped a new army (150,000 horse and 40,000 janissaries) which advanced on Erzerum and Kārs under the command of the former vizier Yegen Muḡammad Pāshā while 'Abd Allāh Pāshā Džebedjī's army went via Diyārbakr and Mawqil. On the 21st Radjab (Aug. 20) came the news of the victory won by Naḡr Allāh Mirzā over 'Abd Allāh Pāshā's army (near Mawqil) and at the same time Yegen Muḡammad Pāshā died leaving his army in complete disorder. Nadir again won a brilliant victory (on the very scene of his first victory in 1735) but then, quite unexpectedly, wrote to the Sultan saying he was abandoning the first two clauses of Muḡhān. Personal fatigue may explain why Nadir could not exploit his success.

On Sept. 4, 1746, peace was signed with the Turkish envoys and on 10th Muharram 1160 (Jan. 22, 1747) the Shah's representatives (Muḡtafā Khān Šamlu and the historian Mahdī Khān) set out for Constantinople with the *ḡulsh-nāma*. Nadir renounced his famous religious clauses in favour of the Sultan, "the Khalifa of the people of Islām and the glory of the Turkoman race". By the treaty the frontier was restored to that of the time of Murād IV (cf. TABRIZ) but in a platonic fashion, Nadir expressed the wish to receive one

of the provinces which had belonged to the "Turkoman Sultans".

On the 10th Muharram, Nadir left for Kirmān marking his route by piles of skulls erected everywhere. After the Nawrūz, Nadir returned to Mashhad and devoted himself to "spilling the blood of the innocents". His conduct was now clearly abnormal. In an epilogue to his history written after the death of Nadir, Mahdī Khān records the denunciations, executions and extortions carried out by the agents of the treasury and the ruin of the country, which had however begun before the Indian expedition (Otter, *Résidents russes*, Hanway, I. 230). The Shī'ī opposition must also have been intensified in view of the frankly Sunnī turn which Nadir's "Khurāsānīan" policy had taken.

The rising in Sīstān, which brought matters at a head was provoked by the activities of the tax collectors who were demanding a contribution of 300,000 tumāns from the province. 'Alī Kulī Mirzā, nephew of Nadir, put himself at the head of the rebels. Even Tahmāsp Kulī Khān Dīlāyir, the most faithful prop of the throne, wanted to proclaim one of Nadir's sons as king. The troubles spread to Khurāsān and the Kurds of Khābāshān raided the royal stables at Rādān. Nadir marched on them but on the eve of 11th Djumādā II 1160 (June 20, 1147) he was assassinated in his camp near Fathābād by the Khājār and Afghār chiefs in conspiracy with the bodyguard. Father Barin was a witness of the disorder which broke out in the camp after the assassination. On the 27th Djumādā II (July 5, 1752) 'Alī Kulī Mirzā came from Herāt and was proclaimed king. All the royal princes were massacred.

The treasure amassed by Nadir was soon scattered to the winds; the country, utterly exhausted, was in the throes of crisis. Nadir's attempts to compose religious difficulties had failed completely, but Persian territory and its periphery were cleared of enemies. But for Nadir Shāh, Persia would probably not exist, even in its present bounds.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Mahsīn, *muṣawwif of Nadir, Zubdat al-Tawārīkh*, Brit. Mus., Or. 3498, fol. 184* (where Nadir is mentioned as *Nāḍir-i Ullāh-yi Abnārd*) — fol. 190; Mahdī Khān Astarābādī, *Tārīkh-i Nadirī*, a valuable work by the official historiographer (numerous MSS. and oriental lithographs uncritically edited); the French translation *Histoire de Nadir Shah* by W. Jones, London 1770 — source of the majority of the later works — completely out of date; Mahdī Khān Astarābādī, *Durra-yi Nadir*, lithographed at Bombay 1280 (1863); Muḥammad Kāqīm (waṣīr of Marw), *Nadīr-nāma*; of this recently discovered work only volumes II (327 pages folio: years 1736-1743) and III (251 pages folio: end of the reign to the retreat of the Persians from Turkeṣtān) are in the Asiatic Museum of Leningrad, cf. Barthold, *Izv. Akad. Nauk*, 1919, p. 927, and *Zap.*, xxv, p. 85 (according to Barthold, this work: "by the wealth of its data far surpasses... all the other sources not even excepting Mirzā Mahdī: it will undoubtedly become the fundamental source for the study of the reign").

Shāhkh 'Alī Hasān, *Tārīkh-i Abwāl*, ed. and transl. by Belfour, L. 1831, p. 162-288 (to the year 1154 = 1742; pro-Safawid); Khāḍja 'Abd al-Karīm Khān Kashmīrī, *Bayān al-Wāqī'*, English transl. by F. Gladwin, *The memoirs of*

Khājeh Abdulkarīm, Calcutta 1788 (the events before 1739 are omitted in the translation), French transl. by Langlès, *Voyage de l'Inde à la Mekke*, Paris 1797 (transl. from the English with further abbreviations); Abu 'l-Hasan b. Muḥammad Amīn, *Mudjmal al-Tārīkh-i ḥād-Nadīrīya*, ed. O. Mann, Leyden 1891, p. 9-21 (death of Nadir); Rāqī al-Dīn Tafrashī, *History of Persia between 1136 and 1193*, Br. Mus. Add. 6787, fol. 185-218: on Nadir, cf. fol. 186b-204; Ḥasan Fāsā'i, *Fāre-nāma-yi Nāqirī* (a few documents issued by Nadir).

Indian sources: Elliot-Dowson, *The History of India*, 1877, viii.; W. Irvine, *Later Mughals* (1719-1739), 1922, ii. Cf. also the letter from Nadir announcing his victory in India, Br. Mus., Egerton 1004, fol. 115-125; Nīrām al-Dīn Siyālkotī, *Shāh-nāma-yi Nadīrī* (a poem on the invasion of India, written in 1162), Br. Mus., Add. 26285 (fol. 1-130); letter from Père Salgues (v. i.); Tamburī Artin (v. i.); king Inakli (v. i.).

Turkish sources: Hammer, *G.O.R.*, chap. lxiv.-lxvi. and lxviii.-lxix., cf. the edition of 1831, vol. vii. and viii.; 2nd ed., vol. iv.; French transl., vol. iii. (from the chronicles of Subhī and of 'Isī, but especially based on Mahdī Khān and Hanway). Cf. the list of 6 Turkish accounts of the campaigns against Nadir in Bahioger, *G.O.W.*, p. 289, and *ibid.*; 'Abd al-Razzāq Newroz, *Tehrīzi-yi Hekīm-e-ghāh 'Alī Pāshā* (campaign of 1143 = 1730); Mehmed Raḡhīb Pāshā, *Taḥḥīk wa-Tawfīk* (negotiations of 1149 = 1736); Sirrī, account of the campaign of 1157 = 1744; Nu'mān Ṣāliḥ-rāde, *Tadwīr-i ferdīde* (journey to Hamadān with Aḥmad Pāshā Kesriyeli in 1160 = 1747).

Armenian sources: The Catholicos Abraham of Crete, *Mon histoire et celle de Nadir*, transl. from Armenian by Brosset, *Collection d'historiens arméniens*, II, 1876, p. 259-338 (eye-witness of the battle of Eghaward and of the election of Nadir in 1736, interesting details on the organisation of the army etc.); Akop, *Var-dapēt of Shavakha, Shakhafakan*; this MS. collection composed in 1743 contains a brief chronicle of the years 1722-1736 (visit of Nadir to Esmādzin, battle of Eghaward), cf. Ter-Avetisyan in *Bull. Kavkaz. Inter-Archaeol. Instit.*, Leningrad 1929, No. 3, p. 13; Tamburī Arathlun, *Tahmasp knia khānsh tavarīkhī yāzīlūz Itambella Tamburī Acutinden asmanlı illis-ile yoldjulu-ghunda Aghemistan tarafarına* (popular Turkish in Armenian characters), Venice 1800, French transl. by Yacoub Artin pasha, *Journal de Tambour Arathlun sur la conquête de l'Inde par Nadir Shah*, 1735-1740, in *Bull. de l'Institut Egyptien*, 1914, premier fascicule, p. 168-232.

Georgian and Caucasian sources: *Essai sur les troubles actuels de Persie et de la Géorgie*, 1754, p. 88 and *passim*; Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, II, p. 129-136 (Nadir's coming to Tiflis); II, p. 354-370; Borgé, *Akt sobranīye Kavkaz. arkhivn. komiss.*, I, Tiflis 1866, p. 73-74: three firmāns of Nadir; Butkow, *Materiali dlia novoy istorii Kavkaza* (1722-1803), St. Petersburg 1869, cf. detailed index; Kozubaki, *Bibliografiya Daghestana*, appended to the *Annuaire du Daghestan* de 1905.

Russian sources: W. Bratschkow, *Istoriya*

proisshodzhikh mshin Shahom Nadrom i Reza Kuli mirasya pitalabkh proisshodzhikh v Persii 1741-1742, St. Petersburg 1763, 84 pp. 16"; J. J. Lorch, *Nachricht von der zweiten Reise nach Persien*, in *Büchling's Magazin*, 1776, vol. x., p. 365-476; Yuzefovitch, *Dogovor Rossi i Vostokom*, St. Petersburg 1869, p. xi-xv and 185-207; S. M. Solov'ev, *Istorika Rossii*, vol. xix.-xxii.

Contemporary European sources [the works which have not been accessible to me are marked *]: *Voyages de Basile Vatace en Europe et en Asie* (rhymed narrative in modern Greek ed. and transl. by Legrand) in *Nouveaux mélanges orientaux*, Ecole des Langues Orientales, Paris 1886, p. 185-295. Vatace also wrote a *Terapia vo svyaz Nadir* of which there is a synopsis in [*Δυσπέρσις Φαρμακείας*] *Terapia vō: Πουγκύλας*, 8°, Leipzig 1816, as an appendix to vol. II, p. 3-22 (of no importance); Voulton, *Verdadada e exacta Noticia de Thamas Kouli Khan da Persia no Império da Gram Magor, tterista na lingua Persiana em Delhy em 21. IV. 1739 e mandada a Roma por Mons. Voulton*, Lisbon 1740, transl. into English by L. Lockhart, in *Bull. of the School of Oriental Studies*, iv., 1926, p. 223-245; *Le Margue, *Vida de Thamas Kouli-Kan*, Madrid 1741 (probably a translation); J. Spilman, *A journey through Russia into Persia . . . in 1739, to which is annexed a summary account [p. 51-60] of the rise of the famous Kouli Kan*, L. 1742; * [Anonymous], *The compleat History of Thamas Kouli kan, I (Persian Empire), II (Indostan)*, 1742; J. Fraser, *The History of Nadir Shah*, London 1742; [Le P. du Cerceau], *Histoire de Thamas Kouli kan Sophi de Perse*, Amsterdam (Arktée and Merkus) 1740, 2 vol.; [Barbier, *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes*, 1873, II, 736, attributes this work to the Jesuit du Cerceau, author of the *Histoire de la dernière révolution de Perse*, Paris 1728, based on the narrative of Krusinski]; [Anonymous], *A genuine history of the conquest of the Mogul's country, translated from the original Persian MS. into Dutch by order of J. A. Sechterman, president of the Dutch factory at Bengal, and now done into English* (this comes down to 1739 and differs from the preceding work); [A. de Clastre], *Histoire de Thamas Kouli kan, nouveau roi de Perse, ou hstoires de la dernière révolution de Perse arrivées en 1732*, Paris 1742, republ. in 1758 (this compilation by the Lyons priest de Clastre is quite different from the work of du Cerceau, cf. Barbier, *op. cit.*, II, 736). The accounts of the Jesuit fathers are collected in vol. IV. of the *Lettres édifiantes écrites des Missions Étrangères*, new ed., Paris 1780 (the arrangement of this edition is different from that of the original edition): *Relation historique des révolutions de Perse sous Thamas Kouli-kan, jusqu'à son expédition dans l'Inde, tirée de différentes lettres écrites de Perse par des Missionnaires jésuites*, p. 169-230 (= 1st ed., vol. 25, p. 311); *lettre du P. Suignes* (Chandernagor, Feb. 10, 1740, on the invasion by Nadir), p. 230-264 (= 1st ed., vol. 25, p. 402); Frère Bazin, *Mémoires sur les dernières années du règne de Thamas Kouli Kan*, p. 277-322 (= 1st ed., vol. 9, p. 14); do., *Les révolutions qui suivirent la*

mort de Thamas Kouli-Kan, p. 322-353 (= 1st ed., vol. 9, p. 83); * [Anonymous], *Histoire de Thamas Kouli-Kan, roi de Perse*, new ed. with supplement, Milan 1747 (reissue of Clastre's work ?); Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse* (1734-1739), Paris 1748; La Mamyre-Clairac, *Histoire de Perse depuis le commencement de ce siècle*, 3 vol., Paris 1750; J. Hanway, *A historical account of the British trade on the Caspian sea*, 1753, = index; do., *The revolutions of Persia*, London 1753, II, p. 1-103, containing the history of the celebrated usurper Nadir Kouli from his birth in 1687 till his death in 1747; L. di Santa Cecilia, *carmelitano saleso, Palestina, Persia, Mesopotamia*, Rome 1753, II, 152, 157, 161-162, 217; III, 39; Col. Gentili, *Abrégé historique des souverains de l'Indoustan*, 1772 (MS. of the Bibl. Nat., Fr. 24219).

General surveys: Sir J. Malcolm, *History of Persia*, 1815, p. 33-108; C. R. Markham, *A general Sketch of the History of Persia*, L. 1874, p. 298-318; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, 1887, II, 379-382; C. Horn in the *Grundriss d. Iran. Philologie*, II, 587-592; Sir P. Sykes, *A History of Persia*, 1915, II, 331-369; E. G. Browne, *A Liter. History of Persia*, IV, 132-138 (following Hanway). All these are obsolete or defective. A thesis on Nadir for a doctorate of London is in preparation by L. Lockhart. Cf. also R. Stuart Poole, *The Coins of the Shahs of Persia*, Brit. Mus., 1887, p. xlix, lxi, 72-84 (60 pieces described); R. B. Whitehead, *The Coins of the Durrani and of Nadir Shāh*, Oxford 1933; General Kishmishiev, *Pokhod Nadir Shaha v Herat, Kandahar, Indiyu i vostochnu v Persii poisle yego smerti*, Tiflis 1889 (Nadir's campaigns from the soldier's point of view; cf. *Zap.*, VI, 1892, p. 351); Sir Mortimer Durand, *Nadir Shah*, London 1908 (a novel, with several contemporary illustrations); do., *Nadir Shah*, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, I, 286-298 (general sketch); Sa'id Naftai, *Akhira-yi yadigar-i Nadir-shah*, Tibriz, *Madjalla-yi Sharh*, 1300, 31 pages (story in dramatic form). The career of Nadir Shah impressed the imaginations of the peoples whom he conquered. In addition to Indian and Persian panegyrics there is a poem in the *Gurani* dialect (spoken in Kurdistan): on Nadir Shah and Topal 'Othman Pasha and a Daghestanian song collected in the district of Ghunib: on the highlanders' fight against Nadir (cf. *Daghestanskii zhurnal*, Makhache-Kala, 1927, III, p. 31-33). In Europe of the XVIII century it was seriously discussed whether Nadir Shah was a European adventurer: there are also several contemporary works in French, German and Portuguese, the subjects of which are the deeds real or imaginary of Nadir Shah like *L'expédition de Thamas Kouli kan dans les cours de l'Europe* by the Abbé Rochebrun, Cologne 1746 etc. (V. MINORSKY).

NADIR (NĀDIR AL-SAMT or AL-NĀDIR *kar'* نادر), the bottom, the pole of the horizon (invisible) under the observer in the direction of the vertical, also the deepest (lowest) point in the sphere of heaven. The nadir is the opposite pole to the zenith [q. v.].

The word *nadir* (from *nāpara*, "to see", "to observe") originally (and generally) means the

point diametrically opposite a point on the circumference of a circle or the surface of a sphere; we find *muḥāḍir* as a synonym of *nadir* in this general meaning (cf. also *MUGHALA*).

(WILLY HARTNER)

NADIR (BANU 'I-), one of the two main Jewish tribes of Madina, settled in Yathrib from Palestine at an unknown date, as a consequence of Roman pressure after the Jewish wars. Al-Ya'qūbī (ii. 49) says they were a section of the Qudhām Arabs, converted to Judaism and first settled on Mount al-Nadīr, whence their name; according to the *Sira Ḥalabiya* (Cairo, iii. 2) they were a truly Jewish tribe, connected with the Jews of Khaybar. This seems the more probable, but a certain admixture of Arab blood is possible; like the other Jews of Madina they bore Arabic names, but kept aloof from the Arabs, spoke a peculiar dialect, and had enriched themselves with agriculture, money-lending, business in armour and jewels.

They were clients of the Aws, siding with them in their conflicts with the Khazraj, and entering with them into the compact with Muḥammad known as the Constitution of Madina in 1 A.H. Their most important chief at this time was Ḥuṣayf b. Akḥṭab, whose daughter Saḥīya became Muḥammad's wife in 7 A.H. For a list of Muḥammad's worst enemies among the Banu 'I-Nadīr see Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, p. 351—352.

Their fortresses were half a day's march from Madina, and they owned land in Wādī Buḥān and Buwaira; their dwelling places were south of the city.

The Banu 'I-Nadīr seem to have been in (commercial) relations with Abū Sufyān before the battle of Uhud. In 4 A.H., in Raḥī' I, owing to difficulties about the Banu 'I-Nadīr's contribution to certain blood-money which was being collected from the whole Muslim community in Madina, Muḥammad, who had personally negotiated the matter with their chiefs, became convinced of their enmity towards himself and suspected them of intending to kill him. He decided to get rid of such dangerous neighbours, and ordered them through Muḥammad b. Maslama al-Awsī to leave the city within ten days, under penalty of death, allowing them to take with them all their movable goods, and to return each year to gather the produce of their palm-groves.

The tribe, having no hope of help from the Aws, agreed to leave, but 'Abī Allāh b. Ubayy al-Khazrajī, chief of the *muḥāḍirūn*, persuaded them to resist in their fortresses, promising to send 2,000 men to their aid. Ḥuṣayf b. Akḥṭab, hoping the Banū Quraysh would also help them, prepared to resist, in the face of opposition from moderate elements in the tribe.

The siege lasted about a fortnight, help from the *muḥāḍirūn* was not forthcoming, and when the Muslims began to cut down their palms the Banu 'I-Nadīr surrendered. Muḥammad's conditions were much harder than formerly; their immovable property was forfeited, and nothing left them but what they could take away on camels, arms alone excepted. After two days' bargaining the tribe departed with a caravan of 600 camels; some went to Syria, others to Khaybar.

The Banu 'I-Nadīr's booty Muḥammad did not divide in the usual manner; the land was distributed among the *muḥāḍirūn*, so as to relieve the *Anṣār*

of their maintenance; part of it the Prophet kept for himself.

Sūrat al-Ḥaḡḡ (lix.) was revealed upon the expulsion of the Banu 'I-Nadīr.

From Khaybar the exiles planned with the Quraysh the siege of Madina in 10 A.H. The treasure of the Banu 'I-Nadīr was captured by Muḥammad in Khaybar in 7 A.H.

Bibliography: Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, i. A.H., § 38, 39, 58; 4 A.H., § 10—14; Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, p. 652—661; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Qurān*, p. 153; Vākūt, *Muḡjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 662—663, 756; Weninck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, p. 22, 33, 199, 156 sqq.; R. Leszyński, *Die Juden in Arabien*, Berlin 1910. (V. VACCA)

AL-NADJAF (MASHHAD 'ALĪ), a town and place of pilgrimage in the 'Irāq 6 miles west of al-Kūfa. It lies on the edge of the desert on a flat barren eminence from which the name al-Nadja has been transferred to it (A. Muall, *The Middle Euphrates*, p. 35).

According to the usual tradition, the Imām al-Mu'min 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib [q.v.] was buried near Kūfa, not far from the dam which protected the city from flooding by the Euphrates at the place where the town of al-Nadja later arose (Vākūt, *Muḡjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 760), also called Nadja al-Kūfa (Zamakhshari, *Lexicon geographicum*, ed. Salverda de Grave, p. 153). Under Umayyad rule the site of the grave near al-Kūfa had to be concealed. As a result it was later sought in different places, by many in al-Kūfa itself in a corner above the *ḥilla* of the mosque, by others again 2 farsakhs from al-Kūfa (al-Iṣṭakhri, ed. de Goeje, *B.G.A.*, i. 82 sq.; Ibn Hawḡal, *ibid.*, ii. 163). According to a third story, 'Alī was buried in al-Madina near Fāṭima's grave (al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūḡi al-Dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, viii. 289), according to a fourth, at Kaṣr al-Imāra (Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, x. 1926, p. 967 sq., A.H. 40, § 99). Perhaps then the sanctuary of al-Nadja is not the real burial-place but a tomb held in reverence in the pre-Islamic period, especially as the graves of Adam and Noah were also shown there (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Taḡha*, ed. Deffremery and Sanguinetti, i. 416; G. Jacob in A. Nöldeke, *Das Heiligtum al-Husain in Kerbela*, Berlin 1909, p. 38, note 1). It was not till the time of the Hamdanid of al-Mawṣil Abū 'I-Haḍḍā [see 'ANTI ALLĀH b. HAMDĀN] that a large *ḥabba* was built by him over 'Alī's grave, adorned with precious carpets and curtains and a citadel built there (Ibn Hawḡal, *op. cit.*, p. 163). The Shī'ī Bayd 'Aḡud al-Dawla [q.v.] in 369 (979—980) built a mausoleum, which was still in existence in the time of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, and was buried there, as were his sons Sheraf and Bahā' al-Dawla. Al-Nadja was already a small town with a circumference of 2,500 paces (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ed. Tornberg, viii. 518; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuṣṣat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 32; in the year 366 = 976—977). Ḥasan b. al-Faḡl, who died about 414 (1023—24) built the defensive walls of Maḡhad 'Alī (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ix. 154). The Maḡhad was burned in 443 (1051—1052) by the fanatical populace of Baghdad but must have been soon rebuilt. The Saljuḡ sultan Malikshāh and his vizier Niḡm al-Mulk who were in Baghdad in 479 (1086—1087) visited the sanctuaries of 'Alī and Ḥusain (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, x. 103). The Ilkhān Ghāṣān (1295—1304),

according to Hamid Allāh Mustawfī, built in al-Nadjaf a Dār al-Siyāda and a dervish monastery (*ḥanḡāh*). The Mongol governor of Baghdad in 1263 led a canal from the Euphrates to al-Nadjaf but it soon became silted up and was only cleared out again in 1508 by order of Shāh Ismā'īl. This canal was originally called Nahr al-Shāh (now al-Kenā) (*Lughat al-'Arab*, Baghdad, ii, 1930—1931, p. 458). This Shāh Ismā'īl himself made a pilgrimage to the *maḡḥad* of Kerbelā and al-Nadjaf. Sulaimān the Magnificent visited the holy places in 941 (1534—1535). A new canal made in 1793 also soon became silted up, as did the Zeri al-Shāh and al-Haidariya canals, the latter of which was made by order of 'Abd al-Hamid II. In 1912 iron pipes were laid to bring water from the Euphrates to al-Nadjaf (*Lughat al-'Arab*, ii, 458 sq., 491). A considerable part of the 'Irāq with Baghdad, al-Nadjaf and Kerbelā was temporarily conquered by the Persians in 1623.

According to the Arab geographers, al-Hira lay on the eminence of al-Nadjaf (al-Ya'qūbī, *Kitaḥ al-Buldan*, ed. de Goeje, B. G. A., vii, 309). Massignou thinks (*M. I. F. A. O.*, xviii, 28, note 1) that al-Hira lay on the site of the present al-Nadjaf, while Mas'ūdī (*The Middle Euphrates*, p. 35, note 26) places the centre of the ruins of al-Hira S. E. of the *tell* of al-Knēdeh which lies halfway between al-Kūfa and al-Khawarnak. Ibn Baṭṭūta entered Maḡḥad 'Alī which he visited in 726 (1326) through the Bāb al-Haḡra gate which led straight to the Maḡḥad. He describes the town and sanctuary very fully. According to al-Ya'qūbī (*loc. cit.*), the ridge on which al-Nadjaf stands once formed the shore of the sea which in ancient times came up to here. For the number of its inhabitants and its architectural beauty, Ibn Baṭṭūta reckoned the town among the most important in the 'Irāq. It has now about 20,000 inhabitants (Persians and Arabs), has a Shī'ī college and celebrated cemetery in the Wādī al-Salām. Near al-Nadjaf were the monasteries of Dair Mār Fāṭḥiyyūn (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ii, 693) and Dair Hind al-Kubrā (Yāqūt, ii, 709), also al-Ruḡba (5 hours S. W. of the town; Yāqūt, ii, 762; Mas'ūdī, *The Middle Euphrates*, p. 110, note 61) and Kaṣr Abī 'l-Khaṣīb (Yāqūt, iv, 107). The lake of al-Nadjaf marked on many older maps has long since completely dried up (Nolde, *Reise nach Innerasien*, p. 105).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aṭṭar, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, index, vol. ii, p. 308 (*Maḡḥad 'Alī*), 817 (*al-Nadjaf*); al-Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, *Indices*, p. 784; Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Kitaḥ al-Aḡḡān*, Bulak 1323, ii, 116; v, 88, 121; viii, 161; ix, 117; xi, 24; xxi, 125—127; al-Isṭakhṛī, B. G. A., i, 82; Ibn Hawḡal, B. G. A., ii, 163; al-Makdī, B. G. A., iii, 130; Ibn al-Fakḥr, B. G. A., v, 163, 177, 187; Ibn Rustā, B. G. A., vii, 108; al-Ya'qūbī, B. G. A., vii, 309; Abu 'l-Fidā, ed. Reinand, p. 300, transl. Guyard, ii, 73; al-Idrīsī, *Nuḡḡa*, iii, 6; Ibn Djbair, ed. de Goeje, p. 210; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wustenfeld, iv, 760; al-Iḡrī, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wustenfeld, p. 164, 302, 354, 364, 573; Ibn Baṭṭūta, *Taḡḡa*, ed. Desfrémery-Sanguinetti, i, 414—416; Hamid Allāh Mustawfī al-Kāzwinī, *Nuḡḡat al-Kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, p. 9, 31, 165 sq., 267; Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien u. a. umliegenden Ländern*, Copenhagen 1778, ii, 254—264 (inscriptions: 263); J. B. L. J. Roussier, *Description du pachalik de Bagdad*,

Paris 1809, p. 75—77; Nolde, *Reise nach Innerasien*, Braunschweig 1895, p. 103—111; M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii, 137, 274, 281; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905 [repr. 1930], p. 76—78; A. Noldeke, *Das Heiligtum al-Husain in Kerbelā*, Berlin 1909 (= *Türk. Bibl.*, xi.), passim; H. Grothe, *Geographische Charakterbilder aus der asiatischen Türkei*, Leipzig 1609, p. xiii and table lxxv.—lxxix, with illustr. 132—134, 137; L. Massignou, *Mission en Mésopotamie (1907—1908)*, Cairo 1910, i, 50b—51b; ii, 88, note 1, 114, 138, note 3 (= *M. I. F. A. O.*, xviii, xxxi); G. L. Bell, *Journeys to Amarah*, London 1911, p. 160, 162; St. H. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925, index, p. 372 (*Najf*); A. Mas'ūdī, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, p. 35, note 26 (= *American Geographical Society, Oriental Explorations and Studies*, No. 3). (E. HONIGSMANN)

BANU NADJĀH, a dynasty of Abyssinian Mamlūks at Zabīd [q. v.] from 412 to 553 (1022—1158). When the last Ziyādi [q. v.] had been put to death in the vicariate of the Abyssinian Mardjān by one of his Mamlūk governors Naḡīf, the other Nadjāh came forward to avenge him. After desperate fighting, Naḡīf was slain and Nadjāh in Dhu 'l-Ka'da 412 (Feb. 1022) entered Zabīd where he had the vizier built alive into a wall in exact revenge for the Ziyādi. As his rival Naḡīf had already done, Nadjāh assumed the insignia of royalty, struck his own coins and inserted his own name in the *ḡhaḡḡa* after that of the 'Abbāsīd caliph. The latter found himself forced to recognise him under the title al-Ma'āyad Naḡīr al-Dīn. His kingdom extended over al-Tihāma, while the highlands beyond remained divided up among petty chiefs. When among the latter the Sulāḡī [q. v.] came to considerable power, their relationships with the Banū Nadjāh decisively affected the history of the latter. The first Sulāḡī 'Alī is said to have had this first Nadjāh poisoned about 452 (1060) through a slave girl sent him as a present. In the confusion that followed, 'Alī occupied Zabīd itself and Nadjāh's sons fled to the island of Dahlak [q. v.]. While the eldest Mu'ārik committed suicide, the other two resolved to regain their lands: Sa'īd al-Aḡwal and Abu 'l-Tāmi Djaīyāsh, whose last work al-Muḡdī fī Aḡḡār Zabīd was the foundation for 'Umāra's work (in Kay, see *Bibl.*). Sa'īd made his preparations in a place of concealment in Zabīd and had Djaīyāsh come later; the two then came out openly, fell upon and killed 'Alī al-Sulāḡī, who was on a campaign against Mecca, probably in 473 (1081). Zabīd at once recognised Sa'īd as its lord; he had appealed less to the Sunnis against the Shī'īs than to the racial feeling of the numerous Abyssinian soldier-slaves (*and raḡḡidū minhum wa 'l-'irāq 'ittakum*: Djaīyāsh in 'Umāra, p. 63, 2—4). But Asma', the widow of 'Alī al-Sulāḡī who was kept a prisoner in Zabīd, persuaded her son al-Mukarram to relieve the town (475 = 1082—1083). The Nadjāh again escaped to Dahlak. In 479 (1086) Sa'īd again returned as ruler but in 481 (1088) was put to death at the instigation of the Sulāḡī queen al-Saiyida, the wife of al-Mukarram. Djaīyāsh escaped to India with his vizier Khālāf b. Tāhir, said to have been an Umayyad, returned to Zabīd disguised as an Indian, plotted with his compatriots and easily

regained power in 482 (1089). With his death in 498 or 500 (1105–1106) disruption set in. He himself had had domestic difficulties. He executed the *khāfi* Ibn Abi 'Aljama whose ancestor had come to the country with the first Ziyādis; his former helper Khalf had to seek refuge in flight. A certain degree of strain in his relations with his brother Sa'id is already evident from Djalīsh's account and there were fierce family feuds among his descendants. His son Fātik I, the son of a girl bought in India, had to defend himself against his half-brothers Ibrāhīm and 'Abd al-Wāhid and died young in 503 (1109–1110). The latter's infant son al-Manṣūr was set aside by his uncles, who were quarrelling with one another, and fled to Saiyida, whose favourite al-Muḥaffar b. Abi 'I-Barakāt brought him back in 504 (1110–1111) as vassal of the Ṣulāhiṣ.

On account of the new ruler's minority, events repeated their course under the Ziyādis. The Mamlūk Anīs was Manṣūr's vizier and he even assumed royal honours. When he attained his majority Manṣūr disposed of him by murdering him with his own hand in 517 (1123) after inviting him to the palace. Manṣūr however was at once poisoned at the instigation of the next vizier Mann Allāh. In the following year, the latter defeated under the walls of Zabīd Nadjīb al-Dawla, whom the Fātimids had sent as the Ṣulāhiṣ power was weakening to restore their suzerainty in the land. Mann Allāh had made the boy Fātik II nominal king, the son of Manṣūr and a slave girl singer 'Alam who had been purchased from Anīs's estate. This woman (d. 545 = 1150) endeavoured with great skill to preserve the rights of her house against the encroachments of the viziers and played among the Nadjāh a part similar to that of Saiyida among the Ṣulāhiṣ. In particular she equipped and led regular caravans of pilgrims and thus unconsciously furthered the rise of 'Alī b. Mahdī who was finally to drive her own family from power. Mann Allāh in 524 (1130) was killed in his harem through a plot of 'Alam's. His successors were the Mamlūks Ruzāik and then al-Mudīh. Against the latter 'Alam put forward her favourites Surūr and Iqbāl, who were however not on good terms. In their quarrels the various parties several times brought the petty Arab princes who lived around it against Zabīd. Iqbāl had Fātik II poisoned (531 = 1137). As he had no heirs, he was followed by his cousin Fātik III b. Muḥammad b. Fātik I b. Djalīsh. The government had been in the hands of Surūr since 529 (1135). His career of indefatigable activity was ended in a mosque in Zabīd on the 12th Raddj 551 (Sept. 1, 1156) by an assassin, a 'Khāridjī' envoy of 'Alī b. Mahdī. When the Zaidī Imām al-Mutawakkil Ahmad b. Sulaimān was summoned to help them by the Abyssinians, he made it a first condition that Fātik should be deposed and he himself recognised as lord of Zabīd. The troops agreed to this but the victory lay with 'Alī b. Mahdī [q.v. and the article MAHDĪ]. On 14th Raddj 554 (Aug. 2, 1159) he entered Zabīd.

The Banū Ziyād and the Banū Nadjāh continually brought over shiploads of Abyssinian slaves to recruit their troops and thus continued that mixture of races, which already existed before Islām and is still very marked in the Yaman plains. These Mamlūks however became a great danger for the

Ziyādis and also for the Nadjāh themselves. Djalīsh had attempted to counteract them with a bodyguard of Turkish Oghuz [cf. *OGHUZ*]. But they were not suited to the climate; in particular it was impossible to establish a colony of them there permanently as their children, if they did not die, remained weaklings. The Abyssinian admixture was still further increased by the many slave-girls, who, particularly when they became mothers, exerted some political influence. The enormous harems of the notables created the most complicated family relationships. For example the settlement of the estate of the vizier Ruzāik became a notoriously difficult case in the law of inheritance which occupied the ablest *fuḥalā* for years until finally a very aged Hadramawtī found a solution in accordance with the *Shari'a*.

Bibliography: S. the article ZARĪD, esp. Kay; also: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yām*, Būlāq 1299, I. 153; Husain F. Hamdāni, *The Life and Times of Queen Saiyida al-Arwa' the Ṣulāhiṣ of the Yemen* (J. C. A. S., xviii., 1931, p. 505–517); E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de géologie et de chronologie*, Hanover 1927, p. 117–118. (K. STROTHMANN)

AL-NADJĀSHI, designation in Arabic of the king of Abyssinia. It is a loanword from *Aethiopic* ነገሥት 'king, prince' etc. In Arabic it is sometimes used as a proper noun, sometimes as a nomen appellativum. The word is also genuine Arabic, but as such it has the meaning of driver of game. It does not occur in the *Kur'ān*. In *Hadīth* it is the designation of the king of Abyssinia, just as *Kaṣair* [q.v.], *Kisrā* [q.v.] and *al-Mukawkas* [q.v.] are the designations of the rulers of Rūm, Fāris and Miṣr. In their totality they represent the Great Powers which in the time of Muḥammad surrounded the territory of Islām. On the fresco in the hall of the castle of *Kaṣair 'Amra* [cf. *'AMRA*], dating from the middle of the eighth century A.D., al-Nadjaṣhī appears as the fourth of these Powers, the place of the *Mukawkas* being taken by Roderick the Visigoth.

In the *Sīra* the Nadjaṣhī occupies a place of some importance, chiefly in connection with the two *hidjra*'s to Abyssinia, with Muḥammad's letter persuading him to embrace Islām, with his conversion from Christianity to Islām and with his equipping two ships in behalf of the return of the emigrants to Arabia, amongst whom was Umm Habiba, who was to marry Muḥammad (A. H. 7).

These traditions have been critically examined by Grimme, Caetani and Mrs. Vacca. Grimme denied the historical foundation of the traditions concerning Muḥammad's letters to the Great Powers. Caetani submitted the question to an elaborate enquiry. Mrs. Vacca reduces the traditions to the following historical facts: *a.* the return of Dja'far b. Abi Tālib from Abyssinia in 7 A. H., when Muḥammad was besieging *Khaibar*; *b.* the expedition of 'Amr b. Umayya in A. H. 6 in order to reconduct the emigrants from Abyssinia to al-Madina; *c.* vague traditions concerning the emigration from Makka to Abyssinia. To these groups several episodes agglomerated, viz. to *a.* the story that Umm Habiba, Abū Sufyān's daughter and widow of 'Uḥaid Allāh b. Djaḥsh, was asked in marriage by Muḥammad and provided with a marriage-gift of 400 dirhams by the Nadjaṣhī; to *b.* the story of Muḥammad's letter to the Nadjaṣhī, his embracing Islām and his becoming

the intermediary of the conversion of 'Amr b. al-'As.

In *Hadīth* the Nadjāshī is also mentioned in connection with the story that his death in Ramaḍān 9 A. H. was proclaimed, without previous intimation, by Muḥammad, who held on the *mujaḥallā* [q. v.] a funeral service in behalf of this fellow Muslim. As his proper name is given Aḥama or Aḥama b. Abḥar.

The title al-Nadjāshī is also given in Arabic literature to later kings of Abyssinia, as may be seen from this article.

Bibliography: Complete bibliography of the passages in the *Sira* in Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, cf. index in vol. II/II; further esp. A. H. 6, § 45—55; the passages in *Hadīth* in Wessink, *A Handbook of Early Mus. Tradition*, s. v. Nadjāshī and Abyssinia; further H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, I, Münster i. W. 1892, p. 123; V. Vacca, *Le ambasciate di Maometto ai sovrani*, in *R.S.O.*, x. 87 sqq.; Lammens, *L'âge de Mahomet*, in *J. A.*, ser. 2, vol. xvii, esp. p. 244 sq.; M. Weisweiler, *Bunte Fruchtgewand*... (Muh. b. 'Abd al-Bakī al-Bukhārī al-Makki, *al-Tirās al-muḥallā fī Maḥāsin al-Hubb*), Hanover 1924, p. 48 sqq.; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden 1879, p. 190 sqq.; do., *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strassburg 1910, p. 59.

(A. J. WESSINK)

AL-NADJĀSHĪ, KADĪB, 'AMR AL-HABIBI, an Arab poet of the seventh century A. D., lived at first in Nadjān [q. v.] and quarrelled with 'Abd al-Rahmān, son of Ḥassān b. Thābit [q. v.], because the latter had addressed in song a married female relative of Nadjāshī in Medina. After an exchange of lampoons with his opponent from his native place, he met him at the annual fair at Dhū l-Maḥjar and again in Mecca when 'Abd al-Rahmān not only proved inferior as a poet but suffered bodily injury, so that his aged father had to interfere on his behalf. Nadjāshī had a second conflict with Ibn Muḥallī, the poet of the Banū 'Adīlān; he was so unbridled in his defence that the caliph 'Umar punished him with imprisonment after procuring an opinion on his verses from Ḥassān and al-Ḥajāj. After 'Othmān's assassination, al-Nadjāshī appeared in Kūfa as one of 'Alī's poets, and for the latter exchanged political lampoons with Mu'āwīya's poets at the battle of Siffin. But his disorderly life lost him the favour of 'Alī and after a drinking-bout in Ramaḍān he was given the thrashing prescribed by law and put in the pillory. After a conflict with Kūfan notables, in which he expressed his wrath at this punishment in satirical verses, he was expelled by 'Alī and went over to Mu'āwīya. He then went back to his native country Yaman and died in Ibadj in the year 40 (669), in which year he wrote a lament on the death of Ḥassān.

Bibliography: Zubair b. Bakkar, *al-Muwaḥḥishāt*, ed. Schulthess, in *Z. D. M. G.*, liv. 421—474; Ibn Kutaiba, *Kitāb al-Siḥr*, ed. de Goeje, p. 183—190; quoting from it 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Adab*, iv. 368; Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, *al-Iṣṭaḥṣān*, iii. 1200; al-Dinawarī, *Kitāb al-Aḥbār al-fird*, p. 171, 183, 198; other verses in Naṣr b. Muḥallī, *Wafat Siffin*, Beirut 1921, see *Z. S.*, iv. 18; Rescher, *Abriß der arab. Literaturgeschichte*, i. 114.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

MIR 'ABD AL-'ĀL NADJĀT, a Persian poet, born about 1046 (1636—1637), the son of a Husaini Saiyid Mir Muḥammad Mu'min of Isfahān. Little is known of his life. Only this much is certain, that he, like many other Persian poets of this time, worked in the offices of different Persian dignitaries. For example he was a *mustawfi* [q. v.] with Šāh Mirzā Ḥabīb Allāh, later occupied the same office in Astarābād and ended his career in 1126 (1714) after being for many years *munshi* with the Šafawid princes Šāh Sulaimān (1667—1694) and Šāh Sulṭān Husain (1694—1722). He owes his fame mainly to a long poem *Gul u Kuḥl* ("Wrestling") which he finished in 1112 (1700—1701) and which deals with the theme of the *shir-khāna* [q. v.] still very popular in Persia. As the Persian athletes still form a special closed corporation they use a special language (a kind of slang) which is full of the technical terms of their art and is not intelligible to the outsider. Nadjāt used these technical terms very skillfully in his poem which makes it very difficult for laymen to understand. This produced several commentaries on his work, of which those of Arzū, Ratan Singh Zakhamī (printed Lucknow 1258) and Gobind-rām (lith. Morādābād 1884) are the best known. Of Nadjāt's contemporaries some did not approve of his peculiar style and thought his poem degraded the poet's art with its vulgar expressions and low humour. As a matter of fact, Nadjāt's tone differs considerably from the traditional lofty style of Persian court poetry and approaches the language of the Persian middle classes; this makes his work of considerable importance for the history of the Persian language. Besides the poem, we only know of a collection of lyrics by Nadjāt of which there are manuscripts in several libraries (see below).

Bibliography: H. Ethé, in *G. J. P.*, II. 312, 314; Sachau and Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1889, No. 1162—1165; V. Ivanow, *Compte descriptif Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the Curzon Collection*, in *A. S. B.*, Calcutta 1926, No. 284, 285; A. Sprenger, *A Catalogue... of the Library of the King of Oudh*, Calcutta 1854, No. 409; J. Aumer, *Die persischen Handschr. der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München*, Munich 1866, No. 26; Ouseley, *Catalogue*, No. 258; Rien, *Catalogue*, No. 821b; Edwards, *Catalogue*, p. 579. (E. BERTHELA)

NADJĀTĪ BEY, properly 'Isā (Nūh, also given, is not certain), the first great Turkish lyric poet of the pre-classical period, one of the founders of the classical Ottoman poetry. Born in Adrianople (Amassia and Kaṣtamūni are also given), the son of a slave, obviously a Christian prisoner of war for which reason he is called 'Abd Allāh, the name given to every one, he was adopted by a well-to-do lady of Adrianople, received a good education and was trained by the poet Sā'it. In spite of the fact that his non-Turkish origin was generally known, he was regarded as their equal in every way by the Turks in keeping with their democratic ideas. He early came to Kaṣtamūni and there began his poetic career and soon gained a great reputation. His poems are said here and there to bear traces of the Kaṣtamūni dialect. Coming to Constantinople, he at once gained the favour of Sulṭān Mehmed II by a *kaṣida* on winter; in 886 (1481)

he celebrated the accession of Bâyezid II in a *kasida* and was rewarded by an appointment as secretary in the Diwân. He gained such favour with the Sultan that he was appointed secretary to his eldest son 'Abd Allâh and was given the title of bey when the prince went to Karamân as governor (*mütearrif*). After the prince's early death (888 = 1483) Nadjâtî returned to Constantinople with an elegy on the death of the prince which showed deep emotion. After a long interval in which he wrote a great deal but was in continual need, through the influence of Mu'ayyad-Zâde [q. v.] he became *nishânî* to Bâyezid's younger son Mahmûd when the latter went to Sürûkhân in 910 (1504). Nadjâtî wrote his finest verse while on the staff of this prince; this was the happiest period of his life. Mahmûd also died prematurely in 913 (1507) in Manissa, the capital of Sürûkhân, and Nadjâtî again lost his patron. He returned with a beautiful elegy to Constantinople and finally retired from the service of the court on a modest pension. He took a house on the Wefâ Maidân where many friends gathered round him, especially his pupils, the poet and *teskeredji* Edîrnelî Sehi and the poet Sun'î. Nadjâtî died on the 25th Dhu 'l-Kâ'da 914 (March 17, 1509). He was buried near his own house, at the monastery of Shaikh Wefâ and a tombstone was put up by Sehi for him.

He left a *Diwân* which he had collected on the advice of Mu'ayyad-Zâde and dedicated to prince Mahmûd. There is also attributed to him a mesnewî, which is not otherwise known, entitled *Munâzara-i Gül u-Khorro*, also quoted as *Laila u-Magnân* and *Mîhr u-Mâh*. Even more uncertain seems to be the existence of the mesnewî mentioned by Sehi: *Gül u-Sabû*. Nadjâtî is also mentioned as a translator of Persian works but his pupil Sehi says nothing of this. He is said to have translated for prince Mahmûd the *Atayîz-i Sâ'id* of Ismâ'îl Ghazâlî (the Persian version of the Arabic *Îhyâ*) and the *Djâmî al-Hikâyât* (properly *Djâwîd al-Hikâyât wa-Lawâ'ih al-Ri'âziyyât*) from the Persian of Djâmî al-Dîn al-'Awfî.

His *Diwân* which is still unprinted, gives Nadjâtî a very prominent place in Ottoman literature; the Diwân was regarded as a model for all Ottoman poets. Nadjâtî, whom Idris Bidlisi in his *Heht Bihisht* calls *Khorro-i Shâ'arâ-i Rûm* and others *Malik al-Shâ'arâ* and *Tûs-i Rûm* (=the Firdaws of Asia Minor), was regarded as the best poet of Rûm. He does not, it is true, reach the heights that Nesîmî does but he surpasses all his predecessors, of whom Ahmad Pasha and Zâtî were the greatest, in originality and creative power. Only Bâkî and Fuzûlî have surpassed him. The problem to be solved by Ahmad Pasha, Nadjâtî and Zâtî was to incorporate completely into Turkish the matter borrowed and translated from Persian literature, which was still felt to be foreign, to adapt Turkish to Perso-Arabic metres and to domesticate fully the Arabic and Persian vocabulary. This was a great achievement for the time. Nadjâtî brought about a great change in the literature as regards outlook, feeling and language. In him the age of Suljân Bâyezid is most clearly reflected. Although he is not to be claimed as a very great poet, he was the king of the gild of poets of his time, who started a great literary movement. Nadjâtî combined a thorough knowledge of Persian

with a masterly command of Turkish. In the number of his ghazels he far surpasses Bâkî. His work as a poet of *kasidas* was original and stimulating. He was specially celebrated for his skill in the use of the proverb.

Bibliography: Hâdîdjî Khalîfa, ed. Flügel, II. 512; III. 317; v. 285, 347; Lausi, *Teskire*, 1314, p. 325—330; Sehi, *Heht Bihisht*, 1325, p. 75—77; *Sijill-i 'Othmânî*, IV. 541; Brusail Mehmed Tahîr, *'Othmânî Mûellifleri*, II. 435; F. Reshâd, *Târîkh-i Edebiyat-i 'Othmânîye*, I. 188—200; do., *Tercümmi Ahvâl-i meşhûr*, 1313, p. 3—16; Ibrahim Nedîm, *Târîkh-i Edebiyat Dersleri*, 1338, I. 69—73; Shihâb al-Dîn Sulaimân, *Târîkh-i Edebiyat-i 'Othmânîye*, 1328, p. 52—58; Köprülüâde Mehmed Fu'ad and Shihâb al-Dîn Sulaimân, *'Othmânî Târîkh-i Edebiyat*, 1332, p. 243—247; Mu'allim Nâdjî, *Esami*, 1308, p. 317; Hammer, *G. O. D.*, I. 162—178; Gibb, *H. O. P.*, II. 93—122; Smirnov, *Olekh istorii Turckoj literatury*, St. Petersburg 1891, p. 476; do., *Obratzeniya pravitelstva Osmanskoy literatury*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 445—448; Rieu, *Catalogue*, 1888, p. 171a; Flügel, *Katalog*, I. 624; Basmadjian, *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature turque*, Constantinople 1910, p. 44—45.

(TH. MENZEL)

NADJD. [See NADJD.]

NADJDA v. 'AMIR. [See KHAKIYYES.]

AL-NADJDJÂR, AL-HUSAIN B. MUHAMMAD ABÛ 'ABD ALLÂH, a Mardî and Djabari theologian of the period of al-Ma'mûn, a pupil of Bîhr al-Mastar whose views were combated by Abu 'l-Hudhail al-'Alîf and al-Nazzâm. He probably lived in Bamm where he was a weaver. According to him, the divine attributes are identical with the essence and express its negative aspects. Vision of God is only possible through a divine act which transforms the eye into the heart by giving it the power of recognition. The word of God is created, accident when it is read, body when it is written. God who knows from all eternity all worldly things, wills them all, good as well as evil, faith as well as unbelief. God has a hidden essence (theory of *ma'hiyâ*); there is in him a hidden fund of grace (*lutf*) which would suffice to bring all the infidels back to him. Problems of the body and accidents: atom = accident; the body then consists of a conglomerate of accidents (= *Dirûr*) which are in juxtaposition without interpenetrating one another (against the *mutâhhalâ* of al-Nazzâm); momentariness of the accidents. This orientation of the problem is due to the theocentric tendencies of al-Nadjdjâr. All that takes place in the world comes from the incessant and unrestrained activity of God beside whom there is neither reality nor agent. God creates the actions of man. He gives his assistance to every good action and shows his desertion of every bad one; this assistance and desertion constitute the faculty of doing which accompanies the action (*al-isti'â'a ma'n 'l-f'*) against the Mu'tazila. The activity of man consists in his appropriation of the divine will (*kasb*). Man carries out one action only by one *isti'â'a*: the secondary effects (*al-muwalladât*) do not depend on man but on God (against the Mu'tazila theory of *tawallud*). Faith consists in the knowledge of God, of his apostles and his commandments and in the profession of this knowledge by the mouth. Faith consists of several qualities (*shâfiq*) each of which

is an act of obedience (*ʿāḍ*); complete faith is the sum of all *ʿāḍ*. Faith may increase but not diminish; it can be completely lost only through unbelief. He who commits a heinous sin and dies impenitent is doomed to hell from which he will emerge however, unlike the complete infidel. Al-Nadji denied the punishment of the tomb (*ʿadāb al-qabr*), probably as a result of his determinism. — Al-Nadji like his master Bihri represents the reformed and modified Djalma. The influence of Muʿtazila theology on this school is manifest; on the other hand, the Muʿtazila itself, especially that of Baghdad, seems to have received certain quite important stimuli from his school in spite of its opposition to it. Several of al-Nadji's doctrines are found at a later date in al-Ashʿari. — The Nadjiyariya flourished in Raiy and Gurgān. It was divided into three schools: 1. the Burghāthiya, the followers of Maḥammad b. ʿAlī Burghāth; 2. the Zaʿfarāniya, the followers of a certain Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zaʿfarānī; 3. the Mustadrīka, a reforming party which taught paradoxical doctrines on the divine word.

Bibliography: *al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 179 (with a list of his writings); al-Mukaddas, *B. G. A.*, iii, 37–38, 126, 365, 394–395; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 554^v; al-Khaysārī, *Kitāb al-Intiqāʿ*, ed. Nyberg, s. index; al-Ashʿari, *Mafāḥ al-ʿIlm*, ed. Ritter, s. index; al-Baghādī, *Kitāb al-Farq*, Cairo, p. 195–198, 201; al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal*, ed. Cureton, p. 61–63. (H. S. NYBERG)

MUʿALLIM NADJĪ, properly ʿOMER, an important Ottoman author, poet, critic and man of letters, who occupies a special and somewhat hybrid position in the history of the Turkish moderns and has given his name to a whole literary period. Born in 1266 (1850) in Constantinople, the third son of a master saddler ʿAlī Agha (not Bey, as some literary historians say), he lost his father at the age of seven. The widow Fāṭime al-Zahrā, who was descended from a *muhājir* who had come to Constantinople from Rumelia, went to Varna to her brother, the Kalaydji Ahmad Agha. The latter in spite of his limited means, made it possible for ʿOmer to be educated at the medrese and ʿOmer's elder brother Sālim gave him considerable assistance. ʿOmer devoted himself at first to calligraphy and for his *leḥzās* used the *mashḥaf* Khulūst. A certain Khōḍja Hāfiz aroused in him a fondness for poetry and he took the *mashḥaf* Nadji for his poems (from a passage in the *Muḥḥafayāt* of ʿAlī ʿAlī Girdi). He also tried to obtain the title of *hāfiz*. His training in the medrese left a permanent influence on him. It was long before he decided to put off the turban and the *ghubba*. The spirit of the *mevlā* and a certain intolerant fanaticism however never left him.

In 1284 (1867) Nadji received an appointment as second master in the Rüşdiyye school in Varna. At an inspection the then *müttarrif* of Varna, Kurī Saʿīd Paşa (later Foreign Minister, President of the Council of State and several times an ambassador), made the acquaintance of the intelligent young teacher. He took him into his service as secretary, when he was moved to Tulca just before the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war in 1877; thence he was moved to Tirmow and later to ʿOmān Pazarı. Nadji accompanied the much

travelled Paşa on his moves and journeys. After a brief stay in Constantinople, he went to Veñi Shehir Feaḥr (= Larissa in Thessaly) where Nadji made the acquaintance of the poet and Mewlawi ʿAwat Bey, who had a very good knowledge of Persian. Nadji who acted as secretary to the court and judge of investigation had here finally to lay aside the turban. When Saʿīd Paşa set out on a nine months' tour of inspection in Asia Minor, the Euphrates and Erzerum, Nadji again accompanied him. He recorded his impressions in the poem *Sāḥm-i Ghariḥān*. He had abandoned himself with other congenial wits to a life of dissipation at Tawḥ Pazarı, both earlier and after his return to Constantinople. The transfer of the Paşa as wali of the Aegean islands to Chios, where Nadji acted as *mutlimiys* saved him from this. Here he was able fully to develop his literary leanings. Already in 1292 he had published poems and articles in Varna in the *Tuna* newspaper of which some were even reprinted by the Constantinople paper *Baṣiret*, such as his *Bir Muʿallimih Şāḡir-dānna Kāif*. From Chios he began his association with Ahmad Midhat Efendi who was then editing the *Terjümān-i Hallak*; from his contributions in poetry and prose, which appeared in the *Terjümān* over the pseudonym Ahmad Masʿūd and Masʿūd-i Kharibāt, a close friendship arose which proved of decisive influence on his future career. When Saʿīd Paşa went as ambassador to Berlin, Nadji declined to go with him, which was much to be regretted in the interests of his literary development. He therefore resigned his post in the Foreign Ministry and devoted himself entirely to authorship. Midhat gave him the editorship of the newly formed literary section of his paper. At the suggestion of Midhat, whose son-in-law he had become, he learned French although he was now over 30. When he left the *Terjümān* for literary reasons, he undertook the editorship of the *Sāʿid* newspaper.

By his great literary and critical activity, he gained an influence which can hardly be estimated high enough on the intellectual life of Turkey in his time, not least through his position as lecturer on Turkish literature at the Mektebi Sultani in Galata Seral and in the law school. He became celebrated under the name *Muʿallim* (teacher) of which he was particularly proud. In 1307 (1889) he was appointed by imperial *irade* Turkish historiographer, *Tarih-i nuḥw-i Al-i ʿOsmān*, as a reward for his historical poem *Ertoghrul Ghāṣi*. But he did not live to do anything serious in this field except an introduction which survives in MS. He died on 27th Ramaḍān 1310 (April 14, 1893), at the age of 43 from heart failure and was buried in the garden of the *türbe* of Sultan Mahmūd.

As a literary figure, Nadji revealed two aspects. On the one hand, he was a fanatical admirer of the old literature out of which he had developed and for which he endeavoured to revive the taste of his milieu by every means, by his modest poetic talent and considerable skill in versification; on the other hand, he seemed in sympathy with the moderns but in view of his convinced belief in the decadence of western culture he had little real understanding of them.

Nadji's services to Turkish prose are undeniable. Over 50 years ago he was already writing the prose of the future, a model, clear, simple, style in the

language of a master who could not be surpassed. Two years before Sezâî's celebrated *Küçük Şairler* (1303) with its complicated prose, Nadjî gave a classic specimen of simple prose, in his *Ömerî Cefakâr* (1307) which was only properly appreciated and imitated at a much later date. In it we find the first suggestions of Turkish realism.

The forms not cultivated by the old writers, the story and the drama, he did not, it is true, entirely omit, but apart from autobiographical sketches and a translation from Zola, he wrote no stories and he was a failure as a dramatist. In theory, it seemed sufficient to him and his followers to put French stories of crime into the *orta eyvan* form in order to produce regular Turkish "dramas". Here also he approximated to the moderns but did not reach their level or ability.

As a poet and artist he is weak. He lacks fervour and creative fancy. He lacks that depth of feeling which carries one away; with him everything is trivial and superficial, and he never feels or expresses anything deeply. His prose style is simple and easy, the sentences short, the mode of expression concise and clear.

His main importance lies in his wide influence as a teacher, which he exercised not so much in the actual class-room as through his whole literary activity.

As a critic he confines himself to externals and goes no further.

Nadjî's prolific versatility is best shown by a list of his works. He wrote on many subjects and frequently lacked the time for adequate preparation.

Of his poetical works, the most celebrated is the collection *Ateş-pâre* (1300, 2nd edition 1303), which contains 52 poems in the new western manner. The best in it are: *Temîd, Kevâter, Kuz, Şâm-i Gharîb, Nisâb dîvânînde bir Wâdî, Tıvârî, Sâdîkade, Avcî*. — Next come two collections of ghazels in the old style: *Şerâre*, 1301 and *Furûân*; then three historical poems: *Hamîyet yâhûd Mûsâ b. EN 'I-Gharîb*, a description of heroic deeds in Granada in the time of the last king Abû 'Abd Allâh al-Sagîr; *Zat al-Nîşânî*, the heroic conduct of Esâmî, daughter of Abû Bakr, at the siege of Mecca with regard to her son 'Abd Allâh b. Zubair; *Gâzî Ertugral Bey*, cf. above; first printed after his death in *Khatîr-i Fânî*, 1310, ii., N^o. 11, 12. On the *Fikr-i Şâhânî-ermânîye* written in conjunction with A. Midhat cf. 'Alî Emîrî, in *T.O.E.*, v., N^o. 27, 1330, p. 131; other poetical works are: *Terâzî Bend or Terkîb Bend*, an imitation of Rûhî-i Baghdâdî and Zîâ Paşa; *Takîr yâhûd 'Arûs Nûmûnesi*, *Memurî Mu'allim Nadjî* and a collection of fugitive pieces edited by Shaikh Wâfî after Nadjî's death: *Vâdî-i Nadjî*, 1314.

Of his prose works the best known and most important is *Sinûle* (1299 and 1307). The first part contains poems like *Kûkûb bir Muşîk*, which is very important for the development of the Turkish poem, and translations from the French. The second part: *Ömerî Cefakâr*, gives in unaffected style intimate memories of his childhood up to the age of eight and has several times been translated: into German by A. Merx, *Aus Mu'allim Nadjî's Sinûle: Die Geschichte seiner Kindheit*, Berlin 1898; into Russian: VI. Gordlevskij, *Dittive Omara. Afşîbiyâtiye şerhî*,

Moscow 1914; and into Czech: Jan Rypka, *Omara Dittive al da jeko umihlo ruba*, in *Bibl. Selskova Kuthova*, Prag. — Memories of his student days were published in the *Terğümân-i Hâfîzât* and entitled *Medrese Khâfîzerî*, 1302; to the same year belongs *Şemâsî-Şeykhî* (*Medjmu'at-i Elm 'I-Zîyâ*, N^o. 41); also *Yazmîlî bulundum*, 1301 (letters and verses in simple language); *Khurde Furûsh* (verses and sayings of Arab and Persian men of letters, 2 parts). — A strongly personal note marks his *Denâme* (the title is chosen in allusion to Ekrem's *Zemâme*), a criticism of Memmenli-Zâde Tâhîr's *Takvî-i Elhân*, but it is primarily directed against Ekrem and his pronouncements on the stupidity of writing ghazels; it was so personal that its continuation was officially forbidden. — Equally vigorous is the criticism of the newspaper *Mîrân* and its owner Murâd Bey in Nadjî's *Mudâfâ-ı-nâmî*. — Translations and commentaries are found in *Şâhîdî*, 1303 (first published in *İmdâd el-Medâd*: verses of the Persian poet Şâh-i Tehrîz with commentary); *Sanihât el-'Arab* (over 1,000 Arabic maxims with notes); *Sanihât el-'Adem* (Persian maxims). — Religious in content are: *I'fâz-i Kur'an*, 2nd ed., 1308 (translation of the treatise by Fakhr al-Dîn al-Râzî on the *Fâtihâ*: *Enâr-i 'akliye* in the *Mefûh el-Ghâib*, first appeared in the *Terğümân*); *Tâlim-i Kur'an*, *Mu'ammâ-i lâhî* (on the *Harûf-i muhâfîfâ* at the beginning of certain Sûras); *Khatûrât al-Izzât*, 1304, the commentary on Sûra cxli. (*Izzât*) translated from the *Tefsîr-i kebir*; *Emâlî 'Alî*, sayings of the caliph 'Alî (*Kitâb-khânî Elm 'I-Zîyâ*, N^o. 1); *Hikem al-Rifâ'* (sayings of Saiyid Ahmad al-Rifâ'i); *Nevâdir el-Ekâbir* (wise sayings of Muslim celebrities); *Ushâdiyye*, 1305 (Persian originals and translations); *Mahârisim*, 1304: translations from Arabic, Persian and French; *Muhammed Muzaffer Medjmu'at*, 1306: literary essays based on a collected volume in MS. by an otherwise unknown M. Muzaffer 1279; *Nûmûnesi ruhban* (an able selection from celebrated authors). — His correspondence: *Mektûbât*, 1303 and 1311 (correspondence with his friends and pupils); *Muhâverât ve Muhâverât*, 1311 (correspondence with A. Midhat); *Shâhîr bile* (correspondence with Shaikh Wâfî); *Intihâ*, 1304 (correspondence with Behtîr Fu'ad on V. Hugo). — Works on literary criticism: *Mu'allim*: a collection of expositions of his critical theory which had appeared in the *Terğümân* and were regarded in their days as of fundamental importance; *Medjmu'at-i Mu'allim*, 1305—1306: a collection of the literary lectures which he had given in the Sultân and the Law School (58 in number, N^o. 1—3 even reached a third edition); *İspîhâbî edbiyye*, 1307 and 1314, his celebrated masterpieces on literary history, really only concerned with style; also *Mektûb-i Edib*, 1320. — His important lexicographical works include: *Kâmûrî-ı umûmî*, 1308, only 5 parts; first appeared in the *Murâmmat*; *Lughât-i Nadjî* = *Lughât-i 'umûmîye*, 1317. Nadjî only wrote the text as far as art. *Fetvâ*, p. 832; the remainder p. 833—1426 was prepared by his friend Mûsteşîb-zâde 'Ismet Bey. — The biographical works: *Ömürî Şâhîrî*, 1307, 2 parts (biographies of 13 Ottoman poets); *Emâlî*, 1308, about 850 somewhat arbitrarily chosen biographies in the style of the old *Takvî*'s. — His only drama *Hedi* (*Hâzîr Bey yâhûd Hedi*), 1326; *Terrî Rahîb*, the translation of Zola's *Thérèse Raquin*; a promised

translation of Fénelon: *Tarbiyyet-i Benâit* never appeared.

The four parts of his much used *Ta'lim-i Kirâat*, from 1300 on, were largely responsible for the development and spread of Nadjî's style in the widest circles. The first part reached the 31st edition by 1320.

Announced but never published were the following: *Ahenk-i millî*, *Muâmmekât-i Râghib* (on Kodja Râghib), *Ferâid-i tarîkiyye*, *Terdjemeten Terfeme*.

Nadjî was a contributor to a number of papers and magazines: the *Terdjümân-ı Hakikat*; the *Sâadet*, *Wakîl*, the periodicals *Afâk*, *Genç Kalem*, *Metâd el-İmâd*, *Çoğuş Baghçesi* etc.

With Nadjî neo-classicism came to an end although his followers, especially 'Alî Kemâl, made several attempts to revive it again in the *İdâm* against H. Dîhîd and in the *Sââh* against Dîcânîb Shihâb al-Dîn. The movement did not get beyond these efforts, for his followers were as little able as Nadjî himself to produce works of permanent value. The present generation has advanced quite out of Nadjî's world.

Bibliography: Ismâ'il Hakkî, 'Osmânî Meşhûrât-ı Odehâs, part 1; Mu'allim Nadjî, İstanbul 1311; Mehmed Elçâl, 'Osmânî Edebiyat Nümûneleri, 1312, p. 558-559; Lügât-i Nadjî, 1317, p. 1310-1312 (full bibliography v. v. Nadjî); Husain Dîhîd, *Ghaughalarim*, 1326; Mu'allim Nadjî Gûrûllâh, p. 17-34; İbrâhîm Nektûl, *Târîkât-ı Edebiyat Devirleri*, 1338, ii. 257-266; Ismâ'il Hakkî, *Türk Tefeddud-ı Edebiyat Târîkhi*, 1340, p. 373-395; Ismâ'il Hikmet, *Türk Edebiyat Târîkhi*, Baku 1925, p. 545-586; Mehmed Thurayyâ, *Sihîll-i 'osmânî*, iv. 352; Sâmi, *Kâmûs al-Âlâm*, vi. 4541; P. Horn, *Türkische Moderne*, Leipzig 1902, p. 41-43; F. Károly, *Osmânîler ve Edebiyatı*, Budapest 1903, p. 60-61; K. J. Baumgarten, *Essai sur l'histoire de la Littérature Ottomane*, Constantinople 1910, p. 199-202; Vl. Gorderavskij, *Özki po novoj osmanskoj literatury*, Moscow 1912, p. 62-64; Fischer-Mühieddin, *Anthologie*, 1919, p. 5-6; Menzel, *Die Türkische Literatur*, in *Hinrichs' Kultur der Gegenwart*, i., part iii., 2, Leipzig 1925, p. 306-308.

(TH. MENZEL)

NADJİS (Δ), impure, opp. *zâhir*, cf. *TAHARA*. According to the Shâfi's doctrine, as systematised by al-Nawawî (*Minhâdj*, i. 36 sq.; cf. Ghazâlî, *al-Wa'dî*, i. 6 sq.), the following are the things impure in themselves (*nadjîs*): wine and other spirituous drinks, dogs, swine, *malta*, blood and excrements; milk of animals whose flesh is not eaten.

Regarding these groups the following may be remarked. On wine and other spirituous drinks cf. the art. *KHAMA* and *NADJİH*. — Dogs are not declared impure in the Qur'ân; on the contrary, in the description of the sleepers in Sûra xviii. the dog is included (verses 17, 21). In *Hadîth*, however, the general attitude against dogs is very strong, as may be seen in the art. *KALB*. Goldziher considers this change due to an attitude of conscious contrast (*muqâbilat*) to the estimate of dogs in Parsism. It must not, however, be forgotten that the Jews also declared dogs impure animals, just as swine. The latter are already declared forbidden food in the Qur'ân (Sûra xvi.

116; vi. 146; v. 4; ii. 168). — As to *malta*, cf. the article. — Blood is mentioned in the Qur'ân (Sûra xvi. 116; vi. 146; v. 4; ii. 168) as prohibited food. As to the religious background of this prohibition cf. the art. *MAITA*. — As for excrements and several kinds of secretions of the body, the theory and practice of Jews and Christians sufficiently explain the attitude of Islam in this respect. It must also be admitted, though data are very scarce, that in early Arabia religious impurity included some of these things. — Details are to be found in the large legal works of each of the *madhabs* (cf. *Bibl.*).

Of the differences of the schools regarding this subject the most important only may be mentioned. Spirituous drinks are not impure according to the Hanafis [cf. *NADJİH*]. Living swine are not impure according to the Mâlikis. — The Shâfi adds to the things mentioned above the human corpse and the infidel. The human corpse was one of the chief sources of impurity according to Jewish ideas (cf. already *Numbers*, ch. xix.). A current in early Islam tending to follow the Jewish customs in ceremonial law was very strong; the Shâfi view regarding the human corpse may be a residuum of it. — The impurity of infidels is based upon Sûra ix. 28, where the polytheists are declared to be filth (*nadjîs*). The Sunnî schools do not follow the Shâfi in the exegesis of this verse.

The *nadjîs* enumerated above cannot be purified, in contradistinction to things which are defiled only (*mutanajjis*), with the exception of wine, which becomes pure when made into vinegar, and of hides, which are purified by tanning. On purification cf. the art. *TAHARA*, *GHUSL*, *WUḌŪ*.

Bibliography: *al-Fatâwâ al-'Alamgiriya*, i., Calcutta 1828, p. 55-67; *al-Marghinânî*, *Kifâya*, L. Bombay 1863, p. 15 sqq., 41; Khalîl b. Ishâk, *Minhâj*, Paris 1318 (1900), p. 3 sqq.; transl. I. Guidi, L. Milan 1919, p. 9-12; al-Ghazâlî, *al-Wa'dî*, Cairo 1317, i. 6 sq.; al-Nawawî, *Minhâj al-Tâlibîn*, i., Batavia 1882, p. 36 sqq.; al-Ramîl, *Nihâya*, Cairo 1304, i. 166 sqq.; Ibn Haddâd al-Haitamî, *Tuhfa*, Cairo 1282, i. 71 sqq.; 'Abd al-Qâdir b. 'Omar al-Shaibânî, *Dalîl al-Tâlib*, with comm. by Ma'î b. Yûsuf, Cairo 1324-1326, i. 11 sqq. (Hanbalî); Abu 'l-Kâsim al-Muhakkik, *Sharh al-Isâm*, Calcutta 1255, i. 92 sqq.; A. Querry, *Recueil de lois concernant les musulmans schyrites*, Paris 1871, p. 42 sqq.; al-Sha'irânî, *Atsân*, Cairo 1279, i. 123-128; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis v. d. mohammedaanische wet*, Leyden 1925, p. 56, 165 sq.; Goldziher, *Die Zuhreiten*, p. 61 sqq.; do., *Islamisme et Parsisme*, in *R. H. R.*, xliii. 17 sqq.; do., *La misère*, in *R. A.*, 1908, N^o 268, p. 23 sqq.; A. J. Wensinck, *Die Entstehung der muslimischen Reinheitsgesetzgebung*, in *Isl.*, v. 62 sqq.; do., *Handbook of Early Mus. Tradition*, s. v. Dogs. (A. J. WENSINCK)

NADJİM AL-DİN KUBRĀ, the founder of the order of the Kubrawiya or Dhababiyā, is one of the most striking personalities among the Persian Sufis of the xiith-xiiith century A. D. A large number of popular legends are associated with his name, many of which are not yet forgotten at the present day in Central Asia. His importance for the development of Sūfism is very considerable and in the long series of his pupils we find many distinguished representatives of Sūfi

teaching. Nadjim al-Din, whose full name was Ahmad b. Umar Abu 'l-Djannah Nadjim al-Din al-Kubra al-Khawak al-Khawarizm with the honorific title *al-Tammat al-tubra* (the "greatest visitation": Sura lxxix. 34) and *Shaykh-i Walt tarah* (the Shaikh who prepares saints) was born in the town of Khawak in Khawarizm in 540 (1145), spent his youth in travel during which he met in Egypt the famous Shaikh Rabihih al-Wazzin al-Misri. He became his *murid* and under the supervision of the Shaikh went through a course of most rigid ascetic discipline. The youth won the favour of his teacher who gave him his daughter to wife and adopted him as a son. Nadjim al-Din spent some years in Egypt where two sons were born to him. One day he heard the lectures on the sunna given by Imam Abu Nair Hafsa in Tabriz highly praised. He at once went off to Tabriz and studied there under the direction of this theologian who lived in the Khankhah Zahida in the Sarmaidan quarter. There Nadjim wrote his first theological treatise, a kind of inaugural dissertation entitled *Sawh al-Sunna wa 'l-Ma'aliq*. During a disputation which arose out of this work he made the acquaintance of the Shaikh Baba Faradj Tabrizi under whose influence he decided to give up the study of theology and devote himself entirely to the contemplative life of the mystic. Baba Faradj regarded all learning as something superfluous; in his view true knowledge could only be obtained through divine illumination. Nadjim al-Din soon recognised that he could hardly come any nearer his goal by this route. He turned to Shaikh 'Amir-i Yasir who advised him to train as a complete Sufi in the school of Isma'il Kasri. Nadjim al-Din received his second *khirka* at the hands of the latter, a so-called *khirka-i tabarruk* ("khirka of blessing"). After his return to his first teacher Shaikh Rabihih the latter found that he had thoroughly grasped all the depths of Sufi learning and recommended him to transfer his activities to his native land of Khawarizm. Nadjim al-Din settled there with his family, built a khankhah and founded the order of the Kubrawiya or Qubrawiya. His teaching met with great success and he soon found himself surrounded by pupils among whom were the most distinguished Sufis of the xiiith—xvth century such as Majid al-Din Baghdadi (the Shaikh of the famous poet Farid al-Din 'Attar), Sa'd al-Din Hamawi, Baba Kamal Djandi, Shaikh Razi al-Din 'Ali Lala, Saif al-Din Bakharzi, Nadjim al-Din Razi and many others. Baba al-Din Walead, the father of the great Djali al-Din Rumi, is also said to have been his pupil, but this is hardly possible. Nadjim al-Din met his death on 10th Djumada 1 618 (July 13, 1226) at the taking of Khawarizm by the Mongols. All his biographers are agreed that the Shaikh had gone out to meet the enemy in the open field and met a martyr's death with weapon in hand. The Institute for Oriental Research in Leningrad possesses a manuscript in Eastern Turkic entitled *Shaykh Nadjim al-Din Kubra-nij Shaid alif Shaker-i Khawarizm-ni Kharab kh-shadun Bayani* (How Shaikh Nadjim al-Din was martyred and the town of Khawarizm destroyed). It is a kind of historical novel dealing with the last days of Khawarizm and its fall. Nadjim al-Din appears in it as the protector of the city against the Mongols. By his power he makes Khawarizm invisible to the enemy and it only falls into the hands of the conquerors after the Shaikh decides to sur-

render it. It is possible that this book is a version of a Persian biography of Nadjim al-Din called *Tahfat al-Fuqara'* and mentioned by Haddad Khalifa (i. 234).

Nadjim al-Din was a prolific writer and left a number of valuable treatises on different questions of Sufism. The greater part of his works are written in Arabic. Haddad Khalifa gives the following list of his works: 1. *al-Uqul al-'ashara* (i. 339) — a brief exposition of the ten fundamental principles of Sufism (printed in Constantinople in 1256 with a Turkish commentary); 2. *Risala fi 'l-Suluk* (iii. 410—411) — or more correctly *fi 'l-I'm al-Suluk*, described in Ahlwardt No. 3456; 3. *Risalat al-Turuk* (iii. 418) — in Ahlwardt No. 3272—3273 & 'l-Turuk (possibly identical with No. 1); 4. *Tawallu' al-Tamir* (iv. 171) — unknown to me; 5. *Fawatish al-Djamil* in Persian — a treatise with this title is given in Flügel, *Wiener Katalog*, iii. 332, except that the latter is described as in Arabic; 6. *Lu'mat al-Lam* — or with the full title *al-Khawarizmi min Lu'mat al-Lam* in Ahlwardt No. 3087; 7. *Hidayat al-Talibin* — unknown; 8. *Tafsir* — probably the great commentary on the Kur'an entitled *Ain al-Hayat*, whose first volume I discovered in the Public Library in Leningrad (see *Islamica*, vol. 1, fasc. 2—3, p. 272). Nadjim al-Din is also known as a composer of Persian quatrains but it is still very difficult to decide whether the quatrains attributed to him are really his. Twenty-five of these poems were published in the *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie* (1924, p. 36).

The Sufi writings of Nadjim al-Din form a transition from the older Sufism of the first theorists (the Nishapur school of the xth—xiith centuries) to the later Sufism of Ibn al-'Arabi and his successors (Sadr al-Din Qunawi, Fakhr al-Din 'Iraki). Like the earlier theorists Nadjim al-Din likes to deal especially with the practice of Sufism, the stations on the way to true knowledge. Metaphysical questions however are also considered by him and his works with the writings of Ibn al-'Arabi form the basis for the further development of philosophical theory in the xiiith century. This is not the place to go fully into his conception of Sufism; but it is not to be doubted that his teaching can hardly be neglected in a careful investigation of the history of the development of Sufism.

Bibliography: Safinat al-Awliya' (MS. Inst. Orient., No. 581, fol. 106^a); *Khatimat al-Afya'*, Bombay, ii. 258; *Nafahat al-Uni*, ed. Lees, p. 480; *Tarikh-i Gusha*, ed. Browne, p. 789; *Haft Iqlim* (MS. Inst. Orient., No. 603^b, fol. 462^a); *Madfalus al-Ushshak*, Bombay, p. 84 19.; *Riyad al-'Arifin*, p. 143; *Ataykhada*, p. 303; *Turath al-Hafsi*, p. 48, 149; *Madfalus al-Mu'minin*, fol. 136^b; Raverty, *Tuhfat-i Nafisi*, p. 1100; Massignou, *al-Hallaj*, Bibliography, No. 391; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 440; *Tadhkirat al-Sadras*, ed. Browne, p. 135—136; Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, ii. 438, 489, 491—495, 508, 510. (E. BREXTHIA)

NADJIRAN, a district (Wadi) and town in northern Yaman, according to others (Ibn Khuradadhibh, *S. G. A.*, vi. 133, 248) in southern Najd or in the Hijaz (Bakri, *Mudjam*, p. 575). The position and course of the Wadi has not been exactly ascertained. It rises on the eastern slopes of the Yaman highlands, probably between 43°

and 44° East Long., and runs, perhaps turning north at first, mainly in a southeasterly direction behind 18° and 17° N. Lat. finally disappearing in the great sand desert. The distance from Šan'a [q.v.] is put at 6–7 days' journey (E. Glaser, *Stellen der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, II, 50); according to Philby's investigations (*The Heart of Arabia*, II, 166 sq.), it is seven days' reasonable caravan journey south of Salaiyil. The older idea that the course of the Wādī Nadjirân ran N.E. (or that there was a more northerly twin Wādī Ḥabūna) arose out of the erroneous idea first finally corrected by Philby (*op. cit.*, p. 165, 222) that the Wādī Dawṣair, with which the Wādī Nadjirân was wrongly thought to be connected, runs from S.W. to N.E.

The Wādī Nadjirân drains a wide area of northern Yaman and 'Asir (Hamdān, *Sifat Dīqat al-'Arab*, p. 83, 110, 114, 247). It is, and was in antiquity, celebrated for its fertility. Of European travellers only Joseph Halévy visited it, in the spring of 1870. He describes (*Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr.*, series vi., vol. xiii., p. 478) the valley, some 2 miles broad, as exceedingly fertile and well cultivated with villages concealed in thick palm-groves. Strabo (xvi. 781) calls it a peaceful and rich country. To Muslim writers it is a miracle of fertility and wealth, even more so than the Yaman in general; its cereals, vegetables and fruits were unrivalled (Hamdān, p. 199 sq.); there were also mines there (Baladhuri, *Kitaḥ Futaḥ al-Bulḥān*, p. 14) and the staple products of the Yaman, leather and cloth, were also made there. To this day in less favoured parts of Arabia they talk of the prosperity of this Wādī (Philby, *op. cit.*, II, 226).

The population of the Wādī Nadjirân, according to Philby, is comparatively large; the majority belong to the tribe of Yām. But several unrelated tribes, often at comity with one another, share in the possession of this rich country. It was so in the early Muslim period. The Banu 'l-Ḥarith b. Ka'b, who appear in *Ḥadīth* as lords of Nadjirân, were not really such. They belong to the large group of tribes Maḥḥidj, which was represented by other tribes also. Their rivals were and are Hamdān tribes (Hamdān, p. 115, 9) among them Ḥāshid, important at the present day, (subdivisions Yām etc.) and Bakil (subdivisions Šakir etc.); other tribes like al-'Ad, al-'Al'a etc. should also be mentioned. We have no reliable information about places with a settled population. In the eastern part of the Wādī, Halévy visited a village of Maḥḥaf which was afterwards put on the maps at hazard. In the immediate vicinity was another village Ridjia, and an hour to the west Madinat al-Khudūd (see below). The Arab geographers mention villages (*ḥurū*) of Nadjirân and the names of some of them are given as well as those of districts, tributary wādīs, hills and springs.

Through Nadjirân runs the very old caravan road from Ḥaḍramawt through the Ḥidjāz to the eastern Mediterranean [cf. MARI'IN]. Nadjirân was of some importance as the last station in the Yaman on a caravan route from the Yaman to al-Yamāma and thence to Bahrain and the 'Irāq. During Persian rule in the Yaman and later in the 'Abbāsid period this road must have been of no less importance than the one just mentioned to Syria, which latter however owing to its importance in

the early period of Islām is almost alone mentioned in Muslim literature (A. Moherg, *The Book of the Himyarites*, p. lxi.; cf. also M. Hartmann, *Die sudarab. Frage*, p. 496, 509). On the stations on the road see Ibn Khurdaḡbih (*B. G. A.*, VI, p. 152 sq. and 193; A. Sprenger, *Post- und Reise-reuten*, p. 134–139). A series of forts served to keep it safe (Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 138; Hamdān, *B. G. A.*, p. 28; Yāqut, *Mu'jam*, IV, p. 541 v. v. al-Muḥaḡḡar and thereon Iyāl, *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, II, p. 105). On the present importance of the road and of Nadjirân, see Philby, *op. cit.*, II, 226. The road in those days probably went several days' journey across the desert to the Wādī Dawṣair, which was the first station on the other side; at the present day Salaiyil [q.v.] corresponds to it. This road via Nadjirân was certainly that which connected the Yaman at different times with the ancient Babylonia in the east, with Syriac Christian as well as with Iranian culture.

Little is known of the town of Nadjirân. Ptolemy mentions it as a metropolis. Aelius Gallus attacked it and destroyed it (Strabo, *loc. cit.*; Pliny, VI, 28 [32]). From this Glaser (*loc. cit.*, II, 50; cf. p. 224) concludes that there was no town of Nadjirân after this but the existence of the town is proved in many ways for various later periods (see below). Now however, no town seems to bear the name. Halévy thought he had found the ruins of the old town in Madinat al-Khudūd (see below), which he describes as considerable ruins on the south bank of the river bed. Of the city wall roughly built of granite the south and west sides were less destroyed than the others. A mosque, which still stood among the ruins, belonged, according to local tradition, to the early Muslim or even pre-Islamic period (*J. A.*, ser. VI, vol. xix., p. 90 and 40). In remarkable agreement with this, Bakri, *Mu'jam*, p. 80 says: "Al-Ukhḍūd, which is mentioned in the *Kurān*, was in one of the towns of Nadjirân. This city however is now in ruins and nothing is left of it but the mosque which 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb built".

On the history of Nadjirân we have only scanty and mainly legendary notes. The name occurs several times in the South Arabian inscriptions: there is one (*C. I. S.*, IV, No. 363) reference to the "towns" of Nadjirân (*ahḡār N.*; cf. above *ḥurū N.*). This means the Wādī. In the oldest inscription of north Arabia, the Naṣra inscription of the year 328, the name is also found.

In the tradition of the introduction of Christianity into the Yaman, Nadjirân plays a part in keeping with its importance for the communications between Yaman and Mesopotamia (see above). According to one reference (*Histoire Nestorienne*, ed. Addai Scher, I, 218 sq. = *Patrol. Orient.*, IV, 330), it was a merchant of Nadjirân who first spread Christianity there after he had been converted in al-Hira. Christianity is said to have received a further impetus in the time of Justinian from monophysite Christians who, expelled from Byzantine territory, came to al-Nadjirân also via Hira (*op. cit.*, II, 51 sq.).

The Christian tradition of later persecutions of the Christians in South Arabia connected with Abyssinian invasions of the Yaman is widely disseminated; Nadjirân was the principal scene of these, first perhaps under Šarahlil Yakkuf in the last third of the fifth century, notably under Dhū Nuwās, who died in 525. On this tradition

which exists in many forms, Greek, Syriac and Ethiopic, see A. Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites*, p. xxiv.—lxiii., where the sources and other literature to be consulted are given.

Arabic literature has also something to say about these happenings, especially in the annotations of the Kur'anic exegetists on Sūra lxxv. 4 *sqq.* on the *Aḥḡāl al-Uḡhdūd*. But what there is of historical value in this Muslim tradition comes from Christian sources; only it is usually so distorted as to be almost unrecognisable. What it records regarding the introduction of Christianity into Nadjran by a certain Faimiyān or 'Abd Allāh b. al-Thāmir is on the other hand a distortion of certain episodes in a Syriac Christian cycle of legends about the Persian martyrs Pethion and Vardin and has really nothing to do with Nadjran or Arabia (A. Moberg, *Über einige christliche Legenden in der islamischen Tradition*, p. 5, 11 *sq.*, 22, 30 and the references given). The name Madinat al-Khūdūd from the ancient Nadjran is of course the result of the localisation of al-Uḡhdūd in Nadjran. Hamḡānī (*op. cit.*, p. 67, 169) mentions in the same region a Balad or town of al-Uḡhdūd; C. van Arendonk mentions a hill Uḡhdūd (*De ophanden van het middeleeuwse Imamāt in Yemen*, p. 168).

It is not till the time of Muhammad and the early Caliphs that we have really historical references to the Yaman and even these have to be critically used. We are told that Khalid was sent with 400 horsemen to the Bann 'l-Hārith b. Ka'b (and the Banū 'Abd al-Maḡḡn: Ibn Sa'd, i/i. 112, 3) in Nadjran and made them adopt Islam and send an embassy in homage to the Prophet (Ibn Hishām, p. 958; Ibn Sa'd, i/i. 72). 'Amr b. Ḥazm was appointed 'Amīr in Nadjran and 'Alī was ordered to collect the *ṣaddat* there (Wāḡidī-Wellhausen, p. 417 *sqq.*; Ibn Sa'd, i/i. 122). In addition to pagans and Jews there were many Christians there who formed, it seems, an autonomous community. Muhammad received an embassy from them also and concluded a treaty with them which guaranteed the possession of their property and the free exercise of their religion in return for a fixed contribution on their part (Ibn Hishām, p. 401 *sqq.*; Ibn Sa'd, i/i. 84 *sq.*, 35 *sq.*). This treaty was confirmed by Abū Bakr and 'Umar. 'Umar however at a later date drove the Christians and Jews out of the Arabian peninsula whereupon the Christians founded a new Nadjran in the 'Irāq, two days' journey south of Kūfa. The details are variously recorded and it is not quite clear to what extent 'Umar's orders were actually enforced. Bakrī (*op. cit.*) says that the Jews and Christians in Nadjran were not at all affected by the measure. In any case, at a much later date (see just below), there were not a few Christians in Nadjran and there are of course still many Jews in the Yaman. In the year 40 A. H. Nadjran was burned by Ḍjarira, 'Alī's general (Tabari, i. 3452). The scantiness of the historical tradition, fantastic accounts of the wealth of the region and the remarkable liberty enjoyed by Christians in Nadjran gave rise to legends and inspired poets. The 'material' which thus arose is very fully detailed and utilised in H. Lammens, *Le Califat de Yazīd Ier* (M. F. O. B., viii., p. 327—369).

In the end we find Nadjran an important fortified town, often simply called al-Hadjar (cf. Hamḡānī, p. 86), mentioned in the accounts of the fighting which led to the creation of the Zaidi imāmate

in the Yaman in the third century A. H. At this period there were still Christians and Jews there, who were obviously still an important element and enjoyed considerable consideration from their Muslim neighbours (van Arendonk, *op. cit.*, p. 128 *sq.*). On bishops of the Nadjranians or in the Yaman in the 12th and 13th century from Syrian sources see Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites*, p. liv.

The tribes of Nadjran submitted to Turkish rule as little as those of eastern and northern Yaman generally. Nadjran now belongs to the kingdom of Ibn Sa'd.

On other places Nadjran see Yaḡūt, iv. 751, 757 *sqq.*; Hamḡānī, p. 85.

Bibliography: given in the article and in some of the works quoted there; on the history cf. especially Balāḡdhuri, *Futūḡ*, p. 64—68; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, ii/i., p. 312 *sq.*, 317 *sqq.*, 321 *sq.*, 349—353; iv. 350—359. (A. MOBERG)

NAFAKA. [See NIKKḤ TALAK.]

AL-NAFI'. [See ALLĀH, ii.]

NĀFI' B. AL-AZRAK AL-HANAFI AL-HANFĀLI, Abū Rāḡid, according to some sources, the son of a freed blacksmith of Greek origin (Balāḡdhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 56), chief of the extreme Khawridjites [q.v.], who after him are called Azrakites [q.v.]. At first, after his secession to Ahwā, Nāfi' joined 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubair [q.v.] in Makka. Soon, however, he and his followers turned their backs on the holy city and arrived before Baḡra, where they spread terror among the inhabitants, who left the town in multitudes. Al-Muḡallab, however, succeeded in driving them back to Persia. They made a halt in Ahwā, where they practised *ist'rāḡ*, in accord with their doctrine. The bloody battle of Dūlāb, fought against Muslim b. 'Ubais, put an end to his life (64 or 65 = 683—684).

His special doctrine comprised the following points: 1. secession (*ḥar'ā'a*) from the quietists (*al-ḡā'ida*); 2. examination (*miḡna*) of those who wanted to join his encampment; 3. declaring infidels those who did not perform *ḡiḡra* to him; 4. declaring it allowed to kill the wives and children of opponents. This is al-Aḡḡari's enumeration, which differs slightly from that of al-Shahrastānī (p. 90).

Bibliography: al-Aḡḡari, *Maḡāḡat al-Islāmiyya*, ed. Ritter, Istanbul 1929, p. 86 *sqq.*; 'Abd al-Kāḡir al-Baḡhdādī, *Kitāb al-Farḡ ḡain al-Firāḡ*, Cairo 1328, p. 62—67; Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-Fiḡal wa 'l-Miḡal wa 'l-Niḡal*, Cairo 1321, iv. 189; al-Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, p. 89—91; al-Ṣabari, ed. de Goeje, indices, s.v.; Allwārdī, *Anonyma arabische Chronik*, p. 78 *sqq.*, 90 *sqq.*; Balāḡdhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 56; Abū Ḥanifa al-Dinawari, ed. Guirgass and Kratchkovsky, p. 279, 282, 284; Mas'ūdi, *Murūḡ*, Paris ed., v. 229; Yaḡūt, ed. Wustenfeld, ii. 574, 623; al-Muḡarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, index, s.v. (p. 943); Ibn al-Aḡḡar, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, index, s.v.; al-Ya'ḡūbi, ed. Houtsma, ii. 317, 324; M. Th. Houtsma, *De strijd over het dogma in den Islam*, Leyden 1875, p. 28 *sq.*; Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien*, in *Abh. G. W. Gott.*, N. S., v. 2, 1901, p. 28 *sq.*, 32; R. E. Brünnow, *Die Charidzhiten unter den ersten Omaiyaden*, Leyden 1884; Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, p. 762; G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, index, s.v. (A. J. WESSINGK)

NAFILA (A.), plur. *nawāfil*, part. art. fem. I from *nafila*, supererogatory work.

1. The word occurs in the *Kurān* in two places. *Sūra* xli. 72 runs: "And we bestowed on him [viz. *Ibrāhīm*] Isaac and Jacob as additional gift" (*nawāfilan*). In *Sūra* xvii. 81 it is used in combination with the *ḥudūd*, thus: "And perform vigils during a part of the night, reciting the *Kurān*, as a *nāfila* for thee".

In *ḥadīth* it is frequently used in this sense.

"Forgiveness of sins past and future was granted him [Muhammad] and his works were to him as supererogatory works" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, vi. 250). — In another tradition it is said with reference to the month of Ramaḍān, that Allāh "writes down its wages and its *nawāfil* even before its beginning" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii. 524). Of peculiar importance, also in a different respect, is the following *ḥadīth* *ḥudūd*: "When My servant seeks to approach to Me through supererogatory works, I finally love him. And when I love him I become the hearing through which he heareth, the sight through which he seeth, the hand with which he graspeth, the foot with which he walketh" etc. (al-Bukhārī, *Riḥāṣ*, bāb 38).

Finally the following tradition may be translated: "Whoso performs the *nawāfil* [q. v.] in this way [viz. in the way described in the foregoing part of the tradition], receives forgiveness of past sins and his *ḥajāt* and his walking to the mosque are for him as a *nāfila*" (Muslim, *Tahāra*, trad. 8; Mālik, *Tahāra*, trad. 30). In the parallel tradition (Muslim, *loc. cit.*, trad. 7), the term used is *ḥajāra* "expiation". — This parallelism is an indication of the effect ascribed to supererogatory works in Muslim theology, viz. the expiation of light sins (cf. al-Nawawī on Muslim, Cairo 1283, i. 308).

<i>Nawāfil</i> (Fatāwī 'Alamgiriya, i. 156, Ḥanafī)	{	<i>ḥunna</i> <i>mandūba</i> <i>tafawwū'</i>
<i>Ḥunna</i> (Fagnan, <i>Additions</i> , p. 23, Mālikī)	{	<i>mu'akkada</i> <i>raghibā</i> <i>nāfila</i>

Further it must be observed that in theological terminology *nāfila* is often applied to those works which are supererogatory in the plain sense, in contradistinction to other works which have become a regular practice. The latter are called *ḥunna mu'akkada*, the former *nāfila* or *ḥunna aḥida* (cf. *infra*, sub 2).

The place of supererogatory works in theology is further accurately defined in the *Waṣīyat Abi Ḥanīfa*, art. 7: "We confess that works are of three kinds, obligatory, supererogatory and sinful. The first category is in accordance with Allāh's will, desire, good pleasure, decision, decree, creation, judgment, knowledge, guidance and writing on the preserved table. The second category is not in accordance with Allāh's commandment yet according to His will, desire" etc.

The term for supererogatory works used here is not *nāfila*, but *ḥajāra*.

2. *Nāfila* is used in *ḥadīth* especially as a designation of the supererogatory *ḥajāt* (Bukhārī, *Ḍaḥīq*, bāb 11; *Tahāḥḥud*, bāb 5, 27). Sometimes it appears in the combinations *ḥajāt al-nāfila* (Ibn Māḍī, *Ḥāma*, bāb 203) and *ḥajāt al-nawāfil* (Bukhārī, *Tahāḥḥud*, bāb 36).

In *ḥadīth* this terminology is often, but not always followed, the other term for the supererogatory *ḥajāt* being *ḥajāt al-tafawwū'* (e.g. Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, ed. A. W. T. Juynboll, p. 26), a term that goes back to the *Kurān* (*Sūra* ii. 153, 180; i. 80), and which occurs also in canonical *ḥadīth* (Abū Dāwūd has a *Kitāb al-Tafawwū'* in his *Ḥunna*). The whole class of supererogatory *ḥajāt* is called *nawāfil* as well as *ḥunna*. *Nawāfil*, as a general designation of supererogatory *ḥajāt*, covers three subdivisions. The following juxtapositions may give a survey of the terminology:

<i>Nawāfil</i> (Khalil, transl., Guidi, p. 95, Mālikī)	{	<i>ḥunna</i> <i>mu'akkada</i> <i>mandūba</i>
<i>Nawāfil</i> (Ghazālī, <i>Thiyā</i> , i. 174, Shāfi'ī)	{	<i>ḥunna</i> <i>mu'akkada</i> <i>tafawwū'</i>

It may be added that the term *nawāfil* is used especially for the supererogatory *ḥajāt* preceding or following the *ḥajāt*; they belong to the first subdivision.

In Shī'ī *ḥadīth* *nawāfil* is the widest term; by *nawāfil* the daily and non-daily supererogatory prayers are designated.

Bibliography: *Waṣīyat Abi Ḥanīfa*, Haidarābād 1321, p. 8—10; Sell, *The Faith of Islam*, London 1888, p. 199; Wenzel, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1931, p. 126, 142 sqq.; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis v. d. Mek. wet.*, Leyden 1925, p. 382 sq.; al-Ghazālī, *Thiyā*, *Uṣūl al-Dīn*, Cairo 1302, i. 174 sqq.; al-Nawawī, *Minhāj al-Tālibīn*, Batavia 1882, i. 121 sqq.; Khalil b. Ishāq, *Al-Muḥṭaṣar*..., transl. I. Guidi, i. Milan 1919, p. 20, note 55; p. 95; Fagnan, *Additions aux dictionnaires arabes*, Algiers-Paris 1923, s. v.; Abū 'I-Kāsim al-Mubāḥḥik, *Kitāb Sharḥ al-Ḥunna*, Calcutta 1255, i. 25, 51; transl. Querry, i. 49 sq., 52 sq., 100 sqq. Further the artt. *ḤAJĀT*, *ḤAJĀT*, III.

(A. J. WENNING)

AL-SAYYIDA NAFISA, a mausoleum outside Cairo, south of the Mosque of Aḥmad b. Tūlūn

in the direction of the sepulchral mosque of al-Shāfi'ī. Among the female saints [cf. *WALI*] in Cairo next to Sayyida Zaynab bint Muhammad [q. v.] and "Sitt Sekina" (Sakina) "Sitt Nafisa" takes a very prominent place. In the official recitations of the *Kurān*, al-Sayyida Nafisa, where the reading is held on Sundays, takes third place among them all, immediately after Imām al-Shāfi'ī and Imām al-Hunaini (see Bergsträsser, in *lit.*, xli. [1933], 110 sq.). The sanctuary is visited by both men and women, especially in the evening. The door leading to the sarcophagus itself is only opened once a year. The foundation contains a number of other buildings besides a mosque, including a library and Sūfi cells. The land around it is a much sought after place of interment.

Nafisa was a daughter of al-Ḥasan b. Zaid b. al-Ḥasan [q. v.]. She came to Egypt with her husband Ishāq al-Mu'tamin, a son of Dja'far al-Sādiq [q. v.]. She had a reputation for learning and piety. Shāfi'ī frequently visited her to collect traditions; on his death, his body was brought to her house so that she might say the prayer for the dead over him. She had children but her descendants soon died out. She herself died in

Ramadan 208 (beg. of 824). Legend credits her with great *harāma* [q. v.]; for example as is told of several Egyptian, and not only Muslim saints, it is said that her prayers produced a great rising of the Nile in a single night. In contradiction of a story that her husband wanted to take her body to the family burialplace in the al-Baḥrī [q. v.] cemetery in Medina but was prevented by her devotees, is the general opinion that this is her tomb which she built with her own hands and in which she reail the Qur'an long before her death. — Several rulers took part in the development of the sanctuary, 'Abbasids and later Fatimids and Ottoman governors. The cupola over the grave was restored by the caliph al-Hāfi in 532 (1138) and the mosque in 692—694 (1294—1295) by the Mamlūk al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalā'ūn.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Bulāq, 1299, ii. 238 sq.; Abu 'l-Muḥsin al-Taghribirdī, *al-Nuḥūm al-sākira*, Cairo 1349, ii. 185 sq.; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥuṣn al-Muḥādḍara*, Cairo 1299, i. 292 sq.; Ibn Iyās, *Baḍ' al-Zuhūr*, Bulāq 1311—1312, i. 34. — On the history of the building cf. the references in Makrizī, Sakḥawī, Dhahabī etc. and their continuation in 'Alī Muḥarrak, *al-Khiṣṣat al-djādida al-tawfiḳiyya*, Bulāq 1305—1306, v. 133—137.

(R. STROTHMANN)

NAFS 1) (n.), soul. *Nafs*, in the early Arabic poetry, meant the self or person, while *rūḥ* meant breath and wind. Beginning with the Qur'an *nafs* also means soul, and *rūḥ* means a special angel messenger and a special divine quality. Only in post-Qur'anic literature are *nafs* and *rūḥ* equated and both applied to the human spirit, angels and *djinn*.

I. The Qur'anic uses. *A. Nafs* and its plurals *anfus* and *nufus* have five uses: 1. In most cases they mean the human self or person, e.g., iii. 54: "Let us call... ourselves and yourselves"; also xii. 54; ii. 20, 21. 2. In six verses *nafs* refers to Allāh: v. 116: "Thou [Allāh] dost know what is in myself [says 'Isā], but I do not know what is in Thyself [*nafsiha*]"; also iii. 27, 28; vi. 12, 54 and xx. 43. 3. One reference, xxv. 4 (cf. xlii. 17), is to gods: "They [*āliha*] do not possess for themselves (*anfusihim*) any harm or benefit at all". 4. In vi. 130 the plural is used twice to refer to the company of men and *djinn*: "We have witnessed against ourselves (*anfusinā*)". 5. It means the human soul: vi. 93: "While the angels stretch forth their hands [saying,] Send forth your souls (*anfus*)"; also i. 15; lxiv. 16; lxxix. 40, etc. This soul has three characteristics: a. It is *ammāra*, commanding to evil (xii. 53). Like the Hebrew *nefesh* the basal idea is "the physical appetite", in Pauline usage *φύξις*, and in the English New Testament "flesh". It whispers (i. 15), and is associated with *al-hawā*, which, in the sense of "desire", is always evil. It must be restrained (lxxix. 40) and made patient (xviii. 27) and its greed must be feared (lix. 96). b. The *nafs* is *lawwāma*, i.e., it upbraids (lxxv. 2); the souls (*anfus*) of deserters are straitened (ix. 119). c. The soul is addressed as *nafsinna*, tranquil (lxxxix. 27). These three terms form the basis of much of the later Muslim ethics and psychology. It is note-

worthy that *nafs* is not used in connection with the angels.

B. Rūḥ has five uses: 1. Allāh blew (*nafakha*) of His *rūḥ*, s. into Adam, giving life to Adam's body (xv. 29; xxxviii. 72; xxii. 8), and s. into Maryam for the conception of 'Isā (xxi. 91 and lxi. 12). Here *rūḥ* equates with *rūḥ* and means the "breath of life" (cf. *Gen.* ii. 7), the creation of which belongs to Allāh. 2. Four verses connect *rūḥ* with the *amr* of Allāh, and the meanings of both *rūḥ* and *amr* are disputed. a. In xlii. 87, it is stated: "They ask thee [O Muḥammad] about *al-rūḥ*; say: *al-rūḥ min amrī rabbī*, and ye are brought but little knowledge". b. In xvi. 2, Allāh sends down the angels with *al-rūḥ min amrī* upon whomsoever He wills of His creatures to say: "Warn that the fact is, There is no God but Me, so fear". c. In xi. 15, Allāh "cast *al-rūḥ min amrī* upon whomsoever He wills of His creatures to give warning". d. In xlii. 52: "We revealed (*awḥaynā*) to thee [O Muḥammad] *rūḥan min amrī*; thou knewest not what the book was, nor the faith, but We made it to be a light by which We guide whomsoever We will of Our creatures". Whatever meanings *amr* and *min* may have, the contexts connect *al-rūḥ* in a, with knowledge; in b, with creatures, for warning; and in c, with Muḥammad, for knowledge, faith, light and guidance. Therefore this *rūḥ* is special equipment from Allāh for prophetic service. It reminds forcibly of Bezalel, who was "filled with the spirit of God in wisdom, in understanding and in knowledge" (*Exodus* xxxv. 30, 31). 3. In iv. 169, 'Isā is called a *rūḥ* from Allāh. 4. In xcvii. 4; lxxviii. 38 and lxx. 4, *al-rūḥ* is an associate of the angels. 5. In xxvi. 193, *al-rūḥ al-amīn*, the faithful *rūḥ*, comes down upon Muḥammad's heart to reveal the Qur'an. In xix. 17, Allāh sends to Maryam "Our *rūḥ*", who appears to her as a well-made man. In xvi. 104, *rūḥ al-qudus* sent the Qur'an to establish believers. Three other passages state that Allāh helps 'Isā with *rūḥ al-qudus* (ii. 81; ii. 254 and v. 109). This interrelation of service and title imply the identity of this angelic messenger, who may be also the *rūḥ* of 4. Thus in the Qur'an *rūḥ* does not mean angels in general, nor man's self or person, nor his soul or spirit. The plural does not occur.

C. Nafas, breath and wind, cognate to *nafs* in root and to *rūḥ* in same of its meanings, does not occur in the Qur'an, but is used in the early poetry (F. Krenkow, *The Poems of Tufail and al-Tirmidhī*, London 1927, p. 32). The verb *tanafas* (*Sūra* lxxxi. 18) is derived from that meaning, while the only other Qur'anic forms from the same radicals are *salafatunafas* 'i-mutanafasina' (lxxlii. 26) and are derived in al-Ṭabarī, *Djāmi' al-Bayān*, Cairo 1321, xxx. 57, probably correctly, from *nafisa*, "he desired".

II. The Umayyad poetry first uses *rūḥ* for the human soul (*Kitaḥ al-Aghāni*, ed. 1285, xvi. 126, last line; Cheikh, *Le Christianisme*, Paris 1925, p. 338) where the Qur'an had used *nafs* as in N^o. 5 above.

III. Of the early collections of traditions, Mālik's *al-Muwatta'*, Cairo 1339, i. 126 uses *nafama*, which does not occur in the Qur'an, and *nafs* (ii. 262) for the soul or spirit, while Ibn Hanbal's *Musnad* uses *nafam* (vi. 424), *nafs* (i. 297; ii. 364; vi. 140) and *nafs* and *rūḥ* (iv. 287, 296).

1) For the sake of convenience in this article *rūḥ* is treated as well.

Muslim's *al-Saḥīḥ* (Constantinople 1331), viii. 44, 162 sq. and al-Bukhārī's *al-Saḥīḥ*, Cairo 1314, iv. 133, both use *rūḥ* and *arwāḥ* for the human spirit.

IV. The *Taḥṣīl al-'Arūs* (iv. 260) lists 15 meanings for *nafs* and adds two others from the *Lisān al-'Arab*, as follows: spirit, blood, body, evil eye, presence, specific reality, self, tan, haughtiness, self-magnification, purpose, disdain, the absent, desire, punishment, brother, man. It states that most of these meanings are metaphorical. The *Lisān* (viii. 119—126) finds examples of these meanings in the poetry and the *Kur'ān*. Lane's *Lexicon* faithfully reproduces the material (p. 2827d). The lexical treatments of *nafs* disclose three facts: 1. Any attribution to Allāh of *nafs* as "soul" or "spirit" is avoided. 2. In man, *a. nafs* and *rūḥ* are identified, or *b. nafs* applies to the mind and *rūḥ* to life, or *c. man* has *nafsan*, two souls, one vital and the other discriminative, or *d. the discriminative soul* is double, sometimes commanding and sometimes forbidding.

V. The influences that affected the post-Kur'ānic uses of both *nafs* and *rūḥ* were the Christian and Neo-Platonic ideas of *rūḥ* with human, angelic and divine applications, and the more specifically Aristotelian psychological analysis of *nafs*. These influences are clearly shown in the records of the religious controversies.

A. Al-Ash'arī [q. v.] (H. Ritter, *Die dogmatischen Lehren der Anhänger des Islam von Abu 'l-Hasan 'Alī bin Ismā'īl al-Ash'arī*, Istanbul 1929) reports the Rāḍīya doctrines of the incarnation of *rūḥ* Allāh in Adam and its transmigration through the prophets and others (p. 6, 46), as well as the conflicting positions that man is body (*ḥisām*) only, body and spirit, and spirit (*rūḥ*) only (p. 61, 329 sqq.). His creed of the orthodox (p. 290—297) omits any statement about the nature of man.

B. Al-Baḥdādī [q. v.] (*al-Farḥ bain al-Firah*, Cairo 1328) records the same heretical doctrines about man's nature (p. 28, 117 sqq., 241 sqq.), says the transmigration theories were held by Plato and the Jews (p. 254) and describes the incarnation beliefs of the Ḥallāḍīya sects (cf. *ḥuḍūḍ*) among whom he includes the Ḥallāḍīya (p. 247). His position is "The life of Allāh is without *rūḥ* and nourishment and all the *arwāḥ* are created, in opposition to the Christian doctrine of the eternity of the Father, Son and Spirit" (p. 325).

C. Ibn Ḥazm [q. v.] uses *nafs* and *rūḥ* interchangeably of man's soul (*Kiṭāb al-Fiṣal fī 'l-Milal*, 5 parts, Cairo 1317—1321; v. 66). He excludes from Islam all who hold metempsychosis views, among whom he includes the physician-philosopher Muḥammad b. Zakariyya' al-Rāzī (l. 90 sqq.; iv. 187 sq.). He rejects absolutely the doctrine of some of the Ash'ariya of the continual re-creation of the *rūḥ* (iv. 69). He taught that Allāh created the spirits of all Adam's progeny before the angels were commanded to prostrate to him (Sūra vii. 171), and that these spirits exist in al-Barzakh [q. v.] in the nearest heaven until the angel blows them into embryos (iv. 70).

D. Al-Shahrastānī [q. v.] (*Kiṭāb al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥāl*, ed. Cureton, part i, London 1842) in his description of the belief of the pagan Arabs concerning survival after death does not use the terms *nafs* or *rūḥ*, but says the blood becomes a wrath bird that visits the grave every hundred years. One of his most important sections (p. 203—

240) deals with the orthodox and heterodox doctrines of *al-rūḥ*. Al-Hunafā', or true believers, debate with al-Sābi'a [q. v.], who are dualists, emanationists and gnostics. His account of the views of the Sābi'a faithfully reflects the doctrines of the Ikhwān al-Safā' (*Rasā'il*, 4 vols., Bombay 1305), who taught that man is a whole compounded of a corporeal body and a spiritual *nafs* (i/ii, 14), and that the substance (*ḥaywar*) of the *nafs* descended from the spheres (*al-afāk*). But al-Shahrastānī rejects the Neo-Platonic idea that human souls (*nufūs*) are dependent upon the souls of the superhuman spirit world (*al-nufūs al-rūḥāniyyāt*) (p. 210, 224 sq.), and the Hermetic doctrines that the *nafs* is essentially evil (p. 236) and that salvation consists in the release of the *rūḥ* from material bodies (p. 226 sq.). He applies the term *rūḥānī* to all spirits, good and evil (p. 213). His description of the nature of man (p. 216 sqq.) with three souls, vegetative, animal and human, each with its own source, need, place and powers, resembles that of the Ikhwān al-Safā' (*Rasā'il*, i/ii, 48 sqq.). Indeed, the Aristotelian analysis of the human soul as given in *De Anima*, and handed on by Alexander of Aphrodisias and Porphyry, had been adopted with little modification by the Muslim philosophers, such as al-Kindī [q. v.], al-Fārābī [q. v.] each of whom wrote a *Kiṭāb al-Nafs*, Ibn Sīnā [q. v.] who wrote two, and Ibn Miskawīh [q. v.], whose *Tahdhīb al-Akhlaq* has the same immaterial (p. 1) and functional (p. 7) psychology for its ethical basis. Al-Shahrastānī achieved the long needed interpretation of the conflicting images of *nafs* and *rūḥ* in the Greek and Christian heritage, and in the Kur'ān and Muslim tradition. But the philosophers, even with his support, were not able to force the Greek psychology upon orthodox Islam. The *Mutakallimūn* [s. art. *KALĀM*] and the great majority of Muslims broadened the Kur'ānic terminology, but retained the traditional views of the nature of the soul as a direct creation of Allāh having various qualities.

VI. Aristotle's principle of the incorporeal character of spirit had nevertheless found a permanent place in Muslim doctrine through the influence of Islam's greatest theologian, al-Ghazālī [q. v.]. In al-Tahānawī's *Dictionary of the Technical Terms* (ed. Sprenger, Calcutta 1862) are extracts of the doctrines of al-Ghazālī on man's *rūḥ* and *nafs*. He defines man as a spiritual substance (*ḥaywar rūḥānī*), not confined in a body, nor imprinted on it, nor joined to it, nor separated from it, just as Allāh is neither without nor within the world, and likewise the angels. It possesses knowledge and perception, and is therefore not an accident (p. 547 at top; cf. *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa*, Cairo 1302, p. 72). He devotes the second section of *al-Risāla al-Laduniya* (Cairo 1327, p. 7—14) to explain the words *nafs*, *rūḥ* and *qalb* (heart), which are names for this simple substance that is the seat of the intellectual processes. It differs from the animal *rūḥ*, a refined but mortal body in which reside the senses. He identifies the incorporeal *rūḥ* with *al-nafs al-muṭma'anna* and *al-rūḥ al-amrī* of the Kur'ān. He then uses the term *nafs* also for the "flesh" or lower nature, which must be disciplined in the interests of ethics.

VII. This position of al-Ghazālī's was that of the theistic philosophers in general, as well as some of the Mu'tazila and the Shāfi'a, but it has never dominated Islam. The great analytical philosopher

and theologian, Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzī, could not bring himself to accept it. In his *Mafātih al-Ghaib*, v. 435, commenting on Sūra xvii. 85, he quotes as the opinion of al-Ghazālī the statement that it is in the latter's *Tahāfut* (p. 72; cf. also al-Rāzī's *Muḥajjal*, Cairo 1323, p. 164), but on p. 434 (l. 9 and 8 from below) of the *Mafātih* he acknowledges the strength of the corporeal doctrine, and in his *Ma'ālim Uṣūl al-Dīn*, on the margin of the *Muḥajjal*, p. 117 *sq.*, he definitely rejects as baseless (*bāṭil*) the view of the philosophers that the *nafs* is a substance (*ḥaywar*) which is not a body (*ḥaym*) and not corporeal.

VIII. Al-Baidāwī's [q. v.] system of cosmogony and psychology is given in his *Tanzīl al-Anwār* (lithograph ed. with commentary Abu 'l-Thana' al-Iṣfahānī and gloss by al-Djurdjānī, Stambul 1303, p. 285 *sqq.*; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 418, li. 111, printed Cairo 1323). He discusses 1. The classes of incorporeal substances, 2. the heavenly intelligences, 3. the souls of the spheres, 4. the incorporeality of human souls, 5. their creation 6. their connection with bodies and 7. their survival. His cosmogony follows: Allāh, because of his unity, created only one Intelligence (*'aql*). This Second Intelligence, that emanated first (*al-ḥādīth*) from Allāh, is the cause (*'illa*) of all other potentialities and is not body (*ḥaym*), nor original matter (*ḥayūl*) nor form (*ṣūra*). It is the secondary cause (*asbab*) of another intelligence with soul (*nafs*) and sphere (*falak*). There emanates from the second a third intelligence and so on to the tenth (p. 288) who is the *rūḥ* of Sūra lxxviii. 38 (cf. al-Baidāwī's *Anwār al-Tanzīl*, ed. Fleischer, li. 383, l. 4) whose effective influence is in the world of the elements and who is the producer of the spirits (*arwāḥ*) of mankind. Below these intelligences are the high or heavenly angels, which the philosophers call *al-nuṣūṣ al-falakīya*, and the low *nuṣūṣ*, which are in two classes: earthly angels, in control of the simple elements and the earthly souls, such as the reasoning souls (*anfus nāṭiqā*) controlling particular persons. In addition (p. 285) there are the incorporeal substances, without effect or control, who are angels, some good (*al-kurūbiyyūn*) and some evil (*al-ḥayūṣiyyūn*) and the *ḥaym*, who are ready for both good and evil. This is the classification he refers to in his comment on Sūra ii. 28 (ed. Fleischer, l. 47, 22). His psychology resembles that of al-Ghazālī, whom he mentions (p. 294). For the incorporeality of the soul (*anfus al-nuṣūṣ*) he presents five arguments from reason, four Qur'ān verses and one tradition. His commentator remarks (p. 300) that these prove only that the soul differs from the body. He then argues that all *nuṣūṣ* are created when their bodies are completed. The *nafs* (p. 303) is not embodied in and is not close to the body, but is attached as the lover to the beloved. It is connected with the *rūḥ* which comes from the heart and is generated of the finest nutritive particles. The reasoning *nafs* produces a force that flows with that *rūḥ* through the body, producing in every organ its proper functions. These functional powers are perceptive, which are the five external senses, and the five internal faculties of the *sensus communis*, imagination, apprehension, memory and reason, and the active (*al-muḥarrikā*) which are voluntary (*ikhtiyārīya*) and natural (*fakīya*, p. 308).

IX. The dominant Muslim doctrine concerning the origin, nature and future of *al-rūḥ* and *al-*

nafs is most fully given in the *Kitāb al-Rūḥ* of Ibn Kaṣīm [q. v.] (Haidarābād, 2nd ed., 1324). Of his 21 chapters Ibn Kaṣīm devotes the 19th to the problem of the specific nature of the *nafs* (p. 279–342). He quotes the summaries given by al-Ash'arī (*op. cit.*, p. 331–335), and by al-Rāzī (*Mafātih al-Ghaib*, v. 431–434). He denies al-Rāzī's statement that the *Mutaballim* consider man to be simply the sensible body, and says all intelligent people hold man to be both body and spirit. The *rūḥ* is identified with the *nafs*, and is itself a body, different in quiddity (*al-māhiya*) from this sensible body, of the nature of light, high, light in weight, living, moving, interpenetrating the bodily members as water in the rose. It is created, but everlasting; it departs temporarily from the body in sleep; when the body dies it departs for the first judgement, returns to the body for the questioning of Munkar and Nakir, and, except in the cases of prophets and martyrs, remains in the grave foretasting bliss or punishment until the Resurrection. He rejects (p. 256) Ibn Ḥazm's doctrine that Adam's progeny are in al-Barzakh awaiting their time to be blown into embryos. He presents 116 evidences for the corporeality of the *rūḥ*, 22 refutations of opposing arguments and 22 rebuttals of objections. He represents traditional Islām.

X. The earlier Sūfis had accepted the materiality of the *rūḥ*. Both al-Kaṣhānī [q. v.] (*al-Risāla*, with commentary of Zakariyā' al-Anṣārī and gloss of al-'Arūṣ, Bālāḥ 1290, li. 105 *sqq.*) and al-Hudjwī [q. v.] (*Kaṣf al-Maḥjūb*, ed. Nicholson, London 1911, p. 196, 262) call the *rūḥ* a fine, created substance (*'aīn*) or body (*ḥaym*), placed in the sensible body like sap in green wood. The *nafs* (*al-Risāla*, p. 103 *sqq.*; *Kaṣf al-Maḥjūb*, p. 196) is the seat of the blameworthy characteristics. All together make the man.

In addition to the philosophical position of the immateriality of *al-rūḥ* that al-Ghazālī had made orthodox, another interpretation of spirit developed which is essentially theosophical. Ibn al-'Arabī [q. v.] (H. S. Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-'Arabī*, Leyden 1919, p. 15, 11, 7 *sqq.*) divides "things" into three classes: Allāh, Who is Absolute Existence and Creator, the world, and an undefinable *tertium quid* of contingent existence that is joined to the Eternal Reality and is the source of the substance and the specific nature of the world. It is the universal and common reality of all realities. Man likewise is an intermediate creation, a *ḥarākāt* (p. 22, 42) between Allāh and the world, bringing together the Divine Reality and the created world (p. 21, 42) and a vicegerent connecting the eternal names and the originated forms (p. 96). His animal spirit (*rūḥ*) is from the blowing of the divine breath (p. 95) and his reasoning soul (*nafs nāṭiqā*) is from the universal soul (*al-nafs al-kullīya*), while his body is from the earthly elements (p. 95 *sq.*). Man's position as vicegerent (p. 45 *sq.*) and his resemblance to the divine presence (p. 21) come from this universal soul, who has various other names, holy spirit (*rūḥ al-qudus*), the first intelligence (p. 51), vicegerent (*khulīfa*), the perfect man (p. 45) and the *rūḥ* of the world of command (*al-amr al-awwal*), which al-Ghazālī held to be Allāh's direct creation (p. 122, 1). In his *Fuṣūḥ* (lithograph ed. with commentary by al-Kāshānī, Cairo 1309, p. 12 *sqq.*) he says that Allāh appears to Himself in a form which thus becomes the place of

manifestation of the Divine essence. This place receives a *rūh*, who is Adam, the *khālifa* and the perfect man. He discusses (Nyberg, *op. cit.*, p. 129 *sq.*) the essence and properties of the *rūh*, quoting among others the view he says is "attributed" to al-Ghazālī which is in *al-Tahfūt* (as above). He finds the differences of doctrine harmless since all agree that the *rūh* is originated. In his tractate on the *nafs* and *rūh* (M. Asin Palacios, *Tratado Acerca del Conocimiento del Alma y del Espíritu*, in *Actes du XI^{ème} Congrès international des Orientalistes*, Paris 1906, iii. 167—191) he describes how men may reach the distinction of "the perfect man" through the cultivation of the qualities of the *rūh* and the suppression of the *nafs*.

Ibn al-Arabi's contemporary, the poet Ibn al-Fārid (Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, chap. iii.), at times identifies his own *rūh* with that from which all good emanates (*al-Tā'ya al-kubrā*, on margin of *Divān Ibn al-Fārid*, Cairo 1319, ii. 4 *sq.*) and with the "pole" (*qutb*) upon which the heavens revolve (p. 113, 115). Al-Kāshānī, the commentator of *al-Tā'ya*, explains that this identity is with the greatest spirit (*rūh al-arwāḥ*) and the greatest "pole". The compiler of the commentaries on the *Divān* states (ii. 196) that incarnation (*ḥulūl*) and union (*iṭṭihād*) with Allāh are impossible, but there is real "passing away" (*fanā*) and attainment (*waṣl*) of the *rūh* and *nafs* in the *nafs* of Allāh, for His *nafs* is their *nafs*.

Abd al-Karīm al-Djīlānī carries this position of existential monism on to straight animistic pantheism. In *al-Insān al-kāmil* [q.v.] (Cairo 1334) the terms *rūh al-ḥudus*, *rūh al-arwāḥ* and *rūh Allāh* stand for a special one of the aspects of the Divine Reality (*al-Haqq*), not to be embraced under the command "be" nor created. This spirit is the divine aspect in which stand the created spirits of all existences, sensible and intelligible (p. 94). Existence itself subsists in the *nafs* of Allāh, and His *nafs* is His Essence (*dhāt*). Moreover, every sensible thing has a created spirit (*rūh*) (p. 94). One of the aspects of the angel of Sūra xlii. 52, who is named the command (*amr*) of Allāh, and who is an aspect of Allāh as above, is given to the *rūh* of Muḥammad, which is identified as the *rūh* mentioned in the verse. That angelic and divine *rūh* thereby becomes the *idea* (*ḥaṣṣa*) of Muḥammad (p. 95 *sq.*) and he thereby becomes the "perfect man" (p. 96, 131 *sq.*). The *rūh* which is the specific nature of the human *nafs* has five names: animal, commanding to evil, instinctive (*al-mulḥama*), reproving, and tranquil. When the divine qualities actually describe the *nafs*, then the names, qualities and essences of the gnostic (*ṣūfī*) are those of the One Known (*Ma'rūf*) (p. 130 *sq.*).

XI. In geomancy (*ilm al-raml*) the first "house" (*bayt*) of the *ummaḥāt* [cf. MADAGASCAR, *supra*, iii. 73^b] is called *nafs* because it guides to problems concerning the soul and spirit of the inquirer, and to the beginning of affairs (Muḥammad al-Zanṭī, *Kitāb al-Faṣl fī 'ilm al-Raml*, Cairo n. d., p. 7; cf. Henr. Corn. Agrippae, *Opera*, Leyden, n. d., but early xvijth cent., p. 412: *Nam primus domus personam tenet quatercentis*).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article see especially D. B. Macdonald, *The Development of the Idea of Spirit in Islam*, in *Acta Orientalia*, Oslo 1931, ix. 307—351

(reprinted in *M. W.*, xxii. [1932], 25—42, 153—168) upon which much of the present article is based; Muslim philosophical psychology goes back to Aristotle's *De Anima* (best ed. by R. D. Hicks, Cambridge 1907); for the early metempsychosis beliefs see I. Friedländer, *The Heterodoxy of the Skittes* etc., in *J. Am. O. S.*, xxviii. 1—80; xxix. 1—183; for the relation between Aristotle and Ibn Sīnā see S. Landauer, *Die Psychologie des Ibn Sīnā*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxix. [1875], 335—418; English translation by A. E. van Dyck, *Avicenna's Offering to the Prince*, Verona 1906; M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme im Islam*, Bonn 1912; T. J. De Boer, *The History of Philosophy in Islam*, London 1903.

(E. E. CALVERLEY)

AL-NAFUSA, in Berber INFUSEN, name of a Berber tribe. According to the common genealogical scheme (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-Ibar*, i. 107—117 of the text), the Nafūsa are one of the four branches of the large body of the Boṭr, whose name derives from their chief Mādghis al-Abtar. At present the dwelling place of the Nafūsa is south-west of Tripoli, on the plateau of the same name which from the frontier between Tunisia and Tripolitania tends eastward, and, if taken in the largest sense, comprises the regions of Nālūt, Fassāto and Yefren. The inhabitants of these regions are generally called Nafūsa, although, in a genealogical sense, this name can be applied to some groups only. Probably the name Djabal Nafūsa (in Berber *Drar n Nafūsa*), which originally belonged to a part of the plateau, was extended to the large area between Wāzen and Yefren on account of the fact, that of the tribes inhabiting it, the Nafūsa were of prominent importance. This use of the name in its widest sense is also to be found in the book by Ibrāhīm b. Sīman al-Shammākhī "Castles and Ways of the Nafūsa plateau" (1302 = 1884—1885), in which all the territories of Yefren, Fassāto and Nālūt are described.

The scarce data on the history of the Nafūsa, which we possess, are to be found, for the largest part, in Arabic sources. In the Greek and Latin authors of pre-Islamic times there is no single sure allusion to them. The name occurring in Corippus' *Johannis* (second song, l. 146: *Quaeque nefanda colunt tristis montana Navus*), does not refer, in all probability, to a place or a tribe of Tripolitania, but rather of the Aurès (Awrās), its plateau or its neighbourhood. The fact that Navus represents a form closely connected with Nafūsa, proves only that the name was widely spread among the Berbers, that it is old and may be probably connected with such words as *unnefus*, fem. *tennefus* "right, to the right hand" in Augila.

In Islamic times the name is recorded for the first time in connection with the capture of the town of Tripoli by 'Amr b. al-'As (22 or 23). According to Ibn 'Idhārī (i. 2 *sq.*, text) during the siege the inhabitants called to their aid the Nafūsa, who came to their aid. At that time they were residing also in the vast plain of Djafāra, situated between the Djabal and the Sea; one of their chief towns, if not their capital, was Šabra on the coast (Roman Sabratha, formerly Phoenician), west of Tripoli, which by Ibn Khaldūn (*Ibar*, i. 181, l. 8, text) is called "the city of the Nafūsa". This town was taken

by surprise and plundered by a body of cavalry sent by 'Amr. This raid was probably undertaken not only to continue the conquest farther westward, but also to punish the Nafusa, whose territory 'Amr had invaded in order to conquer it (cf. al-Bakri, p. 9, 10, text), and which he had to abandon by order of the Caliph.

According to some sources, the Nafusa at that time were Christians; according to other reports, however, they were Jews. Our latest local information makes it probable that Christianity had spread widely among them; though the conversion of single groups to Judaism is not excluded. In fact traces of Byzantine basilicas have been found on the plateau, e.g. at Teméza, Iqarman etc., which are also mentioned in some sources and which must have been used by large numbers of the indigenous population.

When the Arab had conquered North Africa, the Nafusa of Sabra and of the coastal region retired, according to the common opinion, to the plateau, where they remained hostile towards the conquerors. A fresh study of the Tripolitan population, however, makes it clear that a part of them must have stayed in their old dwelling-places where they intermarried with other tribes and, in course of time, became arabicized. In fact there are tribes in the Western Džafra and in Tripoli, the town and its surroundings (the regions of al-Sāhil, Tagiura, etc.), that, according to the local genealogy, derive from the Nafusa. Apart from this ethnic tradition, there is the fact, recorded in several sources, that after the first case of intervention of the Nafusa in the affairs of the town of Tripoli — which may have been partly due to a Christian opposition to the Muhammadan invasion — they wanted, under successive dominations, to make their presence felt and their influence preponderant in the north-western region of Tripolitania, so that the outlines of the history of the small, but strong and civilized Berber unit may be supposed to be the following. Having its centre in the plateau, it intended to make felt, as often as possible, its dominion in the coastal region and thus keep the control of the main way of communication between Egypt and Ifrikiya, which ran along the coast and which was followed by the various expeditions to the Maghrib. Even at present such aspirations may be stirred in the minds of the most cultivated of these populations, to such an extent that even some of them have reckoned with an eventual reoccupation of their old territories in Western Džafra.

The period in which the Nafusa, according to the sources available to us, vigorous were most active and took a part in the events happening in North Africa, was that of the great Khāridjī [q.v.] revolts, which began in 122 (739—740) and did not cease before the 19th (8th) century, i.e. before the era of the Fātimids. When the Wahhī doctrines began to spread among the North African populations in the second century A. H., they embraced them and so joined the rebellious movement of the Berbers against the Arab conquerors, a movement which, prepared by several other causes, found also some support in the Khāridjī heterodoxy. The Nafusa embraced the Ibāḍī, i.e. the more moderate form of the Khāridjī doctrine, and remained ever faithful to it with heroic attachment. In alliance

with other Berber tribes, either Ibāḍīs or other branches of the sect, they repeatedly made war upon the Arab governors of Ifrikiya.

In 140 (757—758), they elected as their *imām*, probably with the intention of founding an Ibāḍīte principality — an intention which manifests itself also at other times — an Arab called Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb 'Abd al-'Alī b. al-Samḥ al-Ma'fīrī [q.v.], one of the missionaries of Ibāḍism in North Africa. Under his command and in conjunction with other Berber groups, they occupied Tripoli, fought against the Sufrite [cf. AL-SUFRIYA] Wafardjūma, who had sacked Kairawān where they had settled, and against the armies sent by the Abbāsids to reconquer Ifrikiya. Finally, in 144 (761—762), Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and a large number of his followers perished near Tanorḡha (Tāwūghā) in a great battle against the general Muḥammad b. al-Aḥ'āl al-Khuzā'i, the governor of Ifrikiya.

Another notorious *imām* of the Nafusa was a Berber Abū Ḥatīm Ya'qūb [q.v.], whose enterprises survive in oral tradition on the plateau, who speaks of his 375 encounters with the Arabs. He was killed in battle in 155 (771—772).

When the Ibāḍī kingdom of the Rustamids [cf. RUSTAM], which had Tahert as its centre, had been founded, the Nafusa did not elect an *imām* of their own any more, but formed a part of this kingdom under a governor who depended upon it. Some of these governors, e.g. Abū 'Ubaida 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Djanāwunī (of Igennāwen), Abū Maṣ'ūr Ilyās (of Tendemmira), are often praised by the Berbers of the Džafra, for their importance and ability in maintaining the interests of Ibāḍism, and also for their learning and piety.

The Nafusa were a valuable support of the kingdom of the Rustamids, of which they formed the eastern bulwark. Being near the territory of the Aghlabides [q.v.], they shared to some extent the vicissitudes of this state which had arisen in Ifrikiya in the beginning of the 9th century A. D. The town of Tripoli was in the possession of those princes; Western Džafra, on the other hand, till near the Sea, and probably also part of Eastern Džafra, was in the power or under the influence of the Nafusa. When Tripoli was beleaguered in 267 (880—881) by the Tulunid prince al-Abbās, who, having revolted against his father Ahmad, sought to conquer Ifrikiya at his own risks, the Nafusa were called to aid, and, appearing without delay, they defeated the army of the invaders (according to other sources, their help was invoked by the inhabitants of Lebda). This fact, which reminds of the first siege of Tripoli by the Muslims, proves clearly the influence the Nafusa possessed in northwestern Tripolitania and it accounts also for the severe blow dealt to them in 283 (896—897) by the Aghlabides, when Ibrāhīm II b. Ahmad, who led an expedition from Tunis to Egypt, found his passage through the coastal region of Tripolitania barred by the Nafusa. The bloody battle of Mānū, which was followed by acts of terrible cruelty inflicted upon hundreds of Nafusa prisoners, and which is narrated in a more or less anecdotal form in the Sunnī as well as in the Ibāḍī sources, is ascribed, ultimately, to the desire of the Caliph to punish the Nafusa who were the principal support of the heretical state of Tahert; or to the resentment of the Aghlabides at acts of enmity committed

by the Berbers, as well as in the humiliation they had suffered when the expedition of the Tūlūnid al-Aḥḥas, which was directed against them, had been avorted by the Nafūsa, to whom this exploit became a point of glory.

In reality, however, taking into account the whole political situation as well as the historical antecedents, it is evident that that battle, which is still mentioned in the oral tradition of the Ibadites as the most terrible disaster they ever suffered, was the inevitable encounter between the Aghlabide power and the supremacy of the Nafūsa exercised in the former's immediate vicinity and even in its own territory.

When the power of the Aghlabides as well as that of the Rustamids had been destroyed by the Fāṭimids [q. v.], the Nafūsa found themselves face to face with those new masters of Eastern Barbary. There exist reports of an instance of their strenuous opposition to Fāṭimid power which endeavoured to subdue them in 310 (922—923), and which defeated them in the following year.

There are, however, reports concerning the part taken by the Nafūsa, or at least by tribes from the plateau, in the great Khāridjī rebellion, which was led by Abū Yaṣīd and which ended with the victory of the Fāṭimids. Probably the Ibadite populations of the Djabal, although having given up the idea of forming one large autonomous state, endeavoured to avoid any dependence upon the various kingdoms and empires which successively held the supremacy in North Africa, while the latter, on the other hand, endeavoured, as far as possible, to obtain a footing also in the mountainous region which forms the strategic key to the plain stretching towards the coast.

When the Almoravides [q. v.] undertook the conquest of Eastern Ifrīqiya under 'Abd al-Mu'min (554—555 = 1159—1160), the Nafūsa were also subdued by his army. Their territory became the scene of violent struggles and massacres, of raids and partial conquests during the long period of the revolt of the Banū Ghāniya who attempted to restore the Almoravid empire and who, from 580 (1184—1185) onwards, for nearly half a century and with varying success, fought chiefly in Oriental Barbary. In these fights Arabs of the tribe of Debbāb (belonging to the Banū Sulaim), took part who had come to Tripolitania during the well known invasion of the Banū Hilāl and Sulaim. Some clans of the Debbāb, especially the Maḥmūd and the Djuwārī, settled in the coastal region west of Tripoli, where the Nafūsa had exercised their power before. Yet the great mass of the latter must have retired to the plateau not at the time of the conquest, but in consequence of the Arab invasion.

The Nafūsa remained in nearly the same attitude of defence of their independence, during the supremacy in Ifrīqiya of the Hafṣids [q. v.], and, afterwards, of the Turks. While other populations in the neighbourhood gave up their Ibadism in order to embrace Sunnism, and consequently became arabised, the Nafūsa stuck to their faith and to their Berber vernacular, withdrawing themselves to the rough crests of their mountains, and from time to time taking part in the acts of hostility and in the rebellions which the interior opposed to the efforts of the government of Tripoli to maintain its own authority and, chiefly, to levy taxes.

In the nineteenth century, the Turks, after having retaken in 1251 (1835—1836) the direct administration of Tripoli, had to fight long and bitterly for the conquest of the plateau of the Nafūsa also. The struggle lasted, with varying success, till 1274 (1857—1858); in this period the ṣaikh Ghāma b. Khālifa distinguished himself by courage and endurance; he is usually represented as the hero of Berber independence defended against the Turks. In reality, however, he was an Arab and the Arab tribe of the Maḥmūd had the largest share in the wars, while the Berbers, according to all appearance, did not take part in them on a large scale. During the Italian occupation of Tripolitania, which began in 1911, the Nafūsa were at first hostile in accordance with their old aspiration to found an independent Ibadite kingdom which should extend up to the Sea and include the region of Sabratha. Defeated in 1913 by the valiant general Lequie near al-Aḥḥas they offered their submission to the Italian authorities and ever since have proved very faithful subjects. When inner Tripolitania, in consequence of the effects of the Great War, was troubled by rebels, they showed an heroic attachment to Italy, fighting her enemies under great sacrifices. When in 1922 the reconquest of the inland had begun, they voluntarily took part in it, side by side with the regular troops, with perfect loyalty.

Bibliography: A. de C. Motylinski, *Chronique d'Abū Saḥr sur les Immens Rustamides de Fāḥrī, in Actes du XIV^{ème} Congrès Intern. de l'Orientalisme*, iii, 3—132, Paris 1908 (text and French transl.); Abū Zakariyā' Yahyā b. Abī Bakr, *Kitaḥ al-Sira wa-Aḥḥas al-Aḥḥas*, partly transl. by E. Maqueron, *Chronique d'Abū Zakariyā*, Paris 1879; Abū 'Abd al-Aḥḥas Ahmad b. Abī 'Uthmān Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Wahāb al-Sham-mākhī, *Kitaḥ al-Sira*, Cairo 1301; Sulaimān al-Barmī, *Kitaḥ al-Aḥḥas al-ṣaḥīḥa fī al-Imma wa-Mulūk al-Iḥḥas*, Cairo 1906—1907 (only the second part of the work is published, containing the history of the Ibadites from the flight of the Rustamid 'Abd al-Rahmān from Kairawān, up to the end of the dynasty of Tahert); R. Hassat, *Les sanctuaires du Djebel Nefusa*, in *J.A.*, 1899, xlii, 423—470; xiv, 88—120; Ibrahim u. Sulaimān Ashammākhī, *Le ḥikma d'Idrīs al-ḥas n Iḥḥas, Relation en temate's du Djebel Nefusa*, ed. A. de C. Motylinski, Algiers 1885; Grimal de Guiraudou, *Djebel Nefusa, in J.R.A.S.*, London 1863, p. 669—698; A. de C. Motylinski, *Le Djebel Nefusa*, Paris 1898; *Vocabulaire berbère ancien (Dialecte du Djebel Nefusa)*, publi. and transl. by A. Ben-soussou, in *R. T.*, 1900, p. 489—507; E. De Agostini, *La popolazione della Tripolitania*, Tripoli 1917, chapters xxiv, xxvii, xxviii, and *passim*; G. Buselli, *Testi berberi del Gebel Nefusa*, in *L'Africa Italiana*, 1921, p. 26—54; do., *Berber Texts from Jebel Nefusa*, in *J. Afr. S.*, 1924, xliii, 285—293; F. Béguinot, *Note sulle popolazioni del Gebel Nefusa, in L'Africa Italiana*, 1926, p. 234—244; do., *Il Berbero Nefusi di Fāḥrī*, Rome 1931; Gen. R. Grassiani, *Verso il Fezzan*, Tripoli, anno viii, p. 31—39, 67—106.

Works in which the Nafūsa are mentioned: The Arabic chronicles referring to the conquest of the Maghrib, as well as the

Additions and Corrections

p. 203, l. 23, at the addnl. vj. *ʿIḥa al-ḡamkay al-ḥamīl* (extract in L. Masquien, *Revue*, p. 271, note 4).

p. 204, l. 24, at the addnl. He has been buried at the foot of the post Niyat Nisi at Kastro (Lomono), where his tomb was still shown in 1916 (cf. L. Masquien, *Revue*, p. 164).

PRINTED IN HOLLAND

35
THE
ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

A DICTIONARY OF THE GEOGRAPHY,
ETHNOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY OF THE
MUHAMMADAN PEOPLES

PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF LEADING ORIENTALISTS

EDITED BY

M. TH. HOUTSMA, A. J. WENSINCK

H. A. R. GIBB, W. HEFFENING and E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL

NUMBER 50

45-NAFUSA — NEDROMA

LEYDEN
LATE E. J. BRILL, LTD 1934
PUBLISHERS AND PRINTERS

LONDON
LUZAC & CO
40 GREAT RUSSELL STREET

Abh. K. W. = Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft d. Wissensch. in Göttingen
 Abh. K. M. = Abhandlungen, C. L. Kunde des Morgenlandes
 Abh. Pr. S. W. = Abhandlungen d. preuss. Acad. d. Wiss.
 Abh. Fa. B. = Bulletin de Comité de l'Asie française
 Abh. Fr. EC = Bulletin du Com. de l'As. franç. Kon-
 seilgouvern. Colonies
 AM = Archives maronites
 AMZ = Allgemeine Missionsschrift
 Anth. = Antiquities
 Ann. Wilm = Annales des phil. histor. Kl. d. N. d. der
 Wiss. Wien
 AO = Asia Orientalis
 AQR = Asiatic Quarterly Review
 ARW = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
 As. Fr. B. = Bulletin de Comité de l'Asie française
 BAH = Bibliotheca Arabico-Islamica
 BGR = Bibliotheca geographica arabica ed. de
 Geogr.
 BIE = Bulletin de l'Institut Egyptien
 BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie
 Orientale au Caire
 BSOB = Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,
 London University
 BTLV = Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde
 van Ned. Indië
 BZ = Byzantinische Zeitschrift
 CIA = Corpus Inscriptionum arabicarum
 CIS = Corpus Inscriptionum semiticarum
 EC = L. Egypte Compendium
 GAL = Geschichte der arabischen Literatur
 GGA = Geographisches Jahrbuch Asien
 GJ = Geographical Journal
 GMS = Göttingen Manuscript Series
 GOR = Geschichte des orientalischen Reiches
 GOW = Geograph. u. Geschichtsbrosch. des Orients
 und ihre Werke
 Gr. J. Ph. = Geschichte der jüdischen Philologie
 GSAI = Giornale della Soc. Asiatica Italiana
 HQF = Hist. History of Chinese poetry
 IO = Indische Gids
 IIE = International Review of Missions
 Id. = Der Islam
 JA = Journal Asiatique
 J. A. S. = Journal of the African Society
 J. Am. O. S. = Journal of the American Oriental Society
 J. Anth. I. = Journal of the Anthropological Institute
 JASH = (Journal) and Proceedings of the Asiatic Soc.
 of Bengal
 JE = Jewish Encyclopedia
 JHS = Journal of the Jewish Historical Society
 JQR = Jewish Quarterly Review
 JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
 JRS = Journal of the Royal Geographical Society
 JSP. Os. = Journal de la Société Française d'Égyptologie
 KCA = Kurzer Catalog. Archivum
 KR = Koloniale Rundschau
 KS = Keisr. Semite (Revue orientale)
 Mch. = Al-Machet
 MDPV = Mitteilungen und Notiz. des Deutschen Pa-
 listina-Vereins
 MFO (Ceyneb) = Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de
 Beyrouth
 MGZ. Wilm = Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesell-
 schaft in Wien
 MGN = Mit. = Geschichte der Medizin und Natur-
 wissenschaften
 MCW = Monograph. f. d. Geschichte u. Wissenschaft
 der Islamiten
 ME = Me Idama
 MEgypt. = Mémoires de l'Institut Egyptien
 MIFAO = Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Inst.
 Franç. d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire
 Mit. DOG = Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesell-
 schaft
 Mit. VAG = Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägypti-
 schen Gesellschaft
 MMAR = Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Franç.
 au Caire

MO = La Mecque orientale
 MOC = Mitteilungen der orientalischen Gesellschaft
 MSFO = Mémoires de la Société Française d'Égyptologie
 MSF. = Mémoires de la Société Linguistique
 MSCS. Abh. = Mitteilungen des Sem. für orient. Spr.
 schen, Afr. Studien
 MSCS. As. = Mitteilungen des Sem. für orient. Spr.
 schen, Westasiat. Studien
 MTM = Mit. (schiller) - mitteilend
 MW = Das Morgenland
 NK = Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Biblio-
 theque de Kas
 NGW Göt. = Nachrichten d. Gesellschaft d. Wiss.
 Göttingen
 NO = Das Neue Orient
 OA = Orientalisches Archiv
 OC = Orient Christianum
 OLZ = Orientalische Literaturzeitung
 OM = Oriente Moderno
 PEVS = Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement
 PELON oder P. R. Lang. Or. V. = Publications de
 l'École des langues orientales vivantes
 Per. Mit. = Perennius Mitteilungen
 PRGS = Proceedings of the R. Geographical Society
 QDC = Questions diplomatiques et coloniales
 RAAD = Revue de l'Asie Arabe de Damas
 RAR. = Revue Africaine
 RKI = Revue des Indes, Indes
 RKI. Is. = Revue des études islamiques
 RHR = Revue de l'histoire des Religions
 RI = Revue Indigène
 RMM = Revue du Monde Musulman
 RO = Revue Orientaliste
 ROC = Revue de l'Orient Chrétien
 ROU = Revue de l'Orient Latin
 RRAH = Rev. de la Soc. d'Archéologie de la Haute-Égypte, Madrid
 RRAL = Rendiconto della Reale Accademia dei Lincei,
 Classe di Sc. stor., nat., e filol.
 RSO = Revue des sciences orientales
 RT = Revue Turcologique
 SHAz. Berl. = Sitzungsberichte der Ak. der Wiss.
 Halle/Saale
 SHAz. Wien = Sitzungsberichte der Ak. der Wiss.
 in Wien
 SR. Bayr. Ak. = Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Aka-
 demie der Wissenschaften
 SHFMS. Berl. = Sitzungsberichte d. Preuss. Acad. der
 Wiss. in Berlin
 SJ. Fr. Ak. W. = Sitzungsberichte der preuss. Ak. der
 Wiss. in Berlin
 THOKW = Tijdschrift van het Koninkrijk Genoot-
 schap der Koningen der Wetenschappen
 TOEM = Tijdschrift voor de Oost-Indische Handel, Wet-
 enwetenschappen, Revue Historique publiée par l'Institut
 d'Histoire Orientale
 TTEN = TOEM
 TTLV = Tijdschrift v. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
 Verh. Ak. Amst. = Verhandlungen der Koninklijke Aka-
 demie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam
 Verh. Med. Ak. Amst. = Verhandlungen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen
 te Amsterdam
 Wj. = Die Welt des Islams
 Wia. Verh. DOG = Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichun-
 gen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
 WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Mor-
 genlandes
 ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
 Zap. = Zapiski
 ZATW = Zeitschrift f. alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
 ZDMG = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Morgenländischen
 Gesellschaft
 ZDPV = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
 ZGErh. Berl. = Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erd-
 kunde in Berlin
 ZI = Zeitschrift für Indologie u. Iranistik
 ZK = Zeitschrift für Kolonialgeschichte
 ZOEO = Zeitschrift f. Orientalische Geschichte
 ZS = Zeitschrift für Semitistik

geographical works, such as: Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, Ibn Hawkal, al-Bakri, al-Idrisi, the anonymous author of the *Kitab al-Istisra*, Ibn al-Ajib, Ibn 'Idjart, al-Nawairi, al-Tudjari (*Rihla*), Ibn Khaldun (*Kitab al-Ibar*, text, ed. de Slane, esp. I: 139, 143, 181, 378—380; *Histoire de l'Afrique et de la Sicile*, ed. and transl. Noël Des Verger, Paris 1841, *passim*); Ibn Abi 'Imr al-Kairawani, al-Nasiri al-Salawi, Ahmad al-Nasiri al-Ansari, *Kitab al-Manhal al-afkhi fi Ta'rikh Tarabulus al-Gharb*, I, Constantinople 1317; Fauther, Marmal Caravai, *Description general de l'Afrique*, Granada 1575, II, fol. 307, chap. lvii; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique* (ed. Scheler), Paris 1896—1898, III, 195; H. Fournel, *Les Berbères. Étude sur la conquête de l'Afrique par les Arabes*, Paris 1875—1881, *passim*; Ch. Timot, *Géographie comparée de la province romaine d'Afrique*, Paris 1884—1888, I, 40, *passim*; A. de C. Motylinski, *Les livres de la secte abadhite*, Algiers 1885; E. Mercier, *Histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Paris 1888—1891, *passim*; H. M. de Mathuicula, *Notes sur la Tripolitaine ancienne et moderne (Publications de l'Association historique pour l'étude de l'Afrique du Nord, v.)*, Paris 1906; 40; *A travers la Tripolitaine*, Paris 1912; 40; *La Tripolitaine d'hier et de demain*, Paris 1912; E. Basset, *En Tripolitaine*, Paris 1913; G. Margali, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XI^{ème} au XIV^{ème} siècle*, Constantinople and Paris 1915; G. Bonacci, *Gli Italiani sul Gibel*, in *Rassegna contemporanea*, Rome 1915, fasc. 21; S. M. Storti, *Esplorazioni e prigioni in Libia*, Milan 1919; P. C. Bergun, *Tripoli dal 1550 al 1850*, Tripoli 1925; F. Béguinot, *La population della Tripolitania*, in *La rinascita della Tripolitania*, Milan 1926; M. Vonderheyden, *La Berbérie orientale sous la dynastie des Banu 'Aghlab*, Paris 1927, *passim*; E. F. Gautier, *Les siècles obscurs du Maghreb*, Paris 1927, *passim*; L. Witschell, *Ältere und Landtschaft in Tripolitania*, Hamburg 1928; F. Caro, *Vestigia di colonie agricole romane. Gibel Nefusa*, Rome 1928; A. Piccoli, *La nuova Italia d'occeano*, Verona 1933, I, 21—22.

(F. BÉGUINOT)

AL-NAPUSI AND SAHL AL-FARSI, Ibadite scholar of the Rustamid family, who lived in Tahert in the 11th (12th) century. Some say that he was one of those who by their learning and religious zeal helped to make that town famous. He was a complete master of Berber and served as interpreter under the *amir* Adah b. 'Abd al-Wahhab in the first half of the third century A.H., or even till 258 (871—872), and under Abu Hatim Yusuf b. Muhammad who, with a short interruption, was *naib* from 281—304 (894—907). This shows that the Rustamid princes of Tahert spoke Arabic, as was to be expected from their Oriental origin, and needed interpreters in their dealings with the Berber speaking peoples. When the Fatimids had destroyed the Ibadite power, Abū Sahl settled at Marras 'l-Khurei (La Calle, between Bône and the Tunisian frontier); or at Marras 'l-Dajidjadj on the Algerian coast, between 'Ain Taya and Capé d'Or (cf. e.g. al-Bakri, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1911, p. 64 ff., 82).

Al-Napusi is best known as the author of a big Berber *Divan*, containing religious and historical poems, both dealing probably with the doctrines and history of Ibadism. It has been lost, like so

many other works of Berber Ibadites; yet perhaps parts of it may be recovered by further search in the Maali, at Gerba and among the Nafusa. At any rate, Abū Sahl has an important place in the literary history of the Berbers, especially the Ibadites, who composed books on theology and law, chronicles, poetry and biographies.

Such a literary movement is usually explained by the need which the heretics felt of making clear their doctrine, especially the points in which it differed from the *sunna*, to the inhabitants of the interior of the Central and Eastern Maghrib, who did not know Arabic, and who must have been numerous about 1000 A.D. Yet another thing, which can be seen to-day, must not be forgotten, viz. the attachment of these peoples to their own tongue as a symbol of opposition to the Arabic speaking world in general and Muslim orthodoxy in particular. At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, some Berber groups in the neighbourhood of Yefren in Tripolitania were led by Sūnī propaganda to give up their old Ibadite faith and embrace orthodoxy. This change in its turn caused the Berber dialect to be less used; as if heresy were bound up with the national language, and the giving up of the heresy removed the last obstacle to complete arabisation. This assumption is confirmed by some religious poems (they deserve to be called literature) in the region of Fasilā, where the love of the national language is still strong. In them the author says explicitly that he uses Berber to uphold and strengthen the Ibadite faith, which once flourished gloriously, but afterwards decreased, and is now well nigh disappeared. In past times also, the Berber literature of the Ibadites was partly a symbol of non-conformity and nationalism; so when Abū Sahl, who was rooted in Arabic civilisation by his origin, devoted himself to the study of Berber so as to become the best Berber scholar of his time and to compose in it his works. He must have felt in his deeply religious mind the connection between that language and the faith he professed.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Ahbas b. Abi 'l-Ishma'il Sa'id b. 'Abd al-Wahid al-Shammakji, *Kutub al-Syar*, Cairo 1301, p. 289—290; Sulaiman al-Baruni, *Kitab al-Ashar al-riyadhiya fi 'l-din wa-Mulak al-Ibadiya*, Cairo 1908—1909, p. 68—69; A. de C. Motylinski, *Les Livres de la secte abadhite*, Algiers 1885, p. 31; K. Basset, *Les généalogies berbères*, in *Archives Berbères*, vol. I, fasc. 2, p. 5 and 11; H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920, p. 28, 64—67, 69—72.

(F. BÉGUINOT)

NAGPUR, a city, tahsil, district, and division of the Central Provinces of British India. The modern Central Provinces and Berar, which formed part of the eighteenth century Bhonsla kingdom of Nagpur, lie between 17° 47' and 24° 27' N. and 75° 37' and 84° 24' E., with an area of 113,285 square miles, and a total population of 17,951,147. Nagpur division contains a population of 3,595,578; Nagpur district 933,168; and the city 215,003 (1931 Census Report).

The history of this area, which roughly corresponds to Gondwana, has been profoundly influenced by the long range of the Satpura hills through which the Borhampur-Aurangabad gap provided the chief route from Hindustan to the Deccan. When the Muhammadan invaders first came into contact with Gondwana, it contained four independent

Gond kingdoms: the northern kingdom of Garha-Mandla; two central kingdoms with their capitals at Dēogarh and Kherla respectively; and a southern state with its capital at Cāda. In the reign of Akbar the imperial forces overran the northern kingdom forcing it to pay tribute, despite the heroic efforts of the Dowager Rani Durgavati. After this the political predominance of the Gond chiefs shifted to Dēogarh which in its turn also suffered from the aggressive schemes of the Moghal emperors. Early in the reign of Aurangzib a punitive force under Dilir Khān entered both Cāda and Dēogarh, with the result that, in 1670, the ruler of Dēogarh embraced Islām as the price of the restoration of his kingdom (*Alamgir-nāma*, p. 1022—27). Both these states paid tribute to the emperor through a Muslim agent stationed at Nāgpur. This however is not the earliest reference to Nāgpur in the Muhammadan period, for the *Padshāh-nāma* of Lahauri describes its capture by Khān Dawūd, in 1637 (for a still earlier identification see Hira Lal, p. 10).

The most famous ruler of Dēogarh was the converted Gond chief, Bahkt Buland, who visited the court of Aurangzib (*Ma'āthir-i Alamgiri*, p. 273). Because of his contumacious attitude he was replaced by another Muslim Gond named Dindār (*ibid.*, p. 340). For some years after this Bahkt Buland remained in imperial service, until, escaping from imperial control, he once more raised the standard of revolt in Dēogarh (*Muntakhab al-Lubāb* of Khāfi Khān, ii. 461). Although Dēogarh was recaptured for a time by Aurangzib's forces, Bahkt Buland remained in open rebellion and was never really subdued. Eventually under this able ruler the Dēogarh state comprised the modern districts of Chindwara and Betul, together with portions of Nāgpur, Seoni, Bhandāra and Bilāshpur. The last important Gond ruler was Cānd Sulṭān who died in 1739. It was he who fixed the capital at Nāgpur which he converted into a walled town.

Internal dissensions led to the intervention of Raghudjī Bhonsla, who was governing Berār on behalf of the Marāṭha Peshwā. Eventually, in 1743, the Marāṭha leader took over the administration of the country. By granting a nominal authority to the Gond Rājā, Burhān Shāh, and his descendants, the Bhonslas possessed a useful pretext for disavowing, when expedient, the rights of the Peshwā, but in practice reference was usually made to Pūna on important matters, such as the succession. Burhān Shāh's descendants have continued to occupy the position of state pensioners, and the representative of the family resides at Nāgpur with the title of Rājā or Samsthānik. Raghudjī's reign witnessed a great influx of Kunbis and other Marāṭha into Nāgpur. The treacherous attitude of his successor Dīnādjī led to his defeat by the combined forces of the Nāṭm and the Peshwā, and to his acknowledgement of the latter's supremacy.

It was under Raghudjī II that the Nāgpur kingdom attained its greatest extent and included practically the whole of the modern Central Provinces and Berār, together with Orissa and certain of the Cātā Nāgpur states. Unfortunately for the solidarity of his kingdom he joined forces with Sindhiya against the British, and, in 1803, after the battles of Assaye and Argaon, was compelled to subscribe to the treaty of Dēogūn, by which

he was deprived of a third of his dominions (Atchison, I. 415—417). He was succeeded in 1816 by his son, Farudjī, an imbecile, who was murdered in the following year by the notorious Appā Sāhib. On the outbreak of war between the British and the Peshwā, in 1817, Appā Sāhib attacked the British Residency but his troops were defeated in the brilliant action at Sitabaldi. This resulted in the deposition of Appā Sāhib, who was succeeded by Raghudjī III, on whose death, in 1853, without heirs, natural or adopted, this dependent principality was declared by Dalhousie to have lapsed to the Paramount Power.

The British administered Nāgpur by means of a Commission until the formation of the Central Provinces in 1861. To-day, the city of Nāgpur supports a flourishing Muhammadan community, in the suburb of Mehdiāgh, the members of which are Dā'ud Bohras of the Shī'a sect (see HOMERAS). The members of this community live together in the buildings of the institution, where their children are educated and their women taught suitable accomplishments.

Bibliography: Hira Lal, *Descriptive Lists of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces*, 1916; Muhammad Kāzīm, *Alamgir-nāma*, in *Bibl. Ind.*, 1868; Muhammad Sāqī Musta'jīd Khān, *Ma'āthir-i Alamgiri*, in *Bibl. Ind.*, 1870—1873; R. Jenkins, *Report on the Territories of the Raja of Nagpur*, 1827; C. V. Atchison, *Engagements, Treaties and Sanads*, vol. I, 1909; Sitabaldi, *Reprint of Documents etc.*, 1917; *Nagpur District Gazetteer*, 1908; *Central Provinces and Berar, Decennial Report*, 1923; E. Chatterton, *Story of Gondwana*, 1916. (C. COLLIN DAVIES)

NAHĪYE, an administrative district in the Ottoman empire which corresponds somewhat to the Swiss canton or French *commune*. It is a subdivision of the *ḥaḍa* (*ḥaḍ*, q. v.), which may be compared with the French *arrondissement* and is governed by a *ḥā'im-maḥāḥ* (q. v.) while the *nahīye* is under a *mudir*. This official who used to be appointed by the *wāli*, the governor of the province, received his instructions from the *ḥā'im-maḥāḥ*, to whom he was subordinate. The subdivisions of the *nahīye* are called *ḥeyr*, i.e. village. The term *nahīye* for an administrative district is of recent origin. For the earlier provincial administration which did not know this name, cf. A. D. Mordtmann sen., *Stambul und das moderne Turlinthum*, N. S., Leipzig 1878, p. 149.

Bibliography: V. Culnet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, vol. I, Paris 1893, p. 2v.

(FRANZ BAHINGOR)

NAHĪKI, *nabhi* from the pre-Islamic divine name *Nabhi* noted by Wellhausen and Nöldeke among the Tamim, the *Nakha'* (of Madhādij) and in Mecca before Islām. — In Kūfa and Sāmarrā it was the name of the Al Nahik, a family of Shī'i scholars of the tribe of *Nakha'* descendants of Nahik, grandfather of Kumail b. Ziyād, a partisan of 'Alī, also celebrated as the founder of the Kumailiya sect (or Kāmiliya: Ibn Sa'd, vi. 124; *ḥajala* of Mī'dan Sam'ī in *Ḥikāḥ*, *Ḥayawān*, ii. 98). Two of its members settled in Sāmarrā (Jāsi, *Fakhrī*, p. 203; cf. p. 179, 196): the first 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad (Nahik, p. 6) was the heterodox writer of the *Mintya* sect mentioned by Mas'ūdī and Ibn Ḥarm whose name Friedländer, following Barbier de Meynard, had read 'Shanki' (sic: in

Metempsychosis of the al-Hīṭat, II, 102-103; cf. Astara-bādī, *Maṣābiḥ*, p. 299; Wellhausen, *Reise Arab. Hist.*, p. 67, 245). (LOUIS MASSON)

AL-NAHL, "the Bee", Sūra xvi of the Qur'ān. The title is taken from verse 70: "Thy Lord has made this revelation to the Bee". Khāim (III, 105) says that it was also called "Sūra of the Herds" because there are references in several passages to cattle. As to its date, it is reckoned among the later Meccan Sūras and includes several verses of Medinese origin; the commentators however are not agreed on this point.

The Sūra of the "Bee" contains four abrogated verses: verse 69 is annulled by v. 92; verse 84 by ix. 5; verse 108, part 1, annulled by the end of the same verse and by ix. 5.

Bibliography. Noldeke-Schwally, *Geographie der Qorān*, Leipzig 1909-1928, I, 145 1924; Sell, *The Historical Development of the Quran*, London 1923; Montet, *Le Coran*, Paris 1929; al-Naḥḥīrī, *Aḥdāḥ al-Naḥḥīl*, Cairo 1345; Ibn Salama, *al-Naḥḥīl wa 'l-Mawāḥiḥ*, on the margin of the preceding; Suyūṭī, *Itḥān*, Cairo 1343; the commentaries on the Qur'ān.

(MAURICE CHEROUX)

AL-NAHR, the constellation of the River (Eridanus). It corresponds to the *Περαιός*, *Εἰναίος*, *Ἄνδρος* of the ancients (cf. Aratos, *Phaenomena*, I, 358; Geminus, *Εἰσαγωγή*; Ptolemy, *Almagest*). Aratos observes (I, 360) — probably one of the first to do so, — that the river of heaven represents Eridanus ("Ἰσίδανος, river of the morning; or river of darkness, of the west") turned into stars, into which Phaeton, son of Helios, fell, struck by the thunderbolt of Zeus, after his unsuccessful attempt to ride to heaven. [The opinions of the Greek authors varied regarding the identity of the earthly Eridanus. It is often identified as the Po (Padus), in later times however sometimes with the Rhone (Rhodanus, probably on account of the similarity of sound with "Eridanus") or even with the Rhine (Rhenus) while Strabo denies there was such a river for he calls it *ῥέμα πᾶσιθεν ὄρεσιν* "the nowhere existing"]. According to another view (Eratosthenes, c. 37), the constellation of the river represents the Nile since "this alone flows from the south" just as the river of heaven at the time of its culmination seems to flow from the south point of the horizon to the north; a third group of authors see in it the figure of Oceanos.

While Aratos clearly names only that portion of the river of heaven which lies between Orion and Cetus (the Whale), Eratosthenes and Hyginus continue it in a southeasterly direction as far as the neighbourhood of Canopus (α Carinae), on the other hand, Ptolemy, like all later writers, gives it its southwesterly direction and already calls the star of the first magnitude at its southern point (α Eridani, Achernar; cf. below) *ἑρπαιός*, *ῥέμα Περαιός*, the position of which however he gives incorrectly as he could not himself observe it in Alexandria on account of its great southern declination ($\delta + 126 = -67^{\circ} 25'$).

Al-Nahr is one of the constellations of the southern heavens. In the north it is adjoined by the Bull (*al-Zabur*), in the east by Orion (*al-Djabbār*, the Giant, or *al-Djinn*, the Bride), the Hare (*al-Armah*) and the most western subsidiary stars (*al-ḥarīḍ al-qāna*) of the Great Dog (*al-Kalb al-aḥbar*), which are now included in the constellation of the Dove and the Sculptor's Tool, in

the west by the Whale (*Ḳīṣṣ* or *Ḳāṣṣ*). The constellation of al-Nahr contains, according to 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sūfī (210 aḥ.), primary stars (i.e. those which form the figure, *ḥawāḍir min al-qāna*); there are no subsidiary stars included in it. It begins with α Eridani on the left foot of Orion (β Orionis, Rigel), winds westwards to α Eridani, then southwards to about γ' and eastwards via γ² as far as γ³ to γ¹ Eridani and finally in a southwesterly direction via λ, γ, δ Eridani to α Eridani.

The fresco in the dome of Kūṣayr 'Amra shows in the surviving portion the constellation of al-Nahr as a narrow ribbon, which runs directly westwards from the raised foot of Orion, a little below the equator and parallel with the latter in the direction of the Whale.

The Arabs give to the inverted quadrilateral formed by γ Orionis, λ, β and α Eridani, which appears to support the left foot of Orion (Rigel) the name "fore throne (foot-stool) of Orion", *Ḳurṣ al-Djannat al-muḥaddam*, in contrast to his "back throne", *Ḳurṣ al-Djannat al-mu'abḥḥar* or *Arṣ al-Djannat*. The stars ζ, ρ, π and γ¹—γ³ Eridani together with α and π Ceti, which enclose an area with very few stars in it, are called *Uḍḍ al-Na'īm*, "Ostrich Nest", the numerous small stars surrounding it are called *al-Raiḍ*, "the eggs", or *al-Ḳaiḍ*, "the egg-shells". The most southerly star in Eridanus, also the brightest (α Eridani, first magnitude), is called *al-Zalim*, the "male ostrich", or *Aḥḥir al-Nahr*, the "last of the river" (in the Alfonsine Tables) whence comes the name still used at the present day Achernar or Acamar. Between Achernar and Fomalhaut (i. e. *Faw* [*Faw*] *al-Ḳat*, "mouth of the fish", α Piscis Austrini) in the region of the present Phoenix are a considerable number of stars which the Arabs called *al-Riḍā*, "the ostrich chicks". Al-Sūfī states that in Shīrāz he observed a series of stars near the horizon which had the shape of a ship (*ṣawraḥ*) (α, π, ρ, β, γ, γ' Phoenix). The brightest among them (α, according to Sūfī, of third, in reality of second magnitude) forms with a Piscis Austrini and β Ceti [*Dawḥ* (*Dhanab*) *Ḳaiṣ*, "tail of the whale"] an approximately right-angled isosceles triangle with a line from α Piscis Austrini to β Ceti as base, the stars within which according to al-Sūfī are also to be included in *al-Riḍā*. The star α Phoenix is called *al-Difda' al-thāni* "the Second Frog", in contrast to the "First Frog", *al-Difda' al-awwal*, which is represented by α Piscis.

Bibliography. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sūfī, *Description des étoiles fixes*, ed. H. C. F. C. Schjellerup, St. Petersburg 1874; L. Ideler, *Untersuchung über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen*, Berlin 1809; F. Saxl, *The Zodiac of Qusayr 'Amra*, in K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, I, Oxford 1932; Escher, art. *Eridani*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, VI, 447.

(W. HARTNER)

NAHR AL-MALIK. [See DĠJLA.]

AL-NAHRĀWĀLĪ (NAHRĀWĀNĪ), Arab historian. KUTĒ AL-DĪN MUHAMMAD B. 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN AHMAD B. SHAMS AL-DĪN MUHAMMAD B. KĪṢ KĪṢ MAHMUD AL-MAKKĪ AL-KĀDĪBĪ AL-KHARĀNĪ AL-HANAFĪ was born in 917 (1511) in Mecca, to which his father, a member of a scholarly Indian family, had migrated from Nahrwāl in Gujjarāt. To complete his studies which had been

begun under his father, he went in 943 (1536) to Cairo, where he was taught by al-Sayyid's pupils, and to Istanbul. On his return home he received a teaching appointment in the Madrasa al-Aghrafiya. In 965 (1557) he again went to Istanbul via Aix Minor and afterwards was appointed to the Kanbayliya in Mecca. When in 975 (1567) the al-Sulaimaniya Madrasa was founded for all four orthodox rites, he went to it and later became Mufti of Mecca. He died in 990 (1582; according to others in 988 or 991).

His first literary effort seems to have been a description of his second journey to Istanbul, which has not survived. His other works cannot be chronologically arranged with certainty. These are the poetical anthology, intended to supply quotations for letter-writers which in the Leyden (*Cat. cod. ar.*, i. 356) MS. is called *Tamthil al-Amthal al-adira fi l-ahyāt al-farida al-nadira*, in the Cairo (*Fihrist*, iv. 220; iii. 68) *al-Tamthil wa l-Muḥādara fi l-Ahyāt al-mufrada al-nadira*, and a collection of riddles entitled *Kanz al-Awā' fi Fann al-Ma'mūn*, which is preserved in Berlin N^o. 7346, in the Escorial (*Cat. Derembourg*, N^o. 556'), in Istanbul (*Aghir El.*, iii. 107, 296) and in Cairo (*Fihrist*, iii. 307), which is quoted by 'Abd al-Kādir al-Baghādī (*Kāshānāt al-Aḍab*, iii. 113), and on which Mu'in al-Din 'Abd al-Mu'in b. Ahmad al-Baklā' in 993 (1585) wrote a commentary entitled *al-Tiḥāz al-awā'* (MSS. in Uppsala, N^o. 63; Paris, N^o. 3417, 3; Escorial, *op. cit.*, N^o. 536, 2; extracts in Leyden, *op. cit.*, N^o. 523). It is not possible also to date his collection of biographical matter of which there only survives the synopsis *Muntahā al-Tarīkh* in Leyden (*op. cit.*, N^o. 1045).

His two principal historical works date from the last decade of his life. On 10th Ramaḍān 981 (May 3, 1573) he finished his history of Turkish rule in the Yaman entitled *al-Barq al-Yamānī fi l-Fath al-Oṭmānī*; it begins with the year 900 (1494), describes the first Turkish conquest under the vizier Sulaimān Paṣha, the return of the Zaidis and the second conquest by the grand vizier Sinan Paṣha, to whom the work is dedicated; an appendix describes his conquest of Tunis and Goletta. He prepared a second edition after the accession of Sulṭān Murād III in 982 (1574); cf. S. de Sacy, in *N.A.*, iv. (1787), p. 412—521 and to the MSS. in *G.A.L.*, ii. 382 add Leyden, *op. cit.*, N^o. 944; Paris (Blochet, *Cat. des Mss. Ar. des nouvelles acquisitions*, N^o. 5927), Escorial (Levi-Provençal, N^o. 1720; Cairo, *Fihrist*, v. 56), also D. López, *Extractos da historia da conquista da Yaman pelas Othmanns tratao ar. con trad. e notas*, Lisbon 1892. In 985 (1577) he finished his history of Mecca dedicated to Sulṭān Murād, entitled *al-Fihā al-ʿAlam al-Balad al-haram* (*Basit*) *Al-lah al-haram*, which Wüstenfeld published in the *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, vol. I, Leipzig 1857, and is printed Cairo 1303, 1305 (on the margin of Ahmad b. Zaki Dahlan's *Kutub al-Kalam fi Bayan Umar al-Balad al-haram*), 1316; to the MSS. given in *G.A.L.*, ii. 382 may be added Tübingen, N^o. 23; Paris, N^o. 1637—1642, 4924, 5932, 5999; Leyden (*Cat.*, i. N^o. 926—930); Cambridge (Brown, N^o. 4—44); Ambrosiana, B, N^o. 116 (*Z.D.M.G.*, lxi. 77); Vatiana, N^o. 284; Sulaimaniya, Istanbul N^o. 815; Niri Oṭmāniya, N^o. 3047; Cairo (*Fihrist*, v. 32); Cat. Bankipore, xv. 1085; Asafiya, p. 178. This work was translated into Turkish

by the famous poet Hāfi [q.v.] (MSS. in Gotha, N^o. 158; Vienna, N^o. 893; Or. Ak., Kraml, N^o. 260; Cambridge, *Suppl.*, N^o. 72; ed. by Gottwaldt, Kasan 1286). A synopsis entitled *Fihā al-Ulam al-ʿAlam al-Balad al-haram* MSS. Leyden, *op. cit.*, N^o. 931; Cairo, *Fihrist*, v. 32; Bankipore, xv. 1089, was made by his nephew Bahā' al-Din 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥibb al-Din b. 'Alī al-Din, b. 29th Shawwāl 961 (Sept. 26, 1554) at Ahmadiyā in Guḡarāt, brought up in Mecca by his uncle, then teacher in the Madrasa al-Muḥalliya, 982 (1573) Mufti of Mecca, 990 (1582) Imām al-Haram, d. 15th Dhū l-Hijja 1014 (April 24, 1606) (al-Majma, *Aḥlāt al-Aḥar*, iii. 3).

His son Muḥammad in 1005 (1596) wrote a history of Mecca and Medina and of the exploits of Hasan Paṣha who became wāl of Yaman, entitled *Itihād al-Tarīkh wa l-Zaman fi l-Iḥād al-wāqif il l-Iḥaramain min al-Yaman al-Muḥādina l-ʿAdil al-Bāḡḡ Hasan*, Leyden, *op. cit.*, N^o. 937; Cairo, *Fihrist*, v. 2; v. 3.

Bibliography: *Dhāt al-Shaḡir al-Nu'māniya*, p. 268 (quoted from Sachis, *Muḥam al-Maḥḥal*, p. 1871); al-Nu'mānī, *al-Rawq al-ʿatir*, cod. Berlin, N^o. 9856, fol. 262; Ibn al-Aḍarūs, *al-Nūr al-wāḥid* (cod. Bankipore), fol. 194; al-Khulafā, *Kāshānāt al-Aḍab* (Cairo 1294), p. 153—157; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Araber*, p. 534; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 382. (C. BROCKELMANN)

NAHRAWĀN, or, according to the popular pronunciation, NAHRAWĀN (Yāqūt, iv. 846 *agg.*), name of a large territory between Baghdad [q.v.] and Wasil [q.v.], known through the battle between 'Alī and the Khārijites [q.v.] in 38 (658).

NAḤW (A.), lit. direction, path, also intention, but gradually acquired the special meaning of grammar. The Arab philologists divide it into two branches: *accidence*, *ilm al-qarf* or *taṣrif*, comprising the theory of verbal stems and their conjugation, the formation of nouns and adjectives, the formation of the plural and of the feminine, etc., i.e. with individual word-forms only, and *syntax*, *ilm al-maḥw* in the narrower sense. The fundamental grammatical conceptions of the Arab philologists are taken from Aristotelian logic, which came via Syrian scholars to the Arabs (on the dependence of the Arabic phonetic system on the Indian, cf. Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 97). As the beginnings of Arabic learning in general are lost in obscurity, so also is the origin of the appellation *naḥw* uncertain even to the Arabs themselves. The caliph 'Alī is said to have instructed Abu 'l-Aswad al-Du'ālī, who is regarded as the founder of the *ilm al-naḥw*, how he should divide up the subject and to have ended by saying: *unḥu*, "take this path", whence the new science received the name of *naḥw*. According to another story, Abu 'l-Aswad himself laid down the principles of Arabic grammar and said to the people: *unḥu*, "follow this", from this the name *naḥw* is said to be derived. The stimulus to deal with the problems of language is said to have come from the caliph 'Alī; he, the story goes, taught Abu 'l-Aswad the fundamental principles of *naḥw* and expounded to him the division of all language into three categories: *ism*, *fi'l* and *ḥarf*. Another explanation as to how Abu 'l-Aswad came to lay down the principles of Arabic grammar seems to

be nearer the actual facts. Ziyād b. Abīhi (q. v.) asked him to put on record the principles of grammar which 'Alī had taught him; but he was reluctant to do this and asked the governor to excuse him this task. When however on one occasion he heard a Qur'ān reader make a mistake, which destroyed the sense, in reading the sacred book, he declared himself ready to carry out the task. He therefore had a clerk come to him, to whom he dictated and said: "When you see me in pronouncing a letter open the mouth completely (*foṣṣa*), put a point above the letter; when I close it completely (*ḍamma*), put a point in front of it, and when I half close it (*ḥasara*), put the point below the letter". In this way the invention of vowel signs is traced back to Abū 'l-Aswad. Another story, which deals with the same question, tells how a newly converted mawlā made a grammatical error in the hearing of Abū 'l-Aswad; one of the latter's household laughed at this but Abū 'l-Aswad said: "These are mawlās who long for Islām, who accepted it and thereby have become our brethren. How would it do if we were to draw up the laws of language for them? He thereupon prepared the chapter on subject and object". There must certainly be an element of at least probability in these anecdotes. By the accession of non-Arabs to Islām the danger arose that the Arabic language might be corrupted by foreign elements; there was further the demand that the sacred text of the Qur'ān should be read aloud without error and its meaning accurately interpreted; these thus arose the necessity for a systematic investigation of the language of the sacred book and the laying down of the rules of its language, so that those ignorant of the language could guide themselves. Other anecdotes which relate to the problem of the origin of *nāḥw* and all of which, of course, like those already given, are to be regarded as *anecdotes*, also describe Abū 'l-Aswad as its founder, so that he may with justice be called the earliest Arabic philologist (*muṣṣaf*). None of his writings has come down to us. He is regarded as the founder of the philological school of Basra, the origin of which must therefore go back to a very early period (Abū 'l-Aswad died about the end of the first century A. H.). Only to mention some of the most important, to this school also belonged Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alī and his pupils Abū 'Ubayda and al-Asma'i, to whom we owe much of our knowledge of the Qṭābiyya. Sibawayhi, whose great work on grammar became "the book" par excellence, Khalil, who is regarded as the inventor of the system of prosody, and many others. Very early there arose in the new city of Kūfa a rival to the scholars of Basra. There also learned men began to deal with linguistic problems. While at first ideas were exchanged between the two schools, and students went from Kūfa to Basra to study, and well known Basran scholars came to Kūfa; gradually a considerable rivalry arose between the two. The Basrans laid greater stress on grammatical principles than the Kūfans and were in general regarded as more faithful and more accurate transmitters. The questions disputed and the differences between the two schools are dealt with in a work by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Abī Sa'īd b. al-Anḥārī. To the Kūfan school also belonged al-Kinā'ī and al-Mufaḍḍal al-Jabbāl. After the third century the centre of Arab learning was transferred

to the capital of the Islamic empire, Baghdad. In the new Baghdad school which arose there the differences in point of view between the Kūfan and Basran schools gradually disappeared.

Bibliography: Abū 'l-Barrānī, al-Anḥārī, *Die grammatischen Streifungen der Basrier und Kūfer*, ed. by G. Weil, Leyden 1913; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, I. 96 sqq., 114 sqq., 120 sqq.; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 39 sq.; Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 12 sqq.; *Lisān al-'Arab*, ix. 181, 2 v. *Nahw*; *Taḍwīl al-'Arūs*, x. 360; G. Weil, *Zum Verständnis der Methode der muslimischen Grammatiker*, in *Sachau-Festschrift*, Berlin 1915.

(**HESE** LICHTENSTÄDTER)

NĀ'IB (A.), literally "substitute, delegate" (nomen agentis from *nawā* "to take the place of another"), the term applied generally to any person appointed as deputy of another in an official position, and more especially, in the Mamlūk and Dhīlī Sultanates, to designate a. the deputy or lieutenant of the Sultan and b. the governors of the chief provinces (see also the article *ḥukm*, above, vol. II., p. 185). In the Mamlūk system the former, entitled *nā'ib al-sultān al-muḥaqqaq wa-ḥāfiḥ al-mamlūk al-ḥarīf al-islāmīya*, was the Vice-Sultan proper, who administered all the territories and affairs of the empire on behalf of the Sultan. This was, however, only an occasional office, and its holder is to be distinguished from the *nā'ib al-ghayb*, the temporary governor of Cairo (or Egypt) during the absence of the Sultan or of Damascus during the absence of the *nā'ib al-sultān*. The six *niyāḥas* of Syria which replaced the Ayyūbid *mamlakas* — Damascus, Halab, Tripolis, Hamā, Ṣafid and al-Karak (their number was from time to time increased by the erection of Ghazza and other districts into separate provinces) — were each administered by a *nā'ib al-sultān* (also entitled *ḥāfiḥ al-mamlaka*), who was an "amir of a thousand", the *nā'ib* of Damascus being superior to the others. At the end of the viiith (xivth) century Egypt also was divided into three similar *niyāḥas*: Alexandria (from 767), Upper Egypt (*al-waḥīḥ al-barri* or *al-ḥilāl*) and Lower Egypt (*al-waḥīḥ al-baḥrī*). The plain title of *nā'ib* was held by the commanders of the citadels of Cairo, Damascus, Halab, etc., who were not under the jurisdiction of their respective governors, and by various amirs of lesser rank holding subordinate commands. (For an instance of more recent use, see art. *ḥukm*.)

In the Dhīlī Sultanate the *nā'ib* was the powerful minister who was the deputy of the king himself. The earliest reference to the office seems to be the appointment of Iḥṣiyār al-Dīn Altūm as deputy on the accession of Sultan Ma'izz al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh in 637 (1240) (*Minḥādī al-Dīn, Tabaḥṣṣuṣ Nāḥirī*, in *Bibl. Ind.*, p. 191). In fact, the support of the nobles was conditional upon the appointment of this person to the deputyship. Although this was a separate office from that of the *wazir*, nevertheless under powerful *nā'ibs*, like Malik Kāfir in the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldī and Khusrāw in the reign of Mubārak Shāh, its existence was not conducive to the growth of the powers of the *wazir*.

In its most common acceptance, in Persian and Turkish as well as later Arabic, *nā'ib* signified a judge-substitute, or delegate of the *qāḍī* in the administration of law. In modern Arabic it

means usually a Parliamentary deputy, while *al-nâ'il al-ummi* is the Public Prosecutor, the head of the Barquet (*al-nizâh al-ummiya*).

NAWÂB [for *nawwâb*, intensivism of *nâ'ib* (but not employed in Arabic), a puristic correction for *nawâb*, shortened from *nawwâb*, the Arabic plural of *nâ'ib*, employed as plur. dignitatis], the term used under the Mughal rulers of India to designate a viceroy or governor of a province. It is not known when the title first became current. It is sometimes found in combination with other titles, e.g. the Nawâb-Wazir of Oudh, the Nawâb-Nâ'im of Bengal. The Nawâb of Arcot (Carnatic) was a governor under the authority of the Nizâm of Haidarâbâd.

Nawwâb (Nawâb) is used also in Persia as a title of royal princes, and in India as an honorific, without necessarily having any office attached to it.

NABOB is an English corruption of Nawâb, which was also applied in a derogatory sense to wealthy Anglo-Indians who had returned from the east. It has been suggested that the term first became familiar to Englishmen in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Bibliography. In addition to the standard histories: E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamelouks*, Paris 1840, I/II, p. 93—99; M. van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptum Arabicum*, Paris 1903, I, p. 203—228 (analyses the epigraphic evidence); Gamble-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923; Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, London 1903, s. v. Nabob; J. Price, *The Saddle put on the Right Horse, or an Enquiry into the Reason why certain Persons have been denominated Nabobs*, London 1783.

(H. A. R. GINN)
(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

NÂILA. [See **NEFI**.]

NÂİLİ, properly **YENİ-ZÂDE MUŞTAK ÇELEBİ**, called after his father Pîrî KHALİFA also **Pîrî-ZÂDE**, a celebrated Ottoman poet. He is usually described as Nâ'il-i Kadim, "old Nâ'il", to distinguish him from **YENİ NÂİLİ**, young Nâ'il, the poet and mawlawi Nâ'il Şâlih Efendi of Monastir, author of several Şu'î works who died in 1293 (1876) in Cairo.

Nâ'il was one of the greatest Ottoman poets of the post-classical period, the period of the weak sultans (Murâd IV, İbrâhîm and Mehmed IV, 1058—1115 = 1648—1703), of rule by women and eunuchs (Kösem Sultân, Bektâsh Agha and Murâd Agha) and of the grand vizierate of the Köprülü. He is a link between **Nefî** and Yahyâ and Nâzî and Nedîm. He and Yahyâ are the best poets between **Nefî** and Nâzî, the reviver of Ottoman literature.

Born in Constantinople, on the conclusion of his education he became secretary in the *Divân-ı Humâyûn* and was ultimately a khalîfa in the office of the Department of Mines (*mâden hâlemi*). As his *Divân* shows, he belonged to the Khalwetî order. He was a weak, delicate man of feeble constitution who died in 1077 (1667—1668) in exile, it is said, into which he had been sent by Fazıl Âhmad Paşa Köprülü. Brissaut Mehmed Tâhir's statement that his tomb was in the cemetery of the Sümbülî monastery in Fındıklı and that his remains were removed to the cemetery of Pera, when the road was widened, cannot be quite reconciled with the story of his banishment.

Nâ'il is one of the most interesting figures in

the history of Turkish poetry. He did not, it is true, contribute anything essential to the actual development of Ottoman literature and gave it no new inspiration. He was an innovator but only in the field of style and language. He steadily worked to break down the rigidity and monotony of the post-classical school. His style is extremely artificial. His language is full of Persianisms but not in quite the same way as in the preceding periods. His diction is full of unusual Persian images and expressions with which he enriched the Turkish language in brilliant verses, somewhat exhausting however through the obscurity of their allusions. The fine new phrases and expressions are however not his own but are simply borrowings. Nâ'il succeeded in clearing away the stagnation of the literary language of the time by dropping the trite and hackneyed metaphors and phrases, which had been found in all *divân*s since Hâkî and borrowed new phrases and constructions from the Persian.

Although he wrote in Turkish his diction is purely Persian. He follows his Persian models so slavishly that his language is unintelligible to a Turk who does not know Persian. But the Ottoman poets wrote only for themselves and their equals and not for the people whom they ignored.

Nâ'il is the chief representative of the highly developed and marvellously elaborated literary language in which, as Gibb says, a rich and delicate Persian embroidery is harmoniously sewn upon the Turkish background, while the two languages remain sharply distinguished from one another.

Nâ'il's characteristics are a charming freshness of phraseology, subtlety of imagination, an artificial, individual style, gracefulness, clarity and purity of language, succinctness of expression and polished style such as no poet of his time possessed. According to Mu'allim Nâdî, no Turk can read him without enthusiastically trying to imitate him, which is however hardly possible. His language is so finished and free from all asperity that the meaning is often obscure and unintelligible. There is however a great deal that charms the reader, especially as his language is most melodious.

As a poet he has not the same powers as he has as a master of language and style. It is his language and not his poetic conception that is his strong point. He did not seek inspiration from his surroundings, like Yahyâ, but from his Persian models.

Nâ'il's literary work consists only of a *Divân*, which was printed in Bulâk in 1253 (1837) (only about a third of the MSS. was printed however). It consists of four very fine hymns in honour of the Prophet (*na'î*), some 20 kasidas the language of which resembles that of **Nefî** and shows the same exaggeration. The *basides* are dedicated to Murâd IV and Mehmed IV, to the grand-viziers Karam Mustafa Paşa (1048—1053), Mehmed Paşa (1053—1055), Şâlih Paşa (1055—1057), Şu'î Mehmed Paşa (1058—1059), to the Shaikh al-Islâm Behâ' Efendi, Yahyâ Efendi, Hâkî Mahmud Efendi, the Defterdar and others. The *Divân* also contains a touching *mercû'ye* (elegy) written in the *tercîzî-bend* manner on the death of his brother who died young, which is almost too extravagant with its effective refrain; also a *takdim*, and some *mürâddes* in the *tercîzî* and *terkîb* manners and a *terkîb-bend*.

His most important and most characteristic work

is however over 200 ghazels in which he imitates Fuzûlî. In them he continually produces new expressions, new ideas and images, new significances of words. Besides a passion kept within natural bounds and a tenderness of feeling, which reminds one of Nedim and makes a deep impression on any lover, there is an undeniable pessimism, reminiscent of Nâzî, in his outlook on life, probably as the result of political conditions and his poor health. Occasionally there is something cold and forced about him. One feels that his spirit is ill and troubled.

Nâ'il especially influenced Thâbit and Nazîm. His principal successors as poets were Harisî, 'Arif Hikmet and Venîghehîlî 'Awat.

Bibliography: A monograph on him was written by Müstefâhâzâde İsmet, *Nâ'il-i Kadim*, İstanbul 1318; do., *Nâ'il-i Kadim*, in *Khatim-i Punhan*, ii, 1312, p. 320—323, 326—329 (*Estâf*, N° 76); Rîzâ, *Tashîr*, İstanbul 1316, p. 95—96; M. Dîvalî, *'Osmânî Edibiyât Nümûneleri*, İstanbul 1312, p. 565—567; Ma'allim Nâdî, *Estâf*, İstanbul 1308, p. 312—313; do., *Medîni'â*, 1306, N° 27, p. 217—219; Shihâb al-Dîn Sulaimân, *Târîkh-i Edibiyât-i 'osmâniye*, İstanbul 1328, p. 170—172; Köprülüâde Mehmed Fu'âd and Shihâb al-Dîn Sulaimân, *'Osmânî Târîkh-i Edibiyât*, İstanbul 1332, p. 369—371; İbrâhim Nedîm, *Târîkh-i Edibiyât Devrleri*, İstanbul 1338, i, 157—159; Thureiya, *Sâfîlî 'osmânî*, iv, 529; Brusaîl Mehmed Tâhir, *'Osmânî Mâ'ullîfîleri*, ii, 443—445; *Seruat-i Punân*, xvi, 71; Hammer-Purgstall, *G.O.D.*, iii, 467—469; Künos, *Osmann fürk enciklopedya*, Budapest 1905, p. 80; Gibb, *H.O.P.*, iii, 304—311; Basmajian, *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature turque*, Constantinople 1910, p. 118; the catalogues of MSS. by Flügel and Rieu. (MEXCEL)

NÂ'ÎM, MUSTAFÂ, a Turkish historian. Mustafâ Nâ'im known as Nâ'im was born in 1065 (1655) in Aleppo. After becoming a *halberdier* (halberdier) in 1100 (beg. Oct. 26, 1688) in the imperial palace, he was promoted to be a secretary in the *Divân* under the grand vizier Kâzîlikos Ahmad Pasha. On the 28th Dîni'âda I 1116 (Nov. 28, 1704) he became chief accountant of Anatolia and in 1121 (1709) succeeded Nîmetî as master of ceremonies and imperial historian (*vezir-i muvakkil*; q. v.). He later filled several other offices (cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 245) and during the campaign in the Morea was assistant to the commander-in-chief (*serasker*). He died at the beginning of 1128 (Jan. 1716) at Old Patras, where he was buried in the outer court of the mosque which has now disappeared. On his tombstone cf. Brusaîl Mehmed Tâhir, *'Osmânî Mâ'ullîfîleri*, iii, 151 below, and on his death the *firman* of the middle of Shawwâl 1128 in Ahmad Rafik, *Hicri on ihvat anrda İstanbul hayatı* (1100—1200), Stambul 1930, p. 52 sq.

The candid and accurate history of the Ottoman empire, which he wrote in his official capacity and which he based upon earlier histories like the works of Kâzî Celebi-zâde (q. v.), Weddîhî (q. v.), Ahmad Sharîk al-Mansûr-zâde, Hâdîdî Kâhîfî (q. v.) and the imperial Ottoman history mentioned at the end of his work as begun but not finished by a certain 'İsmetî (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iii, 326), covers the years 1000 (beg. Oct. 9, 1591) to 1070 (beg. Sept. 8, 1659). The full title of this much esteemed and largely used work is

Rawzat al-Husnâ fî Khulliyat Akhbâr al-Khâfî-bân, in Hâdîdî Kâhîfî, N° 14525 called simply *Târîkh-i Weddîhî*.

Mustafâ Nâ'im also wrote several political treatises (*Risâ'ih-i siyâsiye*), which have survived in a collected volume.

Nâ'im interpreted his duties as a historian very seriously and his incorruptible love of the truth secured his work a superiority over those of all other Ottoman historians of the time. On Nâ'im's view of the "duties of the historian" cf. his own words in A. W. Dada, *Türkische Post*, year iii, Stambul 1928, N° 324, p. 2. The original MS. of his *Târîkh* is in Stambul in the collection of the Ertuğ-Koşuk. On the four editions and their variations cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 246; on the third edition see also J. A., 1868, i, 468. A French translation (still in MS.) was prepared by Antoine Galland (Fonds Français, N° 12,197 in the Bibliothèque Nationale); specimens of it were published by N. Jorgu in the *Actes et fragments de l'histoire des Roumains*, i (Bucharest 1895) p. 55.

Bibliography: Cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 246 and particularly *Yeni Medîni'â*, Stambul 1918, N° 55, p. 49 sq.; Ahmad Rafik, *Alimler ve San'atkarlar*, Stambul 1924, p. 256 sq.; Sâlim, *Târîkh*, p. 681 sq. (according to whom he also studied chemistry and other arts and sciences and was a carefree jolly boon companion) and 'Ali Dîşîb, *Nâ'im Târîkh*, Stambul 1927. (FRANZ BABINGER)

NAKHÇUWÂN (NAKHÇEWÂN), a town to the north of the Ataxza.

The town *Nakhçawâ* is mentioned in Ptolemy, v, ch. 12. The Armenians explain the name of Nakhçawan (Nakhçuan) by a popular etymology as *nakhç-egwan* "(Noah's) first stopping-place" (although the name is apparently compounded with *-awan* "place") and locate the town in the province of Waspurakan (cf. Yâkût, i, 122), or in that of Siunik. According to Moses of Chorene, i, ch. 30, Nakhçewân was in the area peopled by Median prisoners (*mar*) in whom we should see the ancestors of the Kurds of this region (cf. Balâdhuri, p. 200; *nakh al-Akrâd*). In the early Arab sources we find the form *Nakhçawâ*, Balâdhuri, p. 195, 200; Ibn Miskawayh, ii, 148; Sam'ânî, p. 560; *Nakhçawâ*. In the Seldjûk and Mongol period the predominant form is *Nakhçuwân* (as early as Ibn Khurdâdhbih, p. 122).

The town was conquered under 'Othmân by Habbî b. Maslama. It was rebuilt under Mu'âwîya by 'Asîd b. Hâtim. In 87 (705) the Arabs hanged a large number of Armenian notables, whereupon the town acquired a Muslim character. For a short time (about 900) the power was in the hands of the Bagratuni, but the town was reconquered by the Seldjûk (q. v.) and belonged henceforth to the domain of their vassal, the smir of Goltin (Ordubâd); cf. Markwart, *Südarmenien*, Vienna 1930, preface, p. 79, 93, 99—101, 115; text, p. 300, 362, 567. It figures in the wars of the Dailami period (Ibn Miskawayh, ii, 148) and in the events of the Seldjûk period (cf. Ibn al-Athîr under 514 A. H.).

Nakhçuwân is more particularly associated with the family of Ildegizid atbegs of Adharbâidjân (531—632 = 1136—1225), cf. Mirhâwand, *Rawzat al-Safâ*, Lucknow 1894, p. 875—876) whose main centre it was, as is shown by the fine buildings and the tomb (*mashhad*) of al-rû's al-ajallî Rukn al-Dîn Dîwânî

al-Islām muḥaddam al-mashā'ir Yūsuf b. Kāthir al-Ḥafṣī (7), dated 557 (1162—1163); b. the tomb built by Shams al-Dīn Nuṣrat al-Islām Ildegiz for the *malika Djalāl al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Mā'mūna Ḳāṣimā* (probably his wife, former wife of the Seljuq Tughril II, d. 368, *Ta'rikh-i Ghasidā*, p. 472); on Ildegiz's stay at N. in 568, cf. Ibn al-Aṭhār, xi. 290; c. the portico (now in ruins) built in 582 (1182) by the Atabek Abū Dja'far Muḥammad Pahlawān b. Ildegiz. Some localities depending upon N. (Erudjak etc.) were given in fief to the Georgian prince Elikum Orbelian by his brother Ḳilā Arslan. When the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn exercised power in Ādharbāidjān, N. belonged to al-Malik al-Djālālīya, daughter of Muḥammad Pahlawān, Nasawi, ed. Houdas, p. 76, 266, 300. Under the Mongols the town was devastated, as is attested by Rubruck who visited it in 1253, ed. 1839, p. 384, cf. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii. 82. The town suffered also from the wars between Turkey and Persia (under Murād IV); Ewliya Çelebi, ii. 240, Tavernier (1664), ed. 1713, l. 53—55; and Chardin (1673), ed. 1711, l. 179, found it in ruins. Nakhčuwān was only rebuilt after 1828 when the khanates of Eriwān and Nakhčuwān were ceded to Russia. Under the Persians, Nakhčuwān (with the district of Āsā-Djirān = Ordubād) was directly under Ādharbāidjān and not Eriwān. Kalb 'Alī Khān of Nakhčuwān was blinded by Aḳa Muḥammad, founder of the Kādjar dynasty. The last chief of Nakhčuwān before the Russian occupation was Karīm Khān Kangarī. The *nā'ib* appointed by the Russians were Ḥasan Khān and Shaikh 'Alī Beg. The *malik* of the khanates were: Nakhčuwān, Alindjā-ṣay (Armenian *Erznka*), Mawān-khātūn, Khok, Darabegs, and those of Āsā-Djirān: Ordubād, Akulis, Dasta, Bilāw, Cinanāb. Among the dependencies of Nakhčuwān, Djulfa (since 1828) on the Russian-Persian frontier is very well known (Armenian *Djula*) with the ruins of the old town and of an old bridge. (*Zafar-nāma*, l. 399; *ḡul-i dīyā al-Mulk*) and the bridge on the Tahriz-Djulfa railway (built in 1906).

In 1834, after the Russian occupation (Duhov's) the khanate (the town and 179 villages) numbered 30,323 inhabitants (besides 11,341 inhabitants of Ordubād and its 52 villages). In 1896 the town numbered 7,433 inhabitants (4,512 Muslims and 2,576 Armenians) and the district (*uyezd*) 86,878. In 1913 the town had 8946 and the district 121,365. After the Russian revolution of 1917, the greater part of Nakhčuwān was made an autonomous republic (area 5,988 sq. km. with, in 1926, 12,611 urban, 92,345 rural inhabitants). This republic formed a kind of dependency of the more important Muslim republic of Ādharbāidjān (Bikā), from which it is separated however by the Armenian lands of the High Karabagh.

Nakhčuwān on the Don is the settlement of Armenian colonists founded in 1780 on the Don and is at the present day a suburb of Rostov.

Bibliography: J. Morier, *A second journey*, 1818, p. 312; Ker Porter, *Travels*, 1821, i. 210; Ouseley, *Travels*, 1823, iv. 436, and pl. lxxvi; Fraehn, *Über zwei Inschriften von Nachtschewan*, *Bull. scientifique publié par l'Acad. Impériale*, vol. ii. 1837, p. 14—16; Dabois de Montperreux, *Voyage au Caucase*, 1840, iv. 7—20, and Atlas, third series, pl. 20;

E. A. Hertzmann, *Der ehemalige zu Persien gehörende Theil Gross-Armeniens* [year?], p. 24; Engelhardt, *Nachtschewan, Kachakische Landeskunde*, 1852, part iii. 347—353; I. Shopen (Chopin), *Interlukijs gamatnik armanskay eblassi*, St. Petersburg 1852, p. 446, 459, 477 (detailed statistics); J. Dienlaff, *La Perse*, 1887, p. 271; E. Jacobstahl, *Mittelalterliche Rachitshbauten zu Nachtschewan, Deutsche Bauzeitung*, xxxiii, 1899, No. 82, p. 513—516, 521, 525—528, 549—551, 569—574 (the inscriptions discussed by Martin Hartmann); Sarre, *Diekmaler Persischer Baukunst*, 1910, p. 8—13 and plates; the Russian encyclopaedias. (V. MINORSKY)

NAKHSHAB, a town in Bukhāra, also called Nasaf by the Arab geographers (cf. the similar evolution of Nashāwa from Nakhčawan). The town lay in the valley of the Kashka-Daryā, cf. Ibn Hawkal, p. 376: Kashk-rūdī, which runs southwards parallel to the Zarafshān (river of Samarkand) and runs towards the Amū-Daryā [q. v.] but before joining it disappears in the sands. Nakhshab lay on the road joining Bukhāra to Balkh 4 days' journey from the former and eight from the latter (cf. Maḳaddasī, p. 344). In the time of Isṭakhri (p. 325) the town consisted only of one quarter (*rabāṭ*) and a ruined citadel (*ḡulandis*). The river ran through the centre of the town (Ibn Hawkal, p. 378).

The Mongols from the time of Čingis Khān (1220) used the region of Nakhshab for their summer encampments. The Čaghatai Kābāk (1318—1326) and Ḳazan (killed in 1347) had palaces built there, as a result of which the whole district was called *Ḳarshī* ("palace" in Mongol) [q. v.] *Ḳarshī* is often mentioned in the time of Timūr (*Zafar-nāma*, l. 111, 244, 259 etc.) but it was eclipsed by Kish (Shahr-i Sabz, q. v.), the birthplace of Timūr, 3 days' journey above *Ḳarshī*. The citadel of *Ḳarshī* was of considerable strength and valiantly resisted Shāhīnī Khān (cf. *Shāhīnī-nāma*, ed. M. Ioransky, p. 29) and 'Abd Allāh Khān of Bukhāra (in 965 = 1558). From the xviiith century onwards *Ḳarshī* began to rise at the expense of Kish and before 1920 was the second town of the khānate of Bukhāra with a population of 60—70,000.

The problem of identifying the ruins in the district of *Ḳarshī* has been studied on the spot by L. A. Zimin, who formulates his conclusions as follows: 1. The ruins of the ancient Nakhshab are around the hill of Shālūk-tāpa (cf. Mahdī Khān, *Ta'rikh-i Nādir*) on the events of 1149 which marks the site of the old citadel, already in ruins in the xth century. 2. As a result of the erection of the Mongol palaces somewhere to the south of the river, the town begins to shift southwards, and at the end of the sixth century when Timūr built a citadel there it must have occupied in part the site of the modern *Ḳarshī*. 3. The remains of this citadel (which Shāhīnī Khān and 'Abd Allāh Khān besieged in vain) ought to be sought near the ruins of Ḳāl'a-yi Zahk-i Mārān (about 2 miles S. W. from *Ḳarshī*).

Bibliography: Barthold, *Turkistan*, Engl. transl., G. M. S., p. 134—142 (mentions about 60 villages dependent on Nakhshab); do., *Kistorii vostochnykh Turkistanov*, Petersburg 1917, p. 126 (valley of Kashka); L. Zimin, *Nakhshab, Nasaf, Karshi*, in *Isl. al-Djumiān* (Festschrift for V. Barthold), Tashkent 1927, p. 197—214. (V. MINORSKY)

NAKSHABI, SHAikh DIVĀ' AL-DĪN (d. 751 = 1350), a famous Persian author (not to be confused with the famous Sāfi Shaikh Abū Tarāb Nakhsabī, d. 235 = 860). Very little is known of his career.

His *nishā* suggests that he came from Nakhsab [q. v.] but he went to India where he became a murid of Shaikh Farid, a descendant of the celebrated Shaikh Hamid al-Dīn Nāgūrī. The *Akhbār al-Akhbār* of 'Abd al-Hakk Dihlawi (Dihlī 1309, p. 104—107) says that he died in Badā'un after a long and contemplative life and that his tomb is there. Nakhsabī was a prolific writer who used his knowledge of Indian languages to translate Indian books into Persian. His best known work is the *Tuḥf-nāma* ("Book of the Parrot") very popular in India and Central Asia, based on the Sanskrit *Cakrapāṇī* (partly translated into Greek by D. Galanos, Athens 1851). In the preface to this book Nakhsabī tells us that one of his patrons showed him an old Persian translation of this work and persuaded him to do it again as the language of the old translation was too simple and artless. Nakhsabī set to work and made a book of 52 chapters (called "nights") replacing some stories which did not seem to him sufficiently interesting by better ones.

The book, completed in 730 (1330), is in the usual form of a framework with inset stories and is characterised by unusually fine language and bold metaphors and similes. Nakhsabī's language however seems to have been too difficult and precious for later generations as by command of the Emperor Akbar, Aḥmad 'Alī Faḡl b. Muḥammad rewrote the book in a simplified version (Rieu, p. 753^b). This version however was completely supplanted by Muḥammad Kādirī (xviiith century) who reduced it to 35 chapters. Kādirī's version became the foundation of a large number of translations into Hindi (Awāri and Ghawwāri), Bengali (Caṇḍīcarṇa Munshī), Turkish (Sāfi 'Abd Allāh Kēndī, pr. Būlak 1254 and Constantinople 1256) and Kazan Tatar. There is also a metrical version in Persian by Ḥamid Lihūrī (Bland, in *J. R. A. S.*, ix, 163). The same theme is taken by a number of popular versions which were disseminated in Persia in cheap lithographs under the title *Chī (Hāl) Tūpī* ("40 parrots"). The text of one of these was published by V. Zhukovski (St. Petersburg 1901). Nakhsabī's work was known in Europe as early as 1792 when M. Gervais published a free English translation of 12 nights. Kādirī's version was translated into German by C. L. L. Iken (Stuttgart 1822); this edition contains an essay on Nakhsabī and specimens of his *Tuḥf-nāma* by Kosegarten. The Turkish version was translated into German by L. Rosen (Leipzig 1858). So far no complete translation of the original work of Nakhsabī has been published although there is a French translation in MSS. in Munich. E. Berthels has translated the book into Russian but this version is also still in manuscript. The eighth night was published in original text and German translation by H. Brockhaus (Leipzig 1843 and in *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 1843, No. 242, 243, p. 969 sqq.). Nakhsabī's other works never attained anything like the popularity of the *Tuḥf-nāma* but have almost all come down to us. Among them are: *Gulab* "Scattered Roses", a novel dealing with the loves of Ma'jam-shah and Nūshāla (pr. by Agha Muḥammad Kāsim Shīrāzi and K. F.

Azoe, Calcutta 1912, in *Bibl. Ind.*); *Djūshyāt u-Kulliyāt* ("Particulars and Generals") also called *Chī Nāmū* (Rieu, p. 740^a), an allegory which deals with the descriptions of the various parts of the human body considered as the noblest work of God and as proof of His greatness; *Ladh-dhat al-Nisā'*, a Persian version of the *Kola-Sūtra*, an Indian work on different temperaments and sexual intercourse; *Silk al-Sulūk*, a collection of sayings of celebrated mystics (lith. Dihlī 1895); and *Nazā'ik u-Mawā'iz*, a brief treatise of a Sāfi nature (Rieu, p. 738^a). His treatise *Aghara Mu-lashshara* is only known from its mention in the *Akhbār al-Akhbār* (see above). All the prose works of Nakhsabī are embellished with *ghī'ān* scattered through them, which show that he was also an excellent poet.

Bibliography: On Nakhsabī: J. Pertsch, *Über Nakhsabī's Papagenbuch*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xli, 305 sqq.; Benfey, in *G.G.A.*, 1858, p. 329; H. Ethé, *Gr. I.P.A.*, ii, 258, 261, 324—326, 335; Elliott, *History of India*, vi, 485. Besides the MSS. and editions mentioned: Kādirī's version in text and English translated by Gladwin, Calcutta 1800 and London 1801; *Tuḥf-Kahkūni*, a Hindustāni translation (ed. by D. Forbes, London 1852). On *Gulab* s. also Ch. Stewart, *A descriptive Catalogue of the Orient Library of the late Tippee Sultan of Mysore*, Cambridge 1819, p. 85^a; *Ladh-dhat al-Nisā'* in Mehren, *Colices Persici* etc. *Bibliotheca regiae Haf-niensis*, Copenhagen 1857, p. 15, No. xxxvi. (E. BERTHELS)

NAKĪR. [See MUNKAR.]

NAKSHBAND, MUHAMMAD B. MUHAMMAD BAHĀ' AL-DĪN AL-BUKHĀRĪ (717—791 = 1317—1389), founder of the Nakhsbandī Order. His name, which signifies "painter" is interpreted as "drawing incomparable pictures of the Divine Science" (J. P. Brown, *The Darwish*, 2nd ed., p. 142) or more mystically as "holding the form of real perfection in the heart" (*Atīqah al-Ma'iyā* quoted by Ahlwardt, Berlin Catalogue, No. 2188). The title *al-Shāh* which is given him in a dirge cited in the *Rushdāt* means "spiritual leader". The *nishā* al-Uwaisī implies that his system resembled that of Uwais al-Karānī. His *Acta* were collected by one of his adherents, Salāh b. al-Mubārak, in a work called *Makāmāt Sayyidīn al-Shāh Nakhsband*, which furnished material to the author of *Rushdāt 'Ain al-Hayāt* (893 = 1488), and from which large citations, apparently in the words of Nakhsband himself, but translated from Persian into Arabic, are given in the modern work *al-Hadā'iq al-wardīya fi Ḥaqā'iq Adjillāt al-Nakhsbandīya* by 'Abd al-Majīd b. Muḥammad al-Khānī (Cairo 1306). He was born in a village at the distance of one *farasāh* from Bukhārā, called Kushk Hinduwān, but afterwards Kushk 'Arīfan. At the age of 18 he was sent to Samkās, a village one mile from Ramithan and three from Bukhārā, to learn Sūfism from Muḥammad Bībī al-Sammāṭ. In this person's system the *ghī'ān* was recited aloud; Nakhsband preferred that of 'Alī al-Dawī 'Abd al-Khālik al-Ghuḥdāwānī (d. 575 A. H.), who recited it to himself; and this led to ill-feeling between him and the other adherents of al-Sammāṭ, who however, it is stated, ultimately confessed that Nakhsband was right, and on his deathbed appointed him his *khalīfa*. After this person's death he went to Samarkand, and thence

to Bukhārā, where he married, and whence he returned to his native village; thence he went to Naṣaf, where he continued his studies under a *ḫalīfa* of al-Sammāst, Amīr Kulāl. He then lived for a time in villages near Bukhārā given as Zewartūn and Aḥlikta, then studied with a *ḫalīfa* of Amīr Kulāl named 'Arīf al-Dīk-kirānt for seven years; after this he spent twelve years in the service of the Sultān Khāhīl, whose rise to sovereignty is described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii. 49), and whose capital appears to have been Samarkand. After this monarch's fall (747 = 1347) he returned to Zewartūn, where he practised philanthropy and the care of animals for seven years, and road-mending for another seven. The last years of his life appear to have been spent in his native village, where according to the *Rashahūt* he was buried. Vámbéry (*Travels in Central Asia*, 1864) gives Baveddin, two leagues from Bukhārā, as the name of the village which contains his tomb, "whither pilgrimages are made even from the most remote parts of China, while it was the practice in Bukhārā to go thither every week, intercourse with the metropolis being maintained by means of some 300 asses plying for hire".

The biographies bring him into connection with various places and persons. At Herāt a banquet was given in his honour by the Amīr Ḥusain (b. Ghīyāth al-Dīn al-Ghūrī; cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *loc. cit.*), where in spite of the Amīr's assertion that the food had been honestly obtained Nakshband refused it, and it had to be given away in charity. He was with this prince also at Sarḫas. Two or three pilgrimages and visits to Baghdād, Nisābūr and Tāyābād are mentioned. His sayings were collected by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥafīṣ al-Bukhārī at the request of 'Alī al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār al-Bukhārī (d. 802 A.H.) (Brit. Mus. Add. 26,294). Persian writings by him are mentioned in the *Ḥudūd*.

Bibliography: Besides those mentioned above: *Nafahāt al-Umūr*, No. 442; *al-Shaḥā'ik al-Naṣāniya*, transl. Rescher, p. 165.

(D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

NAKŪS (A.), pl. *namūṣ*, a kind of rattle used and in some places still used by Christians in the east to summon the community to divine service. It is a board pierced with holes which is beaten with a rod. The name, which comes from the Syriac *nāḫūṣā* is not infrequently found with the verbs *faraka* or *ṭakka* in the old Arabic poets, especially when early morning is to be indicated, e.g. 'Antara, app.; Lahid, No. 19, 6; *Z.D.M.G.*, xxxiii. 215; Matalammis, ed. Vollers, p. 178, v. 6; al-Aḥṣā in Nöldeke's *Dialects*, p. 26; *Kinn al-Aḥṣā*, xix. 92. According to tradition, Muḥammad hesitated between this instrument and the Jewish trumpet before deciding on the call to prayer by the mu'adhḥins [A. ABHAR].

Bibliography: Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 2466; Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter*, p. 276; G. Jacob, *6. Jahresbericht d. geogr. Gesellsch. zu Greifswald*, 1896, p. 4; do., *Altaramaisches Dialektleben*, 1897, p. 22, 233; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 346 sqq.; Ibn Sa'īd, ed. Sachau, iii/ii. 87.

(Fr. Buhl)

AL-NAMĀRA, i. a place in Syria. It is situated in the *ḥarra* of al-Safā' on an eminence in the Wādī 'I-Shām, which runs from the Djebel al-Drūz (Djebel al-Hawrān) to the plain of Raḥba, at the spot where it joins the Wādī 'I-Sa'ūf. It

corresponds to the Roman military post of Namara (Waddington, *Inscriptions*, No. 2270). Less than a mile S. E. of al-Namāra, Dussaud found the Nabataean-Arab tomb inscription of the "King of all the Arabs", Maru 'I-Kais bar 'Amru, i.e. the Lakhmid Imru 'I-Kais b. 'Amru, of the 7th century 223 of the era of Boṣrā = Dec. 7, 328 A.D. (cf. vol. i., p. 382).

Bibliography: R. Dussaud (and Clermont-Ganneau), *Inscription nabatéo-arabe d'en-Namara*, in *Revue Archéol.*, series iii., vol. xli., 1902, ii., p. 409-421; J. Halévy, in *Revue Sémitique*, xi., 1903, p. 58-62; F. E. Peiser, *Die arabischen Inschriften von En-Namara*, in *O.L.Z.*, vi., 1903, p. 277-281; M. Hartmann, *Zur Inschrift von Namara*, in *O.L.Z.*, ix., 1906, p. 573-584; M. Lidbarski, *Epigraphia für semit. Epigraphik*, ii., 1908, p. 34-37; Th. Nöldeke, *Der Araberkönig von Namara*, in *Floriolium Melchior de Vogüé*, Paris 1909, p. 463-466; Clermont-Ganneau, in *R.A.O.*, vi. 305-310; vii. 167-170; J.-B. Chabot, *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, No. 483; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, p. 255, 269, 353, 371, 378.

Three other places bore the same name in ancient times:

2. Namara (Waddington, No. 2172-2185), the modern Druse village of Nimra in the Djebel al-Hawrān northwest of al-Mughennel.

Bibliography: Nöldeke, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxix. 437; Buhl, *Geographie des alten Palästina*, Freiburg 1896, p. 253; Thomsen, *Loca sancta*, p. 92; Dussaud, *Voyage archéol. au Safa*, Paris 1901, p. 148, 184; *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeol. Expedition to Syria in 1904-1905*, division ii., section A, p. 342; division iii., section A, p. 350; Dussaud, *Topographie*, p. 395.

3. Namara, a village in Batanaia, probably the modern Nāmīr al-Hawā', N.E. of Der'a.

Bibliography: Schumacher, in *Z.D.P.V.*, xii. 291; xx. 211; Dussaud, *Topographie*, p. 341, 359 sq.

4. Namara, Nam(a)r west of Sanamān, between al-Hāra (Edessa) and Džāsim (Gazimeh), mentioned on an ancient boundary stone.

Bibliography: Clermont-Ganneau, in *R.A.O.*, i. 3-5; Dussaud, *Topographie*, p. 341 (cf. Namr in Nöldeke, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxix. 437?); (E. HONIGMANN)

NĀMĪK KAMĀL BEY. [See KEMĀL MEYMED NĀMĪK.]

AL-NĀML, the Ants, the title of Sūra xxvii. of the Qur'ān, the whole of which was revealed at Mecca. Nöldeke puts it among the Sūras of the second period. It contains 95 verses. Its title is taken from verse 18: "When the armies reached the valley of the Ants one of them said: 'O ye ants, return to your homes lest Solomon and his armies crush you without noticing it'". It contains one verse that was abrogated (verse 94 annulled by ix. 5).

Bibliography: cf. AL-NAHL.

(MAURICE CHEMOUT)

NAMRUD, also NAMRUDH, NIMRUD, the Nimrod of the Bible, is associated in Muslim legend, as in Haggada, with the story of the childhood of Abraham. The Qur'ān, it is true, does not mention him but probably, as in many other cases, only from dislike of mentioning names. That Muḥammad was acquainted with the legend

of Namrūd is evident from the following verses. "Do you not see how he disputed with Ibrāhīm about the Lord who had granted him dominion? When Ibrāhīm said: It is my Lord who gives life and death, the other replied: I give life and I slay. When Ibrāhīm said: God makes the sun rise in the east; do you make it rise in the west; then the liar was humbled" (II. 260). The Kur'an exegetists are probably right when they see Namrūd here disputing with Ibrāhīm and also when they refer to Namrūd the verse: "What did Ibrāhīm's people answer? They only said: Kill him, burn him; but God saved him from the fire" (xxix. 23). The legend is already richly developed in Tabari, but it is at the beginning of the romance of 'Antar in the Abraham midrash that we find its most luxurious development.

Tabari already numbers Namrūd among the three or (with Nebuchadnezzar) four kings who, like Sulaimān b. Dāwūd and Dhū l-Karnain, ruled the whole world. His astrologers told him that a child would be born who would overthrow his kingdom and destroy his idols. Ibrāhīm thus becomes one of those heroes of legend who are persecuted from the moment of birth by a tyrant, to whom they are destined to prove fatal, like Moses, Gilgamesh, Semiramis, Sargon, Karna (in the *Mahābhārata*), Trakhan (King of Gilgit), Cyrus, Perseus, Telephus, Aegisthus, Oedipus, Romulus and Remus, Jesus (see Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, II. 437-455). Usha, the wife of Āzar or of Tārīkh (Terakh), is able to deceive Namrūd and his searchers. Ibrāhīm is born in concealment; maturing rapidly, he engages in a religious dispute with Namrūd; Namrūd cannot be God for God gives life and death. Namrūd replies that he can do this also for he can execute or pardon a man condemned to death. Namrūd has Ibrāhīm thrown into the fire; it becomes a cool health-resort. An angel keeps Ibrāhīm cool at which Namrūd marvels like Nebuchadnezzar at the preservation of the three young men in the fiery furnace (Daniel III. 24-27). Namrūd resolves to attack the God of Ibrāhīm in his heaven. He feeds four young eagles on meat and wine till they are of a great size, ties them to the four corners of a chest, fastens a spear at each corner with a piece of meat on the point and sits in the chest; the eagles, trying to reach the meat, fly higher and higher. The mountains appear like anthraps and later the whole world looks like a ship in the water. It is in vain however for he falls to earth. Next he builds a tower in order to reach the god of Ibrāhīm, then the tongues are confused; in place of one Syriac tongue, 73 arose. God's angels admonish Namrūd. But he equips his armies against God. God sends an army of gnats against him, who eat the flesh and drink the blood of Namrūd's men. A gnat enters Namrūd's brain through his nose. For 400 years he had exercised his tyrannical rule and for 400 years he was tortured by the gnat until he died.

Muslim legend derives the name Namrūd from *namarrada*: he who rebelled (against God). But there is another derivation, viz. from *namra* "tigress" in that version of the Namrūd legend in which Namrūd is suckled by a tigress. This version resembles the Romulus and Remus story (Jean de l'Ours) and culminates in the Oedipus story for Namrūd, brought up unknown, kills his father and marries his mother. Al-Kisā'ī has preserved

this version and it is given at greater length in the introduction to the romance of 'Antar.

Namrūd's father Kana'an b. Kūsh has a dream which troubles him; it is interpreted to mean that his son will kill him. The child is born, a snake enters his nose, which is an ominous sign. Kana'an wants to kill the child, but his mother Sulkhā entrusts him secretly to a herdsman; the latter's flocks scatter at the sight of the black flat-nosed infant. The shepherd's wife throws the child into the water; the waves wash him to the bank where he is suckled by a tigress. Already dangerous when quite a boy, as a young man he becomes a robber leader, attacks Kana'an with his band, kills him (without knowing that he is killing his father), marries his own mother and becomes king of the country and later lord of the world. Āzar (already in the Kur'an the father of Ibrāhīm) builds him a marvellous palace flowing with milk, oil and honey, with mechanical singing birds — in the mediæval epic the wonderful feature of the Chrysotriklinion in Byzantium. The lore of astrology, the inheritance of Idris and Hermes he acquires by force from the pupils of Idris. Iblis teaches him magic. He has himself worshipped as a god. Then dreams, voices and omens frighten him. In spite of all Namrūd's cruel orders, Ibrāhīm is born, brought up and soon shatters the belief in Namrūd. Namrūd throws those who believe in God to the wild animals but they do not touch them. He denies them food; the sand of the desert becomes corn for them; on every grain of it is written: "gift of God". Namrūd throws Ibrāhīm into the fire but he is unharmed. Namrūd builds up a pile of fuel, the flames of which burn the birds for miles round — it is impossible to approach it. Iblis then designs a ballista which hurls Ibrāhīm on to the flaming pile. Ibrāhīm spends the finest time of his life there under blooming trees and amid rippling brooks. Namrūd then decides to attack the God of Ibrāhīm in heaven: Starved eagles fly up with his litter, until he hears a voice saying the first heaven is 500 years in width, it is 500 years between heaven and heaven, then comes infinity. Namrūd shoots an arrow against God; the arrow comes back stained with blood. Namrūd suddenly becomes grey and old and falls to the ground. But he plumes himself on having slain God. Then a gnat puts an end to his life.

The history of the Namrūd legend. Very little can have been taken from the Bible. Kur'an expositors and collectors of legends call Namrūd *ghabūr* (tyrant) no doubt after the *ghibor* applied to Namrūd in the Bible (Gen. x. 6); Geiger also sees in *ghabūr* 'amid' (xl. 62) an allusion to Namrūd. Tabari (I. 217) also describes Namrūd as a *mutaḡabbir*. Muslim legend and Haggada (*Targ. Sheni* on Esther I. 1; Midr. Hagadol, ed. Schechter, p. 180-181; Gaster, *Exempla of the Rabbis*, N. 1) make Namrūd ruler of the world. From Haggada comes the association of Namrūd with the Tower of Babel and in particular with the childhood of Abraham, and with the latter's rescue from the fire (*Gen. Rabba*, xlix. 1). The death of Namrūd caused by the gnat is also based on Haggada, which makes Titus, the destroyer of the Temple, die in this way. Nebuchadnezzar comes to a similar end (see Grünbaum, *Neu Bittre*, p. 97-99). The flight to heaven especially in the romance of 'Antar with the intervals of 500 years recall the ascent of Nebuchadnezzar in

the Talmud (*Chagiga*, p. 13^a). But the slight has far more resemblance to that of Shālī Kai-Kū'ūs as described by Firdaws (ed. Mohl, ii. 31–34). The Namrūd legend borrows from many directions. Talmud mentions that Namrūd had been identified as the Persian Dāhāk (*Annales*, i. 253) but he refutes this idea (*Annales*, i. 323, 324). Bible, Haggada and Persian epic were further developed, the marvels increased, an early history invented, Namrūd made an Oedipus, and in the *Sīrat 'Antar* he becomes the hero of a romance. The Muslim Namrūd legend then found its way into the late Jewish legend of Abraham. Bernard Chapira (see below) has published one such in Hebrew and Arabic. He is certainly wrong in taking seriously the authorship of Ka'b al-Akhbar, this is one fiction out of many thousands. But the mutual influence of Haggada and Muslim legend is indisputable. The later *Midrāsh*, as M. Grünbaum has clearly shown, *Pirḥi R. Eliezer*, *Tanna de B. Elyashu*, *Midrāsh Haggadol*, *Sifre ha-yashar*, *Shibos Mūsar* of R. Elivah Hakkohen from Smyrna, is influenced in the sections on Abraham and Nimrod by Muslim literature.

Bibliography: The commentaries on Sūra ii. 260; xix. 23; Talmud, ed. de Goeje, i. 217, 219, 220, 252–265, 319–325; Ibn al-Athir, *Tārīkh al-Khulā'*, Bulāq, i. 29, 37–40; Ibn al-Jawzi, *Kitāb al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1325, p. 46–49; al-Kisāfi, *Kitāb al-Anbiyā'*, ed. Eisenberg, i. 145–149; *Sīrat 'Antar*, Cairo 1291, i. 9–79 (1306, i. 4–34); Damiṭ, *Hayāt al-Hayawān*, s. v. *naṣr*; Oeiger, *Was hat Mohammed...*, 1902, p. 112–14, 115–19, 121; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 90–99, 125–132; Bernard Chapira, *Légendes bibliques attribuées à Ka'b al-Akhbar*, in *R. E. J.*, 1919, lxix., p. 86–107, Arabic and Hebrew text 1920, ix. 37–44; B. Heller, *Die Bedeutung des arabischen 'Antar-Romans für die wergl. Literaturkunde*, Leipzig 1931, p. 16–21; S. Sidorsky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes*, Paris 1933, p. 31–35. (BERNARD HELLER)

NĀMŪS (A.) is a word of many meanings. In St. John's Gospel xv. 26, the coming of the paraclete is announced. In the preceding verse a passage from the Psalms referring to the waters is quoted and is *qā' nāmūs aḥadū* given as source. The verses in the Gospel from 23 on were already known to Ibn Ishāq in an Arabic version which came from a Syriac one as the reproduction of "paraclete" by *al-manaḥimūn* shows. In the same source the word *nāmūs* was left untranslated, for we find it in Ibn Hishām in the form *nāmūs*. Biographical tradition makes Waraka b. Nawfal expressly assert the identification of Muḥammad with the paraclete promised by Jesus mentioned in the passage from the Gospel. The oldest form of the tradition giving this episode represent a combination of the Gospel passage with Sūra lxi. 8. In later developments of the tradition the idea of a paraclete gradually falls into the background till it was finally interpreted as the name of an individual and even received an epithet. Thus we read in Ibn Hishām, p. 153 that Waraka replied as follows to his cousin who asked him about Muḥammad's first vision: "If thou hast reported the truth to me then truly the greatest *nāmūs* has come to him, who used to come to Mūsā, and then he (Muḥammad) is the prophet of this *umma* etc." In Talmud the "greatest *nāmūs*" is in a gloss expressly said to be Djibril.

As the personal interpretation is not sufficiently explained by meanings, known to be really old, of the true Arabic word *nāmūs* (root *n-m-s*) which exists alongside of the Greek loanword, and meanings like "the trusted one, confidant of a secret" seem rather to come from the Greek loanword already known in its reference to Djibril (against Dozy, *Supplément*, s. v.), it was natural to look for a specific use of the word *nāmūs* which admitted of a personal interpretation and could at the same time have been known to the Arabs. Nyberg was reminded by the *nāmūs* doctrine of the Ikhwan al-Safa' (see below) of the pseudo-Clementine writings; and T. Andrieu derives the *nāmūs* of the Waraka tradition from the *νῆμας* *nēmās* of the pseudo-Clementines, which according to the book *Κεφάλαια Πίστεως* was revealed to Adam and afterwards again appeared to all prophets worthy of such an honour, lastly to Moses and to Jesus. However startling the agreement of the conception of *νῆμας* *nēmās* with the later forms of the Waraka tradition, the question still remains open, by what way a personal conception of *νῆμας* could have entered Islam. Haumastark quoted a passage from the liturgy of St. James of Jerusalem: *καλίστας αἰῶνι διὰ νῆμας, ἐπαπαύσας διὰ τῶν προσφύτων* and observes that the liturgy was the authoritative one in the Beduin camps and must have existed in an Arabic translation. It is really quite natural to understand *νῆμας* personally here. No explanation of our Waraka tradition can on the other hand be obtained from Mandaeen writings as Lidbarski has already pointed out in his translation of the *Ginza*, p. 247–48.

That there is a true Arabic word *nāmūs* has already been mentioned. The dictionaries give such varied meanings for it that we can only consider as old and original those that are confirmed by quotations. This holds for the meanings "hiding place, hunter's hut, monk's cell" probably also for "buzzer, midge" as *nomen agentis* from *n-m-s* to "buzz". On the other hand, not only the meaning "cunning" and its derivatives must be secondary, but also the already mentioned meanings referred to persons, the latter especially because the word so far as we know, is used also in the later literature predominantly in the material sense and the person connected with the idea is called *shāhīd al-nāmūs* etc. (counter-example: Dozy, s. v.). Just as the material meanings predominate generally, so also does the meaning of the Greek loanword predominate, apart of course from the old poetry, from which the meaning "midge" and particularly the word *nāmūṭiya* "mosquito net" have survived into the modern vernacular. Below we shall therefore deal only with the development of meaning of the Greek loanword.

The favourite meaning is divine law, with or without the addition of *ilāl*. This law is revealed through the prophets, and only men of prophetic spirit can be *shāhīd al-nāmūs* in this sense. The double character, political and religious, of the Muslim constitution naturally very much favoured this conception. Thus, for example, al-Kalāshandī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-A'ṣḥā*, i., Cairo 1903, p. 280 gives as the first among the *uṭmān shāri'ya*, *ḥim al-nāmūs al-mutā'allāh* N. I. *ḥimūnawna*. The Sina expressly observes in his encyclopaedia *Aḥām al-ʿUṭmān al-ʿAshīya* (in *Maḥfūẓ al-Naṣīḥ*, Cairo 1328, p. 230 ff.) in treating of politics that the pertinent works of Plato and Aristotle understand

by *ḥuṣūṣ* not "cunning" and "deceit", corresponding to the usage of the vernacular, but *ḥuṣūṣ*, revelation, etc., for the laws of the community are dependent on prophecy and the divine law; similarly Sprenger, *Dict. of Technical Terms*, I, 40. Abū al-Ḥaiyūn al-Tawhīdī devotes the fourth of his *Mafāḥiṣ* to the *nāmūs* (1241 (new ed., Cairo 1929)).

Here we may mention Miṣkawayh's (Ibn Miṣkawayh) definition which is also of literary interest. In connection with his discussion of the function of the *dīnār* as a measure of the equivalence (*qābūḥ*) of service and reward (*Taḥḍīb al-Aḥḥāb*, maṣṣala iv., e.g. Cairo, Khayrīya, 1322, p. 38), he quotes an alleged saying of Aristotle according to which the *dīnār* is a just *nāmūs*. *Nāmūs*, he adds, in striking contrast to Ibn Sina, means in Greek, *zīna* and *ḥadīṣ* [q. v.]; Aristotle says in the *Ēth. Nic.*, the greatest *nāmūs* proceeds from God, the second is the judge, the third the *dīnār*; the first, as a condition for just settlement between the claims of men, is the example which the two others follow. The well-known citation of the Muslim books on Hellenistic ethics has resulted in this explanation finding a place in later derivatives from Miṣkawayh, e.g. in Naṣr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Aḥḍāṯ al-Nāṣirī*, i, 2, 7 (e.g. Tabriz 1320, p. 152), also Kharrāzīde 'Alī b. 'Amr Abū al-Ḥinū' al-Aḥḍāṯī 'Alī' (1248, i, p. 78) and each more fully than the preceding. As a result of these expositions al-Ṭūsī in the economic part of his book (ii, 2, p. 254) calls gold briefly the smallest *nāmūs* (translation in Fleissner, *Der ökonomische des Neopythagoreers „Pythagoras"*, 1928, p. 63); and Kharrāzīde also follows him (ii, p. 7).

The *nāmūs* doctrine of the Ikhwān al-Safā' can only be briefly outlined here. In part i, p. 56 (Bombay ed.), the *nāmūs* is defined as a spiritual kingdom (*mamlaka rūḥāniyya*) which is upheld by 8 kinds of men. God appears as the *wāḥid al-nāmūs*. *Sāhib al-nāmūs* is from the context Muhammad, in so far as one can identify from the context any individuals in the pages of the Ikhwān al-Safā'. A few pages later Muhammad is described as the *wāḥid al-nāmūs*. In part iv., p. 57, the angels appear as teachers of the *aḥḍāṯ al-nāmūs*. Any one who does not guide his life according to the commands and prohibitions of the latter, has no share in divine *nāmūs* (iv, 147). This spiritual kingdom is the element of the Ikhwān al-Safā'; they slept in the cave of their father Adam [q. v.] for a long period until the fore-ordained time (*waḥd*) came under the rule of the Lord of the greatest *nāmūs* (Muhammad?) and they perceived their spiritual state (*maḥal*) which was raised in the air and from which Adam and his wife had been banished (iv, 107). If the Ikhwān al-Safā' by common effort and uniform self instruction succeed in building a perfect spiritual state (*fayḍ*, cf. al-Fārābī?), this state will belong to the kingdom of the Lord of the greatest *nāmūs*, who has dominion over souls and bodies (iv, 211). The *nāmūs* thus even becomes a kind of divine being, where there is a discussion of the "philosophic service of God", which represents the higher stage in comparison with that of the Muslim teaching regarding obligations and duties. This philosophic service of God had been, they say, practised by the ancient Greeks on the first, middle, and last day of the month. The night of the first day was divided into three parts. The first was spent in

worship of *nāmūs*, the second in meditation on the *maḥal*, the third in humble prostration before the Creator, confession of sins and repetition of prayers by Plato, Idris and Aristotle until the break of day (iv, 273 sq.). Nevertheless the *nāmūs* here has not exactly taken the place of God. But in several passages of the encyclopaedia he is represented as giving names. Thus he calls the spirits of the planets angels (ii, 97; cf. iv, 244); he does the same with the natural forces (ii, 102) and (iii, 10) with the nature of origin and decay. Above the spheres (*ḥamā'ir*) of the three kingdoms of nature and of man is the sphere of the divine *nāmūs*, whose members deal with the affairs of the *nāmūs* and the divine revelations and which corresponds to the "surrounding" (united) sphere of the astronomers (iv, 251). As the *nāmūs* and the ability to become creative in him involves a special organisation of man, he has found an allegorical place in the physiology and psychology of the Ikhwān al-Safā'; here indeed the conception changes from page to page. Thus in the first part of the work (2nd half, p. 48) five kinds of soul are described, two above and two below that of man. The former two are the soul of the angels and the divine (*ḥamā'ir*) soul, one of which is the stage of the soul of wisdom, the second that of *nāmūs*-prophethood. On the very next page the one is the intellectual soul of wisdom and the other the *nāmūs*-like angel soul. On p. 54 we find the following gradation: nature, soul, intellect, *nāmūs*. Nature receives through the soul free-will, through the intellect the power of thought and through the *nāmūs* commands and prohibitions. The parts of the soul are as follows: vegetable, animal, logical (human), intellectual (*wisdom*), *nāmūs*, angels, which latter serves the *nāmūs*. Here again there is the tendency to personification. It is in keeping with this when in iv, 119 (cf. also iv, 146) the story of Socrates in prison (in agreement with the Greek tradition and mentioning the *Phaedo*) it is related that Socrates will not escape from prison for fear of the *nāmūs*; he justifies his attitude with the words: "He who does not respect the *nāmūs* is slain by it". When immediately afterwards the *nāmūs* is identified with the *ḥamā'ir*, it is difficult to say whether this is serious or only done out of caution. It is nevertheless remarkable that the sixth essay of the fourth part which treats of the nature of divine *nāmūs*, of the qualifications for prophethood and the qualities of a prophet, does not contain the word *nāmūs* at all but instead of it always has *ḥamā'ir*. The Ikhwān have spiritual powers of their own; these form a series of four stages, the third of which is the *ḥamā'ir nāmūsīyya*; man attains it at 40 and it is the special characteristic of kings and rulers. Possessors of this power are called the distinguished and noble (*fayḍ*, cf. *ḥamā'ir*) brethren. Above it is only the *ḥamā'ir walāhiyya* (iv, 154 sq.).

The origin of the meaning "cunning" cannot be given with certainty; it possibly comes from the Arabic meaning "place of concealment". That it was particularly common in the spoken language is evident from the quotation given above from Ibn Sina. In any case this meaning has undergone a remarkable amalgamation with the Greek "law" in the literature of magic for the word is there used for magical formulae, particularly those which are based on illusions of the senses. The pupil of al-Anṣārī [q. v.] in his

Qibla on the latter's *Taḥḥira*, s. v. *simiyā* (iii, Cairo 1924, p. 56), gives the *namūs* as the first section of the science known by this name. But the meaning of the word is not limited to this kind of magic formulae.

Through translations from the Arabic the word entered the Hebrew literature of the middle ages with the meaning "law, religious law (of other peoples), morality, propriety"; in the latter meaning it has survived in the modern Hebrew vernacular. It is interesting to note that in the modern dialect of Mecca a similar change of meaning is found; according to Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprachwörter*, No. 10, *namūs* means the "spotless, honourable name" which one has among men; its opposite is *ar*, "shame".

The word *namūs* also plays a considerable part as the title of books.

The "greatest *namūs*" also occurs as the title of a book; cf. Irmow, *Catalogue*, I. 335 sq.

Bibliography: On the Waraka-tradition: Sprenger, *Über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung des arabischen Wortes Nāmūs*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xiii. (1859), p. 690–701 (I cannot agree with Dory's criticism in the *Supplément*, s. v.); do., *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed* (1869), I. 124 sqq., 333 sqq.; Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-Arabi* (1919), p. 131; T. Andrian, *Die Ursprung der Islami und des Christentum*, p. 204; Waitz, *Die Pseudo-Monimantinen (Texte u. Unters.*, xxv. 4), p. 114 sqq., 129; Baumstark, *Das Problem eines vorislamischen christlichen Schrifttums in arab. Sprache*, in *Islamica*, iv. 565 sq. — On the Arabic root: the dictionaries; Fiescher, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xii. (1858), p. 701, note 3; some other meanings in Dory, s. v. — On the literature of magic: Fiescher, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxi. (1867), p. 274–276; Steinschneider, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xix. (1865), p. 564; do., *Zur pseudopigraph. Lit.*, p. 51 sq.; Ritter, *Picatrix, ein arab. Handbuch hebräischer Magie (Vorträge der Bibl. Warburg, I.)*, p. 115. — On Hebrew literature: Steinschneider, *Polem. u. apologet. Literatur*, p. 366, 379, 383; do., *Die hebr. Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, §§ 138, 172, 187, 211, 263; Maimonides, *Dalālat al-Hakīm*, II, chap. 41. — On titles of books: Steinschneider, *Hebr. Übers.*, § 521; *Cat. Leid.*, III. 306.

(M. FLEISSNER)

NĀR. [See DJAHANNAM.]

NARSHAKHĪ, ABD BAKR MUHAMMAD b. DJAFAR (d. 348=959), author of the "History of Bukhārā", the original Arabic version of which he presented to the Sāmānīd Nūh b. Nāṣir in 332 (943–944). In 522 (1128–1129) the book was translated into Persian by Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Kūshāwī who omitted several "redundant" passages. Then in 574 (1178–1179) Muḥammad b. Zafar prepared a new abridged edition of the book which he presented to Sadr 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Burhān al-Dīn, governor of Bukhārā. Finally an unknown author continued it down to the Mongol conquest. It was in the last form that the book was published by Schefer. The book contains many interesting notes on the situation in Central Asia before Islam and details not found elsewhere of the Arab conquest (from Madā'iri!). The Persian translator added further details from the works of Abū Ḥasan 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad al-Nahāpūrī and probably from [Abū Ishāq] Ibrāhīm

[b. al-'Abbās al-Suh], d. in 243 (857). The information about the townships of the district of Bukhārā, their monuments, their products, their old customs (such as lamentation for Siyāwush, p. 21) is very interesting.

Bibliography: *Description topographique et historique de Boukhara par Muhammad Nersakhī suivie de textes relatifs à la Transoxiane*, publ. by Ch. Schefer, Paris 1892 (*Publ. de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, III^e série, vol. xiii, p. 1–97). There is also an edition lithogr. in Bukhārā. The only translation so far is that into Russian by N. Lykoshin, Tashkent 1897 (ed. by Barthold). Cf. Lerch, *Sur les monnaies de Boukhara-Khondak*, in the *Travaux de la 3^e session du congrès international des orientalistes*, St. Petersburg 1879, II. 424; Barthold, *Turkistan*, Engl. transl., G. M. S., p. 14; Marquart, *Erānshahr*, s. index; Marquart, *Wehr- und Arang*, [1907], p. 139 and *passim*. (V. MIKOLAJEV)

NASĀ (often NĀSĀ), the name of several places in Persia: in Khurāsān, Fars, Kirmān and Hamadhān; cf. Yāqūt, iv. 778. (According to Bartholomae, *nišāya* means "settlement").

1. Nāsā in Khurāsān was situated in the cultivated zone which lies north of the range separating Khurāsān from the Tarkoman steppes. It corresponds to the *Nirāza*, *Nirāz* *raḥim* of the classical authors, celebrated for its breed of horses (Herodotus, III. 106; cf. Strabo, XI, ch. xiv., § 7). Alexander the Great is said to have built an Alexandropolis at Nāsā. According to Isidore of Charax, ed. W. Schoff, Philadelphia 1914, p. 8, the tombs of the Parthian kings were in the town of Nīrā. Rawlinson, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1839, p. 100, believed he saw in the stock of Turkoman horses descendants of the *Arre*, *Nirāza*; [Arvesta, *Vidvādāt*, I. 7 seems to have a different locality in view].

According to Iṣṭakhri, the town of Nāsā was very like Sarakhs (i. e. like the half of Marw) and had much water, many gardens and green places and the country round was very fertile. Muḥaddas, p. 320, 331–332 says that the ten gates of the town were buried in verdure. He confirms the abundance of springs but says the water was not of good quality. Muḥammad Nāsawī, *Strat. Dīlāl al-Dīn*, ed. Houdas, p. 22, says that the place was very unhealthy on account of its very warm climate and that the Turks could only live a short time there. According to Nāsawī, p. 50, the town had a strong citadel. The number of tombs of shahs and famous men was so great that the Sults called Nāsā "little Damascus", cf. the biography of Shāhshāh Sa'īd (*Arwāḥ-i Tanqīd*, ed. Zakowsky, p. 45) written in the 13th century.

Yāqūt, iv. 776–778 places Nāsā 5 days' journey from Marw, one day from Abiward and 6–7 days from Nishāpūr. Of its dependencies he mentions: I. 480: Bāfīz (> Firān); I. 857: Taftān; III. 343: Shahrīstān; III. 866: Farāwa (= Kāfi-Arwat); IV. 328: Kauk Durān, with the fortress Tak (afterwards Yazir) also belonged to Nāsā, cf. Barthold, *A history of Greater Turkistan*, p. 37–41. Cf. also the *Tarīkh-i Nādiri* of Mahdī Khān (Nādir's son was at Khurramābād, cf. under the year 1044). The ruins of the capital of Nāsā are near the little town of Bagir about 12 miles from Aikhabād and 8 from the station of Bāsmān on the Trans-Caspian railway.

2. The Nāsā in Hamadhān perhaps cor-

responds to the Nisāya placed by the inscription of Carius (Behistūn, i. 13) in Media. It is possible that the reference is to the plains of northern Luristān [q. v.] (Alighar, Khawa) where the well-known bronzes of Luristān were found; cf. Minorsky, in *Apollon*, London, Feb. 1931.

(V. MINORSKY)

NASAF. [See NAKHSHAB.]

AL-NASAFI, *nisha* [cf. NASAF] of several eminent persons of whom the following may be mentioned:

1. ABU 'U-MU'IN MAHMUD B. MUHAMMAD B. MUHAMMAD ... B. MARHUL ... AL-HANAFI AL-MAKRU'ULI (d. 508 = 1114), one of the *mutakallimūn* [q. v.] whose scholastic position is between that of the early period as represented by 'Abd al-Kābir al-Baghādī [q. v.], who is still endeavouring to find a convenient arrangement and an adequate formulation of the contents of *kalām*, and the younger *mutakallimūn* who have at hand the necessary formulas for ready use. Of his works the following are known to me:

1. *Tamhīd li-Kawā'id al-Tawhīd* (Cairo, MS. 2417, fol. 1–50; cf. *Fihrist* ... *Maṣr*, ii. 51), a treatise in which the contents of the creed are proved according to the scholastic method. The first chapter consists of an exposition of the doctrine of cognition, the last of the doctrine of the imānate. The work closes with a *surghida* which contains the doctrine of Deo in an abridged form; 2. *Tahyīrat al-Adilla* (Cairo, MSS. 2287, 6673; cf. *Fihrist* ... *Maṣr*, ii. 8), an elaborate work on dogmatics of nearly the same scheme as the *Tamhīd*; 3. *Bahr al-Kalām*, printed at Cairo 1329 (1911), differs from the two foregoing works in so far as it deals with heresies and is polemical. It is identical with *Mubāhāṭat Ahl al-Sunna wa 'l-Djama'a wa 'l-Firaq al-Qalla wa 'l-Mubtada'a* (Leyden, cod. or. 862) as well as with *Aḥādīd* (Berlin, N^o. 1941; cf. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, ii. 400). The work is preserved in several libraries under one of these titles (Bruckelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 426, where the number of five works must be reduced to three).

Bibliography: in the art.; cf. also Hādījī Khalifa, ed. Flügel, index, N^o. 6453.

II. ABU HAFS 'UMAR NAJIM AL-DIN (d. 537 = 1142), jurist and theologian. Of his works the only one edited is the *Aḥādīd*, which has the form of a catechism. It became popular and was much commented, probably because it was the first abridged form of the creed according to the scholastic method of the new orthodoxy. In Europe it became known as early as 1843 through the edition by Careton (*The Pillar of the Creed*, N^o. 2). For editions of and commentaries on this work as well as for the other works of this scholar that have come down to us, cf. *G. A. L.*, i. 427–29.

Bibliography: Bruckelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 428 and the references given there.

(A. J. WENTZICK)

AL-NASAFI, HAFIZ AL-DIN ABU 'U-BARAKAT 'ABU ALLAH B. AHMAD B. MAHMUD, an important Hanafi legist and theologian, born in Nasaf in Sogdiana, was a pupil of Shams al-A'imma al-Kardari (d. 643 = 1244–1245), Hamid al-Din al-Darir (d. 666 = 1267–1268) and Badr al-Din Khawāzindā (d. 651 = 1253). He taught in the Madrasa al-Kutubiya al-Sultaniya in Kirman, came in 710 to Baghād and died in Rahi' 1 710 (August 1310; according to Kuraḥi and Ibn Ta-

ghribirdi: 701) apparently on his way back to Idjād (in Khuzistān), where he was buried. His pupils were Muṣaffar al-Din Ibn al-Sa'ati, author of the *Maṣāna' al-Baḥra* (d. 694 = 1294–1295), and Husām al-Din al-Sighāḥi, a commentator on the *Hudaya* (d. 714 = 1314–1315) [cf. AL-MARQHIFANI].

The best of his works is thought to be the *Kitaḥ al-Manār fi Uṣūl al-Fikḥ*, a concise account of the foundations of law (Dehli 1870, Constantinople 1326 and often later); there are numerous later commentaries but he himself wrote two, one of which is entitled *Kaḥf al-Aṣrār* (2 vols., Bulaḥ 1316). Out of his original plan of writing a commentary on the *Hudaya* of al-Marghinani [q. v.] there came the lawbook modelled on it *Kitaḥ al-Waṣf*, on which he composed in 684 a special commentary, the *Kitaḥ al-Waṣf* (delivered in lectures in Kirman in 689). He had previously prepared a synopsis of the *Wāṣf* entitled *Kana al-Daḥiṭ* (Cairo 1311, Lucknow 1294, 1312, etc.) which Ibn al-Sa'ati in 683 (this is no doubt the correct reading for 633 in Kaffawi) heard him deliver in Kirman. This synopsis was used as late as the sixteenth century in Damascus and at the al-Ashraf in Cairo (v. Kramer, *Mittel-Syrien u. Damaskus*, Vienna 1853, p. 136; do., *Aegypten*, Leipzig 1863, ii. 51). The best known printed commentaries on the *Kana* are: a. *Tahyīn al-Haḥiṭ* of al-Zallāḥi (d. 743 = 1342–1343) in 6 vols., Bulaḥ 1313–1315; b. *Rams al-Haḥiṭ* of al-'Aini (d. 855 = 1451) in 2 vols., Bulaḥ 1285 and 1299; c. *Tahyīn al-Haḥiṭ* of Mollā Miskīn al-Harawī (written in 811 = 1408–1409), Cairo 1294, 1303, 1312; d. *Tawḥīd al-Kaḥiṭ* of al-Tāḥi (d. 1192 = 1778), Cairo 1307 etc.; e. the most important: *al-Baḥr al-rūḥ* of Ibn Nudjaim (d. 970 = 1562–1563) in 8 vols., Cairo 1334.

He also wrote a series of commentaries, e. g. two on the *Kitaḥ al-Waṣf* of Najm al-Din al-Samarkandi (d. 656 = 1258) entitled *al-Mustafā* and *al-Manāḥ*; on the *Maṣāna'* of Najm al-Din Abū Hafṣ al-Nasafi (d. 537 = 1442–43) on the differences of opinion between Abū Hanifa, his two pupils, and al-Shāfi and Mālik entitled *al-Mustafā*, as well as a synopsis entitled *al-Muṣaffā* (finished on 20th Sha'ban 670; cf. Bruckelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 428; also on the *Muntaḥab fi Uṣūl al-Din* of Akhḥikari (d. 644 = 1246–1247; Ibn Taghribirdi, Hādījī Khalifa, N^o. 15095). On the other hand, he did not write a commentary on the *Hudaya*, as Ibn Kutūbiyghā and Hādījī Khalifa, vi. 484 say (cf. the story of the origin of his *Wāṣf* according to al-Iḥṣān [d. 758 = 1357] in Hādījī Khalifa, vi. 419). He also wrote a commentary on the *Kur'ān*, *Madārik al-Tamīl wa-Haḥiṭ al-Ta'wīl* (printed in 2 vols., Bombay 1279, Cairo 1306, 1326).

His confession of faith *al-Sūnda fi Uṣūl al-Din* (apparently also called *al-Manār fi Uṣūl al-Din*; Kuraḥi, Ibn Duḥmāk) became known quite early in Europe from Careton's edition (*Pillar of the Creed*, London 1843). In it he closely follows the *Aḥādīd* of Najm al-Din al-Nasafi (see above) and also wrote a special commentary on it: *al-Fitḥ li-'l-Sūnda*.

Bibliography: The following borrow from the same unknown source: al-Kuraḥi, *al-Djāwābir al-muḥḥa*, Haidarābād 1332, i. 270; Ibn Duḥmāk, *Nasaf al-Djāwābir fi Tabāḥiṭ Aḥādīd al-Nu'mān*, Ms. Berlin, Pet. ii. 24, fol.

1477; Ibn Kutūbkhā, *Tadh al-Tarājim*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1862, N^o 86; Ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Munkhal al-ḥafī*, Ms. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Arabe 2071, fol. 16^r. Also al-Kāfi, *Ḥikmah al-Asyār*, Ms. Berlin, Sprenger 301, fol. 282–283^v (extract: al-Laknawi, *al-Fawā'id al-bahya*, Cairo 1324, p. 101); Ḥādīdī Khallīf, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ed. Flügel, index; Flügel, *Classen d. hanafit. Rechtsgelehrten*, Leipzig 1860, p. 276, 323, where the date of death is wrongly given; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 196–197; Sarkis, *Dictionnaire de bibliogr. arabe*, col. 1852 39; Nicolas P. Aghnides, *Mohammedan theories of finance*, New-York 1916, p. 176, 181.

(HEFFENING)

AL-NASARĀ ABU 'AHM AL-RAḤMĀN AHMAD B. SHU'AYB R. 'ALĪ B. BAHR B. SINĀN, author of one of the six canonical collections of traditions [cf. *Ḥādīdī*, d. 303 (915)]. Very little is known about him. He is said to have made extensive travels in order to hear traditions, to have settled in Egypt, afterwards in Damascus, and to have died in consequence of ill-treatment to which he was exposed at Damascus or, according to others, at Ramla, in consequence of his feelings in favour of 'Alī and against the Umayyads. On account of this unnatural death he is called a martyr. His tomb is at Makka. Al-Nasā'ī's collection of traditions is divided into 51 chapters, each of which is subdivided into *bāb*. As to the subjects, considerable space is given to traditions dealing with the ceremonial duties (*ibādāt*); the chapters *ihkām*, *nuḥūl*, *ruḥū* and *'umrā* (forms of bequest, donation etc.) do not occur in any of the other collections, although a part of the materials contained in them appears under different heads. On the other hand, chapters on eschatology (*āḥzān*, *ḥaywāna*, etc.), on hero-worship (*manāḥib* etc.), on the *Ḥur'ān* are lacking.

Brockelmann mentions two other works by al-Nasā'ī: *Fi Faḥl 'Alī*, published at Cairo 1308, under the title *Kitāb Khawāṣṣ Amir al-Mu'minin 'Alī b. Abi Ṭālib*, and *Kitāb al-Du'aḥ* (*G.A.L.*, i. 182).

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, N^o 28; al-Dhahabī, *Tahāṣūt al-Huffā*, ii. 266 399; Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, *Tahāṣūt al-Tahāṣūt*, Haidarābād 1325, i. 36 399; al-Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, G.M.S., xx, fol. 559; Goldziher, *Mohammedanische Studien*, ii. 141, 249 399; do., in *Z.D.M.G.*, l. 112; Wüstenfeld, *Der Islam als Schöpf und seine Anhänger*, in *Abh. G. W. Göt.*, xxxvii. 108 39. (A. J. WENSINCK)

NASARĀ. Christians, more especially the adherents of the Oriental churches living under Muslim rule (differentiated from *Kūm* "Greek Christians", *Iḥrāṣī* "Western Christians"). The word is derived from the Syriac *Nasrāyā* (Horowitz, *Koran. Untersuchungen*, p. 144 399); the Arabic singular is *Nasrānī*.

A. Before Islām.

A complete investigation of the materials for the history of Christianity in Arabia and among the Arabs before the rise of Islām has not yet been made, and only the principal facts can be summarily given here.

Christianity naturally spread into Arabia from Syria and al-Jazīra though no date can be given for the earliest infiltration. Bishops of the encampments are early mentioned but they should probably be assigned to Syria. Arab Christian history

may be said to begin with the conversion of Ghassān [q. v.]; the chief al-Hārith b. Dhabala was an ardent monophysite and in A. D. 542 or 543 he persuaded the empress Theodora to appoint Jacob Baradaeus as bishop of Edessa with a wandering commission, and Theodore as bishop of Basra in the monophysite cause. Nestorian Christianity came to Hira [q. v.] at an early date. Its bishops are often mentioned from A. D. 410 till c. 1000 and a monastery was built there by 410. Three Nestorian patriarchs were buried there. Al-Mundhir III (d. 554) [cf. *LAKHM*] was a pagan though he had a Christian wife, who built the convent called after her Dair Hind, while some of the notables were also Christian. Theological controversy in the Greek empire drove many monophysites into exile in Hira; in 518 a monophysite monastery existed, and from 551 monophysite bishops are recorded. Nu'mān III was converted c. 593 by the Nestorians.

Nestorian missions followed the trade routes, one of which followed the coast. Bishops in the district of Bahrain are recorded in 575 and 676, in the island of Samāhidj in 410, and in 'Uman in 424. Another route was across the peninsula. One story says that Nadjran was evangelised by a native who was converted in Hira; another sends monophysite exiles thither from Hira, while a third brings the evangelist from Syria. Christianity had probably reached Nadjran before 400. The Abyssinians invaded south Arabia in the beginning of the sixth century and conquered the country. As soon as they had withdrawn, a chieftain Masruq or Dhū Nuwās, who was a Jew by religion, attacked and persecuted the Christians not only in Nadjran but also in Hadramawt in 525. A second Abyssinian expedition defeated Masruq, who was slain or drowned, and Abyssinian rule was firmly established. Probably these expeditions were part of Greek policy to set up an obstacle to Persia and crusading motives were secondary. The invaders would have introduced the monophysite faith if it was not already present. When the Persians conquered south Arabia they naturally then favoured the Nestorians. The great church of San'a' seems to have been built on the site of a pagan sanctuary and a Nestorian bishop was appointed c. 800 A.D. [cf. *ABBAHA*, *YIMYAR*, *SAN'A'*].

From the borders Christianity percolated into the interior. Bishops are recorded at Aila [q. v.], Dūma [cf. *DJAWF*] and Taimā, and most of the tribes in the north had some knowledge of the faith even if the saying attributed to 'Alī, "All they know of Christianity is wine-bibbing", is exaggerated. The tribes most affected were, in the west Salīb, Ghassān, Djudhām and Lakhm, in the east Taghlib, Bakr with 'Idjī, Hanifa, Rab'a, Tamim and Taṣūkh, and in the centre Tayi with Thālab and part of Ḥudā'a.

B. Under Islām (medieval period).

1. **History.** It is generally recognised that the attitude of Muḥammad towards the Christians, which had at first been favourable, changed towards the end of his life; probably when the expanding boundaries of the Muslim state brought him into contact with Christian tribes [cf. art. *MUHAMMAD*, lili. 735^v]. The problem of subject Christians scarcely arose during his lifetime, since his relations with Christian tribes and settlements (e.g. Aila, Dūma) were generally regulated by

treaties, the best known of which is that concluded with the Christians of Nadjran [q. v.]. By the terms of this treaty, the latter were allowed to keep their religion and manage their own affairs, if they paid a fixed tribute, entertained the Prophet's representatives for a month, gave certain supplies in the event of a war in the Yaman, and abstained from usury. To the same period belongs the general command given in the *Kur'ān* (ix. 29) to fight against those who have received a book until they pay tribute (here called *al-ḡisya*, q. v.) and are humbled.

The conquests of Khalid b. al-Walid suddenly made the problem acute. During the reign of 'Umar it was solved, like all the problems of the state, in a hand to mouth way, usually by applying the precedent of the Nadjran treaty. Hira, the cities of Syria and Mesopotamia made individual treaties with the Muslim commanders; the terms differ in detail, but all include a fixed tribute. Muslim governors were set over the provinces and big towns, but the minor officials were not changed. The people paid much the same taxes as before and there was little interference with their social and religious life. Sometimes a church or part of one was taken and turned into a mosque; more often, probably, churches and monasteries were respected, as also were existing property rights. On the occupation of al-Irak there was a movement among the tribes to seize the conquered lands, and it would seem that a district was for a time assigned to the tribe Badjila (cf. Baladhuri, p. 267 sq.; *Kitaḥ al-Umm*, iv. 192), but in the end 'Umar applied the precedent established by Muhammad on the conquest of Khaibar and left the conquered lands to their owners, to be administered as a trust for the benefit of the conquerors [see art. *FAT*]. On the other hand, he exiled the Christians of Nadjran to al-Irak so that "there might be but one religion in Arabia", though isolated Christians lived in al-Madina itself. 'Umar had a Christian slave who was set free at his death (Ibn Sa'd, vi. 110), and Abū Mūsā had a Christian secretary who accompanied him to al-Madina. 'Umar is represented, even in Christian sources, as friendly towards Christians, and in his last charge he recommended the *dhimmis* to the care of his successor as "the support of your families".

During the following decades the treatment and status of Christians shows many contradictions, and was often determined apparently by individual caprice. While new churches were built even in towns founded by the Arabs, such as Fustāt and Baḡra, and the caliph even helped to restore the church at Edessa (*Corp. Script. Chr. Or.*, ser. iii., xiv. 288), in many other places churches were destroyed, and both Mu'awiya and 'Abd al-Malik tried to seize the cathedral at Damascus before al-Walid finally incorporated it in the mosque. Christians continued to hold high offices in the administration: Mu'awiya had a Christian secretary, Sārdjan, who was succeeded by his son, and 'Abd al-'Aziz had as his treasurer a wealthy Christian, Athanasias, though 'Abd al-Malik despoiled him of much of his wealth. State accounts in Syria and Egypt were kept in Greek until the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, and local accounts in Egypt were still kept in Greek for long afterwards. There were Christians in the Muslim armies, and some gave military service instead of tribute. When the Djaradima of Mount Lebanon were defeated,

a clause in the treaty stipulated that they should wear Arab dress (Baladhuri, p. 161). Yet there was some persecution as well as cases of forced conversion. Jews were settled in some of the conquered towns because they were enemies of the Christians (Baladhuri, p. 127). The Jacobites paid a special tax to Mu'awiya (*Corp. Script. Chr. Or.*, ser. iii., iv. 70), and the government sometimes prevented the election of a patriarch. The Christian Arabs of Mesopotamia formed a special category; these paid double *sakk* instead of tribute, but a chief of Taghlib was savagely tortured because he would not renounce his faith. Personal relations between Muslims and Christians were often friendly. It is said of a poet that "he never made love poems about the wife of a Muslim or a *dhimmi*" (*Kitaḥ al-Aghāni*, iii. 291). 'Uthman showed great honour to Abū Zubaid, and the relations of 'Abd al-Malik with the poet al-Akḥal are notorious [see art. *AL-AKHḤAL*].

From this time, however, the condition of the subject Christians began to deteriorate. 'Abd al-Malik changed the system of taxation in Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia (Dionysius of Tell Mahrē, ed. Chabot, p. 10; Abū Yūsuf, p. 23 sq.), and introduced the personal tax on non-Muslims. In many districts the form of receipt was a leaden seal fastened round the neck or wrist. 'Umar II gave orders to dismiss all *dhimmis* from government service, but such confusion resulted that the order was soon afterwards ignored. He was also the author of the famous "ordinances", in later times attributed to 'Umar I (cf. Abū Yūsuf, p. 73), which prescribed the restrictions to be placed on *dhimmis* and the wearing of the *sumnār* [q. v.] as their distinctive badge. (According to the Nestorian Chronicle [*Patr. Or.*, xiii. 630], this had earlier been the badge of Christian scholars).

By the end of the second century, as may be seen from the works of Abū Yūsuf and al-Shāfi'i, the customs governing the *dhimmis* were more or less fixed, but insistence on them depended on the whim of the governor and the temper of the populace. It was now accepted that no new churches might be built in towns where Muslims lived, though the old might be repaired. A governor's fancy or a riot might destroy churches and there was no redress; the cathedral at San'a, for example, was destroyed for its wealth. At least six rebellions of the Copts took place during the century. Hārūn al-Rashid reenacted the "ordinances" forbidding Christians to be like Muslims in dress and style of riding; but during the reign of Ma'mūn, the Christian headman of Būra in Egypt wore black on a Friday and rode in state to the door of the mosque, when his deputy entered and led the prayers. Their use of horses and riding saddles began to raise objection, and restrictions were placed on religious processions; crosses were sometimes tolerated though banners were forbidden. Taxation became heavier and cases of extortion are recorded. The caliph kept a careful eye on the Church and a patriarch had to get his approval and do him homage, often at a price. A discontented Christian found it easy to get government help in making trouble for his opponents. At this time Christian doctors became prominent as favourites of the caliph and they did not always use their influence in a Christian manner. Discussions on religion took place; at one, when Ma'mūn was present, the Catholicos, the Head

of the Dispersion, the heads of the Sabians, the chief priest of the fire temple and Muslim theologians took part. Many Christians were in government service or were secretaries to public men, and even the fanatical al-Mutawakkil had a Christian secretary. In 236 (850) this caliph intensified the repressive laws. A Christian had to wear a yellow *palṭama* and the *ẓannār* and a woman had to wear a yellow wrap out of doors. If he rode he must have wooden stirrups and two balls on the back of the saddle. Men (or slaves) had to wear the *ghiyār* [q. v.]. They were to be dismissed from the civil service. All new churches were to be pulled down and the cross might not be displayed at festivals. Their graves had to be flush with the ground. The tithe was levied on their houses and wooden devils fixed to them. Four years later they were forbidden to ride horses and were told to wear two yellow *ḥurraʿa*. These laws are the limit of legal persecution and continued to govern in theory though not always observed in practice.

Christians were always to be found in the civil service; some even were connected with the army. In Egypt it was enacted that they should be present on Fridays when the Muslims were absent (Maḳṣṣat, *ii*, 227). One was called *wasir* in the time of al-Muʿtamid; it seems, however, that the title had become cheap and he was only a high official (Yāḳūt, *Irṣād*, *ii*, 130, 259). The first rulers to promote Christians to the highest rank were the Buʿyids (see 'APUD AL-BAWLA) and the Fatimids. This was quite exceptional, but their strength and influence in the administration at all times can be seen from the constant complaints of the dishonesty of Christian secretaries. More especially in the finance department they possessed a quasi-monopoly, which lasted in Egypt down to the nineteenth century.

That Muslim intolerance did grow more bitter is shown by comparing the accounts of al-Aḳḥal in the *Kitāb al-Aḥḥāl* with the remarks of Ibn Raṣṣīk (*ʿUṣṣā*, *i*, 21). In later times the rulers were often more tolerant or far-sighted than the populace; nevertheless, additional taxes were sometimes laid on the *dhimmīs*. In Egypt an extra *ḍinār* was exacted from them between 1260 and 1280, in addition to the poll-tax, which was then called *ḡāṭiya* (Maḳṣṣat, *i*, 106). At intervals fresh attempts were made to impose a distinctive dress upon them. Their request to wear white turbans with a badge was refused at the instance of Ibn Taimiya [q. v.] and in Egypt blue became their distinctive colour. On the whole, they were worse off than their Muslim fellow-subjects, for, while both suffered from oppression by the ruler, they were liable in addition to be attacked by their fellow citizens. Cases of mass conversion still occurred, but the disappearance of the large Christian population of northern Mesopotamia, which continued down to the late middle ages to be the chief centre of Christianity in the Muslim dominions, is probably to be connected with the general decay of agriculture there.

2. Legal status. Here as elsewhere the facts of history do not fit the systems of the theorists, who condemned the laxity of the people on the one hand and the highhandedness of the rulers on the other. The general legal position and the legal view of taxation are outlined in the articles *DIHMA*, *ḤIRYA* and *KHAKK*. To this outline some details may be added from the system of

Malik, which is less liberal than that of Abū Ḥanīfa. Malik taught that a treaty once made with *dhimmīs* cannot be changed. They may not enter mosques or Mecca and the blood money for them is half that for a Muslim. New churches may not be built in or near the towns of Islām though the old may be repaired. Malik, when consulted, said that a Christian, who had blasphemed the Prophet, should be put to death, and this was done. A Muslim may not borrow from them, nor become a partner with them in business unless he is present at all transactions. Another opinion would let them be sleeping partners. A Muslim should not rent land from them as a *mitayer*, but it is not illegal, and one who is part owner of a house with a Muslim has the right of pre-emption. One, who is trading in his own town, pays no tax beyond the general tribute; if he goes to another town and buys goods with money brought with him, he pays the trade tax (tithe), but there is no tax on the sale of these goods. *Dhimmīs* must not kill sacrifices for Muslims; if they do, the sacrifices must be repeated. A Muslim woman should kill a beast rather than ask them to do so. If one marries a Muslim woman with the consent of her guardians, they shall all be punished, but if he pretended to be a Muslim, the marriage is invalid. They may not arrange a marriage for a Muslim woman nor a Muslim that of his *dhimmi* sister. Married *dhimmīs* are divorced by the conversion of the woman. Malik did not approve of *dhimmi* foster-mothers for Muslim children. If a Muslim commits adultery with a *dhimmi* woman, he is punished according to his law and she is handed over to her co-religionists to be dealt with according to their law. The evidence of a *dhimmi* is not accepted. Should he turn Muslim, his evidence is still not accepted (i. e. about things that happened while he was a *dhimmi*), consequently *dhimmi* women cannot give evidence about a birth. If a Christian buys or is given a Muslim slave, the transaction is valid, but the slave must be sold to a Muslim. Muslim law applies to all business dealings between *dhimmīs*, except mury, though they may practise this among themselves. They may not be taught the *Ḳarʿān*. A Muslim may not prevent his Christian slave from drinking wine, eating pork and going to church. It may be noted that Māwardī admits the possibility of a *dhimmi* becoming *wasir* (*wasir al-taṣfiḍa*).

One authority says that eight acts put a *dhimmi* outside the law: an agreement to fight the Muslims, fornication with a Muslim woman, an attempt to marry one, an attempt to turn a Muslim from his religion, robbery of a Muslim on the highway, acting as a spy or guide for unbelievers, or the killing of any Muslim.

3. Social status. The fact that Christians, like other *dhimmīs*, were citizens as it were at second remove, was of course reflected in their social position. The full consequences of this disability were to some extent mitigated by their numbers and influence in the public administration, and by their monopoly or quasi-monopoly of important professions. Christians were distinguished more especially as doctors (the family of Bukḥṭīshūʿ, Ibn Būṭlān [q. v.] etc.) and druggists. A Muslim complained that he could get no patients in an unhealthy year because he spoke good Arabic and not the dialect of Djundaiṣḥur [q. v.] and

wore cotton instead of silk (Djābir, *Kitaḥ al-Bukhārā*, p. 85) and al-Ghazālī says that in many towns the only doctor was a *dhimmi*. Some were rich, and it was often their imprudent display which provoked the mob to violence. The prohibition of usury in Muslim law operated in favour of the *dhimmis* as merchants and money-changers, and gave them the monopoly of such trades as those of goldsmiths and jewellers.

Apart from numerous instances of friendly personal relations between individuals, the generally good relations between the Muslims and Christians is shown by the universal celebration of the great festivals of the Christian year, and the holidays and fairs which accompanied the feasts of the patron saints at the principal monasteries (cf. A. Fischer, in *Berichte über d. Verh. d. Südh. Ak. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1929). Christians took part in the intellectual life of the community, and the books they wrote are named with approval by the Muslim historians. The strict letter of the law regarding non-Muslims was not always applied. While marriage to a Muslima was always forbidden, fornication with one was not always punished with death. At times the Muslim murderer of a *dhimmi* was executed. Even the apostate sometime found mercy, on the ground that forced conversions were not valid. Christians kept Muslim slaves, both male and female, and acted for Muslims in business.

In spite of all this, the stigma of inferiority remained. The humiliating regulations, the need for constant watchfulness, the constant recourse to intrigue and influence to circumvent the law, the segregation of *dhimmis* in many cities, inevitably sapped their morale. Still more serious were their legal disabilities; there could be no true justice for the *dhimmi* when his evidence was excluded from the Muslim courts, even though *ḥāfīs* were enjoined not to discriminate against them in other respects, nor could there be any permanent social relationship in the absence of intermarriage. It is not surprising therefore that the Christian communities of the East gradually dwindled not only in numbers, but also in vitality and moral tone.

Bibliography: Tor Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum*, 1926; Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden in Hira*, 1899; Noldeke, *Die Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden*, 1879; Cheikho, *Christianisme en l'Arabie avant l'Islam*, 1919; Nau, *Arabes Chrétiens*, 1933; Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites*, 1924; Dussaud, *Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*, 1907; Lammens, *Les Chrétiens à la Mecque* (B. I. F. A. O., 1918); Tritton, *The Caliphs and their non-Muslim Subjects*, 1930; Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, 1922; Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam* (2nd ed. 1913); Gotthell, *Dhimmis and Muslims in Egypt* (Harper Studies, II, 353), 1908; Bellin, *Une Fémina*, in *J.A.*, 1851, p. 417; Margoliouth, *The Early Development of Mohammedanism*, 1914. (A. S. TRITTON)

C. The Ottoman Empire.

Since the period of the *Tangmūt* [q. v.] the Ottoman Empire has gradually abandoned the governmental traditions of Muhammadan states, and this change has fundamentally affected the treatment of its Christian subjects. On the other hand, this change was actually brought about by the very

problems with which the Ottoman government became confronted through the existence of a large Christian population in its territory.

Up to the beginning of the sixteenth century the treatment of Christians in the Empire was, on the whole, in accordance with the prescriptions of the *shari'a* after the Hanafi *madhhab* as to the treatment of *dhimmis*, the chief authority on these questions being the *Mulṭaḥa 'l-Abhur* of Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (cf. the Constantinople edition of 1309, p. 90). Christians were subject to the payment of the *ḡiyā-i geyārān*, more often called *ḡharāj* in Turkey (cf. these two articles), whence the expression *ḡharāj-gusār*. This tax was levied in three classes, according to the financial capacity of the payers. D'Othson (*Tableau*, III, 4, 199) says that in his time (about 1800) each year 1,600,000 tax-forms were issued for the non-Muslims, of which 60,000 were in the capital. The regulations as to the building and restoration of Christian churches were observed in principle; the Hanafi *madhhab* allows the restoration of decayed churches but not of churches deliberately demolished; Sheikh Zāde, however, in his commentary on the *Mulṭaḥa* (*Maḡīma 'l-Anhur*, printed Constantinople 1276, p. 415) complains that this distinction was not duly observed in his time (1666). From the xvth century indeed the building and rebuilding of churches was a subject of frequent intervention by the representatives of foreign Christian powers. The turning of churches into mosques by the Ottoman conquerors — such as the case of the Aya Sofia — was generally in concordance with Islamic laws of war. Likewise the prescriptions about clothing were observed and from time to time reinforced; as late as the xviii century certain sultāns such as 'Othmān III and Muṣṭafā III are known to have given special attention to this point.

We also find in the *ḡāḡān-nāme* — the contents of which were declared in accordance with the *shari'a* by the Sheikh al-Islām — some special clauses about non-Muslims (*kāfers*). A *ḡāḡān-nāme* of the time of Sulaymān I prescribes that, in the case of certain crimes that are punished by fines, the fines of non-Muslims shall amount to only half the sum inflicted on a Muslim in each case (cf. the second *ḡāḡān-nāme*, published as appendix to *T. O. E. M.*, III, 3, 4, 6). The same *ḡāḡān-nāme* gives directions with regard to the inheritance of non-Muslims.

The Christians thus constituted in the Ottoman Empire, just as in other Muhammadan states, a section of the population which, so far as their relations with the Government went, had minor rights compared to Muhammadans and to which the high functionaries of the state never belonged. They were improperly designated by the term *ra'īyā*, which word originally means all subjects of a Muhammadan ruler, in allusion to a well-known tradition which compares the ruler with a shepherd and his subjects with a flock (*ra'īyā*, cf. al-Bukhārī, *Ḍuḡa's*, ḥāḡ 11). Hence the use of the term *rayas* in European works when speaking of the Christian subjects of the sultān. *ḡlaw* [q. v.] was a more or less contemptuous expression in the idiom of Muslim circles.

There had been, however, since the coming into existence of the Ottoman Empire, several circumstances that presented the problem of the Christian subjects in forms quite different from those prevailing in contemporary Muhammadan states. The

beginnings of the Ottoman state itself had been anything but orthodox. Ertoghral, according to most sources, was only a converted Muslim and Oghlūn and Orghūn, the founders of the state, had many dealings with the Christian aristocracy of Bithynia, some of whom joined readily the cause and the creed of the new conquerors. Christianity was at that time still widely spread in Asia Minor and was at first adapted to the rather unorthodox mystic form in which the Turcomans of Rūm had made acquaintance with Islām. Large parts of the population adhered for centuries to a Christian-Islamic mixture of religious convictions, such as appeared in the derwish revolt under Simawna Oghlu Badr al-Dīn (cf. Babiager, in *Isl.*, xl.), and as survived in the beliefs and practices of the Baktāshis and the mixed worship of certain saints by both the Islāmic and the Christian population. Survivals of this mixed creed were also observed among the so-called Crypto-Christians of Trebizond (cf. Hasluck, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xli, 199 sqq.). It was only after the restoration of the Empire in the xvth century that the orthodox Islāmic attitude prevailed in the government of the sultāns, who repeatedly had to take strong measures against the heterodox elements.

During this same period it was of no less importance that the Ottoman Empire came to incorporate more and more territories in Europe exclusively inhabited by Christians. With the exception of eastern Thrace, northern Macedonia, Bosnia and Crete, the new subjects were never Islamized in great numbers; in the Empire they came to form a very considerable minority, which was counterbalanced only by the large Muḥammadan population of the Asiatic territories. So long as the government and the Muḥammadan ruling class were strong, this did not affect the political system. But this ruling class itself, as well as their powerful military instrument, the Janissaries, were recruited in a large measure from the Greek and Slavonic Christian population of the European provinces and often kept up friendly relations with their non-converted kinsmen (one of the many instances is that of Djandaril Khān Pasha under Muḥammad II). Accordingly much consideration was shown to large parts of the Christian population, and the more so as many Christians served on minor posts in the state chanceries, where they performed important administrative duties (Crusius, *Turcogræcia*, p. 14). Besides, many high-placed persons, including the sultāns themselves, had, through their harems, many Christian relations without and within the Empire. So the domestic and foreign policy of the state often brought about measures of toleration, which were not altogether in accordance with the strict demands of Muḥammadan law. An outstanding example is the way in which Constantinople and its Christian inhabitants were treated after the excesses of the first days of the conquest were over. Muḥammad II did all that he could to repopulate his new capital, even with Greeks, when the Muḥammadan element proved insufficient; he even had a new Oecumenical Patriarch chosen not long after the conquest (cf. Fr. Giese, *Die Stellung der christlichen Untertanen im Osmanischen Reich*, in *Isl.*, xli, 1937, p. 264 sqq.). Only afterwards, in the first half of the xvth century, when Muḥammadan fanatics had increased, there was a party which invoking the fact that the town had been taken by force (*anwatan*), claimed the destruction of all

churches that were left to the Christians, and only with great difficulty was evidence constructed to prove that Constantinople was really taken by a capitulation (cf. J. H. Mordtmann, *Die Kapitulation von Konstantinopel im Jahre 1453*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xxi, 1912, p. 129 sqq.). Other signs of fanaticism in the same period are i. a. the intention attributed to Seltm I to convert all Christians to Islām, the wish of Murād III to turn all churches into mosques and the alleged oath of Murād IV to exterminate all Christians. Still, apart from these occasional outbursts, tolerance prevailed. In the capital a Greek Christian aristocracy and plutocracy was permitted to live in the quarter of Phanar; from their midst came influential persons such as Michael Kantakuzenos, the "pillar of the Christians" (Jorga, iii, 211) in the xvth century, and the well-known Phanariote families who later supplied dragomans to the Porte and the princes of the Danube principalities.

The official attitude towards the Christians was complete abstinence from their domestic religious and secular affairs so long as this did not affect the public order. This explains also the tolerance towards the activities of the Roman Catholic missionaries who were sent from the xvth century onwards to convert the eastern Christians. The government took no interest in the different denominations of Christians, while their internal divisions reinforced its authority. R. Gragger in his article *Türkisch-Ungarische Kulturbeziehungen (Literaturdenkmäler aus Ungarns Türkei)*, in *Ungarische Bibliothek*, I, No. 14, Berlin 1927, depicts the tolerant attitude and the sometimes amused interest of the Turkish Pashas in Hungary in the religious disputes between Roman Catholics and Protestants. On the other hand, the serious domestic troubles amongst the Greeks belonging to the much decayed Oecumenical Patriarchate, as the result of which the party of the patriarch Cyrillus Lucaris took, in the first half of the xvth century, a definite anti-Roman Catholic attitude, could not be wholly indifferent to the Porte, because from that time on the only political protector of the Greeks was the Ottoman government. Arbitrary measures, such as occasional executions of the patriarch (for the first time in 1657; v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, 3, iii, 474) and excesses in war time are not sufficient to refute the statement that the attitude of the government was on the whole tolerant.

What, at length, came to influence most deeply this attitude was the interest shown in the lot of the Christians by the governments of the Christian powers with whom the Porte began to enter into peaceful relations. In the first centuries those foreign Christians who were allowed to reside in the seaport towns fell within the category of *musta'min*. Legal conceptions of that time did not distinguish sharply between religious denomination and nationality, both being designated by the word *millet*; therefore a foreigner who embraced Islām was entirely assimilated to the Muḥammadan subjects of the sultān. In course of time *millet* came to be used also for the different "national" denominations of the Christians within the Empire. The first foreign power to be interested in the Christians of Turkey was the Vatican, as was manifested several times by the inevitable participation of the Popes in the preparation of anti-Turkish crusades. The Cardinal Protettore di Levante in Rome exercised, through his vicar, considerable influence

on the Latin Roman Catholic community of Pera, which, since the conquest of Constantinople, had enjoyed, like the other Christian communities, administrative independence. This "religious protection" was not altogether in conformance with the wishes of the Christians themselves (G. Young, *Corps de Droit Ottoman*, Oxford 1905, II, 124), but at those times the Porte followed a policy of non-intervention and did not seize the opportunity of placing these Christian inhabitants of her territory under her more direct control. The same policy made her accept without difficulty the remonstrances of a second, more powerful, protector, the King of France, who already before the conclusion of the treaty of 1535 had begun to act as intermediary between the Catholics in Jerusalem and other places in the Levant and the Porte. This intervention of France — which, in the eyes of Christian Europe, served her as an excuse for her entering into diplomatic relations with the Porte — was tolerated equally in favour of other than French ecclesiastics and missionaries, and of non-French Christian prisoners. Occasionally France's protection was also invoked by other than Roman Catholics; in 1639, the Oecumenical Patriarch himself asked the French King to declare himself protector of the Eastern Church. The French capitulation of 1673 recognized at last the protectorate of the King of France over the Roman Catholic foreign Christians, though a general protectorate over all the Christians in the Empire had been demanded originally; the famous capitulation of 1740 confirmed the dispositions of that of 1673 (cf. G. Pellissier du Rausas, *Le Régime des Capitulations dans l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1911, I, 80 sqq.). A third powerful protector of Christian interests, this time of the Greek Orthodox Christians, arose in the XVIIIth century in the person of the Russian Czar. Shortly after the fall of Constantinople Ivan the Great had begun to regard himself as successor of the Byzantine Emperors and, as the power of Russia increased, the Greek orthodox Christians in the western and eastern parts of the Empire came to look upon the Czar as their natural protector. Especially the Christian institutions in Jerusalem and the much impoverished patriarchate of that town benefited by the Russian religious interest. On the other hand, Russia learnt to use her influence with the Orthodox Christians as a powerful political instrument. The peace treaty of Küçük Kaynardje (1776) recognized at last the right of the Russian diplomatic representatives to interfere in favour of the Christians in the Empire.

With the weakening of the Empire in the XVIIIth century the so-called "religious protection" became a heavy burden on Turkey's inner political conditions. Especially after the disastrous happenings under Mahmd II's reign, it became clear that the old Muhammadan conception of the state, which left the non-Muslims entirely to themselves, or to others, could no longer be maintained. It was one of the chief stimuli to the introduction of the *Tanzimat*. In order to retain as much control as possible over her Christian subjects the Porte now had to apply her governmental activity equally to non-Muslims and Muslims. Accordingly the *Khatt-i Sherif* of Gül-Khane (1839) declared that perfect security was guaranteed to all subjects, Muslims or *resaya*, as to their lives, their honour and their possessions. Still in the following years

no important administrative measures were taken, while on the other hand the intervention of foreign powers in Christian affairs continued and led amongst other incidents to the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1853. An incident of 1843, in the meantime, had made the Porte give a formal assurance to the French and English ambassadors with regard to the non-application of capital punishment to persons who had renounced the Muhammadan creed (Young, *op. cit.*, II, 11 sqq.).

The law of May 10, 1855 is an important landmark in the history of Ottoman policy towards the Christian subjects; this law abolished the capitation tax for non-Muslims and envisaged the possibility of their service in the army (cf. *DIKKA* and the *Bibliography* of this art.). This legislative measure was completed by the *Khatt-i Humayun* of February 18, 1856, which may be regarded as the Magna Charta of the rights of the non-Muslim subjects of the Empire; in this memorable edict the rights and privileges of the different religious denominations and their members were proclaimed with more detail; as to their military service the edict laid down the principle that it could be replaced by the payment of an exemption tax, which, under the name of *bedel*, came to be regularly applied to all non-Muslims. In accordance with the contents of the *Khatt-i Humayun*, the Ottoman legislation now began for the first time to take notice officially of the existence of the great number of Christian communities existing in the Empire. Organic statutes were elaborated for the more important of these communities (called *millet*): in 1860 for the Armenian Gregorian community and in 1862 for the Greek Orthodox community. In 1870 followed the institution, with the cooperation of the Porte, of the Bulgarian Exarchate, while in course of time a host of laws, decrees and regulations were issued, containing more detailed provisions with regard to these and the minor communities: Patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem, Mount Athos, the Serbian Church, the Nestorians, the Latin communities, and the different churches united with Rome (Armenians, Chaldeans, Maronites, Melkites). This highly complicated legislation aimed at making these Christians Ottoman subjects in the full sense of the word, but met with great difficulties created by the existence of an age-old system of autonomy and by the frequent intervention of the foreign powers. The leading principle of the government was to divest the purely religious authorities as much as possible of their power and to reinforce the power of the lay institutions. This policy led to endless troubles in which new regulations continually tried to restore order. In the constitution of Midhat Pasha (1876) Islam was proclaimed as the State religion, but immediately afterwards there follows the declaration that the profession of all recognized religions in the Empire is free and that all privileges granted to the different religious communities shall be maintained (art. 11). Art. 9 guarantees the personal freedom of all Ottoman subjects and art. 17 their complete equality before the law.

All the time during the period of reforms the Turkish government had to reckon with reactionary feelings against the *ghams* in large sections of the Muhammadan population, which in many instances made the application of equal treatment, before the law and elsewhere, illusory. This justified to a certain extent the never ending remonstrances

of the European powers, who lost no opportunity of insisting on new reforms in favour of the Christians. Art. 62 of the treaty of Berlin (July 13, 1878) stipulated again for the equal treatment by the Ottoman government of all non-Muslim subjects, amongst others that every one, without difference of religion, should be admitted as a witness before the law courts.

The effect of the foreign intervention in their favour encouraged on the other hand large sections of the Christian population to disloyal feelings and actions against their legal government. While the latter did what it could do to assimilate the different groups of the population, the factors of dissolution became at the same time ever stronger. Even the peaceful relations that had hitherto characterized on the whole the intercourse between Muhammadans and Christians — especially in the cities — began to make way for religious hatred between group and group, in which the government officials were often unable to observe the required neutral attitude. Amongst many other symptoms the Armenian troubles which began in 1889 in the Armenian wilāyets — where a racial antagonism between Muhammadan Kurds and Christian Armenians had existed for centuries — were the most disastrous. They led to repeated Armenian attempts at revolt and to the notorious massacres in Constantinople of 1897.

By this development the treatment of the Christian subjects ceased to be a religious problem; it became a problem of nationality (*millet* in the new acceptation of the word) and of race, and at the same time one of the vital problems for the Empire. After the revolution of 1908 and the re-establishment of Midhat's constitution, these facts were not yet fully recognized. The Ottomanisation of all subjects of the Empire was seriously attempted; the new representative bodies included a number of Christian members; occasionally there were Christian ministers. Then the world war precipitated the inevitable course of events. This time non-Muslims were for the first time incorporated in the Turkish army, but only for service behind the front. At the same time, the domestic policy of the Young Turks took a pan-Turkish turn, from which religious motives were quite absent. National Turkish feeling prevailed. The measures of deportation of Christian inhabitants from the frontier zones — measures from which the Armenians especially suffered terribly — were inspired by fear of disloyalty towards Turkey, though in their execution remnants of religious fanaticism, notably on the side of the Kurds, certainly played a large part.

The events after the armistice of Mudros have proved that a great part of the Christian population preferred independence or incorporation into a Christian state to remaining with Turkey. And the Turks themselves also were ready to part with their Christian subjects. Under these circumstances were concluded at Lausanne, in 1923, the agreements with Greece for the exchange of the Greek population of the new Turkish state against Turks established on Hellenic territory; only Constantinople and some islands were excluded from this measure. Since by the events of the war the number of Armenians and other Christians in Asiatic Turkey had already been reduced to a very small minority, the result was that the present Turkish republic has only to deal with

a Christian population of no numerical importance, most of whom live in Constantinople. The Lausanne Treaty of 1923 contains in its articles 37–45 only the obligation for Turkey to treat the minorities on an equal basis with the Turkish subjects; it provides for their right to live after a personal legal statute of their own. Finally the treatment of Christians in Turkey has definitely ceased to be a legal problem in the old sense of the word since, by the alteration of the Constitution on April 5, 1928 the state has been completely secularized (cf. *Tarih*, Istanbul 1931, iv. 213) by cancelling the article declaring that the state religion is Islam.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

AL-NASAWI, MUHAMMAD b. AHMAD b. 'ALI b. MUHAMMAD, an Arabic historian, biographer of the last Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn Manguvīrti [q. v.], was born in Kharandis (Vākū, li. 415), an estate in the district of Nasā [q. v.] in Khurāsān where his family was reputed to have been already settled in the pre-Muhammadan period (*Hist.*, ed. Houdas, p. 53). During his father's lifetime he represented him when the vizier Nizām al-Mulk, dismissed from office by Sultān Muhammad, visited the family estates on his journey to Khwārizm and was received by him (*ibid.*, p. 30). He only mentions incidentally that he had stayed in his youth with Inānkhān in Māzandarān before the latter had risen to power. When the Mongols invaded Khurāsān in 1221 he had already succeeded his father in his ancestral citadel, which he saved from sacking by payment of 10,000 ells of cloth. Nizām al-Dīn al-Sam'āni was his guest at this time; he enabled him to escape to Khwārizm before the arrival of the enemy and in gratitude Nizām al-Dīn procured him a rich grant of land from Oslāgh Shāh, son of Muhammad (p. 57 *seq.*). When in Nasā, the capital of his district, Nuṣrat al-Dīn Hamza b. Muhammad, the representative of a local royal family, came to power as successor to his nephew Ikhtiyār al-Dīn (p. 99), he appointed him his *naib* (p. 104) and in this capacity he took part in a battle fought by Inānkhān, as governor of Khurāsān, at Nakhduwān near Nasā against the Mongols; according to the full story of the battle (p. 66), this was the only occasion on which he personally took part in a battle. When after the death of Sultān Muhammad (1220) his eldest son Ghiyāth al-Dīn ascended the throne, Nuṣrat al-Dīn took the side of his younger brother Djalāl al-Dīn, and for this an expedition was sent against him under Tulāk, son of Inānkhān. To save himself he sent Nasawi with 1,000 dinārs to Ghiyāth al-Dīn. After long wanderings and a two months' sojourn in Isfahān, he succeeded in giving the money to Djalāl al-Dīn's minister Sharaf al-Mulk, who then wrote a despatch to Tulāk ordering him to abandon the siege of Nasā; but this arrived too late and Nuṣrat al-Dīn had already been slain (p. 109). Nasawi did not now dare to return home but went to Djalāl al-Dīn when the latter had entered Marāgha. He was appointed by him *Kātib al-Inshā'* (p. 110) and henceforth accompanied his master on all his campaigns. When Diya' al-Mulk 'Alā' al-Dīn to escape the jealousy of the vizier Sharaf al-Mulk had himself appointed governor of Nasā he aroused such discontent there by his misgovernment that he was dismissed. Nasawi was appointed in his stead governor of his native town with the title of vizier but had to stay with Djalāl al-Dīn and sent a deputy to his governorship (p. 149).

When Djālāl al-Dīn in 1230 was surrounded by the Mongols at Hānt and fought his way out once again, Nasawī became separated from him and was kept a prisoner for two months in Āmid but finally made his way to Maiyāfāriqn where he learned of the sad end of his king who had been murdered by a Kurd on Aug. 16, 1231 (p. 245).

Ten years later in 639 (1241), he wrote the history of his sovereign entitled *Sīrat al-Sulṭān Djālāl al-Dīn Munkhshīrti*. He opens with a confused and romantic account of the early history of the Mongols and begins his subject with Muḥammad's campaign to the 'Irāk in 614 (1217). He relies for his facts mainly on the stories of high officials of his hero's court; as a result his interest is mainly in diplomatic documents and administrative measures while military matters, which were his hero's main occupation, are dealt with rather briefly. His model was apparently the *Kitāb al-Yamīni* of al-'Uṭbī which his master Nasrat al-Dīn was said to know by heart (p. 104); but he had not al-'Uṭbī's secure command of Arabic so that his style is fortunately much simpler and and more matter of fact, in spite of all his attempts at rhymed prose and plays upon words. Persian influence on his style, which Houdas claims to notice, is on the other hand nowhere marked.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Fidā', *Tārīkh*, *Stambul* 1287, iv. 129, 154, who calls his work *Tārīkh Zuhūr al-Tatar*; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 1834, i. xvi, 199; Wāstenfeld, *Geschichte-schreiber*, p. 324; *Histoire du Sultan Djālāl al-Dīn Munkhshīrti, prince du Khwarezm par M. de N. Texte arabe publié par O. Houdas*, Paris 1891; transl., *ibid.*, 1895 (*Publ. de l'école des langues or. etc.*, ser. iii., ix., x.); J. Marquart, *Über das Vorkommen der Komnenen*, p. 121 199; W. Barthold, *Turkistan*, p. 38—39.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

NASHĀT MİRZĀ 'ABD AL-WAHHĪD of Isfahān, one of the best Persian poets and stylists of the period of the early Qājār. He was a physician in Shirāz and in his native city, devoting his leisure hours to poetry in which he displayed a great facility. He wrote verse in Arabic, Persian and Turkish and was further celebrated for his great skill in *shakar*. Rumours of his poetical gifts induced the Qājār Fath 'Alī Shāh (1797—1834) to invite him to Teherān as court poet. There Nashāt soon rose to great honour and in 1809 was appointed Munshī al-Mamālīk (secretary of state) with the title of Muṭṭam al-Dawla. In this capacity he carried through several important negotiations for the Shāh, such as the restoration of peace among the nomad tribes of Khurāsān in 1812 and 1818. Besides his own poems, he wrote an introduction to Sa'di's famous *Shāh-nāma* and drew up a whole series of important diplomatic documents. Specially celebrated is the letter written by him to George III in which he expressed regret at the interruption of the friendly relations between England and Persia. He died in 1244 (1828—1829). He collected his poems into a book published in Teherān in 1266 (1850) under the title *Ganāzina-yi Nashāt* (the "Treasury of Joy"). Nashāt's ghazels are all imitations of those of his great predecessors, particularly Hāfi; but are distinguished by elegance and simplicity, smooth rhythm and considerable depth of feeling.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, *G.I.P.*, ii. 313—314; E. G. Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern*

Times, p. 225, 307, 311; E. Berthels, *History of Persian Literature* (in Russian), Leningrad 1928, p. 81—82; text and English transl., with commentary of 100 ghazels (for some reason only nos. 76—175) has been published by Kh. Sh. Dastur, *Divān-i Nashāt*, Bombay 1916.

(E. BERTHELS)

NASHWÂN B. SA'ID B. NASHWÂN AL-HIMYARĪ AL-YAMANĪ, an Arab philologist. The notices of this individual and his career are exceedingly scanty. In Yāqūt's *Irshād* and in Suyūṭī's *Enghya* he is described in laudatory terms in the usual phrases as a great scholar, authority on *ḥikm*, philology and *naḥw*; he was also distinguished as a historian and poet and was equally versed "in the other branches of *adab*". He compiled a dictionary entitled *Shams al-'Ulūm wa-Daw' al-'Arab min al-Kutub* in eight (according to others eighteen) volumes which his son later revised and condensed into two volumes; he also wrote a treatise on rhyme, *Kitāb al-Kawāfi*, and a book of a religious and philosophical nature, *Kitāb Hūr al-'In wa-Tanbīh al-Sāmi'n*. We know neither the year nor the place of his birth, nor with whom he studied nor in what places he lived. Only one story of his life has survived and that sounds improbable. Yāqūt says he was a great chief who besieged cities and fortresses and ruled over a hill-tribe in the Ṣabr range. Al-Suyūṭī takes this story from Yāqūt. According to al-Suyūṭī, he was a follower of the Mu'tasila. He is said to have died on the 24th *Ḥu* 1-Hijjā 573 (1117). The importance of Nashwān lies in the fact that he was particularly well acquainted with the South Arabian tradition. He took up the work of his predecessor al-Hamdānī [q.v.], the task of rescuing from oblivion the legends of the South Arabian kingdoms. He uses these as the basis of his work and gives long quotations from the writings of his predecessor. His famous so-called Himyarite *Qasida*, *al-Qasida al-Himyarīya*, is based on such traditions of the Himyarite rulers; it celebrates their deeds and the splendour of their ancient kingdom. In the commentary on this poem the annotator gives very full notes, in which he narrates legends of South Arabian princes and their history. Von Kremer supposes, relying on internal evidence, that the author of the *Qasida* and the commentator are the same person i.e. that Nashwān himself wrote the commentary on his *Qasida*. The commentator, whose name is not given, must at any rate have been very well acquainted with Himyarite tradition. In the already mentioned dictionary *Shams al-'Ulūm*, Nashwān also uses his knowledge of South Arabian history. Whether all the facts given by him are historical cannot be discussed here; many of them are certainly based on tradition, since Nashwān himself, as his *nishā* shows, was of South Arabian blood. His works played a part in the struggle of the tribes of south Arabian origin against the northern Arabs for predominance in the Muslim world.

Bibliography: *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Nashwān im Shams al-'Ulūm*, ed. 'Aḥmaddīn Ahmad, in *G. M. S.*, Leyden 1916; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 300 19; Hādījī Khalifa, ii. 68; *Die Himyarische Qasida*, ed. A. v. Kremer, Leipzig 1879; do., *Die südarabische Sage*, p. 45; D. H. Müller, in *S. B. W. A.*, lxxxvi. (1897), 171; do., in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxix., 620—628; R. L. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*,

p. 18 sq.; Noldeke, in *G.G.A.*, 1866, N^o. 20; W. F. Prideaux, *The Lay of the Himmariyis*, Lahore 1879; al-Suyûti, *Ḥuḡyat al-Wu'at fi Tabḡāt al-Lughawiyin wa'l-Nuḡāt*, Cairo 1326, p. 403; Yâkût, *Iḡḡād al-Arib*, ed. Margoliouth, in *G.M.S.*, v. 7, 1926, vii. 206.

(LSE LICHTENSTÄUTER)

NASH (A.), intercalary month, intercalation, or man on whose authority an intercalation is undertaken, a word of uncertain meaning in Sūra ix. 37 and in Muḥammad's sermon at the farewell pilgrimage (Ibn Hiṣḥām, p. 968; cf. the article **HADJĪ**). *Nashī*, *nary* and *naṣ* are variants and the word is connected with *nashā'a* to "postpone" or "add" or with *nashī'a* to "forget". In any case, it is given in Muslim tradition a meaning which brings it into connection with the method of reckoning time among the pagan Arabs. The Qur'ānic verse describes *nashī* as "a further expression of unbelief" and it is therefore forbidden to the believers.

For the meaning of the word in the calendar we have the context of the above mentioned passages where sometimes the number of months in the year is put at twelve and sometimes the number of "holy" months at four. Qur'ānic exegesis as a rule connects *nashī* with the "holy" months and explains it sometimes, it is true, as the postponement of the ḥajj from the month fixed by God for it, but sometimes, and preferably, as "transference of the sanctity of one holy month to another, in itself not holy". The expositors are also able to give the reasons for such a postponement in full detail. As a rule however, these are pure inventions in which suggestions and perhaps memories of old traditions are freely expanded. A collection of such expositions in the form of regular ḥadīths is given in Tabart, *Tafsīr*, 2nd ed., x. 91—93.

The critical examination of these explanations reveals however traces of an older conception not quite unknown to Tradition, even in the form in which we have it, according to which *nashī* means either the intercalation of an intercalary month or the month itself. This interpretation of the word is the only one really acceptable in the circumstances. The association of the pre-Islamic ḥajj with annual markets made it necessary to fix the ḥajj in a suitable season of the year. For that purpose a prolongation of the lunar year in some way was necessary and nothing contradicts that older tradition according to which it was obtained by the intercalation of an intercalary month. The lunar month was the only unit of time available for the purpose because it was the only one which the Beduins, the customers at the markets, could observe directly. Thus one had only to let them know at the ḥajj of a year whether they had to reckon to the next ḥajj twelve or thirteen months.

Definite evidence of this intercalation of a month is found in the astronomer Abū Ma'ṣar al-Balkhī (d. 272) in his *Kitāb al-Ulūf* (see *J.A.*, ser. v., vol. xi. [1858], p. 168 sqq.) and following him in al-Bīrūnī who also deals at length with this intercalation in his *Chronology* (ed. Sachau, p. 11 sq., 62 sq.). According to him, the Arabs took this intercalation from the Jews. How much in what these scholars tell us is really historical knowledge and how much intelligent reconstruction can hardly be decided. It is remarkable however

that al-Bīrūnī when dealing fully with the Jewish intercalation (*op. cit.*, p. 52, 17) connects the Hebrew word for intercalary year, *šabbūr*, with *al-shabbārāth* "pregnant woman" and observes: "they compare the addition of a superfluous month to the year to the woman carrying something which does not belong to her body". In this connection we may recall that Tabart (*op. cit.*, p. 91, 8) explains the Arabic *nashī* as *nashī* "pregnant woman" among other interpretations, saying *nashī* *al-al-ma'a*, "on account of the increase which the child in her means". This agreement in the two explanations, which can hardly be accidental, might really indicate that *nashī* in the sense of intercalation or intercalary month is modelled on the Jewish *šabbūr* and thus support al-Bīrūnī's statement which is in itself not impossible. Cassin de Perceval (*J.A.*, ser. iv., vol. i., p. 349) even quotes the Hebrew *nashī* (prince) as a title of honour of the leader of the Sanhedrin, to whom fell the duty of dealing with the intercalation (cf. *Bab. Talmud*, *Sanhedrin*, p. 11: "the intercalation of the year may only be done with the approval of the *nashī*"). According to one of the meanings of the Arabic *nashī* given in Tradition, it was really the "name of a man" (see above), a meaning which is all the more remarkable in this connection, as it does not suit the Qur'ānic passage. There is a definite agreement in the fact that in the Jewish intercalation only the month following Adar was an intercalary month while in the Arab system, as the critical examination of Tradition — contradicting the literal interpretation of its text — shows, only the month following *Ḥaḡḡ al-Hiḡḡ* i.e. the intercalated month in both cases was inserted between the normal last month and the normal first of the year, Nisān or al-Muḥarram.

Nothing certain is known about the process of intercalation among the Arabs. It can only have been periodic and irregular attempts at correction based on observation of nature, particularly vegetation. The technical part must have been exceedingly simple and primitive. The same is true of the Jewish intercalation in the older period (see *Bab. Talmud*, *op. cit.*, p. 106—13). As the Jewish system served to move the feast of Pesah to a suitable season of the year, the Arab system can only have been intended to do the same for the ḥajj and the fairs associated with it in the vicinity of Mecca. It was not intended to establish a fixed calendar to be generally observed. The Beduins had never had one and they have no use for one. According to Tradition, the management of the *nashī* was a prerogative of the Banū Kināna; and indeed fairs were held on the lands of the Kināna.

Bibliography: A. Moberg, *An-nashī in der islamischen Tradition*, where the most important references are given.

(A. Moberg)

NASHĪ (A.), the introductory lines of the Arabic *qasida* (q.v.) which are devoted to recalling the memory of a woman whom the poet loved long years before. The *nashī* is, so far as we know, the only kind of love-poem which has survived to us from the Arabic literature of the pre- and early Muhammadan period and is almost the only place where women are the subject in the poetry of the Arabs. The essential feature is that the subject of the *nashī* is always the lament of a man for a lost beloved. Even in the earliest *qasidas* that have survived the *nashī* is already

in the stereotyped form. It treats its subject again and again in the same way with only the slightest variations. We can distinguish three constantly recurring principal motives:

I. A Beduin on his wandering through the desert passes a spot where there are the traces of a tent-trench which has fallen in, dried camel dung, sooty moses, which once formed a cooking place, and tent-pots. From these things he sees that this spot has been the resting-place of wandering Beduins. After some reflection he recalls that his tribe encamped here long before, jointly with another tribe, during the spring grazing and that he himself spent a happy time with his beloved. The poet usually then gives a description of the deserted camping place, the *afāl*; it can only be traced with difficulty as the wind and the rain which has fallen upon it have obliterated it and made it almost unrecognisable. The rain has produced a rich vegetation and gazelles and antelopes with their young have found shelter there.

II. The poet recalls the day when the two tribes, his own and that of his beloved, struck camp. There had been various signs of the approaching departure. The camels were brought back from the pastures and loaded; the raven, the bird of ill omen, also foretold the separation to the poet. In his mind he again sees the camels with their litters before him and compares them to ships. The women sit in the litters, among them his beloved. They go off and he follows them in spirit.

III. While grief for his lost beloved is keeping the poet awake, she sends him from far away her *ḥajjāl*, a vision of herself. He is surprised that his delicate beloved has been able to travel so far, as she was never a good walker. The vision arouses painful memories in him and he weeps copiously as he recalls the beauty of his beloved.

Each of these three themes may be followed by a full description of the personality and journey of his beloved; she is a distinguished and modest lady, one of the noblest of her tribe; she is frequently married and sometimes even has children. Her husband is held up to ridicule. She is coquettish and likes to torment her lover. Her physical charms are described very fully and the various parts of her body celebrated in fine similes (in the style of the *ṭayf*, cf. the Song of Solomon and the *Alt-ägyptischen Liebeslieder*, ed. W. Max Müller). Her dress, her perfume and her jewellery are described in laudatory terms. The feelings of the lover are then detailed. Grief has made him old and grey; he is ill with longing for his beloved and after all these years his tears still flow at the thought of her.

Like all early Arabic poetry the *nasīb* in matter and structure follows with considerable strictness a definite chain of ideas so that there is a certain uniformity about it. We constantly find the same or similar comparisons; the ideas of the different poets do not differ essentially from one another but only the form and method of expressing them. The traces of the *afāl* look like writing made by the *ḥalam* on parchment. The girl is like a gazelle or an antelope, a simile which continuously recurs with new variations. The tears of the poet run like water from a leaky skin or fall like pearls from a necklace when the string is broken and so on. In consequence of the wealth of the Arabic language in synonyms these similes

have an ever-new charm in spite of the many repetitions. Stereotyped metonymies, such as we find in all branches of Arabic poetry, are also common in the *nasīb*. Thus the beloved, the *afāl*, the showers of rain, and parts of the body etc. are designated by metonymy. The *nasīb* usually begins (in so far as it has survived in its entirety) with formal phrases: *li-man al-diyār* etc.; frequently it ends with *ad-ḍāḥ* "leave this", whereupon the poet turns to the description of the camel.

The *nasīb* had already become fixed in form in the pre-Muhammadan period, and no poet could break away from it. Gradually its contents became more and more colourless; it became more and more stereotyped and stiff. In the old Arab poetry there is already no difference between the *nasīb* of a Beduin and that of a townsman. *Ḥais b. al-Ḥaṭm*, *Ḥassān b. Thābit* and 'Adī b. Zaid describe the beauty of their beloved in the same way as, for example, *Imra' al-Kais*, and lament their separation from her just like a Beduin poet. We must remember however that in the pre-Muhammadan period even a townsman knew Beduin life (of 'Adī b. Zaid we know that he spent a part of the year in the desert; cf. *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, Cairo 1928, II, 105). In later times however, the poets no longer knew the life of the desert from their own experience; the *nasīb* thus became more and more stereotyped. In the end it became a matter of ridicule that every *ḥasida* began with the lament at the *afāl*; a critic of the 'Abbāsid period (cf. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, p. 144) asks whether every man with a command of language who would write a good poem must of necessity be lovesick.

From the *nasīb* we learn of amatory relations of a kind which probably played a considerable part in pre-Islamic Arabia. These were unrestricted relations, not contracted in the forms which were already used in pre-Islamic Arabia at a marriage. They were based on natural inclination and spontaneous devotion and ended with this. As is evident from the *nasīb* such unions were usually concluded in the spring grazing season when different tribes were encamping peacefully side by side. When the end of this fine season of the year came these love affairs also came to an end as a rule. The position and the reputation of the *ḥajjāl* (as the beloved is often called) were not affected by this illegitimate relation; she remained in her tribe and went off with them, while a *ḥajjāl* did not live with her tribe.

As is the case with all Arab poetry, the question what is the oldest *nasīb* and its origin cannot be answered. Arab tradition records that Muḥallil was the first to put a *nasīb* in front of a *ḥajjāl*; this does not mean however that he was the first to compose one. In the *Kitāb al-Aghāni* (Cairo 1928), II, 123 sq.) we find a parallel to the *nasīb*. Al-Na'mān sent to King Anuṣhirwān a girl with an accompanying letter which described her merits of mind and body. In the tales of the *1001 Nights* also, *nasīb*-like poems are inserted but these are all of a comparatively late period. Many parallels may be found in the *Song of Solomon*, and old Egyptian love-poems resemble in spirit and conception and frequently often in phrase the Arabic *nasīb*.

Bibliography: cf. the references in the article *ḤASIDA*; I. Guidi, *Il Nasīb nella Ḥasida Araba*, in *Atti del XIVth Congrès International*

des Orientalistes, iii. 3 sqq.; J. Horowitz, *Poetische Zitate in 1001 Nacht* (Sachau-Festschrift); G. Jacob, *Das Hohe Lied auf Grund arabischer und anderer Parallelen von neuem untersucht*, Berlin 1902; I. Lichtenstädter, *Das Nash der altarabischen Kahlā (Islamica, v. fasc. 1)*; D. S. Margoliouth *The Origins of Arabic Poetry* (J. R. A. S. 1925); W. Max Müller, *Altägyptische Liebeslieder*; W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, London 1907; J. Wellhausen, *Die Ehe bei den Arabern*, Göttingen 1893; (LISE LICHTENSTÄDTER).

NASHIBIN, a town in Mesopotamia. The name is certainly of Semitic origin and to be derived (with Philon Byblicos in Steph. Byz.; Müller, *F. H. G.*, iii. 571, fig. 8) from *Nāshib* = *נָשִׁיב* (*nashib*). The idol of Nashibin is said to have been called Abnīl (Assamoni, *Bibl. Orient.*, i, Rome 1719, p. 27), i.e. "stone of El" (according to W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, London 1927, p. 210, note 1). On coins the usual form of the place-name is *NEZIBI* (Uranios in Steph. Byz.; *Nēzibē*; Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, vi. 42; Nesebis); in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* and elsewhere we find the forms *Nitibi(n)*, *Nitibeni*, *Nizibi* etc. (J. Markwart, *Südarabien u. d. Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, p. 259 sq., note 1). In Armenian the town is usually called *Meibin* (on the form see Markwart, *op. cit.*, p. 166 sq., note 3); Mattēos of Edessa (ed. Watarhapat, 2nd ed., 1898, p. 245 = Dulaurier's transl., p. 206) calls it *Nēpī*, also called *Meibin* or *Nēpīn* (also on p. 62 *Nēpī*). But he also mentions a *Nēpīn*, which is the town of *Sīlār* (p. 187 = p. 158, ch. xcvi. of Dulaurier's translation which (p. 413) wrongly connects these with our Nashibin and Sippara) which lies on the left bank of the Euphrates on the road from Severak or Sevaverak (Arabic Suwaida) to Hīgn Manjūr (Armen. Haršan Mēroy) (Mattēos, p. 157 = 130 Dulaurier; 186 sq. = 157 sq. Dulaurier). This *Nēpīn* corresponds to the "town of Nashibin on the bank of the Frāt, called Nashibin al-Rūm, 3—4 days journey from each of Amīl and Harrān on the road from Harrān to the land of Rūm" (Vāhik, *Futūḥ Dīyar Rabḥ wa-Dīyar Bakr*, transl. by B. G. Niebuhr, in *Schriften der Akademie von Ham.*, vol. i/iii, Hamburg 1847, p. 30, 175 sq.) mentioned along with Suwaida, i.e. Sīverek, as Nashibin al-Saghir, the name of which is marked on the Turkish General Staff's map of 1333 (1917—1918), scale 1:200,000, sheet Sīverak-Kharpūt, 20 miles almost due west of Sīverak and 1½ miles from Kanbara at a bend of the Euphrates. The Syriac authors usually identify Nashibin with the *Sōlḥā* of the Bible and say that Nimrod founded the town (Michael Syr., *Chron.*, transl. Chabot, i. 20; Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 8).

The town lay in the plain below the *Mārosv* *ḥor* [see *ḥor* *ABDIN*] on the river Mygdonios (Theophyl. Simok., ed. de Boor, v. 5, 3: *Mōyḍaw*), the *Hirmā* of the Arabs, *Nehar Māsā* or *Māshl* of the Syrians (Assyr. *Kharmish*?; Nöldeke, in *Z. D.M.G.*, xxxiii. 328), the modern *Djaghdlagh*. The country between Nashibin and the Tigris was called *Beth 'Arabāyē* by the Syrians (Theophyl. Simok., i. 13, 2: *Βεθαβαιε*, iii. 16, 1; v. 1, 2: 3, 2: *Αραβιαι*; G. Hoffmann, *Anzüge aus syr. Akten pres. Mart.*, p. 23, note 170), by the Armenians *Arvastan* (cf. *Arvastan*, in *J. A.*, 1869, p. 168; *Arvastan*-

ḥām: Justi, *Beiträge*, i. 16, 24; Marquart, *Erden-
buch*, p. 162 sq.).

The town is mentioned as early as Assyrian times under the name *Nashibina*, first, so far as we know, about 900 B.C. in the reign of Adad-nirari II (O. Schroeder, *W. F. D. O. G.*, xxxvii, N° 84, i. 41 sq.). In the period between 852 and 715 B.C. it was the capital of a province whose governors were allowed to hold the eponymate (Foerster, *Provinzeinteilung des assyr. Reiches*, p. 32, 106; Schachermeyr, article *Nashibina* in *Reallexikon d. Vorgesch.*, viii, 1927, p. 449). In the last wars of the Assyrians with the Babylonians *Nashibina* is mentioned in 612 B.C. (C. J. Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh*, London 1923, p. 35; Cuneiform tablet, British Museum 21901, reverse, l. 48).

Seleucus I is said to have settled *Nashibis* with Greeks (*C.I.G.*, iv. 6856; Tschirikower, *Philologus*, suppl.-vol. xix., part 1, p. 89 sq.). The Macedonians called the town *Αντιόχεια ἡ ἐν τῇ Μοysiῶνι* (Strabo, xvi. 747). In the reign of Antiochus IV the town struck coins with the legend *Αντιόχεια τῆς ἐν τῇ Μοysiῶνι* (Brit. Mus., *Catal. Seleucid. Kings*, p. 42, N° 86—88; Head, *Historia Numorum*, 2, p. 815). Tigranes of Armenia took the town from the Parthians, who then held it, and put his brother Guras (*Ghor*) in command of it; in the war against him, Lucullus occupied it in 68 B.C. (Plutarch, *Luc.*, p. 32, 4 sqq.). The Armenian historians say that the town was from the middle of the second century A.C. to the beginning of our era the capital of the Arghakuniid kings and later of king Sanatruk (St. Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, i, Paris 1818, p. 161; Marquart in Herzfeld, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxxviii. 659 sq.). About 37 A.D. the Parthian king Artabanus III took it from the Armenians and gave it to king Irates of Adiabene (Joseph., *Ant.*, ix., 3, 2). In the period of the Parthian war of Corbulo (62 A.D.) it was Parthian or Adiabene (Tacit., *Annal.*, xv. 5). The emperor Trajan took *Nishis* again and Hadrian restored it to the Parthians (Dio Cass., lxxviii. 23). In the Parthian war of Lucius Verus, it again suffered a siege by the Romans, as a result of which a pestilence broke out in it (Lucian, *De concordi. hist.*, p. 15). The Parthians fled across the Tigris and the town then doubtless repassed into the hands of the Romans. After the victory of Septimius Severus over Pescennius Niger, the princes of Osroene and Adiabene asked that the emperor should withdraw the Roman troops from *Nishis* in return for an acknowledgment of his suzerainty (Dio Cass., lxxv. 1, 2 sqq.). The emperor then went to *Nishis* in 195 A.D. and made it the capital of a new province; it was now given the name of *Septimia Nesibi Colonia Metropolis* (Dio Cassius, lxxv. 3, 2; Hill, *Catal. of Greek Coins, Brit. Mus., Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia*, London 1922, p. cviii sq. and 119—124; MacDonald, *Catal. of the Hunterian Collection*, iii. 315, pl. lxxix.). After the emperor's departure the governor Laetus defended the town against the attacks of the Parthians. After the assassination of Caracalla in 217 A.D. the Parthians again besieged the town but then made peace with Macrinus. The first Sassanian *Ardaysh* at once besieged *Nishis* (Zonar., xii. 13; Geogr. Synkel., p. 674). It was taken by the Persians in the reign of Maximinus but in 242 regained by Gordian III's son-in-law Timesitheus; Philip the Arabian, under whom it was given the name of *Julia Septimia Colonia Nishis Metropolis*, soon withdrew however from the whole

of Mesopotamia. Odenathus of Palmyra in 261 again took Nisibis from the Persians and destroyed it (*Histor. Aug.*, Trebellianus Pollio, *Triginta tyranni*, p. 13, 3). Diocletian made the town, which had become Roman again at the peace of 297 A.D. (Marquart, *Erzählung*, p. 169), the sole centre of trade between Persia and the Roman empire (Petr. Patric., fig. 14, in *F.H.G.*, iv, 189; *Cod. Just.*, iv, 65, 6; *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, p. 22 in Riese, *Geogr. lat. min.*, p. 108) and one of the principal fortresses on the Mesopotamian *limes* (on the *limes* see Poidebard, *Syria*, xi, 1930, p. 33–42). In the Persian wars of Constantius, Nisibis, *Orientalis fronsimum claustrum* (Ammian. Marcell., xxv, 8, 14), was thrice besieged (338, 346 and 350 A.D.) (Peeters, *Anal. Bell.*, xxxviii, 1920, p. 285–373). During the first siege died the monk Jacob of Nisibis, the teacher of Ephraim, who had built the great church in his native town in 313 A.D.; perhaps he is to be regarded as the founder of the "Persian school" of Nisibis, which Ephraim transferred from there to Edessa in 363 as a result of the persecutions by Shapur II (on it see I. Guidi, *Gli statuti della scuola di Nisibis*, in *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, ix, 1890, p. 163–195; J.-B. Chabot, *L'école de Nisibis*, in *J.A.*, ser. ix, viii, 1896, p. 43–93; Baumstark, *Geich. d. syr. Literatur*, Bonn 1922, p. 113 sq.; Th. Hermann, *Die Schule von Nisibis vom 3.—7. Jahrh.*, in *Zeitschr. f. neutestam. Wiss.*, 1926, p. 89 sq.).

In the war of 359 Shapur II at first passed by Nisibis on his way to Tels and Amida, while the Roman army was stationed at Nisibis (Ammian. Marc., xx, 7, 1–3). After the death of Julian, Jovian had to cede among other things the great fortress of Nisibis by the peace of 363 (Ammian. Marc., xxv, 7, 91). The inhabitants were allowed to migrate to Amida (Ammian. Marc., xxv, 8, 1–9, 6; Zosim., iii, 33 sq.; Ps-Dioscorus of Tellmahré, *Chron.*, under the year 674; Syr. Vita of Ephraim, ed. Lamy, p. 24 sq.; Faustus Byz., Venice 1832, p. 26; Nau, in *R.O.C.*, ii, 1897, p. 58). They were perhaps sent on from here and settled in the above mentioned "Little Nisibis". From this time the fortress on the *limes* was Sargathion, 70 *stadia* west of Nisibis, the modern Serdije-Khan (Hönigsmann, *Syria*, x, 1929, p. 283 sq.). The Romans made frequent attacks on the lost town but always without success, for example in 421–422 A.D. after their victory at Sargathion (Socrat., *Hist. Eccl.*, vii, 18), in 503 under their general Atsobindos (Joa. Styl., ch. 54, p. 44, ed. Wright; Mich. Syr., transl. Chabot, ii, 159), in 526–527 under the Dux and Strategos Timostratos (Zach. Rhet., ix, 1, p. 256) and in 572 under Patricius Marcianus (John of Ephesus, iii, 6, 2). In the sixth century the inhabitants were still inclined to be friendly to the Romans (Ps-Zach. Rhet., vii, 5, p. 211, ed. Land). After the Nestorian academy of Edessa had been transferred to Nisibis in 489 by the Metropolitan Barsawmā as a result of the persecutions of the Nestorians in the Byzantine empire, the town remained for centuries the intellectual centre of Nestorianism (cf. also Mas'udi, *Kitaḥ al-Tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, p. 150). In the reign of Khusrav II the Church of St. Sergius in Nisibis was built (Theophyl. Simok., v, 1, 7). Sergius Strategos was held in particular veneration by the nomad tribes of this region (Nöldeke's *Tahart*, p. 284, note 1; Peeters, in

Harvardian, Vienna 1911, p. 187; Herrfeld-Sarre, *Archäol. Reus im Euphrat u. Tigrisgebiet*, i, 1911, p. 138, note 2).

In the year 18 (639) Isād b. Ghannam advanced against Nisibis which after a brief resistance submitted to the Arabs on the same terms as had been granted to al-Ruhā' (Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, iv, 35, 37, 55, 57, year 18 A.H., § 83, 87, 127, 129; according to al-Baladhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 175 sq. and al-Khwarizmi, ed. Baethgen, in *Abd. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.*, viii/iii, 110 sq. not till the following year; cf. Caetani, *op. cit.*, p. 165, 19 A.H., § 42, 43). In the reign of 'Abd al-Malik in 684 A.D. Buraida rebelled in Nisibis (Mich. Syr., ii, 469; Barhebr., *Chron. Syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 111; Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, i, 755, 65 A.H., § 15). An earthquake devastated the town in 717 (al-Khwarizmi, *op. cit.*, p. 122, year 99 A.H.). The Metropolitan Cyprianus in 758–759 completed the choir of the Church (4672) and the altar of the Cathedral of Nisibis (al-Khwarizmi, *op. cit.*, p. 128, year 141 A.H.). In the period of troubles in Mesopotamia the people of Umrā, Nisibis and Amid used to go out on plundering expeditions (Mich. Syr., iii, 103; Barhebraeus, *Chr. syr.*, p. 153). A band of Karmatians in 315 (927–928) attacked Kafartūlā, Rks al-'Ain and Nisibis (al-Mas'udi, *Kitaḥ al-Tanbih*, p. 384).

Saif al-Dawla began his campaign against Armenia in 328 (940) from Nisibis (Freytag, in *Z.D.M.G.*, x, 467). Byzantines in 331 (942) under John Korkmas invaded Mesopotamia and took Maiysfirikto, Arzan and Nisibis (Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, p. 179; Weil, *Geich. der Chal.*, ii, 690). Nisibis by this time probably belonged to the Ḥamdānīd Naṣir al-Dawla (cf. Barhebraeus, p. 183 under the year 347 [958]; *Z.D.M.G.*, x, 482). After his death in 358 (968–969) his son Abū 'l-Muṣaffar Ḥamdān was for a short time governor of Nisibis (*Z.D.M.G.*, x, 485). The Byzantines again attacked the town under the Domesticus (the Armenian Mēh) on the 1st Muharram 362 (Oct. 12, 972) and instituted a dreadful massacre in it (Barhebraeus, p. 192; *Z.D.M.G.*, x, 486; Weil, iii, 19 sq.; Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Antākī, ed. Krackovskiy-Vasiliev, p. 145 = *Patrol. Orient.*, xxiii, Paris 1932, p. 353 wrongly makes the Emperor John Tzimiskes himself conduct the campaign; cf. against this: I. N. Anastasievich, in *Rys. Zeitschr.*, xxx, 1929–1930, p. 403 sq.).

Toghrulbeg's army in 435 (1043) laid waste the country round Nisibis (Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, p. 226). Salḡān Ghilyāth al-Dīn in 1106 sent Abū Manṣūr al-Djāwālī, lord of al-Mawālī, to Nisibis against the Franks (Mich. Syr., iii, 193). Soon afterwards the Ortokid Ilghazi Naḡm al-Dīn took the town (Mich. Syr., *op. cit.*; Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, p. 273) and after the Sulṭān had granted it to the emir Mawḥūd b. Altantekin (Mich. Syr., iii, 215) Ilghazi took it again in 513 (1119–1120) (*ibid.*, p. 217). But it changed hands again very soon, when in 515 (1121–1122) Sulṭān Maḥmūd gave it to the emir Burakī along with al-Mawālī, Djāstrat b. 'Omar and Sindjār (Barhebraeus, p. 283). The Franks in 523 (1128–1129) advanced as far as Amid, Nisibis and Ra's al-'Ain (Barhebraeus, p. 289). In 1134, Zangī put down a rising in Nisibis (Mich. Syr., iii, 242). Bābek, installed there as governor by Zangī himself, destroyed all the fortresses in the neighbourhood so that Zangī might have no base against him (Mich. Syr., iii, 264). Nūr al-Dīn of

Halab in 1171 took the town without opposition and dealt rigorously with the Nestorian Christians there. All their new buildings were destroyed the treasures plundered and about 1,000 volumes of their writings burned (Mich. Syr., iii. 339 sq.). After his death, his nephew Saif al-Dīn of al-Mawṣil seized the town (Mich. Syr., iii. 360). It surrendered to Salāḥ al-Dīn in 1182 (Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, p. 360). In the following year the latter gave to Imād al-Dīn Sindjār, Naṣībīn and other towns in exchange for Halab (Barhebraeus, p. 362) and he ruled there till his death in 594 (1198) (Barhebraeus, p. 398, 402). In the region of Naṣībīn there was fierce fighting in 582 (1186—1187) between Kurds and Turkomans (Barhebraeus, p. 370). Imād al-Dīn was succeeded in 1198 by his son Kuṭb al-Dīn but Nūr al-Dīn Arslānshāh of Mawṣil immediately took the town from him. But when a severe epidemic wrought great havoc in his army, he abandoned it and Kuṭb al-Dīn returned thither (Barhebraeus, p. 402). Nūr al-Dīn in 600 (1203—1204) had to break off a second siege of Naṣībīn prematurely (Barhebraeus, p. 416 sq.). Malik al-Adīl took the town in 606 (1209—1210) from Kuṭb al-Dīn (Barhebraeus, p. 424). After his death (615 = 1218—1289) it passed to Malik al-Ashraf of Ḥarfā (Barhebraeus, p. 424, 439).

The Arab geographers placed Naṣībīn in the fourth climate, the southern boundary of which ran about 12 farsakh south of the town on the direction of Sindjār (al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitaḥ al-Tanbih*, p. 32 sq., 35, 44). According to Yāqūt, it lay on the upper course of the Hirmās in the midst of numerous gardens. Ibn Hawqāl, who in 358 (968—969) visited the town which lay at the foot of Djabal Bāḥmā, speaks of the pleasant life in it, apart from the dangerous scorpions found there. Al-Maḥdī describes the fine houses and baths, the market, the Friday mosque and the citadel. Ibn Dībair also visited it in 580 (1184—1185) and mentions its gardens, the bridge over the Hirmās inside the town, the hospital (*mārisān*), several schools and other places of interest. In the viiith (xvth) century it was already for the most part in ruins; but the Friday mosque was still in existence and the gardens around it from which rose-water was exported (Ibn Bāḥmā). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, according to whom the walls had a circumference of 6,500 paces, praises its fruits and wine but laments the unhealthy moistness of the climate, the large number of scorpions and the plague of midges.

Hilālī in 657 (1259) occupied al-Ruḥā, Naṣībīn and Ḥarrān (Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, iv. 10). The Mongol Khān Mangū Timūr (q.v.) died, poisoned in Ḥarrān b. 'Omar, on his way from there to Naṣībīn on the 16th Muḥarram 681 (April 26, 1282; Barhebraeus, p. 546 sq.). When Timūr Khān in 1395 was on his way to Tūr 'Abdīn, the people of Naṣībīn and Ma'arra hid in caves from the Mongols but were suffocated in them with smoke (App. to Barhebraeus, *Chronography*, ed. Wallis Budge, ii. p. xxxiv.). The Ḥasanāyē Kurds in 1403 pillaged Naṣībīn and the country around (*ibid.*, p. xxxvi.).

The town passed into the hands of the Ottomans in 1515 (v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. Pest 1828, p. 449 sq.). It became the capital of a sanjak in the pashalik of Amid (Ḥadīdī Khāḥā, *Dihān-namā*, Stambul 1732, p. 438). Later it was placed in the sanjak of Mardin in the pashalik of Baghdad (St. Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, i., Paris

1818, p. 161 sq.). To its position on the southern border of the highlands and on the road from al-Mawṣil to Syria it owes its great strategic and commercial importance. The building of the Baghdad railway has brought it new life; it is said now to have about 50,000 inhabitants.

Bibliography: al-Khwarizmi, *Kitaḥ Shurat al-Ard*, ed. v. Miik, in *Bibl. arab. Histor. u. Geogr.*, iii., Leipzig 1926, p. 21 (N^o. 208); Suhrah, *Adf'at al-Aḥdām al-ṣafā*, ed. v. Miik, *ibid.*, v. 29 (N^o. 260; read *Madinat Naṣībīn*); al-Battānī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, ii. 175 (N^o. 158); iii. 238; al-Iṣṭakhrī, *B. G. A.*, i. 72—78; Ibn Hawqāl, *B. G. A.*, ii. 139—143, 149; al-Maḥdī, *B. G. A.*, iii. 54, 90, 137, 140, 145 sq., 149, 159, 390; Ibn al-Fakīh, *B. G. A.*, v. 132 sq., 227, 233; Ibn Khurdādhbih, *B. G. A.*, vi. 95 sq., 116, 172; Kudāma, *B. G. A.*, vi. 214 sq., 227, 245; Ibn Rusta, *B. G. A.*, vii. 97, 106; al-Yā'qūbī, *B. G. A.*, vii. 362; al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitaḥ al-Tanbih*, *B. G. A.*, viii. 32 sq., 35, 44, 150, 384; Yāqūt, *Muḥammad*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 559; iv. 787; Ibn Dībair, ed. Wright, p. 240; Ibn Bāḥmā, ed. Desfréry and Sanguinetti, ii. 140; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Bombay* 1311, p. 167; al-Balādhuri, *Furūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 175 sq., 178; Ibn al-Aṭhār, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, index, ii. 818; al-Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, indices, v.; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905 (1930), p. 87, 94, 99, 97, 124 sq.; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten persischer Märsche*, Leipzig 1880, index, p. 316, under *Nāṣībīn*; J. S. Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, London 1827, i. 442—446; E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, p. 392; M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, ii., Berlin 1900, p. 29—36; V. Chapot, *La Frontière de l'Euphrate de Pompée à la conquête arabe*, Paris 1907, p. 317 sq.; C. Preusser, *Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler [XVII. wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orientalischen Gesellschaft]*, Leipzig 1911, p. 39—43; Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, ii., Berlin 1920, p. 336—346, Plate cxxxviii. sq. and fig. 314—316; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, p. 482, 490—493, 496—499, 522 sq. (E. HONIGMANN)

NĀSĪF AL-YĀZIDĪ. [See AL-YĀZIDĪ.]

NĀSIKH. [See NĀSIKH.]

DAYA SHANKAR KĀUL NĀSĪM (1811—1843) was a Kāshmirī paṇḍit who studied poetics under Aṭīsh. His fame rests entirely on one poem, a romance called *Gulzar-i Nāsim*, composed when he was 22. It greatly resembles Mir Ḥasan's *Sifr al-Bayān*, and is generally awarded the second place among Urdū poetic romances. Nāsim also translated the Arabian Nights into Urdū. Nāsim is among the great Urdū mathnawī (mathnawī in the sense of poetic romance) writers, and is one of the very few Urdū authors who were Hindūs.

Bibliography: T. Grahame Bailey, *History of Urdu Literature*, 1932; Ram Babu Saksena, *History of Urdu Literature*, 1927; Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la littérature hindoue et hindoustani*, 1870. (G. E. LEESON)

AL-NĀSĪR LI-DĪN ALLĀH, ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AHMAD b. AL-MUSTAḌĪ BI-AMR ALLĀH, the 34th 'Abbasid caliph (575—622 = 1180—1225), was

the son of a Turkish slave-girl named Zumurrud.

He was the only caliph of the later period of the caliphate who was able to pursue a consistent policy. This was entirely directed towards restoring the temporal power of the caliphate. The caliph was assisted by the fact that the Saljuq empire which had previously held the secular power had begun to collapse. In the confusion which brought about its final downfall, the caliph did all he could to hasten its end and did not hesitate to support the Khwārizmshāh Takash as the strongest rival of the dying Saljuq empire in his fight against the last Saljuq Sultan Tughril II. This struggle finally ended in the defeat of the Saljuqs at Ray where Tughril died fighting (Rabī' I, 590 = March 1194).

As a result of the diversity of the political aims of the two allies a quarrel broke out between the caliph and the Khwārizmshāh as soon as negotiations for the partition of the Saljuq territory were begun. The caliph wished to seize the opportunity to extend his personal estates by incorporating the Persian provinces while the Khwārizmshāh in the exercise of the temporal power wished to succeed to the whole inheritance of the Saljuqs. While Takash was involved in war in the east, Ibn al-Kamāb, the caliph's vizier, was able to conquer Khūzistān and other Persian provinces (beg. of 591 = 1195). His troops were however completely routed by Takash on his return (Shabān 592 = July 1196) so that the caliph had to abandon his conquests. Only Khūzistān was left to him.

In the years following, the caliph had a hand in the intrigues of local rulers in Persian 'Irāk, usually against the Khwārizmshāh (from 596 = 1200 'Alā' al-Dīn Muhammad). The disputes with the latter culminated in 613 (1216) when the caliph had a supporter of the Khwārizmshāh, Oghalmish, vizier of the governor of Persian 'Irāk, assassinated by Ismā'ili envoys. The Khwārizmshāh now began to prepare for the decisive struggle against the caliph; he prepared for war and in 614 (1217) invaded Persian 'Irāk. Here, in order to destroy the caliph as a political force also, he had his 'ulama' in a *fatwa* declare the caliph al-Nāsir unworthy of the caliphate and appointed an 'Alid named 'Alī' al-Mulk from Tirmidh as imam. The caliph in vain attempted through negotiations to persuade the Khwārizmshāh to retreat. Instead he advanced on Baghdad from Hamadān. But he was unable to deal his blow at the caliph owing to an unexpected circumstance; for in consequence of the early coming of a severe winter, which destroyed his army, the Khwārizmshāh was forced to abandon his march and return home with the intention of advancing on Baghdad next year.

In order to meet the danger threatening him, the caliph however in the meanwhile began negotiations with the Mongol Cingis Khān in order to persuade him to attack the Khwārizmshāh. In 616 (1219) the latter was attacked and decisively defeated by Cingis Khān before he could resume his intended campaign against Baghdad. He died while fleeing from the Mongols on an island in the Caspian Sea (617 = 1220).

The caliph had thus achieved his immediate aim and rid himself of his most dangerous opponent for the moment. But the Mongols were approaching perilously near him, especially after the conquest of Marāgha (618 = 1221) had established them

in Adharbāidjān. At first however, there were only minor complications with the Mongols.

On the other hand, after the temporary withdrawal of the Mongols, the young Khwārizmshāh Djālāl al-Dīn Mangubartī, Muhammad's son and successor, attacked al-Nāsir and took Khūzistān from him.

As al-Nāsir had concentrated his whole attention on the east where he was fighting to strengthen and increase his private domains, he took no interest in the west where Saladin was waging his great struggle with the Crusaders and gave Saladin very insufficient help in spite of several appeals from him.

Al-Nāsir's policy seems also to have aimed at the restoration of the internal unity of Islām in addition to restoring the temporal power of the caliphate. He himself had a leaning to the Shi'a of the Imāmi sect (Twelver-Shi'a) and invited Alids to his court; he seems to have wished to reconcile in his person the claims of 'Abbāsids and 'Alids. He also established an agreement with the extreme Ismā'ili sect of the Assassins. In 608 (1211-1212) the Grand Master of the Assassins, Hasan III, abandoned his claims to the imamate and paid homage to the 'Abbāsid caliph.

Al-Nāsir's efforts to centralise round his person the order of chivalry known as the *futuwwa* in a reorganised form are also perhaps connected with his political plans; in 578 (1182-1183) he had himself been admitted by the Shaikh 'Abd al-Djabbār b. Salih into the *futuwwa* order. He then only allowed those of the organisations of the order to remain in existence which acknowledged his personal control. By admission into the order he was then able to establish connections with the princes of the Muslim world, who now regarded him as the head of their order (the chroniclers tell of this in the year 607 = 1210). Ibn al-Furāt gives us a description of the robing of a prince as an external sign of his admission into the order in the presence of the caliph's envoy (the story is reproduced in v. Hammer, in *J. A.*, 3rd ser., vi., 1853, p. 285 sq.). The strict regulations introduced by the caliph into the *futuwwa* order are well illustrated in the edict of 9th Šafar 604 (Sept. 4, 1207), published by P. Kahle in the *Oppenheim-Festschrift*, which the caliph had issued on the occasion of the murder of a member of the order.

Al-Nāsir died on the last night of Ramaḍān 622 (Oct. 6, 1225) at the age of about 70. Ibn al-Athīr describes him as tyrannical towards his subjects and inconsistent in his measures; his fondness for the *futuwwa* and its sporting activities (cross-bow shooting, training carrier pigeons) seems to him a strange caprice. Ibn al-Jikāḩ judges him more favourably; he describes him as unceasingly engaged in the duties of a ruler and lays stress on his rich endowments, although he also mentions his fondness for money. When a mediæval Muslim ruler is reproached with covetousness it usually only means that he was endeavouring to carry through a sound and cautious financial policy. Al-Nāsir is further reproached with having allied himself with the Mongols and thus being the cause of the great disaster which the Mongol hordes later inflicted on the lands of Islām.

Among buildings known from inscriptions to have been built by al-Nāsir are the Talisman Gate in Baghdad (618 = 1221-1222; blown up in March 1917 on the retreat of the Turks from Baghdad) and

the sanctuary of the Mahdi (Ghaibat al-Mahdi) in Samarra. Both are interesting and suggestive for his political aims, the latter as a distinctly Shi'a sanctuary for his Shi'a tendencies and the Talmisan Gate for the remarkable pictorial representation once visible upon it; the caliph seated between two dragons, the jaws of which he is tearing apart and grasping their tongues. According to M. van Berchem's brilliant interpretation, we have here the caliph represented as victorious over two enemies, who had disputed his spiritual power: the Grand Master of the Assassins Hasan III as for a time the representative of the most radical opposition to the orthodox 'Abbasid Caliphate, who had finally paid homage to the caliph in 608 and died in 618; the other, the Khawāsimshāh who had dared in 614 to set up an anti-caliph but was overcome in 617 and died a fugitive. In this connection the inscription also is interesting; in it the caliph uses the expression *al-dā'ira al-hādīya*, which is a name the Assassins gave themselves (cf. M. van Berchem, in *J. A.*, ser. 9, vol. ix., 1897, p. 456 and 462), for his own caliphate.

Bibliography: The chronicles of Ibn al-Athir, xii.; Abū 'l-Fida', iii.; Ibn al-Tiqqaq, *al-Fuḡhā*; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Iḥṣān*, iii.; *Tabaḥṭṭi Nāḥi*, English transl. by Raverty (s. Indices); G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii. 364 sqq.; W. Mair, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall*, ed. Weir; Sarre-Hersfeld, *Archäologische Reisen im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, i. 34 sqq.; ii. 146 sqq., 171; Taeschner, in *Islamica*, v. (1932), 289 sqq., esp. 294 sq., and in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxxvii. (1933), 32 sqq.; Barthold, *Turkistan* (G.M.S.), 373-375, 400. (F. TAESCHNER)

AL-NĀSIR IBN 'ALIENĀS (the last name is also written 'Alnas, 'Annās and even Ghinnās by Ibn 'Idhar), fifth ruler of the Hammādid dynasty, succeeded his cousin Balukkin b. Muḥammad in 454 (1062). His reign marks the apogee of the little Berber kingdom founded by Hammād [q.v.]. The ephemeral rise of the Hammādid was the immediate result of the downfall of their relations and neighbours, the Zirids of Ifrīqiya, the first victims of the Hīlāl invasion. On his accession, al-Nāsir, who lived in the Kal'at Banī Hammād, was already ruler of a little kingdom, the chief towns of which were Ashīr [q.v.], Millana, Algiers, Hamma (Beira), Ngous and Constantine. Shortly afterwards, he regained Biskra whose governor had rebelled against Balukkin; but his chief hope of extending his territory lay in the decline of the kingdom of Kaṭrawān.

The abandonment of the old capital by the Zirid al-Mu'izz and his flight to al-Mahdiyya (1057) had left Ifrīqiya a prey to anarchy. The country districts were in the hands of the Arabs and the towns had chosen their own rulers; on all sides governors were in rebellion; leaders of the tribes imposed their authority on the threatened citizens; some towns turned to the Hammādid who were able to protect them. The people of Kaṭīliya [q.v.] for example sent a deputation to al-Nāsir to convey him their homage; the people of Tunis did the same. At their request the Hammādid sent them as governor 'Abd al-Hakk of the Sanhādja family of the Banū Khurāṣān. The latter worked wonders; he negotiated agreements with the marauding Arabs which secured the safety of the city. Later, after casting off Hammādid suzerainty, he made Tunis the capital of a kingdom.

If the arrival of the invading nomads had meant an immediate accession of strength to al-Nāsir and an increase of population and economic activity to his capital, they were not without danger as neighbours. The Arabs soon involved him in a dangerous adventure. In 457 (1064) the Aḥbadj, one of their tribes, asked him to help them against their enemies, their brethren the Riyāh, who had joined the Zirid ruler Tamīm [q.v.]. Al-Nāsir agreed, seeing an opportunity to invade and perhaps annex Ifrīqiya. He put himself at the head of a large army which included Arabs, Sanhādja, and even Zenāta, led by the king of Fās, al-Mu'izz b. 'Atīya. The Riyāh in their turn received subsidies and arms from al-Mahdiyya. The armies met at Sbiha, near the ancient Sufes. From the first the Zenāta of Fās, won over by the enemy, gave way, which resulted in the rout of al-Nāsir. With great difficulty he reached Constantine with 200 men, then the Kal'a the outskirts of which were systematically sacked by the Arabs.

After this disaster al-Nāsir tried to make terms with the prince of al-Mahdiyya; the negotiations failed, perhaps through the fault of the ambassador, and al-Nāsir incited again by the Aḥbadj, resumed hostilities against the unfortunate Zirid kingdom. He entered Larbus and Kaṭrawān (460 = 1067) but these successes led to nothing; he had to abandon them again as he could not hold his conquests. These adventures, into which he was dragged by the Arabs and which brought him no lasting advantage, lasted for some ten years. In 470 (1077) al-Nāsir made peace with the Zirid Tamīm and gave him his daughter in marriage.

The Arab scourge which had ruined the kingdom of Ifrīqiya began now to threaten seriously the Hammādid kingdom. The Zenāta, hereditary enemies of the Sanhādja lords of the Kal'a, found among the immigrant nomads allies always ready to resume the conflict. In 468 (1075), the Zenāta chief Ibn Khazrān, supported by the Arab Banū 'Adī of Tripolitania seized Milla and Ashīr. Al-Nāsir succeeded in driving him back to the desert where, drawing him into a trap, he had him murdered. He sent his son al-Manṣūr against the Zenāta Banū Taḡfin, who had joined the Banū 'Adī and were laying waste the country districts of the Central Maghrib. The rebels were caught and tortured.

The Aḥbadj Arabs themselves, of whom al-Nāsir had hoped to make valuable auxiliaries, proved most undesirable neighbours. Although he seems to have put down — not without cruelty — the majority of the revolts, life in his ancestral capital became more and more difficult from year to year. This decided him to select another. Occupying the lands of the Būḡjāya Berbers, he founded there, on the site of the ancient port of Saldā, a town which was first called al-Nāsirīya and later became known as Bougie. There he built the splendid Palace of the Pearl (Kaṣr al-Lu'lu'). "Having peopled his new capital he exempted the inhabitants from the *gharāḍī* and in 461 (1068) he settled there himself" (Ibn Khaldūn). The exodus of the Hammādid royal family to the coast was caused by the same event as had led the Zirids of Kaṭrawān to move to al-Mahdiyya: the settlement of the nomad Arabs in Barbary and the insecurity which resulted in the interior. This exodus was only completed under al-Nāsir's successor, his son al-

Manṣūr [q. v.]. The latter assumed power at his father's death in 481 (1088).

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i. 224–226, transl. ii. 47–51; Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, ed. Dory, i. 308–309, transl. Fagnan, i. 445–447; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, i. 29–33, 34–35, 39, 73, 110; transl. Fagnan (*Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*), p. 471–479, 488; Ibn Abī Dīnār (Histoires de l'Afrique de Mohammed... al-Fairuzī), transl. Peissier and Renaud, p. 145, 146; *Kitāb al-Istiqṣār*, transl. Fagnan (*Recueil des notices et mémoires de la Soc. de Constantine*), 1899, p. 32–34; E. Mercier, *Histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ii. 25–26, 35–37, 53; G. Matignon, *Les Arabes en Berbérie*, p. 120, 131, 136–140, 143.

(GEORGES MARCAN)

AL-NĀSIR, the name of two Ayyūbids.

I. AL-MALIK AL-NĀSIR ṢALḪ AL-DĪN DĀWUD B. AL-MALIK AL-MU'AZZAM, born in Dīmuḍd 1603 (Dec. 1205) in Damascus. After the death of his father at the end of Dhu 'l-Ka'da 624 (Nov. 1227) Dāwud succeeded him on the throne of Damascus and the Mamlūk 'Izz al-Dīn Aibak acted as regent. Dāwud's uncles however, covetous of territory, did not leave him long in peace. Al-Malik al-Kāmil [q. v.] first of all claimed the fortress of al-Shawbak [q. v.] and when it was refused him he occupied Jerusalem, Nābulus and other places (625 = 1228). In this perilous position, Dāwud appealed to another uncle al-Malik al-Ashraf, who administered the Ayyūbid possessions in Mesopotamia. The latter came to Damascus but then took al-Kāmil's side and arranged with him a formal division of the whole kingdom. By the arrangement between the two brothers al-Ashraf was to receive Damascus and Dāwud Ḥarrān, al-Raqqa and Hims, while al-Kāmil took southern Syria with Palestine, and Ḥamāt was left to Dāwud's brother al-Malik al-Muṣaffar. But when Dāwud would not consent to this, al-Ashraf began to besiege Damascus. After al-Kāmil had concluded peace with the Emperor Frederick II he joined al-Ashraf and after a three months' siege, forced his nephew to yield (Sha'bān 626 = June–July 1229) whereupon al-Ashraf was recognised as lord of Damascus under al-Kāmil's suzerainty while Dāwud had to be content with al-Kerak [q. v.], al-Shawbak and several other places. In spite of this unfriendly treatment, Dāwud remained loyal to al-Kāmil when the other Ayyūbids [q. v.] combined against him, and entered his service in Egypt. Soon after al-Kāmil accompanied by Dāwud had taken Damascus, he died in Rajab 635 (March 1238) and Dāwud whom al-Kāmil had appointed governor of Damascus had to return to al-Kerak. In Egypt al-Kāmil's son al-Malik al-'Adil was recognised as his successor and appointed his cousin al-Malik al-Djāwūd Yūsuf governor of Damascus. When Dāwud tried to assert his claims to Damascus he was defeated at Nābulus. In the following year Yūsuf, who did not feel secure against Sulṭān al-'Adil, exchanged Damascus with his cousin al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Aiyūb for Sīdīyā, al-Raqqa and 'Ana. This pleased neither al-'Adil nor Dāwud so they joined forces for an attack on Aiyūb. The events that followed have already been fully related in the article AL-MALIK AL-ṢĀLIḤ NADIM AL-DĪN AİYÜB so that the reader may be referred to it. After Dāwud had lost all his possessions except al-Kerak he appointed his youngest

son al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Izz as his deputy and fled to Ḥalab (647 = 1249–1250) where he was kindly received by al-Malik al-Nāsir Yūsuf (see below). His private fortune in the form of valuable jewels, valued at least 100,000 dinārs, he entrusted to the care of the caliph al-Musta'īm, who acknowledged the receipt of them but never could bring himself to restore the treasure entrusted him. Soon afterwards Dāwud's two older sons, who had felt themselves neglected, turned to Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Aiyūb and offered him al-Kerak in return for fiefs in Egypt which offer the latter gladly accepted. Alleging unfavourable reports about Dāwud, al-Malik al-Nāsir Yūsuf had him brought to Hims in the beginning of Sha'bān 648 (Oct. 1250) and put under arrest. In 651 (1253–1254) he was released on the intercession of the caliph on condition that he was not to stay in any lands under the rule of al-Malik al-Nāsir Yūsuf. He therefore wanted to go to Baghdad but was not admitted into the city. He then lived for a time very wretchedly in the region of 'Ana and al-Ḥaditha until he found a place of refuge in al-Anbūr. His appeals to the caliph were not answered; finally however, the caliph obtained him permission to settle in Damascus. After several unsuccessful efforts to get back his property in Baghdad which had been confiscated, he was in the desert when he was taken prisoner by al-Malik al-Mughthi, then lord of al-Kerak and al-Shawbak and brought to al-Shawbak. As the caliph thought he could be of use to him in the impending fight with the Mongols, he sent an envoy to al-Shawbak to fetch him; the envoy was bringing him back to Damascus when he heard of Hülāgū's capture of Baghdad; he thereupon left Dāwud who went to al-Bawā'idā, a village near Damascus. Here he died of the plague on 27th Dīmuḍd 1, 657 (May 12, 1259). Abu 'l-Fida' speaks highly of Dāwud's eloquence and poetical gifts.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, N^o. 526 (de Slane's transl., ii. 430); Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xii. 308, 313, 315 sq.; Abu 'l-Fida', *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iv. 337, 347, 353, 403, 413, 455, 489, 501, 519, 531, 533, 541, 543, 557; *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens orientaux*, i., see index; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iii. 460–462, 464–468, 471–481; Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Königsreiche Jerusalem*, p. 777–784, 786–789, 791, 793, 844, 846, 848 sq., 854, 859–864, 866, 875.

II. AL-MALIK AL-NĀSIR ṢALḪ AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MU'AZZAM YÜSUF, born in Ḥalab on 19th Ramaḍān 627 (Aug. 1, 1230). His father was al-Malik al-'Azzā, lord of Ḥalab, his mother Fātima, daughter of Sulṭān al-Kāmil. On 4th Rabī' 1 (Nov. 5, 1236) Yūsuf succeeded his father under the guardianship of his paternal grandmother Dā'ifa Khātūn bint al-Malik al-'Adil (see HALAB). After her death in Dīmuḍd 1 640 (Nov. 1242) Yūsuf himself assumed the reins of government and soon extended his power over most of Syria. When Aiyūb the Sulṭān of Egypt with the help of the Khwārizmians had conquered Palestine and also Damascus Yūsuf became ultimately involved in the conflict. The Khwārizmians were dissatisfied with Aiyūb, went over to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl, lord of Ba'albek and Bosrā, and laid siege to Damascus on his behalf. The lords of Hims and Ḥalab then appeared on the scene. The Khwārizmians were completely

routed (644 = 1246) and Ismā'il had to flee to Halab and take refuge with Yūsuf [see AL-MALIK AL-KHILĪ NADJIM AL-DIN AYYUB]. In 646 (1248—1249) the latter's general Shams al-Din Lu'lu' al-Armani attacked Hims [q. v.] and after a two months' siege forced the emir al-Malik al-Ashraf to capitulate and cede the town to Yūsuf in return for Tell Bāḥir [q. v.]. Two years later, the latter conquered Naṣibin, Dāra and Karkisiyā from the Atābeg of al-Mawālī Badr al-Din Lu'lu' [see LU'LU']. After the assassination of Tūraqshāh [see AYYUBIDS] in 648 (1250), Yūsuf was made sultān by the Damascus emirs and in Rabi' II (July 1250) he entered Damascus. To avenge the murder of Tūraqshāh he prepared for war against Egypt and proposed an alliance with Louis IX of France; but these negotiations came to nothing. In Radjab of this year (Oct. 1250) the Syrians were defeated by the Egyptian emir Fāris al-Din Aḥṭai near Ghazza. Yūsuf did not lose courage however but prepared for a new attack on Egypt. In the vicinity of al-'Abbāsa [q. v.] he met the Egyptian army (Dhu'l-Ḥiǧga 648 = beg. of Feb. 1251); victory was within Yūsuf's grasp when the treachery of his Turkish mamliks turned the scale in favour of Egypt. Yūsuf had to take to flight, several Syrian princes were taken prisoners and Aḥṭai invaded Syria where he occupied Nābulus and several other important towns until a strong Syrian force finally checked his further advance. After long negotiations, peace was finally concluded at the beginning of the year 651 (1253) by which Yūsuf had to give up any claims on Egypt, but a year or two later war very nearly broke out again. On the advance of the Mongols under Hūlaǧū [q. v.], Yūsuf endeavoured to avert the danger by showing a humble frame of mind and sent envoys with presents to the Mongol camp; but when he began to calculate on getting support from other Muslim rulers and answered a threatening message from Hūlaǧū in a challenging fashion, the latter laid siege to Halab. Yūsuf seems at first to have thought of advancing against him to raise the siege. He encamped in front of Damascus and sent messengers with appeals for help in all directions but as neither Syrians nor Egyptians answered him and Halab fell into the hands of the Mongols (658 = 1260), there was nothing left for him but to abandon Damascus and go south. Hamāt, Ba'albek and Damascus were taken and Yūsuf had finally to surrender to Hūlaǧū. The latter had him executed, probably after the defeat of the Mongols at Hims towards the end of the year 659 (1261; see also the article HALAB). According to Abū 'l-Fida', Yūsuf was distinguished for his scholarship and poetical gifts; he was further kindly and good natured and fond of good living and so lacked the strength to maintain order in his kingdom.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, No. 533 (de Siane's transl., II. 445); Abū 'l-Fida', *Annals*, ed. Reiske, IV. 419, 471, 495, 509, 515, 521, 529, 539, 569, 575, 599, 619, 623; *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens orientaux*, I., see Index; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, IV. 4-7, 10-14, 17; Röhricht, *Gesch. d. Königreichs Jerusalem*, P. 835, 885-887, 892-895, 908-910, 916.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

AL-NĀSIR, the name of two Mamliks rulers.

I. AL-MALIK AL-NĀSIR NĀSIR AL-DIN MUHAM-

MAD, the ninth sultān of the Bahri Mamliks, son of Sultān Qalā'un [q. v.] and a Mongol princess named Aslun (Ashlun) Khātun. Born in the middle of Muḥarram 684 (Dec. 1285), he received homage as sultān after the assassination of his brother al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalil in Muḥarram 693 (Dec. 1293). After the two emirs Zain al-Din Ketbogha al-Manṣuri and 'Alam al-Din Sandjar al-Shudja' had agreed that the former should hold the office of administrator of the government (*niyābat al-saltana*) and the latter the visierate, these appointments were confirmed by the nine year old sultān; but the agreement between the two high officials was not long maintained. When al-Shudja' tried to get rid of his rival, he was unsuccessful and was himself killed. In order to get all the power into his own hands, Ketbogha pardoned the two murderers of Sultān Khalil, who naturally felt it necessary to overthrow Nāsir in order to escape his vengeance, and when al-Khalil's old Mamliks mutinied out of indignation, they were brought to terms by the loyal troops. Ketbogha then succeeded without much difficulty in persuading the emirs that the political situation required a man and not a child on the throne, whereupon al-Nāsir was deposed and Ketbogha proclaimed sultān with the title al-Malik al-'Adil (Muḥarram 694 = Dec. 1294). Two years later (Muḥarram 696 = Nov. 1296), Ketbogha shared the fate of his predecessor. He was succeeded by one of al-Khalil's murderers, al-Malik al-Manṣur Husām al-Din Lādjin al-Manṣuri who was murdered in Rabi' II 698 (Jan. 1299). The emirs in authority then agreed to recall the 14 year old Nāsir who was in al-Kerak and in Djamādi I (Feb. 1299) he entered the capital in order to receive for the second time the diploma of sultān from the caliph and the oath of fealty from the emirs. The actual rulers were now the administrator of the kingdom Salār al-Manṣuri and the commander-in-chief of the troops, Raku al-Din Baibars al-Djaghmagr. The most important event in the period was the war with the hereditary enemy, the Mongols. In Rabi' I, 699 (Dec. 1299) the Ilkhān Ghāzān [q. v.] crossed the Euphrates and was soon before Halab. In the same month Nāsir who had left Cairo in Dhu'l-Hiǧga 698 (Sept. 1299), because the Egyptians had long been afraid of a Mongol invasion, reached Damascus. The sultān encountered the much superior enemy near Hims, his tried emirs were defeated and the army returned to Egypt in great disorder while Hims fell into the hands of the Mongols. Damascus met the same fate, except the citadel which was bravely defended by its Egyptian commander Ardjawāsh. In the meanwhile the Egyptians were preparing with desperate energy to resume the struggle and in Radjab 699 (March-April 1300) a new army left Cairo. But when the Mongols found they could not take the citadel of Damascus, they withdrew before it came to a battle and the Egyptians reoccupied Damascus, Halab and the whole of Syria. After an unsuccessful campaign against northern Syria in Rabi' II 700 (Jan. 1301) which only resulted in the pillaging of the region visited by the Mongols, Ghāzān sent an embassy to open up peace negotiations; but as these overtures came to nothing, the decision was left to arms for the third time. In Shabān 702 (April 1303) the Mongol general Kutushāh (Kutlagshah) crossed the Euphrates and at the same time a portion of the Egyptian army under the command

of Baibars al-Djāhūr entered Damascus. On 25th Rāmāḍān (April 20), a battle was fought on the plain of Mardj al-Suffar after the rest of the Egyptian troops under Sulṭān al-Nāṣir and the caliph al-Mustaḥfi had joined Baibars. Nightfall put a stop to the desperate fighting but it was renewed next day and ended with the total defeat of the Mongols; 10,000 prisoners are said to have fallen into the hands of the victors. Ghāṣān died soon afterwards and his successor Ūldjaitū did not dare to measure his strength with his formidable opponent. For the rest al-Nāṣir's second reign was a fairly peaceful one apart from a few military enterprises of slight importance. At the beginning of the year 702 (1302), an expedition was sent against the Templars who had established themselves in the island of Arwād on the Syrian coast and harassed the mainland opposite [see TAKTŪS]. The district of Sīs [q. v.] was also invaded; its ruler had made common cause with the Ilkhān and did not send Egypt the usual tribute promptly. The Egyptian authorities were on the whole on good terms with foreign powers; on the other hand, home affairs gave cause for anxiety. After the defeat at Hims, the Beduins in Upper Egypt rebelled against the authorities and levied taxes on their own account. A large army was therefore equipped to punish the rebels. At the same time, the governor of Kūfā advanced from the south and cut off their access to the southern desert. The rebellion was put down with ruthless vigour, the men massacred without mercy, the women and children taken prisoners and property carried off. Many took refuge in caves difficult of access but they were suffocated with smoke in them. The large Christian and Jewish elements in the population had also to suffer a great deal. Several of the Umayyad, 'Abbāsid and Fātimid caliphs had already issued special regulations affecting non-Muslims and the 'Abbāsid al-Mutawakkil had gone furthest in this direction; in general however, such measures were only enforced for a short period and were therefore usually repeated after a time; at least this is true of Egypt. In al-Nāṣir's reign many Christians were holding honoured positions as officials when suddenly from some insignificant cause the secret jealousy of the Muslims flared up and in 701 (1300-1301) an edict was issued which ordered among other things that in future Christians should wear blue and Jews yellow turbans in order to be at once distinguishable from the true believers nor were they to be allowed to carry arms or ride horses. Very soon a prohibition was issued against the appointment of Christians and Jews to the offices of the sulṭān or of the emirs. The immediate consequence of this measure was that several churches were destroyed by the fanatical mob and the others remained closed until the authorities allowed them to be reopened at the demand of the Byzantine emperor and other Christian rulers. On the 23rd Dhū 'l-Hijja 703 (Aug. 8, 1303) the whole of Egypt was affected by a terrible earthquake in which not only many private houses but also palaces and mosques were destroyed and large numbers of people perished. All traces of the catastrophe were however obliterated with the greatest energy and the emirs and well-to-do citizens vied with one another in spending lavishly to restore the shattered buildings. After an unsuccessful attempt to escape from the tutelage of the two emirs

Sallār and Baibars, both of whom aimed at the sole power and regarded each other with suspicion, the sulṭān, who was prevented from exerting any influence in the government, left the capital on the 24th Rāmāḍān 708 (March 7, 1309) under the pretext that he wished to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca but went instead to al-Kerak. On reaching the citadel, he told the emirs who accompanied him that he was abandoning the pilgrimage and abdicating in order to live in peace in al-Kerak. Baibars was proclaimed his successor under the title al-Malik al-Muṣaffar on the 23rd Shawwāl (April 5, 1309) while Sallār remained in office as administrator. Baibars however enjoyed no real popularity; an oppressive rise in prices made him hated among the people who without justice blamed him for the difficult times. Sallār was intriguing secretly and al-Nāṣir was vigorously adding to the number of his followers in Syria. When Baibars heard that al-Nāṣir had entered Damascus and the Syrian emirs had gone over to him, there was nothing left for him but to abdicate and appeal for mercy to his rival. The latter pardoned him and even offered him the lordship of Ṣihyawn [q. v.]. But after he had made his entry into Cairo al-Nāṣir had Baibars strangled (beg. of Shawwāl 709 = March 1310). Very soon afterwards, Sallār was also disposed of; he died of starvation in prison. The Mongols not long after this resumed hostilities. Two emirs who did not feel safe with the sulṭān went to the Ilkhān Ūldjaitū and urged him to invade Syria. The Mongol expedition did not however go beyond the siege of the town of al-Rahba (Rāmāḍān 712 = Jan. 1313). When the Mongols saw that their efforts were unavailing, they abandoned their plan of campaign and retired. At the beginning of the year 715 (1315) a campaign was undertaken against Malatya, on the course of which see the article MALATYA. At the same time, the lord of Sīs had to cede several strongholds and increase his annual tribute. Little Armenia was several times invaded by the Mamluks who wrought great havoc there. In Mecca the sons of the Sharif Abū Numayr [q. v.] were engaged in a prolonged struggle for supremacy; as the Mamluk sulṭāns claimed to exercise a kind of suzerainty over the two holy cities, al-Nāṣir intervened without however playing any very effective part. His authority was recognised in Madīna in 717 (1317) and when he intervened in the domestic troubles of the Yaman and sent troops thither to support al-Mudjahhid, one of the pretenders to the South Arabian throne, he was assisted by the Meccans (725 = 1325). In the meanwhile, the situation had improved in favour of al-Mudjahhid so that the troops sent to his help by al-Nāṣir had to return amid great hardships after achieving nothing. Al-Nāṣir also tried to extend his power into Nubia. For this purpose he sent in 716 (1316-1317) a Nubian prince named Abū 'Allāh, who had been converted to Islam and brought up in Egypt, with an army to put him on the throne. He succeeded in driving out the legitimate heir but the latter was able after a time to return and expel the intruder 'Abū 'Allāh whose tyrannical rule had made him generally hated. Al-Nāṣir was more successful in N. W. Africa; in 711-717 (1311-1317) he was mentioned as sulṭān in the khutba in the pulpits of Tunis, whose ruler, the Hafsid Abū Zakariyā' Yahyā, owed his throne to him. In 723 (1323) he finally concluded peace with the Ilkhān

Abū Saʿīd. After the latter's death in Rabīʿ II 736 (Nov. 1335), Ḥasan Buzurg pledged himself to recognise al-Nāṣir's suzerainty if the latter would support him with an armed force. Al-Nāṣir, who was a better diplomat than soldier and had not the courage to intervene at the decisive moment, did not fulfil the condition. Al-Nāṣir had diplomatic relations with most of the rest of the known world and at his court appeared embassies not only from the Golden Horde, the Ilkhāns, the Rāṣulids of Yaman, the king of Abyssinia, and the Ḥafṣids of Tunis, but also from the Emperor of Byzantium, the Czar of Bulgaria, the Pope, the King of Aragon, Philip VI of France and Sultān Muḥammad b. Tughluq of Dihlī. Al-Nāṣir died in Dhū l-Ḥijja 741 (June 1341); he left eight sons, who reigned one after the other but were themselves ruled by the emirs who were usually quarrelling among themselves. His immediate successor on the throne was al-Malik al-Manṣūr Saif al-Dīn Abū Bakr, who was deposed after only two months in favour of another son of the late sultān.

In al-Nāṣir's third reign the position of the Christians improved, and he frequently tried to alleviate their hard lot, although his efforts sometimes failed against the stubborn opposition of the Muslim clergy. The ordinances of the period when Sallār and Balbārs were the real rulers were at least not enforced to the full extent and we even find that the sultān put Christians, i.e. Copts, into the government offices, presumably simply because they were cleverer and more wily than the Muslims. Men of learning were treated with a benevolent interest, and the Ayyūbid Abū l-Fidāʾ (q.v.), celebrated as a historian and geographer, was the sultān's trusted friend "perhaps the only one among all the nobles whom al-Nāṣir treated till his death with equal love and respect" (Weil, iv. 400). Al-Nāṣir further abolished many taxes which oppressed the people. He built canals and roads and carried out other public works for the improvement of means of transport. Architecture in particular flourished exceedingly; among the splendid buildings which date from his reign special mention may be made of al-Kaṣr al-Aḥlāq, al-Madrasa al-Nāṣiriyya, and Dīwān al-Nāṣir. These works however cost large sums of money and there were really no bounds to his extravagance. He was able through his long reign to maintain the Mamlūk state in its place among the great powers, and he was also able to make his authority felt at home. In some respects he reminds one of Sultān Balbār I; like the latter he was little scrupulous in his choice of means. To undeniable gifts he added suspicion, covetousness and a revengeful nature, and it has been observed, undoubtedly with justice, that al-Nāṣir inspired more awe than respect.

Bibliography: Abū l-Fidāʾ, *Annales*, ed. Reiske, v. 85, 117, 133, 155, 199; Makrizi, transl. by Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans Mameluks de l'Égypte*, ii. 2; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, v. 406 199; Ibn Yās, *Tārīkh Miṣr*, i. 129 199; Zettersteed, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamluken-sultane*, see index; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, iv. 191 199; Stanley Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 248, 276, 284, 288, 289, 292, 294–317, 342, 344; see also the article MAMLUKA.

II. AL-MALIK AL-NĀSIR NĀSIR AL-DĪN ḤASAN, the nineteenth sultān of the Bahri Mamlūks, son

of the preceding. After the murder of his brother al-Malik al-Manṣūr Saif al-Dīn Ḥādīdī, Ḥasan who was then only eleven, or, according to others, thirteen years old was proclaimed sultān on the 14th Ramaḍān 748 (Dec. 18, 1347). Another son of the sultān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Kalāʾūn, called Ḥusain, was also put forward but this plan fell through and he never attained the throne at a later date. More important than the elevation of this minor prince to the throne was of course the distribution of the high offices of state among the emirs; the emir Balboghā Arwās became administrator of the kingdom, his brother Mendjek al-Yūsuf vizier, and the chief emir Shaikhū, Atābeg of al-Malik al-Salīh Salāh al-Dīn Salāh (q.v.), afterwards sultān. Thanks to Balboghā's adroit policy, al-Nāṣir was able to survive for four years, although, except for the last few months, he exercised no influence worth mentioning on affairs of state. His reign was filled with unedifying quarrels among the ruling emirs and systematic raiding by the Beduins. The most noteworthy event of the period was however the visitation of a great part of the world by the devastating pestilence, which, known in Europe as the "Black Death", spread from Asia through Egypt and over almost all Europe to England and Scandinavia. In Egypt the plague raged in the second half of the year 749 (1348–1349) being accompanied by a no less fatal cattle-plague. In Syria it had appeared a few months earlier. Everywhere countless men fell victims to the angel of death and it is not surprising that the political and economic life of the state was crippled. The plague only died down in the following year. In Shawwāl 751 (Dec. 1350) the sultān succeeded in getting rid of the most powerful emirs and taking the reins of government into his own hands, but after a very few months he was deposed and his brother al-Malik al-Salīh Salāh al-Dīn Salāh, the eighth of the sons of sultān Muḥammad b. Kalāʾūn, was placed on the throne (Djumādī II 752 = Aug. 1351). He ruled only for three years; on the 2nd Shawwāl 755 (Oct. 20, 1354) he was deposed and his brother al-Nāṣir restored. The real ruler at first was Shaikhū; but in 758 (1357) the latter was waylaid and so severely wounded that he died a few months later. His successor Sarghatmish, who was suspected of having instigated the murder, did not allow the sultān the slightest independence, but was however arrested in Ramaḍān 759 (Aug.–Sept. 1358). In Muḥarram 761 (Nov.–Dec. 1359) the governor of Ḥalab undertook an expedition against Sis and established Muslim garrisons in Adana and Tarsus. About the same time, the troops who had been sent to Mecca by the Egyptian government to settle the endless family feuds there were defeated by the Meccans and those taken prisoners sold in Yanbuʾ as slaves. On hearing this the sultān is said to have sworn to exterminate the sharifs completely; but before he could carry out this plan, he was himself deposed. For, as he wished to preserve his independence, he quarrelled with the powerful emir Yalbhoghā, who had reproached him with his extravagance. The latter combined with several other dissatisfied emirs and prepared to fight. Al-Nāṣir was defeated and had to abandon his plan of escaping secretly to Syria. Instead he was taken prisoner and handed over to his enemy Yalbhoghā (Djumādī I 762 = March 1361). His ultimate fate is unknown; according to one, in

itself quite credible, story he was strangled and his body thrown into the Nile. His mosque (*Ḍiḡmī* *Sullām Ḥasan*) built in Cairo in the years 1356-1363 is considered the most important example of Egyptian-Arabic architecture.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIḡḡr*, v, 447 sqq.; Ibn ʿIyās, *Taʾrīḡḡ Miḡr*, i, 190 sqq.; Weil, *Geḡḡ. d. Chalīfēn*, iv, 476 sqq.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i, 87 sq.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEEN)

AL-NĀSIR, honorific of the fourth sovereign of the Maghribi dynasty of the Mu'minids or Almoḡhads [q. v.], **ABU ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. YAʿQUB AL-MANŠUR B. ʿUSUF B. ʿABD AL-MUʿMIN**. He was proclaimed on the death of his father on the 22nd Rabiʿ I 595 (Jan. 25, 1199). The beginning of his reign was marked by the suppression of a rising led by an agitator in the mountainous country of the Ghumāra and a long stay at Fās during which he rebuilt a part of the wall of the *ḡḡḡḡ* of this city. Hearing of the rising of Yahyā b. Ishāḡ Ibn Ghāniya in Ifriḡiya, he set out for the eastern part of his empire and laid siege to the town of Mahdiyya [q. v.] which was taken on the 27th Djuḡmāda I 602 (Jan. 9, 1206). He returned to Morocco in the following year leaving as his deputy in Ifriḡiya the shaikh Abū Muḡhammad ʿAbd al-Wāḡid b. Abi Ḥafḡ al-Hināḡḡi, ancestor of the Hafsids [q. v.]. At the same time, he sent from Algiers against Majorca [cf. BALEARIC ISLANDS], which had belonged to the Banū Ghāniya since the period of the last Almoravids, a fleet which took the island; this remained in Muslim hands till 627 (1230). In 607 (1211) al-Nāsir sent an expedition to Spain which ended in a disaster to the Muslim troops in front of Hīḡn al-ʿIḡḡab or las Navas de Tolosa [q. v.] on 15th Ṣafar 609 (July 16, 1212). This severe reverse deeply affected al-Nāsir who returned to Morocco and made his subjects take the oath of allegiance to his son Yūsuf. He then retired to his palace. He died in Ribḡḡ al-Faḡḡ (Rabat, q. v.) on 10th Shaʿḡān 610 (Dec. 25, 1213). According to some chroniclers, he died a violent death on the same date in Marrāḡḡḡḡ, his capital, the victim of a conspiracy hatched by his visiers.

Bibliography: cf. the article **ALMOḡHADS**.
(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-NĀSIR. [See **UTRUGH**.]

AL-NĀSIR LI-DIN ALLĀH, official name of several Zaidi imāms.

I. Among the Caspian Zaidis this title was borne by 1. **AL-NĀSIR AL-KARīm AL-UTRUGH** [q. v.] and his great-grandson 2. **AL-NĀSIR AL-ṢAGHİR AL-ḤUSAYN B. AL-ḤASAN B. AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALL**. The latter gained for himself a dominion beginning in Hawsam, where he could find associations with the earlier period of Zaidi rule. He laid great emphasis on the religious character of Zaidism; he gave out of the state treasury funds to support people who learned the Qurʾān by heart. He was also a poet. After his death (476=1083), his tomb in Hawsam was a much visited place of pilgrimage.

II. Among the Yaman imāms this title was borne by 1. **AL-NĀSIR AḤMAD**, son of al-Ḥādī Yahyā and his brother's daughter Fāḡima. In the heavy fighting which the father had to wage in order to found the new state, Aḡmad had been more distinguished than his elder full brother Muḡhammad. Homage was, it is true, paid first to

the latter as al-Martaḡḡ shortly after the death of al-Ḥādī (289=911); but after 6 months he abdicated as he could make no progress against the Ḳarmāḡian ʿAlī b. Faḡḡl, and suggested as his successor the vigorous Aḡmad, whom the Banū Ḳhawḡḡ especially favoured. As a poem composed when allegiance was sworn to him in Ṣafar 301 (Aug.-Sept. 913) challenged him to do, he made war on the Ḳarmāḡians his first duty and played a considerable part at least in damming back the threatened Islamisation of the Yaman. He died at Ṣaʿda, probably in 315 (927); his tomb is there. All succeeding bearers of the title except the next one: 2. **ABU ʿL-FATH AL-NĀSIR AL-DĀLAMĪ**, so called from his first Caspian sphere of activity, were of his family although of different lines. In the Yaman, in contrast to his predecessors, he began operations south of Ṣanʿā, fell in 447 (1055) fighting ʿAlī al-Ṣulāḡḡ there and was buried near Dhamār. The life of 3. **AL-NĀSIR ṢALḲY AL-DIN** was marked by internal strife which ultimately caused his death. In the first half of the viiith (xivth) century, several imāms had disputed the succession. About the middle of the century, his father al-Mahḡḡ ʿAlī b. Muḡhammad attained considerable influence, which was however much reduced in the period before his death at Dhamār in 774 (1372). Ṣalḡḡ al-Din became sole imām and advanced as far as the Tihāma against the Rasūḡids [q. v.]. But when in 793 (1391) he died at Ṣanʿā, his death was concealed for two months on account of the insecurity and his body was concealed in the castle in a coffin covered with plaster. It was only when rumours of his death reached the Ḳāḡḡ al-Dawwār in Ṣaʿda that the latter arranged for his burial in Ṣanʿā. The son ʿAlī b. Ṣalḡḡ al-Din could only obtain recognition as ʿImām of the Dḡḡḡ and fell in 840 (1336), one of the many victims of the great plague. When in spite of opposition a Zaidi power was once more built up, it was destroyed by the young dynasty of the Ṭāḡirids from the Tihāma (850-923=1446-1517), especially by its second member ʿAbd al-Waḡḡḡ b. Dāwūd, from 885 (1478), until at the end of the ixth (xvth) century Al-Ḥādī ʿIzz al-Din b. al-Ḥasan again reestablished and extended their power. His son 4. **AL-NĀSIR AL-ḤASAN B. ʿIZZ AL-DIN** (c. 900-929=1494-1523) who had primarily inherited from his father a love of learning, could only maintain a limited power in the north. He had to put up for a long time with an anti-imām al-Manḡḡḡ Muḡhammad b. ʿAlī al-Saʿḡḡḡ in Ṣanʿā. 5. **AL-NĀSIR AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALI B. DĀWUD** at the end of the xth (xvith) century organised in the north one of the centres of resistance to the Turks who had been penetrating into the country since 927 (1521) and 943 (1536) but was taken prisoner by them in 1004 (1596-1597). Among the pretenders within the family of al-Manḡḡḡ b. al-Ḳāḡīm (d. 1029=1620), the liberator from the first Turkish conquest, was 6. **AL-NĀSIR MUḡHAMMAD B. ISḲĀḡ B. AL-MAḡḡḡ AḡMAD**; he set up first in 1136 (1723-1724) in the north in the hills of Sufyān among the Banū Bakīl, then in 1139 (1726-1727) away in the south at Ṣafar but had finally to submit to his cousin's son al-Manḡḡḡ al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḳāḡīm b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Mahḡḡ Aḡmad and died in 1167 (1753) as a private individual in Ṣanʿā. In 1252 (1836) the dissatisfied troops who had been discharged by the very extravagant imām al-Manḡḡḡ ʿAlī b. al-Mahḡḡ ʿAbd Allāh

summoned 7. AL-NĀSIR 'ABD ALLĀH B. ḤASAN to the imānate. He had inherited strong religious tendencies from his grandfather al-Mutawakkil al-Ma'mun and from his great grandfather al-Mahdi 'Abd Allāh and insisted on the strict observance of the neglected shari'a. He had even to appoint teachers to instruct in the divine service. He was ambushed and murdered with 6 followers in 1256 (1840) while on a peaceful excursion to the Wādī Ḥaṣr northwest of Ṣan'a' by people of the Banū Ḥamdān and was succeeded by the brother of his predecessor, al-Ḥādī Muḥammad b. al-Mahdi 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥasan. — As required of an imām, most of the above wrote a great deal; a number of works, chiefly of a legal nature, have survived, mainly by the earlier Yamān imāms.

Bibliography: Cf. the article ZAYDĪS.

(R. STROTHMANN)

NĀSIR 'ALĪ of Sarhind (d. in Dihlī on the 6th Ramaḍān 1108 = March 29, 1697), one of the best of the Persian poets of India, who were by this time very numerous; their productions however are for the most part of little artistic value. Of his life we know only that he travelled a great deal but finally settled in Sarhind where he enjoyed the favour of the governor Saif Khān Badakhshī and of the Amīr al-Umārā' Dhu 'l-Fikar Khān. His principal work is a version of the love story of Madhumalar and Manūhar in Persian verse, the original having been written in Hindi by Shaikh Djamāl. The same subject was taken after Nāṣir 'Alī by Mir 'Askar 'Adil Khān Rātī (d. 1696), one of the governors of Delhi under 'Ālamgir (1659—1707), who called his poem *Mīr u-Māh*. Besides the poem Nāṣir 'Alī wrote a short mathnawī, Ṣafī in character, and a description of Kāshmir both of which still survive. His lyrical *Dīwān* was collected by his friends after his death; it consisted of the usual ghazels, some *Safī-nāma*'s and poems in praise of the Kalandar dervishes (lith. Lucknow 1244 and 1251 and Cawnpore 1892).

Bibliography: H. Ethé, *G.I.P.*, ii, 252, 310; V. Ivanow, *Cursus Collection Cat.*, No. 278—279 and *Asiatic Society of Bengal Coll.*, No. 813—817. There are MSS. in most European libraries.

(E. BRETHELS)

NĀSIR AL-DAWLA ABU MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤASAN a. 'ABD ALLĀH, a prince of the Ḥamdānīd dynasty [q. v.]. From the year 308 (920—921) he acted as lieutenant to his father, Abu 'l-Ḥaiḍja 'Abd Allāh [q. v.], in the governorship of al-Mawṣil, and on the latter's death in 317 (929) succeeded to the leadership of the Ḥamdānīd family. Owing to the part played by Abu 'l-Ḥaiḍja' in the second temporary deposition of the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Mu'taḍi [q. v.], the latter, on his restoration, attempted to put an end to the Ḥamdānīds' control of al-Mawṣil by appointing a governor unconnected with them. Nevertheless when this officer died during the same year, al-Ḥasan was confirmed in all his father's holdings.

The Ḥamdānīds profited by the rapid decline in the power of the 'Abbāsid dynasty that set in from this time to extend their rule; and though they remained tributary to the caliphs, by 332 (943—944) they had secured control of most of the Ḥarām and of northern Syria. Al-Ḥasan also made two unsuccessful attempts, in 322 (934) and 326 (938), to add Adharbāydjān to his dominions. During

the early part of this period of expansion al-Ḥasan was much occupied in the suppression of local rebellions. He was anxious also to remain in the caliph's good graces, and for this reason declined to assist the general Mu'nis [q. v.] in his quarrel with al-Mu'taḍi, which ended in the latter's death. In 323 (935), however, the caliph al-Rāḍī attempted to displace him in the governorship of al-Mawṣil in favour of his uncle Sa'īd. Al-Ḥasan thereupon had Sa'īd murdered; and though al-Rāḍī at first sought to impose his will by force of arms, he was in the end obliged to agree to al-Ḥasan's restoration.

The reign of al-Rāḍī saw the final collapse of the traditional 'Abbāsid system of government with the appointment of Ibn Rā'ik as *amīr al-umārā'* [q. v.]. This development resulted in a still greater weakening of the caliphs' power; and in 327 (938—939) al-Ḥasan made an attempt to withhold his dues, which, however, were promptly exacted by Ibn Rā'ik's successor, Badjkam [q. v.]. In 330 (941—942), again, when the caliph al-Muttaḥ [q. v.] and Ibn Rā'ik (who had meanwhile been restored) fled to al-Mawṣil from Baghdad on its occupation by the brothers al-Baridī [q. v.], al-Ḥasan had Ibn Rā'ik assassinated, forced the caliph to give him the amirate together with the *ḥaṣn* Nāṣir al-Dawla, and later married his daughter to the caliph's son. But though he and his more celebrated brother 'Alī, who was at the same time entitled Saif al-Dawla [q. v.], were able to restore al-Muttaḥ to his capital and drive the Baridīs back to al-Basra, they were almost immediately obliged by a revolt of the Turkish troops under Tūṣūn [q. v.] to retire again to al-Mawṣil. Al-Muttaḥ now appointed Tūṣūn *amīr* in Nāṣir al-Dawla's place. But his evident helplessness encouraged Tūṣūn to abuse his power; and in 332 (943—944) the caliph again sought refuge with the Ḥamdānīds. Saif al-Dawla now tried, though without success, to defeat Tūṣūn in battle, while al-Ḥasan removed the caliph for greater safety from al-Mawṣil to Raḥka. After some months, however, al-Muttaḥ was persuaded by Tūṣūn's professions of loyalty into returning to Baghdad, only to be met on the way by the *amīr*, who blinded and deposed him. On this Nāṣir again withheld his dues. But Tūṣūn and al-Muttaḥ [q. v.], the new caliph, came against him and forced him to pay. Tūṣūn, however, died in 334 (945—946), whereupon Nāṣir made a bid to recover the amirate. But later in this same year Baghdad was occupied by Ahmad b. Būyeh Mu'izz al-Dawla [q. v.]; and henceforward Nāṣir's career hinged chiefly upon the maintenance of his power against that of the Būyids.

The struggle began immediately. As soon as he was established in Baghdad Mu'izz al-Dawla led an expedition against the Ḥamdānīds, and though Nāṣir al-Dawla forced him to return to the capital by himself occupying the east bank and blockading the Round City, in the end he drove the Ḥamdānīd forces out. Nāṣir retired to 'Ukbara, and from there sued for a peace that should grant him the tributary lordship of all the country north of Takrit, as well as Syria and Egypt. But a revolt among his Turkish troops forced him to flee before this was concluded, and it was only by the aid of a force sent by Mu'izz that he succeeded in suppressing it. Mu'izz's object in helping him was no doubt to preserve some order in the Ḥamdānīd

dominions until he should be ready to absorb them. For he now took one of Nāsir's sons as a hostage for his obedience, and two years later led another expedition against al-Mawṣil. This again came to nothing, however, since Mu'izz was obliged to make peace before attaining his object, owing to the outbreak of trouble in Persia, where his brother required his assistance. Nāsir now agreed to pay tribute for Diyār Rabi'a, the Ḥuzra and Syria, and to have the names of the three Būyids pronounced in the *ḥuṭba* after that of the caliph throughout this territory.

It was not till 345 (956-957) that further trouble arose between the rival potentates. In that year Mu'izz was called away from Baghdad to deal with a revolt, whereupon Nāsir sent two of his sons to occupy the capital. Mu'izz, however, succeeded in overcoming the rebel; and on his return the Ḥamdānids decamped. Yet in spite of this provocation Mu'izz contented himself with exacting an indemnity and a renewal of Nāsir's contract to pay tribute, and it was only when Nāsir withheld the second year's payment that he took further steps against him. He then advanced into his territory, took al-Mawṣil and Niṣibin, and finally sent a force to al-Raḥba. Nāsir, who had fled first to Maiyāfāriḳin and then to Aleppo, which was now held independently by Saif, attempted to make peace. But Mu'izz rejected his advances, and came to an agreement only when Saif offered to take his brother's place as tributary for al-Mawṣil, Diyār Rabi'a and al-Raḥba.

Five years later, in 353 (964), Nāsir opened negotiations to recover his position as tributary for these territories. But he included in his demands one, for the recognition of his son Abū Taghlib al-Ḥaḍanfar [q. v.] as his successor, which Mu'izz was unwilling to grant. He again attacked the Ḥamdānids, occupying both al-Mawṣil and Niṣibin. But they were more successful in withstanding him on this occasion; and an agreement was arrived at whereby Abū Taghlib undertook the payment of tribute for his father's former holdings.

In 356 (967) both Mu'izz and Saif died. Almost the last action recorded of Nāsir is the advice he then gave his sons to refrain from attacking Mu'izz's son and successor Balḫitīyār till he should have exhausted the resources bequeathed to him. For on the death of Saif, to whom he had been much attached, Nāsir lost all interest in life, and so antagonized his family by his avarice that they resolved to take the control of affairs into their own hands. Abū Taghlib, who had in any case taken his place as tributary, and his mother, Nāsir's Kurdish wife Fāṭima bint Aḥmad, contrived to gain possession of all his property and fortresses; and when Nāsir attempted to enlist the help of another son, they imprisoned him in the castle of al-Salāma in the fortress of Ardūmashūt. He died, still in confinement, either the next year, 357 (968), or the year after.

Nāsir al-Dawla's rule was disastrous for the territory over which he had control. The contemporary Ibn Hawḳal [q. v.] refers in several passages to his ruinous exactions and tyrannical seizures of land (see his descriptions of al-Mawṣil, Balāḥ, Sindjār and Niḡibin). And Miskawaih notes that by bringing fictitious claims against landowners he would force them to sell to him at low prices, till he became not only the lord, but also the owner, of most of the region of al-Mawṣil.

Bibliography: Miskawaih, *Taḡārīb al-Umm* (in Amedroz and Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*); al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūḡ al-Ḥukab* (ed. Barbier de Meynard, viii.); Ibn Hawḳal (ed. De Goeje); Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, viii.; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, i.; Ibn Khaldūn, iv.; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nuḡm al-aḥṣā* (ed. Juynboll, ii.); al-Tanūkhī, *Niḡm al-Muḥāḍara* (ed. Margoliouth, i.); Freytag, *Geschichte der Dynastien der Hamdaniden*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, x., xi. (HAROLD BOWEN)

NĀSIR AL-DAWLĀ. [See IBN BAKIYA.]

NĀSIR AL-DĪN. [See MAHMUD I, MAHMUD II, MAHMUD, MAHMUD II.]

NĀSIR AL-DĪN. [See HUMAYUN.]

NĀSIR DĪN ALLĀH. [See MAS'UD b. SA'ID.]

NĀSIR AL-DĪN KUBĀČA. [See SIRD.]

NĀSIR AL-DĪN AL-TUSI. [See AL-TUSI.]

NĀSIR-I KHUSRAW, whose full name was ABU MU'IN NĀSIR b. KHUSRAW b. HAKIM, one of the most important Persian poets of the 11th century.

Life. Nāsir was born in 394 (1003) in Kūbādīyān in the district of Balkh. The Persian historians usually call him 'Alawī which in this case can hardly mean descent from the caliph 'Alī but simply indicates his adherence to the Shī'a. His father was probably a small landowner in the vicinity of Balkh. Nāsir received a good education and was early acquainted with almost all branches of the learning of his day. In the forties of the 11th century we find him as an official in Marw where, according to his own confession, he led a rather dissolute life. In 1045 however, a sudden change came over him, the real reasons for which are unknown, but which Nāsir himself explained by a prophetic dream. He decided to give up his position and all his pleasures and went on pilgrimage to Mecca on which he visited the Ka'ba four times. This journey had important results for Nāsir. He left Persia at a difficult period, when the country was being laid waste by the continued wars between the various princes. He found the same wretched picture in all the other Muslim countries which he had to traverse on his journey. Only Egypt proved a pleasing exception; there he saw prosperity, rich bazaars, harmony and tranquillity. As the Ismā'īlī dynasty of the Fāṭimids were ruling in Egypt at this time, Nāsir concluded that Islām had diverged from the true path and that only Ismā'īlism could save the true believers from inevitable ruin. Nāsir made the acquaintance of several Ismā'īlī dignitaries, joined their sect and finally received the blessing of the caliph al-Mustanzir (1036-1094) in order to spread the new teaching in his native Ḳhurasān. He was consecrated as a *ḥafṣiyya*, a fairly high official in the complicated Ismā'īlī hierarchy. Returning to Balkh he devoted himself with the greatest zeal to his new task. But the Saldjūqs who ruled the land soon became convinced that Nāsir's activity was a serious threat to them. He was persecuted and had to flee from Balkh. He went first to Mīrāndarūn but found that this also was not safe enough and was finally forced as a last resort to take refuge in the Yungūn valley among the inaccessible mountains of Badakhshān. There in these poor and inhospitable highlands the aged poet spent his last years; there his most important works were written and there he died in 1060 or 1061 (452-453). Down to the present

day there has survived in this region a little sect known as the Nāṣiriya, which owes its origin to the "saint Shō Nosir" and tells fantastic stories about its founder.

Works. Nāṣir's works were probably very numerous but have survived only in very imperfect and corrupt form. The most important is the great philosophical *Divān*, which was composed in the miserable years of his exile. The artistic value of his poems is not especially high, the style is often clumsy and awkward but the philosophical matter which still awaits its investigator is of very great importance for the history of Persian literature. It is a complete encyclopedia of Ismā'īlī teaching but of course unsystematic and disconnected. From the linguistic standpoint also the work is of extraordinary interest. A good edition of the Persian text appeared in Teherān in 1928. Two not very long didactic poems are appended to the *Divān*: *Rūḥanī-nāma*, which presents a whole philosophic system having an undeniable similarity with the teaching of Avicenna, and *Ṣa'ādāt-nāma* which sharply criticises the aristocracy of the kingdom and praises the peasant, "the nourisher of every living creature".

The best known of Nāṣir's prose works is the *Safar-nāma*, a description of his pilgrimage to Mecca which is an exceedingly valuable source of the most varied information. Unfortunately this work has come down to us only in a very mutilated form and has probably been edited by a Sunnī hand. The other works of Nāṣir are mainly Ismā'īlī textbooks. Among them first place should be given to the *Zād al-Muṣāfirin*. It is an encyclopedia of a special character which deals with the most varied questions of a metaphysical and cosmographical nature. A good edition of the Persian text was published in Berlin in 1923 (Kaviani). No less important is the *Wajḥ-i Dīn*, an introduction to Ismā'īlī beliefs by means of quotations from the Qur'ān cleverly put together. A number of other similar pamphlets like *Umm al-Kitāb*, which were quite recently fairly widely disseminated among Ismā'īlīs of the Pamirs are credited to our author but so far nothing definite has been ascertained about their authenticity.

Although a considerable portion of Nāṣir's works is now available in good editions, one cannot yet assert that sufficient light has been thrown upon his striking personality. It would be particularly valuable if his philosophical system could be studied as it is of far reaching importance for the history of thought in Persia.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, *G. I. Ph.*, ii. 278-283; do., *Nāṣir Churans Rūḥanī-nāma*, Persian and German (*Z. D. M. G.*, xxxviii. 645-665; xxxiv. 428-464); do., *Kürzer Lieder u. poetische Fragmente aus Nāṣir Churans Divān* (*N. G. W. Z.*, 1882, p. 124-152); do., *Auswahl aus Nāṣir Kābidin* (*Z. D. M. G.*, xxxvi. 478-508); do., *Nāṣir bin Khusrāw's Leben, Denken und Dichten*, Leyden 1884; E. Fagnan, *Le livre de la sîlîḥi*, Persian and French (*Z. D. M. G.*, xxxiv. 643-674); emendations by F. Toussaint, (*Z. D. M. G.*, xxxvi. 96-114); Ch. Schefer, *Sefer Namesh* (text and transl. with introduction), Paris 1881; this edition is now somewhat obsolete and it is advisable to use for the text the new edition, Berlin 1923 (Kaviani), which also gives as an appendix the text of the *Rūḥanī-nāma*

and of the *Ṣa'ādāt-nāma*. — Translations: Guy Le Strange, *Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, Diary of a Journey through Syria and Palestine*, London 1888; A. P. Fuller, *Account of Jerusalem* (*J. R. A. S.*, 1872, p. 142-164); E. Berthels, *Safar-nāma* (Russian), Leningrad 1933. — In addition to the new edition of the *Divān*, already mentioned there is also an oldest lithographed text, Tabriz 1280. A *Tarǧūm* hand, the authenticity of which is doubtful, has been publ. with Russian transl. by V. Zhukovski, in *Zapiski* (iv. 386-393). Text of the *Wajḥ-i Dīn* pr. Berlin 1925 (Kaviani). (E. BERTHELS)

AL-NĀSĪRA, Nazareth, the home of Jesus, lies in a depression sloping to the south surrounded by hills in a fertile district. While the hills to the north and northeast are not very high, in the northwest the Djebel al-Sikh rises to 1,600 feet above sea-level. The name of the town, which does not occur in the Old Testament, is found in the New and in the Greek fathers of the Church in the varying forms *Nazara*, *Nazareth* and *Nazareth* with ζ, but according to Jerome it had in Hebrew a *galde*, which is confirmed by the Syriac *Nāṣrat* and the Arabic *Nāṣira* as well as by the Talmudic derivative form נוצרי, pl. נוצרים while the Christian Arabic has ζ. All these forms as well as *Nazāran* (Mark i. 24) have in the first syllable an *a* obscured to *e* in Talmudic. In Christian Aramaic there is a subsidiary form נוצר with *e* in the second syllable with which is connected the derivative *Nazōranos* (Matt. xxvi. 71; John xviii. 5), cf. *ṛw Nazōranos alipser* (Acta xxiv. 5). The Mandaeen term *Nagoran* (e.g. Dalman, *Aram. Gramm.*, p. 178; Gressmann, in *Z. A. T. W.*, xliii. 26 sq.) is usually connected with this but Lidzbarski (*Mandäische Literatur*, p. xvi. 29; *Z. S.*, l. 230 sqq.) wants to explain it as "observers", while Zimmermann (*Z. D. M. G.*, lxxiv. p. 429 sqq., 76, 46) seeks its origin in the Babylonian *nāṣira*. That the Arabic *nāṣrā*, Christians, *nāṣrān*, and *nāṣrāniya* come from the name of the town is known to the Arab writers.

Nazareth, which in the time of Jesus was a little town of no importance (cf. John i. 47: "what good can come out of Nazareth?"; it is not even mentioned by Josephus), was not in the early Christian period one of the places of the New Testament to which large numbers of pilgrims went. According to Epiphanius, it was inhabited exclusively by Jews till the time of Constantine the Great. The number of Christians however gradually increased and was maintained after the Muslim conquest (636). In the time of Arculf (c. 670) it had two churches, and in 332 (943) Mas'ūdi mentions a church held in great veneration there, no doubt the church of St. Mary. Before Galilee was conquered by Taucrad and the Crusaders, Nazareth was destroyed by the Saracens; it revived under Christian rule, especially after the bishopric of Scythopolis was transferred thither. The Russian abbot Daniel (1113-1115) has given us a very good picture of the Church of the Annunciation and of the Well of Mary there in this period. In 1187, Saladin took Nazareth and at the peace between him and Richard (1192) it remained in his hands. In 1251, during the last unsuccessful crusade, Louis IX. undertook a pilgrimage from Akka to Nazareth. Yāqūt (623 = 1225) who relies on the Gospel story instead of Muslim legend mentions *Nāṣira* as a village 13 miles from Tabariya. In 661 (1263) the Mamlūk

Saltū Baibars ordered the emir 'Alī al-Dīn to destroy Nazareth and particularly the Church of St. Mary. Dimashki (c. 1300) calls it a Jewish town belonging to the province of Safat and inhabited by Yamanis, and Khalil al-Zahiri (d. 872 = 1468) numbers it among the townlike villages in Safat. The Christian visitors however describe Nazareth as a wretched village inhabited by very few Christians with a ruined church and complain of the hostile attitude of the Muhammadan population. It was not till 1620 that better days dawned when the Druse chief Fakhr al-Dīn [q. v.] opened the town to the Franciscans. The Roman Catholic monastery with the Church of the Annunciation was rebuilt, although not completed till a century later. There were only a few Christians in addition to the monks in the town, until in the middle of the xviiith century the Shēkh Zahir al-'Amr of 'Akka increased its prosperity after which they gradually grew in number. In 1890 according to G. Schumacher, there were 7,419 inhabitants in the town of whom 1,825 were Muslims, 2,870 Greek Catholics and the remainder Christians of other confessions; since then the number has increased. Jews were not allowed to live there. The great monastery with the Church of the Annunciation in the southeast belongs to the Roman Catholics, the Church of the Annunciation in the northeast to the Greek Church. The Muslims have a mosque of considerable size and five *walīs*. The well of Mary which has a dome over it and is open on one side, has its water brought from a spring below the Greek Church of the Annunciation.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, 1/1. 26; Mas'ūdi, ed. Paris, i. 123; Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 729; Dimashki, ed. Mehren, p. 212; R. Hartmann, *Khalil al-Zahiri's Zubdat Kashf al-Mamalik*, 1907, p. 47 sq.; *Die Pilgerfahrt des arabischen Abtes Daniel*, transl. by Leskien, in *Z.D.P.F.*, vii. 17 sqq.; Prepsat, *Die geogr. Verhältnisse Syriens und Palästinas bei Wilhelm Tyr.*, i. 55; Röhrich, *Geschichte des Königs Jerusalem*, p. 441, 444, 885, 920 and *passim*; Robinson, *Palästina*, iii. 419 sqq.; Sir George Adam Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, index s. v.; Tobler, *Nazareth in Palästina*, 1868; G. Schumacher, in *Z.D.P.F.*, xiii. 235 sqq. (with map and photograph).

(FR. BURL)

NĀSIRĀBĀD. [See **SHIRĀN**.]

NASHH (أ), infin. I from *n-sh-h*, with the technical sense of "abrogation (of a sacred text)".

See **KUR'ĀN**, 3.

NASHKI. [See **ARABIA**, 2.]

AL-NASR, the vulture. It gets its name from the fact that it tears the dead animals on which it feeds to pieces with its beak and devours them. It eats till it can no longer fly. It is said to attain the age of 1,000 years. Its eyes are so sharp that it can see its prey at a distance of 400 farsakh; its sense of smell is equally sharp but fragrant scents are so deadly to it that they destroy it. It shows great endurance in flying and follows armies and pilgrim caravans in order to fall upon the corpses of man and beast. It also follows flocks because it is particularly fond of stillborn lambs, a statement which is confirmed by Brehm who says it attacks lambing sheep. It lays its eggs on high cliffs and is said not to sit on them but to leave them to the heat of the sun. It is however very anxious lest its eggs or

young be eaten by bats and therefore covers them with the leaves of the plane-tree. The use of the gall, brain, flesh and bones in medieval times corresponds to the usage in ancient medicine.

al-Nasr was also the name of a deity in pre-Islamic Arabia (see Weillhausen, *Reise*, p. 23).

Bibliography: Kazwini, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 424; Damiri, ii. 476; Ibn al-Baitār, ii. 370. (J. RUSSA)

AL-NASR, the title of Sūra ex., taken from its first verse. The word means "help, assistance" and is often used of God's help in war and then with the meaning of "victory". Sūra lxi. 13 is also associated with *al-fath*, cf. alviii. 13. The Sūra clearly belongs to a later period and verse 2 in particular recalls the year 9, the Year of the Embassies. It is therefore natural to refer *al-fath* (verse 1) in keeping with the frequent use of the word to the capture of Mecca, except that it is not mentioned as a fact (as Weil, *In Hishām*, p. 933 translates it) but is represented as an assumption, which is also true of verse 2. This is perhaps only a rhetorical figure intended to emphasise the general prevalence of the idea and does not exclude reference to a particular event.

Bibliography: Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur'ān*, i. 219 sq. (FR. BURL)

NASR b. AHMAD b. ISMĀ'IL called al-Sa'id, a Sāmānid. After the murder of his father in Djamādā II, 301 (Jan. 914) the eight year old Nasr was put on the throne and the able vizier Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Djāhizī given the regency. Soon afterwards the people of Sistān rebelled against the Sāmānids and placed themselves under the rule of the governor Badr al-Kabir appointed by the caliph al-Muktadir. At the same time the caliph's generals al-Faql b. Humaid and Khalid b. Muhammad al-Marwazi occupied the towns of Ghazna and Bost which were in the possession of the Sāmānids. When al-Faql fell ill, Khalid rebelled against al-Muktadir, routed the troops sent against him and went to Kirman where he encountered a force sent against him by Badr. The battle ended in Khalid's defeat; he was himself wounded and taken prisoner; he died soon afterwards of his wounds. In the same year, the uncle of Nasr's father Ishāk b. Ahmad b. Asad rebelled in Samarkand and marched on Bukhārā, accompanied by his son (Rasā'idān 301 = April 914) but was driven back by Hamūya (Hammūya) b. 'Alī. A second attempt also failed; Ishāk took to flight again and Samarkand fell into the hands of the government troops. He then tried to hide himself but had finally to come out of his place of concealment and throw himself on Hamūya's mercy. The latter took him to Bukhārā where he remained till his death, while his son Ilyās went to Farghāna. In the year 302 (914—915) another son of Ishāk's, Abū Salih Mansūr, stirred up trouble in Naisābūr in combination with al-Husain b. 'Alī al-Marwazi (al-Marwarrūdhī), who had rendered great service to the Sāmānids but felt he had been neglected by them. After Mansūr's sudden death Husain, who was suspected of having poisoned him, went to Naisābūr and seized the town. In Rabi' I 306 (Aug.—Sept. 918) he was taken prisoner by Ahmad b. Sahl, a tried general, who had been long in the service of the Sāmānids, and brought to Bukhārā, while Ahmad took up his residence in Naisābūr. Husain was after some time released and given a position at

the court of Naṣr; for some unknown reason he was again thrown into prison and ended his days there; in the following year, Ahmad b. Sabl deserted the Sāmānids because Naṣr had not kept his promise to him, and recognised only the caliph's authority. He went from Naisābūr to Džurdžān and drove out its governor Karategin. He then returned to Khurāsān and entrenched himself in Marw; in Raddjāb 307 (Dec. 919) however, he shared the fate of Husain. Hamūya cunningly succeeded in enticing him out of the town. Ahmad was defeated and taken prisoner and died a few months later in Bukhārā in prison. In Ṭabaristān also there was fighting. After the death of the Zaidi imām al-Uṭrūsh [q. v.], al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim, called al-Dā' al-Ṣaghir, was recognised as his successor. In 308 (920-921) the latter sent his general Lailā b. al-Nu'mān al-Dailami to Džurdžān. From there he went first to Dāmaghān and then to Naisābūr where he had the khutba read for al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḳāsim (Dhu 'l-Hiddja 308 = April-May 921), after Karategin had been put to flight. In the neighbourhood of Tūs he encountered Hamūya b. 'Alī whom the government of Bukhārā had sent against him. At first a considerable part of the Sāmānid army took to flight but Hamūya himself stood firm and Lailā had no further success; he had to take to flight, was captured and beheaded by Hamūya's orders (Rabī' I 309 = July-Aug. 921). Karategin then returned; but when he left Džurdžān and Abu 'l-Ḥusain b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Uṭrūsh seized the town, Naṣr sent 4,000 horsemen there, led by Simdjūr al-Dawātī, who at once laid siege to Abu 'l-Ḥusain. When the latter made a sortie with a force twice this size, he fell into an ambush but escaped to Astarābādḥ and thence to Sārīya. Simdjūr then went to Astarābādḥ; but when his efforts came to naught he bribed Abu 'l-Ḥusain's deputy Mākān b. Kāki and persuaded him to pretend to vacate the town for a time and then to reoccupy it. This was done as arranged; Simdjūr occupied Astarābādḥ but soon returned to Naisābūr whereupon his subordinate, only left there as a feint, was driven by Mākān first out of Astarābādḥ and soon afterwards out of Džurdžān. In 310 (922-923) Ilyās b. Ishāq rebelled in Farghāna and went to Samarkand; this enterprise came to nothing through the ability of Abū 'Amr Muḥammad b. Asad, who with 2,300 men prepared an ambush and scattered Ilyās's army, said to have numbered 30,000 men. After some time, the latter joined the governor of al-Shāh, Abu 'l-Faḍl b. Abī Yūsuf, but had again to take to flight and went to Kāshghar where he joined the Dihhān Toghtātegin. After failing in an attempt to invade Farghāna he returned to Kāshghar. He was finally pardoned by Naṣr and settled in Bukhārā. About the same time Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. 'Ubaid Allāh al-Bal'ami [cf. BAL'AM] was appointed vizier in place of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Djāhānī. In the year 314 (926) Naṣr at the instigation of the caliph al-Muqtadir undertook an expedition against al-Rāy where Fātik, a freedman of the rebel governor Yūsuf b. Abī 'l-Saffī, was ruling. He took the town in Džumāda II (Aug.-Sept. 926) and returned to Bukhārā after two months' stay there. Al-Rāy remained in possession of the Sāmānids till the beginning of Shā'ban 316 (Sept. 928) when the governor appointed by Naṣr fell ill and surrendered the town to the 'Alid al-Ḥusain

al-Dā' and his general Mākān b. Kāki. In 317 (929-930) or 318 (930-931) Naṣr's brothers, Yahyā, Maṣṣūr and Ibrāhīm, whom he had imprisoned in the citadel of Bukhārā, succeeded in regaining their freedom with the help of their followers among the dissatisfied elements of the citizens and seized the town. When Yahyā claimed the throne, Naṣr who had gone to Naisābūr at the head of a large army to assist the caliph against the rebel Asfār b. Shīrīya had to return as quickly as possible and after several encounters with Yahyā was able to restore order. Yahyā was pardoned and the governorship of Khurāsān given to the emir of Sughāniyān Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Muṣaffar. On the fighting in Džurdžān and Kirmān see the article Mākān b. Kāki.

The last year of Naṣr's reign was marked by a great revival of Shī'a propaganda, which had never ceased in Khurāsān and had been particularly encouraged just at this time by the rise of the Fātimid caliphate. When the people of Naisābūr paid homage to an 'Alid named Abū 'l-Ḥusain Muḥammad b. Yahyā as caliph, Naṣr invited him to Bukhārā and when he left not only gave him a robe of honour but also granted him an annual allowance from the treasury. Husain b. 'Alī al-Marwānī had been converted to the Shī'a by Fātimid emissaries in Khurāsān. He was followed by Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Nakhsabi (al-Nasafi) who transferred his activities to Bukhārā and gained a number of proselytes among the high officials. He finally succeeded in winning Naṣr himself over to his party and in inducing him to pay the Fātimid caliph al-Kā'im [q. v.] a considerable sum to atone for the death of Husain b. 'Alī who had pined away in a Bukhārā prison. This naturally aroused the wrath of the orthodox clergy, who were joined by the Turkish guards and provoked a powerful reaction. Naṣr regretted his complaisance and is said to have abdicated in favour of his son Nūh, who had not been guilty of any heresy. Naṣr's ill-health may have contributed to this decision. The details are variously recorded; in any case, the Shī'as in Bukhārā and Khurāsān were persecuted and al-Nakhsabi with several followers executed.

According to the usual statement, Naṣr died after thirteen months illness of pulmonary consumption on 27th Raddjāb 331 (April 6, 943); others say he was murdered like his father. According to some reports, he died earlier, on 12th Ramaḍān 330 (May 31, 942). This latter date perhaps refers not to his death but to his abdication. Nūh's formal accession in any case only took place after his father's death.

If we may believe Ibn al-Athīr, Naṣr was distinguished by a singular gentleness of character; according to other sources however, this was not the case. He was also celebrated as an enlightened patron of poets and scholars and is particularly held in honour for encouraging the poet Rūdagi [q. v.] in every way.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, viii, 58-60, 64-66, 86-89, 91, 95-97, 121, 138 sq., 141, 145, 154-157, 164, 195 sq., 207, 227 sq., 242, 267, 269, 283, 291-294, 300 sq.; Mas'ūdi, *Murūdī*, ed. Paris, ix, 5 sq.; al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, i, 138, 188; *Description topographique et historique de Boukhara par Mohammed Nerschakky suivie de textes relatifs à la Transition*, ed.

Charles Schafer, p. 92—94, 98, 101—103, 111 sq., 228; Gardist, *Zain al-Aḥḥār*, ed. Muhammad Nāṣim, p. 25 sq., 29—32; Niḡm al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-Nāma* ed. Schefer, i. 187 sqq.; ii. (transl.), 274 sqq.; Hamd Allāh Mustawfī-i Kāzwini, *Tarīkh-i Gūda*, ed. Browne, i. 343 sq., 346 sq., 381—383; Barthold, *Turkistan down to the Mongol Invasion*², p. 10—12, 25, 109 sq., 112, 176, 240—246. — Cf. also the art. *SKANIDS*. (K. V. ZETTERSTEEN)

NAṢR b. SAIYĀR AL-LATHI, governor of Khurāsān. As early as 86 (705) we find him distinguishing himself in the campaigns of Kataba b. Muslim [q.v.] in Central Asia and from this time onwards his name is often mentioned in history. In 106 (724) he took part in the campaign conducted by Muslim b. Sa'īd al-Kilābi, governor of Khurāsān, against Fārgāna. When the two tribes of Rabi'a and al-Asd refused military service, Naṣr was sent with the Mūjaris against the mutineers and defeated them at al-Barūkān near Balkh. After serving for some years as commander of Balkh he was relieved of his office but afterwards restored to it. When the governor of Khurāsān Asad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ka'bi [q.v.] died and the caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik sought counsel of a trusted adviser, who was acquainted with the conditions in Khurāsān, regarding the filling of the vacant post, the latter proposed among other names that of the seventy-four year old Naṣr because he was "abstemious, experienced and shrewd" (*ʿafif munjarrab ʿāḥṣ*), and in Rabi' 120 (June—July 738) he received the diploma of investiture. He honestly endeavoured to live up to the above description of him. The old cities of Khurāsān were four in number: Merw, Nisābūr, Merw al-Rūdh and Herāt; there were also special commands in Balkh, Samarkand and Khwārizm. After taking over the governorship, Naṣr transferred his headquarters from the remote Balkh to the more central Merw. In 121 (738—739) he declared war on his Turkish neighbours and advanced to Samarkand. From there he penetrated to Ushrāsān and thence on to al-Shāsh. The Turkish chief Kurul, who had shortly before killed the Khāḡān and was regarded as one of the leading personalities among the Turks, along with al-Hārith b. Suraidj, a Murdji who had rebelled against Arab rule and taken refuge among the unbelieving Turks, endeavoured to check his progress; when the opposing forces actually met however, Kurul was taken prisoner and killed. Naṣr then made peace with the ruler of al-Shāsh on condition that he banished al-Hārith, whereupon the latter went to Fārs while Naṣr continued his campaign into Fārgāna without winning any considerable success. The result was that he had to be content with concluding a treaty of peace. The Soghdians who had at an earlier date migrated to join their Turkish neighbours in al-Shāsh and Fārgāna, but found the troubled conditions prevailing after the assassination of the Khāḡān intolerable and wished to return to their old Iranian home, were treated by Naṣr with a wise leniency and an agreement was come to by which the Transoxanians who had been converted to Islām but had gone back to the faith of their fathers were not to be persecuted in any way, the private debts and arrears of taxes of the emigrants were remitted and the Muslim prisoners taken by them were only to be restored to liberty after the evidence of witnesses had been taken and

a judicial decision given. These measures, it is true, provoked not only the displeasure of the Arab emirs in Khurāsān but also the dissatisfaction of the caliph Hishām; nevertheless Naṣr succeeded in carrying out his plans. As regards domestic politics he regulated the relations between the Muslims and those under their protection by an important reform in the system of taxation, by which he ordained that all landowners, including Muslims, should pay the land-tax (*kharaḡ*) while the poll-tax (*diya*) should be imposed on non-Muslims exclusively. But the deep rooted clannishness of the Arab caused him continual difficulties. In the first four years of his tenure of office he chose his subordinates exclusively from the tribe of Mudar; then he began to be little more broad-minded in this respect and to pay some attention to the Yamani and thus gradually to pave the way to a reconciliation of the tribes at feud with one another. In the year 123 (740—741) the governor of the 'Irāk, Yūsuf b. 'Omar al-Thakafi, endeavoured to arouse the caliph's suspicions of him; Hishām however saw through his plan and left Naṣr in his post. When al-Walid II ascended the throne in Rabi' II 125 (Feb. 743) he confirmed Naṣr in office but soon afterwards allowed himself to be persuaded by Yūsuf b. 'Omar to recall him and therefore ordered him to come to Damascus and to bring with him all kinds of hunting-birds and musical instruments. Naṣr however did not hurry and before he reached the frontier of al-'Irāk, the news of the caliph's assassination reached him and he at once turned back. When al-Walid's successor, Yazid III, appointed Mansūr b. Djamhūr governor of al-'Irāk and Khurāsān, Naṣr refused to recognise him. In 126 (743—744) trouble broke out among the Asd and Rabi'a in Merw. When Naṣr wanted to pay the troops not in money but with the gold and silver instruments procured for the caliph al-Walid they mutinied; Djudai b. 'Alī al-Kirmāni put himself at their head and appealed to their feelings by demanding vengeance for the Banu 'l-Muhallab who had been mercilessly persecuted by the Umayyads, a course which he knew would appeal to them. When the Mūjaris appealed to Naṣr to render al-Kirmāni innocuous, he declined at first but later yielded to them and had him arrested (end of Ramaḍān 126 = middle of July 744); but a month afterwards he escaped from prison. Negotiations were then opened between Naṣr and al-Kirmāni but they led to no real decision. A much more dangerous opponent was al-Hārith b. Suraidj who at the end of Djumādī II 127 (beginning of April 745) again appeared in Merw after a many years' sojourn among the Turks. In order to be safe from this rival, Naṣr had unfortunately secured a pardon for Hārith and his followers from the caliph Yazid III and after his arrival in Merw he endeavoured to win al-Hārith over by the greatest indulgence and friendliness. He even went so far as to confer on him the governorship of Transoxania; but all his efforts were in vain; al-Hārith adhered firmly to his Murdji conceptions and stubbornly refused to recognise Naṣr as governor. As his following was steadily growing, he finally demanded that Naṣr should resign his office and leave the choice of his successor to a court of arbitration. Naṣr said he would agree to this, but when he declined to obey the judgment of the court insisting on his

resignation, open fighting broke out. Al-Hārith tried to take the city by surprise but was driven back (end of Dhu'l-ḥiǧǧ II 128 = end of March 746). He then joined forces with al-Kirmānī and they attacked Naṣr with their combined strength. After several days' fighting, the latter had to abandon Merw and retire to Naisābūr; it was not long however before the two rebels fell out. Among other things al-Kirmānī's cruelty made him hated; in addition there were the endless feuds among the various Arab tribes. After al-Hārith's most influential follower Bishr b. Džurmūz al-Dabbī had left al-Kirmānī with 5,000 men, al-Hārith soon followed his example but was killed in the fighting that ensued (end of Raddjāb 128 = April 746). Al-Kirmānī was now lord of Merw. The Vamanīs stood by him while the Muǧarīs sought refuge with Naṣr in Naisābūr. Naṣr's position was by no means an enviable one. So long as al-ʿIrāk was in the hands of the Khāridjīs and the ʿAlid rebel ʿAbd Allāh b. Maʿāwīya [q. v.], Naṣr's communications with the caliphate were cut and even after Yazīd b. ʿOmar b. Hubaira had regained al-ʿIrāk for Marwān II, he could not reckon on any very considerable help. There was therefore nothing left for him but to concentrate his efforts on the reconquest of the city of Merw. After repeated encounters between his troops and those of al-Kirmānī, he went there in person and pitched his camp opposite that of his opponent. The two rivals continued to fight with varying fortunes without being able to bring about a decision. Naṣr's appeals to Marwān and Ibn Hubaira for reinforcements remained unheeded; in view however of the danger that threatened from Abū Muslim [q. v.], the leader of the ʿAbbāsīd propaganda, negotiations were begun between Naṣr and al-Kirmānī. After a son of Hārith b. Suraidj had killed al-Kirmānī to avenge the death of his father, the Khāridjī Shalāh b. Salama took his place and in the name of the Aṣd concluded a truce for one year. Abū Muslim was able however to bring this agreement to nothing by persuading ʿAlī b. Džudāl al-Kirmānī that Naṣr had instigated the murder of his father and the Aṣd who were devoted to him broke the truce just concluded and resumed hostilities against Naṣr. When Abū Muslim was approached for assistance by the two combatant parties he was able to come forward as an arbiter and decided in favour of the Aṣd against the Muǧar. He then entered Merw, according to the most probable statement in Rabīʿ II 130 (Dec. 747), and made the inhabitants swear allegiance in general terms to a caliph of the family of the Prophet without a name being mentioned. For Naṣr there was nothing left but to seek safety in flight. From Merw he fled via Sarakhs and Tūs to Naisābūr, where the news reached him that his son Tamīm, whom he had sent against Abū Muslim's general Kaḥḥaba b. Šabīb al-ʿIrāqī [q. v.] had been defeated and slain at Tūs. From Naisābūr he went to Kūmis and thence to Džurdjān. Nubāṭa b. Hanzala al-Kilābī was here with a large army which Ibn Hubaira had at last sent him by the caliph's orders. But Naṣr and Nubāṭa did not cooperate and in addition the Kaṣmīs went over from the former to the latter. On the 1st Dhu'l-ḥiǧǧ 130 (Aug. 1, 748) Nubāṭa was defeated by Kaḥḥaba and fell in the battle. After his defeat Naṣr could no longer stay in Kūmis but fled, pursued by Kaḥḥaba's son

Hasan, to al-Rāy, without receiving any support from the Umayyad officials. Reaching al-Rāy, he fell ill; nevertheless he wished to continue his journey to Hamadhān but was no longer able to move without assistance; he had to be carried and died in 12th Rabīʿ I 131 (Nov. 9, 748) in Sāwa [q. v.] at the age of 85. Naṣr combined with his eminent qualities as a statesman considerable gifts as a poet.

Bibliography: Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, see Index; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, iv. 416; v. 82, 95–97, 105 sq., 110, 117, 125, 128, 135 sq., 149, 161, 168–170, 177–180, 187–190, 201–203, 225, 229–233, 249, 259–264, 271–282, 288, 292, 295 sq., 300–303, 306; vi. 46; Vaʿḥḥī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 374, 392, 397–399, 407–410; Balādhurī, *Fuṭūḥ al-Bulān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 420, 427–429; Masʿūdī, *Murūǧ*, Paris, vi. 2, 60–63, 65, 68 sq.; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 171, 454; *Kiṭāb al-Aghānī*, see Guidi, *Tablāh al-phābiqūn*; Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, i. 16, 44–46, 66; Weillhausen, *Das arabisches Reich und sein Sturz*, p. 283 sq., 295–306, 323–336; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 2, p. 5, 192–194, 200 sq.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

NAṢR ALLĀH b. MUHAMMAD b. ʿABD AL-HAMID ABU ʿL-MĀʿLĪ of SHIRĀZ, a Persian author and statesman, vizier of the Ghaznavid Khwarazm Malik (1160–1186) by whose orders he was arrested and executed. Naṣr was the first Persian to succeed in giving a satisfactory Persian version of the celebrated *Kāshīd al-Dimna*. His version is based on the Arabic of ʿAbd Allāh b. Mukāḥḥa and was completed about 538–539 (1144), i. e. in the time of Bahramshāh (1118–1152). For a long time his translation was regarded as a model of elegant Persian style which could not be surpassed and served as the basis for the metrical version by Kānī (658 = 1260) and for a series of Turkish translations. It was only in the xvth century when even Naṣr Allāh's language appeared too homely and archaic that his translation was superseded by the celebrated *Anwār-i Suhaili* of Husain Wāʿi al-Kāshifi [q. v.], d. 939 (1532–1533).

Bibliography: H. Ethé, *G. I. Ph.*, ii. 327–328; S. de Sacy, *N. E.*, x. 94–196; Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 745. The Pers. text lith. Tabriz n. d.

(E. BERTHELS)

NAṢR AL-DAWLA ABU NAṢR AHMAD b. MARWĀN, third and most important prince of the Marwānīd dynasty [q. v.] of Diyār Bakr. He succeeded to the provincial sovereignty on the death of his elder brother, Mumahhid al-Dawla Abū Manṣūr Saʿīd, in 401 (1010–1011), after a struggle with the latter's murderer, and was in the same year formally recognized by the ʿAbbāsīd al-Kādir, from whom at the same time he received his *laqab*, and by the Būyīd amīr, Sultān al-Dawla. Though now established in the capital, Malyāfāriqīn, he was unable to obtain effective control of Amid, the next most considerable city of the province, until 415 (1024–1025), when his tributary, Ibn Damna, who had hitherto ruled it, was assassinated; and during his reign of over fifty years, he suffered several ineffective attacks on his territory from the Uḡailīds of Diyār Rabīʿa, to whom he appears, at one period at all events, to have paid tribute (see Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 121),

and to whom, in order to compose a quarrel arising out of his divorce of a lady of that family, he was obliged, in 421 (1030), to cede Nisibin. In 433 (1041–1042) Diyār Bakr was invaded from Adharbāydjān by the bands of Ghuzz Turks which had pushed northwards on the advance of the Seldjūkid leaders into the Djabāl; and for two years parts of it were subjected to their depredations. Otherwise the province enjoyed, throughout his reign, a tranquillity remarkable in this troubled age.

The ruler of Diyār Bakr was regarded as a principal guardian of the frontier of Islām, and as such was expected to harass the Christians whenever opportunity offered (see the letter addressed to Naṣr al-Dawla by the Seldjūkid Tuḡhril-beg: Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 275). Nevertheless Ibn Marwān's relations with the Byzantine Empire were for the most part amicable, being based on a pact of mutual non-aggression, to which both parties appealed when it was infringed. The only important breaches of this agreement occurred in 418 (1027), when Naṣr al-Dawla seized Rubā (Edessa), which, however, was recovered by the Greeks four years later, and in 426 (1034–1035), when an attempt was made by the Christian inhabitants of that city, in league with Arabs of the Numair tribe, to invade his territories. Later their good relations were of use to the Emperor — Constantine X —, who in 441 (1049–1050) obtained Ibn Marwān's help in securing from Tuḡhril-beg the release of the Georgian general Lipuriti with whom he had been in league against the Georgian king, and who had been captured the year before by Tuḡhril's half-brother Ibrāhīm Ināl. Up to 436 (1045) Armenia, which also marched in part with Diyār Bakr, was still independent of the Empire; and in 423 (1032) a Marwānid commander led a successful raid into this country. In 427 (1035–1036), on the other hand, a hadjī caravan from northern Persia was attacked and looted near Anī by Armenians of the Sunkuna tribe, upon which Ibn Marwān forced the aggressors to give up their prisoners and booty.

Early in Naṣr al-Dawla's reign the north of Syria and parts of the Djabala contiguous to Diyār Bakr were obliged to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Fātimid caliphs, though their hold on these parts remained somewhat precarious. And his own territories were menaced by Fātimid pretensions, when in 430 (1038–1039) the governor of Damascus, Anūshīrīn al-Dīsharī, who was then reasserting his rule in northern Syria, projected an attack on Diyār Bakr. This, however, came to nothing.

The reign of Naṣr al-Dawla saw the rise of the Seldjūkids from complete obscurity to the empire of Persia and the Irāk. His first communication with them occurred as early as 435 (1043–1044), on the Ghuzz invasion of Diyār Bakr, when he addressed a letter of protest to Tuḡhril, who, though he was scarcely in a position to do so, undertook to restrain the marauders. (It may be noted, nevertheless, that Ibn al-Azraq describes this Ghuzz invasion as having been actually instigated by Tuḡhril, who, he says, granted the province as a fief to its two leaders in advance; cf. Amedroz, *The Marwānid Dynasty of Maiyāfāriqin*, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 137. Surely this author is mistaken in considering the date 434 as wrong, since it agrees exactly with those given by Ibn al-Athīr). Eight years later Naṣr al-Dawla acceded

to Tuḡhril's demand for recognition as suzerain; and this subservience, which was renewed in 446 (1054–1055), when Tuḡhril made a triumphal tour through Adharbāydjān and Muslim Armenia, spared Diyār Bakr the experience of a Seldjūkid visitation. In the following year, however, Tuḡhril's attention was drawn to the murder of a Kurdish chieftain by Naṣr al-Dawla's son Sulaimān, his lieutenant in the Djabala; and in 448 (1056–1057), when the sultan was obliged to visit al-Mawṣil in order to oppose a combination of Shī'ī leaders headed by al-Basāsiri [q. v.], he forced an indemnity from Ibn Marwān by laying siege to Djabrat Ibn 'Umar.

Naṣr al-Dawla was sagacious, or fortunate, in his choice of the three wazirs who served him in turn, namely Abū 'l-Kāsim al-Isfahānī, to whom he owed his throne (in office 401–415 = 1010–1025), Abū 'l-Kāsim al-Maghribī [q. v.] (in office 415–428 = 1025–1037) and Abū Naṣr Ibn Djabr (afterwards entitled Fakhr al-Dawla) [q. v.] (in office 430–453 = 1039–1061). It was no doubt owing in part to their abilities that the remarkable tranquillity enjoyed by Diyār Bakr during his reign was turned to advantage and resulted in an equally remarkable prosperity. This Naṣr al-Dawla fostered by a reduction of taxation and by renouncing the practice of fining the rich in order to augment the revenues. Nevertheless his court is said to have surpassed those of all his contemporaries in luxury, and many instances are quoted of his profusion and generosity. Maiyāfāriqin became during his reign a centre for men of learning, poets and ascetics, as also a refuge for political fugitives. Among the latter were the Būyid prince al-Malik al-'Aziz [q. v.], who was ousted from the amirate in 436 (1044–1045) by his uncle Abū Kādhjār [q. v.], and the infant heir of the 'Abbāsīd al-Kā'im — afterwards al-Mu'tadī [q. v.] — who was removed with his mother from Baghdad on the occasion of its occupation in 450 (1058) by al-Basāsiri.

Naṣr al-Dawla is described as being resolute, just, high-minded and methodical, and though much addicted to sensuality, he was strict in his observance of religious injunctions. He died, aged about eighty, on 24th Shawwāl 453 (November 1061), leaving Fakhr al-Dawla still in office to secure the succession to his second son, Abū 'l-Kāsim Naṣr, Niḡm al-Dīn.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ix. x.; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yām* (transl. de Slane, i.); Ibn Tuḡhrībirdī, *al-Nuḡdūm al-Zahira* (ed. Popper, ii.); Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitaḥ al-'Ibar*, iv.; H. F. Amedroz, *The Marwānid Dynasty of Maiyāfāriqin*, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1903.

(HAROLD BOWEN)

NAṢR AL-DĪN (pron. Naṣreddīn) КИРОВА, the hero of the stories of wit and stupidity among the Turks, who bears a strong resemblance to the German Till Eulenspiegel, the English Joe Miller, the Italian Bertoldo, the Russian Balakirew, etc. Various opinions are current about his life. One tradition for example makes him a learned man of the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, but another makes him a contemporary of the Khwārizmshāh 'Alī al-Dīn Takash (reigned c. 1172–1200). The two traditions are not to be taken seriously; at most they might be regarded as an indication that many of the jests of the Khodja date from the period of the caliphate or that some of them came through a Persian intermediary.

The other versions of the life of Naṣreddin can be divided into two groups, of which the first puts him in the xvth and beginning of the xvth century (the period of Bāyazīd I, Timūr and the eighth Karamanid 'Alā' al-Dīn), and the second in the xiiith century (the period of the Saldjūq 'Alā' al-Dīn).

The first view appears to come from the *Travels* of Ewliya Çelebi (iii. 16—17). There, for example, the story of Timūr's meeting with the Khodja in the baths is told, when the Khodja said that he would give 40 *akçe* for Timūr's shirt but nothing for him himself. In spite of all the improbability of such an utterance and in spite of the fact that the older *teğhbir*s put this answer in Ahmadi's [q. v.] mouth (cf. also E. J. W. Gibb, *Ottoman Poems*, 1882, p. 166—167) Ewliya's story, was given currency in Europe by Castelnau, Dies, Goethe, von Hammer, etc. When Mehmed Tewfik accepted this story of Ewliya's in his editions of the jests of Naṣreddin and Buadam (since 1883) which were later translated into German (about 1890), it was given renewed life and became almost the predominant opinion in Europe.

The second group of traditions champions the xiiith century as the period of Naṣreddin and relies on the following facts. Firstly the poet Lāmī'i (d. 1532—1533) asserted in his *Leṭā'if*, that Naṣreddin was a contemporary of Shaiyād Hamza who lived in the xiiith century; secondly in old manuscripts the Khodja is associated with the Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn Kōprülü-Zāde (see *Bibl.*) therefore inclines to the view that he was a contemporary of the Saldjūq 'Alā' al-Dīn (xiiith century). Sh. Sāmī Bey (*Kāmūs al-A'lām*, vi. 4577) and P. Horn (see *Bibl.*) had already decided for the Saldjūq and the latter definitely for 'Alā' al-Dīn, but Kōprülü-Zāde supported his view by evidence, partly new, which we proceed to quote: 1. the inscription on the tomb of Naṣreddin in Akşehir bears the date 386, which on the supposition that it is reversed, would indicate that the Khodja died in 683 (1284—1285); 2. on two authentic charters of endowment (*waḳfiya*) of the year 655 (1257) and 665 (1266/7) respectively, a certain "Naṣreddin Khodja" appears before the *qādi* as a witness, and 3. the statement which the former mufti of Siwri-Hişar, Hasan Efendi, made about 45 years ago in the *Majmū'a-i Me'arif* about Naṣreddin, agrees with this assumption. According to Hasan Efendi, Naṣreddin was born in the village of Khorto (خورتو) near Siwri-Hişar in the year 605 (1208—1209), held there the office of Imām in which he succeeded his father, and moved in 635 (1237—1238) to Akşehir where he died in 683 (1284—1285).

Although this evidence is by no means to be rejected off hand, it seems to have been completely neglected by other scholars (Kryniski in 1927 [see *Bibl.*] does not even mention Kōprülü's book) except for my article entitled *Ye il Naṣreddin-khodja tirso?* ("Did Naṣreddin Khodja really live?") in the Christmas supplement to the Belgrade *Politika* (Jan. 6, 1932), where it was described as worthy of consideration, if not yet absolutely convincing.

After all these traditions and opinions, it is not a matter for surprise that some scholars (H. Ethé, R. Basset, M. Hartmann, A. Wesselski [see *Bibl.*]) have been more or less sceptical about the historicity of the Khodja.

These doubts are to some extent closely connected with the question of the origin of Naṣreddin's jests. Basset, for example, thinks (in *Recherches sur Si Dje'd'a...*) that they are a translation of the old Arabic droll stories which were current in large numbers at the end of the fourth (tenth) century about a certain Djuḥā (Djohā) of the tribe of Fazlra in Kūfa. Djuḥā's stupidity became proverbial among the Arabs, as is already evident from Maiddnī (d. 1124) (cf. *Arabum proverbialia*, ed. G. Freytag, i. 403, No. 175), and a *Book of Anecdotes of Djuḥā* (کتاب نوادر جحا) is expressly mentioned as early as the *Fihrist* of al-Nadīm (d. 995) (cf. Flügel's edition, i. 313). This collection, which had previously reached the west through oral transmission, was translated into Turkish in the xvth or xvth century and the hero identified with a certain Naṣreddin Khodja, whose existence Basset thinks is at least doubtful.

This thesis of Basset's was not everywhere accepted without demur. Horn and Christensen (see *Bibl.*), for example, do not believe in a translation from the old book of Djuḥā's jests and Wesselski holds the view "that there is no evidence of the existence of any story of Djuḥā in the period before that of Naṣreddin's alleged or actual life, which could with certainty be assumed to be the source of one of the jests of Naṣreddin". M. Hartmann describes Naṣreddin's jests as the common property of the literature of the world, expressed to some extent in a specifically Turkish guise and therefore regards any question as to whether there ever was such a person as of little importance. Horn and Kryniski also regard the Khodja's jests as folk stories found almost everywhere. Christensen thinks similarly but admits that these jests form an independent collection "into which probably very many stories from the old book (of Djuḥā) have been incorporated".

Whatever the truth may be, one thing seems to be certain: the immediate source for most of the stories of Naṣreddin is to be sought, as Basset and Hartmann say, in the world of Arabic culture and Islām where Djuḥā certainly is often the hero of such anecdotes. In other words, Djuḥā might be regarded as the ultimate prototype of many of the adventures of Naṣreddin. While Basset's theory then may not be correct in all details, it seems to be right in its main features, especially in the fact that it has directed the student of Naṣreddin to the influence of the rich Arabic literature of humorous anecdote. That many of these stories are originally not Arabic but Persian, Syriac, Indian, Greek, etc. is quite natural, especially when we remember that they are common to many literatures, but in this case it must often have been the Arabic version that was the source upon which the Turkish drew.

For the problem of Naṣreddin it is also important to put on record that stories of Djuḥā are very early mentioned by Persian poets and authors (Minūshihri, d. 1040—1041) or transmitted (a story in Anwarī [d. c. 1190], three stories in Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [d. 1273] and a dozen stories in 'Ubaid-i Zākānī [d. 1370—1371]). When we remember the part played by Persian culture among the Saldjūqs of Rūm and their Ottoman successors, we cannot consider it impossible that some stories of Djuḥā may have come to the Turks through Persian literature.

This is all the more probable as Djalâl al-Dîn Rûmî himself spent the greater part of his life in Anatolia (especially in Konya) and used Djûhî's (as Djûhî is called among the Persians) popularity to illustrate his mystic ideas (cf. Mathnawî, ed. Nicholson, II, 3116 sq.).

Particularly in view of this popularity and the fact of oral transmission, it is not impossible that the common people altered the name Djûhî (Djôhî), which was strange to them, into Khodja, as Basset repeatedly insists (*Mélanges africains et orientaux*, Paris 1915, p. 49). On the other hand, there may have been a droll Khodja named Nasreddin among the Ottomans (or Seljuks), around whom gathered humorous stories of others, in addition to his own jests, and thus became the typical representative of wit and stupidity. For this reason he was probably also credited with the tales of the simplicity of Karakûsh (q. v.), Saladin's steward, who had been dead since 1201.

Other jests attributed to Nasreddin go back several centuries further which is proof that they cannot originate with him. The fact that most of the jests are not original is obvious (cf. e.g. Wesselski's parallels), in spite of all the changes and transformations they have undergone among the Turks.

One of the Turkish versions (with additions) was, according to Basset, translated in the middle of the xth (xvth) century into Arabic and thus the Turks returned to the Arabs part of what they had formerly borrowed from them. Nasreddin and Djûhî, being similar types, later became amalgamated in such a way that the Arabic editions identify the two in the title: *Nawâdir al-Khoddja Nasr al-Dîn Efendi Djûhî*. Sometimes however, the Arabs distinguish between the two by calling Nasreddin the "Rumelian Djûhî" (Djûhî al-Rûmî).

This Djûhî of the *Nawâdir* easily reached the Berbers through the Arabs as Si Djeha (Djôhî). In a similar way the Nubians procured their Djeha and the Maltese their Džahan. Whether the fool of Sicilian popular story, Giufà or Giuca also comes from Djûhî is a further question.

On the other hand, the Turkish version of the jests of Nasreddin (under his or another name or anonymously) became known not only to the Rumanians, Bulgars, Greeks, Albanians, and Jugoslavs but also in Armenia, Georgia, the Caucasus, the Crimea, the Ukraine, Russia, Turkestan etc. On these long travels, Nasreddin naturally underwent many changes; distortions and additions were made which are quite foreign to the Turkish text, so that the number of his (or Djûhî's) stories increased to several hundreds (in Wesselski to 515 or 555). The oldest manuscript (Leyden, N^o 2715), which was already in the possession of a European in 1625, only contains 76 jests.

The first edition of the chapbook on Nasreddin, which was the foundation of many later editions, appeared in 1837 (125 jests). Mehmed Tewfik's edition (1899 = 1883) in which the coarse stories of the chapbook are omitted only contains 71 but a few months later Tewfik published a further 130 under the name *Bu Adam* ("This Man", i.e. the same Nasreddin) (in the final edition of 1302 *Bu Adam* only contains 96 stories). Anecdotes of Nasreddin were later collected by I. Kânos from the lips of the people between Aidin and Konya and separately published (Budapest 1899, with 166 stories and introduction, and in

Radloff's *Proben der Volkslitteratur der türkischen Stämme*, vol. viii., St. Petersburg 1899). The fullest, but uncritical, Turkish edition is that of Behâ'î (pseudonym of Weled Celebi), the fourth edition of which (1926) contains nearly 400 anecdotes.

The Turkish editions in the Roman alphabet are much shorter (e.g. *Nasrettin Hoca Hikayeleri*, 1928 [only 79 pp.] and *Lehaifi Nasrettin Hoca*, 1929 [only 96 pp.]) or are divided into various periods of Nasreddin's life (like the *Nasrettin Hoca* of Kemalettin Sükrâ 1930—1931, in four parts).

The first European translations were based on the early editions of the Turkish chapbook: the German by Camerlöher and Prelog (Triest 1857, with 126 jests) and the French of Decourdemanche (*Les plaisanteries de N. hadjia*, Paris 1876, also containing 126 anecdotes) which was increased in the second edition (1908) by those about Karakûsh. Decourdemanche also provided a translation based on much larger material (he drew upon unpublished manuscripts also) entitled *Sottisier de Nasr-Eddin-Hodja* (Brussels 1878, with 321 humorous anecdotes). While the translation by Camerlöher and Prelog made it possible for R. Köhler to find many stories told of Nasreddin in European collections and to trace many of them back to an Indian origin (*Orient und Occident*, I, [1862]; a later edition with additions in his *Kleineren Schriften zur Märchenforschung*, I, [1898]), Decourdemanche's translation served Dragomanov as the basis for his studies on the dissemination of stories of Nasreddin in the Ukraine (*Atewshaya Starina*, 1886).

Later (about 1890) Mehmed Tewfik's edition, including a portion of *Bu Adam* was translated into German by Müllendorff (Reclam N^o 2735). The remainder of the *Bu Adam* stories (N^o 131—226) were translated by Menzel; the much too long *Abenteuer Budams* (= N^o 197) in the *Türkische Bibliothek* (vol. xiii., 1911) and the others in the *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients*, vol. ix. (1911), p. 124—159. Nasreddin's jests have also been translated into English, Russian, Hungarian, Greek, Serbo-Croat, Little Russian, Bulgarian, etc. Wesselski's *Der Hodscha Nasreddin* (1911) is at present the most complete translation of these anecdotes in a number of versions (see *Bibl.*).

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that some anecdotes of Nasreddin were retold by A. Fann in Rumanian (1853), by Murad Efendi (= Fr. v. Werner) in German (1878), by V. Velicko in Russian (1892), by V. Séurat in Little Russian (1896) and by Köprülü-Zade in Turkish verse (1918).

Bibliography: (in addition to works mentioned in the text): H. Ethé, *Ein türkischer Eulenspiegel*, in his *Essays und Studien*, Berlin 1872, p. 233—254; R. Basset, *Recherches sur Si Djeh's et ses anecdotes qui lui sont attribuées*, introduction to *Les fourberies de Si Djeh's, contes babyloniens*, recueillis et traduits par A. Moulières, Paris 1892, p. 1—79 and 183—187 (supplemented in the *Revue des traditions populaires*); M. Hartmann, *Schwänke und Scherzreden im Islamischen Orient*, in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, vol. v., Berlin 1895, p. 40—67; A. Krimski, *Encyclopédieski Slovar Brekgaus-Efren*, vol. xx., St. Petersburg 1897, s. v.; P. Horn, *Zu Hodscha Nasreddin's Schwänken*, in *Keleti Szemle*, vol. i., Budapest 1900, p. 66—72; R.

Basset, *Contributions à l'histoire du sultanat de Nasr Eddin Hadja*, in *Keleti Szemle*, I. 219—225; F. Schwally, *Zum arabischen Tili Eulenspiegel*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lvi. 1902, p. 237 sq.; A. Wesselski, *Der Hadicha Nasreddin*, Türkische, arabische, berberische, maltesische, sizilianische, kalabrische, kroatische, serbische und griechische Märlein und Schwänke, gesammelt und herausgegeben, vol. I—II, Weimar 1911, with a full introduction and valuable "Anmerkungen literatur- und stoffgeschichtlichen Inhalts"; Köprülü-Zâde Mehmed Fu'ad, *Nasreddin Khodja* (on the turnover also: *Manzûm Hikâyeler*), Stambul 1918 (50 versified stories with important preface and appendix); A. Christensen, *Fikhi in the Persian Literature*, in E. G. Browne, *Festschrift*, Cambridge 1922, p. 129—136; Beh'at, *Left-af-Khodja Nasreddin*, Stambul 1926, with verbose preface and appendix of little value; A. Krymaki, *Istoriya Turakinski ta yi pl'minista*, vol. II, part 2, Kiev 1927, p. 92—106, with full bibliography; Kemaleddine Chukru, *Vie de Nasreddine Hadja*, Stambul n. d. (1930); deals very briefly with Khodja's life on p. 7—8 and gives French translation of his jests arranged under 4 periods of his life). — Also the catalogues of MSS. in Leyden, Vienna, London, Berlin, Paris etc. (FRIEDRICH BAJAKTAREVIC)

NAṢRÂNĪ. [See NAṢARĀ.]

NAṢRIDS, AR. BANU NAṢR, also sometimes called BANU 'L-AḤMAR, a Muslim dynasty which ruled over the kingdom of Granada in the north of Spain from 629 to 897 A. H. (1231—1491).

While, thanks to the narratives of the contemporary Ibn al-Khaṭīb [q. v.] and Ibn Khaldūn [q. v.], we are very well informed about the history of the kingdom of the Naṣrids down to the second half of the xvth century, we have for the later period only a very few sources available in Arabic — and it is not always easy to fill the gaps from Christian sources —: a few pages of al-Maḳḳarī's *Nafḥ al-77ib* and the short anonymous chronicle published in 1863 by Müller.

We give below a chronological list of the Naṣrids; when a date A. D. is not preceded by its equivalent A. H., this is because it is not given either by Muslim historians or Arabic inscriptions.

1. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad I *al-Ghālib bi'l-Ḥak*: 629—671 (1232—1273).
2. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad II *al-Faḥḥ*: 671—701 (1273—1302).
3. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad III *al-Muḥallib*: 701—708 (1302—1309).
4. Abū 'I-Djuyūḡ Naṣr: 708—713 (1309—1314).
5. Abū 'I-Walid Ismā'īl I: 713—725 (1314—1325).
6. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad IV: 725—733 (1325—1333).
7. Abū 'I-Hadidjādī Yūsuf I *al-Mu'ayyad bi'l-Ḥak*: 733—755 (1333—1354).
8. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad V *al-Ghani bi'l-Ḥak*: 1^o. 755—760 (1354—1359); 2^o. 763—793 (1362—1391).
9. Abū 'I-Walid Ismā'īl II: 760—761 (1359—1360).
10. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad VI: 761—763 (1360—1362).
11. Abū 'I-Hadidjādī Yūsuf II *al-Mustaghni bi'l-Ḥak*: 793—794 (1391—1392).

12. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad VII: 794—810 (1392—1408).

13. Abū 'I-Hadidjādī Yūsuf III *al-Nāṣir bi'l-Ḥak*: 810—820 (1408—1417).

14. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad VIII *al-Aṣar*: 1^o. 1417—1427; 2^o. 1429—1432; 3^o. 1432—1445.

15. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad IX *al-Ṣaghīr*: 1427—1429.

16. Abū 'I-Hadidjādī Yūsuf IV: 1432.

17. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad X *al-Aḥnaf*: 1445—1455.

18. Abū 'I-Naṣr Sa'd *al-Musta'in bi'l-Ḥak*: (1455—1465).

19. Abū 'I-Ḥasan 'Alī: 1465—1482.

20. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad XI (Boabdil): 1^o. 887—888 (1482—1483); 2^o. 892—897 (1487—1491).

21. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad XII *al-Zaghall*: 888—892 (1483—1487).

I. Foundation of the Naṣrid kingdom. At the time when the power of the Almohads was beginning to collapse in Spain, two influential families, the Banū Mardaniḡ in Valencia [q. v.] and the Banū Hūd in Murcia [q. v.], took advantage of the civil strife to form for themselves little principalities in the east of the Peninsula. At the same time a member of the Arab family of the Banu 'I-Aḥmar, settled in Arjona, a little town some 20 miles north of Jaen, who traced their descent from the chief of the Banū Khazraj, Sa'd b. 'Uḡada, also tried his fortune at profiting by the troubled times. He was Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. Naṣr and was known as al-Shaikh. In 629 (1231) he found a few supporters to proclaim him; these were mainly members of his own family and of another, related to it, the Banū Ashkilīla. The towns of Jaen, Guadix and Baza rallied in the following year to his standard. After various exploits the details of which are somewhat obscure, Muḥammad I, ancestor and founder of the dynasty of the Naṣrids, took Granada, in 635 (1237—1238) and made this town his capital. He soon decided to build a royal residence on the famous hill of the Alhambra ([q. v.]; al-Ḥamra' or Hamra' Gharnāṡa). In the course of the following year, he made himself lord successively of Malaga and Almeria. The little town of Lorca did not come under his sway until 663 (1264—1265). Hitherto Muḥammad I had had to employ all his forces to fight against his Muslim rivals and in order to have his hands free he declared himself the vassal of Ferdinand I, king of Castile (1217—1252) to whom he undertook to pay a considerable annual tribute. He had to take part with his overlord in the capture of Seville from the Muslims in 1248 and be a passive witness of the triumphs of the armies of the king of Castile in the south of Spain. When on the death of Ferdinand I, Alfonso X succeeded him, Muḥammad I had to renew his oath of vassalage to the latter. His kingdom, "the kingdom of Granada", was now the only area in the Peninsula ruled by a Muslim prince; bounded by the Mediterranean from the Straits of Gibraltar to Almeria, this kingdom did not go farther inland than the mountains of the Serrania de Ronda and the Sierra d'Elvira.

II. The Naṣrid kingdom in the xvth century. — Muḥammad I died in 671 (1273) and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad II, called al-Faḥḥ, who on his accession sought an

alliance with the Marinids who were finally putting an end to Almohad rule in Morocco. The Marinids answered his appeal. On coming to the throne Muhammad II had found himself faced with the necessity of putting down threatening rebellions; the most serious was that of the Banū Ashqilūlā, governors of Malaga and Guadix. He was able to rout the rebels near Antequera, with the help of forces sent him by the Infante Don Philip and Don Nuño de Lara. On the other hand, he soon realised that the king of Castile, his suzerain, had every interest in letting the kingdom of Granada exhaust itself in internal strife. This is why the Nasrid turned to the Marinids. In consideration for the return of Algeciras [q.v.] and Tarifa [q.v.], the sultan of Fās Abū Yūsuf Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Hak̄k agreed to cross into Spain where he inflicted two defeats on the Castilian troops. The chroniclers of the Marinid dynasty record the four expeditions of the king of Fās into Spain and give details of the loss of Tarifa which the Spanish leader Alonso Perez de Guran, celebrated in legend as Guran el Bueno, was to defend heroically a little later, in 1293. But it is from this time that the permanent intervention of the sultans of Fās in the affairs of the Nasrids of Granada dates; under pretence of a *ḡhiād* they were able at every opportunity to add to the confusion of a political situation already much troubled and to weigh heavily upon the destinies of the Nasrid throne by playing a game of alliances which were often broken as readily as they were made. The kings of Granada henceforth were to have at their side a regular body of Moroccan soldiers, the *ghawāt* (sing. *ghawī*) under the command of a Marinid *ghawāṭī*, consisting of adventurers of fortunes who had become more or less undesirable in their native land.

When he died in 701 (1302) Muhammad II was succeeded by his son Muhammad III who was later to be known as al-Makhliṣ (the deposed). It was he who built the great mosque of the Alhambra. He had to put down risings by the governors of Guadix and Almeria but had to bow before the rising of a prince of his family, Abū 'Iḍyūṣāh Naṣr b. Muhammad, who assumed the power in 708 (1309). Muhammad III abdicated and withdrew to Almuñecar [q.v.].

Naṣr's reign was hardly any longer or happier than that of his predecessor. After a display of energy by which he forced the king of Aragon to raise the siege of Almeria and the king of Castile to raise the siege of Algeciras, he failed against a conspiracy hatched by a Nasrid prince Ismā'il, who seized the power in Granada and left only the town of Guadix to Naṣr. The latter established himself here in 713 (1314) and stayed there till his death in 722 (1322).

The fifth Nasrid ruler, Abū 'l-Walid Ismā'il I b. Faraj b. Ismā'il b. Yūsuf b. Naṣr, was one of the most remarkable members of the dynasty. As soon as he had assumed the power, he showed a certain strength of character and did his best to put his frontiers in a state of defence. He regained for a time the old Nasrid lands which had passed to the Marinids: Algeciras, Tarifa and Ronda. In 719 (1319) he had to meet an offensive from Castile and with the help of the Shaikh al-Ghurāt, Abū Sa'id 'Uḥmān b. Abi 'l-'Ulā al-Marīnī, he inflicted heavy defeats on his enemies at Alicum and in the Sierra d'Elvira. In this last battle the Infantes Don Juan and Don Pedro, guardians of

king Alfonso XI, were killed. Soon afterwards, Ismā'il I regained the fortresses of Huescar, Orce and Galera, then that of Baza. In the following year he took Martos. In 725 (1325) he was assassinated in his palace at the instigation of one of his relations with whom he had quarrelled, the lord of Algeciras Muhammad b. Ismā'il. He left four sons of whom the eldest, Muhammad, succeeded him on the throne of Granada.

Muhammad IV was still a minor on his accession and remained for several years under the strict guardianship of his ministers, notably of the vizier Muhammad Ibn al-Mahrūk. The latter, after a long struggle with the Shaikh al-Ghurāt Ibn Abi 'l-'Ulā, was finally put to death by orders of his sovereign who then took the reins of power into his own hands. The remainder of his reign was continually troubled. The help which he sought from the Marinid Sultan Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī against the Christians earned him the enmity of the family of the Banū Abi 'l-'Ulā. In succession he lost Ronda, Algeciras, Marbella and Gibraltar and was ultimately assassinated in 733 (1333).

His brother Abū 'l-Ḥadīd Yūsuf I b. Ismā'il succeeded him and reigned for a considerable period. His first care was to avenge his brother by expelling from his kingdom the Banū Abi 'l-'Ulā who took refuge in Tunis and in giving the office of Shaikh al-Ghurāt to a Marinid lord, Yahyā b. 'Umar Ibn Raḥḥō. The struggle with the Christians was resumed in his reign. He sought and obtained the help of the Marinid Abū 'l-Ḥasan, who crossed the Straits of Gibraltar in 741 (1340) with a large force and laid siege to Tarifa. This expedition ended disastrously. The king of Castile, Alfonso XI, with his army and that of the king of Portugal inflicted a sanguinary defeat on the Muslims near the mouth of the Río Salado, on the 7th Dhu-mādh 1 741 (Oct. 30, 1340). Abū 'l-Ḥasan had to take refuge in Algeciras, whence he was able to reach Morocco. Yūsuf I returned with all speed to Granada, while Alfonso XI profiting by the confusion of the Muslims seized Alcalá la Real, Priego and Benamejí. After taking Algeciras he granted the Nasrid king a truce of ten years, at the end of which he laid siege to Gibraltar. Alfonso XI however died of the plague during the siege. Yūsuf I himself was assassinated by a madman in the great mosque of Granada on the day of the feast of the "Breaking of the Fast" of 755 (Oct. 19, 1354). This Sultan's name will always be associated with certain monuments of the Alhambra. It was he for example who built the great gateway of the enclosure, called *Bāb al-Sharī'a* (gate of the Esplanade; commonly called wrongly "gate of Justice", in Spanish "Puerta Judicaria" or "de la Justicia") the inscription on which records that it was finished in Rabi' I 749 (June 1348; cf. my *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, No. 171). It was also Yūsuf I who in 750 (1349) built the madrasa of Granada (*ibid.*, No. 172).

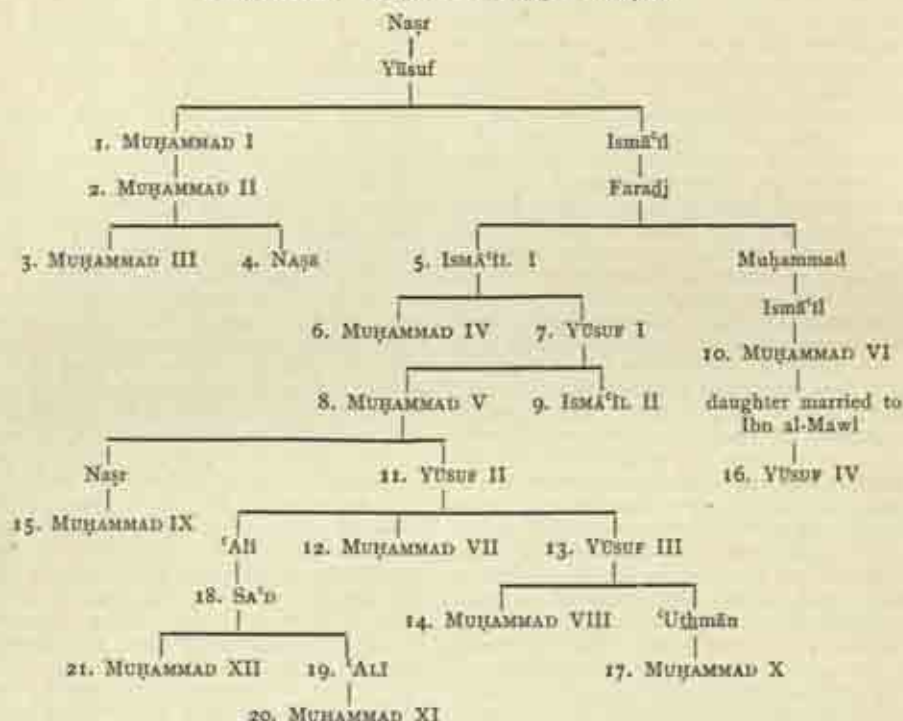
His successor was his eldest son Muhammad V, who bore the honorific *lubb* of al-Ghānī bi-llāh. This sultan left the exercise of power in the hands of his father's old minister, the ḥadīb [q.v.] Ridwān, who maintained peaceful relations with Castile. After a few years, a conspiracy of dissatisfied Nasrid princes forced Muhammad V to abdicate and take refuge in Guadix, and afterwards in Morocco where he was well received by the Marinid sultan Abū Salīm (760 = 1359).

Ismā'il II b. Yūsuf I, brother of Muḥammad V, a Nasrid prince devoid of personality and prestige, was put on the throne, but only for a few months. In 761 (1360) he was assassinated at the instigation of the *ra'īs* Muḥammad VI b. Ismā'il b. Naṣr, who seized the power; his troops soon afterwards suffered a defeat at the hands of the Christians at Guadix. He was soon overthrown by Muḥammad V who had returned to Spain and asked the help of Peter the Cruel of Castile to recover the throne. Muḥammad VI also appealed to the Christian ruler but the latter had him put to death in 763 (1362).

Muḥammad V's second reign lasted for good or evil another 30 years. It was mainly occupied by family quarrels and civil strife. It was at this time that the famous vizier Līṣān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb had to seek refuge in Morocco, which however did not save him from assassination. It

(1392) and the throne passed to his son Muḥammad VII. The latter imprisoned his elder brother Yūsuf in the fortress of Salobreña and resumed the offensive against the Christians, who took the fortress of Zahara from him in 809 (1407). When he died next year his elder brother Yūsuf III, the prisoner of Salobreña, assumed power and held it till his death in 820 (1417). After him his eldest son Muḥammad VIII became king of Granada; he is usually called by the chroniclers *al-Aṣḥar* ("the left-handed"). It was in his reign, also much troubled, that we find the family of the Banu 'l-Sarrāj, the Abencerages [q. v.] and that of the Zegrī (Arabic *ṣagārī*; "man of the frontier") beginning to play an important part in the history of Granada and the civil wars which characterise it. After various adventures, Muḥammad VIII had to abandon his

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE NĀSĪDĪ SULTĀNS.



is also at this date that the history of the Nasrid dynasty not only by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, but also by Ibn Khaldūn, stops. Our information about the later rulers is not only scanty but also inaccurate. The relations of the kings of Granada and of the rulers of Castile continued to be much what they had been, traces or expeditions of short duration with limited objectives. But gradually the ultimate aim of Castilian policy became apparent and generally became more and more easily attainable: the capture of Granada, which was at the same time to put an end to the Nasrid dynasty and to Muslim rule in Spanish lands. Below we give only a brief sketch of the last period of the history of the Nasrid kingdom.

III. End of the Nasrid kingdom. — Muḥammad V died in 793 (1391) and was succeeded by his son Abu 'l-Ḥadīd Yūsuf II who reigned only a short time. He died in 794

capital for a time and went to seek an asylum with the king of Tunis, while Muḥammad IX known as al-Saghir assumed power. Muḥammad VIII soon returned and his second reign was marked by the disastrous battle of Higueruela, near Granada, in which the Muslims were routed by the army of John II on July 1, 1431. Al-Aṣḥar had to take refuge in Malaga for some months during which the throne passed to Yūsuf IV b. al-Mawl, a grandson of Muḥammad VI. Al-Aṣḥar then resumed the throne for a third time but the frontiers of his kingdom were shrinking every day. The towns of Jimena, Huescar (1435) and Huelma (1438) fell into the hands of the Christian power and in 1445 Muḥammad VIII was forced to abdicate in favour of his nephew Muḥammad X, while the Abencerages, gathered at Montefrio, proclaimed Abu 'l-Naṣr Sa'd sultan. It was during the latter's reign that in 1462 Gibraltar was taken by Rodrigo

Ponce de Leon and the Duke of Medina Sidonia. Archidona also fell to the Christians. In the reign of his successor Abu 'l-Hasan 'Alī, the Christian offensive, with the accession of the Reyes Católicos, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, developed an extent and energy which it had rarely displayed previously. The second last Nasrid king Muḥammad XI, generally known in history as Boabdil (a corruption of his kunya Abū 'Abd Allāh), was forced to declare himself the vassal of the Reyes Católicos and the last Muḥammad XII called al-Zaghall ('the brave') in spite of initial successes at the siege of Loja (1482) and the battle of al-Sharḥiya (1483), had no alternative but to bow to the triumph of the Castilian armies, and withdrew when the situation became hopeless to his estates of Alpujarra [q. v.]. Loja (1486), Vélez-Málaga, Málaga and Almería (1487), Baza (1489) fell in succession. There was nothing left for Granada but to open its gates to the conquerors who entered it on 2nd Rabi' I, 897 (Jan. 1492). Muḥammad XI became an exile in Morocco where he ended his days in poverty and misery.

Bibliography: Arabic texts. Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb Lisān al-Dīn, *al-Ḥuṣa fi Tārīkh Gharnāṣa* (part. ed.), Cairo (*Markaz al-Ḥuṣa*), vol. i. and ii. (all that have appeared); manuscripts in Paris, Madrid and Escorial; do., *al-Lamḥat al-Badriya fi 'l-Dawlat al-Nasriya*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭṭāb, Cairo 1347; do., *A'māl al-'Alām fi-man bay'ā khab al-Ḥitām*, part relating to Spain, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat (in the press); Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-Ibar*, Bulaq 1284, vii. 167 sq.; French transl. by M. Gaudelroy-Demombynes, *Histoire des Beni 'l-Ahmar, rois de Grenade*, in *J. A.*, 9th series, vol. xii., Paris 1898, p. 309 sqq., 407 sqq.; do., *Histoire des Berberes*, ed. and transl. de Slane, vol. iv., *passim*; Ibn Abī Zar', *Rawḍ al-Kirfān*, ed. Tornberg and Fāz, *passim*; al-Maḥḥarrī, *Nafḥ al-Tib (Analects...)*, *passim*; transl. P. de Gayangos, *The Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*; anonymous, *Tuhfat al-'Aqā' al-Nasriya* *Dawlat Banī Naṣr*, German ed. and transl. by Müller, *Die letzten Zeiten von Granada*, Munich 1863 (reproduced at the end of the Arabic transl. of Chateaubriand, *Le dernier des Abencérages*, by Shakhī Arslān, Cairo 1343 = 1930); Müller, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der westlichen Araber*, Munich 1866; E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Algiers 1925, *passim*. Cf. also Simonet, *Description del reino de Granada*, Madrid 1860; Lafuente y Alcántara, *Inscripciones árabes de Granada*, Madrid 1859; Codera, *Numismática arábiga-española*, Madrid 1879; Gaspar Remiro, *Ultimos pactos y correspondencia entre los Reyes Católicos y Boabdil sobre la entrega de Granada*, Granada 1910; *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su reino*, 1911–1923 (all that appeared); G. Levi della Vida, *Il regno di Granada nel 1492—66 nei ricordi di un viaggiatore egiziano*, in *al-Andalus, Revista de las Escuelas de Estudios árabes de Madrid y Granada*, vol. i., 1933, p. 307–334; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leyden 1930; A. Gonzales Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana* 2, Barcelona 1929. — Cf. also the articles ALHAMBRA and GRANADA.

(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

NASS (A.), etymologically: what is apparent to the eye, as a technical term: text. In this sense the word does not occur in the Qur'ān nor in the *Hadīth*. Al-Shāfi', on the other hand, appears to be acquainted with it. In his *Risāla* he uses it chiefly in the sense of *nass* = *ḥukm* (p. 7, 16, 30, 41) or *nass* = *ḥukm* (p. 5) "what has been laid down in the Qur'ān". In other passages *nass* al-*ḥukm* is distinguished from *sunna* (p. 21, 4, infra, 24, 7, *passim*, 30, 22, 63, 22). The combination *nass sunna* occurs, however, also (p. 50, 14, 66, 2). From these passages it may also appear that al-Shāfi' uses the term chiefly to denote legal precepts. In accordance with this is the definition of the term as given in the *Lisān al-'Arab*: "the *nass* of the Qur'ān or of the *sunna* means the precepts (*ahkām*) contained in the plain words (*ṣāḥih*) of these sources".

An extension of the term has taken place chiefly in three directions, so that *nass*, apart from the general sense of text, may mean: a. the text of a precept of the law, written or not written; b. the *ṣāḥih* [q. v.] of a sacred text; c. the sense of such a text. For other special meanings of the term, cf. Dozy, *Suppléments aux dictionnaires arabes*, u. v.

Bibliography: al-Shāfi', *al-Risāla fi Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, Cairo 1321; Muḥammad 'Alī al-Tahā-nawī, *Dictionary of the Technical Terms*, ed. A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1862, p. 1405 sqq.

(A. J. WENFINK)

NASSADS were the light wooden warships built in Nassau or Hohenau (Lower Austria), the "Nassauer" or "Hohenauer", Magyar *nassád*, pl. *nassádok*, Slav. *nasad*, which were used on the Danube. They were usually manned by Serbian seamen who were called *martaloses* (from the Magyar *martalo*, *martalo*, lit. "robber"). According to a Florentine account, this Danube flotilla in 1475 consisted of 330 ships manned by 10,000 "nassadiats" armed with lances, shields, crossbow or bow and arrow, more rarely with muskets. The larger ships had also cannon. About 1522 the commander of the Danube fleet was Radić Bošić who reorganised it at Peterwardein (cf. K. J. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, III, 258 sq.). Through want of money, the Serbian seamen then deserted to the Turks (*ibid.*, p. 262) who after the fall of Belgrade seized the Danube fleet and developed it into a powerful arm. About 1530 the Danube fleet consisted of 800 nassada and was commanded by the voivod Klišim (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, III, 85).

Bibliography: E. Szentkláray, *A dunai hajóhadak története*, (Budapest, Ungar. Akadémia, 1886); G. Vitković, *Vergangenheit, Einrichtungen und Denkmäler der ungarischen königlichen Székeli (= Prallst, ustanova i spomen ugarskih krajevskih hajkala)*, in *Glasnik*, vol. XVII, Belgrad 1887; Hans Bernschwam's *Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553–55)*, ed. by F. Babinger (Munich and Leipzig 1923), p. 4; K. J. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, III, 242 and *passim*.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

NASTA'LIK. [See ARABIA, I, 391b.]

NAṢUH PASHA, an Ottoman grand vizier, was of Christian descent and was born either in Gümüldjina (the modern Komotini, Thrace, Greece) or in Drama. According to some sources (e. g. Bandier and Grimestone in Knolles), he was the son of a Greek priest, according to others (e. g. Na'imī, *Tārīkh*, first edition, p. 283: *urnaud*

(*gjinë*) of Albanian origin. He came early in life to Stambul, spent two years in the Old Seray as a *tiberdar* (halbardier) and left it as a *janik*. Through the favour of the *anjan's* confidant Mehemmed Agha he rapidly attained high office. In quick succession he became woiwod of Zile (Anatolia), master of the horse and governor of Füleke (Hungary). He married the daughter of the Kurdish Mir Sherif and thereby obtained riches as great as his power, which every one was now beginning to fear. His ambition and arrogance, his venality and cruelty knew no bounds and he was even said to be aiming at the throne. In 1015 (1606) he was to conduct the campaign against Persia, as the son-in-law of Mir Sherif and on account of his local knowledge, with the rank of third vizier and ser'asker, but his attention was claimed by the trouble in Anatolia which was affecting the whole of Asia Minor; through Kurd treachery he lost a battle and it was only in the autumn of 1608 that his troops joined the army of the grand vizier who received him very coolly (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. 412 sq.). In 1011 (1602) Naşuh Pasha had been appointed governor of Siwan, the next year of Halab and in 1015 (1606) of Diyarbakir. His goal was the grand viziership. He did not hesitate to ask the sultan to give him the imperial seal and the post of commander-in-chief in return for a sum of 40,000 ducats and the maintenance of the army at his own expense. Ahmad I handed on the offer to the grand vizier, who summoned Naşuh Pasha to him and fined him that sum as a punishment (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. 446 sq.). When soon afterwards the grand vizier, the Croat Kuyudju Murid Pasha died at the age of over 90, Naşuh Pasha became his successor (Aug. 22, 1611). In the following year he married 'A'isha, the three year old daughter of Sultan Ahmad I (Feb. 1612). His arrogance now knew no bounds; all his opponents were ruthlessly disposed of. His personal qualities dazzled everyone: "Of imposing appearance, brave and eloquent, never weary of talk or action, but at the same time passionate, impetuous, quite incapable of kindly conduct and flattering words and always intent on humbling the other viziers" (J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. 472). As human life was nothing to him but wealth everything, he accumulated vast treasures. Sycophants and astrologers nourished in him the delusion that he was born to rule. The number of his enemies increased from day to day as a result of his intrigues and his ruthlessness. When on Friday the 13th Ramadan 1023 (Oct. 17, 1614) he was to accompany the Sultan to the mosque, suspecting no good, he said he was ill. The *bestanji bashi* sent to him had him strangled by his own garden guards. His body was buried on the Oğ Maidan. His estate which fell to the coffers of the state was enormous: pearls, jewels, carpets, cloth and bullion without number (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. 474 sq. quoting Merzeray, ii. 195). — Naşuh Pasha left several sons, one of whom Hussin Pasha (d. 1053 [1643]; cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, v. 260 and Hâdjidi Khalifa, *Fedhike*, ii. 226) had a son named Mehmed. The latter wrote a history of the Ottoman empire (*Dhikri Tawârihi-i Ahi 'Othmân*) from the death of Murid IV (1048 = 1639) to 1081 (1670) the original MS. of which is in Dresden (cf. F. Bahinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 211).

Bibliography: The historians Na'imâ and Peçewî, utilised by J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. 319, 384, 412, 446, 448, 463, 471, 475; also O. Sapiencia, *Nueva tradide de Turquía* (Madrid 1622), fol. 21^v: *De la vida y muerte de Naşuh-Bashâ* (by a slave in Murid's camp); Hâdjidi Khalifa, *Fedhike*, i. 361 sq.; Edw. Grimestone in Knolles, *The General History of the Turks*; Michel Baudier, *Inventaire de l'histoire générale des Turcs* (4th ed., Paris 1612), p. 796 sq.; *Copie d'une lettre écrite de Constantinople à un Gentil-homme François, contenant la trahison de Baicha Nassouf, sa mort étrange, et des grandes richesses qui lui ont été trouvées* (Paris 1615; 8 pp. 8°: rare pamphlet); N. Barozzi and G. Berchet, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti: Turchia*, i. 259; Hurmuzaki, *Suppl.*, i. 142 sq.; Hans Jakob Amann, *Reise ins GLOBE Land*, ed. A. F. Ammann (Zurich 1919—1921), p. 44, 107 sq., 119, 125, 127—130. — On an Arabic work dealing with Naşuh Pasha's governorship in Halab cf. F. Bahinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 211, note. — Sources of secondary value are *Sig'ill-i 'Othmânî*, iv. 556 and *Hâdikat al-Wuward*, p. 59 sq. (with many errors). — On the rumour that Naşuh Pasha had made an arrangement with the Persians and that the discovery of this treachery caused his death, cf. the contemporary stories mentioned by J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. 474, note, as well as the Paris pamphlet of 1615. (FRANZ BAHINGER)

NATIDJA (A.) is the usual name for the conclusion resulting from the combination of the two premisses (*muşadidamâr*) in the syllogism (*hiyâ*). It corresponds to the Stoic *ἐκφορά*; this word in the works of Galen known to the Arabs is applied to the various discharges from the body but also means, as with the Stoics, the conclusion. Aristotle used the word *ἐκφορά*: that which concludes or completes the syllogism.

In place of the usual *natidja* we also find *ridf* or *radf* (= deduction). (TJ. DE BOER)

NÂTIK. [See *SAR'IVA*.]

NAVARINO (*Ναβάρνο*), a little seaport in the southwest of Messenia not far from the ancient Pylos, opposite the promontory of Koryphasium on which there was in prehistoric times an acropolis and later, during classical antiquity, an often mentioned settlement. The harbour of Navarino is one of the safest in the Greek east for it is sheltered by the island of Sphacteria, which lies right opposite it and has intimate connections with many ancient, medieval and modern events. Recent research has shown that Navarino has no connection with the Homeric Pylos. The latter was in Triphylia near the village of Kakobatos where prehistoric tombs were recently excavated. The derivation of the name Navarino cannot be given with certainty. According to Fallmerayer, *Gesch. der Halbinsel Morea*, i. 188, the name Navarino is a distinct survival of Avar rule in Morea between 587 and 807. On the other hand, Hopf thought that it owed its name to the Navarrese (cf. below). Fallmerayer's view has been adopted by E. Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, i. 86; ii. 181 and W. Miller among others. According to M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, i. 411, the name Navarino developed from *sic* τὸ 'Αβάρνο. Hopf's view is however wrong, for Navarino is mentioned before the appearance of the Genoese in the Morea. In the middle ages the country round Navarino

was called Zonglon (Zonchio), from which came the French name of the place Junch (Old French *junc* 'rush'). One of the earliest mentions of Navarino is in the geographical treatise, the *Nushat al-Mushat* of Idrisi; he refers to the place as Irouda and adds that it has 'a very commodious harbour'. After the period of Frankish rule, information about Navarino becomes fuller. The Knights, who under Guillaume de Champlite and Godefroy de Villeharduin had planned the conquest of the Morea, in 1205 took its inhabitants and governor prisoners after the capitulation of Navarino.

Later the Baron of Thebes and Marshal of Achaia, Nicolas St. Omer (d. 1294), built for his nephew Nicolas III St. Omer, the Neocastro (New Castle) of Navarino. This is said, according to Buchon, to have been called Neo-Avarino in contrast to Palio-Avarino. At the end of 1381 or early in the next year, the Navarrese company seized Navarino and made it the chief centre of their military power. Navarino then became known as Château Navarres (*Voyage d'Oultremar, par le Seigneur [Nompur] de Caumont*, publ. par la Grange, Paris 1858, p. 89). The Greeks however at this time called Navarino Spanochori (= village of the Spaniards, after the Navarrese). In 1417 Venetian soldiers occupied Navarino and six years later the republic of St. Mark became the lawful owner of the place. In the summer of 1460 Sulṭān Muḥammad II appeared before Navarino with an army, which, in spite of the recently concluded peace treaty, laid waste the country round the town. In August 1500 the Turks took Navarino from the Venetians without difficulty after taking Modon and Koron shortly before, although the garrison of Navarino numbered 3,000 soldiers and had provisions for about three years. Soon afterwards the Venetians were able to retake Navarino by a stratagem and to destroy the Muslim garrison. 'Alī Paṣhā now advanced from the land and Kemāl Rē's attacked with his fleet by sea and in 1501 they took finally Navarino, inflicting great losses on the Venetians. Navarino retained its importance under Turkish rule and was often the place of concentration of the imperial fleet. Ḥādīdī Khālifa and Ewliyā Çelebi give some important information about Navarino and the former says that its original name was Anavarin. In the year 1686 the Venetians again took the town which they held till 1715. The Turks then entered upon their last period of occupation.

During the first Russo-Turkish War in the reign of Catherine II (1768—1774) Navarino played an important part. After a stubborn defence for six days by the Turkish garrison and the Muslim civilian population, the Russians on April 10, 1770 forced the fortress of Navarino, no longer strongly enough fortified but still amply provided with munitions and artillery, to capitulate. By the terms of the treaty, the Turks of Navarino went to Chania (Crete) leaving behind them a number of Christian women whom they had had imprisoned in their harems. Soon afterwards the Russians made Navarino, the fortifications of which they renovated, their principal base of operations in the Morea. Fate decided that the Russians had to evacuate Navarino again. On June 1, 1770, the Russian ships sailed from the harbour of Navarino. The Turks next day occupied the well placed fortress, which was in part burned and destroyed.

During the last decades of Turkish rule in the Morea, the Turkish family of Bekir-Agha of Navarino played a prominent part. Soon after the outbreak of the War of Liberation, the Greeks laid siege on March 29, 1821 to Navarino where the Turks of Arcadia (Cypritis) had also taken refuge. On Aug. 7, 1821 the Turks surrendered to the Greeks who massacred them all without mercy in spite of all agreements. In the spring of 1825, Ibrāhīm Paṣhā of Egypt occupied Navarino and the neighbouring fortress in spite of a heroic defence by the Greeks.

What gave Navarino its special place in history was the naval battle fought on Oct. 20, 1827 in its harbour between the combined fleets of England, France and Russia on one side and those of Turkey, Egypt and Tunisia on the other, in which the latter were almost completely destroyed. It is calculated that the Turks lost 6,000 killed and the allied losses were only about 1,000. Soon after the battle, Ibrāhīm Paṣhā concluded a truce with Admiral Codrington.

Navarino remained in Ibrāhīm Paṣhā's hands until the spring of 1828. The French under General Maison then relieved the Egyptian-Turkish troops. Alfred Reumont gives a fine picture of Navarino under French occupation in 1832.

Bibliography: (Selection, in addition to references in the text): J. v. Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna geographisch beschrieben von* *Hadichi Chalfa*, Vienna 1812, p. 122—123; Ewliyā Çelebi, *Siyāhat-nāmesi*, viii, Stambul 1928, p. 309 sqq.; Pier' Antonio Pascino, *Breve descrizione topografica del Peloponneso à Morca*, Venice 1704, *passim*; F. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, II, Stuttgart 1889, p. 201 (cf. also the Greek translation with supplements by Sp. P. Lambros, II, Athens 1904, p. 204, 584—585); William Müller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908, *passim*; *do.*, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, Cambridge 1921, p. 105 sqq., 371 (where earlier literature is given); A. G. Momferratos, *Μελέται καὶ ῥητορικὴ ἐπὶ Ἐκκλεσιάρχας*, Athens 1914, *passim*; J. Philimon, *Δελφικὰ ἱστορικά περὶ τῆς ἘΑΑ. ἐκκλεσιάρχας*, I, Athens 1859, p. 213; P. M. Kontogiannis, *Οἱ ἘΑΑ. ἐκκλεσιάρχας ἀπὸ τῆς ἘΑΑ. ἐκκλεσιάρχας*, Athens 1903, p. 136 sqq., 183 sqq.; *Memoir of Admiral Sir E. Codrington*, London 1873; A. Reumont, *Reisebilder und Umrisse aus südlichen Gegenden*, Stuttgart and Tübingen 1835, p. 83 sqq. (NIROS A. BEES (REHZ)).

NAVAS DE TOLOSA (LAS), a place in the south of Spain in the province of Jaen on the frontier of Andalusia, a short distance from the modern town of Carolina. Its site corresponds to that of a fortress called *Ḥiṣn al-Ḥāsh* in the Muslim period. It was in the plain which lies in front of it that there was fought on the 15th Safar 609 (July 16, 1212) the great battle between the Christians and the Almohads which ended in the rout of the latter.

As a result of the defeat of Alarcos [q.v.], the king of Castile, Alfonso VIII, had concluded a truce with the Muslims. On its expiration at the end of the xiith century, the Christian troops began a series of surprise attacks on the Muslim frontiers. Disturbed at this, the Almohad ruler al-Nāṣir [q.v.] prepared a great expeditionary force in Morocco while on his side the king of Castile secured the help of the kings of Aragon,

Navarre and Leon, as well as of the Count of Portugal and the Pope, who preached a crusade against the infidel. The Christian troops gathered in Toledo and set out on June 20, 1212. The encounter was a bloody one. The Muslim volunteers from Morocco and the Andalusian contingents soon lost ground and the Almohad *ʿabid* were in their turn decimated. The victors were able to exploit their success and took Ubeda [q.v.], Baza [q.v.] and other strongholds. The Christian victory of las Navas de Tolosa was certainly one of the most important steps in the "Reconquista".

Bibliography: The Arab historians given in the bibliography to the article ALMOHADS and Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Himyari, *al-Rawaf al-miʿyar*, article AL-ʿISKĀN. — A study on the campaign of 1212 by A. Huici, *Estudio sobre la campaña de las Navas de Tolosa* appeared in *Anales del Instituto General y Técnico de Valencia*, Valencia 1916.

(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

NAWĀR. [See NURĪ.]

AL-NAWAWI (OF AL-NAWĀWI), MUHYI AL-DIN ABU ZAKARIYĀʾ YAḤYĀ B. SHARAF B. MURĪ following Nawawī's own spelling, Suyūṭī, fol. 53^b) B. HĀSAN B. HUSAIN B. MUHAMMAD B. DĪNAR B. HIZAM AL-HIZĀMĪ AL-DIMASHQĪ, a Shāfiʿī jurist, born in Muḥarram 631 (Oct. 1233) in Nawa south of Damascus in Djawlān. The ability of the boy very early attracted attention and his father brought him in 649 to the Madrasa al-Rawāḥiyya in Damascus. There he first of all studied medicine but very soon went over to Islamic learning. In 651 he made the pilgrimage with his father. About 655 he began to write and was called to the al-Ashrafiyya school of tradition in Damascus in succession to Abū Shāma who had just died. Although his health had suffered severely during his life as a student, he lived very frugally and even declined a salary. His reputation as a scholar and a man soon became so great that he even dared to approach Sultān Balbars to ask him to free the people of Syria from the war-taxes imposed upon them and to protect the teachers in the madrasas from a reduction in their income. This was in vain however, and Balbars expelled al-Nawawī from Damascus when he alone refused to sign a *fatwā* approving the legality of these exactions. (This action of al-Nawawī's is commemorated in the popular romance *Strat al-Zāhir Balbars*, Cairo 1326, xli. 38 199, in which the Sultān, cursed by al-Nawawī, becomes blind for a time.) He died unmarried in his father's house in Nawa on Wednesday 24th Rabiʿ al-Thani 724 (Dec. 22, 1277). His tomb is still held in honour there.

Al-Nawawī has retained his high reputation to the present day. He had an exceptional knowledge of Tradition and adopted even stricter standards than later Islām; for example he admits only five works on Tradition as canonical, while he expressly puts the *Sunan* of Ibn Māḍja on a level with the *Musnad* of Ahmad b. Ḥanbal (cf. *Sharḥ Muslim*, I, 5; *Aḥkām*, p. 3). In spite of his fondness for Muslim, he gives a higher place to Bukhārī (*Tahqīq*, p. 550). He wrote the principal commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ* (pr. in 5 volumes, Cairo 1283); as an introduction to this, he wrote a history of the transmission of this work and a sketch of the sciences of Tradition. He gives not only observations on the *ṣunūn* and a grammatical explanation of the traditions but he also comments on them,

mainly from the theological and legal aspect, quoting when necessary not only the founders of the principal schools but also the older jurists like al-Awāzī, ʿAṣā, etc. He also inserted headings (*tarjama*) in Muslim's work. We may also mention his frequently annotated *Kitāb al-Arbaʿin* (pr. Hildesheim 1294 and often since) and portions of commentaries on al-Bukhārī (*G. A. L.*, I, 158) and Abū Dawūd (Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, fol. 10^v); and an extract from Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth* with the title *al-Tahṣīl wa ʿl-Taḥṣīl*, partly transl. by Marçais, in *J. A.*, ser. 9, xvi.—xviii, and printed at Cairo 1307, with a commentary by al-Suyūṭī, *Tahṣīl al-Rawāf*.

Al-Nawawī's importance as a jurist is perhaps even greater. In Shāfiʿī circles he was regarded with his *Minḥāj al-Tālibīn* (finished 669; pr. Cairo 1297 and frequently; ed. van den Berg with French transl., Batavia 1882—1884; cf. thereon Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geskr.*, vi. 3—18) as the highest authority along with al-Rāfiʿī and since the tenth (xvth) century the two commentaries on this work, Ibn Ḥajjar's *Tuhfa* and al-Ramli's *Nihāya*, have been regarded almost as the law books of the Shāfiʿī school. The book consists of excerpts from the *Muḥarrar* of Rāfiʿī and, as the author himself says, is intended to be a kind of commentary on it. It certainly owes the estimation in which it is held also to the fact that it goes back via al-Rāfiʿī and al-Ghazālī to the Imām al-Haramain. We should also mention the *Ramḍā fī Muḥṭasab Sharḥ al-Rāfiʿī* (on Ghazālī's *Wafāʾ*) finished in 669 on which commentaries have often been written and the commentaries on Shīrāzī's *al-Muḥaddithāt* and *al-Tanbīh* (*G. A. L.*, I, 387) and al-Ghazālī's *al-Waṣīṭ*, which do not seem to have survived, and a collection of *fatwā*'s put together by his pupil Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār (Cairo 1352).

His biographical and grammatical studies resulted in the *Tahqīq al-ʿAsmāʾ wa ʿl-Lughāt* (Part 1 on the names, Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1842—1847; Part 2 only in Ms. in Leyden; included by Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār among the unfinished works and there are certainly gaps in it) and *al-Tahṣīl fī Alfāz al-Tanbīh*. To his mystical tendencies — he had attended lectures on the *Risāla* of al-Kunhāfi and transmitted it — we owe works like the *Kitāb al-Aḥkām* on the prayers, finished in 667 (pr. Cairo 1331 and frequently), the *Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn* (finished in 670; pr. Mecca 1302, 1312) and the incomplete *Ḥusn al-ʿArifin fī ʿl-Zuhd wa ʿl-Taqawwuf*. An almost complete list of his some 50 works is given in Wüstenfeld, p. 45 199, those that are still in MSS. are given in Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, I, 394 199, and index and those that are printed in Sarkis, *Maʿjmaʿ*, col. 1876—1879.

Bibliography: Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār (d. 724 = 1324), *Tuhfat al-Tālibīn fī Tarjamat Shaikhīn al-Imām al-Nawawī* (with many *marʿat*'s), MS. Tübingen, N^o. 18; al-Sakhāwī (d. 902 = 1496—1497), *Tarjamat Kitāb al-Awāzī* ... al-Nawawī, Ms. Berlin, Wetstein, II, 1742, fol. 140—207 (Ahlwardt, N^o. 10125); al-Suyūṭī, *al-Minḥāj fī Tarjamat al-Nawawī*, MS. Berlin Wetstein II, 1807, fol. 53^r—68^r (Ahlwardt, N^o. 10126); al-Sabkī, *Tahqīq al-ḥikāya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1324, v. 165—168; al-Qḥabāt, *Tahqīq al-ḥikāya*, Haidarābād n.d., iv. 259—264; al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾat al-Dīnān*, Haidarābād 1339, iv. 182—186; the other sources are printed in Wüsten-

feld, *Über das Leben und die Schriften des Scheich Abu Zakariya Yahya al-Nawawi*, Göttingen 1849; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspre. Geschriften*, ii. 387 sq. For the reference to the popular romance I am indebted to Herr cand. phil. Wangelin.

(HEFFERING)

AL-NAWAWI MUHAMMAD b. 'OMAR b. 'ARABI al-Djawi, an Arabic writer of Malay origin, born in Tanjara (Banten), the son of a village judge (*pangulu*), after concluding his studies made the pilgrimage to Mecca and settled there permanently about 1855, after making a short visit to his native land. After he had studied further and completed his education with the teachers of the holy city, he set up as a teacher himself and gained great influence over his fellow countrymen and their kinsmen. From 1870 he devoted half his time to authorship. He was still alive in 1888.

He wrote a large number of commentaries on popular textbooks, which are listed by Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, ii. 501 in addition to Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 362 sqq. Of these the following may be mentioned, with some information additional to what is contained in these two works.

He expounded the *Kur'an* in his *al-Tafsir al-muntazir li-Ma'ālim al-Tanzil al-murfi 'an Wafiqū Maḥsin al-Tawil*, Cairo 1305. In the field of *Fiqh* he annotated the *Fatḥ al-Karīm* of Muḥammad b. al-Kāsim al-Ghazālī (d. 918 = 1512), a commentary on Abū Shudjā' al-Isfahānī's *al-Taḥrīr*, entitled *al-Tawḥīd*, Cairo 1305, 1310, and again entitled *Kut al-Ḥadīth*, Cairo 1301, 1305, 1310. — He wrote a commentary on al-Ghazālī's *Biḍāyat al-Hidāya* under the title *Marāḥiṭ li-Uḥūdīya*, Bulāq 1293, 1309; Cairo 1298, 1304, 1307, 1308, 1319, 1327. — On the *Manāḥib al-Ḥafīd* of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Shirīnī al-Khaṣīb (d. 977 = 1569) he wrote *al-Fatḥ al-muḥīḍ*, Bulāq 1276, 1292; Cairo 1297, 1298, 1306; Mecca 1316. — On the *Safinat al-Salāḥ* of 'Abd Allāh b. Yahyā al-Ḥadramī he wrote the *Sullam al-Munāḥiṭ*, Bulāq 1297; Cairo 1301, 1307. — He wrote a commentary on the 601 questions of Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Zahid (d. 819 = 1416) put into verse by his fellow countryman Muṣṭafā b. 'Othmān al-Djawi al-Karīm as *al-Fatḥ al-muḥīḍ* on *salāt*, *ahm*, *fast* and *pilgrimage* under the title *al-Ḥidāya* under the title *Marāḥiṭ li-Uḥūdīya*, Cairo 1300; the *Safinat al-Naḥḍ* of Salīm b. Samīr of Shīr in Ḥadramawt, ended in Batavia, was expounded under the title *Kawāḍif al-Saḥā*, Cairo 1292, 1301, 1302, 1303, 1305; Bulāq 1309. — On the exposition of the *uṣūl al-dīn* by his colleague Muḥammad b. Sulaimān Ḥaṣṣb Allāh entitled *al-Riyāḍ al-tadī'a* he wrote the commentary *al-Thimār al-yūnūs*, Cairo 1299, 1308, 1329; Bulāq 1302.

In the field of dogmatics he annotated al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-Barāhīn* (d. 892 = 1496) entitled *Ḍaw'at al-yafīn*, Cairo 1304; the *Aḥḍat al-'Aḍām* of Ahmad al-Marzūqī (c. 1281 = 1864) entitled *Nūr al-Zalām*, Cairo 1303, 1329; al-Būḥārī's *Riḍāla fi 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd* entitled *Tiḍwān al-Dawr*, Cairo 1301, 1309, Mecca 1329; the *Maḥāṣil* of Abū 'I-Laili entitled *Kaṣr al-Ghaith*, Cairo 1301, 1303, Mecca 1311; the anonymous *Fatḥ al-Rahmān* entitled *Ḥilyat al-Shayān* in a *Maḥmūd*, Mecca 1304; the *al-Dawr al-farīd* of his teachers Ahmad al-Nahrāwī entitled *Fatḥ al-muḥīḍ*, Cairo 1298.

In the field of mysticism he wrote a commentary on the *Manṣūma Hidāyat al-Aḥkīyā*

līlā Tarīk al-Awliyā' of Zain al-Dīn al-Malibārī (d. 928 = 1522) entitled *Salām al-Fuḍāḥ*, Cairo 1301, Mecca 1315; and on his *Manṣūma fi Sāw'ah al-Insān* he wrote the *Kāṣi' al-Tiḥyān*, Cairo 1296. On the *al-Manḥaḥ al-atamm fi Tahwīḥ al-Ḥukm* of 'Alī b. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Hindī (d. 975 = 1567) he wrote *Miṣṣah al-Zuḥm*, Mecca 1314. — His commentaries on stories of the life of the Prophet may be classed as edifying popular literature; such he wrote on the *Mawlid al-Nabī* under the title *al-'Arw*, Cairo 1926, which is ascribed by some to Ibn al-Djawi, by others to Ahmad b. al-Kāsim al-Ḥarīrī, entitled *Fatḥ al-Samad al-'Alīm 'alā Mawlid al-Shaikh Ahmad b. Kāsim wayuzammā al-Buḥūq al-Fawāḥ li-Ḥaym Aḥṣā Mawlid Ibn al-Djawi*, Bulāq 1292, entitled *Buḥyāt al-'Aḍām fi Sharḥ Mawlid Sayyid al-Anām li-Ibn al-Djawi*, Cairo 1927 and *Fatḥ al-Samad al-'Alīm 'alā Mawlid al-Shaikh Ahmad b. Kāsim*, Mecca 1306, as well as on the *Mawlid* of Dja'far al-Barzandī (d. 1179 = 1765) entitled *Targhib al-Muḥtashin*, Bulāq 1292, and again under the title *Maḥāṣil al-Su'ūd*, Bulāq 1296, and on his *al-Khaṣṣi' al-nabawīya* entitled *al-Durār al-bakiya*, Bulāq 1299. He made an excerpt from al-Kastallānī's (d. 923 = 1517) *Mawlid* entitled *al-Sirt al-dāni fi Mawlid Sayyidnā Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-'Aḍām*, Cairo 1299.

In the field of grammar he wrote a commentary on the *Adjurrūmiya* entitled *Kawāḍif al-Murūfiya 'an Sifāt al-Adjurrūmiya*, Cairo 1308 and on a versification *Fatḥ al-Ghāṣir al-Khaṣṣi' 'alā 'I-Kawāḍif al-djāliya fi Naḥḥ al-Adjurrūmiya*, Bulāq 1298, on 'Abd al-Mun'im 'Iwād al-Djirdāwī's (c. 1271 = 1854) *al-Rawḍa al-bakiya li-'Abd al-tayyib* entitled *al-Furūq al-yāḥiyya*, Cairo 1299. In the field of rhetoric he completed in 1293 (1876) a commentary on the *Riḍālat al-Ṣi'arāt* of Ḥusām al-Nawāwī al-Millīki entitled *Zuhb al-Bayān*, Cairo 1301.

Bibliography: In the article; cf. also J. L. Sarkis, *Muḥḍam al-Maḥḍāt*, vol. 1879—1883. (C. BROCKELMANN)

NAWBA, an art-form in the music of the Islamic East similar to the European cantata or suite. There are two varieties: 1. the nawba of chamber music, and 2. the nawba of military music (for the latter see *ṬARĪK KHẖNA* in the *Supplement*). The nawba of chamber music varies in construction according to its provenance, and does not always carry this particular name. As early as the viiith century A.D. we appear to see this nawba in its nascent stage. The musicians at the court of the Caliphate under the early 'Abbāsids performed in turn (*dawr*) and succession (*nawba*), and by the time of al-Wāḥidī (d. 847) we know that a court musician had a particular day for his nawba (*Kitaḥ al-Aḥḍāt*, iii. 177; v. 82, 120; vi. 73; x. 123; xvii. 131; xxi. 150). Some musicians were famous because they specialized in certain genres of music, such as Ibrāhīm al-Mawālī in the *māḥūrī* and Ḥakam al-Wālī in the *ḥanaḍī* rhythms (*Aḥḍāt*, vi. 12, 66), and a programme made up of these diverse types of music probably led to the term nawba being transferred to the programme itself (Ribera, *Las Cantigas*, p. 48).

Although we read in the *Alf Laila wa-Laila* of a nawba (ii. 54), a *dāriq* (a quick movement; cf. the modern *dawr*) of a nawba (ii. 87), as well as a complete nawba (iv. 173) being played, yet it is not until the xivth century A.D. that we

possess precise information about the nawba and its integral parts. 'Abd al-Kādir b. Ghāibī [q.v.] tells us that among the ancient forms of musical composition were the nawba, *naẓm* and *ḥarf*. The nawba, he says, was made up of four movements (*ḥikā'*) viz., the *ḥawī*, the *ghazal*, the *tarāna*, and the *furū ḍāḥḥ*. In the year 1379, whilst at the court of Djalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusain the Djalā'irid sultan of al-Ḥirāḥ, Ibn Ghāibī introduced a fifth movement to the nawba, which he called the *mustafīd*. During this occasion, he tells us, he composed fifty *namūdāt* for the court, and the words of one of these have been preserved (fol. 95v). These five movements were instrumental as well as vocal, and besides the verse-form being specified (the *tarāna* for instance was in *ruḥḥ*), the rhythms (*ḥikā'*) for the instrumental accompaniments were also prescribed, one of the *ḥikā'* group being essential. The purely instrumental movements are also mentioned by Ibn Ghāibī including the overture called the *ḥikā'*, which even to-day is the prelude to the nawba. He calls it *naẓm* ("embroideries"), and says that the *ḥikā'* *al-furūḥ* has three, five, or seven sections (*ḥayāt*).

In days of old the nawba was considered the most important art-form in the music of Islamic peoples. To-day it has fallen into neglect and in some countries will probably soon disappear. Two distinct cultures may be found in the modern nawba, the Eastern and Western. The former is clearly a survival of that nawba described by Ibn Ghāibī in the sixteenth century A.D. The latter is claimed (Yāfil) to have had its origin in al-Andalus in the eighth–eleventh century, and is known to-day as the *nawba ḡharṇāfi*. It is confined to North Africa, the purest type being found in the West, whilst the nearer the East is approached the more we find the influence of the Eastern nawba.

The Levantine nawba to-day comprises the following movements: 1. The *ṭāḥīm*, an instrumental prelude played by the *ma'allīm* or *chef d'orchestre*; 2. the *ḥikā'* or *ḥarf*, an instrumental overture; 3. the *ḥār*, a vocal movement; 4. the *ṣurabā'*, whose name recalls the form of the sixteenth century *tarāna*; 5. the *naẓm*, also reminiscent of the *naẓm* of old, since its function is tonal "embroidery"; 6. the *ḡḡḡ samā'i*, in slow rhythm; 7. the *ḡḡḡ*, comprising verses; 8. the *yūḡḡ samā'i*; 9. the *ḥikā'* *ḡḡḡ*, an instrumental finale (cf. Thibaut and Lavignac, v. 286f). A shorter nawba is described by Ducoudray (p. 22), whilst the famous British musician Sir Arthur Sullivan has related (*Fortnightly Review*, 1905, p. 86) his experiences as an auditor of the nawba. The various movements, especially the instrumental ones, are also cultivated in the Near East as sole items of performance, the *ḥikā'*, *ṭāḥīm*, and *ḡḡḡ* being special favourites. The *ḥikā'* or *ḡḡḡ* is still composed in sections as of old, but these are called *ḡḡḡ* instead of *ḡḡḡ*. Another interesting type of nawba in Egypt includes the dance, and an example is given in complete score by Victor Loret. It comprises seven movements: 1. The *ḡḡḡ*, for instruments and voices; 2. the *ṭurḡḡḡ al-ḡḡḡ*, for the ballet; 3. the *ṭāḥīm*, for the solo dance; 4. the *ṭurḡḡḡ al-ḡḡḡ*, for the ballet; 5. the *ṭāḥīm*, for the solo dance; 6. the *ṭurḡḡḡ al-ḡḡḡ*, for the ballet; 7. the *ṭāḥīm*, for the solo dance. The whole is accompanied by choir and instruments.

In Western Turkestan the nawba of to-day

shows that in the Middle East it has developed somewhat differently from that of the Levant. Here, more attention has been paid to the purely instrumental movements, and they have been kept separate. The nawba is here called a *maḡmūḡ*, a name which properly stands for "a melodic mode". It is divided into three parts, the first two being the most important. These two are the *muḡḡḡḡḡ* or instrumental pieces, and the *naw* comprising vocal-instrumental pieces. The names of most of the sections of the *muḡḡḡḡḡ* and *naw* refer to either rhythmic (*ḡḡḡ*) or melodic modes (*maḡmūḡ*), although two of them, the *ḡḡḡ* and the *ṭāḥīm*, retain names which occur in the sixteenth century Ibn Ghāibī treatise. In Bukhārā, only six *maḡmūḡ* (= *namūdāt*) appear to have survived, although the Uzbeks claim that they know others. These six have recently been described by the Uzbek poet Fitrat, whilst the notation has been published by a Soviet Union official, Colonel V. A. Uspensky. There is also another but shorter type of *maḡmūḡ* known in Bukhārā, and six of these have also survived. In Khwārizm, the *muḡḡḡḡḡ* of the *maḡmūḡ* (= *namūdāt*) differ from those of Bukhārā, and here an additional one has been spared the ravages of time. The Khwārizm *muḡḡḡḡḡ* are probably purer than those of Bukhārā because they appear to have been handed down, not *visu voce* as elsewhere, but by means of a notation which was known as early as the time of the Khwārizm Shāh 'Alī al-Dīn Muḡammad (d. 1220) (cf. *Pre-Musica*, New York 1927, v.; *The Sackbut*, London 1924, iv.).

In North Africa, as already stated, a different tradition in the nawba has been followed. Here there are several varieties, but the most highly esteemed is the *nawba ḡharṇāfi*. As the name signifies, al-Andalus is the place of origin, and this is claimed for both the words and music. Although MSS. exist which contain the words of the Granadan *namūdāt*, yet we only know the music itself from modern Moorish practice. We read of the "twenty-four *namūdāt*", which tells us that the *namūdāt* were composed in the twenty-four modes (*ḡḡḡ*). Others say that the Andalusians only possessed twelve or fourteen *namūdāt* (F. Salvador-Daniel, p. 52; Yāfil, Pref.) but it has now been shown (Farmer, *An Old Moorish Lute Tutor*) that there were twenty-four originally, but their names are different from those which some writers have presumed (Delphin et Guin, p. 62; Lavignac, v. 2859). The *nawba ḡharṇāfi* as performed in Algeria to-day comprises the following movements: 1. the *ḡḡḡ*, a short vocal prelude; 2. the *ṭurḡḡḡ*, an instrumental prelude; 3. the *ṭāḥīm* or *ṭurḡḡḡ* ("ornamenting"), the overture proper; 4. the *maḡḡḡ* or *maḡḡḡḡḡ*, a vocal movement, preceded by a short instrumental prelude called a *ḡḡḡ*; 5. the *ḡḡḡ* or *ḡḡḡḡḡ*, a vocal movement preceded by a *ḡḡḡ*; 6. the *ḡḡḡ*, also a vocal movement preceded by a *ḡḡḡ*, and whose name is practically identical with the old *ḡḡḡḡḡ* (cf. above); 7. the *ḡḡḡḡḡ*, a vocal movement which is introduced by a *ṭāḥīm*; 8. the *ḡḡḡḡḡ* or *muḡḡḡḡḡ*, the finale (British Museum MS., Or. 7007; Yāfil, *Maḡmūḡ*; cf. Lavignac, v. 2941; Delphin et Guin, p. 65). The words of the classical Granadan *namūdāt* have been edited from MS. sources and *visu voce* by Edmond Yāfil in his *Maḡmūḡ al-ḡḡḡḡḡ*, whilst with the collaboration of Jules Rouanet he issued his *Répertoire de musique arabe*

et mours which contains the music of a complete *nawba gharnafi* and sundry movements from others. In 1863, Christianowitsch published his *Esquisses historiques de la Musique arabe*, which also contained the major portions of seven Granadan *nawāṭ*. Another type of *nawba* practised in Algeria, but of secondary importance, is the *nawāṭ al-ihlālī*. In Morocco the five movements of the *nawba* are the *ḥarī*, the *ḥā'im wannaf*, the *ḥafā'ih*, the *ḥaddām*, and the *dardj*, as well as the overture *ṭāhiya*.

Bibliography: Treatises: Christianowitsch, *Esquisses historiques de la Musique arabe*, Cologne 1863; F. Salvador-Daniel, *La Musique arabe*, Algiers 1879; Ducoudray, *Souvenirs d'une mission musicale en Grèce et en Orient*, Paris 1876; Delphin and Guin, *Notes sur la poésie et la musique arabes*, Paris 1886; Yāfī, *Maḡmū' al-Aghāni wa 'l-Aḥwāl min Kalām al-Andalus*, Algiers 1904; Rouanet, *La Musique arabe et La Musique arabe dans le Maghreb* (Lavignac's *Encyclopédie de la Musique*, v., Paris 1913—1922); British Museum MSS. Or. 2361, fol. 215^v; Or. 7007; Ibn Ghaliḥ, Bodleian MS., Marsh, N^o. 828, fol. 95; Pittat, *Uzḥik ḥilālīy mūsīqī*, Tashkent 1927; Uspensky, *Klassicheskaia muzyka Uzbekov*, Tashkent 1927; *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, Bulak 1869 sq.; *Alf Laila wa-Laila*, ed. Macnaghten, Calcutta 1839—1842; Raouf Yekta Bey, *La Musique turque* (Lavignac, *Encyclopédie*, v.), *Musique orientale*, *Le compositeur du "Péchre"* dans le monde Nihavend (Revue Musicale, 1907); Loret, *Quelques documents relatifs à la littérature et la musique populaires de la Haute-Egypte* (Mémoires... de la Mission archéologique française au Caire, I, Paris 1889); Farmer, *An Old Moorish Lute Tutor*, Glasgow 1933; John Rylands Library Manchester Pers. MS. N^o. 707, fol. 38; Vienna MS. N^o. 1517; Mironov, *Obzor muzikal'nikh kultur uzbekov*, Samarkand 1931.

Music: North Africa: Yāfī and Rouanet, *Répertoire de Musique arabe et mours*, Algiers 1904 sq.; Ricard et Chottin, *Corpus de musique marocaine*, fasc. I. (1931). — Egypt: Kustandi Manā, *Takṣīm manā* (Hifḍiyyāt); *Takṣīm manā* (Nawāṭ); *al-Baḥr al-Aḥwāl*; do., *Takṣīm laṭīl manā* (Dīrāḥ); Manāḥ 'Awaḥ, *Baḥr al-Hifḍiyyāt 'Uḥwāl Big*; do., *Baḥr al-Manāḥ*; Makṣūd Kilidjān, *Sharḥ 'arabi*. — Turkey: See Bibliography in the *R. E. L.*, 1928, by E. Borrel. — Turkestan: Uspensky, *Shah Maḡām*, 1924. (H. G. FARMER)

NAWBAKHT. This Iranian patronymic (*naw* or *na* + *bakht* "new fortune") was borne in Baghdad during the first two 'Abbāsid centuries by a family remarkable for its influence on the advancement of learning and on the political legitimism of the Imāms.

It claimed descent (cf. Baḥturi, *Dirwān*, p. 115) from the Persian hero Giw son of Gudarz celebrated in the *Shāhnāma* (cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 399 and Christensen, *Koyanides*, p. 59, 117). Its first known representative Nawbakht, an astrologer, owed his fortune to the future caliph al-Manṣūr, to whom in prison he is said to have foretold the throne and later the victory over the Zaidī rebel Ibrāhīm in the same year (144 = 762) in which, having drawn up the horoscope of Baghdad, the new capital, he was granted fiefs in it. His son Abū Sahl Timāḡh (on this curious premonition cf. Ibn Abī Usāib'a, ed. Aug. Müller, Leipzig

1884, iii., p. xli. [Vorwort] and H. Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 9) (d. 170 = 786) had seven sons by his wife Zerrin, the founders of the various branches of the Al Nawbakht in which we find theologians like Ibrāhīm b. Iḥlāl b. Abī Sahl (wrote about 350 = 961 the *Kitāb al-Yāfī*, on which a commentary by 'Allāma Hilli has been found by A. Eghbal; an earlier commentary had been written by Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, according to his *Ṣūrah al-Nahj*, iv. 575; and the *Kitāb al-Riḥāḡ*), Abū Sahl Ismā'īl (cf. NAWBAKHTI), Ḥusain b. Rūh, third wazīr of the Imāms (cf. Ibn Xūy), and Ḥasan b. Mūsā (cf. NAWBAKHTI); astronomers like Faḡl b. Abī Sahl (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 275; who has been confused with al-Ma'mūn's minister) and Mūsā b. Ḥasan Ibn Kibriyā; secretaries of state; and finally enlightened students of poetry to whom the editors of the diwāns of Abū Nuwās, Ibn al-Rūmī and Baḥturi went to establish the texts.

Bibliography: 'Abbās Eghbal, *Khāna-dāne Nawbakhtī*, Teheran 1933, 16 + 297 pp. with a genealogical tree, and useful indices, among others that of the Shī'ī sects, p. 249—267; H. Ritter in his edition of the *Firaḡ* of Ḥasan Nawbakhtī. (LOUIS MASSIGNON)

NAWBAKHTI, *nishā* of the Nawbakht family.

1. FAḢL B. (ABī SAHL) B. NAWBAKHT (d. 200 = 815) an astronomer like his father (with whom he is confused) and, like his brother Ḥasan, attached to the *Dār al-Ḥikma* to translate from Persian, wrote at least seven books (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 274). All that survives of them is a fragment of the *Kitāb al-Nuḡmaḡān* (or "Yakubūḡān") on questions relating to horoscopes (*Fihrist*, p. 238—239).

2. ISMĀ'IL B. 'ALĪ ... B. NAWBAKHT (235 = 311 = 849—923), the real political leader of the Imāmi party, who kept in close touch with the famous vizier 'Alī b. al-Furīḡ (whose father, Muḥammad Mūsā b. Ḥasan, we may note, had been a follower of the Nusairi heresy; cf. Nawbakhtī, *Firaḡ*, p. 78), and was also a theologian (cf. Massignon, *Pasien d'al-Hallaj*, p. 142—159) who disputed with the learned Thābit b. Qurra, the Mo'tasili Djubbā'i, and the mystic Hallāj; he also refused, after their deaths, Abū 'l-Atāhiya, Abū 'Isā al-Warrāk and Ibn al-Rāwandī. Of his 32 works (Ibn al-Nadīm, p. 176; Tusi, p. 57) only a fragment of the *Tanbīh* survives (in Ibn Batawāib, *Uḡwāb*, p. 53—56) (cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, p. 176) which gives us the first outline of the Shī'a *ghaiba*.

3. ḤASAN B. MŪSĀ ... NAWBAKHTI, d. before 310 (922), classed in this family through his mother, sister of the preceding: an Imāmi theologian, student of Hellenistic philosophy, author of 44 works (Ritter, *l.c.*, p. 17—20; Eghbal, p. 129—134) of which there survives, besides fragments of the *Kadd 'ala 'l-Ghūḡā* (in Khāṣṣī, vi. 380) and of the *Arā wa-Diyānāt* (Murrāḡ, ii. 156; Ibn al-Djāwī, *Talḥīḡ*, p. 42—43; 47, 49, 69, 74, 81—82, 88, 91), only one complete text, of very great value for our knowledge of the sects of the Shī'a, the *Kitāb Firaḡ al-Shī'a*, ed. H. Ritter (Istanbul 1931, vol. iv. of the *Edi. Isl.*). In an interesting chapter (*op. cit.*, p. 143—161), A. Eghbal has collected the passages of the *Firaḡ* found in a contemporary, Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh Aḥ'arī (d. 299 = 911), which shows either plagiarism or the use by both of an earlier source.

(LOUIS MASSIGNON)

NAWI, MUHAMMAD RUKA of Khabūshān in the vicinity of Mashhad, a Persian poet. The son of a merchant, in his youth he spent some time in Kāshān where he studied under the Mawlānā Muḥammad. Moving to Marw, he became intimate with the Ḥakīm Nūr Muḥammad Khān there. Like the majority of Persian poets of the xvth century, however, he was attracted by the brilliant court of the Moghuls and went to India where at first he found a patron in the person of Mirzā Yūsuf Khān Maḥmūdī but soon afterwards entered the service of Khānkhānān Mirzā 'Abd al-Rahīm and remained with him and with prince Dāniyāl till his death, which took place in Burhānpūr in 1019 (1610). Nawi's best work is his poem *Sūs u-Gudāz* ("Burning and Melting") which has a touching theme, the devotion of a Hindu princess who accompanies her late husband in death on the funeral pyre. It is written in excessively artificial language and distinguished by the originality of its subject, which had not been taken by any Persian poet before Nawi. Nawi's works were very highly esteemed in India, and he is said to have received 10,000 rupees, an elephant and a horse with valuable trappings for a *Sūfi-nāma* dedicated to the Khānkhānān. His *Divān*, which is entitled *Lubb al-Aḥṣā*, has come down to us but has so far attracted little attention.

Bibliography: G. Ouseley, *Biographical Notices of Persian Poets*, London 1846, p. 161—166; Ethé, *G. I. Ph.*, ii. 254—255; Bada'uni, iii. 361; Blochmann, *Pin-i Akbari*, p. 606; Kieu, *Catalogue*, p. 674; *Sūs u-Gudāz*, pr. Lucknow 1284 (at the end of the first part of the *Akbar-nāma*). It has been translated: *Burning and Melting: being the Sūs u-Gudāz of Muḥ. Rūkā Nawi of Khabūshān*. Translated into English by Mirza J. Dawūd of Persia and Ananda K. Coomaraswamy of Ceylon, London 1912.

(E. BERTHELS).

NAWRŪZ (v.), New (Year's) Day, frequently represented in Arabic works in the form *Nawrūs* (Kālkashandī, *Subḥ al-Aḥṣā*, ii. 408). It was the first day of the Persian solar year and is not represented in the Muslim lunar year (Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iii. 416 sq.). In Achaemenid times the official year began with Nawrūz, when the sun entered the Zodiacal Sign of Aries (the vernal equinox). Popular and more ancient usage however would appear to have regarded the midsummer solstice as Nawrūz (Birūnī, *Chronology*, transl. Sachau, p. 185, 201). It was the time of harvest and was celebrated by popular rejoicings, but it also marked the date when the *khwarūdī* was collected. The two different dates were retained in Persia proper and also in 'Irāk and Djibāl under Islām, and Hama al-Isfahānī states (*Tar'ikh*, Berlin 1340, p. 104) that Nawrūz in the first year of the Hidsra fell on the 18th Ḥaṣṣrū (June), which he erroneously equates with the 1st Dhū 'l-Ka'da. Confusion arose however because the intercalation of one day every four years which allowed the date to correspond with the position of the sun was omitted in Islām (Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, p. 215) and unscrupulous revenue officials found it to their advantage to keep to the false calendar date rather than to the correct traditional one because it permitted them to collect their dues earlier (Maḥrizī, *Khizāf*, ed. Wiet, iv. 263 sq.). By the time of the Caliph Mutawakkil the date of collection of *khwarūdī* had advanced by almost two

months and in 245 A. H. he fixed the date of Nawrūz as the 17th Ḥaṣṣrū, which approximated to the old time (Tabarī, iii. 1448; Birūnī, *Chronology*, p. 36 sq.). The reform had no lasting effect and the Caliph Ma'tadid was compelled again to move the date which was fixed as the 11th Ḥaṣṣrū (Tabarī, iii. 2143). Later again, in Sulṭān Malikshāh's reform of the calendar, the Persian astronomers proclaimed the vernal equinox as Nawrūz (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 34; 467 A. H.) and the first day of the new era fell on the 10th Ramaḍān 471 (March 15, 1079).

Nawrūz was adopted in Egypt as elsewhere and has been retained by the Copts as the New Year's Day (Maḥrizī, *Khizāf*, iv. 241 sq.), but it now falls on September 10 or 11.

Popular festivities have marked Nawrūz wherever it has been celebrated. In Sāsānīan Persia the kings held a great feast and it was customary for presents to be made to them while the people who gathered to make merry in the streets sprinkled each other with water and lit fires. Both in 'Irāk and Egypt these customs persisted in Muslim times (Tabarī, iii. 2163; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vii. 277; Maḥrizī, *loc. cit.*; Kālkashandī, ii. 410) and although Ma'tadid attempted to prevent the customary horseplay in the streets during the midsummer saturnalia he was unsuccessful (Tabarī, *loc. cit.*). In the various parts of the Turkish Empire the day was celebrated as a public holiday and in Persia it has throughout its history been marked by great festivities as the chief secular holiday of the year.

Bibliography: In addition to the passages noted in the text see: Birūnī, *Chronology*, p. 199 sq. etc.; Umar Khayyām, *Nawrūs-nāma*, ed. Minovi, Tihān 1933; A. Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, p. 400 sq.; Lane, *Thousand and One Nights*, ii. 496 sq. (he regards it as not improbable that Nawrūz originated from the Jewish Passover); Carra de Vaux, *Notice sur un Calendrier Turc*, in *Studies presented to E. G. Brown*, p. 166 sq.; A. V. W. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 99 sq. (R. LEVY).

NAZAR (A.) probably did not receive until the ninth century A. D. the meaning of research in the sense of scientific investigation as a translation of the Greek *ἔρεσις*. With Aristotle (e.g. *Metaph.*, 1064 b 2) the philosophics were then divided into theoretical (*nazarīya*) and practical (*'amalīya*); the latter seek to obtain the useful or the good for man, the former pure truth, in physics, mathematics and metaphysics.

Nazar is primarily an epistemological conception and after the example of Ammonius Hermias, a pupil of Proclus, is dealt with among the Arabs in a work prefixed to the *Isagoge* of Porphyry (*Προλεγόμενα τῆς φιλοσοφίας*) [cf. the article *MAṬALĪS*]. Nazar is also discussed as an activity of the human 'aql in psychology but in this case as a rule under synonyms like *ikr*, *tafakkur* etc. [cf. *NAFS*].

The history of this terminology has still to be written. In the oldest, still incomplete, *logic* (edited by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Muḥallaf or his son Muḥammad) 'ilm and 'amal are already distinguished as branches of philosophy (*ḥikma*), but 'ilm is defined as a *taḥqīq* and *tafakkur* of the *ḥāl* (i.e. of the mind) (cf. G. Faruqi, *Di una presunta versione araba di alcuni scritti di Porfirio e di Aristotele*, in *R. R. A. L.*, ser. vi., vol. vi. [1926], p. 207).

The old speculative theologians of Islām were

perhaps more familiar with the distinction *'ilm* *'aql* > *shar'i* than with *nazar* > *'amali*. The *'aql* is generally recognised as a "root" of the Mu'tazili system. The Zaidi al-Kāsim mentioned it (beginning of the third century A.H.) among his *uṣūl*: *'aql*, *Qur'ān* and *sunna* (R. Struthmann, *Die Literatur der Zaiditen*, in *Isl.* II. [1911], p. 54). *Nazar* was felt to be an innovation like *ra'y* and *ḥiyāz* in *fiqh*. The Hanbali school objected to the adoption of *nazar* but its greatest representative Ibn Ḥazm admitted *'aql* without hesitation — of course the *'aql* created and equipped by God — as a source of knowledge. Not blind belief (*taḥlīl*) nor deduction from the unknown (*ḥiyāz*) were to lead it to the acceptance of the Qur'ān, *sunna* and *ijmā'*, but quite certain knowledge. There is nothing which Ibn Ḥazm insists upon so often and so emphatically as this; there is no other way to certainty than that of tracing to sensual perception (*ḥiss*) and intuition of the intelligence (*'aql*). Indeed sensual perception is so much preferred by him that comprehension by the reason is called a *with idrāk* (*Killāh al-Faṣl*, i. 4–7). The philosophical position of Ibn Ḥazm, which requires closer investigation, recalls Hellenistic eclecticism according to which all human cognition arises either from sensual perception or intuition or is derived from these sources through the intermediary of proof. Many however emphasise the direct evidence of sensual perception and reason, and regard the method of proof as a difficult and uncertain one. Hence we have from the Stoics onwards the emphasis laid on general agreement (*Ar. ijmā'* and *ijmā'at*) as a criterion of truth. Only where there is no agreement is investigation necessary.

The dualistic epistemology of the eclectics (senses × reason) was very greatly modified in Islam by the penetration of the intellectual monism in the Neo-Platonic mysticism and Aristotelian logic. While different stages in human knowledge were distinguished, true knowledge was only to be attained by rational intuition and the intermediary activity of the mind. The main thing for the Neo-Platonist was intuition (*nazar*, *ḥaṣar*). It is remarkable how in the Neo-Platonic *Theology of Aristotle* the latter is made to say (Arabic, ed. Dieterici, p. 163): "Plato recognised all things *bi-nazar al-'aql* (intuition), *lā bi-manḥūl wa-ḥiyāz*", i.e. Plato as the divine perceives everything at once like God himself and pure *'aql*. *Nazar* in this sense of direct perception is constructed with *fi*, in other cases however with *fi*. For *nazar fi*, transmitted reflection of the human intelligence, the *Theology* generally uses *ḥikr* and *rawiyya* and the world of the senses, with which our soul is associated, is called *'alam al-ḥikr wa 'rawiyya*. Following the *Theology*, the Muslim mystics generally used *nazar* for spiritual perception (cf. L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, index).

In Kalam however, in the disputes of the theological sects, *nazar* receives the dialectic meaning. Logical proof seems to have first been admitted into the *uṣūl al-dīn* by the Shā'is. In his *maḥṣūlāt* (ed. Ritter, i. 51 sq.) al-Ash'arī gives a survey of the different views of the eight parties of the Rawāfiḍ *fi 'l-nazar wa 'l-ḥiyāz*. According to him, groups 1–3 consider all cognitions (*ma'arif*) as necessary (*lāzīm*) (i.e. given with the mind itself or not given) so that *nazar* and *ḥiyāz* can add nothing to them; these as well as group 8,

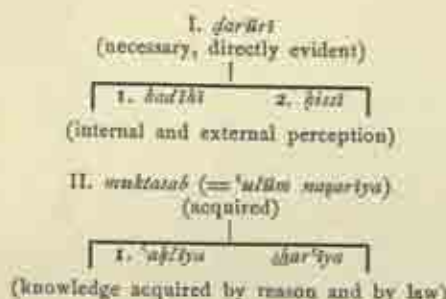
which traces all knowledge to the Prophet of God and the Imām, differ from the rest on this point. The other four recognise some kind of acquired knowledge (in both cases the reference is to the apprehension of God) as follows: 4 (the Ash'ab Hishām b. al-Hakam) by *nazar wa 'istidlāl*; 5 (al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā) possibly by a kind of *ḥaṣr* which cannot be more exactly defined (cf. this *ḥaṣr* with the *ḥaṣr al-af'āl* of the later Ash'ari school); 6 and 7 (anonymous) by *nazar wa 'l-ḥiyāz*, with appeal to the testimony (*ḥudūd*) of the *'aql*. We are also told (p. 144) of a section of the Murjī'is that a belief (*imān*) without *nazar* is in their opinion not a perfect belief.

Ash'ari himself is probably the best evidence of the fact that the speculation of the human *'aql* was not regarded as a source (or method) of knowledge of God for the first time in his school but before him by several sects. *Nazar* (like *ra'y* in *fiqh*) was most probably applied to the activity of the mind of the reflecting theologian (besides *nazar* we find synonyms like *ḥaṣr*, *ḥaṣr*, *ra'y*, *ḥaṣr*, *ḥikr*, *ḥikr*, *ḥikr*, *ḥikr*, *ḥikr*, *ḥikr*, perhaps also others). The logical methods here used are called (perhaps here still synonyms) *ḥiyāz* (deduction by analogy) and *istidlāl* (proof by circumstantial evidence). From what we know of *ḥiyāz* in *fiqh* (cf. the article *Uṣūl al-Fiqh* by J. Schacht, and Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Gesch.*, II. 140 sq.) and of *ḥiyāz* in medicine (see Mas'ūdi, Paris 1861–1877, IV. 40; VII. 172 sq.), we have probably to think of a process which is a mixture of induction and deduction, often used very arbitrarily. Analogous cases, often superficially regarded as similar (cf. *Maḥṣūlāt al-'Uṣūl*, ed. v. Vloten, p. 8 sq.), were sought for, the *'illa*, i.e. not the actual cause (*causa*) but the reason (*ratio*) in a higher conception of method or species, under which the further cases could be grouped. For Aristotle and his followers in Islām (Fārābī etc.) deduction had one meaning; they believed in causality or even in the creative activity of abstract thought. The great majority of Muslim theologians, jurists and physicians did not rise so far. It was not till the school of Ash'ari that the method of *nazar* superficially grasped penetrated into *kalām* and *kalām* was defined as *'ilm al-nazar wa 'l-istidlāl*. Rejected at first by the majority, gradually tolerated and used as an instrument against heretics and sophists, *nazar* in the orthodox school was finally recognised as a religious obligation.

Let us now turn back to the general conception of the *'ulūm nazarīya*. Al-Fārābī (d. 950) distributed them from the philosophical point of view in a special treatise (*Ḥikm al-Uṣūl*, Cairo n.d.) in a way which became the model for later times. It was he who first worked on the logic of Aristotle wherefore his school was often called that of the *Manṭiqiyyūn*. He assumed with Aristotle that the *'aql* contained in itself the fundamental principles of all knowledge, the evidence of which had simply to be acknowledged. But the way of reflection and proof leads to the non-evident, the culmination of which, apodeictic proof (*ḥukm*), is described in the "Second Analytic". From this eminence the branches of knowledge can be surveyed. After some observations on philology (cf. the Stoics) first and most fully logic — whether as instrument of philosophy or as a part of it is a matter of indifference. Logic itself is of course a *nazar* with an object

of its own. Next come the science of physics, mathematics and metaphysics with main and subsidiary branches. Each is a *naẓar*. But it is noted that for example among the physical sciences medicine is a mixture of theoretical and practical and similarly music and mathematical subjects. Metaphysics is however like logic purely theoretical. Finally the three practical sciences of Aristotle, ethics, economics and politics, are united under the head of political science, with the addition of *ḥikm* and *kalām*; al-Fārābī remarks that the science of *ḥikm* and the art (*ḥunūʿ*) of *kalām* have to do partly with opinions (*ʾarāʾ*), partly with actions (*afʿāl*).

In conclusion let us compare with this philosophical division that of the Ashʿarī theologian ʿAbd al-Kāfir b. Tāhir al-Baghādī (d. 1037—1038) in his *Uṣūl al-Dīn*, Constantinople 1928, p. 8-14. After the distinction between divine knowledge and the knowledge possessed by other living creatures is laid down, the latter is classified as follows:



The *ʿulūm naẓariyya* are further divided into four according to the way in which they are acquired:

1. *ʾitidāl bi 'l-ʿaql min ḥikmat al-ḥiyās wa 'l-naẓar* (speculative theology);
2. *Maʿlūm min ḥikmat al-taʿarīb wa 'l-ʿadāt* (e.g. medicine);
3. *Maʿlūm min ḥikmat al-ḥarāʾ* (legal science);
4. *Maʿlūm min ḥikmat al-ikhām* (prophetology).

Compared with the *ʿaql* monism of Fārābī this division still looks rather eclectic. But from the 15th to the 18th century A.D. philosophy and theology, without becoming one, were approaching one another more closely. Ibn Sīnā, who builds upon Fārābī, was the intermediary. Ghazālī sought to combine the *naẓar* of the Neo-Platonic mysticism with the *naẓar* of the rationalist thinkers, and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī appropriated the methods of proof of Aristotelian logic to a much greater extent than his theological predecessors.

Bibliography: On Baghdādī see A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, p. 250—264; Ibn Sīnā, *Aḥḥām al-ʿUlūm al-ʿaqlīya*, in *Maḥmūd al-Rāzī*, Cairo 1328, p. 219 sq. (also in *Tiḥ Rāzī*, Constantinople 1298, p. 71 sq.); Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, iii. (Cairo 1322), p. 13 sqq.; *Mīyār al-ʿIlm fi 'l-Manāḥiḥ*, Cairo 1329; *Māʾarīḥ al-Ḥudūs fi Madāʾir al-Maʾrifat al-Nafī*, Cairo 1927; on Rāzī cf. M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Ansichten von Rāzī und Tusi*, Bonn 1910. (T. DE BOER)

NAZARETH. [See AL-NẒĪRA.]

al-NAẒĪRĀT, title of sūra lxxix, taken from the opening word.

NAẒIM, properly MUṢṬAFĀ b. ISMĀʿĪL, a notable Ottoman religious poet. The son of a Janissary, the inspector Veni Baghḍeli Ordek Ismāʿīl Agha, he was born in Constantinople and succeeded his father in his office, after rising through all the grades in the Janissary office: he became *shāḡird*, *khālīfe*, *baḡh* *khālīfe* and finally in 1108 (1696) *yenīleri kâtibi*. He died in this year on the campaign against Belgrade.

Naẓim wrote an extensive *Divân*, the poetical value of which is not very great but which contains much that is religious and mystical in its 550 *ghazels* and about 50 *taʾrīḥ* of the end of the reign of Mehmed IV.

Bibliography: Thureiya, *Saḡīr-i 'aṭṭamānī*, iv. 534; Hammer, *G.O.D.*, iii. 572—576; Baasmodjan, *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature ottomane*, Constantinople 1910, p. 127; Flügel, *Wiener Handschriften-Katalog*, i. 664—665.

(MENZEL)

NAẒIM, YAḤYĀ, the most important Ottoman religious poet of his period, as is apparent from his epithet *Nāṣ-ḡh*, the singer of hymns. Born in 1059 (1649) in Kāsim Paḡa in Constantinople, he entered the Serai as a boy where he received the education of the Enderūn and had the opportunity to acquire special proficiency in Arabic and Persian. He showed a talent for poetry and considerable musical ability. His beautiful voice and his work as a poet and composer gained him the favour of Sulṭān Murād IV. He was given important offices at the court as a result: the office of a *ḡaznāsh aḡhā* to the *ḡaznāsh khāḡḡe*; he next became *newbakhsh khāḡḡ* and *ḡaznāsh khāḡḡ* and attained considerable influence. He then retired of his own accord and became *ḡaznāsh khāḡḡ*. Later he made the pilgrimage to Mecca. He remained in Medina as *muḡjāwīr* where he died at the age of 80 in 1139 (1726). According to another statement (Brusali Mehmed Tāhir), he died in Adrianople.

He flourished under Mehmed IV and down to the reign of Ahmed III. He was a member of the Mewlewī order. Shākh Neshānī Mewlewī was his teacher in poetry and probably also in music. Naẓim is the most religious poet of his period. He devoted the whole of his poetical talent to the *naʿt*, the hymn. His *Divân* therefore resembles a warrant of pardon (*ḡazāl-i ḡhuḡrān*). He also gave special attention to the devotional forms of the *ṭawḡīd*, *ṭahmīd* and *munāḡḡāt*.

His *Divân*, printed in Constantinople in 1257 (1841), forms a thick volume of 500 pages, of which one third is devoted to the *naʿt* in the form of 60 *ḡazāda's*, hundreds of *ḡazāl's*, *ṭawḡīd's* and *ṭahmīd's*, *māṣṣada's* and *muḡḡhamma's*, *ruḡā'a's* and a *methnawī* for the Prophet. The *Divân* is divided into five parts, each of which is in turn a kind of *Divân* in itself. He also wrote *medḡhiy's* for Mehmed IV and Muṣṭafā II, Ahmed III, Selīm Girai Khān, Muḡḡḡīb Muṣṭafā Paḡa and the vizier Ahmed Paḡa; also *taʾrīḡh's* in imitation of Nefʿī and Nābī and *ḡazāl's* in imitation of Nedīm.

Naẓim is a clever technician who gives expression to his effort for variety and change, not in the matter but in the form. In all his works however, a deep religious belief, even fanaticism is marked. His poems are a true reflection of the inclination of the period for religion and Sūfism.

Bibliography: Peṭin, *Tashree*, Constan-

tinople 1271, p. 415—416; Tâyyâr-nâde Aḥmad 'Aḡ, *Ta'rikh*, Constantinople 1293, iv. 151—196; *Khata'at-i Funûn*, Istanbul 1312, ii. 245—247 (*Enisâf*, No. 72); Brusaîl Mehmed Tâhir, *'Othmânî Mî'âllîfîrî*, ii. 452; Köprülü-zâde Mehmed Fu'âd and Shihâb al-Dîn Sulaimân, *Yeni 'Othmânî Ta'rikh-i Edebîyât*, Istanbul 1332, p. 371—374; I. Nedîm, *Ta'rikh-i Edebîyât Derisîrî*, Istanbul 1338, i. 170—171; Abû Ishâk İsmâ'îl Efendi-zâde Es'ad Mehmed Efendi, *Aḡrâb al-Aḡḡâr fî Taḡkîrât 'Uraḡâ' Advâr* (*Takrîr of the singers*). (MENZEL)

NAZİM FARRUKH ḤUSAIN, a Persian poet. Mullâ Nâzīm, son of Shāh Rīdā Sabzwārī, was born in Herāt about 1016 (1607) and spent the greater part of his life there. Little is known of his career, except that he made a journey to India and, after spending several years in Dīhān-gīrān, returned to his native town where he died in 1081 (1670—1671). He was court poet of the Beglerbegs of Herāt and his greatest work, the *Yūsuf u-Zulâikḡā* begun in 1058 (1648) and finished in 1072 (1661—1662), was dedicated to one of these governors, 'Abbās Kālī Khān Shāmī. This, a poem of considerable length, is an imitation of Firdawsī's work of the same name and follows the original quite closely but endeavours to surpass it by using the most elegant language. Ethé calls the language of Nâzīm's images distorted and thinks that some of the details put in by him can only have a humorous effect on the reader. But it must be agreed that Nâzīm judged the taste of his period very well for his work became extremely popular, especially in Central Asia. While Firdawsī's poem is now known to only a few enthusiasts, manuscripts of Nâzīm's *Yūsuf u-Zulâikḡā* are still quite common in the bazaars of the larger cities of Central Asia as are those of the even more celebrated version of the same subject by Dīdāmī. His lyrical *Dīwān* is less well known, but it contains many excellent poems (especially ghazels) some of which are even at the present day sung by the classically trained singers of Bukhārā and Samarkand.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, *G. I. P.*, ii. 231—232; Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 692^b and 370^a; *Yūsuf u-Zulâikḡā*, lith. Lucknow 1870.

(E. BERTHELS)

NAZİR AL-MAZĀLİM (A.), "reviewer of wrongs". His office "combined the justice of the kādī with the power of the sovereign" and was instituted by the later Umalyāds, who sat in person to receive petitions complaining of *zulm*. The early 'Abbāsids, from Mahdī to Muḡtadī, followed their example (Māwardī, p. 129; Baiḡakī, *Kitāb al-Maḡāzīn wa 'l-Maḡāzīl*, ed. Schwally, p. 577; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, viii. 21; Tabarī, iii. 1736), but after them the duty was undertaken by the vizier, whose failure to carry it out was regarded as a serious fault ('Arīb, ed. de Goeje, p. 25). At Baghlād the Caliph Muḡtadī ordered the *qāḡib al-shurḡa* to nominate faḡḡās who were to hear pleas in each of the mahallās. The court of the Nāzīr concerned itself with: a. *zulm* committed by the Caliph's officers; b. injustice in the levying of taxes and c. wrongful acts of *kādīs* in public offices. Other matters proper for the cognizance of the court were complaints by officials of non-payment of their salary or of excessive reduction of salary, the interests of *awāḡif* and the enforcement of decisions made by *kādīs* not strong enough to

have their judgments put into execution. The Nāzīr had much wider powers than the kādī. He could postpone decision on a case in order to consider and investigate evidence, a proceeding not open to the kādī, who is compelled to give judgment out of hand; he could use *irāḡā* (intimidation) to overawe a defendant into admission and could refer litigants to persons of responsibility who could act as arbitrators. The officer presiding, if he was the vizier or other highly placed official deputising as Nāzīr for the sovereign, set aside a special day or days for the review of *maḡāzīm*. The Niḡm al-Mulk (*Siyāsat-nāma*, p. 10) regarded it as essential for the king to sit two days a week for the purpose, and in Egypt during the Fāḡimīd rule, the vizier or the *qāḡib al-shurḡa* sat on two days of the week at the Golden Gate of the palace at Cairo. Complaints were there made orally if the petitioner lived at Fustāt or Miḡr and each plaint received was sent for necessary investigation to the *nāḡib* of the police or the kādī of the quarter concerned. If the person against whom complaint was made lived outside the two cities the petition was presented in writing.

Bibliography: Māwardī, ed. Eger, p. 129 sq.; Amedroz, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1911; Makrīzī, *Khīṡat*, i. 402 sq.; Harīrī, *Maḡmūḡāt*, Cairo 1300, ii. 42, with commentary of al-Sharḡfī on *wālī 'l-djardīm* and *al-fāḡīm f. 'l-maḡāzīm*.

(R. LEVY)

NAZMÎ, SHAİKH MEHMET B. RAMAZÂN, Ottoman poet and Khalwetī Shaikh. The son of a merchant named Ramazân b. Rustem, he was born in Constantinople in the Kodja Muḡaffī Pasha quarter in 1032 (1622—1623). He became a disciple of 'Abd al-Aḡḡad al-Nūrī. In 1065 (1654—1655) he became shaikh (*pir-niḡm*) in the Khalwetī monastery of Yawashḡje Mehmed Aḡa near Shehr Emīnī, later (1105—1693) also preacher (*vaḡīz*) at the Sulḡān Walīde mosque. He died in 1112 (1700) and was buried in a special *türbe*. His son was 'Abd al-Raḡmān Rafī'ā. Nazmī was considered a high authority on Hadīth. He wrote a number of works, none of which have been printed, namely: *Hadiyat al-Shāḡwān* ("Present of the Brethren"); biographies of the seven greatest Khalwetī personalities (Yūsuf Makhdūm; Muḡammad Rakīye; Shāh-Kobādī Shīrwānī; 'Abd al-Maḡḡid-i Shīrwānī; Shams al-Dīn-i Swāsī; 'Abd al-Maḡḡid-i Swāsī; 'Abd al-Aḡḡad al-Nūrī) and some accounts of their successors.

His poetical works consist of the rhymed Turkish translation of the first book of the *Miḡnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, a *Dīwān* of the usual type (with many hymns and sacred songs); also the *Miḡyār al-Tarīḡat* ("Touchstone of the Order").

Bibliography: Thureyā, *Sifill-i 'Othmânî*, iv. 560; Hilmi, *Ziyāret-i Endīyâ*, Istanbul 1325, p. 120—121; Sīmlī, *Kāḡūs al-'Alām*, vi. 4589—4590; Brusaîl Mehmed Tâhir, *'Othmânî Mî'âllîfîrî*, i. 175; Hammer, *G.O.D.*, iii. 596—597; Basmadjian, *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature ottomane*, Constantinople 1910, p. 127.

(MENZEL)

NAZMÎ, MEHMET (according to the *Sifill-i 'Othmânî*: Nazmī Niḡmī), Ottoman poet of Adrianople in the period of Sulaimân al-Kānūnī. He was the son of a janissary, later himself became a janissary, then silḡḡār and sipāḡh. He died in 996 (1588) in Adrianople, where he is buried in the *türbe* of Shaikh Shudjā'.

Nazmi possessed great poetic gifts and ability, which he displayed particularly in the clever and accurate imitation of other poets, in so-called *naḡīr*'s (pl. *naḡīr*). He also himself wrote *ghazels*. He rendered a great service to Ottoman literary history by collecting an enormous anthology of the best Ottoman poems, arranged under the eight principal metres. This anthology contains 4,000 *ghazels* by 125 Turkish poets and *naḡīr*'s by himself in addition: *Maḡīma' al-Naḡīr*. He presented this work, which he brought down to the year 930 (1524), to the Sultān. Hammer deals fully with it, as it deserves.

He also wrote a *ghazal* with the rhyme *elīf* on each *baḡr* of the *Risāla-i 'arūṣiye* of Wahidī Tabrizī.

Bibliography: Sehi, *Heft Bihisht*, Istanbul 1325, p. 133; Iḥrāmī, *Sidjill-i 'othmānī*, iv, 560; Sāmī, *Kūmūs al-'Alam*, vi, 4589—4590; Rusall Mehmed Tahir, *'Othmānī Mīl-i ḥifri*, ii, 436; Hammer, *G.O.D.*, II, 61—73.

(MENZEL)

AL-NAZZAM, IRKĀHIM B. SAYYAR B. HĀNĪ B. ISḤĀQ, a Mu'tazilī theologian of the Baṣra school. Brought up in Baṣra, he spent the latter part of his life in Baghdād, where he died between 220 and 230 (835—845) while still, it seems, at the height of his powers. A brilliant poet, a philologist of note, and above all an extremely perspicacious and subtle dialectician, he is one of the most interesting figures in the culture of the 'Abbāsid period. He occupies a most important place in the development of Muslim ideas. He studied speculative theology in the *madāris* of Abū 'l-Ḥudhail al-'Alīf, from which he soon separated to found an independent school. In Baṣra he vigorously continued the struggle waged by his teacher against Manichaeism but devoted his abilities mainly to the refutation of the Dahrī philosophy, with which he was thoroughly acquainted. So far as we can judge, it was al-Nazzām who began the struggle, which was continued by Islām for centuries, against the philosophy of Asiatic Hellenism, the classic document in which is the *Tahḍīb* of al-Ḡhazālī. In Baghdād he engaged in lively disputations with Murjī and Dḡhālī theologians, the traditionalists and the *fuḡhā*, submitting their views to a searching criticism which had considerable repercussions in the history of Sunni theology. On the other hand, his ideas seem to have had a considerable influence on the Mu'tazilī school of Baghdād in spite of the resistance which it offered to him. Al-Nazzām was above all a theologian. Two tendencies dominate his thought: zeal for *tawḥīd*, for the strictest monotheism, and zeal for the Qur'ān, which compelled him to set aside any other source of theology and ethics. His interest in religion was purely intellectual and emotion seems to have played a very limited part in it. His opponents described him as a Dahrī; this is to misconceive completely the fundamental idea of his theological work; nevertheless it is quite true that it was the dispute with the Dahrīya which imposed upon him the first principles of his dogmatics and which determined their structure, so much so that Islām in his hands assumed a rather strange form. His dogmatic extravagances brought down upon him the condemnation of almost the whole of the Muslim community and even of the Mu'tazilīs; it was however he who was the first to state several of the principal

problems of Sunni theology. His writings are lost but considerable fragments have been preserved, mainly in the works of his pupil al-Dīshāqī. Many of the teachings which are attributed to him in books of writers on heresies were handed down by his pupils, not always correctly, as al-Kharrāzī tells us. The exposition of his theology given by al-Baghdādī in his *Kitāb al-Farq* probably goes back to Ibn al-Rāwandī; it is a typical example of misrepresentation and deliberately false interpretation. — On the main features of his theology and of his school, cf. the article AL-MU'TAZILĀ. Here we give a few observations on the problems of his theology.

1. *Aḡl al-tawḥīd*. Al-Nazzām's main interest here is to defend the Qur'ānic doctrine of the creation against the Dahrīya which teaches the perpetual circulation of the elements and therefore the eternity of the material world. It is with this object that he develops the doctrine of the *ḡalīl* and the *ḡalīl*, a strictly anti-Dahrī thesis and one already adopted by Abū 'l-Ḥudhail al-'Alīf. His ideas regarding the body and its relations are the logical result of this teaching. The structure of these ideas is however strongly influenced by the polemic against Manichaeism, the fundamental problems of which al-Nazzām had studied deeply. In his positive demonstration of the dogma of the creation one occasionally thinks there are traces of Aristotelianism: the creation was a setting in motion and the created world is in a continual state of movement (even rest is defined as a form of movement). God is then himself immobile but at the same time the primordial moving power. The *ḡalīl*, the distinction between the creator and creation, is carried a considerable distance. The divine attributes are represented to us by negations. The divine word is a body (therefore created) but that of man is an accident. The Qur'ān is miraculous because of the information it gives about the past and on account of the secrets which it reveals but not on account of its style, which men could have imitated if God had not prevented them (in reality there is no *mu'araḡa* in al-Nazzām). Al-Nazzām fundamentally rejects the arbitrary interpretations of the Qur'ān given by the great authorities on Tradition, an 'Ikrima, a Kalbi, a Suddī or a Maḡāzīlī b. Sulaimān; he demands a strictly literal exegesis. Prophethood has always been universal, i.e. all the prophets and not Muḥammad alone have been sent to the whole of humanity (against the traditionalists; al-Nazzām thus did not deny the prophethood of Muḥammad).

2. *Aḡl al-'adl*. The freedom of the human will is restricted, according to al-Nazzām in a way that anticipates the Ash'arī theology. All the actions of a man are movements, therefore accidents and movements which relate only to the man himself; the effects which are realised outside of the man are not due to him but to the natural forces which God has placed in his body (denial of *tawallūd*). Man is the *rūḡ*, which penetrates the body; the body in its turn represents an infirmity (*ḡifa*) of the *rūḡ*. Now it is the body, different from man in the strict sense, which sets in motion the action of which man (i.e. the *rūḡ*) is capable. It follows that man (the *rūḡ*) is capable of the action before it is realised (*al-istiḡā'a ḡaliba 'l-ḡifā'*), but at the moment when it is realised, the man is not capable of it.

3. *Aḡl al-'adl wa 'l-tawḥīd*. Al-Nazzām is very

keenly interested in practical problems of *fiqh*; we know his views and those of his school on the *jalāl*, on fraud and on ritual purity (in which connection he gives some very curious psychological explanations). But he is particularly concerned with the *uṣūl*. He waged a passionate campaign against the *uṣūl al-ra'y wa 'l-ḥyās*, therefore against the Hanafis who were the representatives of the Murjīs. He flatly refused to admit *ra'y* and *ḥyās* and did not shrink even from attacking the great men among the *jaḥāḥa* who in his opinion had been guilty of using them. He was in this way led to criticise violently the institution of the *idjma'* which however he admitted to a certain extent. Through all this he prepared the way for Dāwūd al-Zāhiri and the Zāhiriyya school.

Bibliography: al-Djāzī, *Kitāb al-Hayawān*, Cairo 1323, *passim* (esp. i. 167–169, on the exegesis of the *Qur'an*, and v. 1–31, on the *ṣukr* and the *ḥamūn*); al-Khaiyā, *Kitāb al-Intiqār*, ed. Nyberg, Cairo 1925, index; Ibn Kūṭalba, *Ta'wīl Muḥṭaṭ al-Hadīth*, Cairo 1326, p. 20–53; al-Aḥṣari, *Maṣā'il*, ed. Ritter, index; al-Saiyid al-Murtadā, *Kitāb al-Amālī*, Cairo 1325, i. 132–134; al-Baghādī, *Kitāb al-Farḥ*, Cairo 1910, p. 113–136; *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, in *W.Z.K.M.*, iv. 220–221; Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-Fiṣal*, Cairo 1317, *passim*; al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milāl wa 'l-Niḥāl*, ed. Cureton, p. 37–41; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahḍ al-Balāgha*, Cairo 1329, ii. 48–50 (with some fragments of the treatise *Kitāb al-Nakāt* by al-Nazzām); al-Khaṭīb al-Baghādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, Cairo 1349, vi. 97–98; Ibn al-Murtadā, *al-Muṭṭasila*, ed. Arnold, Leipzig 1902, p. 28–30; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān al-Miṭn*, Haidarābād 1329, i. 67; cf. also the *Bibliography* to the article *AL-MUṬṬASILA*.

(H. S. NYBERG)

NEBUCHADNEZZAR. [See *BUKHT NAṢAR*.]

NEDJD, the highlands of Arabia in contrast to the low-lying ground along the coast (*Tihāma*) or the depression (*Ḥawr*). In the dialect of the Hudhail Nedjd is pronounced *Nadjd*. The exact application of this originally topographical conception is very differently understood and sometimes it means more generally the elevated country above the coastal plain or the extensive country, the upper part of which is formed by the Tihāma and the Yaman and the lower by Syria and the 'Irāk, or the part of Arabia which stretches from the frontiers of al-Yamāma to al-Madīna and thence across the desert from al-Baṣra to Bahrain on the Persian Gulf (Iṣṭakhṭī, Ibn Hawkal) or the territory between the 'Irāk (al-'Udhayn) and Dhāt 'Irāk (Ibn Khuradadhbih) or from the 'Irāk to al-Tihāma (Ḥudama) or the land which lies behind the so-called Ditch of Chosroes (Kisrā) as far as the Ḥarra (al-Bāḥilī), or lastly, the territory between the depression of the Wādī 'l-Rumma and the slopes of Dhāt 'Irāk (al-Asma'). That originally the name was applied to the plateau only is evident not only from the definitions of the separate authors but also from the fact that Nadjd appears in combination with various place-names; thus al-Asma' (Yāqūt, iv. 745) knows of Nadjd Barḳ (in al-Yamāma), Nadjd 'Uṣ, Nadjd Kabkab (near 'Arfaṭ), Nadjd Mar' (in the Yaman), al-Bakrī (ii. 574) besides the three last named mentions Nadjd al-Yaman, Yāqūt (iv. 750 *sq.*) further mentions Nadjd al-Hijāz, Nadjd Alwadh in the country of the Hudhail, Nadjd al-

Sharā, al-Hamdānī (p. 55) Nadjd Himsyā and Nadjd Maḥdijl along with a number of places not otherwise known which are combined with Nadjd. Hamdānī (p. 177) further makes a distinction between upper Nadjd (*Nadjd al-Uḥā*) which is regarded as Nadjd proper (*al-Nadjd*) and in which he includes the district (*ḥara*) of Dharāḥ and the town of Yahambam, and lower Nadjd (*Nadjd al-Suḥā*) which is described as *Arḍ Nadjd* and with the Hijāz and al-'Arūd forms Central Arabia (p. 1, 2 *sq.*, 36, 12 *sq.*), the territory in which pure Arabic is spoken (p. 136, 2 *sq.*). The original meaning is also seen in the dual Nadjdān, which, it is interesting to note, is used for two mountains in the Adja' range, as well as in the place-name Nadjdān Mar' and in the spring pasture ground Nadjdān in the land of the Khath'am mentioned by the poet Ḥumaid b. Thawr (Yāqūt, iv. 745).

That the wide interpretation of the name Nadjd above given is not unjustified is shown by the foundation in the second half of the fifth century A.D. by Ḥārith, chief of the Kinda, of a short lived kingdom which extended from the Syrian *limes* and al-medina to al-Yamāma or from the hill of Tamiya in the N.E. on the Wādī 'l-Rumma to Dhāt 'Irāk. At a later date, the whole of al-Nadjd belonged to the administrative district of al-Yamāma (Yāqūt, iv. 746).

The widest area to which the name Nadjd has ever been applied is probably that of the present kingdom of the same name which owes its origin to the Wahhābī chief 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Rahmān Al Sa'ūd, who, as Amir of Nadjd conquered Riyāḍ in 1903, was chosen sultān of Nadjd and the adjoining lands in the summer of 1921, on Jan. 19, 1926 conquered the Hijāz and on Jan. 19, 1927 was proclaimed king of Nadjd and its dependencies at Riyāḍ. The frontiers of his kingdom are: in the east, the Persian Gulf from Dīfara and Kaṭar to Ras al-Miḥāb, then the neutral zone between Nadjd and Kuwait from this promontory to Ras al-Killīya; in the west the kingdom of the Hijāz; in the south the line which runs from the port of Kunfudha on the Red Sea south of Abḥā in 'Asir and south of the Wādī 'l-Dawāsir and includes Nadjdān. The war at present going on between the king of Nadjd and the Imām of al-Yaman may perhaps alter this frontier, especially as Dīfār in the Yaman has previously been a bone of contention. The northern frontier which was delineated by treaties between the ruler of Nadjd with the 'Irāk and England on the one side (signed at 'Uḥair on Dec. 2, 1922) and Nadjd, Great Britain and Transjordan on the other (signed on Nov. 2, 1925 at Hadda in the Hijāz) runs along the neutral zone between Nadjd and the 'Irāk (29–30° N. Lat. and 45–46° East Long.) and is then continued in a line running N. and N.W. to the intersection of 39° E. Long. and 32° N. Lat. and leaves the Dīfār 'Anḥa on its north, then S.W. to the Wādī Radjil and passing through in the S.E. the point where 38° East Long. and 30° N. Lat. intersect. The Wādī Sirhān is thus still in Nadjd. This line continues towards the south from 25' to 38° East Long. and crosses the Hijāz railway towards 'Aḥaba. The extent of the territory is estimated at 900,000 square miles and its population at 3,000,000. The capital is al-Riyāḍ; the more important towns are Buraida (Berēda), 'Anḥa ('Anḥa), Ha'el (Ḥayil), Tharmala,

Wādī l-Rumma and in May in 'Anṣe between Djabal Salma and 'Anṣe (1884 Ch. Huber), and Philby (ii. 10) noticed thundershowers in May as well as drizzle, while Doughty met with hail at Khabra (near 'Anṣe) in April. That the climate here cannot have changed very much is evident from Ibn Djabair who records very heavy showers in this district in April 1184 A.D. Huber met with rain in June 1884 between 'Anṣe and Mecca, Sadlier at the end of July 1819 between al-Haṣā and Darīya heavy thunderstorm and rain, which however was described by the natives as unprecedented. Philby (i. 141, 147) records thunder and rain in December. The rainwater collects in the hollows below the thick layer of sand and enables palms to grow and also, on chemically decomposed fertile soil, wheat and barley, vegetables and fruit-trees. The hot summer of course everywhere makes it necessary to water the crops from wells. On the other hand, the frequently very sudden flooding of the water-courses led in quite early times to the building of dams to hold back and store the water; such were built in the Wādī l-Rumma at 'Anṣa (Bakri, i. 207; Vākūt, iii. 738), Darīya (Bakri, ii. 637) and on the road from al-Yamāma to 'Anṣa (al-Hamadhinī, p. 174, 192). Doughty found remains of such dams in the Djabal Adja'.

The district of al-Sharāf is the richest part of al-Nadjd, and the valleys of the Wādī l-Djarir and Wādī l-Milāh are celebrated for their pastures. Here the early caliphs had vast grazing grounds (*himā*) e.g. in Darīya, al-Rabāḥa, Faḍl, al-Nir, Dhu l-Sharāf and Naḡf. The most famous was that of Darīya, where the caliph 'Omar I secured an area six Arab miles in diameter as pasture for 300 horses and 30,000 camels for the army. 'Othmān extended this area until the diameter was ten miles. The 'Abbāsīd al-Mahdī abandoned it, as the policy of this dynasty was to neglect Arabia deliberately in contrast to the Umayyads who, for example, intensively colonised western Naḡd. In the sixth century A.D. Naḡd was still well wooded, and al-Sharba, south of the Wādī l-Rumma, and Wajra were particularly celebrated in this respect, while at the present day they only possess scanty remnants of these forests. Many areas seem to have been ruined by drought or disastrous inundations (Philby, i., p. 115; ii., p. 9); the decline of al-Yamāma is probably due to the latter cause. Crops are sometimes damaged by sharp frosts — in winter (January) the temperature sometimes sinks from a maximum of 53° F. by day to below 23° and ice and snow have been occasionally seen at the higher levels — while the summer draught with a maximum temperature of 113° destroys the crops. The two most important wādīs are the Wādī l-Rumma about 650 miles long, which runs right across the plateau of North Arabia, rising in the Harra of Khaibar and entering the Euphrates plain at Baṣra, and the Wādī l-Dawṣar. These have formed since ancient times the two main routes of traffic in Central Arabia.

It is with the object of improving agriculture that the king of Naḡd is endeavouring to keep the Bedu to the soil. Every tribe or clan has therefore been allotted a definite area of ground near a well where huts are being erected and the ground planted. These new settlements are called *hiḍra*. In the last ten years, since the revival of Wahhabism, about 70 of these colonies with

2,000—10,000 inhabitants have been established; the most important is Irtawīya built in 1912; Rihani (p. 198) gives a list of others. In this way not only is the cultivation of the land secured but the revenues of the state are increased; these consist of the *zakāt* (10% on movable property), the customs, a fifth in case of war and (formerly) £60,000 subsidy from England. The coins in circulation, in addition to the Maria Theresia dollar, are the English and Turkish sovereign, the Indian rupee and copper coins of 'Omān of the last century, 60 of which go to the dollar. The once famous gold mines of the Banī Salaim at al-'Aḳīḳ, al-Mudjira and Biḥa (Hamdūn, p. 154, 157) are now no longer of importance and unlike al-Yaman, the country possesses no industries.

Bibliography: al-Iḥṣāḳī, in *B. G. A.*, i. 14—26; Ibn Hawṣal, in *B. G. A.*, ii. 18; Ibn Khudādhibeh, in *B. G. A.*, vi. 125; Kudāma, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, in *B. G. A.*, vi. 248; al-Hamadhinī, *Sifat Dīyarat al-'Arab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leyden 1884—1891, p. i, 36, 125, 136, 174, 177, 191; Vākūt, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, vi. 738, 745—751; al-Bakri, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1876—1877, i. 11 29, 202, 207; ii. 574, 627, 637; Saḍī al-Dīn, *Murāṣid al-Iḥṣāḳ*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll, Leyden 1854, iii. 198 29; K. Ritter, *Vergleichende Erdkunde von Arabien*, Berlin 1846, i. 146, 220—223; Berlin 1847, ii. 326 299; G. F. Sadlier, *Diary of a Journey across Arabia during the year 1819*, compiled by P. Ryan, Bombay 1866; J. L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys collected during his travels in the East*, London 1830; L. Pelly, *A visit to the Wahabie Capital, Central Arabia*, in *J. R. G. S.*, xxxv. (1865), 169—191; C. Guarnani, *Il neged settentrionale*, Jerusalem 1866; W. G. Palgrave, *Central and Eastern Arabia*, London 1865, i. 216—272, 389—466; Lady Anne Blunt, *A Pilgrimage to Nejd*, London 1881; A. Sprenger, *Die arabischen Berichte über das Hochland Arabiens beleuchtet durch Doughty's Travels in Arabia deserta*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xlii. (1888), 321—340; Ch. Huber, *Journal d'un voyage en Arabie* (1883—1884), Paris 1891; E. Nolde, *Reise nach Innerarabien, Kurdistan und Armenien*, 1892, Braunschweig 1895; J. Euting, *Tagebuch einer Reise in Innerarabien*, i., Leyden 1896; ii. (ed. E. Lüttmann, 1914); B. Raunkjær, *Gennem Wahabierens Land naar Kamilryg, Forskjærsrejse i Øst og Centralarabien*, Copenhagen 1913; A. Muṣil, *Khun Rāḥid*, in *Osterrich. Monatsschrift f. d. Orient*, xliii. (1917), p. 11—18, 45—50, 77—82, 109—115; *Eben Sa'ūd*, *ibid.*, p. 161—172, 297—308; C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, London 1923, i. 568 199; ii. 1—76, 227—427, 454—478; D. G. Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*, London 1905; do., *Arabia*, Oxford 1922; B. Moritz, *Arabien. Studien zur physischen und historischen Geographie des Landes*, Hanover 1923, p. 6 29, 9, 22 29, 26—34, 49—58 (with plates and two maps); *A Handbook of Arabia* (I. D. 1128) compiled by the geographical section of the Naval Intelligence Division, Naval Staff, Admiralty, i. 348—396; H. Philby, *The Heart of Arabia*, London 1922, index, s. v. Naḡd (with numerous plates and two maps); Ameen Rihani, *Ben Sa'ūd of Arabia, his People and his Land*, London 1928

(with numerous plates and two sketch maps), p. 31 esp.; do., *Tārīkh Najd al-Hadīth*, Beirut 1928; H. Musil, *Northern Negd a topographical itinerary*, New York 1928 (*American Geographical Society Oriental Explorations and Studies*, No. 5, ed. J. K. Wright) with numerous pictures and a map and historical excursus; Kenneth Williams, *Abū Sa'ūd the pious King of Arabia* (London 1933), p. 124, 127, 129, 148—151, 174—177, 182—185, 206 sq., 210—212.

(ADOLF GROHMANN)

NEDROMA (Ar. NADRŪMA), pron. *Nadrūma*, and sometimes *Medrūma*, 40 miles S.W. of Tlemcen, has since the dawn of the modern period been the most important town in the hilly country between the sea on the north, the lower course of the Tāfna on the east, the plain of Lalla Moghniya (Marnia) on the south and the Algero-Moroccan frontier on the west. It is the country known since the xvth century A.D. as the land of the Trāra, Berbers converted to Islam and Arab culture in the period of the Idrīsids who were known in the middle ages as Kūmya. This little Berber bloc, speaking Arabic, forms with Nadrūma, which is as it were the heart of it, a whole so homogeneous that they cannot be dealt with separately.

1. Past History. We may reject the childish etymology *Ned-Roma* "resembling Rome" given by Leo Africanus (ed. Schefer, iii. 13). Nadrūma was first of all the name of a tribe, a section of the Kūmya family of the Berber stock of the Baṭū Fstn (Ibn Khaldūn, *Barbaries*, transl. de Slane, I. 251). The name is mentioned by al-Balḍī (ed. Lévi-Provençal, *Doc. inéd. d'Hist. Abnaki*, Paris 1928, p. 44; transl., p. 66) where we must understand by al-ḥarya Nadrūma "the people of the citadel (i.e.) the Nadrūma". This passage, written in the xth century, would tend to show how the name of the tribe of the Nadrūma became attached to the little town which was then their principal centre.

Before this period however, Nadrūma was the name of the town; for al-Bakrī (xth century) gives it this name and gives us a brief description of it; he qualifies it as *madīna* "town" and not as simply *ḡarya*. In the time of al-Idrīsī (cf. the *Bilād*) in the xth century, the town was a prosperous one surrounded by walls and had an important market. There is no doubt also — although these two geographers do not mention the fact — that Nadrūma had a mosque.

In the ixth century A.D., the Muslim geographer al-Ya'qubī (*Kitāb al-Buldan*, ed. de Goeje, p. 18 and transl., *Descr. al-Maghrib*, Leyden 1860, p. 117) mentions a considerable town inhabited by Berbers at the extreme boundary of the lands ruled by the descendants of the Idrīsīd Muḥammad b. Sulaymān. The name of this town, written in the Arabic text *فيلوسين*, might be Fīlāusen or Fīlāusen, but with difficulty "Fellousen" (cf. R. Basset, *Nidromak et les Trarai*, p. 7, No. 2) on account of the present day pronunciation of the word by the natives of the country. René Basset (*ibid.*) thinks this town could be identified with Nadrūma, built on the N.W. flank of mount Fīlāusen (modern local pronunciation) — the Fīlāusen of the maps.

The Almoravids of the xth—xith centuries gave Nadrūma an important mosque and a pulpit, in-

spired, G. Marguin says, by that of the Great Mosque of the Umayyads of Cordova as that of the Almohad Kutubiya of Marrākush was later to be. This fact alone would suffice to show the importance in the Almoravid period of this Muslim centre which must have been the greatest in the land of the Kūmya at this period.

Nadrūma had access to the sea by several small ports, the most important of which, Honain, which also served Tlemcen (cf. Marguin, *Honain*, in *R.A.*, 1928, p. 333—350) was however somewhat difficult of access from Nadrūma by the very steep N.W. flank of mount Tāfira. This town had therefore rather to use the port of *Māzin* (al-Bakrī) which was only 10—12 miles away, easy of access at the end of a valley (Wādī Māzin) north of Nadrūma.

In the Almohad period Nadrūma as well as all the land of the Kūmya, where 'Abd al-Mu'min, the first caliph of the dynasty, was born, must have been the object of special solicitude by these rulers, who were lords of Africa and Spain. Moreover it was on the Kūmya, the tribe in which they originated, that the Almohad caliphs relied for support — like all Muslim rulers —: these Berbers were the best auxiliaries in the conquests and the most reliable supports of the throne of Marrākush. Although the name of the Kūmya has now disappeared and has been replaced by that of Trāra, it would be too much, as we shall see, to think that the Kūmya tribes disappeared in the wars of the Almohads.

The name Trāra is quite recent; it appears, it seems, for the first time in a treaty of union — of which the Arabic text is given by R. Basset (*loc. cit.*, *App.*, p. 212—218) — between the Arab and Berber tribes of the N.W. of Oman and eastern Morocco, prepared in 955 (1548—1549) in anticipation of the struggle with the Spaniards, then lords of Tlemcen. In the text the Trāra are described as made up of many sections, the names of which are unfortunately not given. At later dates we again find this name of Trāra in various authors without being able to say to which it refers. As in the xth—xith centuries, Nadrūma is still the capital and the principal town for these tribes.

Most of the Trāra tribes of to-day have preserved the names which the same Kūmya tribes bore in the time of the caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min.

This little Berber capital was undoubtedly never very large if we may judge by the traces still visible of its walls, which have hardly changed since the time of al-Bakrī. It appears in the history of the middle ages, as in modern times as one of the chief towns of the province of which Tlemcen was the capital, whose political and religious influence dominated it and whose destinies it followed.

When in the xth—xvth centuries, Tlemcen being the capital of the 'Abdulwāhid kingdom, Nadrūma, a peaceful town with a temperate climate, in a charming position, overlooking the blue sea a few miles away, became the country resort of the rulers and princes of the royal house. They had a fortified palace there (the *ḡayḡa*) of which considerable remains of the surrounding wall still stand as well as the walls of the buildings. It commanded the town, standing quite near it on the south, and its ruins are still called *ḡayḡa* or *ḡayḡa*. It was to this place that Abū Ya'qub Yūsuf, renouncing the royal throne of Tlemcen to the advantage of his two younger brothers Abū Sa'ūd

and Abū Thābit, retired in 749 (1348) to live far from the court and politics in meditation and prayer (Ibn Khaldūn, *Beṭṭāḥ*, transl. iii. 422 sqq.; Yahyā b. Khaldūn, *Hist. des Rois de Tlemcen*, ed. and transl. A. Bel, Algiers 1903-1910-1913, ii. 14, 18).

It was here that his son Abū Ḥammū II (reigned at Tlemcen 1359-1389) lived with him and the latter's son was born, Abū Tāghfīn II who dethroned his father and reigned after him (1389-1393).

This pious withdrawal of Abū Ya'qūb to Nadrūma was only to last about four years until the conquest of Tlemcen and Nadrūma by the Marinids of Fās in 1352.

No king and apparently no prince was ever buried at Nadrūma. There is however the mausoleum of a saint in the midst of the ruins of the palace. The individual whose tomb it is believed to mark is called "Sidi Sulṭān". Neither the name, nor history, which does not mention him, nor legend, which simply makes him come from Egypt at a remote period, tells us anything of value about him. Nevertheless, in view of the numerous similar examples of the creation of holy places sacred to saints by the Berbers, who are of a deeply religious nature, and in particular by the Berbers of Nadrūma and the Trāra, it is easy to reconstruct the process of the foundation of the mausoleum in question. The sojourn in the palace of Nadrūma of a great prince who had abandoned his rank for a life of devotion must have impressed the people of the time and long afterwards the spiritual merits of this "sultān" must have been related, as one who had certainly been touched by the grace of Allāh. When many years later the name and story of this devout king had been forgotten, the place where he had lived, this *ḡar ṣ-ṣulṭān*, this *ḡarḡa* as it is still called, although in ruins, impregnated with his sanctity — his *baraka* — remained a holy place. It was only a very short step from this to localise the centre of radiation of this *baraka* in a little sanctuary in which prayers could be addressed to the unknown saint who is alleged to be buried there. At the present day this little white dome covering the so-called tomb of Sidi Sulṭān under a very old wild olive tree is the goal of the pilgrimage of numerous women; they come there particularly to seek the cure of a sick child; they expect to obtain this by the fumigation of the invalid with leaves from the olive-tree. Men also visit it. Every year the negroes of Nadrūma (who say that Sidi Sulṭān was a descendant of Bilāl, the Prophet's *mu'aḥḥidīn*) go there on a mass pilgrimage and sacrifice a bull calf; they hope thereby to obtain the regular rainfall needed by the district.

If we have dealt rather fully with this feature of the religious mentality of the people of Nadrūma, it is because it is a sign, among many others, of one of the most characteristic aspects of the religion of the Berbers and of those of Trāra. Maraboutism is so developed among them that René Basset in his study of Nadrūma and the Trāra has collected the names and sanctuaries of 296 holy men and 9 holy women, which is a large number for so small an area. This however does not prevent the people from observing as well as they can the ritual duties of Saḥrī Islām and of zealously attending the many mosques in Nadrūma and in all the villages of the Trāra.

It has been mainly since the xvth century,

during the great popular mystical movement which spread through all North Africa, that the people of Nadrūma and the Trāra have developed this cult of saints and placed all their trust in men of religion and Ṣūfism. Particular evidence of this was seen in the assembly on the banks of the Wardaḡa, on the borders of the land of the Trāra, of the tribes of the region of Nadrūma and the adjoining country when in 1548 the holy man al-Ya'qūb, whose venerated *ṣūfiya* [q.v.] is a little to the west of Nadrūma, led them against the Spaniards who then held Tlemcen.

As a matter of fact the Spaniards who were established in Orna and Tlemcen were never able to occupy Nadrūma and the land of the Trāra. The Turks who finally occupied Tlemcen and the province were not always warmly welcomed there. On several occasions the sultān gharrā of Morocco were able to advance their frontiers to the lower Tāfna. However the Turks ended by establishing their authority which lasted until the conquest of Algeria by the French. Nadrūma and the Trāra did not at once accept the rule of 'Abd al-Kādir; they preferred to be under the sultāns of Morocco. Later they took the side of the emir against the French and it was in these mountains that 'Abd al-Kādir often found a safe asylum when he was defeated, even after 1842 when the French occupied Nadrūma, and notably in 1845 at the time of the famous affair of Sidi Brāhīm (cf. P. Aron, *L'Emir Abd el Kadir*, Paris 1923, p. 207-214) a few miles west of Nadrūma.

II. The Present. Nadrūma, surrounded by gardens full of olive and other fruit-trees of various kinds, rises in terraces which lie on a well-marked hog's back sloping from N. to S. running from the Kaṣba; it is enclosed in a quadrilateral of about 15 to 20 hectares, which is still marked by the traces here and there of its old walls.

This town has preserved the appearance of a city of Western Islām with the Great Mosque dominating the houses with its high square minaret. A small square (*ṣarḡa*) off which open the streets gives a little open space for this building and the central quarter which also bears the name of *ṣarḡa*. Other smaller mosques are in the different quarters but they are hardly to be distinguished from the surrounding houses because they do not have minarets or only a very low one hardly rising above the roof. The chief of these mosques is the *Djāmi' al-Kādirīn*, the "mosque of the potters", which is said to be the oldest of all. It and the Great Mosque are the only two in which the Friday *ḡuṣṣa* is held. It is in the Bani Zid quarter in the S.W. of the town. In the Rīs Esīmā'a quarter in the S.W. are the chapels of Sidi Bu 'Alli and Lāilla 'Aīya; those of the *Djāmi' Haddādīn*, *Dj. Arriya*, *Dj. Sidi Syādī* are in the quarter of Darb al-Sūḡ, to the north of the great mosque and town. At the hours of prayer all these mosques are filled with pious Muslims, many of whom possess a certain amount of Arab culture and religious knowledge; most of them are anxious to have a Muslim education and to give it to their children in addition to French education in the French elementary schools.

Petty traders of experience and agriculturists tilling their fields, the people of Nadrūma also include a considerable number of capable artisans. We shall here confine ourselves to mentioning two of the oldest and most important local industries

of Nadrûma; that of the weavers (*darrâbs*) and that of the potters (*haddârin*).

The weavers of Nadrûma have retained their ancient loom with low warp without any modern improvement not even the picker, and all the old equipment of their ancestors, notably the warper (*adâra*) and spinning wheel (*addâna*). On the loom, material and method of working, one may compare what is done in Tlemcen in identical fashion (cf. A. Bel and P. Picard, *Le travail de la laine à Tlemcen*, Algiers 1913, p. 63 sq.). The weavers of Nadrûma now make only woollen blankets (*hârâdâq*), white or decorated with stripes of colour, hooded cloaks with very short sleeves (*afallûba*), the white *hâq* for men (particularly old men here) which is a long piece of wool without seams, which is wrapped round the body in a certain way. Nadrûma makes several kinds of *hâq* (cf. *L'industrie de la laine*, loc. cit., p. 109).

The potters have for centuries from father to son had their ateliers in the upper part of the town in the S.E. beside the *Kasba*. They make pots and other articles on wheels (*maïm*) of the usual type driven by the foot: cooking pots of rounded shape without handles called *hadra* (whence the name *haddârin* given to the potters), cooking dishes for ragouts (*adîm*) and fat barley or wheat girdle cakes or different kinds of cakes (*maïla*), portable ovens (*madîmar*), *thârrâda* which is in the form of an oven with an earthenware dome above, it shaped like the bottom of an inverted pot on which is poured the liquid paste of these pancakes, as thin as paper, which on account of their thinness are called by the Bedouins in Orania *afâq* "slices" and in Nadrûma as in the towns are called by the old Arabic name of *thârd*. When required the potters of Nadrûma also make other earthenware articles such as flower-pots (*maïlâda*) and the musical instrument called *agnâl*, used by women, consisting of a large earthenware tube, one of the ends of which is closed by a skin stretched over it which is beaten.

The total population of the town of Nadrûma is 7,051 of whom 6,124 are Muslims, 850 Jews and about 200 Europeans (chiefly French). The Jews do not actually have a special quarter but they live almost entirely in the two streets of the Darb al-Sûk and in another in the Bant Zid quarter; they are petty traders, labourers and artisans (it is they who make the saddles for the mules and asses). The majority are of Berber origin; they are usually poor. Although they only marry with one another and live apart from the Muhammadans, the Jews live in houses quite like those of the Muhammadans, lead the same kind of life and use an Arabic dialect among themselves.

The negroes (*adîd*) who are not very numerous are called *ganza* (Guineans) and live in a separate quarter in the west centre of the town. They are in very humble circumstances, stokers of the bakers' ovens or the furnaces of the baths, labourers and workmen. Although regarded as Muslims, their religious life is not at all regular and they are regarded, as elsewhere, as more or less of *sonneers*.

The French element is very small; it consists almost entirely of officials and their families. They live by themselves in the public buildings (schools, gendarmerie etc.) and in European houses roofed with red tiles, which form an entirely distinct quarter outside the native town (to the N. and N.E.).

Nadrûma is the capital of a mixed commune. The civil administrator who lives there has under his authority the town and the Trâra tribes of the neighbourhood: Ljâbâla, Zawiyat al-Mia, Sawâhliya, in the West and N.W., Bant Muir, B. Mahal, B. Khalîd, B. Abed, in the N.E., E. or S.E. the population of which numbers 47,224 native Muslims and 83 Europeans.

The other Trâra tribes are not under Nadrûma; these are the Maïda, in the extreme N.W. who belong to the mixed commune of Marnia; the B. Warûs and the Ukhâsa Ghirâba, to that of Remchi-Montagnac.

On Thursday which is the market-day there come into Nadrûma large numbers of people from all the country round; they bring in their stock, especially sheep, goats, cattle and mules and, according to the season, the produce of their fields and gardens (wheat and barley, almonds, carrots, figs, grapes, etc.) and of their flocks (wool and goat-skins, butter, turds etc.) as well as chickens, eggs and honey. The country artisans (men and women) bring in the articles they have manufactured (articles of woven grass, walking-sticks and little articles of wood carved with the knife with Berber designs), wool, articles of terracotta, notably Berber pottery decorated with geometrical designs, made by the women of Maïda (and similar to the other Berber pottery made by the women of Kabylia, the Târl and elsewhere).

It is on market-day that one realises that Nadrûma is the economic centre of the whole district of the Trâra and sees the variety of products of the soil and industry of these Berbers.

The abundance and variety of these products are not due only to the activity of the inhabitants; the climate and the soil also help. The climate is fairly equable: tempered by the proximity of the sea it is never extreme as in the case of continental districts. For the rest, the height of the hills, while sufficient to encourage rainfall, is not very great: it does not exceed 3,500 feet at Fallaussen and 2,200 at Nadrûma. It is therefore only in the very hardest winters that snow for brief periods whitens the summits of the range. As to the soils of this coast range, which, between the depression of the Tâfâ in the east and the neighbouring plains of the Moroccan frontier in the west, run from the Wâd Mulla (2 miles N. of Marnia) to the sea, they offer a certain variety in their nature and origin. Around the primary massif, which includes the highest peaks, Fallaussen and Tadjra, are several eruptive (islets (granite) and hills of secondary formation (Jurassic). The lower areas, especially the plains of the N.W., as far as the coast (where there are several old eruptive mameïnes) and the depressions of the S.E. and E. along the Tâfâ, are middle Miocene formations.

The mountains also possess numerous perennial springs which feed little streams which irrigate the gardens; there are also various minerals, several of which have been recently or are still being exploited by Europeans.

It is due to the quality of the clay around Nadrûma and the granitic sand used for moulds that the pottery industry is one of the oldest and most prosperous in the town. The native vegetation is abundant and varied; in addition to the many varieties of trees of the highlands (notably sumach (*sîgha*), the wood of which is exported

to Europe through the port of Nemours), we may mention many kinds of plants used for medicinal purposes or dyeing. It is for example thanks to the madder abundant in these regions and used by the natives for dyeing the dwarf palm leaf that the people of Uthāqaghrib are able to make a fine and famous straw work (men's hats with high crowns and broad brims called *nefall* — baskets of various shapes all of dwarf palm leaves). All these articles are prettily decorated in red on the yellowish white foundation of the palm leaf; they are known and purchased by the natives of the whole of Oran and eastern Morocco.

It is also owing to the abundance of pasture in these hills that the rural dwellers, none of whom however are nomads, can raise so many flocks especially sheep. The wool from their flocks is almost entirely used in the country by the weavers of Nadrūma and by the country women who by their weaving, using the loom with a high rail like all the women in North Africa, make a considerable part of the family's woollen garments. All these women are excellent spinners; they have a great reputation for the fineness of their work.

Even from chickens — to feed which the country women in the autumn collect the red fruit of the mastic which is very abundant in this country — the people, who are greedy of gain, make a profit; thousands of eggs also are exported every month from Nadrūma via Nemours, to France and particularly to England.

Bibliography: Besides the works quoted cf. especially: al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Arabic text, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1857 (republ. in 1911), p. 80; French transl. in *J. A.*, 1839, series v., liii. 142-143; al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, transl. Dory and de Goeje, Leyden 1866, text, p. 172; Fr. transl., p. 209; Leo Africānus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Scheler, Paris 1898, lii. 12 sqq.; Marmol, *L'Afrique*, transl. Paris 1667, li. 324-325; Canut, *Mémoires de l'Aréopage de Tlemcen* (in *Bull. soc. d'arch. et de géol. d'Oran*, 1888, viii. 62-65); René Basset, *Nédromah et les Trarars*, Paris 1901; A. Bel, *Tlemcen et ses environs; Guide illustré du touriste*, Toulouse n.d., p. 92-94. — For the history cf. the *Bibl.* in the article 'AHDAWAKHUS', completed by that under ZAYĀRUS, adding the reference to al-Balḡhāq, quoted above. For the rest and especially for the ancient period as well as for the modern, there is a very full bibliography in the notes and references in *Nédromah et les Trarars* by R. Basset. (ALFRED BEL.)

NEFİ, the greatest satirist of the Ottomans. 'Omer Efeendi whose nom de plume (*makhlūs*) was Neḥī came from the village of Hasan Kef'a near Erzerūm (Eastern Anatolia). Not much is known of his early life. He spent his early years in Erzerūm where the historian 'Alī [q.v.], who was a *defterdar* there, became acquainted with him. During the reign of Ahmad I fate brought him to the capital Stambul where he worked for a time as a book-keeper. He failed in an attempt to gain the sultan's favour or that of his son, the unfortunate 'Othmān II, with some brilliant *kāsidās*. It was not till the reign of Murād IV that he gained the imperial favour but his malicious, sarcastic and indecent poems soon brought him into disgrace. He was appointed

to the post-tax office and later again became a member of the sultan's circle. His irresistible impulse to make all the notables of the empire the butt of his mockery made him a host of enemies. A satire on Bairām Paṣhā, the sultan's brother-in-law and vizier, who had succeeded in being recalled from banishment and again attaining influence, cost him his life. The sultan gave his sanction to the execution of the great poet. With the sultan's consent he was shut up in the wood-cellar of the serāy, then strangled and his body thrown into the sea. The year of his death is 1044 (beg. June 27, 1634), not 1045 as Hādīdjī Khalīfā, *Fihrist*, li. 183 wrongly says (cf. on the other hand his *Katḥf al-ḥunūn*, lii. 318 and 631 where the correct date is given).

Neḥī wrote Turkish and Persian with equal ease. His mastery of technique and natural poetical talent make him one of the greatest Ottoman poets; he is also undoubtedly one of the greatest, although hitherto little known satirists. The reason why he is so little known is that a scholarly edition with full annotations of his Turkish *Divān* entitled 'Arrows of Fate', *Şihm-i Kuds*, has so far never been undertaken, so that at the present day hardly any one is able to understand the countless allusions to particular circumstances and the veiled attacks on the individuals dealt with. The publication of his poems demands a knowledge of the conditions of his period and particularly of life at court which it is hardly possible to attain and which it would be very difficult to gather from the existing sources. Many of his flashes of wit and allusions are very difficult to understand. Many of his poems are distinguished by an obscenity which can hardly be surpassed and however great may be their importance for the social history of his time, they are of little value as evidence of his poetic gifts. The 'Arrows of Fate' are directed against almost every one prominent in politics and society in his time. In *G. O. D.*, lii. 241, J. v. Hammer has compiled a list of them. Some of his poems which pillory existing institutions, like the popular saints, the Kalender-dervishes [q.v.] etc. are of value for social history. Hardly one important contemporary was able to escape his scorn and ridicule. They were all made targets for his 'Arrows of Fate' without mercy. He attacked the jurists (*ulama*) particularly unsparingly. Neḥī's Turkish *Divān* has been several times printed: two parts at Bulak in 1253 and in 1269 at Stambul. Selections (with ample evidence of 'Abd al-Hamid's censorship!) were published by Abu 'l-Diyā' Tewfik in 1311 at Stambul. There are MSS. in European collections in London, Leyden and Vienna. Mr. Walther von der Porten now (1933) in Zurich owns two particularly beautiful and old MSS. A short *Saḡi-nāme* by Neḥī is mentioned in the catalogue of MSS. of the Leipzig council library by H. L. Fleischer (p. 547^b). On his death, cf. Farā'istūda, *Ta'rikh-i ḡalib-i Mo'arif*, i., Stambul 1252, p. 668, and Na'imā, *Ta'rikh*, li. 489.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned cf. also Gibb, *Ottoman Poets*, p. 208 and *H. O. P.*, iii. 252 sqq.; the history of Na'imā (i. 586) and Beḥāll Meḥemmed Tāhīr, *Ölüm-nāme Mülâhizat*, li. 441 sq. (according to which parts of his Persian *Divān* were published in the *Kānūn-i Fannī*).

(FRANK BARINGHUR)

NEFTA, a town in the south of Tunisia, lies 15 miles W. of Tozeur on the isthmus which separates the depressions of the *Shott al-Djârid* and the *Shott Gharsa*. In the middle ages it was considered one of the principal centres of the land of *Qastiliya* [q.v.] along with al-Hamma, Takina and Tozeur, which was the capital. It was regarded as a very old town. Nefta as a matter of fact replaced the town of Nepte or Aggarcel-Nepte. The Roman town must now be buried in the sands close to the present town. We may presume that there still existed in the early centuries of the Muslim period visible traces of the old town. Al-Bakrî tells us that the town was built of large blocks of stone (*qasâr*). The author of the *Istihqâr* regards the wall which surrounds it as having been built by the ancients. The dam on the Wed Nefta is made of Roman blocks if it is not actually of Roman work (Tissot).

Memories of the pre-Islamic past were also found among the people of Nefta. Its large population was regarded as consisting for the larger part of descendants of Christians (*Ya'qûbî, Istihqâr*) who must have retained their faith for a considerable period. Ibn Khaldûn (*Berberes*, I. 146, transl. I. 231) remarks on the presence of Christians in the province of *Qastiliya* at the end of the sixth century. The outlying position of this province perhaps explains the survival of a Christian colony, which was exceptional in Barbary. It is moreover worth noting that the attitude of the people of Nefta in religious matters has often been non-conformist. In the tenth century, according to Ibn Hawkal, *Khâridjism* still survived there; in the eleventh century, according to al-Bakrî, the people of Nefta still professed the *Shi'a* so that this town is called *Little Kûfa*. We shall see that at the present day it is an important centre of maraboutism.

The remoteness of the capital assured Nefta, like other towns of the *Djârid*, a fairly regular political independence. Like al-Hamma and Tozeur, it was long (probably from the period of anarchy which followed the Hilâlî invasion) governed by a council of notables, the president of which held the position of a feudal lord, indeed prince. In the sixteenth century this office was held by the family of the Banû Khalaf, who claimed to be of Ghassânid Arab origin. The Banû Khalaf and the people of the oasis whom they ruled maintained regular relations with the Sulaimid Arabs of the great tribe of *Qo'ûb* who periodically frequented the country around. A tradition of reciprocal service united these immigrant nomads and settled natives, the nomads defending at need against the attempts of the central power the settled population who in turn assured them their subsistence and the provision of their supplies. The central power when it felt sufficiently strong naturally endeavoured to bring the *Djârid* under its authority again. Nefta thus underwent alternatively periods of subjection and independence. In 744 (1343) the Hafsid caliph Abû Bakr sent his son Abû 'l-Abbâs who secured the submission of the people of Nefta by cutting down a part of their palm-trees and putting to death nearly the whole of the Banû Khalaf. A century later (845 = 1441) the caliph Abû 'Omar 'Othmân, having taken Nefta, sacked it, executed the chiefs of the Banû Khalaf and placed the town under a *hâ'id* of his own choice.

If the partial destruction of the palm-trees — a classical procedure — had brought the people

of Nefta to terms, it was because these trees supplied the greater part of their income. Very abundant springs (the largest of which rising north of the town forms the Wed Nefta) assured and still assure the life of this splendid oasis. There is at the present day a forest of 275,000 palm-trees there. Nefta was however also a commercial town, a wealthy emporium and a centre of the exchange of goods. Before the establishment of the Protectorate, trade was mainly carried on at two periods of the year: at the beginning of spring, when the expeditionary force which had come from Tunis to collect taxes could guarantee the security of the routes and at the end of summer when the marauding Arabs had left the country to buy corn in the north.

Consisting of merchants and farmers with the important aristocracy of the *Shorfa* [q.v.], the population of Nefta (estimated at the present day at over 13,000) is distributed over eight quarters separated from one another by palm-groves. Each of the quarters has its mosque. Al-Bakrî tells us that Nefta in his day had already a great mosque, several smaller places of worship and many baths. The places of worship belonging to the *zâwiya* of the various brotherhoods are still characterized by their hemispherical or ovoid domes. The most important *zâwiya* is that of the *Kâdiriya*, an influential centre of worship. The architecture of the houses, the decoration of their façades with reliefs of brick, contribute to give to Nefta an imposing appearance which is also characteristic of Tozeur.

Bibliography: Tissot, *Géographie comparée de la Province romaine d'Afrique*, II. 685-686; al-Ya'qûbî, *B. G. A.*, vii., p. 10; transl., p. 77; Ibn Hawkal, *B. G. A.*, II. 67, 69; transl. de Slane, in *J. A.*, 1842, I. 243, 248; al-Bakrî, ed. de Slane (Algiers 1911), p. 74-75; transl. (Algiers 1913), p. 152-153; al-Idrîsî, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, p. 105; transl., p. 123; *Istihqâr*, transl. Fagnan (*Rec. de la Soc. Archéol. de Constantinople*, 1900), p. 79-80; Ibn Khaldûn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, I. 146, 600, 199, 640 199; transl., I. 231; II. 91 199; III. 146 199; Zarkashî, *Chronique des Almohades et des Hafsidès*, transl. Fagnan, p. 153, 163, 175-176, 228; G. Marçais, *Arabes en Berbérie*, p. 491-492, 672-673; Daumas, *Le Sahara algérien*, Paris 1845, p. 195-202. (G. MARÇAIS)

NEHÂWÂND. [See Nihâwând.]

NERGISI, properly NERGİZ-ZÂDİR MEHMED EFENDİ, an important and distinctive stylist of the old school, poet and calligrapher. Born about 1000 (1592) in Serajevo (Boana Serai) the son of the *nâ'ib* Nergiz Ahmad Efendi, he received his education in Constantinople where he attached himself as a pupil to Kâf-zâde Faiz 'Abd al-Halî. On the completion of his studies he served as *muderris* and *nâ'ib* in Gabala, Mostar, Yeni Pazar (Novibazar), Elbasan, Banyaluka and Monastir. He was on intimate terms with the Shaikh al-Islâm Yahyâ Efendi. He travelled a great deal. Nergisi was appointed imperial historiographer (*ta'rif nâ'ib*) when Murâd IV set out for Baghdad on the campaign against Eriwan. He died on the march at Gebize (Gebelze) on the Gulf of Ismid as the result of a fall from his horse and was buried there (1044 = 1634). The other statement (Hafiz and Riyâzî) that he was buried in Aiyûb is not at all probable.

Nergisi is celebrated less as a poet than as a stylist. His stilted and unnaturally affected style (*Nergisi İsmi*) and his bombastic, overlaid language were regarded as unsurpassed models for the whole of the period fascinated by this stylistic foolishness. Even in the older stylists far more importance had been attached to the word than to the sense. But Nergisi completely sacrificed sense to sound and let it all disappear in bombast. He is the most perfect master of this style with a language even more florid than that of Walis, whose *Siyer-i Nebi* he tries to outdo; his style is even more extravagant and artificial, more laden with rare words, *seğ* expressions and obsolete similes than any other.

The most celebrated of his works is his *Khamse* (Quintet). Originally this consisted only of the *Khamse* of the *Nihâlîsân* (the quintet of "offshoots") which was composed in imitation of Sa'di's *Gulistan* and *Bûstân* in Monastir. It consists of five parts (*nihâl* = offshoots), viz. stories of liberality and magnanimity; of love; legends; stories showing how every one gets the reward he deserves; lastly, legends glorifying virtue and penitence. The contemporary allusions in the very realistic tales, little influenced by superstition, are important.

This original *Khamse* was later expanded into the great *Khamse-i Nergisi* by the addition of four other pieces: 1. *İhtir-i Şadî* (also called *İhtir-i Dewlet*: Elixir of Happiness), the translation of a portion of the *K'utub al-Sa'ade* of the Imâm Ghazâlî, which had already been translated by the poet Sîhâbî. Only Nergisi's translation however has become celebrated. The obligations of social life are dealt with in stories. This work, which also appeared separately, is of value for its ethical teaching; 2. *Maşâhîb al-Uşshâk* (the sorrows of lovers): love-stories, which Nergisi collected when Kâdî of Elbasan. As several of the stories in it were later included in the *Nihâlîsân* this part looks very small in print; 3. *Künûn al-Rehâd* (canon of the straight path), a translation of the book written for the Cingizid Sultan Muhammad Khubabanda: *Ahklâk al-Salâm*: the duties of a ruler, a kind of mirror for princes. It is prefaced by a panegyric (*medîha*) of Sultan Murâd IV, the Shaikh al-Islâm Es'ad Efendi and the two Şadrs of Rûm and Anatolia: Ghani-zâde and 'Azmi-zâde; 4. *Ghazavât-i Maslama*: the wars of religion waged by the Omayyad Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik against the Greeks and Byzantium. Maslama on his different campaigns had advanced as far as Constantinople, which he besieged; on this occasion he built the 'Arab Mosque in Galata. The book is taken from a work of Muhyî al-Dîn. The *Khamse* was twice printed (Bulâk 1255 and Constantinople 1285).

Nergisi also left a collection of 50 letters: *İnşâ'* or *Munîha'at*, which were collected by Shaikh Mehmed b. Mehmed Shaikhî, the continuator of the *Shâhîk al-Nu'mâniye*.

Nergisi also wrote a historical work: *Wasf al-kamil fi Ahrâk al-Watir al-İslîl*, five years on the history of the governorship of the warlike Bosniak Murterâ Pasha, Pasha of Ofen, who died in 1636; this was written in Banyaluka in 1038 (1628). The holograph of his work is in the Enderûn-i Humûyûn Library in the Rewân Kûshki. No work exists from his brief tenure of the office of Imperial historiographer.

Nergisi was also a great calligrapher particularly celebrated for his speed in writing. There are works written by him in several libraries.

Bibliography: Brusall Mehmed Tâhir, *'Othmânî Mûellifleri*, i. 440-441; Hahib, *Şa'fî u-Khattâfîn*, Istanbul 1306, p. 241; Mehmed Djelâl, *'Othmânî Edebiyât Nâmüneleri*, Istanbul 1312, p. 136; Rîzâ, *Tedrisi*, Istanbul 1316, p. 97; İbrahim Nedjâi, *Târîkî-i Edeb Derisleri*, Istanbul 1338, i. 129-133; Sâmî, *Kâmûs al-A'lâm*, vi. 4573; Thureiyâ, *Sigill-i 'Othmânî*, iv. 158; *Yeni Mecmû'a*, Istanbul 1917, i. N° 15-18; Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iv. 603; do., *G.O.D.*, iii. 229; Gibb, *H. O. P.*, iii. 208; Babinger, *M. O. G.*, i. 151-166; do., *G.O.R.*, p. 173-174; Basmadjian, *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature ottomane*, Constantinople 1910, p. 124; catalogues of manuscripts in Vienna, Berlin and Munich. (MENZEL)

NESH'ET KHODJA SULAIMAN, an Ottoman poet. He was born in Adrianople in 1148 (1735), the son of the poet Ahmad Rafî' Efendi, then in exile; the latter is known as *Muâhib-i Shahryârî*. With his father, who had regained the sultan's favour by writing a *sharh*, which met with general approval, he came to Constantinople. He also accompanied his father on a journey to the Hijâz and the young Hadjîdî, on his way back, joined the Mawlawî order in Konya. After his father's death, he devoted himself to study, especially Persian, in order to understand the *Mathnawî*. In Persian, which he came to love passionately, he attained a high degree of perfection with the result that he had more pupils than an ordinary school in his house in Molla Gürânî, where he taught Persian and expounded the *Mathnawî* (*Mathnawî Kâzânî*). He enjoyed great prestige among the people. Later he attached himself to the Nakshbandî Shaikh Bruzewî Emin Efendi. He held a fief and therefore took part in 1182 (1768) in the Russian campaign. He could use the sword as well as the pen. Nesh'et died in 1222 (1807) and was buried outside the Top Kapu.

He received the nom de plume of Nesh'et from Djâdî. Nesh'et was a moderate poet but an admirable teacher. No one would say an unkind word about him and they winked at his smoking the *hish* which was otherwise forbidden. He wrote poetry in Turkish and in Persian. Many of his pupils far surpassed him, such as Ghâlib Dede. He left a *Divân* which was printed in two parts in Bulâk (1252 = 1836). His *Makhlûq-nâm*'s (about 20 in the *Divân*) are distinctive in character; these are poems in which he bestowed epithets upon gifted pupils. In addition he left writings on the Nakshaye: *Tâfîs-i Ma'rîfet*; *Tarjimai al-'Ulûk*; *Maalak al-Anwar wa-Manab al-Ahrâr*. His *Tarjimai Sharh-i dâ Bait-i Molla Djâmî* was printed at Constantinople in 1263. A biography of him by his pupil Pertew Efendi which was continued by Emin Efendi is said to exist.

Bibliography: Brusall Mehmed Tâhir, *'Othmânî Mûellifleri*, i. 461; Mu'allim Nâdî, *Mecmû'a*, N° 8, p. 74-76; do., *'Othmânî Şâirleri*, p. 64-70; *Kasime-i Funûn*, Istanbul 1312, ii. 230 (*Islâf*); Thureiyâ, *Sigill-i 'Othmânî*, iv. 552; Sâmî, *Kâmûs al-A'lâm*, vi. 4576; Mehmed Djelâl, *'Othmânî Edebiyât Nâmüneleri*, Istanbul 1312, p. 263; Flügel, *Die arabischen... Hu... zu Wien*, i. 686. (MENZEL)

NESHRI, MEHMET, an Ottoman historian, with the nom de plume (*seudonym*) of Neshri; his origin is not definitely known. According to Ewliya Celali (*Seyahatnâme*, i. 247), he belonged to Germian-elli [q. v.]. 'Ali, *Kunî al-Ashraf*, v. 225 sketches the career of a certain Mewlûs Mehmed b. Neshri among the 'ulama' of Murâd II. According to him, the latter came at an early age to Brussa, studied there at the Sultân Medrese, was appointed *muderris* there and died in Brussa. In view of the rarity of the name — indeed it is not otherwise known —, it is probable that this Mehmed b. Neshri was the grandfather of the historian. As to the latter we know only that he was a teacher in Brussa and it may be assumed that he died there in 926 (1520).

Neshri wrote under the title *Dihân-nümâ* a history of the world in six parts, of which only the sixth, dealing with Ottoman history, seems to have survived. This, usually called *Tarîkh al-'Othmân*, is obviously a compilation but the question is still unsettled whether Neshri was the compiler or whether he copied a compilation already in existence in order to add it as a sixth part (*hizm*) to his own compilation on the history of the world (cf. P. Wittek, in *M. O. G.*, i. 130, who decides for the second hypothesis). There are suspicious echoes of the work of 'Ashûk Paşa-Zâde and of Bihishti's Chronicle (cf. F. Balinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 43 sq.) and it should perhaps be investigated whether the *usûl* Neshri made a popular version of Bihishti's *Tarîkh* which was written in an elevated style, or the stylist Bihishti rewrote the work of Neshri in elegant language. The sixth part of the *Dihân-nümâ* is divided into three sections (*fakhs*): *Evâlat-ı Oğuz*, *Salâh-ı Rûm* and the *House of 'Othmân*. The history of the Ottomans is narrated down to the time of Bayazîd II; the work comes down only to the year 1485; that is, as far as his sources go, of which one went up to 1485. He concludes with a *hazâin* in praise of the ruling sultan in the middle of the reign of Bayazîd II. Neshri had considerable influence on contemporary and later historiography and is frequently cited as a source, e.g. by 'Ali, Sa'd al-Din, *Şoluk-nâmê* and *Minedjîm-heshi*. A full survey of the contents of the *Tarîkh* of Neshri is given by Wittek, in *M. O. G.*, i. 77—130. It has so far not been published. There are a number of good manuscripts in existence, e.g. in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (*Suppl. Turc.*, N^o. 153, a very handsome MS.) and N^o. 1183 of the Charles Schefer collection, and in Vienna, Nat. Bibl., N^o. 986 (cf. Flügel, *Kat.*, ii. 209). Specimens of his text have often been published; see a list of them in F. Bahinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 39.

Bibliography: Cf. the sources collected by F. Bahinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 39, notably J. H. Mordtmann, in *Isl.*, x. (1920), p. 159 sq.; al. (1923), p. 168 sq.; also J. v. Hammer, *G. O. D.*, i. 310. (FRANZ BÄRINGER)

NESİMİ, SA'İM HAVÂ AL-DÎR, known as Nesimî, an early Ottoman poet and mystic, believed to have come from Nesim near Baghdad, whence his name Nesimî. As a place of this name no longer exists, it is not certain whether the *lughat* should not be derived simply from *nâsim* 'asphyx, breath of wind'. That Nesimî was of Turkoman origin seems to be fairly certain

although the 'Saiyid' before his name also points to Arab blood. Turkish was as familiar to him as Persian; for he wrote in both languages. Arabic poems are also ascribed to him. Little is known of his life; it fell in the reign of Murâd I (1359—1390) as his biographers tell us. He was at first a member of the school of Shaikh Shibli (247—334 = 861—945) but about 804 (1401) he became an enthusiastic follower of Fâdî Allah Harûfî [q. v.] with whom he was undoubtedly personally acquainted. He championed the views of his master with ardour and at the risk of his life. The poet Refî'i, author (811 = 1408) of the *Dehşet-nâme* (copies in London, cf. Rieu, *Cat.*, p. 164 sq. and Vienna, cf. Flügel, *Kat.*, p. 461 and 462 (two MSS., the second more complete)), and presumably a *Ghaff-nâmâ* (in Vienna, cf. Flügel, *Kat.*, i. 720) was his pupil. A certain Shâh Khandân who was a dervish mystic is mentioned as his full brother. Nesimî met a cruel death in 820 (1417—1418) in Aleppo where he was slayed for his heretical poems on a *fermâ* of the extremely fanatical mufti. He is considered the greatest poet and preacher of the Harûfî sect. His work consists of two collections of poems, one of which, the rarer, is in Persian and the other in Turkish. The Turkish *Dihân* consists of 250—300 ghazels and about 150 quatrains, but the existing MSS. differ considerably from the printed edition (Stambul 1298 = 1881). No scholarly edition has so far been undertaken. The Persian *Dihân* has not been examined at all. Nesimî's spiritual influence on the dervish system of the earlier Ottoman empire was considerable. The pro-'Alid guilds in particular honour Nesimî as one of their masters, testimony to whose far-reaching influence is found even in the earlier European travellers like Gioy. Antonio Monavino (c. 1540; cf. F. Balinger, in *Isl.*, xi. 19, note 1, from which it is evident that Nicolas de Nicolay copied him and therefore cannot be regarded as an independent source, as Gibb, *H. O. P.*, i. 356 sq. thought) and Sir Paul Ricaut (xviii century; cf. Gibb, *H. O. P.*, i. 357 sqq.). Nesimî's importance as a poet and mystic can only be estimated and realised in connection with a thorough study of the older Harûfî texts, among which a most important one is that mentioned but not recognised by W. Perich, *Pers. Handschr. Berlin*, p. 264 sq. N^o. 221 by Saiyid 'Ali al-A'în (d. 822 = 1419) because it might show the connection of the Harûfîya with the Bektaşîya. Nesimî's poems were made popular in earlier times, especially by the wandering *Kalender dervishes* [q. v.] and were known to every one.

Bibliography: Gibb, *H. O. P.*, i. 343 sqq.; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. D.*, i. 124 sq.; also the Ottoman biographers of poets who however contribute practically nothing to the life history of Nesimî. (FRANZ BÄRINGER)

NESTORIANS. The Christian community (*millet*) which we know as Nestorians is at the present day better known under the name of 'Aḡirā or *Gile*. Down to the war of 1914 they lived in the central part of Kurdistan which lies between Mawil [see 2091], Wân and Urmîya [see 2091A]. Their main nucleus was represented by the highland Nestorians, in practice independent, living in the inaccessible regions of the highlands on the middle course of the Great Zâb, Tiyârî, Tikhman, Tkhub, Dîlî, Dîra, Uri, Salabekân, Bâz, etc. Outside of this national centre the Nestorians are

found scattered in enclaves among the Mahammadan population, Kurd and Persian, of the adjoining districts: Gawar, Targawar, Margawar, Shamdînâ (q. v.); on the plateau of Urmîya (some sixty villages), in this town itself; finally in the north at Salamas, Bâshkâl's Khoshâb and in the south in Mawjil and around it (Alkosh etc.).

Geography. It may be useful here to touch on some of the salient features of the Nestorian country in the strict sense, which is but very little known. We mean by this the area on both sides of the middle course of the Great Zâb, in the part where it describes an arc towards the east, between 37° and 37° 30' N., 43° 30' and 44° E. In Layard (*Ninewa*, I) we have a description of the Nestorian districts on the right bank: the upper Tiyârî with Çambî and the greater part of the Lower Tiyârî with Aghita and Lîsan. We shall give here a general account of those on the left bank, namely, going from N. to S. and from W. to E.: Dîza, Kîr, the eastern part of the Lower Tiyârî, Tal, Walto, Tkhûma (with Tkhûb); further to the east, Dîlâ, Bâz and lastly Ightarin. All these districts lie in the folds of the massif which the Turks know by the general name of Dîlâ Dâgh, but which for the natives has a number of summits. This massif of Dîlâ Dâgh to some degree forms a curve in the inverse direction of the arc of the Great Zâb.

History. The teaching of the Nestorians, who were very active missionaries, was at one time very widely disseminated in Asia. An inscription in Chinese and Syriac was discovered at Singanfu. At Travancore, in South India, there is still a Nestorian community in existence. It was under the Sâssânians that the Nestorians played an important part. It is true that under Shâpûr II (309-379), Yazdegerd I (399-420) and Bahram V (420-438) severe persecutions took place for various reasons, of which the extraordinary spread of the sect was not the least. On the other hand, purely political reasons, fear of Byzantine influence, made the Persian government distrustful of them. We know for example, that the Byzantine emperor demanded from Bahram V and Khuraw I the free exercise of the Christian religion. Permanent good relations between the Nestorian Church and the state therefore date only from the declaration of independence of the Eastern Syrian church under a Catholicos of Seleucia with a dyophysite confession of faith. The most flourishing period of Nestorianism was therefore in the reign of Hormîz IV and at the beginning of the reign of Khuraw II, i.e. from 578 to 603 A.D. Under the influence of Gabriel of Sîgar, who had gone over to the monophysites, Khuraw II began to persecute the Nestorians; one result was that from 609 to 628, the year of Khuraw's death, the position of Catholicos remained vacant. Two events in this period are of special importance to us. The first was the establishment of Christianity in Central Kurdistan, where we still find direct and indirect traces of it at every step: churches, monasteries, traditions, place-names. In the fifth century the faith gained ground daily among the people of the high plateaus of Irân proper and among the Kurds. Pethion (d. 447) conducted a very successful missionary campaign in these mountains, which was crowned by his martyrdom. Emulating him, Saba, the "teacher of the heathen", went among the Kurds, who were sun-worshippers,

His eloquence supported by numerous miracles gained many converts (J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Persan sous la Dynastie Sassanide*, Paris 1904). Let us not forget this first Nestorian advance into Kurdistan. The oldest Nestorian churches in Central Kurdistan date from the fourth and fifth centuries. These are Mâr Zaya at Dîlâ; Mâr Bîshu at Dîl; Mâr Saba (ruins) at Kôfânîs; Mârî Memo at Oraman. The monastery and church of Mâr Saba at Aghita in Tiyârî were also held in great veneration but we do not know their date. Secondly we must note here how relations were established between the Nestorians and Islâm (Tor Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum*, Upsala 1926). The part played by the Nestorians at a certain period under the Sâssânians explains the conversion of the Yaman to Nestorianism at its conquest by the Persian general Wahrîs in 597. It was in the Nestorian form that Christianity penetrated into Analis in the zone of Persian influence, i.e. from Hâdramawt to Palmyra. We know the names of six Nestorian bishops on the eastern shore of Arabia. The first to be founded was that of 'Omân (acts of Councils 424, 544, 576, 676). A Christian community on the island of Soqôtrâ used to receive its priests from the Catholicos of Persia. Relations with Persia were established by sea. By the time of Muhammad the South Arabian church was already Nestorian. We have definite evidence of this in the fact that Saiyûd, prince of Nejdân, came with the bishop Ishô'yâh to Muhammad to seek favours. Bar Hebraeus who records the incident adds that the Prophet gave them a document ordering the Arabs to see that no injury was done to the Christians and to help them to rebuild their churches. The priests and monks were to be exempt from the poll-tax, which besides was not in general to exceed 4 *âîr* for the poor and 12 for the state. According to another source, the bishop only wrote to Muhammad. A passage in a letter of Ishô'yâh III (647-648) shows that the relations between Arabs and Nestorians were very good. This may be attributed to the fact that the Christology of the Nestorians was much more acceptable to the Muslims than that of the monophysites. Every Nestorian church in the east possessed its own version of the letter of protection alleged to have been given by the Prophet (cf. for example that given by George Dav. Malech in his *History of the Syrian Nation and the old Evangelical-Apostolic Church of the East*). In any case this letter did not prevent (see below) the proclamation of the *ghîyâd* from which the Nestorians later suffered so much.

The life of the Nestorian Church during the period from the Mahammadan conquest to the establishment of the Mongols need not detain us here, as it is part of the religious history of the Christian sects. We need only mention as particularly concerning Agharwâdjân that the Jacobite and Nestorian rites were rivals there. Thus from 630 to 1265 we have a line of Jacobite bishops. We know also (Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, III/ii. 707) of Nestorian bishops both to the east of Lake Urmîya and also in the country of Lake Wân and Central Kurdistan. It is not always easy to identify the names found there. We have good evidence of the antiquity of Nestorianism in Salamas where there is in the burial ground of Khosrâwâ an epitaph of the sixth century recording the name of Khosro Eskolâyâ "the student Khuraw" (cf.

Daval, *Dialecte néo-araméen*, 1883). Under the Mongols we find at first that the Nestorian priests (*arshans*) were treated with consideration at the taking of Baghdad (Hammer, *Ussan*, ii, 132). We know also that Hülegü's wife was a Christian: at the taking of Arbil, the son of an important Nestorian metropolitan (Adharbāshijān was also under it), the lances of the Mongol horsemen bore little crosses. Later, in proportion as the Mongols became converted to Islam, the Nestorians became subjected to persecution, and particularly after the invasion of Timur they sought refuge in the mountains of Kurdistan from which they did not begin to emerge till the beginning of the xvth century when they spread eastwards towards the region of Urmiya and S. E. towards Mawād; Daval (*op. cit.*, p. 9, note 4) gives notes on the different residences of the Nestorian patriarchs after the taking of Baghdad in 1258. It was under the Patriarch Simeon IV in 1450, that an innovation was introduced, making the episcopate hereditary; this produced a schism in the Nestorian community in 1551 when Sulakha was elected in opposition to Simeon Bar Mama. From this dates the term "Chaldeans" henceforth applied to these Nestorians who recognised the supremacy of Rome, while English and American writers speak constantly of the "Assyrians"; and lastly the Nestorians themselves like to be called *Sāriā*. In Russian the name used is *aisort*. In the second half of the xvth century, the bishop Mār Vāsiḥ recognised the authority of Rome and received the title of Catholic Patriarch of Babylon and Chaldeas, while one of his near relatives, elected patriarch of the Nestorians and remaining faithful to this rite, was enthroned under the name, henceforth hereditary, of Mār Shim'un and at once set out for the mountains of Central Kurdistan, where his residence was sometimes at Ruḥānā and sometimes at Dūlāmārk. Thus originated this quasi-autonomous community of Nestorian highlanders in which an ecclesiastical authority exists alongside of a purely tribal organisation. Indeed while the supreme power is in the hands of a hereditary Mār Shim'un (passing from uncle to nephew) having the title of *patriarch d-malānā*, who was consecrated patriarch by the Metropolitan Mār Hunnāshu, living in Dera Kesh at Shamūmān, each tribe (*shakā*) had alongside of a bishop (*shūnā*), the ecclesiastical chief, a *malik* or lay chief, distinguished by peacock feathers fixed on his conical felt hat, a characteristic feature of dress. The custom of the men arranging their hair in little pig-tails may also be mentioned. The *malik* had power to declare war on another tribe and to conclude peace.

The tribal organisation and mode of life of these highlanders have caused some writers to give them the name of "Christian Kurds" (Garzoni, Lerch).

A. Wigram in the introduction to his *History of the Assyrian Church* thinks that some at least of the Christians of Hakkāri (cf. *gurs*) are of Kurd origin although they deny it vigorously. On the other hand, there are Kurd tribes who remember that they were once Christians. Other writers (Grant), led astray perhaps by the theocratic aspect of Nestorian society, the names and certain Biblical traditions, see in them evidence in support of the hypothesis that the Nestorians are the descendants of the ten tribes of Israel. We know however which actually are the Jewish communities in Kurdistan, quite distinct from the Christian groups

in dress and customs. Only their language is also a Neo-Aramaic dialect. — The Highland Nestorians annually pay Mār Shim'un a contribution called *riḥ d-shita*. The arrears due to the Turkish treasury were simply left to mount up. Caint (p. 749—751), speaking of the autonomous tribes, gives the total of arrears as already 160,000 *ET* in his time. There was besides somewhere in the Nestorian country (cf. Lalayan, who gives a photograph) a "rock of the collector of taxes" marking the limit beyond which this official never risked going. — The relations of the Nestorian hillmen with their Kurdish neighbours were no worse than those of the highlanders with one another usually are. The interest of the tribe came before every consideration of religion, so that *ad hoc* alliances could be concluded between the Kurds and the Nestorians for joint action against their co-religionists.

"The grass grows quickly over the blood spilt in a just battle". A kind of fair play is therefore the ruling principle of the inter-tribal code. There are, it is true, exceptional cases. The pan-Islamism of 'Abd al-Hamid had its unpleasant repercussions in Kurdistan; the Turkish officials appointed there after the revolution of 1907 only complicated the position still further. Since the affairs of the Nestorians and Kurds were conducted on a tribal basis, we find the door of the patriarch's residence open to Kurds and Nestorians indifferently, who come to settle their disputes and hospitality is offered to all alike. On the other hand, we find the Nestorians seeking the good offices of Shaikh Salim of Barzan known as the "Christian Shaikh", who was executed by the Turks in Mawād at the beginning of the War.

The Nestorians and the Diklā. Even before the official outbreak of hostilities between Russia and Turkey, in August 1914, the patriarch Mār Shim'un was invited by Djewdet Bey, the *waḥī* of Wān, to come to see him. Presents were lavished upon him and assurances given that all the grievances of the Nestorians would be redressed. As a result of the proclamation of the *ghilā* however, the atmosphere became heavy in Kurdistan. In November, Turkey entered the war and the persecution of the Nestorians of Albāle (Bashkafa) began at once. In Persia fighting broke out between the Christians of the Urmiya region and the Bekrān Kurds. At the end of 1914, the Russians evacuated Urmiya and Salamas. Those Christians who did not save themselves in time by going to Dūlfa perished in large numbers. As to the Nestorians of the highlands, although the massacres and deportations of Armenians were at their height, the Turks endeavoured to attach the Patriarch to their side and to secure the loyalty of the Nestorians. Complete educational freedom, good rifles, subsidies and grants to the Patriarch and to the bishops and *maliks*, all these things were promised in vain. Mār Shim'un retired to the particularly inaccessible district of Dix from which the Patriarch's personal bodyguard had always been recruited. About this time an "accidental" shot killed Mār Shim'un's uncle Nestorus, who was, it was said, urging a more conciliatory policy towards the Turks. After an interview, which decided matters, with the Russian commander at Muhsūdijik, near Salamas, the Patriarch on May 10, 1915, issued the order for mobilisation. The fortune of war resulted in the Nestorians, at first encouraged by the Russian successes in Wān and Urmiya at the beginning

of the summer, being left to their own resources. To be brief, with the help of the Hammî Kurds, the Turks sacked Tihûniya, Tiya'ri, Dîlla and Mîr. We may note especially the destruction of the irrigation canals exactly as was done in Sargon's campaign in the same region. The famous church of Mîr Zaia at Dîlla, of the fourth century, was desecrated for the first time in its long history. Interesting *ex voto*, Chinese vases, brought there in early days by missionaries, disappeared. The inviolability enjoyed by Mîr Zaia is said to have been due to a letter guaranteeing it written on a piece of cloth, attributed to the Prophet (cf. above). After this disaster the Nestorians withdrew to their summer pastures, at a height of 10,000 feet. This final trial was a painful one. Harassed by the Kurds, with insufficient food and no salt, the Nestorians nevertheless held out. The Patriarch, taking refuge on the plateau of Shîna, endured privations which were even harder for him who could not eat meat (even the mother of the patriarch apparent must not eat meat). The Nestorian *vallet* of Gawar were massacred at this time under the orders of Nûri Bey. Finally in October 1915 a skilful retreat was carried through. The Kurds were actually holding the approaches to the Persian frontier. A detour was effected towards Albêk in the north via Kotanis (Berwar) and the bridges were burned after crossing the Great Zab. The Kurds succeeded however in threatening the retreat by using the natural bridge of Hese'ikan, but were driven back by Mîlik Khoshâha of Tiya'ri whose bravery is destined to become legendary. In the month of November the exodus of the Nestorians was completed and they were safe within the Russian lines at Salamas. The Russian authorities organised assistance for the refugees, who to the number of 40,000 were settled in the Persian districts of Khûi Salamas and Urmîya where they remained till 1918. After the departure of the Russians as a result of the revolution, the Nestorians formed detachments with the help of Russian munitions and instructors and opposed the advance into Adharbâidjân of the Turks led by 'Allî Ihsân Pâshâ. Towards the end of the summer of 1918, however, their munitions being exhausted, the Nestorians left the region of Urmîya via Sûldûs-Sân Kâfa-Bidjâr for Hamadân where the English forces then were. From there the refugees were sent to the concentration camp of Baqûba near Baghdâd. The Patriarch was no longer alive. Led into an ambush by the Shîkî Kurd chief Ismâ'îl Aghâ Simkô, Mîr Shîm'ûn was treacherously assassinated at Kohne Shêhr on March 4, 1918.

The Nestorian community is now living in scattered groups in the 'Irâq, Persia, Syria etc. The post-war history of the Nestorians is closely bound up with the problem of the wilâyet of Mawil, finally attached to the 'Irâq. The line adopted for the northern boundary of the wilâyet in question, however, leaves the Nestorian districts to Turkey and it is very unlikely that they can return there. The martial qualities of the Nestorians were used by the British authorities who raised four battalions from them, which were very useful especially at the beginning of their establishment in the 'Irâq.

In conclusion a few words should be said about the Nestorians of the region of Lake Urmîya. Those of Salamas believe (Duval, *op. cit.*) that they are aborigines converted in the early

centuries of our era. In 1883 there were however only fifteen Nestorian families, the remaining 3,000 having become Roman Catholics under the bishop Mîr Ishô'yâh (d. 1789). As to the Nestorians of the plateau of Urmîya, they preserve a tradition according to which their immediate ancestors came down from the mountains five or six centuries ago, which corresponds very closely to historic fact. The Nestorians of Urmîya have been the object of lively competition among the missions, of which the Presbyterian was first established (1833). The Roman Catholic Lazarists followed in 1863 and finally an Orthodox mission, the brotherhood of Cyril and Methodius, began work in 1905. At one time shortly before the War, there were also Anglican and Catherian missions. The work of the missions has made quite appreciable modifications not only in the beliefs of this ancient Christian community but also in its life and customs. Although little information has been preserved on the subject, there is reason to believe that the Nestorians of Urmîya also lived under the authority of *malîks*, who were recognised by the Shâhs as the official representatives of the community. We have seen a number of *fiwânas* preserved in the family of Dr. Johanna Malik. They were administered according to the old collection of canon law called *Sunâ'idus* of which Shamasha Yûsuf Kaleta published a new edition in 1916 at the American Mission Press.

This is probably only one of the versions of the Synodicon, which we know in the Abbé Chabot's edition with its wealth of learning. In the eyes of the Muslim authorities the Nestorians were *simni* (*dhimmî*; cf. *dhimma*) and their position was regulated by Muhammadan law. With the coming of the missionaries, the position gradually changed. The *malîks* were replaced by *millet bâshî*, each dependent on his respective mission. The Persian governor had to appoint a *sergeant*, an official whose special duty was to deal with foreigners and those under their protection. During the War a national council called *majlis* was organised, which dealt not only with the defence of Christian interests before the local authorities but, especially after the addition to their numbers of the Nestorians from Turkey, acquired a certain political character but later disappeared in the general débâcle. — In conclusion it should be mentioned that in the present article we have confined ourselves mainly to the Nestorian highlanders of Central Kurdistan. The historical phenomenon that we have been led to study in this connection is far from being so limited and simple, for it demands not only consideration of linguistic problems, the ramifications of which go back to a remote past through Aramaic, but also of facts of ethnology even less known which are implied in the idea of Nestorianism. Finally the geographical area is also enormous if we remember for example the epigraphic material from Russian Central Asia.

Bibliography: Church history; Hoffmann, *Anfangs und syrischen Akten persisch. Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880 (contains a full and valuable bibliography in the references); Wigram, *History of the Assyrian Church*; L. O'Leary, *The Syrian Church and Fathers*; J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Persé*, Paris 1904; G. D. Malch, *History of the Syrian Nation and the Old Evangel. Apostol. Church of the East*; Badger, *The Nestorians and their*

Rituals; Bishop of Turkestan and of Taghkent, *Sepherim*. *Sayrāmūn* lit. i. liturgia iustitiarum (Lohse) (Nestorian); G. E. Khunt, *Syri Orientalis im Chaldäer, Nestoriani et Roman. Pontificum Primatus*, 1870; Thomas of Marga, *The Book of government*, ed. Badger, 2 vol., 1893; *The Hierarchy of Rabban Hormizd and Rabban Bar Isha*, ed. Badger, 2 vol., London 1902; *Le Livre de la Charité*, ed. Chabot, 2 vol., 1896; Har. Hebraeus, ed. Abbéaux and Lamy; Westphal, *Untersuchungen über die Quellen und die Glaubwürdigkeit der Patriarchenchroniken des Mar ibn Sulaiman* *Amr ibn Mattai und Soliha ibn Johannan*, Strasbourg 1901; H. Gimvandi, *Maria Amri et Sibae de patriarchis antioch. commentaria*, Rome 1896; B. Hülsenfeld, *Turris* (*Tuballak* III mto), Leipzig 1896; *Histoire de Mar Jab-Allah et Raban Soma*, ed. Bedjan, Paris 1888. — Missionary activity: A. Grant, *The Nestorians or the lost tribes*, New York 1841; J. Perkins, *A residence of 8 years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians*, Andover 1843; R. Anderson, *History of the missions of the American Board of Commissioners for foreign missions*, 2 vol., Boston 1872; Khea, *A Tennessee in Kurdistan*; M. L. Shedd, *The Measure of a Man*, William A. Shedd of Persia, New York 1922. — General history: P. Larch, *Isledawanie ob transkakh kurdakh i ikh pizdatkh stvernykh Khalditakh*; Curson, *Persia*, p. 536–548; G. E. Wilson, *Persian Life and Customs*, 1895 (ch. v.); W. A. Shedd, *The Syrians of Persia and Eastern Turkey*, in *Bull. Am. Anthropol. Soc.*, Lalain, *Asiatic Wanderings*, Tübingen, 1912; General Averinoff, *Kurdi*; B. Nikitine, *Le Christianisme et les Kurdes*, in *R. H.R.*, 1922; do., *Les superstitions des Chaldéens du plateau d'Ourmiah*, in *Rev. d'Ethnogr. et des Trad. Popul.*, 1923; do., *La vie familiale des Chaldéens*, in *Bull. de la SM d'Ethn. de Paris*, 1926. — History of the War: *Armenian Massacres in the Ottoman Empire*, Blue Book 1916 (ch. v.); A. Mandelstam, *La vie de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1917; Abbé Grielle, *Syriens et Chaldéens*, Paris; *Pages Actuelles*, Nos. 115–116; Nanyem, *Les Assyriens-Chaldéens et les Arméniens*, Paris 1920; Dr. Caugole, *Les Tribulations d'une ambassade française en Perse*, Paris 1921; W. A. Wigram, *Our Smallest Ally*, London 1920; Gen. L. C. Dunsterforce, *The Adventures of Dunsterforce*, London 1920; B. Nikitine, *Une petite victime de la guerre: les Assyriens-Chaldéens*, in *Rev. St. Pol.*, 1921. — Travels: Hezrell, *Kurds and Christians*, London 1913; F. R. Soane, *Te Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in disguise*, London 1912 (ch. vi.); V. Cairn, *Le Turquis d'Asie*, li. 1891; F. R. Mansell, *Centra. Kurdistan*, in *J. R. G. S.*, 1901. — Language: R. Duval, *Niesaramien de Salamas*; Socin, *Die neu-aramäischen Dialekte von Urmia bis Mosul*, Tübingen; the works of MacLean, Th. Nöldke, Lidzbarski, Wright etc. (B. NIKITINE)

NEWI, ܢܝܘܝܐ. PIS 'ALI K. NAZŪŪ, an Ottoman theologian and poet, with the nom de plume (*wakhtay*) of Newi, was born in Malghars (Rumelia), the son of Shaikh Pu 'Ali in 940 (1533). Up to his tenth year he was taught by his learned father and then became a pupil of Karanant-zāde Mehmed Efendi. His fellow pupils were Bakī, the poet [q. v.] and Sa'd al-Din, the famous historian [q. v.]. He was an intimate friend

of the former. He joined the 'Ulema', became *muderris* of Gallipoli in 973 (1565) and after filling several other offices became a teacher in the Medrese of Mihr a-Mih Sultan. In 998 (1598) he was appointed *Kādi* of Baghdad but before he could take up office Sultan Murād III appointed him tutor to his son Magāsa and to the princes Bayazid, Othmān and 'Abd Allāh. When after Murād III's death (1003 = 1595) the usual slaughter of the princes deprived him of all the charges, he retired completely from public life and lived on a pension granted him by the new sultan. He died at Stambul in Dhū l-Ka'da 1007 (June 1599) and was buried in the court of the Shaikh Wefā mosque. His son was Newi-zāde 'ATĀ'Ī [q. v.].

Newi was a man of great learning and his encyclopedic knowledge was most clearly revealed in the best known of his works, the *Nata'ij al-Funūn wa-Maḥāsīn al-Mafūn*, in which he surveyed the twelve most important branches of learning; on it cf. [J. v. Hammer] *Encyclopädische Übersicht der Wissenschaften des Orients*, part I. (Leipzig 1804), p. 22 sqq. and the German translation of the story of Shāddān and Bashir, *ibid.*, p. 24 sqq. which forms the concluding section of this work. Brusa'li Mehmed Tāhir gives a list of other prose works in his *Othmānī Mektūbāt*, iii. 437 sq. with references to the libraries in which they are. In poetry Newi imitated the style of his contemporary Bakī without however reaching his level. His poems which were collected in a scarce *Diwan* (MS. in Stambul, Hamidiye library), lack ease and betray too readily the learned author who frequently makes his work difficult to understand with unusual words and obscure allusions. He tries his skill in different forms of verse, the *ḡazal*, *ghazal*, and *muḥawwī*, without however attaining popularity in any one of them. His fame as a poet is completely overshadowed by that of his contemporary and friend Bakī. Newi's high position as an author he owes to his learned work, particularly the already mentioned encyclopedia, which was very popular, as is evident from the numerous MSS. still in existence in European collections (e.g. Berlin, Bologna, Dresden, Leyden, London [3 copies], Upsala, Vienna). A *Salsimān-nāme* by him (Paris, *Bib. Nat.*, cod. reg. 44, Cat. N^o. 308 and F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 76) does not seem to be mentioned by his biographers. His son Newi-zāde 'ATĀ'Ī wrote a very full life of him (p. 418–27 of the *Shail* to Taghköprü-zāde's work).

Bibliography: J. v. Hammer, *G. O. D.*, iii. 108; Gibb, *H. O. P.*, iii. 171 sqq.; Haddādī Khalifa, *Fedhlike*, i. 120 sqq., also the biographies of poets by Kinali-zāde and 'Abdi.

(FRANZ BÄNINGER)

NEWI-ZĀDE 'ATĀ'Ī, 'ATĀ' ALLĀH, an Ottoman author and poet, better known as 'ATĀ'Ī with the nom de plume Newi-zāde, i.e. son of Newi, was born in 991 (1583) in Stambul, as the son of the celebrated Newi [q. v.]. After the death of his father from whom he received his early education, he placed himself under Kāfrāle Faiz Allāh Efendi, the compiler of an anthology, and later under Akhi-zāde 'Abd al-Halim Efendi. He then joined the 'Ulema' but did not attain any of the higher offices. After becoming a *muderris*, he was appointed a judge and served in this capacity in a number of Rumelian towns like Lofça, Silistria, Rusçuk, Timovo, Monastir (Bitolj),

Trikkala and Üsküb (Skoplje). Soon after his retirement from this sphere of activity he died in 1041 (1634) in his native city of Stambul; here he was buried beside his father.

'Atai is best known for his continuation (*ḡāʾi*) in Turkish of Tashköprüzade's *ḡāʾi al-Nu'māniyya*. This work, entitled *Ḥadīṣ al-Hakīm fī Takmilat al-ḡāʾi*, contains, in addition to a supplement to the *ḡāʾi* in which a place is given to many scholars of the time of Süleimān and Selim II, overlooked by Tashköprüzade, the biographies of Ottoman 'Ulemā and dervish sheikhs down to the reign of Murād IV (on the contents see F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 172). Death prevented the author from continuing his work, which was taken up by others. 'Atai's book contains 999 biographies. It is written in a very artificial style permeated with Persian, which was popular at the time. 'Atai also enjoyed a great reputation as a poet. He wrote a quintet (*ḡāʾi*) on the contents of which see Gibb, *H.O.P.*, iii, 234 sq. The *Ḥadīṣ al-Hakīm*, manuscripts of which are also common (cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 172) to which may now be added Stambul, Lilla Lusa II, No. 339, was printed at Stambul (15 + 774 pp. 2) in 1268. The poetry still awaits a printer. 'Atai's significance as a prose writer is much greater than as a poet.

Bibliography: Cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 171 sq. and the works there given, especially J. v. Hammer, *G.O.D.*, iii, 475; Gibb, *H.O.P.*, iii, 232 sq.; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii, 427 (where he is wrongly, according to F. Wattenfeld, *G.A.W.*, called Muhammad); Haddad Khalfā, *Firdhā*, ii, 168; Rida, *Tadhkirah*, p. 70 sq.; Mahbūb, *Khulāṣa*, Cairo 1284, iv, 263.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

NEWRES, the name of two Ottoman poets.

1. 'ABD AL-RAZZAK, known as Newres, or more accurately Newres-i Kāmil, 'Newres the Elder', to distinguish him from 'Othmān Newres [q. v.], came from Kirkūk (near Baghdad) and was probably of Kurdish origin. He seems however to have come to Stambul at an early age to prosecute his studies. Here he became a *mudarris* but in the year 1159 (1746) entered upon a legal career. According to the *Sigill-i 'Arṣūd*, he held the office of *ḡāʾi* in Sarajevo and Kutahya. His sharp tongue which found particular expression in daring and malicious chronograms (*ḡāʾi*) earned him banishment to Rethymna (Crete) along with the poet Hashmet and then to Brussa; he was later, according to Wajīf (*Ta'rīḡ*, p. 211), sent back to Kutahya. In any case he died in Brussa in Shawwāl 1175 (May 1762) of a broken heart and was buried in the cemetery opposite the entrance to the mosque of Pīr Uftāde Muhammad the founder of the order of the Djalwatiya. 'Abd al-Razzak Newres composed a *Diwān* in Persian and Turkish (pr. Stambul 1290 and we believe 1304), and also a history of the war with Nadir Shāh in 1143 (1730) in which he took part on the staff of İbrahim-Oghlu 'Alī Pasha. The little book called *Tibyan-i Ḥabib-Oghlu 'Alī Pasha* is written in ornate language and is of no historical value. The fair copy in the author's hand is preserved in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (Cod. Or. S° 2186). Newres also enjoyed the reputation of being a distinguished *munshi*. Excerpts from his *Jahid* are given by J. v. Hammer in his *G.O.R.*, ix, 643 sq. His *Diwān* is called *Makhlūḡ*

al-Hikām which gives the year 1172 (1758) for its completion (cf. however a similarly titled work in Vienna: Flügel, *Cat.*, iii, 486, No. 19911).

Bibliography: Cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 294 sq. with further references. The promised very full bio-bibliography of Newres Efendi by İbn al-Amīn Mahmūd Kemāl Bey has not yet appeared (1933).

2. 'OTHMĀN, called Newres or, to distinguish him from his older namesake, Newres-i Djedid, came from Chioia. He held several military posts in the capital and died there in 1293 (1876) in retirement. He is buried in the Karadja Ahmed cemetery in Skutari. His collected poems have been twice printed: Stambul 1237 and Stambul 1290 (by Yeṣār Kāmil Pasha) (*Diwān-i 'Othmān Newres*). In 1302 there was published at the suggestion of 'Abd al-Kārim Nadir Pasha in Stambul under the title *Elderi Nadir* specimens of his prose and verse. A Turkish translation of the *Gulistan* by him exists in MS. 'Othmān Newres had a very thorough command of the three languages of İslām and wrote poetry in all three. His work however is hardly of permanent value.

Bibliography: Brüssel Muhammed Tahir, *'Othmān-i Miftah*, iii, 465 sq.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

NICEA. [See 1287.]

NIEBLA (Ar. LAMLA), a little town in the S. W. of Spain, 45 miles W. of Seville on the right bank of the Rio Tinto. Now much decayed, it has less than 2,000 inhabitants and is in the judicial district of Moguer, in the province of Huelva. It is the ancient Ilipla. In the Visigothic period it was the see of a bishop. In the Muslim period it enjoyed considerable prosperity. It formed part of the district of al-Sharaf (*al-Sharaf*) and was also called al-Hamra', 'the red', no doubt from the colour of its ramparts and of the water of its river. It was particularly an olive-growing centre. The gentian was also cultivated there and deposits of alum and of sulphate of iron were worked.

Niebla was taken in 94 (713) by 'Abd al-'Aziz, son of Muṣā b. Nuṣair [q. v.]. In 149 (766) it was the starting point of the rising of Sa'īd al-Maṭarī al-Yahsubī who seized Seville but was soon defeated and slain by the troops of 'Abd al-Rahmān I. The town in 230 (844) suffered from a visit of the Normans (*ḡāʾi*, q. v.). In 284 (897) it rebelled against the Umayyads: it was however retaken by force of arms in 304 (917) by order of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nāṣir by his general Badr b. Ahmad. At the time of the fall of the Caliphate, it became the capital of a little kingdom formed in 414 (1024) by Abū 'l-'Abbās Ahmad b. Yahyā al-Yahsubī, who took the *ḡāʾi* of Tāj al-Dawla, which also comprised the lands of Huelva and of Djabal al-'Uyūn (Gibraltar). This prince died in 435 (1041) and was succeeded by his brother Muhammad 'Izz al-Dawla. The 'Abdīdīd sovereign of Seville al-Mu'tadīd [q. v.] soon displayed his desire to annex the principality of Niebla and made several raids into it. 'Izz al-Dawla had to abandon his capital and take refuge with the lord of Cordova Abū 'l-Walīd Muhammad b. Djabhar in 443 (1051) leaving the power to his nephew Abū Naṣr Faḥ b. Khalaf b. Yahyā al-Yahsubī. 'Izz al-Dawla, who at first bought peace from al-Mu'tadīd by paying him tribute but was forced two years later in 445 (1053) to abandon his

principality to the ruler of Seville and join his uncle in Cordova. Niebla passed a little later to the Almoravids [q.v.]. When the power of this dynasty was beginning to collapse in Spain, it became the headquarters of another rebel, Yūsuf b. Ahmad al-Bitrawshi (or al-Batrūdi), who in 540 (1146) finally submitted to the Almohad general Barrāz al-Musāfi and went five years later to Salā on the summons of 'Abd al-Mu'min. A few years later Yūsuf al-Bitrawshi, maintained as governor of Niebla by the Almohads, rebelled and the town was retaken in 549 (1154) by the governor of Seville and of Cordova, Yahyā b. Yaghmur, who executed 8,000 of the inhabitants. This massacre was condemned by 'Abd al-Mu'min who had Yahyā brought in chains to Morocco and then exiled to Tlemcen.

Niebla remained under Muslim rule until 1257, when it was taken after six months' siege by Alfonso X and became finally Christian.

Bibliography: al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, p. 174 and 178, 209 and 215 of the transl.; Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, II, 332 and IV, 346; E. Vagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghrib*, Paris 1924, index; Ibn al-Kūṭī, *Faḡ al-Andalus*, ed. J. Ribera, Madrid 1926, index; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-maghribī*, II, ed. Dozy and transl. Vagnan, index; III, ed. Lévi-Provençal, index; Ibn al-Dīnār, *Rawḍ al-Kāfi*, ed. Tornberg, p. 137; Ibn Khaldūn, *Itbar* (*Histoire des Berbères*), II, 192; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, Leyden 1932, index; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris 1928, p. 213; Codera, *Decadencia y desaparición de los Almoravides en España*, Saragosa 1899, p. 47, 56; A. Prieto y Vives, *Los reyes de taifas*, Madrid 1926, p. 72.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

NIFFAR (NUFFAR), a ruined site in southern 'Irāq, in 32° 7' N. lat. and 45° 10' East Long. (Greenw.), now in the kaḍa of 'Aḡel in the liḡā al-Diwāniye. Niffar corresponds, as J. Oppert was the first to point out, to the town of Nippur well known from cuneiform inscriptions, one of the oldest and most important places in Babylonia. Its great importance was not political but religious, as the temple of the chief deity of the town formed a kind of central sanctuary or place of pilgrimage for the whole of Babylonia, to which almost all the important sovereigns of the period before Hammurapi, and Hammurapi himself, as well as the Kassite kings and many later rulers like Assurbanipal, dedicated gifts.

Nippur's period of greatest prosperity lay in the millennia before Hammurapi; but it remained an important city down to the last Babylonian and Achaemenid rulers and an important commercial centre with a very mixed population which gave it a somewhat cosmopolitan character. In the fifth century B.C., under Artaxerxes I and Darius II, we find in it an important business and banking house, the firm of Murashshu & Sons to whose activities many documents still bear eloquent testimony. Nippur still continued to flourish under the Seleucids and Arsacids as buildings of this period show, quite apart from the numismatic evidence. It is not directly mentioned by Greek or Roman writers, but the name of the district of Nippur may be concealed in *nippurys*, the name of a stone which Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxxvii,

10, 175) says is of Persian (i.e. presumably Parthian) origin.

In the Babylonian Talmud Nippur appears as Niphar (נִיפָר) and Nuphar (נִּוּפָר); the latter form corresponds to that which is now most usual: Nuffar. In the passage in question in the Babylonian Talmud (*Sh'mot*, 100) we read: *Kalneh* (קִלְנֶה)

is Naphur (Nuphar) Nimp (נִימְ, נִיפְ); the qualification Nimp (?) is obscure; Daiches' explanation in *O.L.Z.*, xi, 539 as Nimb falls to the ground as the name of this deity is now known to read Ninurta. The basis of the equation *Kalneh* (Gen. x, 10) = Nippur is not yet satisfactory. A Babylonian place-name *Kalneh* has so far not been found in cuneiform inscriptions.

Nippur was also an inhabited place in Muslim times; for example we find it mentioned in 38 (659) on the occasion of a rising against the caliph 'Alī (Tabari, ed. de Goeje, I, 3423, 3424) as well as during the Khāridjī troubles (*op. cit.*, II, 929, 930); cf. also Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, IV, 275, 798 and Ibn al-Fakih, in *B.G.A.*, v, 210. In the later middle ages we find Niffar mentioned as a Nestorian bishopric in the chronicles of the Patriarchs (*Akhbar Fārūkhī* I and II, ed. Giamondi, Rome 1897 and 1899) of 'Amr b. Mattā (p. 83, v, 95, 1) and of Mārt b. Sulaymān, in the period 900—1058 A.D. (cf. also Sachau, in *Abh. Pre. Ak. W.*, 1909, N° 1, p. 31). When the town was abandoned by its inhabitants and became completely desolate we do not know. It probably was the result of one of the Mongol invasions, that under Hūlagū or that under Tīmūr, which dealt their death-blow to so many flourishing places in Mesopotamia.

The ruins of Niffar are next to those of Babylon and al-Warkā' [q.v.] the most extensive in the whole of the Babylonian plain; they cover an area of almost 180 acres. The first European to visit them was W. K. Loftus who spent some time here in 1850 and came back again in 1854 (see the *Bibl.* for his report). A year later than Loftus, in Jan. 1855, Layard was in Niffar and spent two weeks digging but with little success because Layard, paying too little attention to the difference between Assyrian and Babylonian mounds, did not dig deep enough and only turned over the cemetery of a people who had settled here only in the last centuries of antiquity, under the Arsacids.

The University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia) was the first to undertake a methodical investigation of the ruins and in four expeditions from 1888 to 1900 (1888—1889, 1889—1890, 1893—1896 and 1898—1900) under the leadership of Peters, Haynes and Hilprecht carried out excavations on a large scale. On the results of this intensive work see Hilprecht's full report in *Explorations etc.* (see *Bibl.*), p. 289 ff.

On the topography of Niffar see, in addition to the descriptions by Loftus and Layard, especially Peters, *op. cit.*, II, 104 ff.; Hilprecht, *op. cit.*, p. 540 ff. and notably Fisher, *op. cit.*; cf. also King, *op. cit.*, p. 85—86. The American expedition also found an ancient Babylonian plan of Nippur which Hilprecht, *op. cit.*, p. 518 (reproduced in Zehnfund, *op. cit.*, p. 66) published, more distinct in Fisher, *op. cit.*, pl. I. This plan has been since 1926 in the possession of the University of Jena with the rest of Hilprecht's private Assyriological collection; see Zimmern, in *Z.A.*, xxxvii, 224.

The sight of the ruins is very impressive; they rise like a range of hills in close formation from 30–60 feet above the plain, culminating in the cone of Bint al-Amr 95 feet high, the *siggarat* of the chief temple.

The most imposing part of the whole eastern quarter is the *siggarat* of Im-Kharasg, still 95 feet high, which the inhabitants for some reason now forgotten call Bint al-Amr, the "prince's daughter". The triangular mound south of the sanctuary proper marks the site of the great temple library, about a twelfth of which, yielding some 23,000 cuneiform tablets and fragments, has been excavated. The western half of the inner city contains the residential quarters with the bazaars, business houses and private dwellings. Its history is still obscure as in the course of centuries it was repeatedly resettled. In the Parthian period a large cemetery extended over a considerable part of the clay buildings which had fallen to pieces there.

On Parthian buildings in Nippur, cf. Hilprecht, *op. cit.*, p. 554 *sq.* and *do.*, *Der Bīt-Tempel in Nippur*, p. 31 *sq.*

In addition to the great Enlil temple Ekur there were a number of other highly venerated temples in Nippur.

According to the cuneiform inscriptions, Nippur must have in ancient times lain on the Euphrates itself or at least in its immediate vicinity (cf. e.g. *O. L. Z.*, XX, 142, note 1); this fact forces us to the assumption that this river in the Babylonian period must have taken a much more easterly course below Babylon than in the middle ages and present day. The inner city is divided into two parts by a canal now dry but once navigable, which the natives call Shatt al-Nil. This was an important watercourse which, according to Hilprecht, was in many places at one time 20–25 feet deep and 150–190 feet broad and which the modern inhabitants rightly describe not as a mere *nahr* (stream, canal) but as *shatt* (river).

According to the mediaeval Arab geographers Nahr al-Nil was the name of one of the canals led off from the Euphrates to the Tigris. It still survives in its entirety; as in the middle ages, it starts from Babylon and flows a little above 32° 30' N. Lat. in an almost straight line eastwards. The geographer Subrāb (who used to be called Im Serapion; cf. *iv.*, p. 1130*) writing in the fourth (tenth) century observes that this canal bears the name Nahr al-Nil only after passing the town of al-Nil (the modern ruins Niliye). At the present day it is called only Shatt al-Nil throughout its course. Somewhat east of Niliye a side-canal, now dry, branches off to the south for which, not only in its lower part where it flows by the ruins of Nifpar but along its whole extent, the name Shatt al-Nil, the same as that of the main canal, was and is usual. Yāqūt however says (*iv.* 77, 798) that Nifpar lay not on the Nahr al-Nil but on the bank of the Nahr al-Nars, a canal dug, it is said, by the Sāsānian king Narsē b. Bahram (293–303 A.D.) which leaves the Euphrates at al-Hilla a little below the Nahr al-Nil and turns southeastward. It was presumably connected by a branch with the southern small canal of the same name which branches off from the Nahr al-Nil, so that the occurrence of the two names Nahr al-Nil and Nahr al-Nars for the river in Nifpar is explained. It

should be noted also that the nomenclature of the Babylonian canals changed several times already in the middle ages. On the Nahr al-Nil or Shatt al-Nil and Nahr al-Nars see Loftus, *op. cit.*, p. 238; G. Le Strange, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, S. 259, 260–261 and *do.*, in *The Lands of the East. Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 72–74; Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographien*, I. (Layden 1900), p. 30 *sq.*; Herfeld, in *Sarre-Herfeld, Archäolog. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, I. (Berlin 1911), p. 234 *sq.*; Hashim al-Sa'di, *Dughrafiyat al-'Irāq al-qadīma*, Baghdad 1927, p. 34, 35.

Below Nifpar the Shatt al-Nil loses itself in the swamps of Hūr al-Afek. The Shatt al-Kār very probably forms its southern continuation.

If the "Euphrates of Nippur", as it is called in the cuneiform inscriptions, really represents the old course of this river, and not simply a branch of it, the modern Shatt al-Nil with its continuation, the Shatt al-Kār, probably corresponds to the bed of the Euphrates of Babylonian times. On the great changes in their courses which the rivers of Mesopotamia have undergone, cf. especially Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 2 *sq.* Hilprecht, who is followed by others like Zehnspund, Unger etc., thinks that the name of the canal, *Kabaru* (= the large) found in later texts from Nippur, corresponds to the "Euphrates of Nippur" of the older texts. He further compares it with the Kebar (כְּבַר) of Eselziel

(i. 1 etc.); see Hilprecht, *Explorations*, p. 412 and also in *Der Bīt-Tempel in Nippur*, p. 10. The identification of the Kabaru with the old bed of the Euphrates, i.e. the modern Shatt al-Nil, I do not consider proved; the Kabaru may also be a canal in the neighbourhood of Nippur.

West and Southwest of Nifpar lies the very extensive Hūr al-Afek (on the meaning of Hūr see *iii.*, p. 147b).

Bibliography: (in addition to the references in the article): A. H. Layard, *Discoveries in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, London 1853, p. 556–562; W. K. Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana*, London 1857, p. 94–102; Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?*, Leipzig 1881, p. 220–221; Peters, *Nippur or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates*, New York 1898, 2 vols., espec. I. 231–238; II. 64–265; E. Sachau, *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, Leipzig 1900, p. 51–53; H. Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands during the 10th Century*, Philadelphia 1904, p. 155, 160–161, 289–558; *do.*, *Die Ausgrabungen im Bīt-Tempel zu Nippur*, Leipzig 1903; *do.*, *Die Ausgrabungen in Assyrien und Babylonien*, I., Leipzig 1904, p. 135, 151–156; F. Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*, Munich 1904–1926, p. 348–352 and index, s.v. (p. 1083); G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 73–74; C. S. Fisher, *Excavations at Nippur*, I., Berlin 1905–1907; R. Zehnspund, *Babylonien in seinen wichtigsten Ruinenstätten*, in *A. O.*, xi. 3–4, Leipzig 1910, p. 14–26 and 66 (map); L. W. King, *A History of Sumer and Akkad*, London 1910, p. 85–89; *Kulturleben der Vorgeschichte*, viii., Berlin 1927, p. 504–505 (art. Nippur by E. Unger); J. Obermayer, *Die Landschaft Babylonien im Zeitalter des Talmuds und des Gennots*, Frankfurt a/M.

1929, p. 335-336; L. Lagrain, *Terra-cottas from Nippur*, Philadelphia 1930. — The inscriptions found by the American expedition in Nippur have been published since 1893 in *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, series A: *Cuneiform Texts* and in *University of Pennsylvania, The Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section*. (M. STRECK)

AL-NIFFARĪ MUHAMMAD IBN 'ABD AL-DJABBAR.

This mystic, whom the principal Sufi biographers fail to mention, flourished in the 10th (11th) century, and, according to Ḥadīdī Khaltā, died in the year 354 (965). His *nishā* refers to the town of Niffar [q. v.] in Mesopotamia, and one MS. of his works asserts that it was during his residence at Niffar and Nīl that he committed his thoughts to writing. Niffar's literary reliquiae consist of two books, the *Mawāḍif* and the *Mukhṭṣarāt*, together with a number of fragments. It is improbable that Niffar himself was responsible for the editing of his writings; according to his principal commentator, 'Aṣī al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī (d. 690 = 1291), either his son or his grandson collected his scattered writings and published them according to his own ordering. The *Mawāḍif* consists of 77 sections of varying length, made up for the most part of brief apothegms touching on the main aspects of Sufi teaching, and purporting to be inspired and dictated by God; the *Mukhṭṣarāt* is similar in content, and is divided into 56 sections. Niffar's most characteristic contribution to mysticism is his doctrine of *waḥḍa*. This term, which would appear to be used by him in a peculiarly technical sense, implies a condition in the mystic which is accompanied by direct divine audition, and perhaps even automatic script. *Mawāḍif* is the name given to the state of the mystic in which *waḥḍa* is classed higher than *ma'rifa*, and *ma'rifa* is above *'ilm*. The *waḥḍa* is nearer to God than any other thing, and almost transcends the condition of *ṣaḥābiyya*, being alone separated from all limitation. Niffar definitely maintains the possibility of seeing God in this world; for he says that vision (*ru'yā*) in this world is a preparation for vision in the world to come. In several places Niffar distinctly touches on the theory of the Mahdī, and indeed appears to identify himself with the Mahdī, if these passages are genuine; and this claim is seemingly in the mind of Ṭabībī, when he describes Niffar as *ṣāḥib al-dāwā wa 'l-jalāl*. Tilimsānī however interprets these passages in an esoteric and highly mystical sense; and it does not accord with the general character of the author, that he should make for himself such extravagant claims. Niffar shows himself in his writings to be a fearless and original thinker. While undoubtedly influenced by his great predecessor al-Hallāj, he acknowledges no obligations, and has a thorough conviction of the reality of his own mission.

Bibliography: D. S. Margoliouth, *Early Development of Muhammadanism*, p. 186-198; R. A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, *passim*. (A. J. AKHARAY)

NIGDE, a town in the Turkish sandjak (now wilāyet) of the same name in a fertile trough on the east edge of the Central Anatolian steppe. The town is first mentioned in the Turkish period; previously the chief town of the district was Tyana (Arab. *Tawāna*) but it is probable that the striking hill which commands the important road from Cilicia across the Taurus to Kalaṣiye

as its entrance to a pass over the mountains had a fortified settlement upon it in the pre-Turkish period. The old place-name may be the origin of the modern one, an older form of which was *Nekide* (Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 821; Nakida; Ibn Bihār and others, also in inscriptions down to the xvth century; Nakida; the modern form

نیکه [in the new Turkish script: Nigde] is already found in Ḥamd Allāh Muṣṭawfī, *Nushat*, in G.M. S. xxiii/1, 99). In this particular district some villages have retained their ancient names (Andaval-Andahalia, Melegop-Malakopais) and considerable numbers of descendants of the original Christian inhabitants survived until quite recently (R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, Cambridge 1916, p. 16 197).

Nigde is first mentioned in connection with the partition of Saljuḳ territory among the sons of Kılıdī Arslān II (685 = 1180) when it was allotted as an independent lordship to Arslān Shāh (Ibn Bihār, ed. Houtsma, *Rec.* iv. 11). Nigde had perhaps previously belonged to the Daughmandids but Ewliyā, iii. 189, cannot be taken as evidence of this. Kaiḳ'as I granted Nigde to the Emir Aḥḥār Zaim al-Dīn Ḥaḥḥār (Ibn Bihār, p. 44) who shortly before his death built the important mosque of 'Alī' al-Dīn here (620 = 1223). In the xliith century Nigde was the headquarters (*ṣayd ḥāḥḥ*) of one of the great military districts of the Saljuḳs. Under Kılıdī Arslān IV, Ibn al-Khaṭir Ma'nūd held this office. At first an ally of the all powerful Ma'n al-Dīn Perwān, with whom he killed the sultan in 1264, he endeavoured to remove the young Kaiḥūmraw III out of Perwān's influence and brought him to Nigde (1276). But the help for which he had appealed to Egypt came too late and he succumbed to Perwān who was supported by the Mongols (Ibn Bihār; Weil, *Geogr. d. Chuliften*, iv. 80 19.). He built a well in Nigde opposite the 'Alī' al-Dīn mosque (666 = 1268). Under the Ilkhāns there ruled in their name, or in the name of their Anatolian governor Eretna, Sunḡur Agha who is known only from inscriptions and is, it is remarkable to note, not mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭiṭa who visited Nigde about 1333 (ed. Desfrères-Sanguinetti, ii. 186); he made himself independent after the death of Abū Sa'īd. He gave the town a large mosque on the wall of which facing the Beṣṭān is a Persian inscription, in which he grants Christian foreigners exemption from *ḡriya* and *ḡharāḡ* (736 = 1335). The Saljuḳ princess Khudāwād Khātūn buried in 732 (1332) in her splendid türbe built in 712 (1312) on the other hand probably did not rule in Nigde although she resided there. She was, if the lady buried beside her in 1344 was her daughter, the wife of the Emir Shudjā' al-Dīn who is mentioned as the father of the lady on her sarcophagus; he ruled according to al-'Umari (ed. Tieschner, p. 31) in the Bulghatlagh, where a Wilāyet Shudjā' al-Dīn is still mentioned in Sa'īd al-Dīn (i. 517 following Idriṣi) and where lies Ulukshāh, which, according to Ḥadīdī Khaltā (*Ḍihānnūn*, p. 617), was also called Shudjā' al-Dīn. After the period of Sunḡur's rule, Nigde probably passed directly to the Karamanoghlū, who held it against the attacks of the Eretnid 'Alī' al-Dīn 'Alī (c. 1379) ('Aṣī b. Ardashīr, *Diwan u-Riṣā*, p. 141 197). In 1390 Nigde surrendered with other Karamanian towns to the Ottomans but was restored to the Kara-

manids who defended it successfully against Kāji Burhān al-Dīn, lord of Kāsarīye and Siwās (*Seem u-Room*, p. 424, 523). After Timur's invasion the power of the Karamanids extended northwards as far as Dewell Karahisār which previously belonged to Kāsarīye and for a time even to Kāsarīye itself. Nigde then ceased to be a frontier town. Apart from a temporary occupation by Egyptian troops in 1419 (Weil, v. 146 sqq.) it enjoyed peace and prosperity and the special care of the Karamanids who had one of the bulwarks of their power here till the end of the dynasty. A series of buildings, the first of which not only in time but also in size and quality is the Ak-Medrese of the year 1409, is evidence of their interest in the town. Nigde surrendered in 875 (1470) to the Ottoman general Ishāk Paşa who had the defences of the town restored. In 878 (1473) the Ottoman Sandjak-bey of Nigde, Koçi Bey, forced Dewell Karahisār which still belonged to the Karamanoghlis to surrender to prince Müşafâ. The latter died on the way back at Nigde (Sa'd al-Din, i. 517, 550).

The sandjak of Nigde belonging to the beylerbeylik of Karaman, contained the kazas of Ürgüç, Bor, Deweli, Dewell Karahisār and Ulukışla. When about 1720 the grand vizier İbrahim Paşa transformed his birthplace of Muşkara in the kaza of Ürgüç into the imposing town of Newşehir, the fiefs for the garrisons of the decayed fortresses of Nigde and Dewell Karahisār were transferred to the new foundation (v. Hammer, *G.O.A.* 3, iv. 250 sq.). At the end of the Ottoman period the sandjak of Nigde, to which the kaza of Ak-serai also belonged, contained 148,700 Muslims and 49,551 Christians the latter mainly natives and mostly speaking Turkish. Nigde was the residence of the metropolitan of Konia. The town numbered at this time 11,526 inhabitants, in 1927 (after the exchange with Greece) only 9,465.

Nigde (now on the Kayseri-Ulukışla railway) consists of an upper town running north and south, now largely uninhabited (Tepe Wihiue) at the highest point of which in the north stands the imposing citadel, and the lower town (Shehr altı) which was also once surrounded by a wall. In the upper town is the "All" al-Din mosque, one of the oldest mosques in Anatolia, with an architect's inscription in Persian. Before the gate of the upper town at its south end is the Gothic mosque of Sunkur (c. 1330) showing influences from Little Armenia and Cyprus, and the bazar. West of and below it is the Karamanid Ak-Medrese of 1409. A little apart to the west of the town, separated by a broad road, running north and south is the modern quarter Kayalısık with a few remains of the old cemetery and a group of türbes among which that of Khudāwand Khātūn of the year 1312 is prominent.

Bibliography: Culnet, *Turquie d'Asie*, I. 839 sqq.; *Türkiye'nin şifalı ve iltisimî ilaahiyatı* *Medicinal*, N^o. 2: Nigde (1922); A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, I. 1931, p. 105 sqq. (historical and Muslim monuments of Nigde, Bor and Ulukışla). — Inscriptions: Khālī Edhem, in *P.O.E.M.*, ii. 747 sqq.; iii. 821 sqq., 873 sqq. and A. Tewhid in Gabriel, *op. cit.* — On the Christian monuments of the region see Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, 1908; and Dz Jerphanion, *Eglises rupestres de Cappadoce*, 1925.

(PAUL WITTEK)

NĪHĀL CĀND LĀHAWRĪ, Indian man of letters, Hindu by religion, was born in Diliit, but left it in early life and went to Lahore where he lived for a considerable time. Owing to this circumstance he called himself Lāhawri. Search for a livelihood led him to Calcutta. Here he was introduced to Dr. J. B. Gilchrist who asked him to translate into "Hindī rekhta" the story of Tāqī al-Mulūk and Bakawāl. He consented and thus became one of the famous band of Fort William translators. He made the translation from *Gul-i Bakāwāl*, a Persian rendering by Shaiḥ 'Izzat Ullāh, 1772, of an old Hindī story, which has been reproduced in Urdu verse by Dayā Shankar Kawnām (q.v.), in his wellknown mathnawī *Gulāz-i Nāstūn*.

Nihāl Cand called his work *Madhhab-i 'Izzat*. It is in very good prose mixed with verse. The name gives the date 1217 (1802). Apart from the above mentioned facts nothing is known about the writer.

Bibliography: M. Vahyā Tanhā, *Siyar al-Mujammi'a*, I. 117—119; Garcia de Tassay, *Les Hindous et l'Hindouisme*, ii. 468—470; T. Graham Bailey, *Hist. of Urdu Lit.*, p. 82; R. B. Sakseena, *Hist. of Urdu Lit.*, p. 249.

(T. GRAHAM BAILEY)

NĪHĀWAND, a town in the old province of Hamadān, with, at the present day, 5,000—6,000 inhabitants (de Morgan), at a height of 5,860 feet on the branch of the Gūmāsh which comes from the S. E. from the vicinity of Barūdīrd; the Gūmāsh then runs W. to Bistūn. Nihāwand lies on the southern road which, coming from Kirmānshāh (the Khurādābād, p. 198), leads into Central Persia (Isfahān) avoiding the massif of Alwand (Opeves) which rises W. of Hamadān. Hence the importance of the town in the wars of Persia with her western neighbours.

The French excavations of 1931 (Dr. Contenau) have shown that the site of Nihāwand was inhabited from pre-historic times. The ceramics ("I-his style") which have been found there, seem to be older than those of style I and II of Susa. Ptolemy VI, 2 knows of Nihāwand and according to Ibn Faḳīh, p. 258 the town already existed before the Deluge. In the Sāsānid period the district of Nihāwand seems to have formed the fief of the Kārin family (Dināwārī, p. 99). There was a fire-temple there. According to Ibn Faḳīh, p. 259 there could be seen on the mountains near Nihāwand two figures of men in the form of a bull and a fish (similar tallmans are said to have existed at Riths also cf. also the stems of *wisḥap* ["dragons"], protectors of waters) in Armenia west of Lake Sewan which combine these symbols, *Zap.*, xxiii./3, 1916, p. 409). The same legend is reflected in the name of the river Gūmāsh (*Gūmwāsh* = "water of the bull and fish"; *māsh* is the Kurdish form of the Persian *māsh*).

Among the products of Nihāwand the Arab authors mention willow-wood which was used for polo-sticks (*panālīfā*), aromatic reeds (*ḥashāt al-ḥarīra* or *al-ḥamḥat al-irūḡiyya*) which were used like *ḥandī* (a perfume put in coffins) and black clay used as wax for sealing letters. The district of Rūdīwār was under Nihāwand (cf. de Morgan, *Mission*, ii. 136: *Rūdīwār*) and was famous for its abundance of saffron (istakhlī, p. 199). For a list of the places more or less dependent on Nihāwand, cf. Schwarz, *Iran* etc., p. 505—509.

In the Mongol period, the *Nuṣṭat al-Aḥdāṣ* mentions three districts of Nihāwand: Māfīyir (now Dawianabad), Ishdihān (= Ishdihān, see below) and Djahūk. (Nihāwand no longer forms part of the province of Hamadān; cf. Rabino, *Hamadān*, in *R.M.M.*, xliii, 1921, p. 221-227).

Near Nihāwand was fought the famous battle which decided the fate of the Iranian plateau and in which the Kūfī Nu'mān b. Muḥarrir defeated the Sāsānian generals. The commander-in-chief is given different names: Dhū 'l-Hādībain Mardīnshāh (cf. Balādhūri, p. 303^c; Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 113 identifies him with the *darīghar* Khurnand) or Fartūn (cf. Tabari, I. 2608; the latter also gives the names of his generals: Zariūk, Bahman [Hādīya and the commander of the cavalry Anshāk]). The Arab camp was at Ishdihān and that of the Persians at Wāykhud (?). The sources do not agree about the date: Saif b. 'Umar (Tabari, I. 2615-2619) gives the end at the year 18 (639) or the beginning of 19 (640); cf. Wellhausen, *Seiden und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 1899, p. 97, while Ibn Ishāk, Abū Ma'shar and Wāḥidī, followed by Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, iv, 1911, p. 474-504 put the battle in 21.

The district of Nihāwand (formerly called Māh-Bahrīdihān or Māh-Dīnār) was finally incorporated in the possessions of the Bāsrīans and called Māh-Bāsrā ("the Media of Basra": Balādhūri, p. 306).

Nihāwand is often mentioned in the period of the wars between the Sāfawids and the Ottomans. In 998 (1589) at the beginning of the reign of 'Abbās I, Cigāla-Zāde built a fortress at Nihāwand (*Sāḥib-nāma*, p. 273). After the death of Murād IV a rebellion took place among the garrison of Nihāwand; the Ottomans were driven out by the Shī'ī inhabitants. As a result in 1012 (1603) war again broke out with Turkey (*ibid.*, p. 440). In the spring of 1142 (1730) Nādir [q. v.] took Nihāwand again from the Turks.

Bibliography: de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, ii, *Étude géographique*, 1895, p. 152 and *passim*, pl. lxi. (view of Nihāwand); Marquart, *Erānshahr*, index; Barthold, *Istoriogeogr. skizh. Irana*, 1903, index; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 196-197; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, i. 492-509, index; Conteneau and Ghirshman, *Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles de Tépé-Géân, près Nihāwand*, 1932, in *Syria*, 1933, p. 1-11.

(V. MINORSKY)

NIKĀH (أ.), marriage (properly: sexual intercourse, but already in the *Qur'ān* used exclusively of the contract). Here we deal with marriage as a legal institution; for marriage customs see *URĀ*.

1. The essential features of the Muslim law of marriage go back to the customary law of the Arabs which previously existed. In this, although there were differences according to districts and the conditions of the individual cases, the regulations governing marriage were based upon the patriarchal system, which permitted the man very great freedom and still bore traces of an old matriarchal system. It is true that before the coming of Islam a higher conception of the marriage state had already begun to exist but the position of the women was still a very unfavourable one. The marriage contract was made between the suitor and the "guardian" i.e. the father or the nearest male relative of the bride, the latter's consent

not being regarded as necessary. But even before Islam it had already become generally usual for the dowry to be given to the woman herself and not to the guardian. In marriage the woman was under the unrestricted authority of her husband, the only bounds to which were consideration for her family. Dissolution of the marriage rested entirely on the man's opinion; and even after his death his relatives could enforce claims upon his widow.

2. Islam reformed these old marriage laws in far-reaching fashion, while retaining their essential features; here as in other fields of social legislation Muhammad's chief aim was the improvement of the woman's position. The regulations regarding marriage which are the most important in principle are laid down in the *Qur'ān* in Sūra iv. (of the period shortly after the battle of Uhud): "3. If ye fear that ye cannot act justly to the orphans marry the women whom ye think good (to marry), by two, three or four; but if ye fear (even then) not to be just then marry one only or (the slaves) whom you possess; this will be easier that ye be not unjust. Give the women their dowry freely; but if they voluntarily remit you a part of it, enjoy it and may it prosper you. — 26. Marry not the woman whom your fathers have married (except what is already past); for this is shameful and abominable and an evil way. 27. Forbidden to you are your mothers, your daughters, your sisters, your aunts paternal and maternal, the daughters of your brother and sister, your foster-mothers and foster-sisters, the mothers of your wives and the step-daughters who are in your care, born of your wives, with whom ye have had intercourse — but if ye have not had intercourse with them, it is not a sin for you — and the wives of the sons, who are your offspring, also that ye marry two sisters at the same time except what is already past; Allāh is gracious and merciful. 28. Further married women except (slaves) that you possess. This is ordained by Allāh for you. But he has permitted you to procure (wives) outside of these cases with your money in decency and not in fornication. To those of them that ye have enjoyed give their reward as their due, but it is no sin to make an agreement between you beyond the legal due. Allāh is allknowing and wise. 29. If however any one of you has not means sufficient to marry free believing women (let him marry) among your believing slaves, whom you possess; Allāh best knows (to distinguish) your faith. Marry them with the permission of their masters, and give them their dowry in kindness; they should be modest and not unchaste and take no lovers". Also Sūra ii. 220 (uncertain date), the prohibition of marriage with infidels, male or female (cf. Sūra ix. 10, Sūra xxxiii. 49 (probably of the year 5), an exception in favour of the Prophet, and Sūra v. 7 (of the farewell pilgrimage in the year 10), permission of marriage with the women of the possessors of a scripture. Other passages of the *Qur'ān* which emphasise the moral side of marriage are Sūra xliiv. 3, 26, 32 and Sūra xxx. 20. In tradition various attitudes to marriage find expression; at the same time the positive enactments regulating it are supplemented in essential points. The most important is the limitation of the number of wives permitted at one time to four; although Sūra iv. 3 contains no such precise regulation, this interpretation of it must have predominated

very early, as in the traditions it is assumed rather than expressly demanded. The co-operation of the "guardian", the dowry and the consent of the woman is regarded as essential and competition with a rival the result of whose suit is still in doubt is forbidden.

3. The most important provisions of Muslim law (according to the Shāfi'ī school) are the following. The marriage contract is concluded between the bridegroom and the bride's *wali* (guardian), who must be a free Muslim of age and of good character. The *wali* is in his turn bound to assist in carrying out the contract of marriage demanded by the woman; if the bridegroom fulfils certain legal conditions. The *wali* should be one of the following in this order: 1. the nearest male ascendant in the male line; 2. the nearest male relative in the male line among the descendants of the father; 3. do. among the descendants of the grandfather etc.; 4. in the case of a freed woman the *manūfā* (manumitter) and if the case arises his male relatives in the order of heirs in intestacy (cf. *MIRKAT*, 6, 8); 5. the representative of the public authority (*ḥākim*) appointed for the purpose; in many countries it is the *qāḍī* or his deputy. In place of the *ḥākim* the future husband and wife may agree to choose a *wali* and must do so if there is no authorised *ḥākim* in the place. The *wali* can only give the bride in marriage with her consent but in the case of a virgin silent consent is sufficient. The father or grandfather, however, has the right to marry his daughter or grand-daughter against her will, so long as she is a virgin (he is therefore called *wali muḥṣir*, *wali* with power of coercion); the exercise of this power is however very strictly regulated in the interest of the bride. As minors are not in a position to make a declaration of their wishes which is valid in law, they can only be married at all by a *wali muḥṣir*. According to the Hanafis on the other hand, every blood relative acting as *wali* is entitled to give a virgin under age in marriage without her consent; but a woman married in this way by another than her ascendant is entitled on coming of age to demand that her marriage be declared void (*fāḥṣh*) by the *qāḍī*. A bridegroom who is a minor may also be married by his *wali muḥṣir*. As a kind of equivalent for the rights which the husband acquires over the wife, he is bound to give her a bridal gift (*maḥr*, *ḥadāḥ*) which is regarded as an essential part of the contract. The contracting parties are free to fix the *maḥr*; it may consist of anything that has value in the eyes of the law; if it is not fixed at the conclusion of the contract and if the parties cannot agree upon it, we have a case for the *maḥr al-mithl*, a bridal gift fixed by the *qāḍī* according to the circumstances of the bridegroom. It is not necessary to pay the *maḥr* at once; frequently a portion is paid before the consummation of the marriage and the remainder only at the dissolution of the marriage by divorce or death. The wife's claim to the full *maḥr* or the full *maḥr al-mithl* arises only when the marriage has been consummated; if the marriage is previously dissolved by the man the wife can only claim half the *maḥr* or a present (*ḥawṣa*) fixed arbitrarily by the man; these regulations go back to *Sūra* ii. 237-19. (cf. *xxiii*. 48). In form the marriage contract, which is usually prefaced by a solicitation (*ḥabṣa*), follows the usual scheme in Muslim contracts

with offer and acceptance; the *wali* of the bride is further recommended to deliver a pious address (*khutba*) on the occasion. The marriage must be concluded in the presence of at least two witnesses (*shāhid*), who possess the legal qualifications for a witness; their presence is here not simply, as in other contracts, evidence of the marriage but an essential element in its validity. On the other hand, no collaboration by the authorities is prescribed. But since great importance is usually attached to fulfilling the formalities of the marriage contract, upon which the validity of the marriage depends, it is usual not to carry through this important legal matter without the assistance of an experienced lawyer. We therefore everywhere find men whose profession this is and who usually act under the supervision of the *qāḍī*. The part they take is to pronounce the necessary formulae to the parties or even to act as authorised agents of one of them, usually the *wali* of the bride. The most important impediments to marriage are the following: 1. blood relationship, namely between the man and his female ascendants and descendants, his sisters, the female descendants of his brothers and sisters as well as his aunts and great-aunts; 2. foster-relationship which by extension of the Koranic law by tradition is regarded as an impediment to marriage in the same degree as blood relationship; 3. relationship by marriage, namely between a man and his mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, step-daughter etc. in the direct line; marriage with two sisters or with an aunt and niece at the same time is also forbidden; 4. the existence of a previous marriage, in the case of a woman without limitation (inclusive of the period of waiting after the dissolution of the marriage, *ʿidda*, q. v.) and in the case of a free man with the provision that he cannot be married to more than four women at once; 5. the existence of a threefold *ḥalāl* [q. v.] or of a *ḥaw* [q. v.]; 6. social inequality: the man must not be by birth, profession etc. below the woman (unless both the woman and *wali* agree); a free Muslim can only marry another's slave girl if he cannot provide the bridal gift for a free woman; and the marriage between a master (or mistress) and his slave (or her slave) is quite impossible (a master is however permitted concubinage with his slave); 7. difference of religion; there is no exception to the prohibition of marriage between a Muslim woman and an infidel while the permission given in theory for marriage between Muslim men and the women of the possessors of a scripture is at least by the Shāfi'is so restricted by conditions as to be prohibited in practice; 8. temporary obstacles such as the state of *ḥarām* [q. v.]. On the other hand, the law knows no minimum age for a legal marriage. If a marriage contract does not fulfil the legal requirements, it is invalid; the Hanafis and especially the Mālikis but not the Shāfi'is distinguish in this case between invalid (*ḥalāl*) and incorrect (*fāḥṣh*) according as the error affects an essential or unessential element in the contract; in the former case there is no marriage at all, in the second its validity may be attacked but (according to the Mālikis) consummation removes any defect. Marriage does not produce any community of property between husband and wife and the woman retains her complete freedom of dealing; but certain laws regarding inheritance come into operation (cf. *MIRKAT*, 6, c). The man alone has to bear the

expense of maintaining the household and is obliged to support his wife in a style befitting her station (*nafāḥa*); if he should not be in a position to do so his wife may demand the dissolution of the marriage by *fāḥḥ* [q. v.]. The man can demand from his wife readiness for marital intercourse and obedience generally; if she is regularly disobedient, she loses her claim to support and may be chastised by the man. The latter however is expressly forbidden to take upon himself vows of continence (*ḥāḥ* and *ḥāḥ*). Children are only regarded as legitimate if they are born at least six months after consummation of the marriage and not more than 4 years (the predominant *Shāfi* view) after its dissolution; it is presumed that such children are begotten by the husband himself; the latter has the right to dispute his paternity by *ḥāḥ* [q. v.]. Parentage can also be established by the husband's *ḥāḥ* [q. v.], while both recognition and adoption of illegitimate children are impossible.

4. The laws regarding the rights and duties of husband and wife cannot be modified by the parties at the drawing-up of the contract. This can however be effected by the man pronouncing a conditional *ḥāḥ* [cf. *ḥāḥ*, vii.] immediately after the conclusion of the marriage contract; this shift to secure the position of the woman is particularly common among Indian Muslims. For the rest the couple are left to private agreements which need not be mentioned in the marriage contract. The actual position of the married woman is in all Muslim countries entirely dependent on local conditions and on many special circumstances. It is not a contradiction of this to say that the legal prescriptions regarding marriage are most carefully observed as a rule. In spite of certain ascetic tendencies Islam as a whole has been decidedly in favour of marriage. — In modern Islam the problem of the woman's position in marriage and polygamy is especially discussed between conservatives and adherents of modern social ideas. For the different views resulting from these conditions see the *Bibliography* cited below.

5. Alongside of the usual form of the old Arabian marriage which in spite of its laxity aimed at the foundation of a household and the procreation of children, there existed the temporary marriage in which the pair lived together temporarily for a period previously fixed. Such temporary marriages were entered upon mainly by men who found themselves staying for a time abroad. It is by no means certain that these are referred to in *Sūra* iv. 28, although the Muslim name of this arrangement (*maḥ* [q. v.], "marriage of pleasure") is based on the literal meaning of the verse; it is however certain from Tradition that Muhammad really permitted *maḥ* to his followers especially on the longer campaigns. But the caliph 'Omar strictly prohibited *maḥ* and regarded it as fornication (*zinā*) (a group of traditions already ascribes this prohibition to the Prophet). As a result, *maḥ* is permitted only among the Shi'ites but prohibited by the Sunnis. The latter have however practically the same arrangement; those who wish to live contrary to the law as husband and wife for a certain period simply agree to do so without stipulating it in the marriage contract.

Bibliography: (only the most important works are cited). For the pre-Muhammadian Arabs: G. A. Wilken, *His patriarchate by the Arabs* (German transl.: *Das Patriarchat*

bei den alten Arabern, Leipzig 1884); W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia* (New Edition, London 1901); Wellhausen, *Die Ehen bei den Arabern* (N. G. W. Gott., 1893); Lamouss, *Le Bercen de l'Islam*, p. 276 sqq.; — Tradition: Wernick, *A Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, s. v. Marriage. — On the doctrine of the *Fikḥ*: Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, vol. vi., index, s. v. Huwelijck; Juybolli, *Hand-leiding*, p. 174 sqq.; Santillana, *Instituzioni*, p. 150 sqq.; J. Lopis Ortiz, *Derichte musulman*, p. 154 sqq.; — On marriage and society: Lamouss, *Mohammed*, p. 306 sqq.; R. Levy, *Sociology of Islam*, i. 131 sqq.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Meḥa in the latter part of the 19th century*, index, s. v. Marriage; do., *Verspreide Geschriften*, IV, 218 sqq.; Polak, *Persien*, i. 194 sqq. Modern conditions: Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranexegese*, p. 360 sqq.; R. Paret, *Zur Frauenfrage in der arabisch-islamischen Welt*. — On the ethical estimation of marriage: H. Bauer, *Islamische Ethik*, fasc. ii.; Mez, *Renaissance der Islam*, p. 276 sq.; Becker, *Islamstudien*, i. 407. — Cf. also Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s. v. Marriage. (JOSEPH SCHACHT)

NIKOPOLIS, in Turkish spelling Nīkbūllī or

Nīkbūllī (in Ewilyā Çelebi, vii. 463: نیکه بولی),

town on the southern bank of the Danube, at 43° 43' N., 24° 54' E. This Nikopolis, founded by Heraclius (c. 575–642), has often been confused, especially in medieval literature, with Nikopolis *ad Istrum* or *ad Haemum*, founded by Trajan in 101 in commemoration of his victory over the Dacians (minus recently excavated near modern Nīkūp in the upper valley of the Djantra by Mt. Haemus). The Byzantine Nikopolis is sometimes called Nikopolis Major to distinguish it from Trajan's Nikopolis and Nikopolis Minor on the opposite bank of the Danube near the Roumanian town of Torna Magurele.

The importance of Nikopolis as a trade centre and military post is due chiefly to the command which it holds over the Odra and the Aluta, the two Danubian arteries reaching into the heart of Bulgaria and Roumania respectively. Situated on a naturally fortified plateau, it dominates the plains to the south, the Danube to the north, and the eastern gorge connecting the interior of Bulgaria with the river. The medieval double walls and strong towers surrounding Nikopolis were destroyed by the Russians during their occupation of the city in 1810 and 1877.

Nikopolis was first captured from the Bulgarians in 791 (1389) by 'Alī Pāshā Çandereli [see 'Alī Fāḥḥ], Seven years later, it was the scene of the famous battle in the Crusade which is called by its name. The acquisition of Bulgaria by the Turks and their continual irruptions north of the Danube into territories claimed by Hungary, together with a state of comparative peace in western Europe in the last decade of the 15th century, made it both necessary and possible for most Catholic countries to participate in the expedition. An army of about 100,000 crusaders (according to the most reliable estimates) from France, Burgundy, England, Germany, Italy, Spain, Hungary, Poland, Wallachia and Transylvania marched along the Danube, seized Widdin and Rahova, and finally set siege to Nikopolis while an allied Venetian

Genoese fleet blockaded the city from the river. The siege lasted about fifteen days, during which Bayazid [q.v.] abandoned the siege of Constantinople, burnt the siege machinery, and summoned his Asiatic and European contingents to arms. A Turkish army of perhaps 110,000 men met at Adrianople and, marching through the Shipka Pass, descended into the valley of the Osma and pitched their camp on the southern hill commanding the Nikopolis plain.

The battle took place on Monday, September 25, 1396, and the crusaders were completely routed owing to the superiority of Ottoman tactics and the dissensions amongst the leaders of the Christian host. Bayazid divided his army into two large sections. The first, consisting of two large bodies of irregular cavalry and of irregular infantry, occupied the slope of the hill. Between the cavalry vanguard and the foot rearguard of this section, the Turks planted a field of pointed stakes. Beyond the skyline on the other slope of the hill, hidden from their unsuspecting enemy, the second and more important section, consisting of Bayazid with his Sipahis and Stephen Lazarević with his Serbs, watched for the right moment to advance against the exhausted Christians. These tactics proved to be effective when the Crusaders' vanguard of French and foreign auxiliaries defeated the Turkish irregular cavalry and, after forced dismounting to uproot the stakes, routed the irregular infantry and pursued them uphill to face the new and unseen forces. Meanwhile, a stampede of riderless horses produced confusion in the Crusaders' rear which comprised the Eastern European armies. Mircea and Lascarić, who had no sympathy for Sigismund of Hungary, retired with their Wallachian and Transylvanian auxiliaries who constituted the left and right wings of the rearguard. After desperate fighting for the relief of the French and foreign contingents, the Hungarian nobles persuaded their king to board a Venetian galley and escape by way of Byzantium and the Morea to Dalmatia. The rest were either killed or captured, only to be massacred on the following day by Bayazid in order to avenge in this way the severe losses which he had sustained. A small number of nobles were, however, saved from the massacre for a ransom of 200,000 gold florins.

The immediate result of the Ottoman victory was the extension of the conquests into Greece and the submission of Wallachia to Ottoman suzerainty. More important, however, was the breathing-space it gave for the consolidation of the Turkish territories in Europe, which enabled the Ottoman empire to survive the critical struggles of the next decades.

In later history Nikopolis plays only a minor part. During the wars of the sixteenth century it was thrice captured by Russian armies (Sept. 1810; July 1829; July 1877), and by the Treaty of Berlin (July 13, 1878) was included in the tributary principality of Bulgaria.

Bibliography: The standard histories of the Ottoman Empire. For the "Crusade of Nikopolis" a full and classified bibliography of the extensive MS. and printed sources, both Eastern and Western, is contained in A. S. Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis* (London 1934); see also the following older monographs: A. Brauner, *Die Schlacht bei Nikopolis, 1396*, Breslau 1876; J. Delaville Le Roulx, *La France en Orient au*

XIV^e siècle, Paris 1886; H. Kiaz, *Nicopolis ulkott*, Magyar Akademiai kiadása, 1896; I. Köhler, *Die Schlachten bei Nikopolis und Warna*, Breslau 1882; F. Šišić, *Die Schlacht bei Nikopolis*, Vienna 1893.

(A. S. ATIYA)

NIKSAR, Neo-Caesarea, first mentioned by Pliny (vi. 3) so that it presumably arose under Tiberius, lies in the Anatolian wilayat of Siwas [q.v.] 1,150 feet above sea-level. The town is picturesquely situated at the foot of a hill, crowned by the ruins of a mediæval castle which was erected from the material provided by the numerous buildings of antiquity there. Here in remote antiquity was Cabira and after its decline Diospolis founded by Pompey, later called Sebaste. In Church history Niksar is famous as the scene of a Council (314 A.D.) and as the birthplace of Gregory the miracle-worker. In the Muslim period it became important under the Seljuks of whom numerous and important buildings have survived to the present day. It became more important under the Dönishmandiys [q.v.] whose founder Malik Dönishmand Ahmad Ghāsi took Niksar among other places. His grandson Muhammad successfully resisted a siege by the emperor Manuel in Niksar. His son Vaghilassan (537—562 = 1142—1166) of whom there survives an inscription of the year 552 (1157) died in 562 (1166) whereupon Niksar was taken by the Byzantine emperor Manuel (Kommenos, p. 296 ff., 300) although only for a short time. In 1397 Niksar passed to the Ottomans and gradually lost its former importance. It remained noted for its very prolific orchards, celebrated already in Kazwini's time (*Aghār*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848) the special produce of which, very large and sweet cherries, pears, figs etc., were famous at all times. Ewliyā Çelebi (cf. *Siyāhat-nāma*, ii. 389; v. 14; *Travels*, ii. 102 fpp.) who visited Niksar in 1083 (1672) describes the town in his usual extravagant fashion, mentioning 70 schools, 7 monasteries, many mills and water-wheels and 500 shops with a large number of shoe-makers. The pomegranates there, he says, are the size of a man's head and weighed 1 okka. The remains of the Muslim period so far as they bear inscriptions, have been published by İsmail Hakkı, *Kitâbeler* (Stambul 1345 = 1927), p. 58—73. The türbes (sepulchral cupolas) of Malik Ghāsi and of Hacı İsmail Çelebi are worth mentioning; among old dervish monasteries there are the İshak-tekke and the Kulaş-tekke. Niksar has often been visited and described by modern travellers. The population (c. 4,000) was before the war one quarter Christian; they were mainly engaged in the silk and rice trades.

Bibliography: Hacı İsmail Khalifa, *Djihan-namâ*, p. 628; F. Taeschner, *Anatol. Wogenitz*, i. 216 fpp.; ii. 12 fpp.; Gyllius, *Bosph. Thesaur.*, p. 334; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 339, 426; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde von Kleinasien*, i. 221 fpp.; J. Morier, *A Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople*, London 1812, p. 42; R. Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia etc.*, London 1821, p. 700; W. Ouseley, *Travels in various Countries of the East*, London 1819 fpp., p. 484; J. B. Fraser, *Winter-Journey*, London 1838, p. 209; J. E. Alexander, *Travels from India to England*, London 1827, p. 255; Eli Smith and Dwight, *Missionary Researches*, London 1834, p. 46;

W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia*, London 1842, p. 346;
V. Culaet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i. 734 ff.

(FRANZ BARTHOLOMÆ)

AL-NIL, the river Nile. The Nile is one of the large rivers which from the beginning have belonged to the territory of Islām, and the valleys and deltas of which have favoured the development of an autonomous cultural centre in Islamic civilisation. In the case of the Nile this centre has influenced at different times the cultural and political events in the Muhammadan world. Thus the Nile has, during the Islamic period, continued to play the same part as it did during the centuries that preceded the coming of Islām.

The name al-Nil or, very often, Nil Mīṣr, goes back to the Greek name Νῆλος and is found already in early Arabic literary sources, though it does not occur in the Qur'ān. (In Sūra xx. 39 the Nile may be meant by *al-yamūn*.) The Christian habit of calling the river Gēhōn, after one of the rivers of Paradise, as found in the works of Ephraim Syrus and Jacob of Edessa and in the Arabic-Christian author Agapins (*Patrologia Orientalis*, v. 590), is not followed by the Muhammadans, who know only the Oxus under this name. Al-Zamakhsharī (*Kitāb al-Ashbāh*, ed. Salverda de Grave, p. 127) mentions as another name al-Faīḍ, no doubt a poetical allusion to the yearly flood. Already in the Middle Ages, the word *baḥr* having come to acquire in Egyptian Arabic the meaning of "river", the Nile is also called al-Baḥr or Baḥr Mīṣr (cf. al-Maḥrizī, ed. Wirt, i. 218), which is also the case with several separate parts of its river system, such as Baḥr Yūsuf or Baḥr al-Qḥarāl. In the Delta the different ramifications of the river are occasionally also called Nile, but where necessary the main stream (*amūd*) is distinguished from the minor branches (*dhīr* or *dhīlīḥī*) and the canals (*tur'a*).

The geography of the Nile is treated here only from a historico-geographical point of view so far as the knowledge of Islamic science is concerned. The geographical knowledge of the Nile among the Muhammadans, as far as we can learn from their literary sources, is based partly on direct observation, but for the most part on legendary or pseudo-scientific traditions which go back to local beliefs or to classical science. For a long time during the Middle Ages the limit of Islamic territory on the Nile was well fixed; it ended at the first cataract near the island of Bilāḥ (Philae) to the south of Uṣwān (Assuan); here began, since the treaty (*ḥuḍ*) concluded by 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Sarīḥ with the Nubians, the Nubian territory, where for long centuries Christianity prevailed (al-Balādhurī, p. 236; Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futūḥ Mīṣr*, ed. Torrey, p. 188). The first locality on Nubian territory, where tribute was paid, was called al-Kaṣr (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, iii. 40, 41).

Historical tradition has preserved parts of the alleged correspondence between 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and the caliph 'Umar on the subject of Egypt, then newly conquered; here the Nile is described as a river "whose course is blessed", while the flood and the inundations are praised in poetical terms ('Umar b. Muḥammad al-Kindī, *Faḡḥ al-Mīṣr*, ed. Zābir, p. 204; al-Dimashqī, ed. Mehren, p. 209). The same correspondence reveals the perhaps historical fact that 'Umar did not wish to see the Arab army established in Alexandria, because

there would be then a great river between the army and the caliph (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, p. 91; cf. also what is said on p. 128 about those who went to live in al-Ḥijāz).

The principal towns by which the Nile passed in medieval Egypt in Upper Egypt, between Uṣwān and al-Fuṣṭāṭ, were Atfū (Edfu, on the left), Iṣnā (Esne, l.), Armanī (I.), Kāṣ (r.), al-Ḥakam (Luxor, r.), Kūr (r.), Iḥmīm (Akhmīm, r.), Uṣyūṭ (Asyūṭ, r.), al-Uḥmīmīn (I.), Anṣina (r. opposite al-Uḥmīmīn), Tahā (l.), al-Kais (l.), Dalāṣ (l.), Ahnās (l.) and Iṣṭī (Atfīh, r.). This succession of towns is given for the first time by al-Ya'qūbī (*B. G. A.*, vii. 331–334), while Ibn Hawqāl (*B. G. A.*, ii. 95) is the first to give a table of the distance between these towns, expressed in *harūḍ*, the entire distance being 21 days' journey (al-Idrīsī, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, p. 52, gives 25 days' journey for the same distance). Shortly before al-Uḥmīmīn branched off on the left the canal that conducted the water to al-Faīyūm, which is known to Ibn al-Faḡh (*B. G. A.*, vi. 74) as Baḥr al-Lāḥūn and to al-Idrīsī (p. 50) as Khālīḍ al-Manḥī; this canal, which according to unanimous tradition was dug by Joseph, occurs already on the MS. map of the year 479 (1086) of Ibn Hawqāl in the Seray Library of Constantinople, N^o. 3246 (reproduction on fol. 658 of *Monumenta Africæ et Aegypti* by Youssouf Kamāl). It is the Baḥr Yūsuf of our days; on it was situated al-Bahmān. The banks of the Nile in Upper Egypt are not very completely described by the geographers; one finds repeated everywhere the assertion that the borders were cultivated without interruption between Uṣwān and al-Fuṣṭāṭ (cf. al-Iṣṭakhrī, *B. G. A.*, i. 30), but that the width of the cultivated territory varied during the river's course, dependent on the greater or lesser distance of the two mountain ranges that border the stream. Ibn Hawqāl (MS. of Constantinople, cf. supra) describes two extremely narrow strips, one between Uṣwān and Atfū (now called Gebelein) and one between Iṣnā and Armanī (now called Gebel Silāle). The curves in the course of the Nile, especially in the upper part of the Ṣaḥl, are not indicated on the maps of Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Hawqāl. The oldest extant Arab map of the Nile, however — which is at the same time the oldest Arab map that we know of — gives clear indications that its sinuous course was a known fact. This map is found in the Strasbourg MS. of the year 428 (1037) of al-Khwarizmi's *Ṣūrat al-Ard* and has been reproduced in the edition of that text by H. v. Miik (*B. A. H. U. G.*, iii, Leipzig 1916). The representation of the Nile here is connected with the classical tradition of astronomical geography; al-Khwarizmi himself, and after him Suhayb (Ibn Serapion) and Ibn Yūnus (MS. 143 Gol. of the University Library at Leyden, where on p. 136 a special table is given of the towns lying on the banks of the Nile) give exact indications as to the longitudes and latitudes of the Nile towns, but these indications need many very uncertain corrections to allow of the reconstruction of a map, as v. Miik has tried to do for al-Khwarizmi in *Denkschr. Ak. Wiss. Wien*, li., Vienna 1916 and J. Lelewel for Ibn Yūnus in pl. ii. of the Atlas annexed to his *Géographie du Moyen-Âge*, Paris 1850. But the fact that the course of the Nile is from south to north is well known to all the Arabic sources, which often repeat the

assertion that the Nile is the only river in the world for which this is the case. Only the text of Ibn Hawqal seems to imply that the Nile reached al-Fustat from the S.E. (*B. G. A.*, ii. 96).

The Delta of the Nile begins to the north of al-Fustat, where the distance between the two mountain ranges widens, while these hills themselves become lower and pass gradually into the desert. Immediately below al-Fustat began the canal that was dug by 'Amr b. al-'As to link up the Nile with the Red Sea; this canal (Khaldj Mijr or Khaldj Amir al-Mu'minin) was made in 23 (644) according to Muhammad b. Yhsuf al-Kindi (cited by al-Maqrizi, *As-Sifat*, Bulak, ii. 143; cf. Ylsuf, ii. 466) and served for the conveyance of provisions to the Hijla until the reign of 'Umar Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz; afterwards it was neglected and even obstructed by the order of the caliph al-Mansur, so that, in the 10th (xth) century, it ended at Dhanab al-Timsah in the lakes to the north of al-Qalam (cf. al-Mu'addi, *Muruj*, i. 147).

The two principal arms of the Nile in the Delta began about 12 miles to the north of al-Fustat (a little further than nowadays, according to Guent) and had, as now, a great number of ramifications which communicated in many ways and ended for the greater part in the big lakes or lagoons stretching behind the sea coast from west to east; these lakes were called in the Middle Ages Buhairat Maryut (behind Alexandria), B. lakk, B. al-Barallus or B. al-Buhtin and the very large B. Tinnis, which last contained a large number of islands with Tinnis as the most important. On the land tongue, where the two main arms separated was situated the town of Shubra. The western arm went as now to the town of Rashid (Rosette) after which it reached the sea; near the town of Shubra a branch parted from this arm in the direction of Alexandria, ending in the Buhairat Maryut; this branch was only filled with water in the time of the flood (a very complete survey of the different "canals" of Alexandria by P. Kahle, in *l.c.*, xii. 83 *sqq.*). The eastern arm ran, as is still the case, past Dimyati (Damiette) and reached the sea shortly afterwards; it had several branches that went to the Buhairat Tinnis, one of which continued one of the Nile mouths of antiquity. Though many sources, based on a pseudo-historical tradition, repeat after each other that there are seven Nile arms (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, p. 6; further al-Khwarizmi, Qadāma, Suhrah, al-Ma'addi, Ibn Zulaq), the more realistic authors (Ibn Khundādhrah, al-Yaqubi, Ibn Rusta, al-Istakhri, Ibn Hawqal, al-Idrisi) only know of the two main arms. These were linked up by a canal system which, in the Middle Ages, differed considerably from the present situation. The chief sources from which we know them are Ibn Hawqal and al-Idrisi, who give itineraries following the different branches, but as the places named in these itineraries have been identified only in part, an integral reconstruction is not yet possible (on this problem cf. R. Guent, *The Delta in the Middle Ages*, in *J.N.A.S.*, 1912, p. 941 *sqq.* and the map annexed to this article). The description in the text of Suhrah (ed. v. Mlik, *B. A. H. U. G.*, v.) has little value as an endeavour to trace back to his time (xth century) the seven legendary arms; among these arms special attention is paid to the "arm of Saradisa", which, according to tradition, was dug by Hāmān

(Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, p. 6; cf. Guent, *loc. cit.*, p. 944 and Maspero and Wiet, *Mémoires*, in *M. I. F. A. O.*, xxxvi, 104). Al-Maqrizi has preserved a detailed description of the canal system in the province of al-Buhaira, to the east of Alexandria, from the *Kutub al-Minkahij* of Abu 'l-Hasan al-Makhrumi, who wrote in the xth century (*M. I. F. A. O.*, xvi, p. 167 *sqq.*). It seems possible that a study of the ancient maps (especially the Delta map of the Constantinople MS. of Ibn Hawqal and the maps of al-Idrisi) may be useful for a more complete reconstruction of the medieval situation.

The Nile arms have always been decisive for the administrative division of the Delta, which the sources call by the name of Asfal al-Ard or Asfal Ard Mijr. The region to the east of the eastern branch was called al-Hawf; the texts of al-Istakhri and Ibn Hawqal place al-Hawf to the north of the Nile, which may be understood in connection with the view referred to above that the Nile at al-Fustat had a direction from S.E. to N.W. The region between the two main arms was called al-Rif (a name sometimes used for the entire Delta as well) or Ba'in al-Rif, while the country to the west of the western arm was called al-Buhaira and later al-Hawf al-Qharbi, the original Hawf being called then al-Hawf al-Sharqi. The three sections were divided into *Ekres*, the limits of which were determined by the more important branches; the bigger administrative units of later times (cf. *supra*) depended likewise on the river system. The present geographical aspect of the Delta is the result of the new irrigation works that began in the sixteenth century under Muhammad 'Ali; the most conspicuous new canals are the Mahmudiya canal, dug from Fūwa on the western arm to Alexandria, the Tawfiqiya, Mansufiya and Buhairiya canals that were completed in 1890, and the Isma'iliya canal, which links up the Nile with the Suez canal.

As to the knowledge of the course of the Nile to the south of Egypt the Muhammadan geographical literature begins rather late to give information based on direct observation. At first these sources content themselves with saying that the Nile comes from the country of the Nuba; for the rest there were ancient sources of a different kind that helped to complete the geographical conception of the course of the great river. This conception involved also the origin of the Nile, covered since antiquity by a veil of mystery. The real origin of the Nile always remained unknown to the Muhammadan scholars and travellers. It is a curious fact, however, that the information on this subject which we find uniformly repeated in the Islamic sources from the treatise of al-Khwarizmi (± 830 A.D.) gives an idea of the origin of the Nile which does not correspond entirely to the data furnished by the classical sources. This conception makes the Nile emerge from the Mountains of the Moon (Djabal al-Qamar) to the south of the equator; from this mountain come ten rivers, of which the first five and the second five reach respectively two lakes lying on the same latitude; from each lake one or more rivers flow to the north where they fall into a third lake and it is from this lake that the Nile of Egypt begins. This conception is largely schematized and corresponds only partly to Ptolemy's description of the Nile sources; Ptolemy

knows only of two lakes, not lying on the same latitude and does not speak of a great number of rivers coming from the Mountains of the Moon. The third lake especially is an innovation (cf. A. v. Mill, in *Dunkelr. Ab. Wiss. Wien*, lxxix, p. 44); in later authors such as Ibn Sa'id and al-Dimashqi this third lake is called Kūrā and may be connected with some notion of Lake Chad (the same authors change the name of Djabal al-Kamar into Djabal al-Kumr which pronunciation is commented on by al-Makrizi, ed. Wiet, i, 219), but this is not probable for the time of al-Khwarizmi; the knowledge of more equatorial lakes, however, may perhaps be traced to the experiences of the two centuries despatched by Nero to explore the Nile and who reached, according to Seneca, a marshy impassable region, which has been identified with the Bahr al-Ghazal. The system described by al-Khwarizmi of the origin of the Nile is represented on the map in the Strasbourg MS. and is repeated many times after him (Ibn Khurdādhbeh, Ibn al-Fakih, Kādāma, Suhāb, al-Idrisi and later authors). Al-Mas'ūdi, in describing a map he has seen, does not speak of the third lake (*Murūj*, i, 205, 206) and Ibn Rusta (*B. G. A.*, vii, 90) says that the Nile comes from a mountain called B-b-e and also knows only two lakes. Al-Isfahāni and Ibn Hawqal on the contrary, frankly admit that the origin of the Nile is unknown, which is also illustrated by their maps. Still the system of al-Khwarizmi continued to be a geographical dogma and is found as late as al-Suyūti. Al-Khwarizmi also took over from Ptolemy a western tributary of the Nile, which comes from a lake on the equator; this river is called by Ptolemy Astapos and may perhaps be identified with the Atbara. A later development, which connects with the Nile system a river that flows to the east in the Indian Ocean, is found for the first time in al-Mas'ūdi (*Murūj*, i, 205, 206; ii, 383, 384); this view is later taken up again by Ibn Sa'id and al-Dimashqi.

Another category of notions about the origins of the Nile is connected with the Jewish and Christian traditions which make the Nile come from Paradise. Medieval cosmographical theory places Paradise in the extreme East, on the other side of the sea (cf. the maps of Beatus), so that the Nile, like the other rivers of Paradise would have to cross the sea. This state of things is actually described in an old tradition, probably of Jewish origin, of a man who went in search of the sources of the Nile and had to cross the sea, after which he reached Paradise (al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, i, 268, 269 and *Akhbār al-Zamān*, MS. Vienna, fol. 156-b; al-Makrizi, *B. G. A.*, iii, 21). With this origin in Paradise is perhaps connected the view, which all sources attribute to al-Djāhiz in his lost *Kitāb al-Buldan*, that the Nile and the Mīhrān (India) have the same origin (cf. al-Mas'ūdi, *Tanbih*, *B. G. A.*, viii, 55), a view which is sarcastically criticised by al-Biruni (*India*, p. 101). To the same origin may go back the idea, often found in Muhammadan sources, that, when the Nile rises, all the rivers of the earth go down in level.

Thirdly there is a cycle of geographical conceptions which link up the western part of Africa with the river system of the Nile. Herodotus already had sought a western origin and Pliny quotes the *Lybia* of king Iuba of Mauretania, who makes the Nile rise in western Mauretania. Mar-

quardt (*Bein-Sammlung*, p. 125 sqq.) has explained this view from a corruption of the name of the river Nubal, which he identifies with the Wādī Nil and which has its origin in the Mauritanian Atlas. Traces of this western Nile are to be found in Ibn al-Fakih (*B. G. A.*, v, 87) who, following an authority of the time of the conquest, places the origin of the Nile in al-Sūs al-Akṣā. Al-Bakrī for the first time identifies this western Nile with the river Niger, although we find already in al-Mas'ūdi the knowledge of a great river, far to the south of Sijilmāsa (*Murūj*, iv, 92, 93). Al-Bakrī describes the Nile as passing through the territory of the Sūdān (ed. de Slane, p. 172) and enumerates a number of Berber and Sūdān tribes and their towns which border the river; the westernmost town is with him Sanghām, followed in eastern direction by Takrūr, Silla, Ghāns, Tūqāḥ and finally the country of Kawkaw. After al-Bakrī a similar description is given by al-Idrisi, but this last author goes back to another source than al-Bakrī when he places the mouth of the Nile in the neighbourhood of the salt town Awlīl, thus identifying the lower course of this Nile with the Senegal (Marquardt, *loc. cit.*, p. 171). Al-Idrisi likewise shows himself informed on the course of the Nile to the east of Kawkaw, though he is in doubt if Kawkaw is situated on the Nile itself or on a side arm (ed. Dozy and de Goeje, p. 11); he finally derives this western Nile from the third of the big Nile lakes mentioned above, thus connecting the Nile of the Sūdān with the Nile of Egypt in one river system. So long as the complete text of al-Bakrī is not known, we cannot ascertain if this conception goes back already to that author. Al-Idrisi's Nile course is clearly indicated on his maps of the 1st—4th section of the first climate. After him it is especially Ibn Sa'id who has described the western Nile in this way and he has been followed again by Abu 'l-Fida'. Al-Dimashqi (ed. Mehren, p. 89) gives the same representation; this last author even makes the third lake, which he calls like Ibn Sa'id the lake of Kūrā, give birth to three rivers: the Nile of the Sūdān, the Nile of Egypt, and a third river running in eastern direction towards Maḳdashū in the Zandj country on the Indian Ocean. This last river, which was also connected by al-Mas'ūdi with the Nile (cf. *supra*) is probably identical with the Webi river in Italian Somaliland.

While the geographical authors constructed in this way the Nile system with a good deal of credulity and imagination, the real knowledge of the Nile south of Egypt advanced but slowly. The southernmost point reached by the Arab conquerors was Dongola (al-Kinādi, ed. Gress, p. 12) and it was well known that this town was situated on the Nile; its latitude and longitude are given by al-Khwarizmi and Suhāb. Al-Ya'qūbī (*Tarikh*, ed. Houtuma, p. 217) knows that, in the country of the Nūba called 'Alwa, who live behind the Nūba called Mugurra, the Nile divides into various branches; this same author, however, places Siud behind 'Alwa. Al-Mas'ūdi (*Murūj*, iii, 31, 32) knows that the country of the Nūba is divided into two parts by the Nile. Ibn Hawqal (Constantinople MS.) describes two places where there are cataracts (*ḡāwāḍī*), namely the one above Uṣwān, which is the "first cataract", and one near Dongola, of which it is not certain whether the "second" or the "third" cataract is meant. About the same time,

however, a traveller named Ibn Sulaim al-Uswānī wrote a valuable description of the middle Nile course, which has been preserved in al-Maḳrīzī's *Khitaṭ* (ed. Wiet, in *M.I.F.A.O.*, xvi, 252-199). This Ibn Sulaim, on whom al-Maḳrīzī's *Khitaṭ al-Muḳarrā* gives some information (cf. Quatremère, *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*, II.), had been sent by the Fatimid general Ḍawhar to the king of the Nūba on a diplomatic errand, and was the author of a *Kitāb al-Jihād al-Nūba wa 'l-Muḳarrā wa 'l-Aḥwā wa 'l-Buḡa wa 'l-Nil*, in which a detailed description is given of these countries. He says that the region between Uswān and Dangkala is inhabited in the north by the Maris and more to the south by the Muḳarra; the northern part is barren and the great cataracts are correctly described. The country between Dangkala and 'Alwa (this last spot is the region of Khartūm) is described as highly flourishing; the big winding of the Nile here is perfectly known to Ibn Sulaim. The Nile "is divided" then into seven rivers; from the description it is clear that the northern one of these rivers is the Athara, coming from the east; further south the "White Nile" and the "Green Nile" join near the capital of 'Alwa and the "Green Nile", which comes from the east, is again the result of four rivers, one of which comes, as the author thinks, from the country of the Mahagha, and one from the country of the Zanj; this last, incorrect, statement may have been influenced by learned tradition. Between the "White Nile" and the "Green Nile" there stretches a large island (*ḡarḡa*, as it is still called on our maps), which has no limits in the south. This is about the only description in mediæval Islamic literature that shows how far the knowledge of the middle Nile really went. Only little of it seems to have reached the systematic geographic treatises; al-Idrīsī, e.g., describes this part of the river in a way which only shows that he did not make good use of the inadequate sources that were at his disposal.

The exploration of the upper Nile and its sources since the end of the xviiith century was the work of European travellers. They discovered, or perhaps re-discovered, the real big Nile lakes and identified the Rwenzori mountain range with the Moon Mountains, the name of which was found again by the explorer Speke in the name of the Unyamwezi country, the "country of the moon". A part of the exploration of the Nile was due, however, also to Egyptian initiative. The well-known military expedition of 1820-1822 under Muḥammad 'Alī's son Ismā'īl Pasha, during which the city of Khartūm was founded, established Egyptian domination in the Egyptian Sūdān and opened the way for further scientific exploration. In the years 1839-1842 three Egyptian expeditions went up the White Nile, and during the reign of Ismā'īl Pasha the Egyptian government repeatedly tried to cleanse the swamps of the White Nile above Sobat from the masses of vegetation (*ḡadd*) which hindered navigation.

The yearly flood of the Nile (*ḡayḡa*, *ḡayḡ*, *ḡayḡān*) is the phenomenon to which Egypt has been at all times indebted for its fertility and prosperity, as it provides, in compensation for the almost complete lack of rain in the country, a natural and almost regular irrigation for the lands on its borders and in the delta. It is the foundation of all cultural life and justifies entirely the attribute *ḡayḡān* so often given to the river. On the same

account the Nile is considered, as well as the Euphrates, as a "believing" river (al-Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, *M.I.F.A.O.*, xxx, 218). The flood deeply influences the private and public life of villagers and townsfolk alike, and already the oldest Muhammadan traditions about Egypt reflect the feelings of wonder and thankfulness that animated the people of Egypt before them (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, p. 109, 205). Having reached its lowest level towards the end of May at Assuan and in the middle of June at Cairo, the Nile begins to rise again, reaching its highest level in the beginning of September at Assuan and in the beginning of October at Cairo. This regularity brings about a similar regularity in the methods of irrigation in the several parts of Egypt, in the times of the sowing and reaping of the different crops and consequently in the modes of levying the land taxes (e.g. al-Maḳrīzī, ed. Bulaḡ, i, 270, which text comes from Ibn Ḥawḡal); all the dates referring to these occupations have always continued to be fixed according to the Coptic solar calendar.

There is much discussion in the literary sources about the causes of the flood. The most ancient belief, which at the same time corresponds best with reality, was that the flood is caused by heavy rainfalls in the countries where the Nile and its tributaries have their origin. This is expressed in a somewhat exaggerated way in a tradition that goes back to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'As, according to which all the rivers of the world contribute, by divine order, with their waters to the flood of the Nile (Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *loc. cit.*, and p. 149). This implies the belief that all other rivers fall while the Nile rises, but, on the other hand, it is sometimes observed that other rivers also show the same phenomenon of rising and falling, especially the Indus, and this again is considered as a proof of the common origin of the two rivers (al-Maḳrīzī, ed. Wiet, *M.I.F.A.O.*, xxx, 227). There are, however, other views, which attribute the cause of the flood to the movement of the sea, or to the effect of the winds; these views have been inherited from sources of the pre-Muhammadan period, among others from the treatise on the flood of the Nile attributed to Aristotle, and they are discussed and refuted at length in a special chapter of al-Maḳrīzī's *Khitaṭ* (*M.I.F.A.O.*, xxx, 230-199).

Up to the sixth century the irrigation system of Egypt continued along the same lines. When the flood begins all the outlets on both sides of the main stream and its principal arms in the Delta are closed, to be opened again about the time of the highest flood, when the water level has reached the necessary height according to the different places. The most important of these yearly "openings" was that of the canal (Khalidj) of Cairo, which, until recent times, remained a public festival. In Cairo the flood is complete (*ḡayḡ al-Nil*), when it has reached 16 *ḡayḡ*, generally in the first decade of the Coptic month of Mesore (about the midst of August), and this was proclaimed everywhere in the town (cf. the description by Lane, *Manners and Customs*, II, 287-199, and E. Littmann, *Ein arabischer Text über die Nilüberschwemmung*, *Festschrift Oppenheim*, Berlin 1933, p. 66-199, for older times, al-Kalkashandī, III, 316).

The height of the level of the Nile has been measured since older times by the Nilometers (cf. *ḡayḡān*). Many of these *ḡayḡān* are recorded by the

sources, the southernmost being that of 'Alwa and the most celebrated the one of al-Fustāt, constructed by Usama b. Zaid al-Tanūkhī about 92 (711) and often restored afterwards (A complete survey of all the *sūfiyās* is given in Omar Toussein, *Mémoire sur l'Histoire du Nil*, II, 285 *sqq.*). These instruments generally were made of stone, with marks upon them, but they were sometimes of other material (e.g. a fig-tree near the monastery of Safanāf in Nubia; cf. Everett, *Cherches*, p. 262). The level necessary for the operations of irrigation varied in different places; in the capital the average level had to be 16 *dhira'* above the lowest level of the Nile; if the flood surpassed 18 *dhira'* it became dangerous, while a flood not exceeding 12 *dhira'* meant famine (cf. e.g. al-Idrīsī, p. 145, 146). In the history of Egypt the years after 444 (1052), and especially the year 451 (1059), are notorious for the famine and disaster caused by the failure or practical failure of the flood. A historical account of the flood from the years 152—1296 (759—1879) is given on p. 454 *sqq.* of Omar Toussein, *Mémoire sur l'Histoire du Nil*, II.

The regulation of the main stream and its branches are ascribed to the ancient Egyptian kings (al-Maqrīzī, on the authority of Ibn Wafī Shāh), but no real irrigation work of a wider scope existed in the Middle Ages and later except the famous canal system of al-Faiyūm [q. v.], which all the sources ascribe to the prophet Yūsuf. In the rest of Egypt the water was allowed to flow freely over the lands after the piercing of the dams, so that large areas were completely inundated for some time; the Arabic sources contain some vivid descriptions of the large stretches of water, above which rose the villages, communication between the villages being only possible by means of boats during that time of the year (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, I, 162; Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, p. 205). Since the reign of Muhammad 'Alī new irrigation works have been planned with the aim of making the country more productive, a possibility at which already the medieval authors hinted more than once. The first efforts, however, failed. About 1840 was begun the construction of a great barrier across the two arms of the Nile at the apex of the Delta, according to the plans of the French engineer Moquet, but this enterprise began to bear fruit only fifty years later when this barrage project, including the Tawfikīya, Manūfiya and Bahairīya canals, had been completed in 1890. The later great irrigation works were executed higher up the river, such as the great dam and locks at the head of the cataracts near Philae above Assuan, in 1902, which was raised again in 1912, and again in 1935. While allowing, on one side, a better regulation of the distribution of Nile water in Egypt, these barrages higher up enable at the same time a better irrigation of the borders to the south of Egypt. Herewith is connected the enormous barrage of Makwār, near Sennār on the Blue Nile above Khartūm, which permits the irrigation of the region called al-Djazīra, between the Blue Nile and the White Nile. This work was finished in 1925 and is meant to be completed by a similar barrage on the White Nile. In this way the control of the Nile waters has passed to a certain extent out of Egypt itself; it recalls the days of the great famine in 1059, when the Egyptians thought that the Nabians were holding up the flood of the Nile.

The same problem came up recently with regard to the new project of constructing a dam on the frontiers of the Sūdān and the Belgian Congo and the question was raised whether this dam will prove a *fā'idā 'adīliya* or a *fā'idā ḥakīmiya* for Egypt (cf. the newspaper *al-Balāgh* of March 17, 1934).

It has already been shown how the flood of the Nile was the occasion of popular festivals such as the opening of the canal of Cairo. But in other respects also the Nile is connected with traditional customs of a religious character, which are to be traced back through the Greek-Christian period into very ancient times. When the Arabs conquered Egypt, the sacrifice of the "Nile Bride" was still in use; every year a richly appressed young virgin was thrown into the Nile to obtain a plentiful inundation. According to a tradition first recorded by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (p. 150), this custom was abolished by 'Amr Ibn al-'As and the Nile resumed its flood after a note of the caliph 'Umar had been thrown into it requiring the river to rise if the flood was willed by God. In later times a symbolic offering of a girl called *Arīṣat al-Nīl* was still practised on the Coptic *Id al-Salīb* (Norden, *Travels in Egypt and Nubia*, 1757, p. 63—65; Lane (*Manners and Customs*, p. 290) mentions a round pillar of earth, near the dam of the canal of Cairo, which pillar was called *al-'Arīṣa*. Another custom, practised formerly by Christians and Muhammadans alike, was to bathe in the Nile on the eve of the Epiphany, in memory of the Baptism of Christ (cf. Everett, *Cherches*, p. 129). Al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, II, 364 *sqq.*) describes this festival, which he calls *Lailat al-ḥifāṣ*, for the year 330 (942). Lane (p. 363 *sq.*) describes the same ceremony, but in his time the Muhammadans did not take part in it. But bathing in Nile water in general procures *ḥaraba* (cf. W. Blackman, *The Fellāḥin of Upper Egypt*, p. 32 with regard to bathing in the Bahr Yūsuf).

The quality of the Nile water is a matter of discussion in medical treatises. Avicenna (*al-Kānūn fī 'l-Fīṣṣa*, ed. Bihāq 1294, I, 98; cited by al-Maqrīzī) holds that the circumstance that a river flows from south to north has a bad influence on the water, especially when a south wind blows, and on this account he thinks that the abundant praise given to the Nile is exaggerated. The Egyptian physician Ibn Rishwān (d. 453 = 1061) says that the Nile water reaches Egypt in a pure state, owing to the health in the country of the Sūdān, but that the water is spoiled by the impurities that mix with it on Egyptian soil (cited by al-Maqrīzī, *M.I.F.A.O.*, xxx, 275 *sqq.*). This same author describes very clearly the troubled condition of the water when the flood begins. He discusses likewise the influence of the Nile on the climate of Egypt and the medicinal properties of its water.

Other authors speak at length of the fauna of the Nile, giving especial attention to the fish. A very long list of fishes is given by al-Idrīsī (p. 16 *sqq.*) with a description of their often curious qualities. The animals most frequently described by the geographers are, however, the crocodiles, and the animal called *ḥamḥūr*, which is said to be the result of a cross between a crocodile and a fish, but which seems to be in reality a kind of lizard.

The possibilities which the Nile afforded for navigation are best seen from the historical sources. Sea-going vessels do not seem ever to have entered

its arms, while the traffic on the river was maintained by small craft; various names of Nile boats occur in literature; in the sixth century the vessel called *dhakabiya* is especially known. In earlier times the term *salūdī* is used for a Nile boat (al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Umūr*², ed. Gessat, p. 137; Dory, *Supplément*, s. v.). The skill of the fishermen in their sailing boats on the lakes in the Delta is often recorded; on shallow places, however, as well as on the inundated lands, boats had to be moved by means of oars or poles. The rapids between Egypt and Nubia were, as nowadays, an insurmountable barrier to river traffic; the loads were conveyed along the shore to the other side of the falls (Ibn Hawkal, MS. Sulṭān Aḥmad Koshā, N^o. 3346, fol. 86).

The cataracts above Assuan for a long time continued to form a barrier to the spread of Islām towards the countries bordering the Nile to the south of Egypt, which forms a curious contrast with the part played by the Nile in the introduction of Christianity into Nubia (cf. J. Kraus, *Die Anfänge des Christentums in Nubien*, Münster [Diss.] 1930). Islām penetrated only slowly into Nubia and became more generally disseminated in the Sūdān only in the sixteenth century (cf. STOKES).

Something has been said already about the praises of the Nile and its descriptions in poetical terms, by which this river has contributed to Arabic literature. Al-Maḥarrī (loc. cit., p. 270 sqq.) cites some fragments of poems in praise of the Nile and its flood; among the poets which he names are Tawfīq Ibn al-Muḥarrir (q. v.) (d. 985) and Ibn Kalāyīs (d. 1172). Further Yūḥān (l. 592; iv. 865) cites some poems which he attributes to Umayya b. Abi 'l-Salt; this poet is probably Abu 'l-Salt Umayya b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 1134) who wrote a treaty *al-Riḥla al-Miṣriyya*, from which also al-Maḥarrī makes quotations. The earliest Arabic poems on the Nile are probably those found in the *Diwān* of Ibn Kaṣ al-Ruḥayrī (q. v.); the court poet of 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Marwān in the beginning of the eighth century. Several treatises have been especially devoted to the Nile. Ibn Zūlūq (d. 997) says in his *Faṭṭil Miṣr* (MS. arabe N^o. 1818 of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, fol. 317) that he has written a book on the importance and the salutary qualities of the Nile, which now seems to be lost. Further there are a treatise *Tabḥīrat al-Aḥyār fi Nil Miṣr wa-Aḥwāl al-Miṣr al-Aḥyār* (MS. in Algiers; cf. Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 306), and two short opuscula by Djalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 1459) and al-Sayyid, which are found together in the MS. Or. 1535 of the British Museum (Rien, *Suppl.*, N^o. 1198; *G.A.L.*, ii. 114).

Bibliography: As the aim of the present article is to give only an account of the Nile from the point of view of Islām and its history, it seems superfluous to quote here even the most important modern works and articles belonging to the abundant bibliography of the Nile. The earlier Muhammadan authors have all been named in the text; the later ones, such as Yūḥān, 'Abd al-Latīf, Abu 'l-Fidā', al-Kalāghandī, al-Maḥarrī, al-Suyūṭī (*Ḥam al-Muḥaddara*), al-Nawāwī and others are in most cases a compendium of earlier earlier views and statements. A very important later Muhammadan source is *al-Khiṭa' al-Tawfīqiyya* by 'Alī Bāghā Mubārak. The Muhammadan literary sources have been used in the following works: Else Reitemeyer, *Beschreibung Ägyptens*

im Mittelalter, Leipzig 1903, p. 31–61; J. Maspero and G. Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la Géographie de l'Égypte*, in *M.I.F.A.O.*, xxxvi. 215–244; and very profusely: Omar Toussoun, *Mémoire sur l'Histoire du Nil*, vols. I, II, III, in *Mémoires présentés à l'Institut d'Égypte*, viii, ix, x, Cairo 1925. The last of these three volumes contains a series of cartographical reconstructions. A number of ancient Muhammadan maps of the Nile are to be found in the *Mapas Arabicas*, ed. Konrad Miller, Stuttgart 1926–1930, and more completely in vol. iii. of the *Monumenta Cartographica Africae et Aegypti* by Yousof Kūmal, as far as this work has appeared; in this same work all the geographical references to the Nile are also to be found in a chronological order. (J. H. KRAMERS)

NILÜFER KHATUN, wife of Urkhan and mother of Murād I, apparently the Greek name Nemphaz (i. e. Lotus-flower) (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, i. 59), was the daughter of the lord of Yarıḡır (Anatolia, near Brussa; cf. Hādīdī Khaltfa, *Lfikhannamā*, p. 659) and according to one story was betrothed to the lord of Beikoma (Bilejik). 'Othmān, the founder of the dynasty which bears his name, is said to have kidnapped and carried her off in 699 (1299) and to have destined her to be the wife of his son Urkhan, then only 12 years old. Idris Bitlīs, and following him Neshrī, tells the story of the rape but the Byzantine sources make no reference to it. Nilüfer Khatun became the mother of Murād I and also of Sulaimān Paḡha. The river which flows through the plain of Brussa bears the same name as also does the bridge over it in front of the town and monastery there. The bridge and monastery are said to have been endowed by Nilüfer Khatun. Nothing more is known of her life. She was buried beside Urkhan on the citadel of Brussa. That Ibn Battūṭa, ii. 323 sq. really means Nilüfer Khatun by *Ḥayālūn* (حیلون) Khatun, which both F. Giese (cf. *Z.S.*, ii. 1924, p. 263) and F. Taeschner (cf. *Id.*, xx. 135) think to be obvious, as they take حیلون to be a corruption of *حیلون* is however by no means proved, because *Ḥayālūn* is a name which occurs again in Ibn Battūṭa for a Byzantine princess (cf. ii. 393 sq.). Besides, the mention in Ibn Battūṭa who paid his respects to the princess at her court in Iantī (c. 740 = 1339) is very brief. F. Taeschner suggests that Nilüfer is a corruption of Olivera, white hiberio Nilüfer (cf. Pers. *nilüfer* "water lily" and Greek *Ἀνδροπέτα* and *νερόπετα* with the same meaning) has been derived from the Greek. Nilüfer was and is also popularly known as Lulufer (e. g. in the early Ottoman chronicles) or Ulüfer the river Elfer Cāṭ; cf. F. Taeschner, *op. cit.*, p. 135 sq.

Bibliography: J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, i. 59 sq.; *Sigillat 'othmān*, i. 86 (according to Neshrī); F. Taeschner, in *Id.*, xx. 133–137. (FRANZ BARINGER)

NFMAT ALLĀH R. AHMAD is known as Khālī Sūfī, author of a Persian-Turkish Dictionary, entitled *Lughat al-Nfmat Allāh*. Born in Sōfā, where as an enameller he made a reputation as an artist, he moved to Constantinople and there entered the Nakshbandī order. Association with the Nakshbandī dervishes made him more closely acquainted with literature and

especially with Persian poetry. Nīmat Allāh decided to make accessible to others the knowledge he had acquired by an ardent study of Persian literature and thus arose his lexicographical work which he probably compiled at the instigation and with the assistance of the famous Kemāl Pasha-kāde (d. 940 = 1533). He died in 969 (1561—1562) and was buried in the court of the monastery at the Adrianople gate in Stambul. His work which survives in a considerable number of manuscripts is divided into three parts: verbs, particles and inflection, *umma*. His sources were: 1. *Uḥūm-i 'Adām* (s. Uri, p. 201, No. 108); 2. *Kārima-yi Lutf Allāh Halīm* (Hādījī Khalīfa, iv. 503); 3. *Wardī-yi Maḥmūd* (Flügel, Vienna Catalogue, i. 197); 4. *Lughat-i Karā-Hisrī* (Rieu, p. 513*); 5. *Shāh-i 'Adām* (Hādījī Khalīfa, vi. 91 and Leyden Catalogue, i. 100). Besides making careful use of these sources Nīmat Allāh added much independent material, of which his dialect notes and ethnographical observations are especially valuable. This work is of considerable scientific importance and deserves greater attention than it has so far received.

Bibliography: O. Blau, *Über Nīmatullāh's persisch-türkisches Wörterbuch*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxi. (1877), S. 484; Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 514^b; Hādījī Khalīfa, vi. 362. — Partly used by Golius for the Persian part of Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton*. The best MSS. are Dorn, St. Petersburg Catalogue, No. 431 (p. 426) and Fleischer, Dresden Catalogue, No. 182. (E. BERTHELS)

NĪMAT ALLĀH B. HABIB ALLĀH HARAWI, a Persian historian. His father was for 35 years in the service of the Great Mughal Akbar (1556—1605) where he was a *khālīfa* inspector. Nīmat Allāh himself was for 11 years historian to Dīshangrū (1605—1618), then entered the service of Khān-Dīshān whom he accompanied in 1618 (1609—1610) on the campaign against the Dekkani. Soon afterwards he became acquainted with Miyan-Haihat-Khān b. Salīm-Khān Kākār of Sindh who persuaded him to write a history of the reign of Khān-Dīshān. Nīmat Allāh began his work in Mākūpūr in Dhu'l-Hijja 1020 (Feb. 1612) and finished it on the 10th Dhu'l-Hijja 1021 (Feb. 2, 1613). The work is dedicated to Khān-Dīshān, is entitled *Tarīkh-i Khān-Dīshān* and consists of a *muhaddima*, 7 *kita* and a *ḥikmat*. It deals with the history of the Afghāns, beginning with their legendary descent from the Banū Ismā'īl and treats with special fullness of the history of Bahālu Lodi, Shīr Shāh Sūr and Nawwās Khān-Dīshān Lodi. The last chapters are devoted to the genealogy of the Afghān tribes and the reign of Dīshangrū. The *ḥikmat* contains biographies of famous Afghān shāhshāhs. There is also an abbreviated version of the work entitled *Makām-i Afghān*.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, in *G. I. Ph.*, ii. 362—363; Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 210^a, 212^a, 903^b; H. Elliot, *History of India*, v. 67—115. The shorter version is translated by R. Dorn, *History of the Afghans, translated from the Persian of Nīmat Ullāh, in Orient. Transl. Fund*, London 1829—1836. (E. BERTHELS)

NĪMAT ALLĀH WĀLĪ, a Persian mystic. Amīr Nūr al-Dīn Nīmat Allāh, son of Mīr 'Abd Allāh, and a descendant of the fifth imām of the Shī'a, Bakīr, the founder of the Nīmat Allāhī order, is highly esteemed in Persia as a great saint and wonder-worker. He was born in Mahāh in

730—731 (1329—1330/1), spent his early years in the 'Irāk and went to Mecca at the age of 24 where he became a pupil and *ḥalīfa* of the famous Shāh 'Abd Allāh Vāfi (see XXXI). After his teacher's death, he went to Samarkand, then visited Herāt and Yazd and finally settled in Mahāh, 8 farsakhs from Kirmān, where he spent the last 25 years of his life and died on 22nd Rājāh 834 (April 5, 1431). His tomb is still a popular place of pilgrimage (*ziyāratgāh*). In his lifetime he was held in great honour by all rulers and received particular marks of esteem from Shāh-Rukh. His grandsons migrated to India and were appointed to high office in the Deccan by 'Alā' al-Dīn Ahmad-Shāh Bahmāni (1435—1457). Nīmat Allāh was a very prolific theorist of Sūfism and is said to have written over 500 *risālas* on different questions of Sūfi doctrine. About a hundred of these have come down to us and can be identified. They are for the most part quite short treatises, generally explanations of difficult passages in the classics of Sūfism like Ibn al-'Arabi, Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī etc. His large *Dīwān* of lyrics is more valuable; it contains much true poetry and is marked by a fervent sincerity.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, in *G. I. Ph.*, ii. 299, 301; Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 43^a, 634^b, 641^b, 774^b, 829^a, 831^b, 869^a; E. G. Browne, *History of Persian Literature under Tatar Dominion*, Cambridge 1920, p. 463 *sq.*; *Dīwān*, lith. Tībrān 1276. A biography by Šan' Allāh Nīmat-Allāhī, *Sambūh al-Arīdūn fi Muḥaddith al-Awḥam mawḥūm bi-Silāṭ al-'Arīfīn* (Persian), lith. Bombay 1307 (1890). See also *Ḥalāt al-Siyar*, iii. 3, 143 (where 25th Rājāh is given as the date of his death) and Dawlatshāh (ed. Browne, p. 333—340), who however with his usual carelessness gives 827 as the date of his death. (E. BERTHELS)

NĪMAT KHĀN 'ĀLĪ, MİRZĀ NŪR AL-DĪN MUHAMMAD, son of Fakhr Fath al-Dīn Shīrān, a Persian author, was born in India and came of a family several of whom had been distinguished physicians in their ancestral home in Shīrān. He entered the service of the state under Shāh-Dīshān (1628—1659) and was appointed keeper of the crown jewels with the title of *darūgha-yi ḥawāshir-ḥikma*. He attained his highest honours under Awrangzeb (1659—1707) who gave him the title of Nīmat Khān (1104 = 1692—1693), which was later changed to Muḥarrab Khān and then to Dāmghand Khān. He died at Delhi on the 1st Rāb' II 1122 (May 30, 1710). Nīmat Allāh who wrote under the takhalluṣ of 'Ālī, was exceedingly prolific and wrote a number of works in prose and verse of which the following are the most important: 1. *Wāḥid-i Ḥaidarābād*: a description of the siege of Ḥaidarābād by Awrangzeb in 1097 (1685—1686). This work is characterized by a biting wit and describes the siege in a satirical form which procured the little book the greatest popularity; 2. *Ḍiyān-nāma*, a chronicle which covers the last years of Awrangzeb's reign and the war which broke out after his death among his sons; 3. *Bahādur-ḥikma-nāma*, a chronicle of the two first years of the reign of Shāh 'Alam Bahādur-Shāh (1707—1712); 4. *Ḥusn u-'iṣṣā*, also called *Kathkhuday* or *Munāshaha-yi Ḥusn u-'iṣṣā*, an allegorical love story, an imitation of the celebrated *Ḥusn u-'iṣṣā* of Fatahī (q. v.); 5. *Rahat al-Kulūb*, satirical sketches of a number of contemporaries; 6. *Nizām-yi Ḥadīq-i Ḥukamā'*.

anecdotes of physicians and their incompetence; 7. *Kāh-i Nīmat*, a work on cookery; 8. *Ruḡ'at*, letters to Mirza Muḥṣin Allāh Irādāt Khān Wāḡhī, Mirza Muḥammad Sa'īd, the head of the imperial kitchen and others, which were very highly thought of as models of a choice style of letter-writing; 9. a typical *Dhūm*; 10. a short *Maḥmūdī* without a title, which deals with the usual Shī'ī ethical themes. This survey shows a great versatility on the part of Nīmat Khān but it must be pointed out that, with the exception of the satirical works which are really original and of great value for the characterisation of his age, none of them rises above the level of degenerate imitations of classical models.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, in *G. I. Ph.*, ii, 334, 336—338; Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 268, 702^b, 703^a, 738^b, 744^b, 745^a, 796^a, 807^a, 938^b, 1021^a, 1049^b; *Dhūm*, lith. Lucknow 1881; *Hum u-Ṣāḥ*, Lucknow 1842, 1873, 1878—1880, 1899, Dehli 1844 (almost all editions have a commentary); *Wāḡh-i Haidarābād or Wāḡh-i Nīmat Khān*, lith. Lucknow 1844, 1848, 1859, Cawnpore 1870, 1878; *Bahādūr Khān-nāma* in H. Elliot, *History of India*, vii, 568; *Dhūm-nāma*, *ibid.*, vii, 202. An English translation: *An English Translation of Nīmat Khān Alī's Jung Nāma. With . . . a short sketch of the author's life*. Candra Lal Gupta and Angra Lal Varma, Agra 1909; *Ruḡ'at wa-Maḥmūdī*, Lucknow 1845. An MS. of the *Kāh-i Nīmat* in Petisch, Berlin Catalogue, No. 341. (E. BERTHELS)

NIMRŪD. [See NAMRŪD.]

NIMRŪD, a ruined site in the ancient Assyria, the northern portion of the modern 'Irāq, about twenty miles south of Mōsul, in 36° 5' North Lat. and 43° 20' East Long. (Greenwich) in the angle formed by the Tigris and its tributary, the Upper or Great Zāb, six miles above the mouth of the latter. The plateau of Nimrūd rises abruptly from the surrounding country, and the great advantages of this situation caused a settlement to be made here already in remote antiquity. Excavations on the site have established the fact that the ruins there were those of the town of Kalakh (Kalkhu). This is already mentioned as Kalakh (Calah) in the Old Testament in a passage which is not absolutely unambiguous (Gen. x. 11—12), which says it was built either by Nimrod or Ashshur; the latter appears to me more intelligible. In Greek writers we find only the name of the district *Kalaxiōn* or *Kalaxiōs* (cf. Pausanias, *Keatēnēzhl. der Klass. Altertumswiss.*, x, 1530). It was no doubt its favourable strategical position that decided the Assyrian King Salmanassar I (c. 1280—1261) to raise it to be his royal residence alongside of the previous capital Ashshur (now Kalāt Sherḡst; q. v.).

We learn nothing from the cuneiform inscriptions about the decline of Kalkhu. Kalkhu probably fell about the same time as Nineveh after a stubborn resistance to the onslaught of the Median-Babylonian army. When Xenophon in 401 B.C. passed by the town, which he describes clearly, it was already a ruin.

So far as I know Kalakh is not mentioned in Syriac literature and in the Arab writers of the middle ages only incidentally and under wrong names. In Yāqūt (ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 119, 16; iii, 113) we are told that al-Salāmīya is in the vicinity of the ruins of the town of Athūr, which can

only mean the ruins of Kalakh (cf. also ii, p. 184). At the present day the site is known only as Nimrūd, which so far as I know first appears in Niebuhr, who stayed in Mōsul in 1766, see his *Reisebericht, nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern*, ii. (Copenhagen 1778), p. 355, 368. When this, now the usual, name arose is unknown; I consider it to be of modern origin. It should be noted that names like Nimrod, Tell Nimrod, etc. are not found in the geographical nomenclature of Mesopotamia and the 'Irāq in the middle ages, while they are several times met with at the present day.

The first European to give a brief account of the 'ruined castle' of Nimrūd and the remains there was Niebuhr, although not from his own inspection. In 1821 Cl. Rich visited the site and gives the first detailed account of the ruins; in his posthumous work are the first pictures of cuneiform tablets discovered there. A few years before Layard, William Ainsworth examined the site. In 1843 Fletcher visited it. Layard, the real investigator of Nimrūd, twice examined the mounds of ruins in 1840 but it was not till 1845 that he was able to begin excavations, which were conducted in two great expeditions (1845—1847 and 1849—1851). Layard's reports were supplemented in many details by the notes, to which too little attention has so far been paid, by Sandrecki (see *Bibl.*) who spent a considerable time in Mōsul and its neighbourhood in 1850. After Layard's departure home, H. Rassam continued his work in Nimrūd. In 1873 G. Smith resumed Layard's work but only for a month. Finally Rassam on behalf of the British Museum again continued the earlier excavations for a period of five years (1878—1882).

Our study of the topography of Nimrūd must still be based on the large map of the vicinity of Nineveh and the whole area between the Tigris and Upper Zāb made by F. Jones in 1852, which the Royal Asiatic Society published in three sheets under the title *Parties of Assyria* (sheets 2 and 3 deal with Nimrūd). The commentary on these maps is the article by Jones, in *J. A. S. S.*, vol. xv. (see *Bibl.*).

The fairly comprehensive complex of ruins at Nimrūd forms in the main a rectangular plateau, out of which a triangular mass juts in the south-east giving the whole the appearance of an irregular hexagon. The longest side, which runs east and west, measures 7,000 feet and the northeast side 5,000 feet (in the southeast including the salient triangle 6,600 feet). The circumference of the whole area is six miles. Layard's investigations revealed that this extensive area marking the site of the town of Kalkhu was surrounded by a wall with towers. In the north he found fifty-eight, in the east fifty of these towers; in the south this wall of earth has now almost entirely disappeared (cf. Layard, *Discoveries* etc., p. 656). The length of the wall was seven miles, that is to say it was longer than the boundary of the whole ruined area because two arms were necessary to include the suburbs in the southeast.

The royal quarter in the southwest corner with the palaces and chief temples occupied a relatively small part of the area described. It lay on a terrace and was shut off from the rest of the town by a wall. To it also belonged the high cone-shaped mound in the northwest which is the dominating

feature of the landscape at Nimrūd. Its diameter is 550 feet in breadth and 600 in length and it still stands 130 feet above the level of the Tigris but must as a storied temple tower (*ziggurat*), have been originally about 160 feet high. The royal city is oblong in shape and has a circumference of over 2,000 yards; its west side measures 2,000—2,050 feet and its north side about 1,200 feet.

In the northwest part of the royal city stood the temple of Ninurta (formerly read Ninib), the chief centre of worship of this deity in Assyria. It had a storied tower, the builder of which, according to an inscription, was Salmannassar III. Xenophon's *Σαλμαναζάρης*, now represented by the conical mound (cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, p. clxiv, cc., note 219; Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien* etc., p. 20 sq. and *do.*, *Armenien*, II, 1. 251 sq.). Farther south on the same side was the so-called northwest (better: west) palace of Assurnisirpal II which Sargon II replaced by a new building. The sculptures with which its founder adorned it came for the most part to the British Museum (cf. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I, 218). In the centre of the royal city but more to the south, Salmannassar III built the so-called central palace which at a later date was completely restored by Tiglathpileser III. The famous black obelisk came from it. This palace is less well preserved as Assarhaddon partly destroyed it when he took out Tiglathpileser III's reliefs to transport them to the new palace which he built in the southwest of the royal city. This southwest palace however remains unfinished as after a fire the building was not resumed; cf. Meissner and Root, in *Beitr. zur Assyriol.*, III, 191 sq.; *Reallex. der Assyriol.*, I, 202 and see also E. Unger, *Die Reliefs Tiglathpilesers III aus Nimrud*, Constantinople 1917.

In the south-east part of the royal quarter Assarhaddon built a palace and at the same time restored a temple of Nabû there which Adadnirari III had built and called after the chief sanctuary of this deity, Ezida in Borsippa (= Birs; q. v.). Here Rassam discovered a series of statues of Nabû dating from the time of Adadnirari III which because they were found in situ were of topographical importance (cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, I, p. cc—ccii and II, 372).

The eastern and north-eastern sides of the royal city have so far only been cursorily examined; probably they also conceal royal buildings.

Outside of the city walls, in the already mentioned triangle at the south-east corner, there are smaller mounds. Layard (*Discoveries*, p. 256) thought that the largest of these tells was perhaps once a fort or castle; he gives it the name of Tell Athûr (*op. cit.*, p. 165) on the authority of the local Arabs. Now it is true that — as already mentioned — in the Arab middle ages, the mounds of ruins near al-Salimiya, i. e. the modern Nimrūd, were erroneously thought to be ruins of the town of Athûr. Educated Mōsūlians still held this view in the time of Rich (cf. Rich, *op. cit.*, II, 131). I think nevertheless that Layard's name Tell Athûr for the mound or four mounds in question is due to a misunderstanding. In *Vestiges of Assyria*, sheet II, Jones gives the name Tell Yazar in it. J. Oppert (*op. cit.*, I, 309) told Vastz, Sachau (*op. cit.*, p. 106) writes Tell Azzar, which is probably the name of a tribe (Yazar, *J. A.*, 1879, XIII, 224, 226).

The Tigris now runs about one and a half miles from Nimrūd but in Assyrian times it flowed directly past the walls of the town as distinct traces still prove (cf. thereon Jones in *J. R. A. S.*, xv, 342—343 = *Selections* etc., p. 446 sq.; Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, p. 27 and his *Armenia*, II, 1. 250 sq.). In the centre, between the still distinct ancient bed of the Tigris and the modern one, is a third bed which the river filled in the middle ages; this latter now bears the name of *Sir-Ḫalū Debbān* (see Jones, *Vestiges* and *J. R. A. S.*, xv, 343 = *Selections*, p. 447) = "The road of Albu Debbān", apparently after a Beduin tribe (the explanation given by Jones is hardly tenable).

A quarter of an hour west of the ruined site of Nimrūd (called frequently al-Kaḫ = the citadel) is an older settlement, the fair-sized village of (old) Nimrūd also called Derāwîsh. Still farther west, near the Tigris is a village also called (New) Nimrūd of more recent origin and a mile N. W. of it directly on the river the village of Na'ife. Again a mile N. W. are the remains of a dam first described by J. Macdonald Kinneir from personal observations (see his *Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia and Kurdistan*, London 1818, p. 465). The natives call it *Sakr* or *Sahr Nimrūd* (see Kinneir, *loc. cit.*; Layard, *Nimrod*, I, 8) = Nimrod's Dam. Jones gives (*J. R. A. S.*, xv, 343 = *Selections*, p. 447 and *Vestiges of Assyria*, sheet II, 1): *Sakhr Nimrūd* (= Nimrod's Cliff); I suspect that he picked up the name wrongly (*sakhr* for *sakr* "dam"). At the same time we also have the name *Sikr al-Awāz* (Rich, *op. cit.*, II, 129) or simply al-Awāz, *Awāz* (Layard, *op. cit.*, I, 8, 365; Jones, *loc. cit.*) = "dam of noise" or "(the) noise" (*awāz* or *awāh* from Persian *āwāzshān*; see Vulliamy, *Lex. Pers.*, I, 56) and this second name owes its origin to the great noise caused by the waters breaking over the rocks here. The people of the vicinity say that there was once a bridge here. Probably a barrier of rock in the river was already used in ancient times as the foundation for a dam for irrigation purposes.

Still farther northwards about three miles from the ruins of Nimrūd lies Selāmiye on the Tigris, now a small village but in the middle ages as Yāqūt, III, 115 (al-Salimiya; cf. also I, 119, 12) tells us, one of the most beautiful places in the region of Mōsūl. The modern Selāmiye lies in the southeast corner of an area covered with old ruins.

This Selāmiye may with great probability be identified with the Biblical Resen, numbered among the four Assyrian towns founded by Arbāshār (or Nimrod; cf. above) according to Gen. x, 11—12, and there located as lying between Nineveh and Kalakh (Calah). The assertion constantly made in learned works because of the words describing them "the same is a great city" and in view of passages in Jonah (1, 2; 3, 3—4; 4, 11) that these formed a gigantic tetrapolis linked together hardly deserves serious refutation.

The greater part of the finds at the English excavations at Nimrūd are in the British Museum where they are exhibited in the Assyrian transept, the Nimrūd Gallery and in the Nimrūd Central Saloon (cf. the *B. M. Guide* etc. [see *Bibl.*], p. 41 sq.). Nimrūd provided the British Museum with even greater treasures in sculptures (not inscriptions) than Koyundjik-Nineveh. Various objects from Layard's collection were left in Bombay on the way home and are now, with some pieces brought

by Rawlinson, in the possession of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; on them see Karkaria in the *Journal R.A.S.*, xviii. (Bombay 1891), p. 97—107. A large series of sculptures came to the Louvre; cf. E. Potier, *Catalogue des Antiquités Assyriennes* (Louvre), Paris 1924, p. 23, 49—63. There are also miscellaneous antiquities from Nimrud in the national collections in Stambul, Berlin, Zürich and Leningrad (Hermilage); on a few finds by Lehmann-Haupt, see his *Materialien*, p. 22 sq.

The English excavators left the site without filling in or even roughly levelling the ground they had cut up. In the spring of 1920 the Iraqi government however had the half exposed sculptures lifted and put in the new Museum in Baghdad. During my stay in Nimrud (May 1928), I saw the sculptures lying on the bank of the Tigris ready to be moved (2 statues of Nabû, a colossal bull, fragments of another, an unfinished lion in stone, two great slabs with inscriptions of Assurnasirpal etc.).

Bibliography: Cl. Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Kurdistan*, London 1836, II. 129—133, 351; K. Ritter, *Erdenkunde*, Berlin 1844, xi. 661—664; Fr. Tuch, *De Nino urbe*, Leipzig 1843, p. 43—45; J. P. Fletcher, *Narrative of a Two Years Residence at Nineveh*, London 1850, p. 74—78; A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, London 1849, I. 4. 7—9, 22—28, 115—141, 326—372; II. 1—43, 68—117; do., *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, London 1853, p. 97—129, 347—362, 599—601, 639, 653—657; do., *The Monuments of Nineveh*, 2 vols., London 1849 and 1853; F. Jones, *Notes on the Topography of Nineveh*, in *J. R.A.S.*, London 1855, xv. 319, 331—332, 335—352, 370—374; repr. in *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, N^o. XLIII, New Ser. (Bombay 1857), p. 416, 436—437, 439—456, 472—476; C. Sandrecki, *Reise nach Mosul und durch Kurdistan nach Urmia*, Stuttgart 1857, II. p. ix—xiii, 48—75; J. Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palace*, London 1857, p. 35 sq., 193 sq., 249 sq., 347 sq.; I. Oppert, *Expédition scientifique en Mésopotamie*, Paris 1863, I. 83—84, 308—349; G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, London 1875, p. 49, 60—85; Fr. Delitzsch, *Was lag das Paradies?*, Leipzig 1881, p. 261; H. Rassam in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, London 1880, vii. 37 sq. and H. R. Rassam, *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, New York 1897, p. 9—12, 225—227; H. Binder, *An Kurdistan, in Mésopotamie et en Perse*, Paris 1887, p. 272—276; P. Müller-Simonis, *Vom Kaukasus zum Persischen Meerbusen*, Mainz 1897, p. 299—301; M. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, II. 187, 198—204; E. Sachau, *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, Leipzig 1900, p. 105—106, 109; H. Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, Philadelphia 1903, p. 33, 83, 88, 93—125, 130—131, 193—194; H. Hilprecht, *Die Ausgrabungen in Assyrien und Babylonien*, Leipzig 1904, I. 31—32, 79, 90—110, 117—125, 185—186; C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens*, in *Abh. G. W. Götz*, N. S., vol. 12, N^o. 3 (Berlin 1907), p. 22—30, 44—45 and Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, II., part I. (Berlin 1926), p. 250—254; P. Rohrbach, *Um Bagdad und Babylon*, Berlin 1909, p. 49—53; M. Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Ninivehs*, Leipzig 1916, III. 789 (Index s. v. Kalhu); British Museum, *A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, London 1922, p. 32—33, 43—48 (and index, p. 274, s. v. Nimrud); S. Guyer, *Meine Tigrlaufahrt*, Berlin 1924, p. 195—201; H. C. Luke, *Mosul and its Minorities*, London 1925, p. 39—42; W. Fhr. von Bissing, *Die Bronzeshalen aus Nimrud*, in *Jahrb. des Deutsch-Archaeol. Instituts*, vol. 38—9 (Berlin 1923—1924), p. 180 sq.; O. Schroeder, article Kalhu, in *Reallexikon für Vorgeschichte*, Berlin 1926, VII. 196. (M. STRECK)

NIMRŪZ [See **STIRAN**.]
NIRIZ, a place in Ādharbāidjān on the road from Marāgha [q. v.] to Urmia [q. v.] south of the Lake of Urmia. The stages on this route are still obscure. At about 15 farsakhs south of Marāgha was the station of Barza where the road bifurcated; the main road continued southward to Dinawar while the northwest went from Barza to Tiflis (2 farsakhs), thence to Djabarwān (6 farsakhs), thence to Niriz (4 farsakhs), thence to Urmia (14 farsakhs); cf. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 121 (repeated by Qudāma with some variations); Mukaddasī, p. 383. The distance from Urmia indicates that Niriz was in the vicinity of Saldur [q. v.] which would find confirmation in the etymology from *ni-riz* "flowing". Saldur lies in the low plain, through which the Gadir flows to the Lake of Urmia. At the present day the name Niriz is unknown, but a Kurd tribe of the region of Sa'ulj-lulak [q. v.] bears the name of Nirizli.

After the Arab conquest a family of T^hi Arabs settled in Niriz. The first of these semi-independent chiefs was Murr b. 'Alī Mawṣilī who built a town at Niriz and enlarged the market of Djabarwān (cf. Balādhuri and Ya'qūbī, II. 446). One of his sons, 'Alī, was among the rebels of 212 (827) whom the governor of Ādharbāidjān Muḥammad b. Ḥamid Ṭāst deported to Baghdad, but 'Alī succeeded, it seems, in returning to his lands; cf. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 119. Abū Rafā'ir 'Omar b. 'Alī, appointed in 260 (873) governor of Ādharbāidjān by the caliph, made war on his predecessor 'Alī b. Aḥmad Asdi and killed him (Tabari, III. 1886). He was supported by the Khurāsānī. Cf. the account in *Pādshāhānī gumānāw*, Teherān 1929, II. 27, 34. In the 13th century *Ishtakht*, p. 186 and Ibn Hawkal, p. 246 mention the Banū Rafā'ir as a dynasty already forgotten which had reigned over Djabarwān (read Djabarwān), Tahrir (read Niriz) and Ughunh al-Aḥariya [cf. **UGHUR**].

(V. MINOREK)
AL-NISĀ', the "Women", the title of **SŪRA IV.** of the **KUR'ĀN**; so-called because in the opening verses the position of women is dealt with. Nöldke (*Geschichte des Qur'ān*, I. 195) thinks that the greater part belongs to the period between the end of the year 3 and the year 5 A. H.

This sūra contains many verses that were abrogated: among the principal we may mention 8—9 abrogated by 12; 10 abrogated by II. 178; 20 abrogated by xxiv. 2; 33 abrogated by xxiv. 60 etc. . . .

It is also one of the most important sūras of the **KUR'ĀN** because many of the precepts formulated in it form the foundations for the Muḥammadan laws of marriage.

The *sura* lacks unity, consisting as it does of a collection of verses of different origin and on different subjects. The following is a brief analysis of its contents: the creation of man; consanguinity; the care of orphans; rules for succession; marriage; relations of husband and wife; impediments to marriage; almsgiving; evidence; accidental homicide; holy war and the art of war; obedience to Allah and to the Prophets; punishment of the unbelieving Jews and Christians.

Bibliography: Cf. the art. AL-NAHL and add: Tawfiq Djabarti, *Tafsir*, Cairo, 23 vol.; Ahmad Ridda, *Tafsir al-Manar*, Cairo, 9 vols. so far appeared. (MAURICE CHERMOUL)

NISĀB. [See ZAGĀT.]

NISĀN, the seventh month in the Syrian calendar. Its name is taken from the first month of the Jewish religious (seventh of the civil) year with the period of which it roughly coincides. It corresponds to April of the Roman year and like it has 30 days. On the 10th and 23rd Nisān, according to al-Bīrūnī, the two first stations of the moon rise (the numbering of these two as first and second shows that the numbering was established by scholars for whom Nisān was the first month) and the 15th and 16th set. In 1300 of the Seleucid era (989 A.D.), according to al-Bīrūnī, the stars of the 28th and 1st stations of the moon rose and those of the 14th and 15th set while the rising and setting of the 2nd and 16th stations of the moon took place in Aiyār.

Bibliography: al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, p. 60, 70, 347—349; cf. also the references under TAMMUL. (M. FLEISHER)

NISH (Serbian *Niš*), the second largest town in Serbia, now the capital of the banate of Morava in the kingdom of Yugoslavia, situated 650 feet above sea-level in a fertile plain surrounded by hills, on both sides of the Niassa not far from its junction with the Morava and an important centre of communications by rail and road, on the international route to Sofia-Istanbul or Salonika-Athens. The larger part of the town with the railway station lies on the left bank, the fortress is on the right. The two parts of the town are connected by four iron bridges (including a railway bridge), cover an area of 11 sq. m. and had in 1931 35,384 inhabitants of whom only 3.7% are Muslims. According to the latest (Dec. 1933) statistics of the Imam-registrar, Nish has 1,982 Muslims in 365 households, chiefly gipsies, while Muslims speaking Serbo-Croatian, Turkish and Albanian form the remainder. These gipsies call themselves Muslims, bear Muslim names, marry with Muslim rites but nevertheless observe at home some of the Serbian Orthodox Church feasts, visit the churches etc. There are a number of offices of the civil and military authorities in the town, including a district *shari'a* court. This court has existed only since Oct. 29, 1929, i. e. since the abolition of the old office of district *mufti* whose authority till then extended over the whole of Serbia. The authority of the new court extends over a part of that of the older (19 districts) while the remainder are under the *kādi* of Belgrade. The Muslims of Nish have also a district *wakf* *me'arif* council (cf. I, p. 760), a common council (*idematiki medжли*) and a registration office (*isnemat*). There are said to have been 19 mosques in Nish in the last Turkish period (1878), only one of which now survives. The second last mosque of which the great minaret is still

standing, was destroyed as a result of the great floods of 1896. Nish has also Serbian Orthodox churches and a Roman Catholic church and a synagogue. Besides several colleges, it has a Hygienic Institute, two hospitals and a society for popular education. The town is making steady progress. Its whole history shows that Nish has always been an important strategical and commercial centre.

In antiquity Nish (Nalassus, Niz, Nissa etc.) belonged at first to the Roman province Moesia Superior and later became the capital of Dardania.

Nish's greatest claim to fame is that it was the birthplace of Constantine the Great (306—337) and attained great prosperity in ancient times. The Romans had state munition works here.

In the time of the migrations of the Huns, Nish was taken after a vigorous resistance by Attila (434—453) and destroyed but rebuilt and re fortified very soon afterwards by Justinian I. (527—565). By the middle of the sixth century the first forces of the Slavs who had entered the Balkan peninsula in their endeavour to found states at the expense of the Byzantine empire appeared before Nish. Nish was thus in the ninth century usually in the hands of the Bulgars and until 1018 it belonged to a Slav state founded in Macedonia in 976 by the emperor Samuel. The Byzantines held it from 1018 to the end of the 11th century, when we find it described as large and prosperous; Idrial who calls it "Niss" (also on his map of 1154, ed. K. Miller) lays special emphasis on the quantity and cheapness of food and the importance of its trade. But even then it did not enjoy peace. In 1072 the Hungarians reached the town on a marauding campaign; in 1096 its inhabitants had to defend themselves in a strenuous battle "at the Bridge" against the Crusaders in which the latter suffered very heavily, and in 1182 the town was taken by Bela III supported by Nemanja, the Serbian prince. A little later Nemanja took Nish and the whole country as far as Serdica (Sofia). The town suffered considerably in these troubled times. The Third Crusade (1189) found it almost empty and practically destroyed. In spite of this, Nemanja was able to receive the emperor Barbarossa in Nish with great ceremony. From this time on to the Turkish conquest Nish was generally in Serbian hands.

In the earlier Turkish chronicles (e.g. Shukrullah, Urudj b. 'Adil, 'Ashik-pashaade, Neshri [Naldecke], Anonymous Giese) there is no mention of the taking of Nish: Sa'd al-Din (I, 92—93), Hadjdji Khalifa and Ewhya Celebi, then von Hammer (G.O.R.², I, 157) and Lane-Poole (Turkey², p. 40) on the other hand, assume that it took place in the reign of Murad I in 777 (1375—1376). The Serbian chronicles however definitely give 1386 and this year, which Gibbons has recently strongly urged as the correct date (*The Foundations of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford 1916, p. 161—162), is now generally accepted.

During the Turkish period (1386—1878) Nish had chequered fortunes. In 1443 it was taken by the Christian army under king Vladislav III and John Hunyadi and destroyed. After the fall of Smederevo in 1459 the Serbian despotate became a Turkish province and Nish was even more securely in Turkish hands. For several days after June 20, 1521 a great fire raged in Nish which would have destroyed it completely if the Beglerbeg Ahmad Pasha, who was leading an army against Hungary

at the time, had not come at the last moment to its assistance [F. Tauer, *Histoire de la campagne du Sultan Süleyman I^{er} contre Belgrade en 1521*, Prague 1924, p. 26 (Persian text), p. 31 (trans.)].

Western travellers who visited Nish in this period (Diernschwam, Contarini etc.) were not particularly attracted by it.

Turkish writers give us an idea of the appearance of Nish in the xviiith century. Hâdîdî Khalfî (c. 1648) describes it i. e. as a great town and kâdîflık in the sandjak of Sofin. The description which Ewliya Çelebi (c. 1660) gives is much fuller: it is a fortified town in the plain with 2,060 houses, 200 shops, three mosques (1. Ghâti Khudâwendîgâr; 2. Muhi Efendi; 3. Humâi Kethudâ), 22 schools for children, several mäsâjids, dervish monasteries, fountains, baths, many vineyards and gardens etc.

On Sept. 25, 1689 Nish was taken by the Austrians under Ludwig of Baden but abandoned the very next year to the Turks (1690). In 1737 Nish was again taken by the Austrians under Seckendorf but left to the Turks again after two months' occupation. It is to this period that the city owes its fortifications.

When in 1804 the Serbians under Karađorđić (d = dj) rebelled against the Turks they soon won a number of successes and in 1809 were able to build redoubts against Nish, in which Stevan Sindelić, one of Karađorđić's vojvoda, on May 31 blew up himself and the attacking Turks. Nish was nevertheless not relieved and the Turks built the so-called Çele-Kula ("tower of skulls") with the heads of the Serbians killed there, of which A. de Lamartine gave a moving description on his way home in 1853 (cf. *Voyage en Orient*, Paris 1859, p. 255—256). It was not till Jan. 11, 1878 that Nish, hitherto the capital of a Turkish *liva*, finally passed from the Turks. This induced many Muslims to migrate to Turkey.

Lying on the military road between Constantinople and Vienna and therefore exposed to every campaign Nish was by no means favourably situated to become a centre for the development of even a modest intellectual life. It appears, at least according to Gibb, that Nish has produced no Turkish poets or authors, except perhaps Sunbulade Wehhi (end of the xviiith century) who celebrated in song his meeting with the young Sara in the Turkish camp at Nish (*H.O.P.*, iv. 259). In Nish however, two Turks worked for a time who later were to become celebrated: 1. Ahmad Latîf (1815—1907), afterwards imperial historiographer served in Vidin and Nish from April 1845 (*G.O.W.*, p. 384); 2. the famous statesman and author of the Turkish constitution of 1876, Midhat Pasha [q. v.], was appointed governor of Nish and Prizren in 1861. In this capacity he saw to the building of a Serbian school (1864) in Nish.

Nish played an important part in the World War: first as the seat of the Serbian government and the Skupština (till Oct. 26, 1915) and then as the scene of a battle between the Germans who were strongly concentrated here and the Serbs in pursuit of them which ended in the capture of the town by the latter (Oct. 12, 1918).

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text: Hâdîdî Khalfî, *Rumeli and Bosna*, transl. v. Hammer, 1819, p. 58 (cf. also *Spomenik XVIII of the Royal Serbian Academy*, Belgrade 1892, col. 9 and 32); W. Smith, *Dictionary of*

Greek and Roman Geography, London 1857, ii. 395 (N.B. Pauly-Wisowa has not yet reached Naisus); C. Jireček, *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinopel und die Balkanpässe*, Prague 1877, s. index; do., *Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters*, Prague 1879, index; Z. Živanović, *Niš i niška zamenitost*, Belgrade 1883 (not properly a monograph but travel sketches with some useful notes); Sâmî Bey, *Kamûs al-A'ân*, vol. vi. (1316 = 1898), p. 4631; Ewliya Çelebi, *Siyâhat-nâme*, vol. v. (1315), p. 363—364; M. Bonnier, *Lexique de géographie ancienne*, Paris 1914, p. 510; Fr. Lübken, *Reallexikon des klassischen Altertums*, Leipzig-Berlin 1914, s. v. Naisus; Jireček (transl. Radonić), *Istoriya Srba*, vol. i—iv. (Belgrade 1922), index; H. Diernschwam, *Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien* (1553—1555), ed. by F. Babinger, Munich and Leipzig 1923; B. Dvobnjaković, in *Narodna enciklopedija*, vol. iii. (Zagreb 1928), p. 94—95; *Almanah kraljevine Jugoslavije* (Zagreb since 1933), i. 40, 54, 573 and 582—583; V. Čorović, *Istoriya Jugoslavije*, Belgrade 1933, *passim*. (FRANK BÄBINGER)

NISHÄNDJİ, secretary of state for the Sultan's tughra, chancellor.

The Saldjûks and Mamûks already had special officials for drawing the *tughra*, the sultan's signature. As their official organisation was inherited in almost all its details by the Ottomans this post naturally was included. Its holder was called *nishândjî* or *temîrî*. The *nishândjî* held the same rank as the *defterdâr* [q. v.] and indeed even preceded them, for we find *defterdâr*s promoted to *nishândjî*s but never a *nishândjî* becoming a *defterdâr*. The *nishândjî* was included among the "pillars of the empire" (*erkân-ı devlet*). The part which he played varied in course of time. Besides being secretary of state for the imperial tughra (*nishân*) he had originally considerable legislative powers and he was called *mufî-i kânûn* (to distinguish him from the *mufî* proper, i. e. the *Shâikh al-Islâm*). In his office the texts of the laws were prepared under his supervision. Most of the Ottoman codes of law (*kânûn*) that have come down to us go back to *nishândjî*s. As they had besides the right to approve the contents of documents put before them for the imperial tughra, they had no slight influence on the business of administration. Of their official career we know that according to the *Kânûn-nâmâ* of Mehemmed II they had to be chosen from teachers acquainted with law (*müderrris*), apparently because they had to display legislative ability, or from the *defterdâr*s and *ru'sâ ul-küttâb*. As their authority diminished more and more in course of time, so did their influence, and finally they were limited to preparing the tughra. According to Mouradjia d'Othman (*Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, iii. 373), the *nishândjî*s received from the state a salary of 6,620 piastres. On their official dress, see v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, viii. 431, according to whom they wore red in contrast to the other *hâdîdjîs* who wore violet.

Bibliography: Cf. the article **TUGHRA** and the references there given; also J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 173; ii. 217, 229; iv. 3; viii. 431; J. v. Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reiches Staatverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, i. 64; ii. 127, 135.

(FRANK BÄBINGER)

NISHĀNDJĪ [See *DJALĀLADE MUṢṬAFĀ* CRELLI; KARAMĀT MUḤMĒD PAṢĀ.]

NISHĀPŪR, the most important of the four great cities of Khurāsān (Nishāpūr, Marw, Herāt and Balḫ), one of the great towns of Iran in the middle ages.

The name goes back to the Persian Nēw-Shāhpūr (*Fair Shāhpūr); in Armenian it is called Niu-Shāpūh, Arab. Naisābūr or Nisābūr, new Pers. Nishāpūr, pronounced in the time of Yāqūt: Nishāwūr, now Nishāpūr (Noldeke, *Tahari*, p. 59, note 3; G. Hoffmann, *Auslege* . . . , p. 61, note 530). The town occasionally bore the official title of honour, Irānshāh.

Nishāpūr was founded by Shāhpūr I, son of Ardāshīr I (Hama al-Isfahānī, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 48), who had slain in this region the Turanian Pahlavak (Pālenak) (*Städtelexikon von Iran*, § 13); some authors say it was not founded till the time of Shāhpūr II (Tahari, i. 840; al-Thaʿalibi, ed. Zotenberg, p. 529).

In the wider sense the region of Nishāpūr comprised the districts of al-Tabasān, Kūhistān, Nisā, Beward, Abarghāh, Djam, Bākhars, Tōs, Zōzan and Isparīʿin (Yaʿqūbī, ed. de Goeje, p. 278; cf. Tahari, i. 2884); in the narrower sense Nishāpūr was the capital of the province of Abarghāh (Armen. *Apar atkhark*, the 'district of the "Araxer"; Marquart, *Erānshāh*, p. 74; do., *Catalogue of the Prov. Capitals of Erānshāh*, p. 52), which was in turn divided into 13 Rustāks and 4 Tawūdī (names in Isfahānī, p. 258; Ibn Hawkal, p. 313; Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 24; Yaʿqūbī, p. 278; Ibn Rustā, p. 171). The latter were: in the west Rēwand (now Riwend), in the south al-Shāmāt, Pers. Tak-Ab, in the east Pūshtrōshan (now Pūshī Farūsh) and in the north Māzūl (now Mānūl); cf. al-Maqdīnī, p. 314—321.

In the Rēwand hills to the northwest of the town was one of the three most sacred fire-temples of the Sāsānians, that of the fire Buzin-Mīhr (G. Hoffman, *op. cit.*, p. 290). Yazdadjird II (438—57) made Nishāpūr his usual residence.

In the year 30 (651) or 31 (652) the governor of Basra, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmīr [q. v.], took Nishāpūr (Tahari, i. 3305; Balādhuri, p. 404) whose governor Kanrang (*خوارزمشاه*; Marquart, *Erānshāh*, p. 75) capitulated. The town was then insignificant and had no garrison. During the fighting between ʿAlī and Muʿāwīya (36—37 = 656—657) the Arabs were again driven out of Nishāpūr by a rising in Khurāsān and Tukhāristān (Tahari, i. 3249, 3350; Balādhuri, p. 408; Dinawari, p. 163). Pērōz III, the son of Yazdadjird and of the daughter of Kanrang of Nishāpūr, is said to have lived for a period in Nishāpūr. Khulaid b. Kaʿs was sent in 37 by ʿAlī against the rebellious town (Dinawari, *op. cit.*). Muʿāwīya reappointed ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmīr governor of Basra in 41 (661—662) and commissioned him to conquer Khurāsān and Sijdistān. The latter in 42 (662—663) installed Kaʿs b. al-Halīth al-Sulami in Nishāpūr as governor of Khurāsān. Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān in 45 (665—666) made Khulaid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Hanafi governor of Abarghāh (Nishāpūr). ʿAbd Allāh b. Khāsim rebelled in 683 against the Umayyads. He fell in 692 at Marw fighting against ʿAbd al-Malik, whereupon Umayyad rule was restored in Khurāsān.

The prosperity of the city dates from the time when Abū ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh b. Tāhir made it his capital in the third (ninth) century.

The founder of the Saffārid dynasty, Yaʿqūb b. al-Laiḫ b. Muʿaddal, entered Nishāpūr on the 2nd Shawwāl 259 (Aug. 1, 873) and took Muḥammad b. Tāhir prisoner (Tahari, iii. 1881; Gardizi in Barthold, *Turkistan down to the Mongol Invasion*, p. 217, note 6) but the latter soon regained his liberty and land. Only after Yaʿqūb's death was his brother ʿAmr b. al-Laiḫ granted the fiefs of Khurāsān and other districts. Rāfi b. Harthama in 882 took Nishāpūr from him (Tahari, iii. 2039) and Muḥammad b. Tāhir became viceroy of Khurāsān in 885 again; but in 279 (892) ʿAmr was finally confirmed in office as governor and erected many buildings there. He finally fell in battle (899—901) with Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad. The town thus passed to the Sāmānids, under whom it attained its greatest prosperity. It was the residence of the governor and commander-in-chief of the province of Khurāsān (*Nishāpūr*).

The Arabic geographers describe Nishāpūr at this time as a thickly populated town divided into 42 wards, 1 farsakh in length and breadth (al-Isfahānī, *B. G. A.*, i. 254) and consisting of the citadel, the city proper and an outer suburb in which was the chief mosque built by the Saffārid ʿAmr. Beside it was the public market called al-Muʿashar, the governor's palace, a second open place called Maidān al-Husnīyān and the prison. The citadel had two gates and the city four: the Gate of the Bridge, the Gate on the road from Maʿkīl, the Gate of the Fortress (*Bāb al-Kuhandī*) and the Gate of the Takīn Bridge. The suburbs also had walls with many gates. The best known market places were al-Murabbāʾ at al-Kahra (near the Friday Mosque) and al-Murabbāʾ at al-Saghīra. The most important business streets were about fifty in number and ran across the city in straight lines intersecting at right angles; all kinds of wares were on sale in them (on the products and exports of Nishāpūr see G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 429 sq.). Numerous canals were led from the Wāhī Saghīwar, which flowed down from the village of Bushtankār and drove 70 mills, from whence it passed near the city and provided the houses with an ample water supply. Gardens below the city were also watered in this way. The district of Nishāpūr was regarded as the most fertile in Khurāsān.

The town suffered many vicissitudes after this period. A great famine broke out there in 401 (1011). At the beginning of the 11th century Nishāpūr was the centre of the pietist Karrāms led by the ascetic Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Isḥāq. The Saljuq Tughrul-Beg occupied the town in 1037 and made it his capital. Alp Arslān also seems to have lived there (cf. Barhebraeus, *Cāren*, *Syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 243). In May 1142 the Khwārizmshāh Atīs took the town for a time from the Saljuq sultan Sanjar. When it was sacked by the Ghaz in 548 (1153), the inhabitants fled, mainly to the suburb of Shādīyakh (al-Shādīyakh) which was enlarged and fortified by the governor al-Muʿayyid. Tughān-Shāh Abū Bakr ruled the city 1174—1185 and his son Sanjar Shāh 1185—1187.

In May or June 1187 the Khwārizmshāh Takīsh took Nishāpūr and gave it to his eldest son Malik Shāh. At the end of 1193 the latter received Marw and his brother Kuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad became governor of Nishāpūr. Malik Shāh died in 1197 in the neighbourhood of Nishāpūr. ʿAlī al-Dīn Muḥammad (as Kuṭb al-Dīn called himself after

his father's death) took Marw and Nishāpūr in 1202 from Ghīyāth al-Dīn and his brother Shihāb al-Dīn.

In addition to the wars and rebellions (e.g. 1207—1208) which afflicted the town, it suffered from repeated earthquakes (540=1145, 605=1208, 679=1280). Yāqūt who visited it in 613 (1216) but stayed in Shādyākh, still could see the damage done by the first earthquake and by the Ghuzz but nevertheless thought the town the finest in Khurāsān. The second earthquake was particularly severe; the inhabitants on this occasion fled for several days into the plain below the city.

In 618 (1221) the Mongols under Činggis-Khān sacked the city completely. In the time of Hamīd Allāh Mustawfī (c. 1340) and of Ibn Baīṭūta (c. 1350) it had to some extent recovered. After each earthquake the inhabitants had rebuilt the town on a new site but it never regained its former importance.

According to the Georgian chronicle (transl. by Brosset, *Hist. de la Géorgie*, i. 472), the Georgian queen Tammar is said to have taken the city of Romguar between 1210 and 1212; Brosset identified this with the Mahalla Ramdjar mentioned by Yāqūt in the district of Nishāpūr (more probably a suburb of it). Here the patriarchs of Antioch, whose jurisdiction according to the *Xpovogpafios avrotopos* compiled in 854 (ed. Schöne in his edition of Eusebius I, app., p. 82 sq.) already at this time extended to Khurāsān (July 19; *κατωτατος επιταυ του Πατριarchy*), created about 1053 the catholice of *Πατριarchy* or *Πατριarchy* *της Περσίας* which, in name at least, still existed in 1365 (*Brief des antiochenischen Patriarchen Petros III. an Domenico von Grado und Aquileia*, ed. by Cornelius Will, *Acta et scripta quae de controversiis ecclesiae Graecae et Lat. saeculo XI composita sunt*, Leipzig and Marburg 1861, p. 212, 221; *Notitia Antiochena*, ed. Gelzer, in *B. Z.*, i. 247, 252; Neilos Doxapatros, ed. Parthey in Hierocles *Synecdemus et Notitiae graecae episcopatum*, Berlin 1866, p. 271, 272; *Acta patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, i. 207, 464—465; Pref., p. x.).

The modern Nishāpūr is in 36° 12' N. Lat. and 58° 40' East Long. (Greenwich) on the east side of a plain surrounded by hills. To the north and east of the town lies the ridge of Buāllid-Kūh, which separates it from the valley of Meshhed and Tūs. At its foot spring a number of streams, among them the Shārah Rūd and the river of Dīshād (Hamīd Allāh al-Mustawfī) which irrigate the lands of Nishāpūr and disappear in the salt desert to the west. North of the town in the mountains was the little lake of Čashmah Saha out of which, according to al-Mustawfī, run two streams, one to the east and the other to the west. Northwest of Nishāpūr were the famous turquoise mines (*Ma'dān*; the district is still called Bār-Ma'den). In the S.E. of the town is shown the tomb of her celebrated sons 'Omar Khayyām and Farīd al-Dīn 'Attār.

A history of the 'ulamā' of Nishāpūr was completed in 8 volumes by Hākim Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Baīy' al-Nisābūrī (d. 405 = 1041); it was used by Yāqūt and Hādīdī Khālifa (ed. Flügel, i. 155 sq.) and continued by 'Abd al-Ghāfi b. Ismā'il al-Fārisi down to the year 518. Al-Dhahabī produced an abbreviated version of al-Baīy's work.

Bibliography: al-Khwarizmi, *Kitāb Sūrat al-Ard*, ed. H. v. Mīk, in *Bibl. arab. Hist.*, v. *Geogr.*, iii., Leipzig 1926, p. 27 (Nº. 389);

Suhrah, *Kitāb 'Adfā' al-Aḥām al-sūb'a*, ed. v. Mīk, *ibid.*, v., Leipzig 1930, p. 35 (Nº. 340); al-Iṣṣakhtī, in *B. G. A.*, i. 254 sq.; Ibn Hawqāl, in *B. G. A.*, ii. 310—313; al-Maḥdī, in *B. G. A.*, iii. 314—316, 329; Ibn Khurdādhbih, in *B. G. A.*, vi. 23 sq., 35, 39, 41, 50, 52, 169, 171, 178; Kūḍāma, in *B. G. A.*, vi. 201 sq.; Ibn Rusta, in *B. G. A.*, vii. 171; al-Ya'qūbi, in *B. G. A.*, vii. 278; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 630; iii. 228—31; iv. 391, 857 sq.; al-Mas'udi, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, vi. 60; viii. 42, 144; ix. 11; Ibn Baīṭūta, ed. Desfrémery and Sanguinetti, iii. 80 sq.; Hamīd Allāh al-Mustawfī, *Nuḥat al-Kulūb*, ed. Bombay 1311 (1894), S. 185, 206, 219 sq., 226; Hādīdī Khālifa, *Zihān Numā*, Istanbul 1145 (1732), p. 328; Noldeke, *Geschichte der Perser u. Araber z. Zt. der Sasaniden (Tabori)*, Leyden 1879, p. 17, note 2, 39, note 3, 67, 500; do., *Die von Guldī Ariz. syr. Chronik* (S. B. Ak. Wien, 1895, fasc. ix.), p. 29, note 2; G. Hoffman, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880 (*Abh. K. M.*, vii/iii.), 61, note 530, 285, 290 sq., 297; W. Tomaschek, *Zur Histor. Topographie von Persien* (S. B. Ak. Wien, 1885), i. 77 sq., 84 sq.; ii. 73 sq.; G. N. Carlson, *Persia*, 1892; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen*, 1896 sq., general index to i.—vii., Leipzig 1929, p. 68; J. Marquart (Markwart), *Erzählungen*, Berlin 1901 (*Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N. S., iii/ii.), p. 47, 49, 68 sq., 74 sq., 293, 301; do., *A Catalogue of the provincial capitals of the Early Islamic*, ed. by G. Messina, Rome 1931 (*Analecta Orientalia*, iii.), p. 52 sq.; C. E. Vate, *Khurāsān und Sīstān*, Edinburgh and London 1900; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905 (repr. 1930), p. 382—388, 429 sq.; P. M. Sykes, *A sixth journey in Persia, in Geogr. Towns*, xxviii., 1911; H. R. d'Allemagne, *Du Khurāsān au pays des Balghis*, 1911; W. Barthold, *Turkistan down to the Mongol Invasion*, London 1928 (*G. M. S.*, N. S., v.), General Index, p. 502. (E. HONIGMANN)

NISIB (نيساب and نيساب), in the modern Turkish orthography Nisip), an administrative district in the Turkish wilāyet of Ghāzi 'Aintāb (now officially Gazi Antep) which borders on Syria in the south. The little town lies not far from the right bank of the Euphrates, N.E. of Halab (Aleppo). Nisib formerly belonged to northern Syria, to the sandjak of Urfa in the wilāyet of Halab. According to the census of 1927, the whole district had 48,717 inhabitants of whom only 3,000—4,000 were in the town. Nisib is noted for its extensive olive groves and sesame fields, which extend to Kilis (in the same wilāyet but nearly on the Syrian frontier); in this zone the annual production of oil is estimated at 5 million kilos.

Ewliya Çelebi visited Nisib in the xviii century and describes it as "an inhabited town in the middle of an unfertile district on the edge of a high hill, with inns, mosques, baths and a small market but without vineyards or gardens". Nisib at this period was the residence of a judge on the salary scale of 150 akçe.

During the war (1831—1840) between the Turks and Egypt under Meḥmad 'Alī, Nisib became the scene of a celebrated battle. Ibrāhīm Pasha,

an adopted stepson and general of Mehmed 'Alī, had crossed the Syrian frontier by the end of 1831 and after several victories advanced as far as Ḳonya, where he inflicted such a defeat on the Turks at the end of 1832 that they had to cede by the peace of Kutūhiya (1833) the whole of Syria to Mehmed 'Alī and the government of Adana to Ibrāhīm himself, both recognising the sovereignty of the sultān. But neither the sultān nor Mehmed 'Alī were satisfied with this and both made preparations for another war. For this purpose Mehmed II combined the four wilāyets of Diyarbakır, Ḳarapūt, Reḡḡa and Sīwā under one governor with the title of vizier, Çerkes Hüsri Mehmed Paşa (on his career cf. *Sifill-i 'osmāni*, II, 99—100), and commanded him to cross the Euphrates at the beginning of 1839. It was not till some time later however that fighting actually began. Mohke and the military experts in Mehmed's army then advised him not to cross the river but only to display his strength and frighten the Egyptian army into retreating; but Mehmed Paşa would not take this advice, crossed the Euphrates and fought a battle at Nisib, where he was completely defeated by Ibrāhīm Paşa on June 24, 1839 (cf. also *infra*, IV, 299).

Besides this great defeat on land, the Turks a few days later suffered an equally severe loss at sea. The traitorous Kapudın-lı Deryā Ahmed Fawz Paşa known as Fırsat (i. e. 'fugitive', 'deserter'; details in *Sifill-i 'osmāni*, I, 294—295) led the Turkish fleet, which was sent to Syrian waters at the time of the battle of Nisib, to Alexandria and handed it over to Mehmed 'Alī. The Egyptians however were unable to take advantage of the victory at Nisib because the Great Powers intervened and Mehmed 'Alī's aspirations were in 1841 limited to the hereditary governorship of Egypt. The defeat at Nisib led in the domestic politics of Turkey to the speedy proclamation of the *tanẓīmāt* [q. v.].

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Rahmān Sharrāf, *Ta'rikh-i Devlet-i 'osmāniye*, II, (1312), p. 338—339 and 341—342; Ewliya Çelebi, *Siyah-nāma*, III, (1314), p. 145; 'Alī Dzewād, *Ta'rikh-i wa-Djaghāfiya Lughātī*, III, (1314), p. 811 (wrongly identifies Nisib and Nisbin); S. Lane-Poole, *Turkey*³ (1908), p. 345—350; H. Sa'di, *İhtisāsi Djaghāfiya f. Türkiye*, 1926, p. 277—280; Khali Edhem, *Düvel-i islamiye*, 1927, p. 116; *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devlet Yıllığı 1929-1930*, İstanbul 1930, p. 396—400; Hāmit ve-Muhsin, *Türkiye Tarihī*, İstanbul 1930, p. 465—466 and 630 *seq.*

(FISHB. BAJKARTARVİĆ)

NISIBIS. [See NAGRİN.]

NIYA (أ.), intention. The acts of ceremonial law, obligatory or not, require to be preceded by a declaration by the performer, that he intends to perform such an act. This declaration, pronounced audibly or mentally, is called *niya*. Without it, the act would be *batil* [q. v.].

The *niya* is required before the performance of the 'ibādāt, such as washing, bathing, prayer, alms, fasting, retreat, pilgrimage, sacrifice. "Ceremonial acts without *niya* are not valid", says Ghazālī (*Ihya'*, Cairo 1282, IV, 316). Yet a survey of the opinions of the lawyers regarding the *niya* in connection with each of the 'ibādāt would show that there is only unanimity about the *niya* as required before the *salāt*.

Further the *niya* must immediately precede the act, lest it should lose its character and become simple decision ('*azm*). It must accompany the act until the end (Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzī, *Tanẓīh*, ed. Juybālī, p. 3). Its seat is the heart, the central organ of intellect and attention. Lunatics, therefore, cannot pronounce a valid *niya*.

So the *niya* has become a legal act of its own. It is usually called obligatory, but in some cases, e. g. the washing of the dead, commendable. It can even be asked what the intention of the *niya* is. According to al-Bādjūrī (I, 57), four conditions must be fulfilled in a *niya*: who pronounces it, must be Muslim, *competent*, well acquainted with the act he wants to perform, and having the purpose to perform this act. In some instances *niyya* is used, where the later language has *niya* (e. g. Naẓā', *Shāfi*, bāb 68; Tirmidhī, *Sawm*, bāb 33).

The term does not occur in the *Qur'ān*. It is found in canonical *hadīth*, but the passages show that it has not yet acquired in this literature the technical meaning and limitation described above. The development of this technical use appears to have taken place gradually, probably aided by Jewish influence. In Jewish law the *amendā* has a function wholly analogous to the *niya*. Al-Shāfi' (I, 204 = 820) appears to be acquainted with the *niya* in its technical sense (*Kitāb al-Umm*). In canonical *hadīth* — i. e. the literature which, generally speaking, reflects the state of things up to the middle of the eighth century A. D. — neither the verb *nawā* nor the noun *niya* appear to have any special technical connection with the 'ibādāt. On the contrary, *niya* has here the common meaning of intention.

In this sense it is of great importance. Būkhārī opens his collection with a tradition, which in this place is apparently meant as a motto. It runs: "Works are in their intention only" (*innama 'l-a'māl bi-'intiyā* or *bi-'intiyāt*). This tradition occurs frequently in the canonical collections. It constitutes a religious and moral criterion superior to that of the law. The value of an 'ibādāt, even if performed in complete accordance with the precepts of the law, depends upon the intention of the performer, and if this intention should be sinful, the work would be valueless. "For", adds the tradition just mentioned, "every man receives only what he has intended"; or "his wages shall be in accordance with his intention" (Mālik, *Djāmi'iz*, trad. 36). In answer to the question how long the *hiḡira* is open, tradition says: "There is no *hiḡira* after the capture of Makkā, only holy war and intention" (Būkhārī, *Menāzih al-Anḡār*, bāb 45; *Djihad*, bāb 1, 27; Muslim, *Imāra*, trad. 85, 86 etc.). This higher criterion, once admitted, may suspend the law in several cases (cf. Saonck Hurgonje, *Islam and Phonograph*, in *T.B.G.K.W.*, xlii, 393 *seq.* = *Verf. Geschichte*, II, 419 *seq.*). So the intention, in this sense, becomes a work of its own, just as the intention in its juridical application. Good intention is taken into account by Allāh, even if not carried out; it heightens the value of the work. On the other hand, refraining from an evil intention is reckoned as a good work (Būkhārī, *Riḡāḡ*, bāb 31). In this connection the (post-canonical) tradition can be understood, according to which the intention of the faithful is better than his work (*Lisān al-'Arab*, xx, 223; cf. Ghazālī, *Ihya'*, IV, 330 *seq.*, where this tradition

is discussed). In similar instances *niya* comes near to the meaning of *işlâh* [q. v.].

Bibliography: al-Badîrî, *Hizbiya*, Cairo 1303, i. 57; al-Shahrî, *al-Mi'ân al-kubrâ*, Cairo 1279, i. 135, 136, 161; ii. 2, 20, 30, 42; al-Ghazâlî, *Kiṭāb al-Waḡīḡ*, Cairo 1317, i. 11, 12, 40, 87, 100 sq., 106, 115; da, *Iḥyâ*, vol. iv, book vii; also transl. into German by H. Bauer, Halle u. d. Saale 1916; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geskriften*, i. 50; ii. 90; Th. W. Jayneball, *Handleiding*, Index, s. v.; A. J. Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Musl. Tradition*, s. v. *Intention*; do., *De intente in recht, sticht en mystiek der semitische volken*, in *Verh. Med. Ak. Amst.*, ser. v., vol. iv., p. 109 sqq.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

NIYÄZİ, an Ottoman poet and mystic. Shams al-Din Mehemmed known as Mîrî Efendi, Shaikh Mîrî, whose *mahallâ* was Niyâzi, came from Anîsî, the former summer capital of Malatia (cf. Ewliya Çelebi, iv. 15; v. Moltke, *Reisbriefe*, p. 349), where his father was a Nakshbandî dervish. Niyâzi was born in 1027 (1617—1618). The statement occasionally found that Soghunlî was his birthplace is not correct. His father instructed him in the teaching of the order, then he went in 1048 (1638) to Diyarbakr, later to Mardin where he studied for three years and finally to Cairo. There he joined the Kadiri order, travelled for seven years and finally settled down in the Anatolian village of Elmali, once notorious as a centre of heresy, to devote himself to study under the famous Khawwî Shaikh Umm-i Sinân (d. 1069 = 1658). He stayed with him for twelve years until he was sent by the Shaikh as his deputy to 'Ushak near Smyrna. After the death of his master he moved to Brussa where a pious citizen, Abdül-Çelebi, built a hermitage for him. The fame of his sanctity and his gifts of prophecy spread more and more and finally reached the ears of the grandvizier Köprülü-zâde Ahmad Paşa, who invited him to Adrianople, entertained him with great honour for 40 days and finally sent him back to Brussa. When in 1083 (1672) the army set out for Kameniec in Podolia [q. v.], he was summoned to Adrianople where he had great audiences as a preacher. As he had allowed himself to drop obscure allusions (*kellâmât-ı ifrîye*) he gave umbrage and was banished to Lemnos. There he spent some years in exile until he received permission to return to Brussa. The fact that during his stay on the island it was spared Venetian attacks was interpreted as a miracle wrought by this holy man. But when he stirred up the people by "kabbalistic" preaching he was again banished to Lemnos in Şafar 1088 (May 1677). All kinds of prophecies which were fulfilled as well as the story that his coming had been foretold by Ibn al-'Arabî [q. v.] strengthened his reputation as a holy man and miracle-worker. He spent ten years on Lemnos until in 1101 (1689) the vizier Köprülü-zâde Muḥafîz Paşa allowed him to return to Brussa. In the next year he was summoned to Adrianople; he again excited the people by political utterances and mystical allusions so that the Kaṣımakkâm 'Othmân Paşa had him taken with all respect by a guard of janissaries and Cawshes out of the mosque and sent directly via Gallipoli to Brussa. From there he was again banished to Lemnos but died on the 20th Radjab 1105 (March 27, 1694). The date 1111 (1699) given by v. Hammer, *G. O. D.*, iii. 388 must therefore be wrong.

Unfortunately the contemporary notices give no information about the nature of the sermons by Niyâzi which gave offence from the political as well as religious point of view. The historian Demetrius Kantemir said Niyâzi was secretly a Christian. His *Divân*, in Arabic and Turkish, does not justify this suggestion although the poem declared by v. Hammer (*G. O. D.*, iii. 389) to be apocryphal, given in translation by Kantemir, is really taken from his *Divân*, as Gibb, *H. O. P.*, iii. 315 has proved. No study has yet been made of the *Divân* or of Niyâzi's position in the religious life of Turkey generally.

The order founded by Niyâzi once possessed several monasteries on Greek soil, in Modoni, Negroponte (Egghior), Salouiki, Mytilene, also in Adrianople, Brussa and Smyrna. Cf. thereon the study by V. A. Gordlevsky, *Turibat Myri Niyazi*, in *Doklady Akademii Nauk S. S. S. R.*, 1929, p. 153—160.

The main source for the history of Niyâzi's life and work is the rare Turkish treatise of Morall-zâde Luḡî (= Muḥafîz Lutfullâh), *Tuhfat al-'aqrî fi Manâḡib al-Mîrî*, published at Brussa in 1308 (1890—1891).

Niyâzi's poems were repeatedly published 1254 and 1259 in BULAK, also 1260 and 1291 in STAMBUL; cf. thereon J. v. Hammer, in *Wiener Jahrbücher*, lxxxv., p. 36 and *J. A.*, ser. 4, vol. viii., p. 261. On his numerous other works, only available in MSS., cf. Brûsalî Mehemmed Tâhir, *'Othmânî Mu'ellifleri*, i. 173 sq. with references to where they are preserved.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned by J. v. Hammer, *G. O. D.*, iii. 587 sqq. and Gibb, *H. O. P.*, iii. 312 sqq. and Brûsalî Mehemmed Tâhir, *'Othmânî Mu'ellifleri*, i. 172 sqq. cf. also the biographies of Ottoman poets by Shaikhî, Sâlim, 'Ushakî-zâde etc.; Râşid, *Tarîkh*, i. 89, 193; J. B. Brown, *The Darvishes*, London 1927, p. 203—205. — On Niyâzi's religious attitude cf. D. Kantemir, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, Hamburg 1745, p. 636 sq., 642; also Mouradguez d'Ohasen, *Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*, iv. 626, also J. v. Hammer, *G. O. D.*, vi. 337, 364, 578; vii. 161 (his tomb on Lemnos); L. Massignon, *al-Hallaj, martyr mystique de l'Islam*, i., Paris 1922, p. 428 and 440. — The Vienna MS. N^o. 1928 (cf. Flügel, *Katal.*, iii. 474 sqq.) contains besides the *Divân* many other works of Niyâzi; cf. thereon Rien, *Catal. of Turk. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 261. (FRANK BAHNGER)

NIZÂM AL-DIN AHMAD B. MUḤAMMAD MUḤIM AL-HARAWÎ, a Persian historian, author of the celebrated *Tahkîkât-i Akhshârî*. He was a descendant of the famous shaikh of Harât, 'Abd Allâh Ansârî. His father Khôdjâ Muḥim Harawî was major-domo to Sultan Babur (1526—1530) and later vizier to the governor of Gudsjarî Mirzâ 'Askari, Niḡm al-Din himself held several high military offices under the Great Moghul Akbar and became in 1585 Bakhsh of Gudsjarî and in 1593 even Bakhsh of the whole empire. According to Badî'ûnî (ii. 397), he died on the 23rd Şafar 1003 (Oct. 18, 1594) aged 45. At his father's instigation he took up historical studies while quite a boy. His fondness for this subject increased as time went on and induced him to try writing himself. The lack of a complete history of India made him decide to fill the gap and thus arose

his celebrated work, called the *Tabaḥṣṣi Akbar-shāhī* or *Tarīkh-i Nizāmī* which was finished in 1001 (1593). Nizām al-Dīn used 27 different sources for this work, all of which he mentions by name and in this way produced a very thorough piece of work on which all his successors have relied. He deals with the history of India from the campaigns of Sahuktigin (977-978) to the 37th year of Akbar's reign (1593). The work is divided into a *waḥḍatima* which deals with the Ghaznawids and nine *ṭabaḥṣi*: 1. the Sultans of Delhi from Ma'izz al-Dīn Ghūrī to Akbar (574-1002 = 1178-1594); at the end of this part are biographies of famous men at Akbar's court, amirs, 'ulama', poets, writers and shāikhs; 2. the rulers of the Deccan (748-1002 = 1347-1594); the Bahmanī, Nizām al-Mulk, Adilshāhī and Kṣhī al-Mulkī; 3. the rulers of Gujjarī (793-980 = 1390-1572); 4. the rulers of Mīlwa (809-977 = 1406-1569); 5. the rulers of Bengal (741-984 = 1340-1576); 6. the Sharḥī dynasty of Gwalpur (784-881 = 1381-1476); 7. the rulers of Kashmir (747-905 = 1346-1567); 8. the history of Sind from the Arab conquest (86) to 1001; 9. the history of Multān (847-932 = 1444-1525). The whole work was to have as a *ḥādithima* a topographical description of India but it was apparently never finished by the author.

Bibliography: Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 220-222. Biography of the author: Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, v. 178-180. Synopsis of contents, *ibid.*, v. 177-176; N. Lees, in *J.R.A.S.*, New Ser., iii. 451. Editions: lith. Lucknow 1870; R. De, *The Tabakāt-i Akbarī (or A History of India from the early Muslim invasions to the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Akbar)* [with transl.], Calcutta 1913 (*Bibl. Indica*, New Ser. 199). — MSS. in W. H. Morley, *A descript. Catalogue of the Historical MSS. in the Library of the Royal Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London 1854, p. 158; Ch. Stewart, *A descript. Catalogue of the Oriental Library of the late Tipoo-sultan*, Cambridge 1809, p. 11, N^o. xxviii.; J. Uri, *Bibliothecae Bodleianae codicum manuscriptorum. Orient. . . catalogue*, part I, Oxford 1747, p. 277, N^o. xl.; J. Aumer, *Die persischen Handschr. der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München*, 1866, p. 83, N^o. 235; *Codices Orient. Bibl. Reg. Hafniensis*, vol. iii., Copenhagen 1857, p. 21, N^o. lvi.

(E. BERTHELS)

NIZAM AL-DIN AWLIYA' whose real name was MUHAMMAD b. AHMAD b. 'ALI AL-BUGHARĪ AL-BADĀ'ŪH was born at Badā'ūn in 636 (1238). He studied elementary Arabic literature with Mawlānā 'Alī' al-Dīn al-'Uṣṣī al-Badā'ūnī and then went to Delhi and became a pupil of Shams al-Mulk and Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Zāhid. Later on he went, on the 15th Rabi' al-Thani (July 29, 1257), to Adjudah where he became a devoted disciple of Shāikh Farīd al-Dīn Ma'ūd Gwandī Shākar (died 664 = 1265), who nominated him as his Khalifa or spiritual successor in 656 (1258). Subsequently he returned to Delhi and resided in an adjoining village Ghivāthpur which is now called 'Nizām al-Dīn Awliya ki baṭī' where he died in 725 (1325). He is regarded as one of the most celebrated saints of India and he is popularly known as *Sultān al-Awliya'* 'the king of the saints' and *Mahabbat Allah* 'the beloved of God'. He was

as proficient in mysticism as he was in *Hadīth* (Traditions), *Tafsīr* (Commentary on the Qur'ān) and literature. His tomb is visited by innumerable Muhammadans from all parts of India during the time of his 'Urs (anniversary of his death). His works are the following: *Fawā'id al-Fa'id*, utterances of the saints taken down from his lips by Hasan 'Alī' Sandjari (cf. Rieu, *Cat. Brit. Mus.*, p. 972; Hādīdī Khaltā, iv. 478); *Ḍiḥāṭ al-Muḥibbin*, discourses of the saint uttered in several successive sittings during the year 689 and 690 A.H. and taken down by one of his disciples (cf. Rieu, *Persian Cat. Brit. Mus.*, p. 973).

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Hakk Dihlawī, *Akhbār al-Akhbār*, p. 54; Fakir Muhammad al-Lahawī, *Ḥadīth al-Ḥanafiyya*, p. 277; Eibe, *Cat. Ind. Office*, p. 318.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

NIZAM AL-MULK, AND 'ALI AL-HASAN b. 'ALI b. ISMA'IL AL-TUSI, the celebrated minister of the Saljuḳid sultāns Alp Arslān [q.v.] and Malikshāh [q.v.]. According to most authorities, he was born on Friday 21 Dhū'l-Ka'da 408 (April 10, 1018), though the sixth (twelfth) century *Tarīkh Baihaq*, which alone supplies us with detailed information about his family, places his birth in 410 (1019-1020). His birth-place was Radkān, a village in the neighbourhood of Tus, of which his father was revenue agent on behalf of the Ghaznawid government. Little is recorded of his early life. The *Wasāyā* however (for a discussion of the credibility of which see *J.R.A.S.*, October 1931: "*The Sa'ad-gudāyāt-i Sayyidān*, etc.") contains several anecdotes of his childhood, and is also responsible for the statement that he became a pupil in Nishāpūr of a well known Shāfi'ī doctor Hibat Allāh al-Muwaffak. On the defeat of Ma'mūd of Ghazna at Dandānkan in 431 (1040), when most of Khurāsān fell into the hands of the Saljuḳids, Nizām's father 'Alī fled from Tus to Khurawjird in his native Baihaq, and thence made his way to Ghazna. Nizām accompanied him, and whilst in Ghazna appears to have obtained a post in a government office. Within three or four years, however, he left the Ghaznawid for the Saljuḳid service, first attaching himself to Čaghri-beg's [q.v.] commandant in Balkh (which had fallen to a Saljuḳid force in 452 [1040-1041]), and later, probably about 443 (1053-1054), moving to Čaghri's own headquarters at Marw. It seems to have been now, or soon after, that he first entered the service of Alp Arslān (then acting as his father's lieutenant in eastern Khurāsān) under his wasir, 'Alī' 'Alī Ahmad b. Shāghim. And he so far won Alp Arslān's regard as an Ibo Shāghim's death to be appointed wasir in his stead (then, probably, receiving his best-known *ḷapā*). During the period between the death of Čaghri-beg in 451 (1059) and that of Tughril-beg in 455 (1063), therefore, Nizām had the administration of all Khurāsān in his hands.

The fame he thereby acquired, and the fact that by now Alp Arslān was firmly attached to him, played a considerable part in prompting Tughril-beg's wasir al-Kunduri, first, before his master's death, to scheme for the throne to pass to Čaghri's youngest son Sulaimān, and then, after it, to do his utmost to prevent Alp Arslān's accession. For he calculated that Alp Arslān, on becoming sultān, would retain Nizām rather than himself in office. In the event al-Kunduri, who

soon found himself too weak to oppose Alp Arslan, and thereupon sought to retrieve his position by acknowledging his claim, was retained in his post on the new sultan's first entry into Ray. But a month later Alp Arslan suddenly dismissed him and handed over affairs to Nizām. Al-Kunduri was shortly afterwards banished to Marw al-Rūd, where ten months later he was beheaded. His execution was undoubtedly due to Nizām, whose fears he had aroused by appealing for help to Alp Arslan's wife.

During Alp Arslan's reign Nizām accompanied him on all his campaigns and journeys, which were almost uninterrupted. He was not present, however, at the famous battle of Manāğird, having been sent ahead with the heavy baggage to Persia. On the other hand, Nizām sometimes undertook military operations on his own, as in the case of the reduction of Isfahān citadel in 459 (1067). Whose, his or Alp Arslan's, was the directing mind in matters of policy it is hard to determine. Its main points, however, appear to have been the following: first, the employment of the large numbers of Türkmens that had immigrated into Persia as a result of the Seldjūkid successes, in raids outside the *Dir al-Islām* and into Fāṭimid territory; hence the apparently strange circumstance that Alp Arslan's first enterprise after his accession, despite the precarious condition of the empire he had inherited, was a campaign in Georgia and Armenia; secondly a demonstration that the sultan's force was both irresistible and mobile, coupled with clemency and generally reinstatement for all rebels that should submit; thirdly the maintenance of local rulers, Shi'is as well as Sunnis, in their positions as vassals of the sultan, together with the employment of members of the Seldjūkid family as provincial governors; fourthly the obviation of a dispute over the succession by the appointment and public acknowledgement of Malikshāh, though he was not the sultan's eldest son, as his heir; and lastly the establishment of good relations with the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Kā'im [q.v.], as the sultan's nominal overlord.

Nizām al-Mulk did not really come into his own until after the assassination of Alp Arslan in 465 (1072). But thenceforward, for the next twenty years, he was the real ruler of the Seldjūkid empire. He succeeded from the outset in completely dominating the then eighteen-year-old Malikshāh, being assisted in this purpose by the defeat of Kāwurd-beg's attempt to secure the throne for himself (for which service Nizām received the title *asāḥag* [q.v.], thus bestowed for the first time). Indeed in one aspect the history of the reign resolves itself into repeated attempts by the young sultan to assert himself, always in vain.

Malikshāh undertook fewer campaigns and tours than his father, the prestige of the Seldjūkid arms now being such that few would risk rebellion, and warlike operations being left largely to the sultan's lieutenants, as they had not been under Alp Arslan. Nevertheless, from Isfahān, which had by now become the sultan's normal place of residence, Malikshāh visited the greater part of his empire accompanied by Nizām.

Policy continued on the same lines under Malikshāh as under his father, Nizām, however, was notably less tender than Alp Arslan had been to subordinate members of the Seldjūkid family,

insisting at the outset on the execution of Kāwurd, and, later, on the blinding and imprisonment of Malikshāh's brother Takush.

Nizām also reversed during the earlier part of Malikshāh's reign the conciliatory policy originally pursued under Alp Arslan towards the caliph. He had been rewarded for the friendly attitude he first evinced — which formed a welcome contrast to that of al-Kunduri — by the receipt from al-Kā'im of two new *laḡab*, viz. *Kā'im al-Dīn* and *Naṣr Amīr al-Mu'minin* (the latter believed to be the earliest of this type in the case of a waṣī); and up to 460 (1068) his relations with the caliph's waṣī Fakhr al-Dawla Ibn Djaḥir [q.v.] became more and more cordial; so much so, indeed, that al-Kā'im in that year dismissed Ibn Djaḥir, chiefly on account of his too-subservient attitude to the Seldjūkid court. To secure this attitude in the caliph's waṣī was, however, the very aim of Nizām; and on Fakhr al-Dawla's dismissal he sought to impose a nominee of his own in a certain al-Rūdāwān, and subsequently in the latter's son Abū Shudjā'. Al-Kā'im, to avoid this, reappointed Fakhr al-Dawla, though on condition that his relations with the Seldjūkīds should in future be more correct. In fact, they soon grew strained, till Nizām came to attribute any unwelcome event in Baghdad to Fakhr's influence. For many years matters were prevented from coming to a head by the tact of Fakhr's son, 'Amīd al-Dawla [cf. 188 *ḡasf*, 2], who won Nizām's favour so far as to marry in turn two of his daughters, Naṣr and Zulwida; but in 471 (1078) Nizām demanded Fakhr's dismissal, which the caliph al-Muḥtadī [q.v.] (who had succeeded in 467 [1075]) was obliged to grant. Nizām now hoped to obtain the office for his own son Mu'ayyid al-Mulk; but to this al-Muḥtadī would not agree. Henceforward, accordingly, Nizām's dislike was deflected to al-Muḥtadī himself, and to Abū Shudjā', his former protégé, whom the caliph now created deputy waṣī in an effort to conciliate him, leaving the waṣirate itself unoccupied till the next year, when he appointed 'Amīd al-Dawla. But in 474 (1082) Nizām in turn demanded the dismissal and banishment of Abū Shudjā', and at the same time composed his quarrel with Fakhr al-Dawla, when the latter was sent on a mission to Isfahān, concerting with him a plan by which Fakhr should watch his interests at Baghdad. As a result al-Muḥtadī, who gave in with a bad grace, lost all confidence in the Banū Djaḥir, and two years later replaced 'Amīd al-Dawla with the offensive Abū Shudjā'; whereupon Fakhr and 'Amīd fled to the Seldjūkid headquarters. Nizām, on this, vowed vengeance on al-Muḥtadī, and at first seems even to have contemplated the abolition of the caliphate (see *Ma'āḍ al-Zamān*), as a prelude to which he commissioned Fakhr to conquer Diyā Bakr from the Marwānids [q.v.], the sole remaining Sunni tributaries of any consequence. The Marwānids were duly ousted by 478 (1085); whilst al-Muḥtadī, on his side, showed himself consistently hostile to Nizām. But Nizām's feelings towards the caliph were in the following year completely transformed as a consequence of his first visit to Baghdad (for the wedding of al-Muḥtadī to Malikshāh's daughter). The caliph received him very graciously; and thenceforward he became a champion of the caliphate in face of the enmity which developed between al-Muḥtadī and Malikshāh as a result of the marriage.

The celebrity of Nizām al-Mulk is really due to the fact that he was in all but name a monarch, and ruled his empire with striking success. It was not his aim to innovate. On the contrary, it was to model the new state as closely as possible on that of the Ghaznavids, in which he had been born and brought up. His position was similar to that of his forerunners, the Barmakids [q. v.], and the notable Būyid wazīr Ismaʿīl b. ʿAbdīl [q. v.]. All three may be said to have represented the old Persian civilization (progressively Islamized, of course) in the face of a rise to empire of barbarian conquerors, Arabs, Dailamis and now Türkmens. The monarchs were in each case equalled, if not surpassed, by their wazirs, and most of all in the case of Nizām al-Mulk. For with him the invaders aspired to an emperor's position whilst still quite unacclimatized to their new habitat, so that his superiority in culture was the more marked (cf. Barthold, *Turkistan*, p. 308). But in revenge the Seldjūkids' lack of acclimatization stood in the way of a complete realisation by Nizām al-Mulk of the new traditional Perso-Muslim state. Hence the lamentations that recur in the *Siyāset-Nāme*.

The *Siyāset-Nāme*, written by Nizām in 484 (1091) with the addition of eleven chapters in the following year, is in a sense a survey of what he had failed to accomplish. It scarcely touches upon the organization of the *dīvān*, for instance, partly, it is true, because the book was intended as a monarch's primer, but also because Nizām, having absolute control of the *dīvān*, as opposed to the *dar-gāh* (cf. again Barthold, p. 227), had succeeded, with the assistance of his two principal coadjutors, the *mustawfi* Shams al-Mulk and the *munshi* Kamāl al-Dawīa, in exactly modelling this, his special department, on traditional lines. Of the *dar-gāh*, on the other hand, Nizām complains that the sultāns failed to maintain a sufficient majesty. They were neither magnificent (though he approves their daily free provision of food), formal, nor awe-inspiring enough. At their court, accordingly, the formerly important offices of *hajib*, *waḍī* and *amīr-i ḥaras* had declined in prestige. Nor, as had his model potentates, would they maintain a sound intelligence service, whereby corruption might be revealed and rebellion forestalled. The *Siyāset-Nāme* consists in all of fifty chapters, of advice illustrated by historical anecdotes. The last eleven chapters, added shortly before the wazīr's assassination, deal with dangers that threatened the empire at the time of writing, in particular from the Ismaʿīlīs (for a review of the work see Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, II, 210–217).

Nizām's situation resembled that of the Būyid administrators in another respect. He was faced, as they had been, with the problem of supporting a largely tribal army, and solved it likewise by a partial abandonment of the traditional tax-farming system of revenue collection for that of the *ispāh*, or *fiel* [q. v.], whereby military commanders supported themselves and their troops on the yield of lands allotted to them. Since in the decay of the ʿAbbāsid power provincial *amirs* had tended to assume the originally distinct and profitable office of *ʿamīl*, the way for this development had been paved. The Būyids had later attempted to restore the older system; but the establishment of numerous local minor dynasties

had favoured the new. Nizām now systematized it in the larger field open to him. In the *Siyāset-Nāme* he insists, however, on the necessity of limiting the rights of *fiel*-holders to the collection of fixed dues, and of setting a short time-limit to their tenures (see on this subject Becker, *Steuerrecht und Lehnwesen*, in *Isl.*, v.).

In the absence of the intelligence service he desired, Nizām contrived to intimidate potential rebels and suppress local tyranny by a judicious display of the might and mobility of the Seldjūkid arms. He also insisted on the periodical appearance at court of local dynasts such as the Mazyadites [q. v.] and ʿOḡaylids [q. v.], and proclaimed the sultan's accessibility to appeals for the redress of wrongs by means of notices circulated throughout the empire and exposed in public places (see al-Māfarriḡhī, *Maḡāsin-i ṭifāḡh*). He also gained the powerful support of the ʿulamāʾ, especially those of the Shāfiʿī school, of which he was an ardent champion, by the institution of innumerable pious foundations, in particular of *madrasas*, the most celebrated being the Nizāmiya of Baghdad (opened 451 = 1067), the earliest west of Khurāsān; by the general abolition of *muḍū* (taxes unsanctioned by the *shariʿa*) in 479 (1086–1087); and by undertaking extensive public works particularly in connection with the *ḥaḡḡ*. After the Hidjra had returned from Fātimid to ʿAbbāsid allegiance in 468 (1076), he exerted himself to make the ʿIrāq road safe from brigandage for pilgrims, as well as to diminish their expenses; and from the next year until that of his death the journey was accomplished without mishap. It was not until the second half of Malikshāh's reign that the full effects of Nizām's achievement made themselves felt. By 476 (1083–1084), however, such were the unwonted security of the roads and the low cost of living that reference is made to them in the annals.

Nizām al-Mulk was naturally much sought after as a patron. The poet al-Muʿizz [q. v.] accuses him of having "no great opinion of poetry because he had no skill in it", and of paying "no attention to anyone but religious leaders and mystics" (see *Čakāb Maḡāsin*, transl., p. 46). But though his clarity, which was profane (see for example al-Subkī, III, 41), went in large measure to men of religion — among them the most notable objects of his patronage being Abū Ishāḡ al-Shīrāzi [q. v.] and al-Ḥazālī [q. v.] —, he was clearly a lavish patron also of poets, as is testified by the *Dumyat al-Ḥayr* of al-Būḡhārī [q. v.], the greater part of which is devoted to his panegyrics. In another sphere, the inauguration of the Dīlālī calendar [q. v.] in 466 (1074) was probably due to his encouragement, since at this time his ascendancy over Malikshāh was at its most complete.

For the first seven years of Malikshāh's reign Nizām's authority went altogether unchallenged. In 472 (1079–80), however, two Turkish officers of the court instigated Malikshāh into killing a protégé of the wazīr; and in 473 (1080–1081), again, the sultan insisted on disbanding a contingent of Armenian mercenaries against Nizām's advice. Malikshāh now began to hope, indeed, for the overthrow of his mentor, showing extraordinary favour to officials such as Ibn Bahmanyār and, later, Salyid al-Raʿāsī, who were bold enough to criticize him. Ibn Bahmanyār went so far as to attempt the wazīr's assassination (also 473).

whereas Sayyid al-Ru'asī¹ contented himself with words. But in each case Niẓām was warned; and the culprits were blinded. In the case of Ibn Bahmanyār, in whose guilt a court jester named Dja'farak was also implicated, Malikshāh retaliated by contriving the murder of Niẓām's eldest son Djamāl al-Mulk, who had taken Dja'farak's execution into his own hands (475 = 1082). After the fall of Sayyid al-Ru'asī¹ in 476 (1083-1084), however, the sultān left plotting till, some years later, a new favourite, Tādī al-Mulk, caught his fancy.

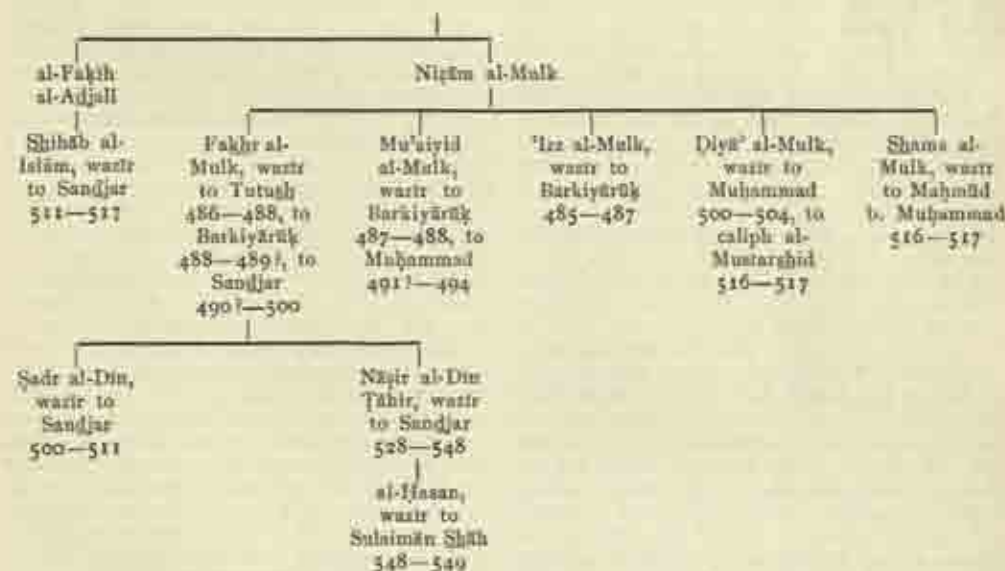
All went well with Niẓām al-Mulk till 483 (1090-1091). In that year, however, occurred the first serious challenge to the Saljuqid power, when al-Basra was sacked by a force of Kartians; and almost simultaneously their co-sectary the Assassin leader al-Ḥasan b. al-Šabbāḥ [q. v.] obtained possession of the fortress of Alamūt, from which repeated attacks failed to dislodge him. Meanwhile, moreover, an awkward problem had arisen over the succession to the sultānate, on account of the death in turn of Malikshāh's two eldest sons, Dāwūd (474 = 1082) and Ahmad (481 = 1088). These sons had both been children of the Kartshāhid princess Terken Khātūn (see *Djāmī al-Tawārīkh*), who had borne the sultān a third son, Mahmūd, in 480 (1087). She was eager for Mahmūd to be formally declared heir. Niẓām, however, was in favour of Barkiyārūk [q. v.], Malikshāh's eldest surviving son by a Saljuqid princess. Hence Terken became his bitter enemy, and joined with Tādī al-Mulk, who was in her service, in instigating Malikshāh against the wazīr.

Tādī al-Mulk accused Niẓām to the sultān, who by this time was in any case incensed with the

wazīr's championship of al-Muqtaḍī, of extravagant expenditure on the army and of nepotism; and Malikshāh's wrath was finally inflamed beyond bearing by an unguarded reply made by Niẓām to a formal accusation of these practices. But even so he did not dare to dismiss him. (The earliest historian to assert that he was dismissed is Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, who appears to have misunderstood the purport of some verses by al-Nahḥās quoted in the *Asḥār al-Sudūr*, and really composed after Niẓām's death).

Niẓām al-Mulk was assassinated on 10th Ramaḍān 483 (October 14, 1092) near Sīḥna, between Kanguwar and Bisrūn, as the court was on its way from Isfahān to Baghdad. His murderer, who was disguised as a Sūfī, was immediately killed, but is generally thought to have been an emissary of al-Ḥasan b. al-Šabbāḥ. Contemporaries, however, seem to have put the murder down to Malikshāh, who died suddenly less than a month later, and to Tādī al-Mulk, whom Niẓām's retainers duly tracked down and killed within a year. And Rashīd al-Dīn combines the two theories, stating that the wazīr's enemies at court concerted it with the Assassins. The truth is therefore uncertain; but as Rashīd al-Dīn is one of the earliest historians to whom the Assassin records were available, his account would seem to deserve attention.

The extraordinary influence of Niẓām al-Mulk is attested by the part played in affairs after his death by his relatives, despite the fact that only two appeared to have displayed much ability. For the next sixty years, except for a gap between 517 (1123) and 528 (1134), members of his family held office under princes of the Saljuqid house.



Of Niẓām's family Diyyā' al-Mulk is remarkable as being his son by a Georgian princess, either the daughter or the niece of Bagrat I, formerly married, or at least betrothed, to Alp Arslān, after the campaign of 456 (1064).

Bibliography: Unpublished works: a. Arabic: al-Bakharī, *Dumyat al-Kayr*; al-Baihaḳī (Abu 'l-Ḥasan), *Ta'rīkh al-Baihaḳī*; Ibn al-Adīm, *Zuhdat al-Ḥalab fī Ta'rīkh al-Ḥalab*; Šadr al-Dīn

al-Ḥassānī, *Zuhdat al-Tawārīkh*; Sibī Ibn al-Djawnī, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*; al-Djāhālī, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*. b. Persian: al-Māfarukhī, *Mahāzin-i Isfahān*; Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Djāmī al-Tawārīkh*; Wajīyā Niẓām al-Mulk. — Printed works: a. Arabic: al-Bundārī, *Zuhdat al-Nuṣra*, ed. Houtsma, in *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seljuquides*, ii.; al-Sam'ānī, *Kitaḥ al-Ansāb*, in G.M.S.; al-Kāẓimī, *Aḥḥād al-Biḥār*;

Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil*, ix., x.; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, i.; al-Makn, *Tarīkh al-Muslīmīn*; al-Sabkī, *Tahqīq al-Shajra al-Kāna*, iii.; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nuḡm al-Ashra* (ed. Popper, ii.); Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-Ibar*, iv. & Persian: Nizām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-Nāma*, ed. Schefer; *Chahār Maqāl*, ed. and transl. Browne, in *G. M. S.*; al-Rawandī, *Rāḥat al-Sudūr*, ed. Iqbal, in *G. M. S.*; al-Ya'qūbī, *Uṣūl al-Fihriyyat al-Salṭiyyat*, ed. Süssheim; Hindūshāh, *Tuḡhrīk al-Sakīf* (in Schefer's *Supplement to the Siyāsat-Nāma*); al-Awfi, *Lubāb al-Aḥbāb*, ed. Browne; Hamd Allāh al-Kawwāl, *Tārīkh-i Gūzide*, facs. and transl. in *G. M. S.*; Mirghwand, *Rawḍat al-Jafā*; Khwānd Amīn, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*; Dawlatshāh, *Taḡhīrāt al-Shu'arā'*, ed. Browne, c. Abu 'l-Faraj bar Ḥalimzade, *Chronicon Syriacum*. *A Modern Studies*: Barthold, *Tarikh-i*, in *G. M. S.*; Becker, *Steuerrecht und Lehnwesen*, in *Id.*, v.; Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i.; Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii.; Mallet, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, ii.

(HAROLD BOWEN)

NIZAM BADAKHSHI

under Mawlaḥī 'Isām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm and Mullā Sa'id in his native land Badakhshān and was looked upon as one of the most learned men of his age. He was also the *murīd* (disciple) of Shaikh Husain of Khwārm. His attainments procured him access to the court of Sulaimān, king of Badakhshān, who conferred upon him the title of Khān. Subsequently he left his master and went to India. At Khānpūr, he was introduced to the Emperor Akbar (963—1014 = 1556—1605). He received several presents, and was appointed *Parwānā* writer. Akbar soon discovered in him a man of great insight, and made him a "Commander of One Thousand" (*yaḥ kashūr*). He also bestowed upon him the title of Ghāzī Khān after he had distinguished himself in several expeditions. He died in Oudh at the age of seventy in 992 (1584). He is the author of the following works: 1. *Hāshiyat Sharḥ al-'Aḥd*, a commentary on al-Tafāḥḥī's commentary on the 'Aḥd of al-Nawāfi; 2. several treatises on Sūfism.

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Kādir al-Badā'ūnī, *Muntahab al-Tawārīkh*, iii. 153; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Muḥḥib al-Umarā'*, ii. 857; Azād, *Darbār-i Akbarī*, p. 815; Blochmann, translation of the *Aḥd Akbarī*, p. 440.

(M. HIDAYET HOSAIN)

NIZAM-I DJEDID, "new decree", the reforms of Selīm III. Sulṭān Selīm III [q.v.], recognizing the necessity of a thorough reorganization in certain departments of state, promulgated in 1793 under the name of *Nizām-i Djedid*, i.e. new decree, a series of measures for the reform of the feudal military system, the admiralty, the artillery and transport, a "viceriate ordinance" for the governors of provinces, a law dealing with provincial taxation, another for the creation of a body of infantry raised and drilled on western lines, and lastly the institution of a special military fund from new sources of revenue, to provide the funds for the reforms. These revenues consisted of taxes on brandy, tobacco, coffee, silk, wool, sheep and the yields of the fiefs of holders of *timar* [q.v.] in Anatolia, who had neglected their duty in war and were therefore deprived of their fiefs. It was intended that the new body of infantry, *nizām-i djedid ashkari*, should number 12,000. To begin

with a model battalion of 1,600 men was raised, to be composed of volunteers. This body was formed of young men of different nationalities and religions, mostly Austrian or Russian deserters collected during the war with Russia. The result was that the force enjoyed little prestige and native Turks only joined it in small numbers, with the consequence that this corps, popularly called *Bruma ashkari*, consisted of only a few hundred men and was unable to attain to the strength of a battalion (1,600) until 1799. The Sulṭān's force trained and armed on European lines was limited to this body. The Sulṭān employed foreign officers, mainly from England, Sweden and Spain, to train the soldiers and see to the management of the arsenals, ship-building and fortifications. Large barracks and ammunition depots were built. The new revenue earmarked for military purposes which by 1797-1798 amounted to 60,000 purses, i.e. 48,000,000 francs (cf. Djewdet, *Tārīkh*, viii. 139 sq.), supplied the necessary funds. Internal difficulties, especially the ever increasing number of opponents of reform, prevented the Sulṭān from completely realizing his plans. The name *Nizām-i Djedid* became more and more hateful to the people so that it was finally decided to abolish it altogether and to call the corps of regular troops *Seymen* or *Seyhan*, i.e. "kernel-men". On Selīm's deposition it was disbanded. Under his successor Mustafa [q.v.] the attempt was made to revive the *nizām-i djedid*. The Austrian renegade Sulaimān Agha who had previously commanded the division quartered in Lewend Çiflik was ordered to reconstitute it again secretly, but this effort met with no permanent success (cf. Zinkeisen, *G. O. R.*, vii. 552 sq.).

Bibliography: Zinkeisen, *G. O. R.*, vii. 323, 342, 458 sqq., 464, 471, 552; Jorga, *G. O. R.*, v. 117 sqq.; Carl v. Sax, *Geschichte des Machtverfalls der Türkei*, Vienna 1908, p. 133 sq.; Djewdet's [q.v.] history is the chief Turkish source. (FRANZ HÄRINGER)

NIZAM SHAH, title assumed in 895 (1490) by Malik Ahmad Bahāri, founder of the Nizām Shāhi state of Ahmadnagar [q.v.], one of the five independent sultanates which arose out of the ruins of the Bahmanī kingdom of the Dakhan towards the end of the fifteenth century. For a chronological list and genealogical table of these kings of Ahmadnagar see *Cambridge History of India*, iii. 704-705; also Zambaur, *Manual*, p. 298-299.

The second ruler, Burhān Nizām Shāh I (914-960 = 1509-1553), adopted, in 1537, the Shī'a form of Islām which, except for a brief period under Jamāl when the Mahdawī were in power, became the established religion of this kingdom. During Burhān's reign an unsuccessful attempt was made by the anti-Dakhanī faction, known as the Foreigners, to place his brother, Rājāḍī, upon the throne. The flight of the defeated rebel to Berār, combined with the refusal of 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Imād Shāh to surrender Pāthri, the home of Burhān's Brahman ancestors, led to war with Berār and to the capture of Pāthri. It was a dispute as to the possession of Sholāpur, the chief base of contention between Ahmadnagar and the neighbouring kingdom of Bidjapur, that caused Burhān to adopt the disastrous policy of joining forces with Sadāshivraya of Vijaynagar, as a result of which the Hindu monarch was able to annex the Raicār Deab to his dominions, while Burhān was successful in capturing the fortress of Sholāpur.

Barhan was succeeded, after a period of civil warfare, by his son Husain who reigned until 972 (1565). His reign, however, is of outstanding importance in the history of the Dakhan, for it was at this time that the Muslim rulers of this area, with the exception of Berar, irritated by the overbearing insolence of Sadāshivārāya and realising the strength of the Hindu menace in the south, combined to crush the military power of Vijaynagar at the battle of Talikota (972 = 1565).

In the same year Husain was gathered to his fathers and his son, Murād Nizām Shāh I (972 = 994 = 1565–1586), reigned in his stead. Murād, called Diwān or Mudman, neglected the affairs of his kingdom for a life of dissipation, the real power being in the hands of his ministers. An unsuccessful attempt was made during this reign to drive the Portuguese out of India, but the effort came too late, for, during the critical years when the Portuguese had been establishing themselves along the coast, the forces which might have united to harry the invaders into the sea had been engaged in inglorious internecine conflicts. The most important event in this reign was the annexation of Berar, in 982 (1574).

The subsequent history of this dynasty, until the Mughal invasions of the Dakhan, is unimportant. Full details will be found in the pages of Firsihta, the contemporary chronicles. Despite the heroic efforts of the dowager queen, Čand Bibi, the imperial forces conquered Ahmadnagar in 1600. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the incorporation of the Nizām Shāh dominions in the Mughal Empire was effective under Akbar. All attempts by his successor Džahāngir to complete his father's policy were frustrated by the organising ability of Malik Ambar, an able Abyssinian minister, who was in charge of the affairs of Ahmadnagar until his death in 1035 (1626). It was not until 1042 (1633), in the reign of Šahādžahān, that this kingdom was finally annexed, although for some years afterwards the Marāṭhā leader Šaibhaji attempted to resuscitate the Nizām Shāh dynasty.

Bibliography: 'Allāh 'Azīm Allāh Tabātāba'i, *Burhān-i Ma'ādir*, annotated translation by W. Haig, Bombay 1923; Muḥammad Kāsim Firsihta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīm*, Bombay 1832; Sir T. W. Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, vol. iii, ch. xvii. (C. COLLIN DAVIES)

NIZĀMĪ, NIZĀM AL-DĪN ABU MUḤAMMAD ILYAS b. Yūsuf, one of the greatest poets of Persia. He was born in Gandjā, the later Eliazevopol in 535 (1140–1141). His parents died while he was still quite young so that the education of the boy and of his brother had to be undertaken by his uncle. From Nizāmī's poems, it is apparent that his uncle very soon followed his parents to the grave. Nevertheless the two boys succeeded in getting an excellent education, for Nizāmī's brother, who wrote under the pen-name of Kiwānī Mujaṣṣit, attained a very high skill as a writer of *kaṣidas* (an ingenious *kaṣida* by him is given in *Beowulf*, *Lit. Hist. of Pers.*, ii, 47 sq.). Nizāmī was thrice married and had a son named Muḥammad. The poet was interested in Sūfism and studied in Sūfī circles under a certain Shaikh Akhā Farrukh Raihānī. Nothing more is known about his career and it may be presumed that his life was relatively uneventful, as he says himself that he avoided the bundle of princes' courts and had a strictly ascetic conception of life. Never-

theless all his great poems are dedicated to rulers of his time and for one of them he even received the rents of the village of Hāmūnūyān but it yielded him very little, he tells us. He died in 599 (1202–1203) aged 63½. Dawlānshāh gives the date of his death as 576 (1180–1181), which is however impossible as three of his poems were written after this year; this is probably an instance of the usual carelessness of this writer.

Nizāmī's great work is his *Khamsa* or Quintette, a collection of five great epic poems, with different subjects. It is very possible that these poems were not collected under one title by the author himself, as Hāmid Allāh Kāseini 25 years after Nizāmī's death does not yet know his work as a collected whole, although he esteems it very highly and was perfectly acquainted with it. The *Khamsa* consists of the following parts: 1. *Makham al-Awār* (561 = 1165–1166) dedicated to Ildigiz, Atābek of Adharbāidjān. It is a didactic poem strongly permeated by the spirit of Sūfism. The principles inculcated are expounded by the insertion of short stories. In spite of a certain prolixity, the work is characterized by certain passages of remarkable beauty (e.g. chap. 5: "On old age") and played a prominent part in the history of Persian didactic poetry. 2. *Khamsaw n-Shirān* (571 = 1175–1176) dedicated to the sons of Ildigiz, Muḥammad and Kizil Arslān; unlike the first poem this is a romantic epic poem, based on historical incidents dealing with the story of the Sāsānian Khusrāw Parwiz and coinciding in parts with the corresponding sections of the *Shāh-nāma*. The heroic element however here falls into the background to give free play to the romantic and especially to a penetrating psychological analysis. 3. *Lailā* (or as now pronounced *Laili*) *n-Majnun* (584 = 1188–1189) dedicated to the Shirwānshāh Akhūnī Mīnāčīhr. The subject was adopted at the request of the Shirwānshāh. Nizāmī was by no means rational with this choice; the love-story of the Beluiz poet Kais al-'Amīd, known as Majnun (q.v.), seemed to him as dry "as the Arabian desert". Yet it is this very poem that is his greatest work, for it was an astonishing success and stimulated countless imitations, among them some of the pearls of Oriental poetry, such as the work of the same name of the Adharbāidjān poet Fuḍūlī. Here the heroic style is completely dropped and we have a simple love-story, only occasionally interrupted by the clash of arms. 4. *Šikandar* (or *Ishandar*) *n-Nāma* (587 = 1191) divided into two parts which are known as *Ishkāt-nāma* or *Šikarāf-nāma* and *Khirad-nāma* (or *Šikandar-nāma-yi khirad*) and *Šikandar-nāma-yi šakāra*. The first version of the work was dedicated to 'Izz al-Dīn Mu'ad I, Atābek of Mīṣal. A revised version was offered by the poet to Nasrat al-Dīn Abū Bakr Bīshkīn, Atābek of Adharbāidjān. Nizāmī took the romance of Alexander as the foundation for his poem and treats it very much on the same lines as Firdawsī. The subject afforded ample opportunities to work in scientific and philosophical material, which Nizāmī does very skilfully in the conversations between Alexander and his tutor Aristotle and other scholars. The work thus became a kind of encyclopædia, which touches on almost all branches of knowledge of the time. 5. *Haft Paikar* (595 = 1198–1199) dedicated to the same ruler as the previous poem. In this poem Nizāmī again goes back to the popular Sāsānian hero Bahrām Gūr. But here again

it is not on his chivalrous adventures that stress is laid but on seven stories related to the hero by seven kings' daughters with whom he is in love. Each of these stories is associated with a day of the week, a planet and a colour. They form a masterpiece of Oriental story-telling which has never been surpassed and their grotesque and gruesome fantasy is particularly effective. As a master of fantasy, Nizāmī recalls E. T. A. Hoffmann and J. Calot and is able to make his readers visualise his wonderful pictures just as vividly as the European masters. Besides these large works, Nizāmī left a lyrical *Diwān* of which only three MSS. are known (Bodleian, No. 618, 619 and Berlin, Pertsch Cat., No. 691) and which so far has received little attention. It contains no *qasidas* in the court style and is distinctly *Sūfi* in tone.

Nizāmī's works are of the greatest importance in the history of Persian literature. They mark the zenith of epic poetry in Persia, as in them for the first time the antithesis between the language of the lyric and the archaic style of the epic is overcome and the epic is brought into the milieu of the court style, which at this time was already fully developed in the lyric. The epic however at the same time loses its heroic character and devotes itself more and more to psychological characterisation at which Nizāmī was a master. The overloading with learning, which in time came to choke the action completely, is very noticeable.

Nizāmī's influence on the later poets was unusually strong. A whole series of important poets, among them men like Amīr Khusrav Dihlavi, Khwārdjī Kirmānī, Kāshī, Ḥāfī, Ḥāfiṣ and even the great mystic Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṣṣār and the great master of *Ughaiṣī* poetry Mīr 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī, tried their skill in *nāṣiras* on Nizāmī's *Khamsa* (the number of poems in later writers rises to seven).

In spite of its great importance, so far critical editions of parts only of the *Khamsa* have appeared and we are dependent for the rest on bad Indian lithographs or manuscripts difficult of access. It is most desirable to put an end to this state of affairs and devote greater attention in Europe to the study of Nizāmī.

Bibliography: H. Ethé, *G. l. Pā.*, II, 241—244, 247—250; E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, II, 399—411; W. Bacher, *Nizāmī's Leben und Werke und der zweite Teil des Nizāmī'schen Alexanderbuches*, Leipzig 1871; Boutsma, *Some Remarks on the Divān of Nizāmī* (*Ajāib-nāma*, p. 224—227); do., *Āḥūṭā-ḥi Khamsa-i Nizāmī*, Persian text, Leyden 1921; [Ludwig] H[ain], *Nizāmī Poetas Narrationes et Fabulae persicae ... subjuncto versione latina et indice verborum*, Leipzig 1802; Fr. Erdmann, *Behram-Gur und die russische Fürstentochter*, Kasan 1844; do., *Die Schöne vom Schloss*, Kasan 1832; do., *De expéditione Russorum Berdaam versus*, Kasan 1826—1832; H. W. Clarke, *The Sikandar Nāma ... translated into prose with ... remarks ... preface and ... life of the author*, London 1881; A. Sprenger and Aga Muhammad Shooshtereh, *Khamsa-nimāh Shubhāry* (Bibl. Indica, No. 12), Calcutta 1848; Hammer-Purgstall, *Schirāz, Ein ... Gedicht nach morgenländischen Quellen*, Leipzig 1809; J. Atkinson, *Laili and Majnun; a Poem (translated in verse)*, in *Or. Transl. Fund*, London 1850; do., *The Loves of Laili and Majnun. A poem from the ... Persian*, London 1894 and London 1905; N. Bland, *Makhsūn*

al-Aṣṣār ... Edited with various readings and ... commentary, London 1844; C. E. Wilson, *The Haft Paikar*, 2 vols., London 1924; H. Kitzler, *Über die Bildersprache Nizāmī's*, Berlin 1927. — Text in Oriental lithography: *Khamsa*, Teheran 1261 (1845), Bombay 1298 (1881); *Makhsūn al-Aṣṣār*, Cawnpore 1869; *Khamsa u-Sābir*, Bombay 1249 (1833), Lahore 1288 (1871), Lucknow 1288 (1871), Cawnpore 1881, Lahore 1310 (1892—1893); *Laili u-Majnun*, Lucknow 1870, Lahore 1308 (1890); *Shikandar-nāma*, Calcutta 1269 (1852), Cawnpore 1878, Lucknow 1393 (1905), Bombay 1288 (1860—1861), Lucknow 1282 (1865), Bombay 1875, Lucknow 1878—1879; *Haft Paikar*, Lucknow 1873. — For Oriental commentaries and glosses see E. Edwards, *A Catalogue of the Persian printed books in the British Museum*, London 1922, p. 286—292.

(E. BERTHELS)

NIZĀMĪ 'ARŪDĪ. AHMAD B. 'UMAR B. 'ALĪ took the *taḥalluṣ* of Nizāmī and the honorific Nizām al-Dīn (or Nizām al-Dīn); he was usually called 'Arūṣī (the "prosodist") to distinguish him from other Nizāmīs (particularly the great Nizāmī; cf. the anecdote quoted by E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Pers.*, II, 339). According to Browne, Nizāmī is one of the most interesting and remarkable Persian writers of prose: "one of those who throw most light on the intimate life of Persian and Central Asian Courts in the 13th century of our era". He was a court poet who served faithfully the Ghōrid [q.v.] princes for 45 years (he would thus be born at the end of the 12th century), according to what he tells us at the beginning of the *Chahār Maḥalla*, the only work by him that has come down to us. His verse has been lost, at least except for fragments; Llawlatshah (ed. Browne, p. 60—61) only gives one couplet which does not seem to be by him. Awfi (*Zubd*, ed. Browne, p. 207—208) quotes five poetical fragments (mostly occasional pieces) and adds that Nizāmī composed several *maghnat*, the titles of which have not survived. The only biographical information we possess about Nizāmī comes from himself. In 504 (1110—1111) he was in Samarkand collecting traditions relating to the poet Rūdāqī (*Chahār Maḥalla*, text, p. 53); in 506, he met Khayyām in Balkh (*ibid.*, p. 63) and three years later he was living in Herāt (*ibid.*, p. 44); in the following year (510 = 1116—1117) finding himself in poverty in Nishāpūr (*ibid.*, p. 9), he went to Tūs in the hope of gaining the favour of Salḡin Sandjār who was encamped outside the town (p. 40 *sq.*); in Tūs he visited the tomb of Firdawsī (p. 51) and collected information about him which he put in his book (p. 47 *sq.*). Encouraged by Muḥṣī, Sandjār's poet-laureate, he succeeded in attracting the prince's attention; his fame and fortune probably date from this time; in 512 we find him again at Nishāpūr (p. 69); and again in 514 when he heard from the lips of Muḥṣī an anecdote about Maḥmūd and Firdawsī (p. 30—31); in 530 he returned to this town and visited the tomb of Khayyām (p. 63); in 547 he fled into hiding after the defeat of the Ghōrid army by Sandjār near Herāt (p. 87). His "Four Discourses" (*Chahār Maḥalla*) were probably written in 1156. For the remainder of his life we have no data. There is reason to believe he practised medicine and astrology (cf. text, p. 65 and 87). As to his poetry, in spite of the satisfaction he expresses with it, it is not

of the first rank, to judge by the fragments that survive; in any case it was very inferior to his prose, which Browne says is almost unequalled in Persian.

The *Chāh Maḥālā* consists of four discourses, each of which deals with one of the classes of men whom the author regards as indispensable in the service of Kings: secretaries, poets, astrologers and physicians. Each discourse begins with general considerations, which are followed by anecdotes, often from the writer's personal experience. The number of these anecdotes, which form the most interesting and valuable part of the book, is about forty; some give valuable information on the literary and scientific state of Persia. We may say that the "Four Discourses" (especially the second) and Awtī's *Lubāb* are the two old works which deal systematically with Persian poetry. Dawlatshāh made a great deal of use of it (cf. Browne, *Sources of Dawlatshāh*, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 57-69). We may specially point out that it is to Nizāmī that we owe the earliest notice of Firdawsi and the only contemporary reference to Khayyām. On the other hand, we must point out the historical inaccuracy of certain passages, even in the case of events in which Nizāmī claims to have taken part. His book is mentioned or quoted by Awtī (*Lubāb*), Ibn Isfandiyyār (*Hist. of Tabaristan*), Mustawfī Kāzwinī (*Tarīkh-i Gushda*), Dīlāmī (*Sililat al-Dhahab*), Ghaffārī (*Nigāristān*), Hādījī Khalīfā speaks of a *Maḥmūd al-Nawādir* which he thinks is different from the *Chāh Maḥālā*; but Mirzā Muḥammad Kāzwinī has shown that this is another title of the same book.

Bibliography: Nizāmī 'Arūjī has been edited in full by Mirzā Muḥammad Kāzwinī and transl. by E. G. Browne (*G. M. S.*, xi, Pers. text, 1910; English transl., 1921). A lith. ed. appeared at Teheran (1305 = 1887). Cf. *G. J. P.*, li, index; E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, li, index; Hādījī Khalīfā (ed. Flügel, No. 4348); Rīfā Kūh-Khān, *Maḥmūd al-Fuṣṣṣ*, i, 635; Muḥammad Nizām al-Dīn, *Intrud. to the Jawāmi' al-Hikayat* (*G. M. S.*, index).

(H. MASE)

NIZĀMĪ, ḤASAN, a Persian historian whose full name was ŠAH AL-DIN MUHAMMAD b. ḤASAN. Born in Nishāpūr, he went on the advice of his uncle Muḥammad Kūfī to Ghazni to give an opportunity to his remarkable talents as a stylist. A severe illness forced him to leave Ghazni, and he went to Dihlī where he obtained an appointment as court historian to the Pathān Sultāns and began in 602 (1206) his great historical work *Tāj al-Ma'āthir fī Ta'rīkh*, which brought him great fame. It deals with the history of the first three Pathān Sultāns of Dehli — Muḥammad b. Sām (588-602 = 1192-1206), Kūfī al-Dīn Aibak (602-607 = 1206-1210) and Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish (607-633 = 1210-1235). The book begins with the capture of Adjmir by Mu'izz al-Dīn in 587 (1191) and ends with the appointment of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad as governor of Lahore (614 = 1217). An Appendix contains a panegyric of Iltutmish and his campaigns of conquest. The work was very highly esteemed in the Muslim east as a model of elegant style. It is written in high flowing and difficult language and has a large number of poetical passages inserted in it. It is only with difficulty that the historical facts can be extricated from the medley of rhetoric but

nevertheless the book is of undeniable value for the history of India and Afghanistan.

Bibliography: Rien, *Catalogue*, i, 239; Elliot-Downson, *History of India*, ii, 204-243; N. Leao, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1868, p. 433; Flügel, *Catalogue Vienne*, ii, 173 (No. 951); W. Pertsch, *Die persischen Handschriften der ... Bibl. in Göttingen*, p. 53; E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibl. Nationale*, Paris 1905, i, 333; C. Salemann and v. Rosen, *Indiens alphabet. arabe mss. persicorum ... in Bibl. Imper. Literarum Universitatis Petropolitanae*, St. Petersburg 1888, p. 12, No. 378. On the biography of the author see also Mirkhond (lith. Bombay), i, 7.

(E. BERTHELE)

NIZĀM-SHĀHĪ (i. e. *Ilā-yi Nizām-shāhī* "ambassador of Nizām-Shāh" of the Dakhn), a Persian historian whose real name was Khūrshāh b. Kūbād al-Husnī. Born in the Persian Irak, he entered the service of Sultān Burhān [cf. NIZĀM-SHĀHĪ]. The latter being converted to the Shī'a sent Khūrshāh as ambassador to Tahmāsp-Shāh Safawī. Reaching Kāy in Rājshāh 952 (Sept. 1545), he accompanied the Shāh to Georgia and Shirwān during the campaign of 953 (1546) against Alkay-Mirzā. He stayed in Persia till 971 (1563), perhaps with occasional breaks. He died at Golkonda on the 15th Dhū l-Ka'da 973 (June 24, 1564).

Khūrshāh's chief work is the *Ta'rīkh-i Ilā-yi Nizām-shāh*, a general history from the time of Adam based on such sources as Tabarī, Balāwī, *Tarīkh-i gushda*, *Zafar-nāma*, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, the "Memoirs of Shāh Tahmāsp" etc. The book is divided into a preface and seven *maḥālā*, each of which is again divided into several *paṭṭā*. The most important part of this work is that which refers to the reign of Tahmāsp-Shāh (in the Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 155, written in 972 = 1565, the events come down to 969) and to the local dynasties of the Caspian provinces: Mīzandarān, Gilān, Shirwān. The two manuscripts in the British Museum show differences in their contents: Add. 23,513 (written in 1095 = 1684) has passages added by some continuator and taken from the *Djāhān-nāma* of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ghaffārī. The later additions of Or. 155 come down as late as 1200.

According to Firāšta, "Shāh Khūrshāh", during the reign of Ismā'īm Kūth-Shāh of the Deccan (957-988) also wrote a history of the Kūth-Shāhis (q. v.). It is difficult to reconcile this with a continuous stay in Persia from 952 to 971.

Bibliography: Rien, *Catalogue*, p. 107-111; Schuler, in his *Chrestomathie persane*, ii, 1885, p. 68-112 (notes 65-133) printed the sections relating to the Caspian provinces.

(V. MINORSKY)

NIZĀR b. MA'ADD, common ancestor of the greater part of the Arab tribes of the north, according to the accepted genealogical system. Genealogy: Nizār b. Ma'add b. 'Adnān (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, A. 3). His mother, Mu'anna hint Dhahla, was descended from the pre-Arab race of the Džurhum. Genealogical legend which has preserved mythological features and folklore relating to several eponyms of Arab tribes is almost silent on the subject of Nizār (an etymological fable about his name: *Tāj al-Arūs*, iii, 563, 15-17 from the *Kamūf al-Unuf* of al-Suhaili [i. 8, 3-12] is without doubt of very late origin as is shown by the connection which is established

with the prophetic mission of Muhammad; the same etymology from *naẓr* "insignificant" is further found in Ibn Duraid, *Kitāb al-Ishṭihāq*, p. 20, 4; *Mufaḍḍaliyyat*, ed. Lyall, p. 763, 16, without the story in question. Tradition has more to say about his four sons Kahl¹, Mudar, Anmār, Iyād and about the partition of the paternal heritage among them, in connection with which they visited the *Djathumt* *ḥakam* al-Aḥḥ. Their adventures on the journey (they are able to describe minutely the appearance of a camel they have never seen from the traces it has left) form the subject of a popular story which has parallels among other peoples; its object is to make the origins of the *ḥirfa* go back to the most remote period (al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, *al-Fihrist*, p. 155-156 and the sources there quoted; Tabari, I, 1108-1110 etc.); it perhaps is of interest to note that the story was known to Voltaire who introduced it into his *Zadig*.

As Robertson Smith showed half a century ago (*Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*², p. 5 297, 283-289) and as Goldziher has confirmed by numerous quotations (*Muhammedanische Studien*, I, 78-92), the name Nizār only appears late in Arab poetry while that of Ma'add (which is found as early as the Byzantine historians Procopius and Nonnosus) appears quite early in it, although its ethnic character is rather vague (as to that of 'Adnān, still more comprehensive, one of the oldest historians of Arab poetry, Muhammad b. Sallām, d. 230 = 844-845, had already pointed out that his name was almost unknown in ancient poetry, *Tahkik al-Sayra*³, ed. Hell, p. 5, 1; cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Ishṭihāq* *al-Raḥīl al-Raḥīl*, Cairo 1350, p. 48). Before the Umayyad period the only trace we find of the use of Nizār as an ethnic is in a verse of the pre-Islamic poet Bishr b. Abi Khazim (in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyat*, p. 667, 15) and in another of Ka'b b. Zuhair (in Tabari, I, 1106, 10); in the verse of Ḥasan b. Thabit, ed. Hirschfeld, IX, 2, the reference is to another Nizār, son of Ma'add; Amir b. Lu'ayy (Wüstenfeld, *Tahkik*, p. 15) belonging to the Quraysh. The line in Umayyā b. Abi Ṭ-Ṣalt, ed. Schulthess, U, I, 10, in which the descent of the Thakif from Nizār is celebrated, is apocryphal and is connected with the well-known dispute regarding the origin of the Thakif. The story of the verdict of al-Aḥḥ b. Ḥabib al-Tamimi in favour of Djari b. 'Abd Allāh al-Baḥḥ against Khālīd b. Arṭah al-Kalbī (*Nasb al-Nasab*, ed. Bevan, p. 141-142; cf. Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 50) in which there is a reference to Nizār and which is placed before Islām, is not less suspect; its object is to defend the northern origin of the Baḥḥ (descendants of Anmār), often disputed, as well as that of their brethren the Khath'am [q. v.], and to refuse the same origin to the Kalb, descendants of the Kuda'a, to which it was attributed just at the time of the strife that raged around the succession to Yazid I. The *radja* quoted by Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, p. 49 (and often elsewhere; they are sometimes attributed to 'Amr b. Murra al-Dhuhani, a contemporary of the Prophet, and sometimes to a certain al-Aḥḥ b. al-Yaḥḥib, otherwise unknown) in which we find used with reference to Kuda'a, the verb *tanazzara* "to announce oneself to be descended from Nizār" may be regarded as apocryphal. No stress need be laid on the isolated reference in al-Balāḥiri (*Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 276, 16) to the quarters

(*ḥiṭṭa*) of the Banū Nizār in Kufa contrasted with those of the Yamani; his language simply reflects the position in the author's time or that of his sources, later than the great revolution of the first century A. H.

It is only from this period, and to be more exact after the battle of Mard Rāh (65 = 684 won by the Kalb over the Kaṣa, that we begin to find the name Nizār recurring with increasing frequency; it occurs mainly in the political poetry: Djari, al-Farāḍiḥ, al-Akhtal, al-Kuṭāim, Zuhair b. al-Hārith use it to designate the common source of the tribes of the north, contrasting it with the terms "Yamani" or "Kaḥḥān". The expression *ibnā Nizār* "the two sons of Nizār" becomes regular; it indicates the Mudar (Kaṣa 'Aḥḥ) and the Kaḥḥān as belonging to one ethnic group; they were previously regarded as unrelated to one another. The tribes descended from Anmār (cf. above) and Iyād (the fourth son of Nizār; but other sources make him a son of Ma'add) appear only rarely as members of the group. This is what the genealogical systematisation seeks to explain by alleged migrations of Anmār and Iyād into the groups of Yamani tribes.

But the application of the term Nizār continued to remain vague, more so than those of Kaṣa, Mudar and Kaḥḥān which represent very large groups but more precise than that of Ma'add, of which it tends to take the place. This is due to the fact that the term Nizār corresponds to a political ideal rather than to a historical reality; in the latter the reigning dynasty, claiming descent from Quraysh (themselves, consequently, Nizārī) had as their henchmen the Kalb, one of the most powerful Yamani tribes, while the Ard, another tribe of the south, bound to the policy of their most illustrious representatives, the Muhallabids, were sometimes on the side of the Umayyads and sometimes against them. It was this complicated position that gave rise to the attempt to separate the Kuda'a (i.e. the Kalb) from the southern stock in order to make them descendants of Nizār. The story told in *Aghāni*, XI, 160-161, al-Bakrī, *Ma'ān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 14-15 is intended to explain the separation of the Kuda'a from the rest of the Nizār as a result of the murder of the Nizārī Yaḥḥuk b. 'Anaza by the Kuda'a Ḥasim b. Naḥd. The lines in Djari (*Nasb al-Nasab*, p. 994) sum up very completely the way in which the Kuda'a: Kalb were connected with the Nizār, while elsewhere (e.g. *ibid.*, p. 261; al-Farāḍiḥ) Kuda'a and Nizār are opposed. Later, at the end of the Umayyad period and especially in the period of the struggle in Khirāsān which was the prelude to the fall of the dynasty, Nizār (also in the form *Nizārīya*) became the regular designation which was contrasted with *Yamaniya*; henceforth the Banū Nizār were to be the representatives of northern Arabism, as early as the period of decline of the Umayyads, the poet al-Kumālī b. Zaid al-Asadi [q. v.] had composed a long poem, the *Mudhakkaka*, exalting the Nizār at the expense of the Kaḥḥān; nearly a century later, the Yamani 'Iṣṭihāq [q. v.] replied to him; these poetical jousts on which the *ḥirfa*, satirical fanaticism, of the two great ethnic groups of the Arabs was nourished, continued down to quite a late date, especially among the Zaidis of the Yamani.

From what has been said it is evident that we cannot speak of Nizār as of a tribe having had

a real historical existence nor, as is the case with the Ma'add, as a comprehensive term indicating an effective grouping together of a number of tribes of different origin. Nizar is simply a fictitious invention, a label intended to serve political interests. One must however ask whence the name came and what were the precedents which suggested its use in the sense above outlined. The problem has not yet been thoroughly studied and perhaps we do not possess the material necessary to solve it. It is possible that the history of the four sons of Nizar (cf. above), a popular story the nature and diffusion of which seem to take it back to a very early period and which originally had nothing to do with genealogical tradition, supplied the names on which the *narāzīn* later gave their imagination free play. But this is a pure supposition which would have to be confirmed by definite proofs.

Bibliography: (in addition to references in the article): Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den geneal. Tabellen*, p. 337; Ibn al-Kalbi, *Qismat al-Arab* (MS. British Museum), fol. 5v; Ibn Katalba, *Kitaḥ al-Ma'add*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 31; Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 7, 49—50; Ibn Sa'd, *ifa*, 30; al-Nuwairi, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, II, 327—328; *Kitaḥ al-Aghani*; *Nahḥ al-Jahiri*, index.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

NIZAR z. AL-MUSTANSIR, Fatimid claimant, born 10th Rabi' I 437 (Sept. 26, 1045). On the death of his father, having been displaced by his youngest brother al-Musta'li [q.v.], Nizar fled to Alexandria, took the title of al-Mustafa li-Din Allah, and rose in revolt early in 488 (1095) with the assistance of the governor, Naṣr al-Dawla Afṣak, who was jealous of al-Afḍal, and the population of the city. He was at first successful in driving back al-Afḍal and advanced as far as the outskirts of Cairo, supported by Arab auxiliaries. Al-Afḍal again took the field against him, and after a short siege in Alexandria he surrendered towards the end of the same year, was taken to Cairo, and there immured by order of al-Musta'li.

By the Isma'ili organization in Persia (see the art. **AL-HAJAN z. AL-JAHAN**), Nizar was recognized as the rightful successor of al-Mustansir, and this, with its offshoots in Syria, formed a new group (*al-da'wa al-jadida*), opposed to the Musta'lian group (*al-da'wa al-qadima*), now known as Khodja [q.v.] and Bohoris [q.v.] respectively. A party of the Nizariya at first held to the belief that Nizar was not dead and would return as the Mahdi or in company with him, but the majority held that the line of Nizar was continued by the Grand Masters of Alamūt.

Bibliography: See under **AL-MUSTA'LI**; also Ibn Khallikān, *transl. de Slane*, I, 160—161 (from al-Nuwairi); *Sijillat... al-Mustansir* *Nizār*, MS., S. O. S., London, Nos. 35 and 43 (cf. *B. S. O. S.*, VII, 307 199).

(H. A. R. GIRA)

NOAH. [See **NUL**.]

NOVIBAZAR or YESI BAZAR is the name of a former (down to 1912) Turkish sandjak in what was once the wilāyet of Kosovo; it now belongs to Jugo-Slavia. The district through which the river Lim flows and which is therefore also called the Lim district (area 7,350 sq. km. with 168,000 inhabitants of whom $\frac{3}{4}$ are Christian Serbs and $\frac{1}{4}$ Muhammadan Albanians), was bounded on the north by Bosnia and separated Serbia from

Montenegro. The importance of Novibazar was for military reasons as it secured communications between Bosnia and Rumelia and at the same time prevented communication between Serbia and Montenegro. By art. 85 of the Treaty of Berlin, Austria-Hungary held the western part of the sandjak (the Lim district) from Sept. 1879 to 1908, namely the towns of Plevlje (Turk. Tashlija), Prijepolje and Bjelopolje with a garrison of some 3,000 men, while the southern part, the kaza of Mitrovica, was returned to the Turks. After it was handed over in 1908, Novibazar formed a bone of contention between Turkey, Serbia and Montenegro. In 1912 the sandjak was conquered by Montenegro (Bjelopolje Oct. 12, Tuzi Oct. 14, Berane Oct. 16, Gornje Oct. 20, Plevlje Oct. 28) and Serbia (Novibazar Oct. 23, Sjenica Oct. 24) and in 1913 divided between the two countries.

The district forms with Zeta the ancestral home of former Serbia and roughly corresponds to the ancient Rascia. The chief town Novibazar (in the official spelling Novipazar) 1800 feet above sea-level on the Ruzica, is now an impoverished place of 11,000 inhabitants with miserable houses and poor streets. In the middle ages however, it was of considerable importance as the imposing remains of churches monasteries and baths around it show. Not far from it lie the ruins of the town of Raz, of importance in the time of the old Serbian Kingdom and already mentioned in Byzantine history in the 11th century (Pácor), where the Nemanjid prince Stephen held his court for a time. The settlement of Fazarik or Trgoviste there was called by the Turks Eski-Bazar, "Old Market". A *subaşı* is mentioned as being there in 1459 after the conquest of the land by the Turks (1456) and in 1461 a *kadı*. The Turks then founded a New Market not far away, Yeni Bazar, which soon became the capital of the whole district. The Ragusa historian Lucari says the founder of Novibazar was Eze, i.e. undoubtedly Eski-Beg (1444—c. 1460, from 1453 governor of Sarajevo), son of Ishak-Beg (1414—1444), both of whom were governors in Uskub (Skopje) and were among the most important Turkish leaders of the time. The foundation of Novibazar must have taken place about 1460 for a year later we find mention for the first time in the archives of Ragusa of Ragusan merchants in Novibazar. In 1467 we already find a *kadı* and a *subaşı* in Novibazar. The town from the end of the 15th century was frequently visited and described by western travellers as it lay on the old trade route from Ragusa (Dubrovnik) to Nish. The knight Arnold v. Harff mentions Novibazar about 1499 as Neuwemarschet, Jean Cheneau (cf. *Le voyage de Monsieur d'Aranson*, ed. Ch. Scheler, Paris 1887, p. 11) describes Novibazar as *ville non fertile, assez marchande*. While these and other travellers of the 16th century like Benedict Korpellé (1530; cf. Benedict Curpesschi, *Itineraire des Roteschastres du Jes. v. Lemberg*, etc., ed. by Eleonore Gräfin Lemberg-Schwarzenburg, Innsbruck 1910, p. 41 19), Catrino Zeno (1550, in his *Descrizione del viaggio da Constantinopoli*, 1550 in the *Stavins* of the Yugoslav Academy of Agram, vol. x.) and Melchior v. Seydlitz (1555, in his *Gründlichen Beschreibung der Wallfahrt*, Görlitz 1580) were very little impressed by Novibazar, Paolo Contarini (1580, in his *Diario del viaggio da Venezia a Constantinopoli*, Venice 1586; *see Grimani-Francaioni*) and the Sieur de

Stochove (c. 1630, cf. *Voyage du Sieur de Stochove fait en années 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633*, Brussels 1643, p. 30: at second hand and not from his own observation) and also Louis de Hayes, Sieur de Commenin (1621, in his *Voyage de Levant fait par le commandement du Roy en l'année 1621 par Le Sieur de [de] Commenin*, Paris 1624) devote far more attention to it. P. Contarini spent a day of rest in the caravanserai of Novibazar (*Novo Bazar*) which he found was a town with 6,000 Turkish and 100 Christian houses. He mentions the Ragusan settlement and the 16 mosques, the very long bazaar in which artisans of all kinds offered their wares for sale (mostly articles of iron from the adjoining Gubavica in the S. E. of Novibazar which was as early as 1396 the seat of an Ottoman judge and had a customs house). The Sieur de Stochove describes *La ville de Novi Bazar, qui en Turc veut dire nouveau marché, elle est située sur la petite rivière de Rajca en un lieu hault et bas, et qui en rend la vie fort agreable, son circuit est de deux lieues sans estre enfermé de murailles, est la ville la plus considerable que l'on trouve depuis la frontiere* (i.e. the Dalmatian-Bosnian frontier). Louis de Hayes in 1621 found Igai Bazar (i.e. Yeni Bazar) a pleasant place with one storey houses. It was under the governor of Bosnia and had a judge who was under the Chief Kadi of Sarajevo (q.v.). The description given by the traveller Ewliya Çelebi (q.v.) of his visit to Novibazar (1660) (v. 544 sqq.) is as usual full of exaggerations. He says there were 45 quarters in Novibazar, 23 large and 11 small mosques, 5 medreses and 2 monasteries. Of the mosques he mentions the Altun mosque and the mosque of Ghāsi 'Alā-Beg formerly a church, and the Taşköprü mosque and mosque of "Hādijā mülterem" (?). The bazar had 1,120 shops, and there were 7 churches of the "Serbs, Bulgars and Latins" in Novibazar. He particularly praises the white unmixed bread and 48 kinds of apples and 35 of pears. Among the notabilities of the time Hādijā İbrāhīm Efendi, who had "cleansed" the roads to Bosnia and Hercegovina and erected bridges and rest-houses, and Dhu 'l-Fikr-Zāde Mahmut Agha receive words of praise. Both had palaces (*serāy*) in Novibazar.

In consequence of its exceedingly important military position and as the key to Bosnia for Turkey in Europe (cf. F. Kanitz, *Serbien*, Leipzig 1868, p. 200 sq.) Novibazar has frequently played a part in military history. In 1689 it was occupied under the Margrave of Baden; but the Christian inhabitants, disillusioned by the tyrannical attitude of the garrison, the excesses of the imperial armies, the heavy taxation, the intolerance shown the orthodox clergy and the partisanship for the Roman Catholic church, soon turned against their new masters and very soon Novibazar with the whole of Old Serbia again passed to the Ottomans. In 1737 Novibazar was again occupied for a few months by the imperial forces, but as a result of the careless leadership of the generals fell with Nish again into Turkish hands and this settled the disastrous result of the war for Austria (cf. F. Kanitz, *op. cit.*, p. 203 sq. and the Turkish description of the Bosnian campaign, from the pen of the kadi of Novi, 'Omār Efendi (q.v.), e.g. in the German version by J. N. v. Dulsky, Vienna 1879, p. 34 sqq. or the English by C. Fraser, London 1830, p. 49 sqq.). It is remarkable that the defences of Novibazar in the Turkish period were never

what the strategic importance of the place demanded (cf. the description in A. Boeck, *Die Europäischen Türkei*, vol. i., Vienna 1889, p. 549). In view of the stubborn defence and steady opposition of the people, the Ottoman authorities — Novibazar was the seat of a *ka'im-makām* (q.v.) — had a difficult time. General Hasan Paşa who was to carry out the dismantling in 1880, was killed in the street in a rising and those gaily were never brought to book. Unpopular officials were as a rule simply driven out. As the Porte feared continuous fighting with the rebellious population of the sandjak it never decided to undertake a regular military expedition against them. The result was that all branches of administration, trade, agriculture and industry gradually went to pieces. From the xviiith century therefore Novibazar was always a place of little importance. Nor did it revive under the semi-independent feudal lords of the family of Ferhadagić (*Ferhad-oghullar*). Of the remains of Muslim times in Novibazar may be mentioned the fortress (*ka'ra*) built in 1103 (1690) in the reign of Sultan Ahmad II. The surrounding buildings as a rule date only from the time of 'Abd al-Hamid II. Historically most interesting is the Altun 'Alam Mosque built by Ghāsi 'Alā-Beg (see above), the founder of Novibazar. Behind it lie the wretched ruins of the extensive *konaq* of the erstwhile feudal lord of Novibazar, Aiyūb Paşa (d. 1243 = 1821). Of other Muslim houses of prayer may be mentioned the mosques of Muḥlī al-Dīn Efendi, first mu'addibin of the conqueror Mehemmed II, of Ghāsi Sinān-Beg and of Aiyūb Paşa. — The capital of the sandjak of Novibazar in modern times was the little town of Sjenica (cf. K. Ostreich, *Reisen im Filäjet Kosovo, in die Verhandlungen der Geograph. für Erdkunde in Berlin*, vol. xxv., 1899, p. 319).

Bibliography: G. Muir Mackenzie and A. P. Irbis, *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe*, London 1877, i. 265–284 (condition of Novibazar about 1875); A. Steinhauser, *Das Sandjak Novibazar*, Vienna 1879; Ewliya Çelebi, *Siyah-nâme*, v. 544 sqq.; K. J. Jireček, *Die Handelsstraßen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters*, Prague 1879, p. 77; [Theodor Ippen], *Novibazar und Kosovo (Das alte Rußien)*, Vienna 1892; K. J. Jireček, *Staat und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Serbien*, part iv., Vienna 1919 = *Denkschriften der Ak. der Wiss. in Wien*, vol. 64, fasc. 2, p. 11 sq.; J. Kosačić, "The Sandjak Novipazar and its ethnological problem" (*Serbien-Belgrade* 1912); K. N. Kostić, *Nalazi gradova*, 4: Novipazar, in *Delo*, Year xix., fasc. 70, March 1914, p. 390–397; Fr. Balinger, *Führer durch Südserbien* (Belgrade n.d. = 1931), p. 25 sq. (FRANZ BAHINGER).

NUBA, name of a country [and people] to the South of Egypt. The names Nubia, Nubian, Nuba are commonly used without scientific precision and it is only in the linguistic sense that they have an unambiguous meaning. The frontier separating Nubia from Egypt proper is well defined as the first cataract of the Nile in the neighbourhood of Aswān, and the area where Nubian is spoken nowadays ends in the vicinity of the 18th parallel, but the southern limit of Nubia is sometimes placed as far south as the junction of the Atbara and the Nile or even the confluence of the two Niles. Nubia is often sub-divided into Lower Nubia

from Aswân to Wādī Halfa and Upper Nubia from Wādī Halfa southwards, but neither term has any political or administrative significance.

The medieval Arabic writers are equally vague about the southern extent of Nubia: the region immediately bordering on Egypt, which bore the name of Māris, seems to have been regarded as Nubia *par excellence*; to the south of it lay Mukarrā with its capital at Dongola (Dunkula, Dumnkula), and beyond this the kingdom of 'Alwa the capital of which was Sōba, near the site of the modern Khartūm. According to the tenth-century author 'Abd Allāh b. Ahmad b. Salīm (Sulaimī, quoted by Makrīn) Māris and Mukarrā had distinct languages, and the frontier between them was situated three post-stations (*farṣ*) to the south of the Third Cataract; politically, however, Māris formed part of Mukarrā and this probably accounts for the fact that Ibn Salīm immediately afterwards places the commencement of Mukarrā at a day's journey from Aswân. The frontier between Mukarrā and 'Alwa was the district of al-Abwāb, a name still in use for the country round Kabāshīya in Berber province. 'Alwa is generally placed outside Nubia, and the preamble to the treaty which governed the political relations between Nubians and Arabs makes its provisions incumbent on "the chief of the Nubians and all people of his dominions . . . from the frontier of Aswân to the frontier of 'Alwa"; yet Mas'ūdī speaks of 'Alwa as part of Nubia and states that it is under the political suzerainty of Mukarrā. According to Yāqūt, Nubia extends along the Nile a distance of eighty days journey, Dongola being situated halfway at forty days distance from Aswân; of 'Alwa he speaks, with obvious exaggeration of the distance, as a people beyond Nubia three months' journey from the king of the Nūba, whose official title is "king of Mukarrā and Nūba".

The modern conventional division of the population of the northern Sūdān into Nubian, Bedja, and Arab is in the main a linguistic one and does not correspond to any clearly-marked racial divisions. The "Nubian" type, itself a hybrid one, which dates back to the age of pre-dynastic Egypt, is most purely preserved in the Kentū, Mahas, and Sukkot, who between them compose the so-called Barābarā, though even here a considerable element of alien admixture must be recognised. The Nubian-speaking Danūgla (Danūgila), on the other hand, are scarcely distinguishable from the rest of the Danūgla-Dja'liya-group (see MacMichael, *History*, i. 197 *seq.*) which includes a number of Arabic-speaking tribes extending from Dongola province to the neighbourhood of Khartūm; the origin of this group must be sought in a fusion of the original Nubian element with the Arabs who poured into the Sūdān in the middle ages and eventually brought about the fall of the Christian kingdoms of Dongola and 'Alwa. The numerous Danūgla colonies on the Blue and White Niles have given up their language in favour of Arabic, and the same applies to a branch of the Mahas, settled since the sixteenth century in the neighbourhood of Khartūm, who now claim to be descended from the Kharrādj of Arabia. Throughout the northern Sūdān the original Nubian stratum has coalesced with the Arabs to such an extent that it is no longer possible to separate the two strains. This fusion has also affected the groups which still speak Nubian, though the Barābarā may

be said to have maintained a separate identity and to have absorbed the foreign elements rather than the reverse. The Danūgla repudiate the appellation Nubian, and the term Barābarā is used only by Egyptians and other foreigners, while the people themselves prefer to call themselves by their tribal names (Kentū, Mahas, Sukkot). It is only in recent times that they have begun to develop a national sentiment as Nubians and to make occasional use of the name.

Language. The Nubian language can scarcely be indigenous to the Nile Valley, and it is in no way connected with the language of the Merotic inscriptions which preceded it in that area. The problem of its linguistic grouping has not been satisfactorily solved: both Hamitic and Sādanic features are present, and L. Reinisch (*Die sprachliche Stellung des Nubia*, Vienna 1911) regards it as a connecting link between the two groups. G. W. Murray (*Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. iii.) suggests the conclusion that in the remote past Dinka-Shilluk, Bari-Masai, and Nubian had a common origin, and that they all have to a greater or lesser degree been permeated by Hamitic influence. W. Meinhof (*Eine Studienfahrt nach Kordofan*) definitely classes Nubian as a Hamitic language.

The following branches are distinguished:

a. Nilotic Nubian (the language of the Barābarā and Danūgla) with three dialects: Kentū, Mahas, and Dongolaw; the first and the third, though separated geographically, form a single dialect group. A fourth dialect distinguished by Reinisch (Fadikja, Fadikka) is stated by Lepsius to be only a variety of Mahas.

β. Hill Nubian spoken by a number of negroid tribes in the present province of Kordofan. The area in question is inhabited by a medley of tribes of different linguistic and racial stocks, and it is only in the case of the Nubian-speaking groups (mainly in the north) that the appellation Nūba is justified. The best known dialect is that of Dilling (Delen). A form of Hill Nubian is also spoken by the people of Djebel Mīdīb in northern Darfūr.

On the problem of the racial and historical connexion between Hill Nuba and Nilotic Nubians, see below.

γ. The isolated dialect of the Birḡed tribe in Darfūr designated by Zyhlarz as South-West Nubian.

δ. Old Nubian, the literary language of medieval Nubia. The examples which have survived belong to the viii–xi centuries and consist of homiletic and edifying pieces intended for the common people, as distinct from strictly theological literature for which Greek was employed. The language of these texts approximates most closely to modern Mahas, although the provenance of the existing remains is the northernmost part of Nubia where Kentū is spoken. Scanty remains from Upper Nubia justify the conclusion that Nubian (perhaps in a form more closely connected with the Hill dialects) was also used for literary purposes in the kingdom of 'Alwa.

Modern Nubian has no literature apart from biblical translations produced under European influence. The Danūgla and Barābarā use only Arabic for written communications and for literary purposes.

History. In speaking of the early history of the country the name Nubia is misleading, as there is no evidence of its use in ancient Egypt as a tribal or geographical name. To the Egyptians Lower Nubia was known as Wawat, and Upper

Nubia as Kusch (the biblical Kush) which corresponds to the classical Ethiopia. From the earliest times there existed relations of trade, conquest, and cultural influence between Egypt and its southern neighbour, and under the Middle Empire the Egyptian penetration of what is now Dongola province led to the development of a special local civilisation based on the culture of Egypt, but deeply affected by local forms, materials and customs. Under the New Empire Wawat and Kesh were governed by Egyptian viceroys, and Napata (Djebel Barkal) became an important centre of the cult of Amun-Ra. Later Napata was the capital of an independent Ethiopian kingdom which, in its turn, conquered Egypt, and five kings of Napata sat on the throne of the Pharaohs (the 25th dynasty, c. 750-663). Subsequently the centre of gravity shifted southwards and Meroë, about 130 miles north of Khartoum, was the capital of a kingdom which still preserved the elements of a civilisation based on that of Egypt, though the isolation of the country, which was now almost complete, led to a rapid decline. In circumstances of which we have no detailed knowledge, the character of the population was modified owing to the pressure of negroid elements from Kordofan and the Djazira, and cultural contact with the north diminished to such an extent that to the Hellenistic-Roman world Ethiopia was but vaguely known, as indeed was the case of medieval Nubia in its relation to the Muslim world. Byzantine missionaries, however, introduced Christianity in the sixth century, at which period the two kingdoms of Makarra and Alwa were already in existence: the Maccurritae, we are told by the chronicler, became Christians in 569 and the Alo-daema in 580, and an embassy of the Maccurritae visited Constantinople in 573.

The name Nubian appears for the first time in the Hellenistic-Roman age and the earliest occurrence seems to be in Eratosthenes (quoted by Strabo, xvii.) who speaks of the Noubai as "a great race living in Lybia on the left side of the course of the Nile extending from Meroë to the bends of the river". In this passage, as well as in other references in Greek and Latin writers, Nubians are clearly distinguished from Lybians, Ethiopians, and other Meroitic folk, and as late as ca. 550 A.D. a kinglet of Lower Nubia speaks of himself as βασιλεὺς Νουβίων καὶ πάντων αὐτῶν Αἰθίοπων. It is not until the Muslim period that Nubia is found to have replaced Ethiopia as the name for the whole of the riverain country to the south of Egypt.

Of the events which brought about this change of name (no doubt signifying a change in language and in the ethical character of the people) there is no historical record. From the linguistic evidence it is probable enough that the name originally belongs to the negroids of Kordofan, and that the Noubai (Noubades, Nohame) of the classical writers were immigrants from the southwest who, as a result of political ascendancy, imposed their language on the Ethiopians of the Nile valley. The fact, however, cannot be disregarded that the modern Hill Nuba are strikingly dissimilar in physical character and culture to the mainly Hamitic Barabra-Dangla, and on this ground the possibility of a racial connexion of the two groups has been challenged by C. G. Seligman and H. A. MacMichael (see esp. MacMichael, *History*, I,

14-19). Yet it is certain that the separation of the dialects must have taken place at a comparatively early date (before Christianity); the presence of "Nubian" speech in Kordofan can therefore not be explained as the result of Danāgla settlement in recent times. For a discussion of this vexed question see Ernst Lehtz, *Zur Stellung der Darfur-Nubischen*, in *W.Z.K.M.*, vol. xxxv; and S. Hillebrand, *Nubian Origins*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. xiii. (1930). What can be said with certainty is that the Arab conquerors of Egypt found on their southern frontier a population mainly Hamitic in the north, but containing negroid elements which increased in importance in the south. These people were Jacobite Christians, and they used Nubian as the language of government and letters.

Yāqūt quotes two sayings ascribed to the prophet in which Nubians are praised as faithful friends and useful slaves, but there can hardly have been any contact between Arabs and Nubians before the two invasions (A.D. 641-642 and 651-652) the second of which carried the Arabs as far as Dongola [q.v.]. As a result of these raids the relations between Muslims and Nubians were regulated by a treaty which ordained a system of mutual tolerance and non-interference; the tribute of slaves (ḥaḡḡ [q.v.] from ḥāḡḡ) which the Nubians undertook to pay annually was not so much a sign of submission as the basis for an exchange of commodities. Intercourse between the two countries, whether commercial or political, remained very restricted, and the interests of the Arabs to the south of Egypt were in the main confined to the exploitation of the mines of al-'Allāḡ, which affected the Nubia rather than the Nubians. An invasion of Upper Egypt, said to have been undertaken by the Nubian king Kyriakos in A.D. 737 (or between 744 and 750) is recorded only on the doubtful evidence of Christian writers and ignored by Muslim historians. Minor raids occurred from time to time; and the "tribute" was occasionally withheld, but on the whole relations were peaceful. Muslims began to penetrate into Nubia at an early date, presumably for purposes of trade, and as early as the tenth century they are said to have had a special lodging-place (*raḡḡ*) in the capital of Alwa. According to a Syrian writer (quoted by Mez, *Renaiance des Islams*, p. 37), Nubians resident in the lands of the caliphate remitted taxes to their own king and enjoyed the privilege of an autonomous jurisdiction. Further evidence of friendly relations is found in an account of an embassy to Baghdad in the time of al-Mutawakkil when a Nubian prince was honourably entertained.

Of internal conditions in Nubia we know very little; there are no native sources of information and Muslim accounts throw light only on special periods and occasional contacts. The fullest descriptive accounts, both dating from the tenth century A.D., are those of Ma'sūdi (ii. 362, iii. 31-34; 39-43) and Ibn Salm (Sulim?) who wrote an account of "Nubia, Makarra, Alwa, the Budja, and the Nile", of which extensive fragments are extant in the *Kāfiya* of Maḡnī (ed. Wiet, vol. iii., ch. xxx. pp.).

During the reign of Saladin Nubian affairs came into some prominence owing to the support given by the semi-Nubian Baḡd Kani (on whom see below) to a Fatimid pretender, and Lower Nubia was

invaded by Saladin's brother Turan-Shah (1172-1173) who pillaged them and took many captives, but reported unfavourably on the resources of the country with the result that a planned annexation was not proceeded with. Soon afterwards (about 1208), the Armenian Abū Ṣāliḥ composed his account of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt (ed. and translated by B. T. A. Evetts and A. J. Butler, Oxford 1895) which contains some interesting details about Maria, Muḥarra, and 'Alwa, but must be used with caution owing to the confusion in the writer's mind between Nubia and Abyssinia and his uncritical use of older authorities.

The factors which brought about the disintegration of the Nubian kingdom and the Islamisation of the country were the immigration of Arab tribes, the rise of the Banī Kanṣ, and the intervention in Nubian affairs of the Mamlūk rulers of Egypt, especially during the reigns of al-Zāhir Baybars [q. v.] and al-Manṣūr Kalā'īn [q. v.].

The Banī Kanṣ are first heard of in 1020 when the Fātimid caliph al-Ḥakīm, as a reward for services rendered, conferred the hereditary title of *Kanṣ al-Dawla* on Abū Makārim Hibat-Allāh, a chief of the Rab'a Arabs who had settled on the borderland between Egypt and the Sūdān. Already in the tenth century the Rab'a had gained control of the mines of al-'Allāḳī and imposed their rule on the Bedja with whom they allied themselves by intermarriage. Another section, settled near Awwīn, fraternised with the local Nubians, and the tribe, formed by this amalgamation and ruled by the Kanṣ al-Dawla dynasty, came to be known as the Banī Kanṣ; they are represented by the Kenūṣ of the present day. During the reign of the Mamlūks they were virtually in independent control of Upper Egypt, alternately in alliance with or in revolt against the Mamlūk government, and though repressed at times with a heavy hand, they remained a powerful tribe until the Ottoman conquest of Egypt. Before this event, however, they had played their part, together with nomad Arabs and Mamlūk troops, in the destruction of Nubian independence.

The Bahrite Mamlūks, for reasons not apparent in our sources, departed from the traditional policy of Muslim Egypt, and actively intervened in Nubian affairs. The pretext for the expeditions undertaken by the generals of Balbars and Kalā'īn were non-payment of the tribute and, more frequently, the championship of Nubian pretenders who had solicited Egyptian support in order to gain the throne. On several occasions such protégés of the Mamlūk government were installed in Dongola only to lose the throne again as soon as the Egyptian troops withdrew (see the article *DOUGOLA*). A formal treaty concluded with one of these kings virtually established an Egyptian protectorate. Meanwhile the disintegration of the kingdom went on under the pressure of Arab immigration, and Arab chiefs who married into the royal house took advantage of the matrilinear line of succession to grasp at the throne. The age-long Christianity of Nubia was gradually undermined and in the sixteenth century Muslim kings begin to appear: the first king to bear a Muslim name was 'Abd Allāh b. Saḥbā who was installed in 1316 and after a short reign lost the throne to a Kanṣ al-Dawla. From the *Khat al-Ti'rāf* of Ahmad b. Yahyā b. Fadl Allāh, written some time between 1340 and 1349, we learn that at this date Christian kings

still alternated with Muslims, and Ibn Battuta in 1352 (iv. 306) speaks of the Nubians as Christians, but mentions a Muslim king (Ibn Kanṣ al-Dīn). Of the conversion of the common people we have no details: no doubt it was brought about by the absorption of the native inhabitants, or those who survived, in the Arab tribes.

The immigration itself has left little trace in the pages of the historians, though the outlines of the process can be reconstructed from occasional references and from oral tradition. The nomads who had entered Egypt in the wake of the first conquest can never have found that country congenial to their mode of life, and the rise of non-Arab dynasties tended to make conditions still less attractive, while the Sūdān seemed to offer all the advantages, from the nomads' point of view, that Egypt denied. For a long time the kingdom of Dongola formed an effective barrier to southward expansion, but a gradual infiltration of Arabs must have begun at a comparatively early date, even though the end of the process was not accomplished for several centuries.

The early stages of the movement are seen in the conditions depicted in the story of Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-'Umari, the events of which are laid in the reign of Ibn Jullān (Makrūn's *Kawā'ir Maḥaffa*, quoted by Quatremère, II. 59-80). Arabs of Kalā' and Djuḥaina, led into the Sūdān by that adventurous prince, have fraternised with the Bedja and exploit the mines of the Eastern Desert, but the Nile is forbidden them and Nubia is too strong to be attempted by force of arms. A fratricidal struggle in the Nubian royal house provides an opportunity for an alliance between the Arabs and a princely pretender to the throne. Acts of unblushing treachery are committed on both sides and in the end the Arabs have the worst of the encounter. The end of the process is seen in the fourteenth century. "The kingdom of Nubia had now to all intents and purposes ceased to exist and such kings as reigned in name were puppets of the Arab tribes. . . . It is from this period, the early years of the fourteenth century, that the immigration of most of the camel-owning nomads of the Sūdān dates. Generally speaking, it seems, the Djuḥaina and their allies, most of whom we may be sure were Fezzān, loosed their hordes southwards and westwards, leaving the Banī Kanṣ and Ikrima in northern Nubia and Upper Egypt" (MacMichael, *loc. cit.*, p. 187).

Of 'Alwa nothing is heard at this period, but no doubt the course of events was similar to that in the northern kingdom, and already in the time of Ibn Khaldūn (1332-1406) we hear of branches of Djuḥaina "close to the Abyssinians", that is to say no doubt on the upper reaches of the Blue Nile in the southern Djanra. The kingdom of 'Alwa nevertheless lingered on precariously and Nubian Christianity was still a living memory in the time of the Portuguese Alvarez (1520-1527), but about the year 1500 Sūdān fell to an alliance of Kawsima Arabs (a branch of Raḥ'a-Djuḥaina) and the negroid Fandī [q. v.] who here for the first time appear in history.

The fifteenth century is almost completely barren of records relating to Nubia, and the historical memory of the present inhabitants remembers little of pre-Fundī days. With the coming of the Fundī, who soon extended their influence to Dongola, the history of Nubia is merged in that of the

Sudan, and the Nubians, now Muslims and deeply affected by racial mixture with their conquerors, survive only as a linguistic minority on the northern fringe of their ancient kingdom.

Lower Nubia, however, was politically separated from the Fungid kingdom by Sennar I who annexed the country south of Aswan as far as the neighbourhood of the Third Cataract, and garrisoned it with Turkish and Bosnian mercenaries (called Ghazis by the people of the Sudan). From these, many of the modern Barābra claim to be descended.

The Barābra-Danāgla of the present day (in the Egyptian province of Aswan and the Sudan provinces of Halfa and Dongola) are a peaceful race of cultivators and skilful boatmen of the Nile. Owing to the poverty of their country and aided by an enterprising disposition, large numbers seek their livelihood in Egypt and the Sudan where they are found everywhere engaged in various forms of manual employment. The Danāgla have also spread all over the Sudan as traders, and in the nineteenth century they played an important part, together with their rivals, the Dja'liyin, in the opening-up of the Upper Nile and the Bahr al-Ghazal where they ventured as slave-traders, sailors, and mercenary troops.

The men are generally bilingual in Nubian and Arabic which latter they speak ungrammatically and with an accent of their own. Those in foreign employment show themselves remarkably adaptable to alien ideas, at the same time they are tenacious of their own customs and clamish to a degree. Under modern conditions they are keen to take advantage of educational facilities, and show an aptitude for the educated professions. In the past they have made no important contribution to the intellectual and spiritual life of Islam and produced no scholars of note. Dhu Ṭ-Nūn the mystic (q. v.) is said to have been of Nubian origin, but he is generally called "the Egyptian". The most remarkable figure of their race is Muḥammad Abmad (q. v.), the Mahdi of the Sudan (died 1885), who was a Dongolawi, though his family claim to be sharifs. The Barābra and Danāgla are generally devout Muslims, and most of them belong to the Muḥantiya (Khatuniya) tariqa.

Bibliography: General: Et. Quatremère, *Mémoire sur la Nubie* (in vol. II. of *Mémoires géogr. et hist. sur l'Égypte*, Paris 1811; contains translations of all the important passages from Arabic authors); H. A. MacMichael, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge 1922 (esp. part I. 2-3; part II. 1-2; with full bibliographical references); J. Marquart, *Die Denkschriften des Reichsmuseums für Völkerkunde*, Leiden 1913 (p. ccxlviii. seq.); H. W. Beckett, *Nubia and the Berberites* (*Cairo Scientific Journal*, August 1911); J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, London 1819; G. A. Reisner, *Outline of the ancient History of the Sudan* (*Sudan Notes and Records*, vol. I., 1918); C. G. Seligman, *Some Aspects of the Hamitic Problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. XLII., 1915). — Language: H. Amkviat, *Nubische Studien im Sudan*, Leipzig 1911; W. Cernak, *Kordofan-nubische Studien*, Vienna 1919; F. L. Giffith, *The Nubian Texts of the Christian Period*, Berlin 1915; H. Junker and W. Cernak, *Kordofanische Studien*, Vienna 1915; P. D. Kauczor, *Die kordofanische Sprache*, Vienna 1920; C. R. Lep-

sius, *Nubische Grammatik*, Berlin 1880; L. Reinisch, *Die Nubersprache*, Vienna 1879; do., *Die sprachliche Stellung der Nubie*, Vienna 1911; E. Zylbers, *Grundzüge der nubischen Grammatik im christlichen Frühmittelalter*, Leipzig 1928. — On the Hill Nubia cf. J. W. Sagar, *Notes on the History etc. of the Nubia* (*Sud. N. and R.*, vol. v., 1922); P. D. Kauczor, *The Asfeti Nubia ... and their relation to the Nubia proper* (*Ibid.*, vol. VI., 1925); P. D. and D. N. Macdiarmid, *The Languages of the Nuba Mountains* (*Ibid.*, vol. XIV., 1931); D. Hawkesworth, *The Nuba proper of northern Kordofan* (*Ibid.*, vol. XV., 1932); C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, *Pagan Tribes of the Nile in Sudan*, London 1932 (ch. XI). — Other references are given in the text.

(S. HILLIARD)

NÜBANDADJAN. [See **SÜLEIMÂN.**]

NÜBÄR PASHA (1825-1899), an Egyptian statesman, who played a most prominent part in Egyptian politics in the XIXth century. Summoned by his uncle Boghos Bey, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Commerce under Muḥammad 'Alī, he came to Egypt in 1842 at the age of 17 and entered the government service as second secretary to the Viceroy. In 1848 he accompanied Ibrāhīm Pasha to Europe as secretary and interpreter. Under Sa'īd, Nübär began to play a part in public life. His independent spirit, his methodical and precise mind were revealed in the organization of the Egyptian railways which he put in order in the space of six months (1857).

But it was under Ismā'īl that he fully revealed his gifts as a negotiator and diplomatist. He was however not called upon to play a national part because of his Armenian origin and his ignorance of the language of the country. Raised to the rank of Pasha at the beginning of the reign (1863) he hastened to take advantage of the support and advanced views of the Viceroy to carry through a great scheme: to encourage externally the independence of Egypt and its development not in Asia — this was Ismā'īl's idea — but in Africa where her destinies summoned her, and at home the regeneration of Egypt with the help of Europe. From the first Nübär grasped the great truths of the Egyptian question. But if the conception was grandiose, the execution of the scheme proved difficult on account of the confusion of interests and the European jealousies. These inherent difficulties in the Egyptian problem proved impediments to many solutions and the policy of reform frequently had to twist its way round obstacles of all kinds.

On the smallest matters Egypt had to wage an unequal struggle with Europe. Nübär conducted the struggle on three fronts at the same time, on these fundamental questions.

The question of the Suez Canal. On Ismā'īl's accession the Company formed a state within the state and constituted in the very heart of Egypt a kind of colony, as a result of the lands it had obtained along the sea canal and the fresh water canals which were linked up with it. Nübär conducted negotiations in Constantinople and in Paris with the object of securing the territorial sovereignty of Egypt. His activity ended in the famous decision of the Emperor Napoleon III on July 6, 1864, who ordered Egypt to pay the Company 84,000,000 francs to regain her rights. This enormous indemnity was nevertheless far from bringing about a final settlement.

The question of judicial reforms. Nuhar used often to say: "Give Egypt water and justice and the country will be happy and prosperous". But in order to place justice on a sound footing so that it could protect the native against the government and the European who was exploiting him and particularly against the arbitrary decisions of the consuls, each of whom laid down his own law to the governed and governors alike. Nuhar thought of organising a mixed system of justice composed of Egyptian and European elements and thus establishing uniformity of jurisdiction, legislation and executive action. As a result of the systematic opposition of France and of certain powers interested in maintaining the "privileges", the mixed tribunals were not established till 1875 after ten years of striving and of waiting endured by the government.

The question of autonomy. The territorial servitudes inflicted by the Suez Canal and the system of capitulations did not prevent Nuhar from remembering the political restrictions imposed by Turkey, the master power. From 1863 to 1873 Nuhar endeavoured to extract from Constantinople by negotiation and bribery privileges which would enable the work of progress to develop freely. After the firmans of 1866 and 1867, Egypt obtained the famous firman of 1873 which constituted a new charter conferring on the viceroy the title of Khedive (q.v.), hereditary succession to the throne in direct line from father to son, an increase in the army — limited to 18,000 in 1840 — and lastly the right to conclude loans and commercial treaties with the Powers.

But the error made by Nuhar and the Khedive was to consolidate Egyptian independence in theory but not in practice. Nuhar was anxious for the introduction of capital and European enterprise: a beneficial idea but also dangerous because the Khedive, encouraged by his minister, became involved without due consideration in a disastrous series of loans. The various enterprises which arose with the rapid development of the resources of the country had to be put in the hands of companies like the Steam Navigation Company, the Suez Canal Company, the Agricultural and the Trading Companies, in which Nuhar, Oppenheim, Dervien and others were the chief directors. The failures of the companies were liquidated by Egypt which made good all losses. The collaboration of Nuhar with these financiers brought an atmosphere of suspicion into the good understanding between the minister and the Khedive, as did the negotiations conducted by him to conclude loans in Paris and elsewhere.

But the tragic side of the question lay in the accumulation of a debt of £90,000,000 which opened the gates of the Delta to foreign control. There is no doubt that Nuhar had always resolutely opposed any foreign interference. Down to 1875, during the little time that he was actually in Egypt — he was often on missions to Europe — Nuhar endeavoured to act as a check on absolute rule and to oppose all European interference from wherever it came. He was not popular either in England or France. He was rightly distrusted in the entourage of the Khedive also.

Towards the end of 1875 an event took place which modified his attitude. England having taken the unusual step of intervening in Egypt to defend the private interests of some of her capitalists and

sending a mission under Mr. Cave to conduct an enquiry in the country, Nuhar, with his remarkable political instinct, felt the immediate danger of such interference and resolved to oppose it by all means. He was able to provoke the intervention of the consuls-general of Russia and Germany, who offered the Khedive the support of their governments. Isma'il declined this offer, which was a grave political error. He went further and communicated with the English consul and did not scruple to sacrifice his minister.

Nuhar had to hand in his resignation on Jan. 5, 1876 and to leave Egypt on March 21. Henceforth he swore a bitter feud against his master and his attitude gradually changed and inclined to England. In deciding to undermine the personal authority of the ruler, and allying himself with the foreigner, without being able to fix in advance how far the alliance was to go, in a word in wishing to humble his sovereign, Nuhar weakened his country for the benefit of England. For it was to the government of England that he appealed in 1876 to intervene, acting on the pretext that intervention was here inevitable as a result of the enormous debts contracted by Egypt and that England's action would be of more benefit to Egypt than that of any other power. The result was that England finally imposed on the Khedive both Nuhar and her complete control by extorting from him the rescript of Aug. 28, 1878 which established a "responsible ministry" presided over nominally by Nuhar but in effect by Rivers Wilson as Minister of Finance and de Blignieres as Minister of Public Works. This dangerous innovation — the formation of a European ministry not responsible to the Khedive whose authority was now negligible, and installed in the heart of the country to support European policy and high finance — aroused the Egyptians from their lethargy and created general discontent. The Khedive became at once popular and his cause was identified with that of the nation. The result was the outbreak of Feb. 18, 1879 which removed Nuhar from power. A new European ministry justified over by the crown prince was formed but the evil remained. Finally Isma'il, emboldened by public opinion, dismissed the European ministers (April 7) and formed a national ministry under Sharif Pasha. But the Powers — and Nuhar's doings in Europe were not without influence on their decision — decided on the ruin of the Khedive and succeeded with the help of Turkey in deposing him (June 26).

Two years after the English occupation, Nuhar returned to Egypt to form a ministry after the resignation of Sharif Pasha as a protest against the evacuation of the Sudds by Egypt, dictated by England. Nuhar endeavoured in vain to come to terms with England and to put a check on her policy of practically depriving Egypt of her territory in Africa (Jan. 1884—June 1888).

He again formed a ministry (April 16, 1894) but he soon had to submit to the control of the English councillor in the Ministry of the Interior, and seeing himself powerless against Lord Cromer's policy which aimed at controlling the whole of the administration he had quickly to retire from the scene (Nov. 1895).

Nuhar then went to Europe to compile his memoirs — still unpublished — and peacefully await his end. He was, to sum up, a great minister, a statesman who made mistakes, it is true, but

the fates were against him: 1875 marks the final blocking of his great policy. We must not however forget the early struggles in which he exerted from Europe and from Turkey piece by piece rights and privileges which constituted a great boon to his country.

Bibliography: The chief works are: M. Sahry, *L'Empire Égyptien sous Ismail et l'influence anglo-française*, Paris 1933; A. Holynski, *Nubar Pacha devant l'Histoire*; Ed. Ducey, *The Story of the Khedivate*; Ch. F. Moberly Bell, *Khedives and Pashas, by one who knows them well*; do., article *Nubar Pasha*, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. (M. SAHRY)

NUBUWWA. [See NABI.]

NÜH, the Noah of the Bible, is a particularly popular figure in the Qur'an and in Muslim legend. The *tafsir* gives 15 virtues by which Nüh is distinguished among the prophets. The Bible does not regard Noah as a prophet. In the Qur'an Nüh is the first prophet of punishment, who is followed by Hüd, Sâlih, Lût, Shu'ayb and Mûsâ. Ibrahim is one of his following (*Sûra* xxvii. 81). He is the perspicuous admonisher (*nashir* *muhtad*, xi. 27; lxxi. 2), the *ra'sul* *amile* "the true messenger of God" (xxvi. 107), the *'adl* *shâhir*, "the grateful servant of God" (xxvii. 3). Allah enters into a covenant with Nüh just as with Muhammad, Ibrahim, Mûsâ and 'Isâ (xxiii. 7). Peace and blessings are promised him (xi. 50). Muhammad is fond of seeing himself reflected in the earlier prophets. In the case of Nüh, the Muslim Qur'an exegetes have already noticed this (see Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 90). Muhammad puts into the mouth of Nüh things that he would himself like to say and into the mouths of his opponents what he himself has heard from his Nüh is reproached with being only one of the people (x. 72-74). God should rather have sent an angel (xxiii. 24). Nüh is wrong (vii. 58), is lying, deceiving (vii. 62), is possessed by *ghinn* (liv. 9), only the lowest join him (xi. 29; xxvi. 111). When Nüh replies: "It is grievous to you that I live among you, I seek no reward, my reward is with Allah (x. 72-74; xi. 31); I do not claim to possess Allah's treasures, to know his secrets, to be an angel and I cannot say to those whom ye despise, God shall not give you any good" (xi. 31-33), we have here an echo of Muhammad's defence and embarrassment about many of his followers. Muhammad pictures events as follows: Allah sends Nüh to the sinful people. *Sûra* lxxi. which bears his name, gives one of these sermons threatening punishment for which other analogies can be found. The people scorn him. Allah commands him to build an ark by divine inspiration. Then the "chaldron boils" (xi. 42; xxiii. 27). The waters drown everything; only two of every kind of living creature are saved and the believers whom Nüh takes into the ark with him. But there were very few who believed. Nüh appeals even to his son in vain; the latter takes refuge on a mountain but is drowned. When Nüh bids the waters be still, the ark lands on mount Djûdi (q. v., xi. 27-31). Not only Noah's son but also his wife (with Lût's wife) are sinners (lxxi. 10). From the *Haggada* is developed, as Geiger shows, the following elements of this Qur'anic legend of Nüh: 1. Nüh appears as a prophet and admonisher; 2. his people laugh at the ark; 3. his family is punished with hot water (main passages:

Talm. Sanhedrin, 108b; *Gen. Rabba*, xix.-xxxv.).

The post-Qur'anic legend of Nüh as in other cases fills up the gaps, gives the names of those not mentioned in the Qur'an, makes many links e. g. connects Nüh with Feidân of the Persian epic although it is pointed out that the Magi (Zensûn) do not know the story of the flood. Nüh's wife is called Wâliya and her sin is that she described Nüh to his people as *munâfir*. The names of Nüh's sons, Sâm, Hâm, Yâfith are known to Qur'an exegetes from the Bible but it also gives the name of Nüh's sinful son who perished in the flood: Kânân, "whom the Arabs call Yâm". Muhammad's statement that Nüh was 950 years of age at the time of the flood (*ra'sûl*) (lxxi. 13, 14) is probably based on Gen. ix. 39 which says Nüh lived 950 years in all, but on the other hand, it serves as a basis for calculations which make Nüh the first *muhammad*; according to the *Kita* *al-Muhammad* of Abû Hâtim al-Sidjîstânî (ed. Goldziher, p. 1), who begins his book with Nüh, he lived 1,450 years. Yet in his dying hour he describes his life as a house with two doors in which one goes in through one to the other. Muslim legend knows the Biblical story of Nüh, his times and his sons, but embellishes it greatly and in al-Kisâ' it becomes a romance. From the union of Kâbil's and Sheth's descendants arises a sinful people which rejects Nüh's warnings. He therefore at God's command builds the ark from trees which he has himself planted. As he is hammering and building the people mock him: "once a prophet, now a carpenter?", "a ship for the mainland?". The ark had a head and tail like a cock, a body like a bird (*tha-lab*). How was the ark built? At the wish of the apostles, Jesus arouses Sâm (or Hâm) b. Nüh from the dead and he describes the ark and its arrangements: in the lower storey were the quadrupeds, in the next the human beings and in the top the birds. Nüh brought the ant into the ark first and the ass last, it was slow because this was clinging to his tail. Nüh called out impatiently: "come in even if Satan is with thee"; so Hâm also had to be taken in. The pig arose out of the tail of the elephant and the rat from the ham. How could the goat exist alongside of the wolf, or the dove beside the birds of prey? God tamed their instincts. The number of human beings in the ark varies in legend between seven and eighty. 'Uj b. 'Amâk was also saved along with the believers. Kâbil's race was drowned. Nüh also took Adam's body with him which was used to separate the women from the men. For in the ark continence was ordered, for man and beast. Only Hâm transgressed and for this was punished with a black skin. The whole world was covered with water and only the Harûm (in al-Kisâ'), also the site of the sanctuary in Jerusalem was spared, the Ka'ba was taken up into heaven and Djibrîl concealed the Black Stone (according to al-Kisâ' the stone was snow white until the Flood). Nüh sent out the raven but finding some carrion it forgot Nüh; then he sent the dove which brought back an olive leaf in its bill and mud on its feet; as a reward it was given its collar and became a domestic bird. On the day of 'Ashûra' every one came out of the ark, men and beasts fasted and gave thanks to Allah.

There are many contacts with the *Haggada*: the

(different, it is true) partitioning of the ark, Nuh's anxiety about the animals, Ham's sin and punishment (*Semkhatin*, 1089^b). The story that the giant Og escaped the Flood is also taken from the *Haggada* [see *Vat* i. 5, ANAG]. But Muslim legend goes farther than the Bible and *Haggada*, like Muhammad who sees himself in Nuh.

Bibliography: Principal passages are *Kur'an*, vii 57-52; xi 27-51; xxiii 33-31; xxvi 105-222; xxxvii 75-81; lxxi (whole); *Talari*, ed. de Goeje, i 174-201; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, i 27-29; *Ihsan*, *Kitab al-Anbiya'*, Cairo 1325, p. 34-38; al-Khatib, *Kitab al-Anbiya'*, ed. Eisenberg, i 85-102; Geiger, *Was hat Muhammad...*, 1902², p. 106-111; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 79-90; J. Horowitz, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, ii, 1925, p. 151; do., *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 1926, p. 13-18, 22-29, 32-35, 49-51, esp. 146; J. Walker, *Biblical Characters in the Koran*, p. 113-121. — On the name Nuh. Goldziher, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxiv (1870), 207-211; on Nuh as Muhammad; Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, ii, Leyden 1890, p. lxxxix, and p. 2. (BERNHARD HELLER)

NUH, the name of two Sāmānids. 1. **Abū MUHAMMAD NUH** i. n. **NAṢR b. AHMAD**, called al-Amir al-Hamid, succeeded his father [see *NAṢR*]; but the real ruler was the pious theologian Abū 'Iṣṣāq Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Sulami. The latter long refused to take the title of "amir" but finally succumbed to Nuh's pressing representations, and took much less interest in the business of government than in his devotional exercises and theological studies which earned him the name of "al-Hakim al-Shahid". There were also by this time unmistakable symptoms of decline. In 332 (943-944) 'Abd Allāh b. al-Aghlān rebelled in Khawārizm and Nuh set out with an army from Bukhārā towards Merv. But when 'Abd Allāh placed himself under the protection of the ruler of the Turks, whose son was a prisoner in Bukhārā, peace was restored by the release of the Turkish prince and the surrender of 'Abd Allāh who was pardoned by Nuh. Much more trouble was caused to the Sāmānid dynasty by the rebel governor of Khurāsān, Abū 'Alī b. Mahtāj. Shortly after his accession Nuh had sent him with an army against al-Ray to take this town from the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla. A section of his troops deserted him on the way however and when he encountered Rukn al-Dawla three *farmaks* from al-Ray the majority of his Kurd troops went over to the enemy. Abū 'Alī was defeated and had to return to Naisābur. In Djumādā II 333 (January-February 945), he again advanced against Ray by order of Nuh; on this occasion Rukn al-Dawla did not meet him but took to flight, and in Ramaḍān (April-May) Abū 'Alī took the town and the surrounding country. In the meanwhile his enemies in Khurāsān took advantage of his absence to libel him to Nuh, whereupon the latter replaced him by Ibrāhīm b. Shuḡūr; but Abū 'Alī was not inclined to let this happen and on account of financial difficulties the government could not enforce its orders. As the troops were not paid regularly they blamed the vizier and said he was in collusion with Abū 'Alī. In the end the discontent increased to such a degree that Nuh was unable to protect the vizier and in Djumādā I 335 (Nov.-Dec. 946) he was put to death. As early as

Ramaḍān 334 (April-May 946) Abū 'Alī had summoned Nuh's uncle Ibrāhīm b. Ahmad from al-Mawjil and when Abū 'Alī approached Merv, the government troops went over to him, while Nuh fled to Bukhārā. In Djumādā I 335 (Nov.-Dec. 946) Abū 'Alī entered Merv and in the following month Bukhārā, where the people paid homage to Ibrāhīm as their ruler, after Nuh had fled to Samarkand. But Abū 'Alī did not remain long in Bukhārā. Under pretext of going to Samarkand, he left the town and made his way to Saghāniyān; which he entered in Sha'bān (Feb.-March, 947). After Ibrāhīm, who with a brother of Nuh's, Abū 'Iṣṣāq Muhammad, had remained in Bukhārā, had begun negotiations with Nuh; but, according to another story, had been defeated in open battle by him, Nuh entered Bukhārā in Ramaḍān of the same year (March-April 947) where he put to death one of the leading personalities, the chamberlain Toghmān, and blinded Ibrāhīm along with two of his own brothers, Abū 'Iṣṣāq Muhammad and Abū Muhammad Ahmad. But the details are variously given; cf. Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, viii 348, where it is said after a very full description of events based on the Khurāsān historians: "The *Irāki* give a different version", followed by a brief account of the same events from the *Irāki* point of view; cf. also Barthold, *Turkistan*, p. 247.

Manṣūr i. b. Karategin was then appointed governor of Khurāsān and sent with an army against Merv, where a follower of Abū 'Alī named Abū Ahmad Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Karwini was in control. The latter submitted on Manṣūr's approach and was brought to Bukhārā. Here Nuh at first received him kindly but when he discovered that he could not rely on al-Karwini he had him put to death. Peace between the government and the ambitious Abū 'Alī did not last long. When the latter learned that Nuh was preparing for war he left Saghāniyān and went to Balkh; he then advanced against Bukhārā once again. A battle was fought at Khurjān in Djumādā I 336 (Nov.-Dec. 947); Abū 'Alī was defeated and returned to Saghāniyān. After some time a rumour spread that Nuh intended to attack him once more, whereupon Abū 'Alī again mobilized his followers. Balkh and Tokharistan fell into his hands; in Rabi' i 337 (Sept.-Oct. 948) however, he came into conflict with the government troops and suffered a defeat. The latter sacked Saghāniyān but when they were cut off from communication with Bukhārā, Nuh had to open negotiations for peace and in Djumādā II of the same year (Dec. 948-Jan. 949) peace was made. The Oriental sources give no details of the terms of the treaty; at any rate, Abū 'Alī's son Abū 'Iṣṣāq 'Abd Allāh was sent to Bukhārā as a hostage and there received with great distinction while Abū 'Alī remained in Saghāniyān. Since Manṣūr b. Karategin could not maintain discipline among the troops in Khurāsān he repeatedly asked Nuh to relieve him of his office. The latter therefore promised Abū 'Alī to restore him to his old post and when Manṣūr died in Rabi' i 340 (Aug.-Sept. 951) Abū 'Alī was appointed his successor. In Ramaḍān (Jan.-Feb. 952) he left Saghāniyān, the administration of which he gave to his son Abū Manṣūr Naṣr b. Ahmad, then went to Merv and arrived at Naisābur in Dhū 'l-Hijja (April-May 952). He restored order in Khurāsān, but when by Nuh's orders he attacked the Būyid Rukn

al-Dawla and his achievements did not come up to expectations, he was dismissed and Abū Sa'īd Bakr b. Malik al-Farghānī appointed his successor, whereupon Abū 'Alī sought refuge with Fakh al-Dawla. On Nuh's dealings with the Būyids see the article *Waqfiyyat al-Riḡān*. Nuh died in Rābī' II 343 (Aug. 954), and his son 'Abd al-Malik succeeded him.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, viii. 301 ff., 310 ff., 333 ff., 344—349, 353, 359, 365, 370, 378—381; Gardīnī, *Zain al-Akbar*, ed. Muḥammad Nāṣim, p. 32—34, 36—39; *Description topographique et historique de Boukhara par Mohammed Nerschakky*, ed. Schefer, p. 94 ff., 103, 112, 228; Hama Allah Mustawīd Karwīnī, *Tarīkh-i Gūstā*, ed. Browne, i. 347 ff., 359, 383; Amedroz and Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, see index; Barthold, *Turkistan down to the Mongol Invasion*, p. 10, 14, 108 ff., 243 ff., 246—249, 259. — See also the art. *DeGeste*. 2. NUH II b. MANŠUR b. NUH, called al-Manšūr or al-Rāḡl, ascended the throne at the age of 13 after the death of his father in Shawwāl 366 (June 977). The government was at first in the hands of his mother and the vizier Abū 'Alī Ḥusayn 'Abd Allah b. Ahmad al-Uṭhī, who assumed office in Rābī' II 367 (Nov.—Dec. 977). In 371 (981—82) the powerful Sipahsālār in Khurāsān Abū 'Alī Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Sindjūr, who according to Ibn al-Athīr's description of him "only obeyed when he pleased" (*illā yuṣū' illā fīmā yurād*), was dismissed and Muḥammad al-Dawla Abū 'Abbas Ṭāhī, a devoted servant of the vizier, put in his place. But the rule of the vizier did not last long; the Sāmānīd armies were defeated by the Būyids and the vizier himself murdered at the instigation of Ibn Sindjūr. When Ṭāhī went to Bukhārā in order to restore order there, Ibn Sindjūr joined forces with the former Mamlūk Fa'īk, who had taken part in the war against the Būyids and offered him his assistance in the conquest of Khurāsān; they then met in Naisābūr and seized the country around it. When Ṭāhī heard of this he went to Merv and entered into negotiations with the two allies with the result that it was agreed that Ṭāhī should retain the supreme command along with Naisābūr while Fa'īk was to get Balkh and Ibn Sindjūr's son Abū 'Alī was to receive Herāt. After some time, in 373 (983—84) or 376 (986), 'Abd Allah b. Muḥammad b. 'Uzair was appointed vizier. The latter was hostile to the 'Uṭhī family and at once dismissed Ṭāhī and restored Ibn Sindjūr to the supreme command in Khurāsān. Some officers indeed appealed for Ṭāhī but their representations were of no avail with the vizier, who was supported by Nuh's mother. Equally unsuccessful were the efforts of the former Sipahsālār to enforce his claims by force of arms against Ibn Sindjūr and Fa'īk, although he was supported by the two Būyids, Fakh al-Dawla and Shams al-Dawla b. 'Aḡāl al-Dawla. Ṭāhī was defeated and fled to Dīrdjān where he died in 377 (987—88) of the plague or, according to another statement, of poison. In Dhu 'l-Hijja 378 (March 990) Ibn Sindjūr also died and was succeeded by his son Abū 'Alī, who was jealous of Fa'īk and wished to get him out of the way. When he resorted to arms Fa'īk could not resist him but fled to Mervwārdīh. Abū 'Alī then was recognised as governor of all

the provinces south of the Amṭ-Darys and soon made himself independent of the central government in Bukhārā while Fa'īk took possession of Balkh. The amir Abū 'Alī Ḥārith Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Farighūn, whom Nuh sent against him, was defeated and joined Fa'īk against the lord of Saghānīyān, Ṭāhir b. Faḡl. The latter could not resist the combined forces of the allies; he himself was slain and his army scattered. In addition, there was the intervention of foreign rulers in the domestic affairs of the kingdom. Abū 'Alī turned to the Karakhanīd Bughrā-Khān and arranged with him for a partition of the Sāmānīd kingdom by which Bughrā-Khān was to have Transoxania and Abū 'Alī Khurāsān. As a result Bughrā-Khān appeared in Bukhārā in Rābī' I 382 (May 992) but soon withdrew and died on the way back to Turkestan (cf. the article *muḡghān-gūghān*). After Nuh, who had had to evacuate his capital, had returned, Fa'īk again appeared on the scene. On the approach of Bughrā-Khān he had been sent against him, but, as we are told, presumably correctly, deliberately allowed himself to be defeated, whereupon he submitted and was rewarded by Bughrā-Khān with the governorship of Tirmidh and Balkh. After the return of Nuh he made an alliance with Abū 'Alī whereupon the helpless Sāmānīd decided to appeal for help to the Ghaznawīd Sabuktēgin (cf. the article *SAWANS*). After a time Abū 'Alī and Fa'īk, who had taken refuge with the Būyid Fakh al-Dawla in Dīrdjān, wished to return to Khurāsān (386—995). At first they had some success but when they encountered Sabuktēgin near Tūs, they suffered a decisive defeat and fled to Amul. They then sent messengers to Bukhārā to appeal for pardon. The authorities turned a deaf ear to Fa'īk's appeal but declared themselves ready to restore Abū 'Alī to favour. Fa'īk therefore fled to the Karakhanīds, while Abū 'Alī after many vicissitudes finally made his peace with the authorities in Bukhārā through the intervention of the amir Abū 'Abbas Ma'mūn b. Muḥammad in Gurgānj. He was at first received very kindly but later thrown into prison with several of his brothers and officers. At the same time, a raid by the Karakhanīds forced Nuh again to appeal to Sabuktēgin who was then in Balkh. The latter at once invaded Transoxania with a large army; but when he demanded that Nuh should join forces with him, Nuh refused on the advice of the vizier 'Abd Allah b. 'Uzair. Sabuktēgin was not at all pleased and Nuh had not only to give in but also to hand over the vizier and Abū 'Alī, whereupon the viceroy was given to Abū Nāsir Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Abū Zaid. Sabuktēgin imprisoned Abū 'Alī and Ibn 'Uzair in Gardīn. The former died in 387 (997) in prison while the vizier was afterwards released. At the conclusion of peace, Sabuktēgin and the Karakhanīds agreed that the steppe of Kātwān should be the frontier between the Sāmānīds and the Karakhanīds. Fa'īk was also recognised as governor of Samarkand. Sabuktēgin ruled as an independent sovereign in Khurāsān; in Transoxania the vizier Abū Nāsir endeavoured to restore order by force but after a few months he was murdered and Nuh appointed as his successor Abū 'Alī Maḥaffar Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Barghashī. Nuh died in Raddab 387 (July 997) and was succeeded by his son Abū 'Alī Ḥārith Muḥammad.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, viii. 495; ix. 7—9, 19 ff., 67, 69.

72, 75 sq., 91; Gardizi, *Zain al-Akbar*, ed. Muhammad Nāṣir, p. 48 sq., 53–60; *Description topographique et historique de Boukhara par Muhammad Nersisany*, ed. Schofer, *passim*; Hamd Allāh Mustawfi-Ḳāsimi, *Tārīkh-i Gūda*, ed. Brown, i. 350, 353, 385–390, 393, 421; Amedroz and Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, see index; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, in *G.M.S.*, p. 9, 252–254, 258–264.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

NUH b. MUṢṬAFĀ, an Ottoman theologian and translator, was born in Anatolia but migrated while still quite young to Cairo where he studied all branches of theology and attained a high reputation. He died there in 1070 (1659). He wrote a series of theological treatises, some of which are detailed by Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 314. His most important work however is his free translation and edition of Shahrastānī's celebrated work on the sects, *Tarjuman al-Milal wa-Nihāl* which he prepared at the suggestion of a prominent Cairo citizen named Yūsuf Efendi. It exists in manuscript in Berlin (cf. Pertsch, *Kat.*, p. 157 sq.), Gotha (Pertsch, *Kat.*, p. 76), London (cf. Rieu, *Cat.*, p. 35 sq.), Upsala (cf. Tornberg, *Codices*, p. 213), Vienna (cf. Flügel, *Kat.*, ii. 199) etc. and was printed in Cairo in 1263. On the considerable differences between this Turkish translation and the original Arabic cf. Rieu in the British Museum Catalogue, p. 356. In his *Mémoire sur deux coffrets mystiques du moyen âge, du Cabinet de M. le Duc de Blacas* (Paris 1832), p. 28 sqq., J. v. Hammer gave some extracts from the latter part of the work. He also wrote on it in the *Wiener Jahrbücher*, lxxi, p. 50 and ci. 4.

In 1150 (1741) a certain Yūsuf Efendi wrote a life of Nuh b. Muṣṭafā which exists in MS. in Cairo (*Cat.*, vii. 364).

Bibliography: The catalogues of MSS. above mentioned and also Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii. 314 and Muhammad al-Mahdī, *Tārīkh al-Khalafat al-Aḥbar*, Cairo 1868, iv. 458.

(FRANK BAEINGER)

AL-NUKHAILA, a town in the 'Irāq, near al-Kūfa. It is known mainly from the accounts of the battle of Kādīsiya. From the statements collected by Yāqūt regarding its position it appears that two different places of this name had later to be distinguished, namely one near Kūfa on the road to Syria, which is several times mentioned in the time of the Caliph 'Alī and Mu'awiya and another, a watering station between al-Mughitha and al-Aḳaba, 3 *mil* from al-Hufair, to the right of the road to Mecca. Several encounters took place there during the second battle of Kādīsiya. According to al-Khalil in al-Bakrī, this al-Nukhaila was in the Syrian steppe (*al-Badiya*); Ibn al-Fakih also seems to be thinking of this region. Caetani assumes that the reference in both cases is to the same place on the edge of the desert. According to Muall, it perhaps corresponds to the modern Khān Ibn Nkhaila about 14 miles S. S. E. of Kerbelā and 40 miles N. N. W. of al-Kūfa.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv. 771 sq.; Ibn al-Fakih, *B.G.A.*, v. 163; al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 577; Yāqūt, *Tārīkh*, ed. Houtmann, ii. 162; al-Jabart, de Goeje, i. 2201 sq., 3239, 3345; ii. 345; al-Baladhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldan*, ed. de Goeje, p. 245, 253 sq., 256; Ibn Miskawayh, *Ta'ārīkh*, ed.

Caetani, p. 571; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, iv. 205 sq.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, iii/4, 1910, p. 256, 254, 258, 261, A. H. 13, § 168, note 20, A. H. 14, § 11, 14 (with note 3), 20; Massignon, in *M.I.E.A.*, Q. xxvii. 348, 51, 53; Muall, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1928, p. 39, note 31; 41, note 32, 247, 349. (E. HONIGSMANN)

AL-NUKRA, a plain west of the Djebel Hawrān on the border of Trachonitis in Transjordan. The name al-Nukra ('the cavity') is quite modern. It is applied to an area, which includes the two districts of al-Bathanyā (with its chief town Adhriṭ) and Hawrān (west of the hills of the same name), i. e. the whole northern half of Transjordan. In the wider sense al-Nukra includes all the country from al-Ludjā, Dhiḍir and al-Balḡ to the foot of the Djebel Hawrān, in the narrower sense only the southern part of this; in any case it stretches from al-Ṣanānīn to the Djebel al-Durra (Hawrān). To al-Nukra belong Mi'atbita or Mi'atbita, Tubba (now Tibne), al-Mahādijla, Oḡṣā, Oḡmā, al-Muṣāfira and al-Faddān already mentioned in Syriac texts of the pre-Muslim period.

Bibliography: Noldeke, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxix. 431, note 1; Buhl, *Geographie des alten Palästina*, Freiburg i. B. and Leipzig 1896, p. 15, 43 sq., 84; Dušanov, *Topographie de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, p. 323. (E. HONIGSMANN)

NUMAIR b. AMIR b. SA'Ā'A, an Arab tribe (Wüstenfeld, *General. Tabellen*, V 15) inhabiting the western heights of al-Yamūma and those between this region and al-Hima Dāriya: a bare and difficult country the nature of which explains the rude and savage character of the Numair. Their name like that of Naimr and Aumair borne by other ethnic groups (there are also in the list of Arab tribes a number of other clans with the name Numair: among the Asad, the Tamim, the Hishm, the Hamdān etc.) is no doubt connected with *numr*, the Arabian panther; we know the deductions made by Robertson Smith from this fact and from other similar cases, to prove the existence of a system of totemism among the early Arabs (*Kinship and Marriage in early Arabia*, second ed., p. 234). His theory is now abandoned.

The geographical dictionaries of al-Bakrī and Yāqūt mention a large number of places in the land of the Numair, especially their wells, and often even record a change of ownership from one tribe to another (e.g. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, iii. 802: the well of Ghil, which formerly belonged to the Tamimī clans of the Kulālī b. Yarḥū, later passed to Numair); this wealth of references does not however mean that the Numair played an important part in the history of Arabia. It is only due to the fact that the country of the Numair is typically Beduin in its scenery and lends itself to description by poets. The Numair besides were much intermixed with the neighbouring tribes (especially the Tamim, Bihila and Kuṣhair) and the boundaries of their territory were rather vague.

The Numair, a poor tribe without natural wealth, have always been brigands. The part they took in the pre-Islamic wars was a very modest one and they appear very rarely alongside of the other groups of the great tribe of 'Amir b. Sa'ā'a (they hardly played any part in the battle of Fair al-Ri) against the Banu 'I-Harith b. Ka'b and their allies, *Nabṣ*, ed. Bevan, p. 469–472). It is to

this isolation that they owe the privilege of being known as one of the *Qamarat al-'Arab*, i.e. a tribe which never allied itself with others (al-Mubarrad, *Kamil*, ed. Wright, p. 372; *Najd*, p. 946; *Musaddat*, ed. Lyall, p. 841; on the different tribes to which this title is given, cf. *Ta'aj al-'Arab*, iii, 107); the other designation of the Numair 'the *Ashraf* of the Banu 'Amir', also gives them a special place within the great tribe from which they sprang; it indicates that they were thought not to have the same mother as the other clans of the Banu 'Amir (*Musaddat*, p. 259, 12-13 = 771, 2-4); the source is the *Qamarat* of Ibn al-Kalbi, Brit. Mus. MSS., fol. 120^b—121^a). Neither during the life of the Prophet, nor at the beginning of the caliphate did the Numair make any stir; they appear neither as partisans nor as enemies of Islam. It is only from the Umayyad period that the name begins to appear in histories, but only to record their insubordination to the central power or their exploits as brigands; in the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik their refusal to pay tribute brought a punitive expedition against them (al-Baladhuri, *Futuh*, p. 139; cf. *Aghani*, xviii, 112—113; xix, 120—121). Another expedition of the same kind but on a larger scale was that sent against them under the famous general of the caliph al-Muwakkil, Rughā al-Kabir, in 232 (846) to put an end to their systematic plundering; it ended in the complete dispersal of the tribe (Tabari, iii, 1357—1363); a most interesting account of Beduin customs including on p. 1362 a detailed list of the Numair clans only one of which, the Banu 'Amir b. Numair, devoted itself to agriculture and grazing, while the others lived only by brigandage. It appears however that the Numair soon resumed their old habits and another expedition was sent against them with the same object as the earlier ones in the 10th century A.D. by the Hamdunid Saif al-Dawla (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, iv, 378).

An event of little importance in itself has given the Numair considerable fame in literary history, although little flattering to them: this is the satire directed against them by the poet Jarrir which is one of the most famous examples of the invective of the *al-ghaz* (especially the hemistich: "Cast down thine eyes: thou belongest to the Numair"). The occasion of it was the unfortunate intervention of the Numairi poet al-Rā'i in favour of al-Farazdaq in the celebrated feud between him and Jarrir (*Najd*, p. 427—451, No. 53; *Aghani*, vii, 49—50; xx, 169—171 etc.). The memory of this quarrel survived for a very long time. It was probably no accident that the man who urged the emir Rughā to the expedition against the Numair was the great-grandson of Jarrir, the poet 'Umāra b. 'Aqd b. Bilāl b. Jarrir; the Numair moreover had slain four of his uncles (Ibn Kutayba, *Sifr*, ed. de Goeje, p. 284, where we must read B. Dima [b. 'Abd Allāh b. Numair] in place of B. Dahib). The enmity between the family of Jarrir and the Numair was probably revived by the proximity of the latter to the tribe of the poet, the Banu Kutayba b. Yarbu'

To the Numair belonged notable poets — in addition to al-Rā'i and his son Qandal — like Abū Hāya (in the early 'Abbasid period) and Qitrān al-'Awd whose *Diwān* was recently published (Cairo 1350 = 1933, publications of the Egyptian Library).

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den*

general. Tabellen, p. 340; Ibn Duraid, *Kirās al-Ighāṣa*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 178—179; Ibn Kutayba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 42; Ibn al-Kalbi, *Qamarat al-'Arab*, British Museum MS., fol. 127^b—150^a.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

AL-NU'MÂN B. BASHIR AL-ANṢARĪ, governor of al-Kūfa and Hims. According to some Muslim authorities, al-Nu'mān was the first *amir* to be born after the Hijra. His father Bashir b. Sa'd (q. v.) was one of the most distinguished of the Companions of the Prophet, and his mother, 'Amra bint Rawāḥ, was the sister of the much respected 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥ (q. v.). After the assassination of 'Uthmān, Nu'mān, who was devoted to him, refused to pay homage to 'Alī. According to some stories which seem rather apocryphal, he brought the bloodstained shirt of the Caliph, according to others, the fingers cut from the hand of his wife Nā'ila to Thimaeus and these relics were exhibited by Mu'awiya in the mosque. In the battle of Siffin (q. v.) he faithfully stood by Mu'awiya and he was always a favourite with him while the other *amirs* were kept at a suitable distance from the Umayyad court. In the year 39 (659-660) al-Nu'mān by order of Mu'awiya undertook an expedition against Mālīk b. Ka'b al-Ashabi, who had occupied in 'Alī's name 'Ain al-Tamr on the frontier between Syria and Mesopotamia and began to besiege it but had to retire without accomplishing anything. Twenty years later he was given the governorship of al-Kūfa. He was not really fitted for this post, because his pronounced antipathy to 'Alī and his followers did not suit the Shi'ī population of the town. In addition he did not conceal his sympathy with the *amirs*, who were attacked by Yazid b. Mu'awiya's favourite al-Akhṭal (q. v.), but freely expressed his opinion on the insult offered to his fellow tribesmen. After Yazid had come to the throne in 60 (April 680), he nevertheless left al-Nu'mān in office; but the latter did not long remain there. Al-Nu'mān is described as an ascetic and he knew the teachings of the Qur'ān thoroughly. But his asceticism was not of the strictest type, and his interest in musical entertainments was regarded as evidence of lack of dignity. In policy he proved very tolerant so long as it did not come to an open rising. When Muslim b. 'Aqil, Husain's partisan, appeared in al-Kūfa to ascertain the feelings of the people and found a number who were ready to pay homage to Husain, al-Nu'mān adopted a neutral attitude and took no steps to check the vigorous propaganda. As a result the followers of the Umayyads in al-Kūfa wrote to the Caliph and called his attention to the fact that the threatening situation demanded a man of vigour who would be able to carry out the government's orders, while al-Nu'mān out of real or feigned weakness was letting things take their course and only urging people to keep calm. When al-Yazid was discussing this with his councillors, notably the influential Ibn Sa'd, the latter showed him a document signed by Mu'awiya shortly before his death, containing the appointment of the then governor of al-Baḡra 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād (q. v.) to the same office in al-Kūfa. In spite of his antipathy to the proposal, Yazid carried out his father's wish and made 'Ubayd Allāh governor of al-Kūfa without removing him from his post in al-Baḡra, whereupon al-Nu'mān hastened back to Syria. When the people of Medina rebelled

at the beginning of the year 63 (682) and drove all the Unayyids out of the town. Yazîd wished to see what fact would do before resorting to arms and sent a mission to Medina under al-Nu'mân to show the people the futility of armed resistance and to bring them to their senses. The mission was also instructed to go on to Mecca to induce the stubborn 'Abd Allâh b. al-Zubair to pay homage. Al-Nu'mân's warnings and threats had no effect on his countrymen however and there was nothing left for the Caliph but to subdue the rebels in the two holy cities (see the article YAZÎD b. MU'AWIYA) by force of arms. After the death of Yazîd in Rabi' I 64 (Nov. 683) al-Nu'mân who had in the meanwhile become governor of Hims declared openly for 'Abd Allâh b. al-Zubair. In Dhu l-Hijja of the same year (July-Aug. 684) or in Muharram 65 (Aug.-Sept. 684) however, the latter's leading follower al-Dakḥak b. Kaïs al-Fihri (q. v.) was defeated at Marj Rihl (q. v.) and thus the fate of al-Nu'mân was also decided. He attempted to save himself by flight but was overtaken and killed. According to the Arab historians, the town of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mân takes its name from Nu'mân b. Bashîr.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, vi. 35; Tabari, ed. de Goeje, see index; Ibn al-Athîr, *al-Kamil*, ed. Tornberg, I. 514; ii. 83, 303, 382; iii. 154, 228, 315, 430; iv. 9, 15, 17, 19, 75, 88, 120, 123-125; Ya'qûbî, ed. Houtsma, ii. 219, 228, 278, 301, 304 sq.; al-Dinawarî, *al-Aḥbâr al-fîsiq*, ed. Guirguez, p. 239 sq., 245, 247, 273; Mas'ûdî, *Murûj*, ed. Patin, iv. 296 sq.; v. 128, 134, 204, 227-229; Abn 'l-Fida', ed. Reiske, i. 77, 385, 393, 405, 407; *Kitâb al-Aḥbâr*, see Goldziher, *Tablât al-fihriyya*; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, viii. 325; ix. 233, 353; x. 275 sq.; see also index; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, p. 47, 82, 94, 96, 110; Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omayyade Mu'awia I^{er}*, p. 43, 45, 58, 110, 116, 407; do., *Le califat de Yazîd I^{er}*, p. 119 sq., 137, 140, 142, 207, 215, 221, 228. (K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

AL-NUMÂN b. AL-MUNDHIR (with the kunya Abû Kaḥbîr or Abû Kulais) was the last "king" of the house of the Lakhmids of al-Hira (cf. LAKHM). He is certainly the best known to the Arabs but not by any means therefore the most important of the dynasty. He is often mentioned by the poets, according to circumstances a subject of panegyrics or of lampoons. His best known court poet was al-Nabigha al-Dhubyânî (q. v.); on his relationship with 'Adî b. Zaid al-Thalîf see below.

His fame among the Arabs does not mean that we know a great deal about his life and activities. What we can get from the poetry is of very little historical value and what the historians tell us about him is of almost less value. Arab tradition about the house of Lakhmids is generally speaking of the same nature as that of the partly contemporary houses of Ghassân and Kinda. In addition there is the complication produced by the frequent confusion of different people of the same name in the stories. What is to be found in non-Arab sources, although more reliable, is too trifling and accidental to build a historical narrative upon. The material has been collected by Nöldeke in his *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* and G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der*

Lakhmiden in al-Hira and critically studied as far as possible.

The "kings" of al-Hira were vassals of the Persian Great Kings and were installed by them, and given the task of keeping together the Arab population of the marches and the desert Arabs, their dependents, and thus to protect the empire against raids and plunder by the Beduins. Al-Nu'mân is said to have reigned 580-602 A. D. or perhaps a little later. His father was al-Mundhir b. Hind, one of the three sons of the famous prince of the house of Kinda, who came to the throne in succession. His mother however was of humble origin; she was, it is said, the daughter of a goldsmith near Medina, a fact which the enemies of the king made good play within their lampoons on him. After the death of his father al-Mundhir, the Great King (Hormizd IV) is said to have hesitated for a time to fill the throne. Al-Nu'mân's final appointment is said only to have been made through the influence and cunning of the Arab poet 'Adî b. Zaid al-Thalîf (q. v.) who was secretary for Arab affairs to the Great King and whose family were devoted to al-Nu'mân.

No really important events are known of the reign of al-Nu'mân. Mention is made of hostilities with Arab tribes and anecdotes of his life recorded. At first a pagan, like all his male ancestors, he was baptised which did not prevent him remaining a polygamist. But there had previously been Christians in his family. His grandmother Hind above mentioned founded a monastery (cf. AL-HIRA) and his sister of the same name (others say daughter) was a nun. Towards the end of his life he had the poet 'Adî b. Zaid put to death as his enemies had poisoned him against him. But he is said to have helped a son of the poet to obtain the same influential position with the Great King (Khurrah II) as his father had held. He himself was not long afterwards made prisoner by the Great King — it is said as a result of the machinations of this son of 'Adî — and died in prison. There are all sorts of legends giving details of his end.

Bibliography: Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 347, note 1, and Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lakhmiden*, p. 107-110, where the rest of the literature is given.

(A. MORENO)

AL-NUMÂN b. THĀBIT. [See ABU HANIFA.]

AL-NUMÂN b. ABĪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD b. MANṢUR b. AḤMAD b. HAYYUN AL-TAMIMI AL-IMĀ'IL AL-MADHĪNĪ ABU HANĪFA, the greatest of Imā'ili jurists and a protagonist of the early Fātimids in Egypt. Numān appears to have been derived from a Maliki stock in Kairawān, adopting the Imā'ili faith early in life. The exact date of his birth is not known, but it is probable that he was born in the last decades of the third century of the Hijra. He began his service of the Fātimids by entering the service of al-Mahdī (first Fātimid caliph), and served him for the last nine years of his life, i. e., 313-322 A. D. Thereafter he continued to serve al-Kā'im (second Fātimid caliph) for the whole of his life. During this time al-Nu'mân was concerned chiefly with the study of history, philosophy and jurisprudence, and the composition of his numerous works. Just prior to al-Kā'im's death, which occurred in 335 (946), he was appointed a *ḥakīm*. His rank rose during the time of Manṣūr (third Fātimid caliph) and he reached his

zenith in the time of the fourth Fātimid caliph, al-Mu'izz (died 365—976), whom he predeceased by two years. Officially he does not seem to have been appointed *ḥāfi* 'ḥāfi, a designation given for the first time to al-Nu'mān's elder son 'Alī; but during the reign of al-Mu'izz, al-Nu'mān acquired great power and was in effect the highest judicial functionary of the realm, and one of the most important figures in the hierarchy of the *Dawla* (pronounced *Dawlat* by the Ismā'īlīs).

Ḥāfi al-Nu'mān was a man of great talent, learning and accomplishments: learned as a scholar, prolific as an author, upright as a judge. Not many external facts of his life are known. Possibly he was a recluse immersed in juristic and philosophical studies, and engaged in the composition of his numerous works. He was the founder of and is rightly regarded as the greatest exponent of Ismā'īlī jurisprudence. According to the Ismā'īlī tradition, he wrote nothing without consulting the Imāms who were his contemporaries, and his greatest work, the *Dawā'im al-Isām* (The Pillars of Isām), is regarded as almost the joint work of Imām al-Mu'izz and Ḥāfi al-Nu'mān, and therefore of the highest authority. It was the official *corpus juris* after the time of al-Mu'izz throughout the Fātimid empire. In addition to being a jurist, some of his other works are also considered as standard works by the Ismā'īlī doctors and are still eagerly studied, for example, *Asās al-Ta'wīl* and *Ta'wīl al-Da'wā* (ta'wīl), *Sharḥ al-Aḥbār* and *Iftitāḥ al-Da'wā* (aḥbār), and *al-Maḥāṣil wa-l-Muḥāṣarāt* (waḥṣ).

Al-Nu'mān was the founder of a distinguished family of *ḥāfi*s, and both of his sons, 'Alī and Muḥammad, attained the rank of chief *ḥāfi*, *ḥāfi* 'ḥāfi.

Ḥāfi al-Nu'mān died at Old-Cairo (Misr) on Friday, the 29th of Jumādā II, 365 (March 27, 974).

Al-Nu'mān was a prolific and versatile author, and the names of 44 of his works have come down to us. Out of these, 22 are totally lost; 18 are wholly, and 4 partially, preserved by the Western Ismā'īlīs of India. Instead of giving a complete list of his works, which may be found elsewhere, I am only classifying them according to subjects, mentioning the most important of them: A. Fikḥ: 14 works (*Kitāb al-Fikḥ*, *Dawā'im al-Isām*, *Muḥṭaṣar al-Aḥbār*); B. Munāẓara: 5 works; C. Ta'wīl (Allegorical Interpretation): 3 works (*Asās al-Ta'wīl*, *Ta'wīl al-Da'wā*); D. Fakḥ al-Fikḥ (Esoteric Philosophy): 4 works; E. 'Aḥādīd (Dogmatics): 6 works (*al-Kaṣida al-Muḥṭaṣara*); F. Aḥbār al-Sira: 3 works (*Sharḥ al-Aḥbār*); G. Ta'rikḥ: 2 works (*Iftitāḥ al-Da'wā*); H. Waḥ: 3 works (*al-Maḥāṣil wa-l-Muḥāṣarāt*); I. Miscellaneous: 4 works.

Bibliography: An account of the life and works of Ḥāfi al-Nu'mān may be found in the *J. R. A. S.* for 1934, January number, p. 1—32. Brief accounts may also be found in A. A. Fyzee, *Islamic Law of Wills* (Oxford 1933), p. 9—14, and Ivanow, *Guide to Ismā'īlī Literature* (Royal Asiatic Society, London 1933), p. 37—40.

(FYZEE)

NUN, the twenty-fifth letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value of 50, belonging to the group of liquids (*al-ḥurūf al-mawṣūlāt*), and as such subject to numerous changes and assimilations; cf. the *Bibliography*.

On the palaeographic history of the character, cf. *ARABIA*, plate 1.

Bibliography: W. Wright, *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Cambridge 1890, p. 67; H. Zimmern, *Vergl. Grammatik der sem. Sprachen*, Leipzig 1898, p. 31—32; Brockelmann, *Précis de linguistique sémitique*, transl. by W. Margolis and M. Cohen, Paris 1910, p. 74, 87; do., *Grundriss d. vergl. Grammatik d. sem. Sprachen*, I, 136—137, 173 ff., 202 ff., 220 ff.; A. Schaade, *Sibawathī's Lautlehre*, Leyden 1911, index, s.v. (A. J. WENSINCK).

NÜR (n.), light, synonym *ḥawā*, also *ḥawā* and *ḥayā* (the latter sometimes used in the plural). According to some authors, *ḥawā* (*ḥayā*) has a more intensive meaning than *nūr* (cf. Lane, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, s.v. *ḥawā*); this idea has its foundation in *Kur'ān* x. 5, where the sun is called *ḥayā* and the moon *nūr*. The further deduction from this passage that *ḥayā* is used for the light of light producing bodies (sun) and *nūr* on the other hand for the reflected light in bodies which do not emit light (moon), is not correct, if we remember the primitive knowledge of natural science possessed by the Arabs in the time of Muḥammad, nor is there any proof of it in later literature. The works on natural science and cosmology of the Arabs in the best period of the middle ages (Ibn al-Haiṭham, *Ḥawāṭi* and later writers) in the great majority of cases use the term *ḥawā* and it therefore seems justified to claim this word as a technical term in mathematics and physics.

Besides dealing with the subject in his *Optics* (*Kitāb al-Manāẓir*) Ibn al-Haiṭham devoted a special treatise to it entitled *Ḥawāṭi al-Ḥawā* s. *al-Ḥawā* s. *al-Haiṭham* s. *al-Ḥawā* which has been published with a German translation by J. Baermann in the *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxvi. [1882], 195—237, from which we take the following details:

As regards light, two kinds of bodies are distinguished, luminous (including the stars and fire) and non-luminous (dark); the non-luminous are again divided into opaque and transparent, the latter again into such as are transparent in all parts like air, water, glass, crystal etc. and such as only admit the light partly like the material of which is really opaque, such as thin cloth.

The light of luminous bodies is an essential quality of the body, the reflected light of a body in itself dark on the other hand is an accidental quality of the body.

In the opinion of mathematicians all the phenomena of light are of one and the same character; they consist of a heat from fire which is in the luminous bodies themselves. This is evident from the fact that one can concentrate rays of light from the brightest luminous body, the sun, by means of a burning-glass on one point and thus set all inflammable bodies alight and that the air and other bodies affected by the light of the sun become warm. Light and heat are thus identified or regarded as equivalent. The intensity of light, like that of heat, diminishes as the distance from the source increases.

Every luminous body whether its light is one of its essential qualities (direct) or accidental (reflected), illuminates any body placed opposite it, i.e. it sends its light out in all directions. All bodies whether transparent or opaque possess the power of absorbing light, the former have further

the power of transmitting it again; that a transparent body (air, water, etc.) also has the power of absorbing light is evident from the fact that the light becomes visible in it if it is cut with an opaque body; the light must therefore have already been in it.

The penetration of light into a transparent body takes place along straight lines (proof: the sun's rays in the dust-filled air of a dark room). This transmission of light in straight lines is an essential feature of light itself, not of the transparent body, for otherwise there must be in the latter specially marked lines along which the light travels; such a hypothesis is however disproved by admitting two or more rays of light at the same time into a dark room and watching them.

The ray is defined as light travelling along a straight line. The early mathematicians were of the opinion that the process of seeing consisted in the transmission of a ray from the eye of the observer to the object seen and the reflection from it back to the eye. Opposed to this is Ibn al-Haitham's view that the body seen — luminous or opaque — sends out rays in all directions from all points of which those going towards the eye of the observer collect in it and are perceived as the image of the body (cf. *Optics*, book i. 23: "Visio non fit radiis a visu entis" and also book ii. 23).

There is no absolutely transparent body; on the contrary, every body even the transparent reflects a part of the light which strikes it (explanation of the phenomena of twilight). According to Aristotle, the heavens possess the highest and most perfect degree of transparency. Ibn al-Haitham challenges this statement and shows from a use of the theory of the mathematician Abū Sa'd al-'Alā b. Suhail, which is based on the well known rules of three fractions of light in passing through media of different densities, that the transparency has no limits and that for every transparent body an even more transparent one can be found.

An explanation of the origin of the halo around the moon, of the rainbow, its shape and its colours, and of the rainbow to be seen at night in the steamy atmosphere of the bath, is given by Ḳazwī in his *Cosmography*, i. (*ʿAdāʾil al-Maḥāʾir*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1849, p. 100 sq.; transl. Eise, Leipzig 1868, p. 205 sq.). Ḳazwī in his discussion replaces the raindrops by small looking-glasses; Ibn al-Haitham, on the other hand, deals with the problem in a much more conclusive fashion by assuming a single or double reflection of light in spheres (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Wied. Ann.*, vol. xxxix., 1890, p. 575).

Bibliography: References given in the article.

(WILLY HAERTNER)

The doctrine that God is light and reveals himself as such in the world and to man is very old and widely disseminated in Oriental religions as well as in Hellenistic gnosticism and philosophy. We cannot here go into the early history; it will be sufficient to refer to some parallels in the Old and New Testaments, e.g. Gen. i. 3; Isaiah, li. 1, 19; Zech., iv.; John, i. 4-9; ill. 19; v. 35; vii. 12; xii. 35 and Rev., xxi. 23 sq.

How Muhammad became acquainted with this teaching we do not know, but the *Qurʾān* has its "light" verses (notably Sūra xxiv. 35, the "light verse" proper; cf. with it Sūra xxxiii. 43 (Muhammad as lamp); li. 8 sq. (Allāh's light); lxiv.

8 (the light sent down = revelation)). The light verse runs (as translated by Goldziher, in *Koran-auslegung*, p. 183 sq.): "Allāh is the light of the heavens and of the earth; his light is like a niche in which there is a lamp; the lamp is in a glass and the glass is like a shining star; it is lit from a blessed tree, an olive-tree, neither an eastern nor a western one; its oil almost shines alone even if no fire touches it; light upon light. Allāh leads to his light whom he will, and Allāh creates allegories for man, and Allāh knows all things".

From the context it is clear that we have to think of the light of religious knowledge, of the truth which Allāh communicates through his Prophet to his creatures especially the believers (cf. also Sūra xxiii. 40). It is pure light, light upon light, which has nothing to do with fire (*nūr*), which is lit from an olive tree, perhaps not of this world (cf. however A. J. Wensinck, *Tree and Bird as cosmological Symbols in Western Asia*, in *Vorb. Ak. Amsterdam*, 1921, p. 27 sq.). Lastly it is Allāh as the all-knowing who instructs men and leads them to the light of his revelation (cf. Sūra lxiv. 8). It is clear that we have here traces of gnostic imagery but those rationalist theologians, who — whether to avoid any comparison of the creature with God or to oppose the fantastic mystics — interpreted the light of Allāh as a symbol of his good guidance probably diverged less from the sense of the *Qurʾān* than most of the metaphysicians of light. Passages are very frequent in the *Qurʾān* in which Allāh appears as the Knowing (*ʿalīm*) and the Guiding (*hādī*). One did not need to look far for an exegesis on these lines. As Ashʿarī observes (*Mafāḥir*, ed. Ritter, ii. 534) the Muʿtazilī al-Ḥusain al-Nadīdī interpreted the light verse to mean that God guides the inhabitants of heaven and earth. The Zaidīs also interpreted the light as Allāh's good guidance (cf. the article *ḡayb*).

From ca. 100 A.D. we find references to a prophetic doctrine of *nūr*, and gradually to a more general metaphysics of light, i.e. the doctrine that God is essentially light, the prime light and as such the source of all being, all life and all knowledge. Especially among the mystics in whose emotional thinking, being, name and image coalesced, this speculation developed. Meditation on the *Qurʾān*, Persian stimuli, gnostic-Hermetic writings, lastly and most tenaciously, Hellenistic philosophy provided the material for new ideas. Ḳamālī (d. 743) had already sung of the light emanating through Adam via Muhammad into the family of 'Alī (cf. the article *ḡayb*). The doctrine of light was dialectically expounded by Ṣāḥib al-Tasawwuf (d. 896) (see also Massignon, *Textes inéd.*, p. 39 and the article *Ṣāḥib al-Tasawwuf*).

The first representatives of a metaphysics of light in Islam readily fell under the suspicion of Manichaeism, i.e. of the dualism of *nūr* and *ṣulma* (darkness) as the eternal principles. The tradition of Tirmidhī that Allāh created in darkness (cf. the article *ḡayb*) must have aroused misgivings. The physician Rāzī (d. 923 or 932), although a Hellenistic philosopher, adopted ideas from Persia and was for this refuted or cursed by various theologians and philosophers. Many mystics also (e.g. Hallāj; according to Massignon, *Poésies*, p. 150 sq. wrongly) were accused of this dualism.

But the speculations about *nūr* found a powerful support from the ninth century in the monistic doctrine of light of the Neo-Platonists (we do not

know of any Persian monism of light) which was compatible with the monism of Islām. The father of this doctrine is Plato, who in his *Politeia*, 506 D *sqq.*, compares the idea of the good in the supersensual world with Helios as the light of the physical world. The contrast is not therefore between light and darkness but between the world of ideas or mind and its copy, the physical world of bodies, in the upper world pure light, in the lower world light more or less mixed with darkness. Among the Neo-Platonists the idea of the good = the highest God = pure light. This identification was also facilitated by the fact that according to Aristotle's conception light is nothing corporeal (*De anima*, ii, 7, 418^b: [ὁ αἰὼς]... αἰὼς πῦρ οὐδ' ὕλη αἴμα οὐδ' ἀνορεὴν αἰσθητὰς). From the context which is however not all clear, it appears that Aristotle regarded light as an effective force (*energeia*). This is however of no importance here. Many Aristotelian forces and Platonic ideas are described by Neo-Pythagoreans and Neo-Platonists sometimes as forces and sometimes as substances (spiritual). With Aristotle *ἐξέρεα* (darkness) was conceived not as something positive but as *ἐπίπλησις* (privatio, the absence of light).

From this developed the doctrine which we find in the Arabic "Theology of Aristotle". Not far from the beginning (ed. Dielerici, p. 3) it is said: the power of light (*quoniam nūriya*) is communicated by the prime cause, the creator, to the 'aql and by the 'aql to the world soul, then from the 'aql through the world soul to nature and from the world soul through nature to things which originate and decay. The whole process of this creative development proceeds without movement and timelessly. But God who causes the force of light to pour forth is also light (*nūr*; occasional synonyms: *harm*, *hakk*), the "prime light" (p. 31) or (p. 44) the "light of lights". Light (p. 51) is essentially in God, not a quality (*ifā*) for God has no qualities but works through his being (*humiya*) alone. The light flows through the whole world, particularly the world of men. From the supersensual original (p. 150), the first man (*insān 'āli*), it flows over the second man (*insān nāfi'at*) and from him to the third (*insān iftimal*). These are the originals of the so-called real men. Light is of course found in its purest form in the souls of the wise and the good (p. 51). It should be noted also that *nūr* as a spiritual force (*nūḥūt*, 'aql) is distinguished from fire (*nūr*) which is said to be only a force in matter with definite quality (p. 85). Fire of course like everything else has its supersensual original. But this is more connected with life than with light.

The elevation of the soul to the divine world of light corresponds to the creative descent of light (p. 8). When the soul has passed on its return beyond the world of the 'aql, it sees there the pure light and the beauty of God, the goal of all mystics.

Although the author of the *Libre de causis* is of the opinion that nothing can be predicated regarding God, yet he has to call him the prime cause and more exactly pure light (§ 5, ed. Bardenheuer, p. 69) and as such the origin of all being and all knowledge (in God is *unifid* = *ma'rifa*; see § 23, p. 103).

The light emanated by God may, if it is regarded as an independent entity, be placed at various parts of the system. Most philosophers and theologians connect it with the *nūr* or 'aql or identify

it with them, sometimes also with life (*hayāt*), but this must be more closely investigated.

The great philosophers in Islām, Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, connected the doctrine of light with the 'aql in metaphysics as well as in psychology. Fārābī is fond of using many synonyms for the light of God and the 'aql (*hakk*) etc.; see e.g. *Der Mustarṣat*, ed. Dielerici, p. 13 *sqq.* In the biography of Fārābī in Ibn Abi Uṣaybī's (*Uṣūn*, ed. Müller, ii, 134—140) a prayer is attributed to him in which God is invoked as the "prime cause of things and light of the earth and of heaven". Ibn Sīnā like Fārābī takes up the doctrine of light in theology and further develops it. In his psychological writings he regards the light as a link of the soul and body (cf. Sahl al-Tustarī who places *nūr* between *nūḥ* and *fin* in the four elements of man). In the *Kitāb al-Ishārāt* (ed. Forger, Leyden 1892, p. 126 *sq.*) he even reads the whole metaphysical doctrine of the 'aql of the Aristotelians into the light verse of the Qur'ān. Light is the 'aql *fi* 'l-*ḥ*, fire the 'aql *fa* 'al and so on, Allāh's *nūr* is therefore like the *nous* of Aristotle! This discovery of Ibn Sīnā's was incorporated in the pious reflections of Ghazālī (in *Ma'arīf al-Ḥudā fi Ma'arīf al-Ma'rifa* al-Nafī, Cairo 1927, p. 58 *sq.*).

The best expositions of the further developments of speculation on *nūr*, especially among the gnostics and mystics, are in Mas'ūn's articles *KARMAṬIYĀN* and *TASAWWUF*.

Bibliography: Clermont-Ganneau, *La lampe et l'éclairer dans le Coran* (in *R. H. R.*, lxxxii, 1920, p. 213—259); W. H. T. Gairdner, *al-Ghazālī's Miḥāsāt al-Anwār and the Ghazālī-Problem* (in *Isl.*, vi, 1914, p. 121—153); do., *al-Ghazālī's Miḥāsāt al-Anwār*, transl. with introduction, London 1924; cf. also the articles 'AQL, AL-INSĀN AL-KĀMIL, ISHRĀṬIYUN, SUHRAWARDĪ (AL-MAKṬUL), (T), DE BOKER.

NUR ALLĀH AL-SAYID E. AL-SAYID SHARIF AL-MAR'ASHI AL-HUSAINI AL-SHUHARTI, commonly called Kẖāṣṣ Nūr Allāh, was born in 956 (1549). He was descended from an illustrious family of the Mar'ashī Saiyids and settled in Shushar. He left his native place for India and settled in Lahore where he attracted the notice of Hakim Abu 'l-Fath (d. 997 = 1588) and through his presentation to Emperor Akbar (963—1014 = 1556—1605), he was appointed Kādi of Lahore in lieu of al-Shaikh Ma'in (d. 995 = 1586). 'Abd al-Kādir Badā'uni, iii, 137, says that he was, "although a Shī'ah, a just, pious and learned man. He was flogged to death in 1019 (1610), on account of his religious opinions, by the order of the Emperor Dīshānqir (1014—1037 = 1605—1628). He is regarded as al-Shahid al-Thālith, "the third martyr", by the Shī'as and his tomb in Akbarabad is visited by numerous Shī'as from all parts of India.

He is the author of innumerable works of which the following may be quoted: 1. *Hāshiyā 'ala 'l-Baḥḥāt*, a supercommentary to al-Daīd's commentary on the Qur'ān, entitled *Anwār al-Tamāl*: Asiatic Society of Bengal MSS., List of the Government Collection, p. 16; 2. *Hāshiyā Sharḥ Dīd al-'ala 'l-Tadḥrīd*, glosses to Kūshdī's commentary on Nagī al-Dīn al-Tūsī's Compendium of metaphysics and theology, entitled *Tadḥrīd al-Kalām*: Loth. Ind. Off., N^o. 471, xv; 3. *Ḥāshiyā 'ala 'l-Ḥaḥḥāt wa-l-Ḥaḥḥāt al-Būṭī*, a polemical work against Sunnism written in reply to Faḥl b. Rūsahān's work entitled *Ḥaḥḥāt al-Būṭī*, a treatise in refutation

of the *Kaṣf al-Ḥaḥḥ wa-Naḥḥ al-Siḥ* by Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. 'Alī al-Ḥallī: Bankipore Library, Khuda Bakhsh Cat. vol. 14, p. 172; Ferungi Mahall Library, Lucknow, f. 108; Rāmpūr Library, p. 281; Asiatic Society of Bengal (List of Arabic MSS., p. 23); 4. *Maḥāṣin al-Mu'minīn*, biographies of famous Shī'as from the beginning of Islām to the rise of the Safawī dynasty in Persia: Bankipore Library Cat., p. 766; Asiatic Society of Bengal Cat., p. 59; Eilat, Ind. Off., No. 704 and Rieu, *Cat. of Persian MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 337. Printed in Tihārān 1268.

Bibliography: Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-ʿAmulī, *Amī al-ʿAmīl fī 'Ulamā' Dīyār ʿAmul*, 73; Muḥammad Ḥāḡī b. Zāin al-ʿAbīdīn al-Mūsawī, *Rawḡat al-Dīyār fī Aḥwāl al-'Ulamā' wa'l-Sūdāt*, iv, 220; 'Abd al-Kādir al-Badrūnī, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, iii, 137 and Rieu, *Cat. of Persian MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, p. 337. (M. HIDAÏET HORAIN)

NUR AL-DAWLĀ. [See DUBAÏS.]

NUR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD, an Ortokīd. He was the son and successor of Fakhr al-Dīn Kaṣṣ-Arslān, lord of Ḥiṣn Kaṣṣ and of a considerable part of Dīyār Bakr (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xi, 217) who, according to Ibn al-Aṭhīr (xi, 207), died in 562 (1166–1167) but according to the numismatic evidence may have lived till 570 or 571 (van Berchem, *Abb. Ges. Wiss. Gött.*, N.F., vol. 18/iii, 1907, p. 143, note 3). Nūr al-Dīn married the daughter of Sulṭān Kīlīdī Arslān but when he treated her disgracefully, his father-in-law was very angry and threatened him with war. In consequence Nūr al-Dīn appealed for help to Salāḥ al-Dīn who after fruitless negotiations took the field against Kīlīdī Arslān in 576. Nūr al-Dīn came to him in his camp on the Gök-ül (this should be the reading in Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 356) and was received by him with great honour. Soon afterwards his father-in-law made peace with him and with Salāḥ al-Dīn. When the latter in 578 took the field against 'Izz al-Dīn of al-Mawṣil, Nūr al-Dīn showed himself at once ready to pay homage to him and assist him at the siege of al-Mawṣil. The powerful Aiyūbid rewarded him with the important town of ʿAmīd, which he took in the following year (579) and gave him (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, vi, 324). Of all the wealth collected in this town Salāḥ al-Dīn only took for himself the 1,040,000 volumes which its library is said to have contained (Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, p. 362). In the following year (580), Nūr al-Dīn took part in the unsuccessful siege of al-Karak (Barhebraeus, p. 364). When Salāḥ al-Dīn in 581 (1185–1186) again advanced against al-Mawṣil, in place of Nūr al-Dīn who was ill, his brother 'Imād al-Dīn accompanied him. Nūr al-Dīn died soon afterwards and left to his son Kūṭb al-Dīn Sukmān II rule over Ḥiṣn Kaṣṣ and ʿAmīd. 'Imād al-Dīn on hearing of his brother's death hurried from Salāḥ al-Dīn's camp before al-Mawṣil to Ḥiṣn Kaṣṣ but found his nephew already fully installed here. He therefore seized the fortress of Khartabirt where he became the founder of a branch of the Ortokīds.

Bibliography: see the article ORTOKİDS.

(E. HONERMANN)

NUR AL-DĪN ABU 'L-KĀSIM MAḤMUD b. 'IMĀD AL-DĪN ZENĠĠ, called AL-MALIK AL-ʿAḤIL, atabeg of Ḥalab and Damascus. Nūr al-Dīn was born in Shawwāl 511 (Febr., 1118) and took part

under his father in the siege of Kaṣṣ al-Dīn where the latter was murdered in Rabi' II 543 (Sept. 1146). His kingdom was then divided between his two sons, Saif al-Dīn Ghāṣī [q. v.] who took possession of al-Mawṣil, and Nūr al-Dīn who established himself in Ḥalab. Scarcely had the news of 'Imād al-Dīn's death reached Joscelin II who lived in Tell Ḥāṣir [q. v.] than the latter entered into negotiations with the people of Edessa, mainly Armenians, the chief stronghold of the Crusaders, which 'Imād al-Dīn had taken shortly before and assured himself of their cooperation in his proposed attack on the city. He was thus able to occupy the city without difficulty and its Muslim garrison took refuge in the citadel. When Nūr al-Dīn heard this he hurried thither by forced marches; Joscelin fled and Edessa fell into the hands of Nūr al-Dīn who wreaked a terrible vengeance on the treacherous Christians, laid the city completely waste and left only a few citizens in it. In the following year he invaded the district of Ḥalab and took from the Christians Artāḥ and Kaṣrāṭhā and several other places. The news of the fall of Edessa in 539 (1144) made a tremendous impression in Europe and induced the Pope Eugenius III on Dec. 1, 1145 to send a letter to Louis VII and the knights of France in which he demanded a new crusade and in the spring of 1146 to send St. Bernard of Clairvaux to preach the crusade. He was listened to with enthusiasm; on receiving the Pope's message Louis had already declared himself ready to take the crusader's vow and finally the Hohenstaufen Conrad III was also won over. In the first half of the year 1147 the two kings set out and after great difficulties and considerable losses through starvation, epidemics and enemy attacks, the European armies joined one another in Palestine in the spring of 1148. It was decided to attack Damascus which was then nominally in the power of the Būrid Medjīd al-Dīn Aḥaḡ b. Muḥammad although the real ruler was one of his Mamlūks named Mu'in al-Dīn Anar. In Rabi' I 543 (July 1148) the Christians began the siege of the town from the southwest. The first few days were spent in heavy fighting with great losses on both sides. In the meanwhile Mu'in al-Dīn had appealed for assistance to Saif al-Dīn Ghāṣī. The latter set out with a large army and was joined on the way by his brother Nūr al-Dīn. Before giving the hard pressed Mu'in al-Dīn the assistance he desired he sent him a letter in which he demanded the surrender of the town to his deputy in order to have a truce in case of a defeat; but if he was victorious he would leave the town at once. But as Mu'in al-Dīn did not trust him completely he endeavoured instead to frighten the Christians by threats and declared that if they did not retreat he would hand over the town to Saif al-Dīn who would certainly drive the invaders completely out of Syria. These representations, supported by the gold of Damascus, did not fail to influence the eastern leaders who were able to appreciate the situation much better than their European allies. But as they had not the courage to propose that the siege should be at once abandoned, they suggested in the council of war held in the night of the July 26–27, 1148 that the camp should be moved from west to east because, they said, the walls on this side were not so strong and the attack would not be impeded by gardens. The besiegers followed the

advice of those possessing local knowledge but soon saw that they had been deceived because the terrain on the east side offered even greater difficulties in every respect and those were therefore nothing left for them but to withdraw in order to resume the siege another time. When Bertrand, the son of Count Alfonso of Toulouse who had just died, took the fortress of al-'Arma and threatened the district of Tripoli Count Raymond of Tripoli appealed to Nūr al-Dīn and Mu'īn al-Dīn who had joined one another in Haleb; the two Muslim leaders supported by a contingent sent by Saif al-Dīn hurried to his help. Bertrand had to surrender; the fortress was destroyed and he himself taken prisoner. The Christians then prepared to invade the district of Haleb; Nūr al-Dīn however anticipated them, defeated them at Yaghra taking much booty, which he divided among his brother Saif al-Dīn, the caliph al-Muhtasib and the Sulṭān sulṭān Ma'ūd. At the beginning of the following year (May 1149) Nūr al-Dīn invaded the region of Antakya, laid waste the country with the suburb of Hārim and laid siege to the fortress of Ināb. Prince Raymond of Antioch hastened up with a small army to attack Nūr al-Dīn but was enticed into an ambush and fell in the fight. Nūr al-Dīn then went with his victorious forces doing great damage as he went, close up to Antioch in order to inspire the inhabitants with terror, and on his way back took Hārim and forced the strong fortress of Bāniyas (Apamea) near Hamāt to surrender. About the same time Saif al-Dīn died and his brother and successor Kutb al-Dīn Mawdūd prepared to fight Nūr al-Dīn, but the dispute was settled amicably (cf. the article *MAWDŪD*). Soon afterwards (545 = 1151 or 546 = 1152-1153) Nūr al-Dīn succeeded in capturing his enemy Joscelin II of Edessa. The latter had previously won a victory over Nūr al-Dīn and treated him very scornfully. When one night he was travelling with only a few followers to Antioch he was surprised by a troop of Turkomans in the pay of Nūr al-Dīn and brought to Haleb where he remained a prisoner till his death, while Nūr al-Dīn gradually took all the fortresses belonging to the country of Edessa. In order to split up the Christian forces and to bring some relief to the Muslims besieged in Askālān, he made an agreement with his enemy, the prince of Damascus, Muḥṣin al-Dīn Abak, and in Safer 548 (May 1153) they both appeared before the walls of Bāniyas (q.v.). But when the irresolute Muḥṣin al-Dīn would undertake no serious steps against the Christians, they soon abandoned the siege and separated without having achieved anything. When Askālān was forced to capitulate after an eight months siege the Christians began to cast covetous eyes on the great and wealthy city of Damascus, especially as Muḥṣin al-Dīn acted almost as if he were their vassal. In order to thwart their plans, Nūr al-Dīn endeavoured to gain over Muḥṣin al-Dīn by pretended friendship and by making false charges against them persuaded him to get rid of his chief enemy so that Muḥṣin al-Dīn thus lost his most reliable friends. When Nūr al-Dīn suddenly appeared before the gates of the city they were opened to him by his friends in Damascus as had been prearranged. Muḥṣin al-Dīn took refuge in the citadel and summoned the Christians to his assistance but surrendered the city before help arrived (Safer 549 = April 1154). In compensation he received Hama. There he

began to intrigue against Nūr al-Dīn and the latter offered him Bālis instead; Muḥṣin al-Dīn however was not satisfied, but settled in Baghdad where he remained till his death as a protégé of the caliph al-Muhtasib. In 551 (1156) Nūr al-Dīn made a peace with Baldwin III of Jerusalem, whereby the latter gave up the annual tribute which Damascus had had to pay him since the time of Muḥṣin al-Dīn and ceded the half of the lands of Hārim. In spite of this about the end of the year 551 (Feb. 1157) Baldwin fell upon a defenceless encampment of Arabs and Turkomans in the neighbourhood of Bāniyas, took the men prisoners and carried off their cattle. As a result the war broke out again and the Christians were defeated, again on the Euphrates by the governor of Damascus, Asad al-Dīn Shirkh, some in the vicinity of Damascus by Nūr al-Dīn's brother, the emir Nāṣir al-Dīn. Many prisoners were brought to Damascus and put to death by Nūr al-Dīn's orders in revenge for the Muslims killed at Bāniyas. Nūr al-Dīn then attacked Bāniyas and destroyed the town but could not take the citadel; he retired on the approach of Baldwin. The latter rebuilt the ruined town, dismissed a number of his troops and intended to return to Tiberias, but was surprised on the way by Nūr al-Dīn and suffered a disastrous defeat (Djumādā I 552 = end of June 1157). Another attempt by Nūr al-Dīn to take the town was also unsuccessful; he again raised the siege on the approach of Baldwin. Very soon afterwards he fell very ill and a rumour spread that he had died. The Christians thereupon attacked Hama (q.v.) which had been severely damaged by an earthquake, and had along with Haleb shortly before fallen into the hands of Nūr al-Dīn. The attack failed however owing to the jealousies among the Frankish leaders. On the other hand, they were successful after two months siege in taking Hārim in the following year and in inflicting a severe defeat on Nūr al-Dīn on the Jordan (Djumādā 553 = July 1158). About the same time the emperor Manuel I Comnenos appeared in Syria to chastise the rebel governor of Cilicia and prince Raynald of Antioch who had undertaken an expedition against Cyprus. After receiving the submission of the princes, the emperor resolved to join Baldwin in an attack on Haleb at the beginning of 1159. Nūr al-Dīn however escaped the danger which threatened him by releasing the Christian prisoners. He then concluded a truce for four months with Baldwin, took Hama and al-Rakka from his brother Nāṣir al-Dīn and invaded the lands of sulṭān Kılıç Arslan II (q.v.); but when Baldwin began to lay waste Nūr al-Dīn's territory, the latter hurried back to Haleb and Baldwin retired. About this time conditions in Egypt began to attract the attention of Nūr al-Dīn and from the year 556 (1161) his history is so closely bound up with that of Saladin that it is sufficient to refer to the article on the latter for the main facts. Only the following need be added here. In 558 (1163) Nūr al-Dīn had planned an invasion of the county of Tripoli and encamped before Hān al-Akād (q.v.) and was preparing to storm it when he was suddenly attacked by the Christians. His troops who were quite unprepared were scattered and Nūr al-Dīn himself only escaped with difficulty. Nevertheless he succeeded by exerting all his efforts in raising a new army in a short time with which he again advanced on Hārim. After

broke out which still further reduced the ranks of the defenders; the commander therefore sent a message to al-Kāmil and declared himself ready to surrender the town within a definite period on condition that he was allowed to import sufficient food. Al-Kāmil agreed but with the arrival of Nūr al-Dīn the people of Mārdīn plucked up their courage and resolved to continue the struggle. Al-Kāmil might almost have taken the town by treachery: although Kutb al-Dīn pretended to be devoted to Nūr al-Dīn he was really secretly attached to al-Kāmil and had promised him to take to flight at once in case of an encounter. When the troops were drawn up for battle he was placed in such a position however that there was no possibility of escape on the narrow battlefield. Al-Kāmil was defeated and fled to Damascus to his father (Shawwāl 595 = Aug. 1199). As to Nūr al-Dīn, he fell sick and could not follow up his victory but returned to al-Mawṣil. After he had recovered from his illness, he went in Sha'bān 597 (May-June 1201) with Kutb al-Dīn to Harrān to resume the struggle with al-ʿAdil. When he reached Ra's al-Ain, envoys came to him from al-Malik al-Fāris b. al-ʿAdil who lived in Harrān to seek peace and as he knew that the other Ayyūbids wished to make peace with al-ʿAdil and deadly epidemics had broken out among his troops, he granted their request for a return to the *status quo* and returned to al-Mawṣil. In the year 600 (1203-1204), Kutb al-Dīn openly paid homage to al-ʿAdil and had the *ghasbi* read in his name. Nūr al-Dīn could not permit this and took possession of Naṣṣiṣ except the citadel. This also would probably have fallen into his hands if the news that the lord of Irbil, Mujaḥḥid al-Dīn Kākharī (q. v.), had invaded the territory of al-Mawṣil in his absence and had wrought great havoc, had not forced him to return. After he had ascertained that the accounts that had reached him were much exaggerated he turned his attention to Tell A'far which belonged to Sinḡār and laid siege to it, but fortune did not favour him. It is true that he succeeded in taking Tell A'far, then a number of Mesopotamian princes allied themselves with Kutb al-Dīn and Nūr al-Dīn could not face their combined strength. When it came to a battle he was completely routed and had to surrender Tell A'far and make peace (Beg. 601 = late summer 1204). The relations between Nūr al-Dīn and Kutb al-Dīn had never been particularly friendly and matters did not improve when Nūr al-Dīn gave his daughter in marriage to one of al-ʿAdil's sons. On the occasion of this union of the two dynasties, Nūr al-Dīn's visitors proposed to him to conclude an alliance with al-ʿAdil so that he might himself take possession of Diyaral Inn 'Omāra which was under the rule of Mu'izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Sinḡār Shāh and that al-ʿAdil should occupy Kutb al-Dīn's territory. This plan which was entirely in keeping with Nūr al-Dīn's desires was also approved by al-ʿAdil and the latter undertook a campaign against the east. On this campaign in a short time he took al-Khābūr and Naṣṣiṣ and besieged Sinḡār. While Kutb al-Dīn was preparing to fight to defend his capital, Nūr al-Dīn equipped an army which was to join al-ʿAdil's. Then a sudden change took place in the political situation. The lord of Irbil, Mujaḥḥid al-Dīn Kākharī, who had promised Kutb al-Dīn to intervene with al-ʿAdil on his behalf but had been unsuccessful, now proposed to Nūr al-Dīn to

join him against al-ʿAdil. Nūr al-Dīn agreed and when the Ayyūbid ruler of Halab al-Malik al-Zāhir and the Soldāḡ Sultan of Konya Kaikhuarwān I b. Kılıç Arslan (q. v.) joined the alliance and al-ʿAdil was further ordered by the Abbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir (q. v.) to abandon his hostile plans, he had finally to yield, especially as his emirs had no inclination to continue the campaign. In the end Kutb al-Dīn was left in possession of Sinḡār and al-ʿAdil returned to Harrān. Nūr al-Dīn died at the end of Rabi' al-Thāni 607 (Jan. 1211) and was succeeded by his son al-Malik al-Zāhir 'Isa al-Dīn Ma'ādī.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, N° 81 (transl. de Slane, I. 174 sq.); Ibn al-Aṣīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, xii. 87 sq., 97-99, 101, 110 sq., 119, 126 sq., 157-159, 191-193; Abū 'Alīdī, ed. Reiske, iv. 145, 163, 207, 243; *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens orientaux*, I. 71, 74, 82, 86; ii/l. 6, 326-362; Khallī Edhem, *Dawlat al-Ayyūbiyya*, p. 233; de Zambaur, *Manuel de géologie et de chronologie*, p. 226.

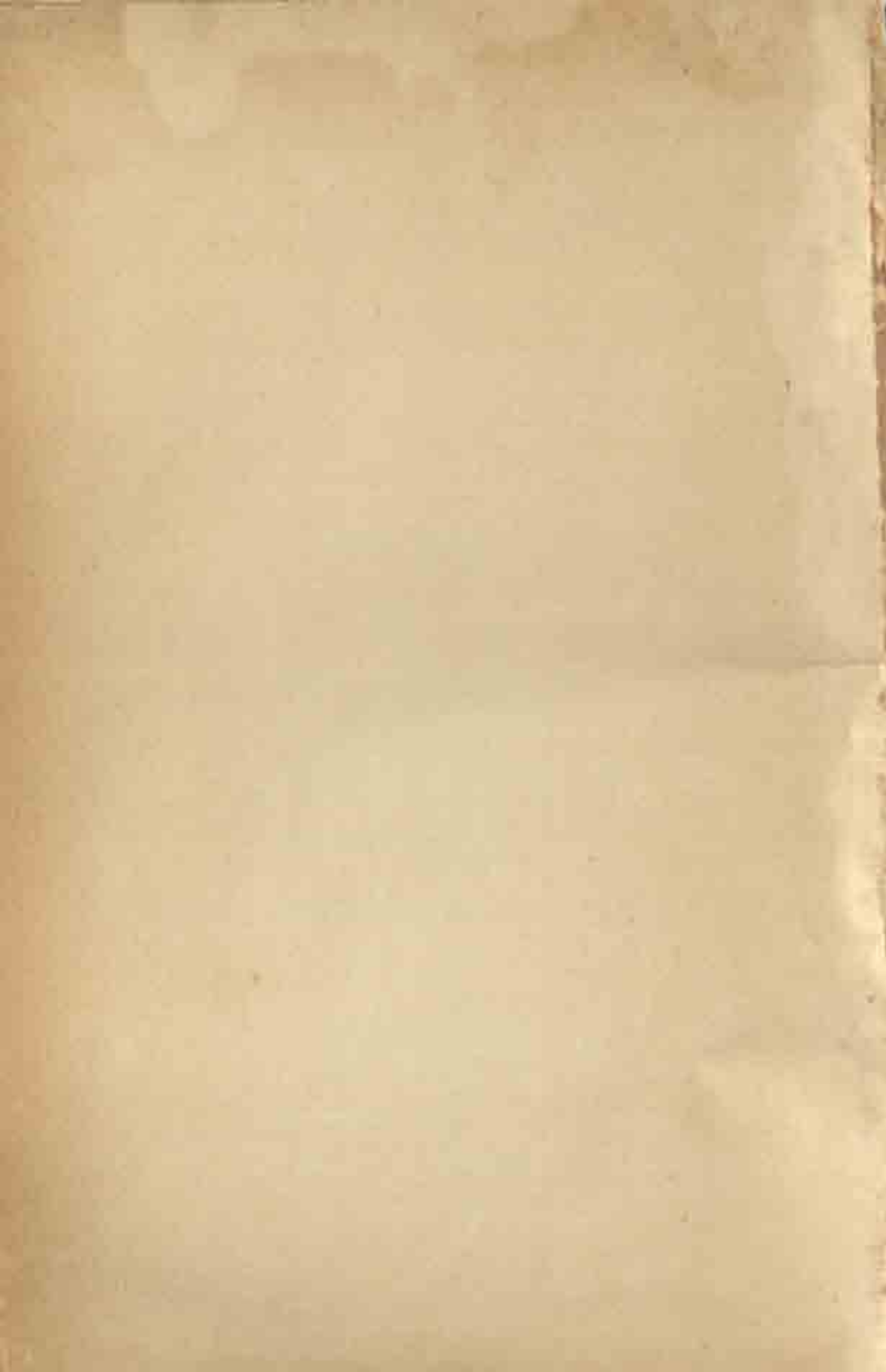
[K. V. ZATSEVICH]

NŪR DJAHĀN, name given to Mihr al-Nisā, the famous queen of Džahāngīr, the Moghal Emperor. She was born at Kandahār in 1577 when her father, Ghīyāth Beg, was migrating from Persia to Hindustān (*Muḥṣin al-Umārā*, I. 129). In the reign of Akbar she was married to 'Alī Qutl Beg, a Persian who had rendered distinguished military service to the Emperor and who, because of his bravery, was known as Shīr Afgan. The assassination of her first husband will always remain a matter of controversy, some regarding it as a repetition of the story of David and Uriah, others holding the view that he had been suspected of disloyalty. It was not however until four years later, in 1611, that she became, at the age of thirty-four, the wife of Džahāngīr. In the eleventh year of that monarch's reign her name was changed from Nūr Mahall to Nūr Džahān (*Tuḥfat-i Džahāngīrī*, ed. Rogers and Beveridge, I. 319).

An extraordinarily beautiful woman, well-versed in Persian literature in an age when few women were cultured, ambitious and masterful, she entirely dominated her husband, until eventually Džahāngīr was king in name only. The chronicles record that she sometimes sat in the *sharada*, that coins were struck in her name, and that she even dared to issue *farmāns* (*Iqdāl-nāma*, p. 54-57). She became the leader of fashion and is said to have invented the '*atr-i Džahāngīrī*', a special kind of rose-water. Her style in gowns, veils, brocade, lace, and her *farāz-i lamānt* (carpets of sandalwood colour) were known throughout the length and breadth of Hindustān.

Ablly assisted in political affairs by her father, now known as 'Uṣmā al-Dawla, and her brother, Asaf Khān, she dispensed all patronage thus falling foul of the older nobility led by Mahabat Khān. The history of the last years of Džahāngīr's reign is the history of Nūr Džahān's efforts at paving the way for the succession of her son-in-law, Prince Shahriyār. But the death of her father, combined with the fact that Asaf Khān was supporting the claim of his own son-in-law, Prince Khurram, considerably weakened her power. On the death of Džahāngīr, in 1627, she was completely outwitted by Asaf Khān, her candidate was defeated, and Prince Khurram ascended the throne as Shāh Džahān. The last eighteen years





THE
ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

A DICTIONARY OF THE GEOGRAPHY,
ETHNOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY OF THE
MUHAMMADAN PEOPLES

PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF LEADING ORIENTALISTS

EDITED BY

M. TH. HOUTSMA, A. J. WENSINCK

H. A. R. GIBB, W. HEFFENING and E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL

NUMBER 52

NŪR DJAHĀN — PANGULU

LEYDEN
LATE E. J. BRILL LTD
PUBLISHERS AND PRINTERS

1935

LONDON
LUZAC & CO
43 GREAT RUSSELL STREET

- Abh. G. W. Göt. = Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen
 Abh. E. M. = Abhandlungen f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes
 Abh. Fr. A. W. = Abhandlungen d. franz. Akad. d. Wiss.
 Ab. Fr. 9 = Bulletin du Comité de l'Asie française
 Ab. Fr. 10 = Bulletin du Comité de l'Asie française, Renseignements Coloniaux
 AM = Archives maritimes
 AMZ = Allgemeine Missionstseitschrift
 Anth. = Anthropologie
 Ann. Wiss. = Annales der philo.-hist. Kl. d. Ak. der Wiss. Wien
 AO = Asia Orientalis
 AQR = Asiatic Quarterly Review
 ARW = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
 As. Fr. 2 = Bulletin du Comité de l'Asie française
 BAH = Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispanica
 BHA = Bibliotheca geographica arabica et de Geogr.
 BIE = Bulletin de l'Institut Egyptien
 BPAO = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire
 BSOS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution
 BTLV = Beiträge der d. Taal- und Land- en Volkskunde van Ned.-Indië
 BZ = Byzantinische Zeitschrift
 CIA = Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum
 CIS = Corpus inscriptionum syriacarum
 EC = L'Égypte Contemporaine
 GAL = Geschichte der arabischen Literatur
 GGA = Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen
 GJ = Geographical Journal
 GMS = Götting Memorial Series
 GOR = Geschichte des orientalischen Reiches
 GOW = Göttinger, die staatshistorische der Osmanen und ihrer Werke
 Gr. I Th. = Geschichte der Griechischen Philologie
 GSAI = Giornale della Soc. Asiatica Italiana
 HOP = Götting, History of woman poetry
 IG = Indische Gids
 IBM = International Review of Missions
 IL = Der Islam
 JA = Journal Asiatique
 JAfr. 9 = Journal of the African Society
 JAfr. 10 = Journal of the American Oriental Society
 JAfr. 11 = Journal of the Anthropological Institute
 JASR = Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Soc. of Bengal
 JE = Jewish Encyclopedia
 JHS = Journal of the Punjab Historical Society
 JQR = Jewish Quarterly Review
 JRS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
 JRS = Journal of the Royal Geographical Society
 JF G. = Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne
 KCA = Kaiserl. Russ. Archivum
 KR = Koloniale Rundschau
 KS = Kaiserl. Russ. (Revue orientale)
 Mch. = Al-Machriq
 MDPV = Mitteilungen und Nachr. des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
 MEO (Syria) = Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de Beyrouth
 MGG Wien = Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien
 MGH = Mit. u. Geschichte der Medizin und Naturwissenschaften
 MGWJ = Monatschrift f. d. Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judentums
 ME = Mémoires
 MEgypt. = Mémoires de l'Institut Egyptien
 MFAO = Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire
 Mit. DOG = Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
 Mit. VAG = Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft
 MHAF = Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire
 MO = Le monde Oriental
 MOG = Mitteilungen zur orientalischen Geschichte
 MFO = Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne
 MSI = Mémoires de la Société Linguistique
 MSOS Afr. = Mitteilungen des Sem. für orient. Sprachen, Afr. Studien
 MSOS As. = Mitteilungen des Sem. für orient. Sprachen, Westasiat. Studien
 MTM = Mitteil. verschiedener methoden
 NW = The Modern World
 NZ = Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Kén
 NGW Göt. = Nachrichten d. Gesellschaft d. Göttingen
 NO = Der Neue Orient
 OA = Orientalisches Archiv
 OC = Orient Christianus
 OLE = Orientalische Literaturzeitung
 OM = Orientis Modernus
 PEFQS = Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement
 PELOV oder P. R. Lang. O. V. = Publications de l'École des langues orientales vivantes
 Per. Mitt. = Permanns Mitteilungen
 PRGS = Proceedings of the R. Geographical Society
 QDC = Questions diplomatiques et coloniales
 RAAD = Revue de l'Académie Arabe de Damas
 RAB = Revue Africaine
 REJ = Revue des Études Juives
 REJ. Id. = Revue des Études Islamiques
 RHE = Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
 RI = Revue Indigène
 RHM = Revue de la Haute Méditerranée
 RO = Revue Orientalis
 ROC = Revue de l'Orient Chrétien
 ROL = Revue de l'Orient Latin
 RRAH = Rev. des Ét. Asiatiques de la Haute Méditerranée
 RREAL = Realcomité della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di sc. mor., stor., e nat.
 RSO = Rivista degli studi orientali
 RT = Revue Turcologique
 SBAL. Had. = Sitzungsberichte der Ak. der Wiss. Heidelberg
 SBAL. Wien = Sitzungsberichte der Ak. der Wiss. in Wien
 SB Barr. Ak. = Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Ak. der Wiss. der Wissenschaften
 SBPMS Belg. = Sitzungsberichte d. Phys.-mathem. nat. in Brüssel
 SB Pr. Ak. W. = Sitzungsberichte der preuss. Ak. der Wiss. zu Berlin
 TBGW = Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Wetenschappen
 TOEM = Tsjong-t'ottem (Türk) Nachrichten, Revue Turcologique publiée par l'Institut d'histoire Ottomane
 TZEM u. TOFM
 TILY = Tijdschrift v. Taal- Land- en Volksk.
 Veih. Ak. Amst. = Verhandlungen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen in Amsterdam
 Versl. Med. Ak. Amst. = Verslagen der Medische der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam
 WI = Die Welt des Islams
 Wiss. Veröff. DOG = Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
 WZEM = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
 ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
 Zep. = Zepher
 LATW = Zeitschrift f. altorientalische Wissenschaft
 ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
 ZDPV = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
 ZGK. Berl. = Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft in Berlin
 ZI = Zeitschrift für Indologie u. Iranistik
 ZK = Zeitschrift für Kolonialgeschichte
 ZOG = Zeitschrift f. Österreichische Geschichte
 ZS = Zeitschrift für Semitistik

of this remarkable woman's life during the reign of Shāh Djahān are unimportant to the historian of Mughal India.

Bibliography: Mu'tamid Khān, *Ishādāt al-Djāhānīya*, Calcutta 1865; Shahnawaz Khān, *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*, in *Bibliotheca Indica*, i. 127-134; Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, 1922.

(C. COLLIER DAVIES)

NŪR MUHAMMADI, the technical term for the pre-existence of the soul of the Prophet Muhammad; the predestined essence of the last of the prophets is said to have been created first of all in the form of a dense and luminous point; all the predestined souls are said to have emanated from this.

Among the Sūnis, the idea first appears among the mystics in the third century A.H., then gradually begins to dominate popular worship (cf. Sahīl Tustarī and Ḥakīm Tirmidhī, in our *Recueil*... 1929, p. 34, N° 39 and p. 39); Abū Bakr Wāsiṭ, whose *Ilā Mīn al-Kilām* should be identified with ch. i. of the *Tawānī* of Hallāj (cf. our *Furqan*, p. 830-840) expounds it. According to Kilānī, Muhammad is "the image in the pupil which is in the centre of the eye of creation" (*imān 'al-awḡūd*); this is what the 'Arabī calls the *ḥaṣṣa muḥammadiya* the pre-eternal conception of which is celebrated by the poets Sa'adī, Wairī and the mystic Dīwānī; hence Muhammad's immaculate pedigree since Adam (cf. the poems on the *Mawlid*). Orthodoxy has always carefully placed the doctrine of the uncreated Ka'ān above this cult. Popular legend among the *Ḥaḡḡiyya* has reduced and materialised this devotion in showing the model of the body of the Prophet kneaded from a handful of earth from Paradise with from the spring Tawmī which makes it shine like a white pearl. But it is certain that it is a question here primarily of a gnostic pre-existence, an intellectual substance of the nature of the angels as is evident from the antiquity of the equation *nūr* = 'aḡ', borrowed by Tirmidhī from the *Isma'īlīs* (cf. *Act.*).

Among the Shī'īs, this doctrine appears earlier and with more logical coherence; among the extremists, who explain this "prophetic light", either as a "spirit" transmitted from age to age and from elect to elect, or as spermatic germ (Traducianism) inherited from male to male. At the beginning of the second century Maḡhīrā and Dīwānī taught the primogeniture of the luminous shadow (*ṣill*, opposed to *ḥalāq* "dark body") of Muḥammad. It is a fundamental dogma of Isma'īlism from its beginning (*al-shīkh nūr maḥd* = *al-mīn*); it is found again extended through solidarity to all the 'Alīdīs or to all the Tālibīs with the gift of shlessness among the Nuḡairīs and even among many pious Imāmi writers (Kulīnī, *N'afī*, p. 116).

The authors of this doctrine derive it from the Ka'ān (*āyat al-awḡūd*, xxiv. 35; the *ayūya*; the connexion between the two terms of the *ḡalāḡa*) effectively interpreted by the old ḥaḡḡīs (*ṣūra ḥaḡḡa*; *ṣūra ḡalāḡa*) as proving that Muhammad is "the first (by *ṭabī'ī*, *waḡḡa*, *ḡalāḡa*) and the last" (by *ṭabī'ī*, *maḡḡūma*, *ḡalāḡa*). But it certainly required for its development the stimulus of Christian gnostic and Manichean antecedents.

Bibliography: Goldziher, *Neuplatonizismus und gnostische Elemente im Ḥadīth*, in *Z. A.*, xiii. (1908), p. 337-344; T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads*, ..., 1917, p. 313-326; V. Ivanow, *l'Ummu 'Alīdīs*, in *R. E. I.*, 1932, p. 444-451. (LOUIS MASTIGNON)

NŪRBAKHSHIYA, religious sect or order called after Muhammad b. Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh, called Nurbakhsh (795-869, a. h.).

1. Life of the founder. Of this person there is a detailed biography in the work *Maḡḡālī al-Mu'mīnīn* of Nūr Allāh al-Shūstārī (Bodleian MS., Ous. 366; see also Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Persian MSS.), chiefly based on a work (*ṭabī'īra*) by Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Samarḡandī. His father was born in Saffī, and his grandfather in al-Hāss, whence in some *ḡalāḡa* he styles himself Laḡḡawī. His father migrated to Kā'in in Kāshgār, where his son was born. The latter became a disciple of Iḡhāk al-Khūṭlānī, himself a disciple of Sa'īd 'Alī al-Hamadhānī (whose biography is published in *ḡhawāṣir al-Aḡyā'*, Lucknow 1322, i. 293). Iḡhāk in obedience to a dream gave his pupil the name Nurbakhsh ("light-gift"), and conferred on him the *ḡalāḡa* of 'Alī al-Hamadhānī. In virtue of his supposed descent from the Imām Mūsā al-Kāqīm he received the title Mahdī, and was proclaimed Caliph by a number of followers; indeed in the heading of his *ḡhawāṣir* (Brit. Mus. Add. 16,779) he is styled "Imām and Caliph over all the Muslims". In a letter to a disciple (Brit. Mus. Add. 7,638) he claims mastery of all sciences, religious and secular; he could have taught Plato mathematics, etc. He calls on the people of his time to take pride in such a contemporary and display activity in his cause. These pretensions were taken seriously by the Sulṭān Shāh-rūkh (Timūrid, 807-850), whose viceroy Bīyazīd arrested him at Kūh-Tūrī "a fortress in the neighbourhood of Khūṭlān", whither he had gone in 826; he was sent to Herāt and thence to Shīrāz, where he was released by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān; after travelling to Baḡra, Hilla, Baḡhdād and the (Shī'ī) Sammarān, he went to Kārdīstān, where he was again proclaimed Caliph, and coins were struck in his name. He was again arrested by Shāh-rūkh's order, and brought to Adharbāydj; he made his escape and after much suffering reached Khalkhal, where he was recaptured, and sent back to Shāh-rūkh, who despatched him to Herāt, where he had to mount the pulpit and assume the caliphate. In 848 he was released on condition that he confined his activities to teaching; but, having incurred suspicion, he was sent to Tabriz, thence to Shīrḡān, and thence to Gīlān.

After Shāh-rūkh's death he was set free, and took up his residence in a village Sulṭān in the neighbourhood of Ray, where he died.

2. His doctrines. In his poems (*ḡhawāṣir*, *maḡḡāṣir* and *ṭabī'ī*), he insists on his personal importance, but also emphasizes the Shī'ī pantheism, e.g. "We have washed away the impress of other from the tablet of existence; we have seen that the world is qualities and an identical substance". Prose works by him were a *Nidā' al-Aḡlāḡa* probably in Persian, and a treatise on Law, in Arabic, called *al-Fīḡh al-Aḡḡawī*. Neither of these appears to have reached Europe. The extracts from the latter given in the *Maḡḡālī* are Shī'ī in character. The *imām* besides possessing numerous virtues must be a descendant of 'Alī and Fāṭima; this is sufficient for "the lesser *ḡalāḡa*", but for "the greater" he must also be a *waḡḡ* perfect in the *maḡḡāṣir* of that dignity. The *waḡḡ*'s marriage is lawful, since it was so certainly in the Prophet's time, and the writer had been commanded to abolish innovations and revive the practice of the Prophet's

time. He rejects the expedient called 'awf in dealing with deceased persons' estates, as being neither in the Kor'an nor the Sunna.

3. Later history of the sect. The *Mağālis* names two successors (*khālifa*) of Nürbakhsh: Shams al-Din Muhammad b. Yahyā al-Labījāni al-Gillūl, called Asfī, the author of a *Divān* of which there is a copy in the Brit. Mus.; this person built a *khāna* in Shirāz; and Nürbakhsh's son Shāh Kāsim Faldhakhsh, first heard of in 'Irāq, whence by permission of the Āk-Kayunlu Sultan Ya'qub (884—896) he was allowed to go to Khurāsān to cure Husain Mirzā, the governor, of an ailment by his *Arāḍa*. His religious opinions won him the favour of Ismā'il the Safawid (907—930). According to Firsihta, who cites the *Zafarnāma*, a disciple of Shāh Kāsim, named Mir Shams al-Din went from 'Irāq to Kashmīr about 902, where he was received with high honour by Fatḥ Khān, who made over to him the confiscated lands which had formerly fallen to the crown. In a short time many of the Kashmīris, particularly those of the tribe Čuk, became converts to the Nürbakhshī sect (Firsihta, transl. Briggs, Calcutta 1910). The Kashmīris had previously been Sunnī of the Hanafī rite according to Mirza Husain (author of *Tārīkh-i Rāshidi*, transl. E. D. Ross, London 1895, p. 435), who when he came into possession of the country asked the opinion of the 'ulamā' of Hindustān about *al-Fīḥ al-Aḥwāḡ*; as they condemned it as heretical, he persecuted and endeavoured to extirpate the sect (about 950). His confused and fanatical account of it has misled some European writers. It survived his persecution, and according to J. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Kōsh* (Calcutta 1880) it numbers over 20,000 followers, most of whom are to be found in Shigar and Khaplor of Balistān. A few of the sect, he adds, are now to be found in Kightwar, to which place they were deported by Golab Sing when he conquered Balistān.

The work last cited contains some details about their practices; its account is, however, mixed with fables, and without access to the *Fīḥ al-Aḥwāḡ* it is difficult to estimate the justice of the assertion that the system is "an attempt to form a *via media* between Shī'ī and Sunnī doctrines".

Bibliography: references are given above.

(D. S. MARCOLIOUTH)

NÜRI, a common name in the Near East for a member of certain Gipsy tribes. A more correct vocalization would perhaps be *Nawarī* (so Hava, Steingass, etc.), with plural *Nawar*. Minorsky [above, iii. 38] gives *Nawara*. By displacement of accent we also find the plural form as *Nawār* (e.g. in Janssen, *Costumes des Arabes*, p. 90, and British Admiralty's *Handbook, Syria* [1919], p. 196, *Arabia* [1916], p. 92, 94). In Persia the current name for Gipsy is *Lūrī*, *Lūrī*, or *Lūfī* (q.v.). It is not unlikely that by a natural phonetic transformation the form *nūrī* derives from *lūrī*, which, it has been suggested, originally denoted an inhabitant of the town of al-Rūr (or Arūr) in Sind. Quatremère advanced the theory (*Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, I/ii, note 5) that the name *nūrī* arose

from the Arabic *nūr*, (fire) [he gives the form *نور*] because these vagrants were usually seen carrying a brazier or a lantern. Even to-day many of the *Nawar* earn their living as itinerant smiths. But it is more probable that the correct etymology is

to be found in some Sanskrit dialect of N. W. India, the original home of the Gipsy tribes.

In the various countries of the Orient in which Gipsy families are located, we find several designations for them used. The older name, now much restricted in use, was *Zun* [see 2077] or *Jatt*. The Turkish name Čingana passed into European languages under such forms as *Exodoc*, *Tigane*, *Zingaro*, *Čigany*, *Zigeuner*, etc. Dozy (*Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, i. 605), quoting Caussin de Perceval, records the occasional use of the name *Zandīya*, but this is inexact (cf. art. *ZANDI*). The commonest names, apart from those already mentioned, seem to be *Nawar* and *Kurbat* or *Čurbat* (particularly in N. Syria and Persia), *Čaghar* and *Halab* (especially in Egypt and N. Africa) and *Dūman* (in Mesopotamia). For other sub-divisions reference may be made to the bibliography, and particularly to E. Lüttmann's *Zigeuner-Arabisch*, which is an excellent summary of the whole subject, particularly on the linguistic side.

The collecting of data regarding the Gipsy tribes of the Orient is by no means easy. Even experienced orientalist and travellers have reached different conclusions regarding them. For example Lane (in his *Modern Egyptians*, London 1836, ii. 108) in spite of his profound knowledge of Egypt, asserted that there were few Gipsies in the land, while numbers of well-educated natives to-day, are still unaware of the presence of these tribes in their midst. The statistics of Massignou's *Annuaire musulman* (Paris 1925, p. 115) however, gives the number of Gipsies in Egypt as two per cent of the population, consisting, namely, of two tribes of Čaghar and Nawar respectively, and four tribes of Halab.

The Gipsies as a rule seem, chameleon-like, to take their creed, such as it is, from their surroundings. In Muslim countries these tribes usually profess Islām, in so far as they may be said to profess any religious views, many of them, indeed, being very superstitious and reported to be scoundrels and vagabonds. The same applies to the Muslim Gipsies of what was formerly European Turkey (Admiralty's *Handbook of Turkey in Europe* [1917], p. 62). In the Balkans many of them are Greek-Orthodox.

Persian and Arabic writers preserve for us the tradition that tribes of Jats (or *Zuff*) from the Punjab were conveyed westwards by command of the Sāsānīd monarch Bahrām Gūr (420—438 A.D.) and their descendants proved a troublesome problem some centuries later for the Caliph of Baghdad. Once more numbers of them were dispersed to the borders of Syria, where many of them were captured by the Byzantines, and thus found their way into the Eastern Roman Empire, thence to continue their migrations to other ends of the East and West. Many of them are even said to have risen to high rank, e.g. al-Saif b. al-Ḥakam b. Yūsuf al-Zuffī, governor of Egypt (200—205 A.H.), while it has been supposed that the famous Barmecide family at the court of Harūn al-Rashīd were of similar Gipsy origin. The name *Barmūkī* is actually the designation in Egypt of a class of public dancers (*Čharwāt*) of low moral character and conduct who have been regarded as of Gipsy blood. The question, however, is doubtful (see L. Bouvat, *Les Barmécides d'après les historiens arabes et persans*, Paris 1912, p. 110, 125).

The German traveller Seetzen and the American

missionary Eli Smith gathered valuable material in the Near East regarding those nomadic peoples which proved useful to later scholars. They were followed by Capt. Newbold (1856) on the Gypsies of Egypt, Syria and Persia; von Kremer, Austrian Consul at Cairo, on the Egyptian Gypsies (1863); Sykes (1902) dealt with the Persian Gypsies, while an excellent treatise appeared in 1914 from the pen of R. A. S. Macalister on the Language of the Nawar or Zutt, the Nomad Smiths of Palestine. Macalister in this work had the rather difficult task of reducing to writing a language almost completely unknown, and interpreting and analysing the Nuri stories and folk-elements recounted to him by members of the Nuri settlement north of the Damascus Gate in Jerusalem. He employed several of these Nawar in the course of his excavations there. A small Syrian Gypsy vocabulary received by Miss G. G. Everest of Beirut from a friend at Damascus was also published in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Soc.*, Jan. 1890, in an article by F. H. Groome. The philological aspect of the question has received, in recent years, the attention of scholars such as E. Galtier and E. Littmann (see *Bibliography*).

In Egypt the Halab (sing. Halabi) are to be found mostly in Lower Egypt carrying on their special occupations at the various markets and *marāḥid*, as traders in camels, horses and cattle. Their womenfolk are noted seeresses and medicine-women, practicing all the arts of sorcery (*nār*); sand-divination (*darb al-raml*), shell-divination (*darb al-saʿa*), bibliomancy (*futūḥ al-Kitāb*) etc. Their tribal subdivisions are variously given by Galtier (p. 7) and Newbold (p. 291). Their name suggests some connection with Aleppo (Halab), but they themselves proudly claim a South Arabian ancestry their tribal chronicle being the popular broad-sheet production, *Taʾrīkh Zirr Salīm*.

The Ghagar Gypsy tribe, however, have a rather unsavoury reputation, a fact that is reflected in the modern Egyptian Arabic verb *ghaggar* 'to be abusive'. Their speech has fewer foreign ingredients and Galtier is of the opinion that they are more recent arrivals in the Nile Valley, probably wanderers from Constantinople. The argot of the Egyptian Gypsies is called *al-Sim*, and in modern colloquial Arabic in Egypt 'to speak in enigma' is *yataḥallim bi-l-Sim*.

The word Nuri in Egypt is almost synonymous with thief, and their thieving propensities are libellously associated in a popular proverb with the inhabitants of Damanhūr [q. v.] (*alf Nuri wa-lā Damanhūr*). According to the age-old policy of setting a thief to catch a thief, the Nawar are often recruited as estate watchmen (*ghaffār*).

Their pursuits and proclivities are varied in the extreme. Besides the myriad occupations of enchanters, amulet-sellers, quack-doctors, snake-eaters and astrologers many of them travel about as hawkers, metal-workers, animal-trainers, professional tumblers, rope-dancers, acrobats, monkey-leaders, musicians and ballad-singers, while some are employed to circumcise Muslim girls, to tattoo lips and chins, and to bore ears and nostrils.

Bibliography: See the articles LULI, ZOTT; further: De Goeje, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Zigeuners* (Amsterdam 1875), transl. into English by J. Snijders, and published in D. MacRitchie, *Account of the Gypsies of India*, London 1886; do., *Mémoire sur les migrations*

des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie, Leyden 1903; *Journal of Gypsy Lore Soc. and Index*; R. A. S. Macalister, *The Language of the Nawar or Zutt* (Gypsy Lore Soc. Monograph, No. 3), London 1914; E. Littmann, *Zigeuner-Arabisch, Wortschatz und Grammatik*, Bonn 1920; Pott, *Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien*, Halle 1844-1845; do., *Über die Sprache der Zigeuner in Syrien*, in *Zeitschr. f. die Wissenschaft der Sprache*, Berlin 1846, p. 175-186; do., in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1849, p. 321-335; 1853, p. 389 sq.; U. J. Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien*, etc., Berlin 1854, p. 184-189; Newbold, *The Gypsies of Egypt*, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1856, p. 285-312; A. von Kremer, *Ägypten*, Leipzig 1863, I. 138-148 and notes 70-72, p. 155, previously published in 1862 in *Petermann's Mittheilungen*, Gotha, II. 41-44; R. Liebich, *Die Zigeuner, ihre Weisen und ihre Sprache*, Leipzig 1863, p. 10-11 reproduces the glossary of Gypsy words from von Kremer; R. Burton, *The Jew, the Gypsy and El Islam*, London 1898, is based on von Kremer; A. G. Paspates, *Études sur les Tchinklanes ou Bohémiens de l'Empire ottoman*, Constantinople 1870; Miklosich, *Über die Mundarten und Wanderungen der Zigeuner*, Vienna 1872-1880; *Indian Antiquary*, index vol.; F. N. Flück, *Die Sprache der armenischen Zigeuner*, St. Petersburg 1907; E. Galtier, *Les Tsiganes d'Égypte et de Syrie*, in *M. I. F. A. O.*, Cairo 1912, xxvii, 1-9; J. Walker, *The Gypsies of Modern Egypt*, in *M. W.*, July 1933, p. 285-289; 'Abd al-Kahmān Iamā'il, *Tibb al-Rukba*, Cairo 1310-1312, p. 67, 68, 95, gives examples of Gypsy quack-doctoring; *Z. D. M. G.*, 1870, p. 681 sq.; 1912, p. 339, 327; 1919, p. 233-242; Eutykhios, *Annales*, ed. Cheikh, in *Scriptores Arabici*, III, vii, p. 60; Laumans, in *M. F. O. B.*, 1906, p. 22; Dawkins, *A Gypsy Stone*, in *J. A. R. S.*, 1934, p. 787-790. (J. WALKER)

NUŠAIRI, the name of an extreme Shi'a sect in Syria.

1. The etymology of the name is disputed: a. contemptuous diminutive from *naṣrānī* 'Christian', in allusion to certain ritual similarities (Renan); b. corruption of *naṣirīnī*, Latin name in Pliny for a Syrian tetrarchy of the first century near Edessa (but the name is still found uncorrupted in *nisā*; it is the *Djār* of al-Nūzūrān, which is crossed in going from Tell Kalākh to Hama, between the bridge called 'Achan Keapru' and the lake of Hama; cf. British G. S. map of 1/250,000, *Hama-Beirut sheet*, 1918); c. *nisā* from a village near Kūfa, Naṣūrāyā (Barhebraeus; cf. de Sacy, *Druses*, I, p. clxxvii and Tabari, III. 2128); *nisā* from an apocrym: a fictitious Shi'a martyr, son of 'Alī (according to the 'Alī-Ilāhīs), or a freedman of 'Alī's or vizier of Mu'āwīya (Dussaud, p. 10); or rather Ibn Nuṣair, i.e. Muḥammad b. Nuṣair Namirī 'Abdī (= of the 'Abd al-Kais, a Bakr clan), whom we shall find below as the first theologian of the sect.

As a matter of fact this name adopted from the time of Khayyāt (d. 346 A.H.) by these sectarians, previously called *Nawāḥīyā* (Nawbakhtī, *Firāq*, p. 78; Ash'arī, *Maq.*, I. 15) and who called themselves *mumīnīn*, has been applied since Sam'ānī (s.v.) and 'Umīra (ed. Derenbourg, p. 145, 286) not to a district only partly converted in the north of Syria, but to an extreme Shi'a sect also found in Egypt and along the Euphrates. This etymology, that of all the Muslim heresiographers, from the

Shi' Ibn al-Qhaṣṣirī (d. 411 A.H.) and the Sunnī Ibn Ḥarm, has been and is the most probable.

II. The term has three acceptations: administrative, social and religious.

a. Administration: it is the "mountain of the Ansariye" of Syria (formerly Djabal Lakkām), the former *līm* of Latakia to the east of the Orontes which has been extended to the south and since 1920 has become the state of the Alawis (6,500 sq. km.; 334,173 inhabitants end of 1933 of whom 213,066 are Nuṣairis, 61,817 Sunnis in the north of Ṣabyūn and at Bāniyās, 5,669 Ismā'īlis at Qadmās and Maṣyaf, 53,604 Christians, mainly Orthodox at al-Ḥiṣn and to the north of Tartūs), capital Latakia (22,000): divided into two sandjaks and 8 *qazās*: Latakia, Ṣabyūn (Haffa), Djabala, Tartūs, Markab (Banias), 'Imrāniya (Tell Kalāḥ), Ṣafīā, al-Ḥiṣn (Maṣyaf); a country of patient and industrious agriculturalists (tobacco, silkworms). Its place-names studied by M. Hartmann (*Z.D.P.F.*, xiv, [1891], 151-255) for the north (villages, not cantons of which there is a list in [Delattre] *Répertoire alphabétique*, Latakia [Raghib press], Dec. 1933), show an old stratum of names, in part Aramaic and later vocational Arabic without any definite local religious traits except for modern Shi'a influences, beneath which one can hardly see the pagan or Christian culture of the substratum (cf. on the contrary, Lebanon). The study of the district from the point of view of ethnology and folklore has hardly begun; certain prohibitions regarding food have been noted (Niebuhr, *loc. cit.*; Dupont, in *J.A.P.*, 1824, p. 134; Bākura, p. 57), some general (camels, hares, eels and catfish) and others special to the *ṣhamiyya* (female or maimed animals, gazelles, pig, crab, shellfish, pumpkins, *ḥamiya*, tomatoes). The only domestic art is basket-making.

A. Socially, the name covers tribes of different origins, almost all speaking Arabic, who have adopted the Nuṣairi teaching:

1. in the state of the Alawis (213,000): the nucleus seems to be descended from Yemen clans of Ḥamdān and Kinda (Ya'qūb, in *B.G.A.*, vii, 324), Ghassān, Bahra and Tanūkh (Ḥamdān, *Sifa*, p. 132) early converted to the Shi'a from the Tiberiad and the Djabal 'Amīl (where there are still Metwalis) to Aleppo, increased by immigrants from Taly (end of the ninth century) and from Ghassān who at the time the Crusaders were being driven back came with their emir Ḥasan b. Makrūn (d. 638 = 1240, ancestor of the Ḥaddādīn), from Mount Sindjār, and imposed on the district their ruling families, their clans and ethnical structure (M. E. Ghallib, *Tawil*, p. 356). The following is the present day list of the principal clans (*'aṣṣā'ir*) (map in *R.M.M.*, xlix, 6; cf. *ibid.*, xxxvi, 278; and *Tawil*, p. 349-52) grouped in 4 confederations: Kalbiya (at Qardāḥa; with Nawāṣira, Qarḥilla, Djuallūkiya, Raghwina, Shalāhima, Rasūlīna, Djuḍiyya, Bait al-Shūf, Bait Muḥammad and Darwīsiya); Khaliyatīn (at Markab: with Sarūmīta, Maḥallīna, Faḳāwira, 'Amāmīra [mixed with 'Abd al-Kāis]); Ḥaddādīn (clan of the emir Ḥasan b. Makrūn: with Maḥallīna, Baṭl 'Alī, Yaḥṣiyya, 'Atūriya, Maḥallīna); and Maṭāwira (with Numallāṭiyya, Sawarīk of Aleppo, Sawātīna, Maḥḥirra who claim to be Ḥāshimīta, and Ḥāshirīta). From the 13th century their political history has been a series of persecutions by invaders (the Crusades; Baibars who covered the country with mosques; legend of Durrat al-Ṣadaf, daughter of

Ṣa'īd al-Anṣār [tomb at Aleppo] who instigated Timur to sack Damascus; massacres under Selīm I) and civil wars, both among the clans themselves and against the Ismā'īlis of Qadmās (lost, and retaken for a brief period in 1808 by the Maḥḥirra) and of Maṣyaf, allied with the Turks;

2. in the sandjak of Alexandretta (58,000: at Antioch 1/3), Djuwaldiyye, Suwaldiyye, 'Aidiyye, Djuḥliyye; with two deputies in Parliament;

3. in the State of Syria (29,693): at Ḥamāh and at Ḥomṣ with one deputy; in two quarters of Aleppo; near Djuṣr, and to the north of lake Hule (*Ain Fil*: 3,060);

4. in Palestine (2,000): to the north of Nablus;

5. in Cilicia from the 17th century (at Tarsus and Adana: 80,000 in 1921 now turkicized);

6. along the Euphrates. In Kurdistan and in Persia, there are alra-Shi'a elements who have similar views and are called Nuṣairis (among the 'Alī-llāhiya or Ahl-i Ḥakk; q. v.);

7. in Lebanon, there were some down to the 17th century (in Kīrawān).

III. c. Religion: it is the religious teaching of the Nuṣairi sect that we have to study more particularly here.

Cosmogony and eschatology. According to the Nuṣairis there is immediately below the ineffable divinity a spiritual world of heavenly beings (or stars), which emanates from him in the following hierarchy: *īm*, *Bāb* and other *Ahl al-Marātīb* (of the first seven classes); it is the "great luminous world" (*'ālam kaṭr nūrānī*); when they appear here below it is to lead back gradually to heaven the "little luminous world", fallen beings, half materialized, imprisoned in the bodies which are their tombs; this operation revives them and brings them back to heaven to form the seven last classes of the *Ahl al-Marātīb* (110,000 out of a total of 124,000 — the traditional number of the prophets); next comes the "little world of darkness" (*'ālam ḥaṭr*), extinguished lights, souls that damnation materializes (*ḥamṣan al-maḥḥiyya*) in the bodies of women and animals; and lastly the "great world of darkness" composed of all the "adversaries" (*alḍād*) of the great luminous world; demons, who after innumerable metamorphoses in corpses of murdered men or slaughtered animals still quivering after death, are reduced to inert or passive matter (forged metals etc.). Just as the fall takes place through seven stages (doubts about divine appearances), so does the return to the heavens of the elect go through seven cycles or *adwār* of divine emanations.

Theory of revelation. The pure divinity (*ghayb*), the object of adoration, being ineffable his first emanation is the Name (*īm*), the articulating prophetic voice (*Nāṣiḥ*), the signification (*Ma'nā*) of divine authority; such was the primitive teaching, that of Abū 'l-Khaṣṣab, the common teacher of the Ismā'īlis and the Nuṣairis. But his disciple Maimūn Qaddāh, thinking that the enunciation by the divinity of an object which manifests him, is of greater importance than its signification which is a mute idea, detached the *Ma'nā* from pure divinity, identified it with the *Ṣamīṭ* (the "silent" *īmān*; opposed to *Nāṣiḥ*) and placed it as a mere accident, below the substance, the *īm*. Then, by reaction, other Khawṣiyya like Baḥḥār, Shā'it, retaining the equation *Ma'nā* = *Ṣamīṭ*, reestablished the *Ma'nā* before the *īm*. And, as Abū 'l-Khaṣṣab had taught that in the Muḥammadiyya cycle, the

signification (*ma'nawīya*) of the ineffable divinity was expressed through five privileged *Asmā'* (Muhammad, 'Alī, Fāṭim [= the masculine form of Fāṭima, for as we have seen women have no souls; this explains why they may form part of the offering of hospitality among initiates], Ḥasan and Ḥusain, announcing equivalently its mysterious Unity); this group of Five equals, in which we recognise the Five of the *mubāhala* (q.v.; cf. our, *Salmān Pāh*, N° 7 of the *Soc. des Etudes iraniennes*, 1933, p. 40—42) became in the hands of his pupil Maimūn a descending series of five terrestrial terms (symmetrical with the five spiritual terms, and inferior to them, the Druzes say): *Nāṭiq* (= *Mīm*), *Asī* (= *Alm*), *Dā'i*, *Ma'dhūn*, *Muḥāsir*; whence the *Mīm*, the Khāridjī Wardjālān remarks, has the priority (cf. *NUK MUHAMMAD*). While according to Boshshār, the five were equal and became Muḥammad, Fāṭim, Ḥasan, Ḥusain, Muḥāsir; 'Alī being thought to surpass them was identified by hyperdulia and against all logic with the *Ma'nā*. It is this last list that the Nuṣairis have adopted. And this is the origin of their 'god 'Alī' for whom there is no need to seek antecedents in the Syrian pagan pantheon or in a Druze emanation. Boshshār and the *Uḥayyā* (or *Asīyā*) copied by the Nuṣairis have simply copied the Karmāṭian list of Maimūn, by inverting the order of priority between *Mīm* and *Alm*, and making the *Sūmīs* (= *Ma'nā*) the superiors of the *Nāṭiq* (= *īm*). The following is the double list (*īm* in italics): a. in the seven cycles (*adwār*, *ḥabūs* personified by women among the poets) of the *ṣūḥūrāt* (*ḥuṭūya*): 1. Ḥābīb, *Adam*; 2. Nūḥ, *Shīth* (sic); 3. Yūsuf, *Yā'qūb*; 4. Yūshā', *Mūsā*; 5. Aḥad, *Sulaimān*; 6. Shī'mūn, *Isā*; 7. 'Alī (= Abū Turāb, Amir al-Nahī), *Muḥammad*. Khāṣṣī allows that there were 44 (= 63-19) other *ṣūḥūrāt* (*miḥṭūya*) during these seven cycles; b. in the *ṣafī al-ʿāṣima* (= the twelve classical imāms substituted for the early list of Ibn Nuṣair [which we shall see later] by Khāṣṣī) each imām is promoted *ma'nā* after having been the *īm* of his predecessor. The mode of appearance of the two divine emanations localised behind the *ṣūḥūrāt* (*ṭaghayyā*, *ṭaghayyā*) of a phantomlike body (*ṣamī al-ṣūḥūrāt*, *ma'dīn al-ṭaghayyā*), is a reality for the faith of the Nuṣairis; this body is the support of a momentary illumination for the believer; while for the Druze nominalism it is only a mirage (*ṭurāb*) and for the *Isḥāqīya*, a real body, transfigured by a gradual sanctification.

Theory of catechesis. Abū 'I-Khaṭṭāb had taught that the Five persons of the *īm* were pointed out to the believers by one or more inspired angelic intermediaries (*arḥāḥ*, *rūḥānīyān*); of whom the first was Salsal or al-Sin = Salmān in the Muḥammadīya cycle; cf. our study, p. 36). These initiators became, with his disciple Maimūn, the five spiritual symmetricals of the *Asmā'* (*ʿaḥl* = Salmān; *naṣī* = Mīqdād; *ḥāḍ* = Abū Dharr; *ṣūḥūrāt* = [Uḥmān b.] Ma'ūn; *ḥāḍ* = [ʿAnnūr] b. Yāsir; corr. thus N° 60 of the Druze catechism). While among the Nuṣairis, these five initiators remained equal and far below the *īm*, became the five *Asmā'* (Mīqdād, Abū Dharr, 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, Uḥmān b. Ma'ūn and Kaṣṣar), Salmān being thought to be above them was placed third as *Bāb* after the *Ma'nā* and the *īm*. Such was the origin of the Nuṣairi triad, *ʿAlm-Mīm-Sin* (= *Ma'nā-īm-Bāb*) in which there is no need to see an original pagan Syrian triad of Sun, Moon and Sky; this astrological correspondence, a favourite subject with

Nuṣairi poets, found its way into the Shī'a catechism of Kūfa under the influence of the Sabaeans of Harrān; the assimilation, in the spiritual, of the sun to Muḥammad and of the moon to 'Alī (the moon, like the imām, is the regulator of canonical acts; cf. our, *Salmān*, p. 36, N° 4) appears at Kūfa with Muḥḥim (d. 119 A.H.). In any case if pagan survivals are at the basis of astral gnosticism, as Dussaud suggests, it is not among the uneducated peasants (Djabal Lakkām) but among the town-dwellers in Harrān that they have been able to survive.

The following is a list of the personifications of the *Bāb*: a. in the seven cycles (they are really only six, Salmān, the long-lived = Rūbīh); the *mubāhala*: 1. Djibrāyīl; 2. Yāyīl; 3. Ḥām b. Kūsh; 4. Dān b. Ashawūl; 5. 'Abd Allāh b. Sin'ān; 6. Rūbīh. b. In the *ṣafī al-ʿāṣima* (here are only eleven): the *maṣāḥib*: 1. Salmān; 2. Kaṣṣ b. Warāḥa Rīyāḥī (= Salmān); 3. Rūḥaid Ḥajjārī (d. ca. 58 A.D.); 4. Kankar b. Abū Khālid Kabīlī; 5. Yāyīl b. Mu'ammār b. Umm al-Tawīl (d. ca. 83 A.D.); 6. Djābir b. Yaṣīd Dū'fī (d. 128); 7. Abū 'I-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad b. Abū Zaynab Mīkās Anadī Kāhīlī (d. 138; cf. Kāhīl, p. 191); 8. Mafāḍal b. 'Umar Dū'fī (d. ca. 170); 9. Muḥammad b. Mufāḍal Dū'fī; 10. 'Umar b. al-Furāt (Dū'fī; killed in 203 A.D. by Ibrahim b. al-Mahdī); 11. Muḥammad b. Nuṣair 'Abdī (*Bāb* ca. 245, d. 270). Beginning with N° 7, these individuals have actually played the part of party leaders (Nra. 9-10 had as rival Muḥammad b. Sin'ān). A nephew of N° 10, grandfather of the vizier Ibn al-Furāt, was the principal supporter of Ibn Nuṣair.

Below the *Bāb* are the Five *Asmā'*, whom he associates as lords of the elements (*nuḥūḥāt* *bi-maṣāḥib al-ʿāṣima*) with his role of Demiurge engendering souls by initiation. The list of Nuṣairi *asim* given above should be compared (as well as that of the Druze *ḥuḍūd* "wise virgins" of Salmān; like the Nuṣairi *asim* are the *daḥḥāḥāt* of the *Dīḥ al-'Arḥā* = Salmān) with the lists of Garmyī (Astarāḥādī, *Manḥaj*, p. 225) and of the Khāṭṭābiya of the Pamirs (R. E. I., 1932, p. 442, transl. Ivanow).

IV. Initiation. This has three degrees (*naḥḥāt*, *naḥḥāt*, *īm*); the first consists of a solemn pledge (*'iḥḥād*, *ḥāḥḥāt* with *ṣūḥūrāt* *ma'allāh*; cf. *SURMISTYA*) to reveal nothing of this spiritual marriage (*al-ḥāḥḥāt* *al-ṣamā'*) in which the word of the initiator fertilizes the soul of the initiate in three seances, the ritual of which is related to that of the other extreme Shī'a sects (and of the *futurwet-nūm*) and through them and the Sabaeans of Harrān to the old mysteries of Central Asia (cf. *SHADD*; Dussaud, p. 106-119; *Bāb*, p. 2-7, 82). The cup of wine (called *'ad al-nūr*, Cat. N° 91), the anticipation of Paradise, is partaken of at it.

The initiatory teaching is essentially an ultra-Shī'a symbolism (*ṣūḥūrāt*) of the seven canonical rites (*ḥāḥḥāt*) of Islam which are personified: 1. *ṣūḥūrāt*: the five *awḥāt* by Muḥammad (= *ṣūḥūrāt*; same among the *Isḥāqīya*), Fāṭim, Ḥasan, Ḥusain and Muḥsin (= *ṣūḥūrāt*; among the Druzes as among the Khāṭṭābiya of the Pamirs by the *naḥḥāt*, the *mubāhala*, Abū Dharr, Mīqdād, Salmān). Similarly the 17 (then 51) *raḥ'a*; 2. *ṣūḥūrāt*: the secret guarded regarding 30 names of men (days) and thirty of women (nights of Ramaḍān); 3. *ṣūḥūrāt*: by Salmān; 4. *ḥāḥḥāt*: the "sacred land 12 miles around", this is the sect; Bait—the *īm*; the Black

Stone = *Mihād*; the 7 *ahwāt* = the 7 cycles; 5. *ghāḥād* = the maledictions upon the *asfād* (*Bak*, p. 44) and the discipline of the mystery; 6. *wadāya* = devotion to the Alids and hatred of their adversaries; 7. the *ghāḥāda*: referred to the formula 'ain-mim-ita. The *Ḥarān* is an initiation to devotion to 'Alī; it was Salmān (under the name of Djibrāyil) who taught it to Muḥammad.

The annual festivals include: the Shī'a lunar festivals: Fitr, Aḥḥā, Ghadir, Mabāhala, Fīrāsh, 'Aḥḥā, 9th Rabi' I (martyrdom of 'Umar) and 15th Sha'bān (death of Salmān); then certain solar festivals: Nawrīz and Mihrijān, Christmas and Epiphany, 17th Aḥḥār, St. Barbara. Certain liturgies (*kudās*) pertain to these festivals and are wrongly called "masses" (*kudās al-Tib, al-Baḥār, al-Iḥḥāra*).

V. History of the Sect. All the initiatory ismās of the sect go back from Khayth to Ibn Nuṣair through two intermediaries, Muḥammad b. Djuḥdāh and Muḥammad al-Djannān al-Djunbulūt. Of Ibn Nuṣair, a notable of Basra, teacher of 'Alīqāḥ, we know that in 245 A.H. he proclaimed himself the 4th of the tenth Shī'a imām 'Alī Naḳī and of his eldest son Muḥammad who died before him in 249, the year of the *ghaiba* of the Mahdī, according to Ibn Nuṣair (Ibn Mubawwih, *Ghaiba*, p. 62, l. 12, taken from Nawbakht, *Fīrāsh*, p. 77, 83; such was still the belief of the Ḥamdānīd emir Abū Fīrās, *Diwān*, 1873, p. 39). It is only Khayth who says that Ibn Nuṣair joining the eleventh imām (Nūrī, *Nafas*, p. 144) had taken for mahdī his son Muḥammad b. Ḥasan.

Of the two successors of Ibn Nuṣair we only know that the second, like Khayth, belonged to Djuḥdāh between Kūfa and Wāsiṭ, the centre of the Zandī and Karmāṭian rebels (Tabarī, iii, 1517, 1925, 2198; Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 391), native place of Ibn Wahbīya. Ḥusain b. Ḥamdān Khaythī (vocalisation attested by Dhababī, *Muḥṭabāh*; in Persia and the 'Irāq wrongly now pointed Ḥadīn) died in 346 (957) or 358 (968) at Aleppo (tomb to the north called Shaikh Bairāḳ); he was the real founder of the Nuṣairis; he lived, like his patrons the Ḥamdānids, between Kūfa (in 344, according to Astarābādī, *loc. cit.*, p. 112) and Aleppo; he dedicated to them his *Hidāya*; cf. his *Risāla Kātibīya* (*Tawil*, p. 196 sqq., 240, 257). Among his 51 disciples the best known is Muḥammad b. 'Alī Dīllī of Dīllīye near Antioch where the chief of the Haidaris still lives. His direct disciple was Sa'īd Mainīn Tabārānī (d. 427 = 1035), a prolific polemicist against the chief of the Ishāḳīya of Latakia, Abū Dahība Ismā'īl b. Khallād. After him mention is made of 'Imād al-Dawla, Ḥatīm Tawbānī (c. 700 = 1300; Paris MS. 1450, fol. 1122; *Tawil*, p. 315), author of the *Risāla Kātibīya*, Ḥasan Adīfīd of 'Ana, died at Latakia in 836 (1432) (*Tawil*, p. 317); lastly several heads of parties, the *Kamari* poet Muḥammad b. Yūnus Kaḥḥarī (1011 = 1602), who lived near Antioch, 'Alī Maḥḥasī, Naḥīr Naḥḥarī, Yūṣuf 'Uḥādī. In this connection we may note that the four alleged Nuṣairi sects reduce themselves to two; that of the north (*Shumisiya* because it is *Misiya*, *Shumisiya* = *Haidaris*, from the name of 'Alī Haidarī, its head in the 12th (13th) century = *Ghaishiya*) and that of the south (*Kishīya*, for it is dominant there), which is *Ainiya*, then *Kamariya*.

The spiritual organisation is quite distinct from the political among the Nuṣairis. The four *mubādān* mentioned by Niebuhr in 1780 (at Bahliṭiye

near Latakia, Simerian-Khwalu, Siftā and Djahal Kalitye) were temporal rulers. In 1914, there were two spiritual leaders, the *baghīshahī* (*ḥanāt*) in Cilicia and the *ḥadīm ahl al-beit* (*ḥawari*) at Kardaḥ (in 1933: Sliman al-Aḥmad of the Numaliṭiya). From 1920 the Dī'fari Shī'a *ḥadīs* of the south have found their way among the Nuṣairis. In the last ten years a shepherd of the 'Amāmira, Sliman Murahid, has been trying to found a new sect to the north of Mayyaf.

VI. Bibliography: 1. Nuṣairi and Muḥammadan sources: there is no canon of the Nuṣairi initiatory writings, as for the Druzes (cf. de Sacy and Seybold); but Catafago has given a list (*J.A.P.*, 1876) of 40 esoteric works, of which 29 are theological and 11 poetical (specimens translated by Huart, in *J.A.P.*, 1879); we may mention N°. 20, *Kitāb al-Maḥḥimū* (= 16 liturgical stanzas; text in *Bak*, p. 7-34 and Dussaud, p. 181-189 with transl.) and N°. 19, *Kitāb Maḥḥimū al-'Aḥḥād* of A. S. M. Tabarānī; anal. in *J.A.P.*, 1848 and in *R.M.M.*, xlix, 57-60. This list might be supplemented (apocrypha in Paris MSS. 1449-1450 etc.) for there is a bio-bibliographical collection of the writers of the sect, similar to that of the Ismā'īlī writers published by Ivanow. Nuṣairi writers make free use of moderate Shī'a works (Mufid is quoted by Tabarānī) and have even written some; e.g. the *Hidāya* of Khaythī which is still read in Persia. Two Nuṣairi catechisms have been studied: *Ta'lim Dīyānāt al-Nuṣairiyya*, in 101 questions (Paris MS. 6182; anal. by Wolf, *Z.D.M.G.*, iii, 302-309 where N°. 88 is lacking), modern, directed against the Christians; and the old formula by A. Baḥār (anal. by Niebuhr, *Reisen*, ii, 440-444). An unimportant disclosure (but not without more or less biased errors) of the Nuṣairi rites was published in 1863 at Bairūt by a convert to Christianity, Sulaimān of Adana (he was assassinated): the *Bākūra Sulaimāniyya* (119 pp.; part transl. Salisbury, in *J.A.O.S.*, 1868, p. 227-308; cf. *Tawil*, p. 386; the first part is taken from an authentic manual used where there is not a lodge of initiation; cf. MS. Taimur, *As*, N°. 564). A popular history, in places containing a good deal of romance but documented (without exact references), was published by Mehmed Emin Ḥallīb (d. 1932), of the Āl al-Tawil of Adana: *Ta'rikh al-'Alawīyyin*, pt. Tarāḳḳī, Latakia 1343 (1924), 478 pp. Two refutations are well known; a Druze one by Ḥanna (*Risāla dāmīgha*, N°. xvi. of the canon; perhaps refuting N°. 9 of Catafago's list), and a Sunni by Ibn Taimīya (*fatwa*, p. 94-102 of the *Maḥḥimū*, Cairo 1323; transl. Gayard, in *J.A.P.*, ser. 6, vol. xviii, 1871, p. 158).

2. Western works: The fundamental work is that of R. Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Nuṣairis*, Paris 1900, 35 + 213 pp. (cf. Goldziher, in *A.R.W.*, 1901, p. 85-96), the excellent bibliography in which comes down to 1899. There are also important articles by H. Lammens (in *Etudes religieuses*, Paris 1899, p. 461; *R.O.C.*, 1899, p. 572; 1900, p. 99, 303, 423; 1901, p. 33; 1902, p. 442; 1903, p. 149; *J.A.P.*, 1915, p. 139-159; cf. his *Syrie*, 1921, i, 184), a resume of Dussaud by R. Basset (in *Hastings' E.R.E.*, ix, [1917], 417-419), maps, lists and photos, especially by General Nieger, publ. by L. Massignon, in *R.M.M.*, xxxvi, (1920), p. 271-280 and alix, (1922), p. 1-69; since Dussaud only popular articles have appeared: G. Samné, *La Syrie*, 1921, p. 337-342; J. de la Roche (in *La Géographie*,

xxxviii. [1922], p. 279, and *Asie française*, 1931, p. 166; A. Brun (in *La Géographie*), xliii. [1925], p. 153; P. May, *L'Alcazar* (plate, Beirut, [1931]); Paul Jacquot, *L'Etat des Alcazars* (second ed., 1929, 1931, 264 pp.); Ed. Helsey (articles in *Le Journal*), Paris, April 4, 1931, 1931, 1931, 1931; E. Janot, *Des croisés au mandat*, Lyons 1934. In connection with the present population of Antioch, Weulersse has studied the Nušairi town-dwellers there (*Bull. Inst. fr. Damas*, 1934).

3. In Arabic the only recent studies are: Kurdali, *Khilaf al-Sūm*, vol. vi. (1928), p. 258–268; and Kāmil Ḥazāt, *Nakr al-Dhahab* (Aleppo 1342 A.D., vol. i., p. 204–205); cf. also the Beirut press (*Aḥrār*, Sept. 19, 1930) and that of Damascus (*Al-Nuṣb*, March 29, 1933). (LOUIS MASSIGNON)

NUŠB, standing stone, especially one which is held sacred. The root is the same as in the Hebrew *naṣṣaba*, Phoenician *nṣb* and *nṣṣ* and South Arabian *nṣb*, *nṣṣ*. On the explanation of the Arabic forms the philologists are not agreed. They usually regard *naṣṣ* as a singular with the plural *naṣṣ*, but others pronounce it *naṣṣ* and consider it the plural of *naṣṣ* or *nṣṣ*. In addition to these forms Arabic has also from the same root the substantives *naṣṣ* and *naṣṣ*.

In answer to the much discussed question of the ideas associated with standing stones, Arabia only makes one contribution, in as much as it is evident that the fundamental conception was that of a dwelling place of the deity (*bet-el*). Of several of the old Arab deities we are told that they were rocks or blocks of stone, i.e. that they were incarnate or present in them. Whether this was always so or whether this form of worship developed out of stones placed upon graves (e.g. *Hamān*, p. 562, l. 8 and the use of *naṣṣ* in the sense of tombstones) where the stones were originally memorials, is a question which cannot be dealt with here. We need only mention that the theory of worship of the dead breaks down if the deity has its abode in a tree, like al-ʿUzzā of Nakhlā in a samara tree (umbrella acacia). Examples of the presence of a deity in a stone are given in the articles DHU 'L-SHARĀ, AL-LĀT and MANĀT. Other examples are Dhu 'l-Khalass, al-Fals, al-Djalsad, Sa'd. The worship associated with such stones usually consisted in sprinkling them with the blood of sacrifices. Thus Zuhair, 10, 24 speaks of a sacrificial stone, *manṣab al-ʿitir*, the top of which was red with blood; a wounded and bleeding man is compared to a red *naṣṣ* (Ibn Sa'd, iv, 1, 162, 4); among forbidden foods, Sūra v. 4 includes what is slaughtered *ʿala l-naṣṣ*; al-Aḥḥā (*Morgenländische Forschungen*, p. 258) warns against worshipping a *ḥa l-naṣṣ* (*l-naṣṣ*) (read *manṣab*) with sacrifices; cf. also Matalammis, ed. Vollers, 2, 1. The words of Sūra lxx. 43, which say that the resurrected stream out of their graves as if they were running (*yūḥḍūna*) to a *naṣṣ* (other readings *naṣṣ* or *naṣṣ*) refer to a characteristic feature of the worship. In view of the prominent part played by stones in the worship of the early Arabs, it is natural that Muḥammad should have included *naṣṣ* among things prohibited to the believers like wine, maisir etc. (Sūra, v. 92) for the worship associated with them was one of the principal forms of idolatry.

The smearing of the *naṣṣ* with blood recalls the well known statement in Herodotus iii. 8 regarding the ancient Arabian ceremony of con-

cluding alliances. There is however an essential difference. In the first place there is no question of any act of worship and further we are told that the participants put their blood on seven stones lying between them, and called upon the two Gods Orotalt and Allat (q.v.). The stones were not here conceived to be habitations of the gods but owed their merit to the number seven which was the important thing on taking oaths.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, p. 51; Wellhausen, *Reise arabischen Heidentums*, p. 101, 141; Haudmann, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lvii. 830; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. 230, 199.

(Fr. Bunt)

AL-NUSHĀDIR, also *nushādir*, *nawshādir*, Sanskrit *navasādhara*, Chin. *nao-sha*, sal-ammoniac. The etymology of the word is uncertain; perhaps it comes from the Pahlavi *anushādir* 'immortal fire' as we find the form *anushādir* in Syriac.

The oldest references to the occurrence of sal-ammoniac in a natural state are in the reports of Chinese embassies of the viii–viii centuries, which were the subject of very full investigation in connection with a geological problem, the question of volcanoes in Central Asia by H. J. von Klaproth, A. von Humboldt and C. Ritter, in the first third of the xixth century. The reference was to mountains of fire, Pe-Shan on the northern slopes of the Tien-Shan south of Kuldja, Ho-Chon on the south side of the Tien-Shan near Turfan and the sulphur pits of Urumsai. The mountain Pe-Shan was said to pour forth fire and smoke continually; on one side of it all the stones burn, and are melted and then after flowing some miles solidify again. *Nao-sha* and sulphur were obtained there for medicinal purposes but the stones could only be collected in winter when the cold had cooled the ground. A. von Humboldt and C. Ritter do not accept a reference to the burning of coal by which sal-ammoniac and sulphur are obtained. The statement that the volcanoes of Central Asia produce sal-ammoniac in immense quantities is found in G. Bischof and even G. von Richthofen still held the volcano theory. The botanist and geographer Regel who travelled in these regions about 1879 was the first to dispute the existence of volcanoes. After Nansen, Le Coq and others had been unable to confirm the existence of volcanoes but established the fact that there were large deposits of coal on the surface, the old sources in Central Asia are now generally attributed to the burning of coal.

Almost all the Arab geographers who refer to Central Asia, from al-Mas'ūdī, al-Iṣṭakhṛī, Ibn Hawqāl, to Yāqūt and al-Kāzwinī, give fantastic stories about the method by which sal-ammoniac is procured in the Buttam hills east of Samarkand. Here again the details suggest the burning of the earth rather than volcanic exhalations. The Persian traveller Nāṣir-i Khuraw however mentions deposits of sal-ammoniac and sulphur at Demāwend and Ibn Hawqāl is acquainted with the volcanic sal-ammoniac of Etna; the latter was still exported to Spain in the xiith century. At an earlier date they had begun to procure sal-ammoniac from the soot of camel dung. This product remained into modern times an important import by the Venetian traders and was only driven from the market by the modern cheap methods of production from gas liquor etc.

The use of sal-ammoniac as a remedy in cases of

inflammation of the throat etc. is already mentioned by Sahl b. Rabhān al-Tabarī. Ibn al-Baitār also quotes from other authors all kinds of remarkable uses of it, on which no stress need be laid. Ḥajjān reckons sal-ammoniac among the poisons, which is true of large doses.

The part played by sal-ammoniac in alchemy is much more important. Ḥajjān b. Ḥayyān adds it as a fourth to the three *essences* of the Greeks, quicksilver, sulphur and sulphide of arsenic (AsS or As₂S₃), and it is used by all Persian-Arab alchemists in countless recipes. The preparation of carbonate of ammonia through distillation of hair, blood and other materials is already fully described in the "Seventy Books" and other works of Ḥajjān. These methods seem to have given the stimulus to the discovery of the Egyptian method of obtaining sal-ammoniac. All these things came with alchemy to Spain and thence into western alchemy.

In the earliest Latin translations sal-ammoniac is still called *nitriade*, *misadir* etc., i.e. transliterations of the Arabic name. The general term *al-Uḥḥ* is also found in the form *al-wak*, *al-wak* or translated by *apula*. The identification of this salt with the salt of the oasis of Ammon already mentioned by Herodotus is first found in Syriac authors and lexicographers.

Bibliography: H. E. Stapleton, *Sal-Ammoniac: A Study in Primitive Chemistry*, in *Mem. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1905, vol. I, No. 2; M. Berthelot, *Archéologie et Histoire des Sciences*, in *Mém. As. Sc.*, 1906, vol. xlix.; J. Ruska, *Sal ammoniacum, Natrium und Salmiak*, in *S. B. Heid. Ak. d. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Klasse 1923, treatise 5; J. Ruska, *Die Salmiak Bücher der Gābir ibn Ḥayyān*, in *Festschr. f. E. O. v. Lippmann*, 1927, p. 38 199; J. Ruska, *Der Salmiak in der Geschichte der Alchemie*, in *Z. f. angew. Chemie*, 1928, vol. xli., p. 1321 199.

(J. RUSKA)

NUSHIRWĀN. [See ANUḤSHARWĀN.]

NUṢRATĀBĀD. [See SĪSTĀN.]

AL-NUWAIRĪ SHIHĀR AL-DĪN AHMAD B. 'ABD AL-WAHĪD AL-BAKĪ AL-KINDĪ AL-SHĀFI'Ī, Arab historiographer, born on the 21st Dhū'l-Ka'da 677 (April 5, 1279) in Upper Egypt (probably in al-Khān), died on the 21st Ramaḍān 732 (June 17, 1332) in Cairo, author of one of the three best known encyclopaedias of the Mamlūk period (the others are by al-Umari and al-Kāshgharī). His father before him had been an official (*al-Katib*) of note (628-699 = 1231-1300); the son filled several offices at the court of Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir (Muḥammad b. Qalā'ūn), whose favourite he was. He was for a time *Nāṣir al-Dīn* in Tripolis (Syria) and later *Nāṣir al-Dīn* in the Egyptian provinces of al-Dakḥaliya and al-Murṭaḥhiya. His monumental work *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* which was dedicated to al-Malik al-Nāṣir was a result of his administrative activities. As he says in the preface, at the beginning of his literary career he was almost exclusively concerned with *ḥikma* (i. 2) and only later took up *adab* (i. 3); he wished to sum up in his encyclopaedia all the knowledge that was indispensable for a first class *katib*. The book is divided into five sections called *fann*, each *fann* has five parts, each *fann* has a different number of chapters (*abwāb*) varying from two to fourteen. The first *fann* is devoted to heaven and earth, the second to man, the third to the flora and the fifth to history (full list of con-

tents: vol. I, p. 4-25; also in de Goeje, *Catalogus*², I, 5-14; cf. also Ḥajjān b. Ḥayyān, ed. Flügel, iv, 397-398, No. 14069). The division is unequal; the last *fann* of the fifth *fann*, which is devoted to Muslim history fills almost half the work, which runs to nearly 9,000 printed pages. In addition to the division according to subjects, the book is divided into volumes: the last, the 31st discovered by Ahmad Zaki Pāshā, contains the history of Egypt down to the death of the author in 731. From the dates of the separate parts and volumes it is evident that he devoted no less than twenty years to his book (cf. e.g. de Goeje, *Catalogus*², I, 16 where the year 714 is given; vol. I, p. 416; year 721; vol. V, p. 335; year 722 or Weil, *op. cit.*, xv, year 725 etc.). In the earlier parts later additions are often found (e.g. vol. I, p. 13, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

deserves honourable mention for the interest he (died July 5, 1934) has aroused in the study of Nuwairi's modern times. With great industry and perseverance he has collected photographs of all 31 parts of the *Nihāyat al-Arab* frequently from autographs, and these are now deposited in the Royal Library in Cairo. As a result of his efforts, a complete edition was undertaken in 1923 and ten volumes are now available in the handsome and imposing edition of the *Dūr al-Kutub al-Miṣriya*, which affords a sound basis for the general estimation of the value of the book.

Al-Nuwairi was not only an official but also a fine calligrapher: he was able to copy as many as 80 pages a day. He himself made at least four or five copies of his own encyclopædia and sold them at 2,000 dirhems each. He made eight copies of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Buḥārī at 1,000 dirhems each. He was also famous as a bookbinder.

Bibliography: Al-Adfawī, *al-Tāʾif al-ʿadīd* (c. 738 = 1337), see al-Zurukhī, *op. cit.*; Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 779 = 1377), *Durrat al-Aslāḥ*, see H. E. Weijers, in *Orientalia*, II, Amsterdam,

1846, p. 358; Ibn Ḥaǧǧar, *al-Durar al-kāminā*, see G. A. L. and al-Zurukhī, *op. cit.*; al-Maḥṣūl, *al-Sulūk*, see Quatremère, *op. cit.*; ʿAlī al-Mubārak, *al-Khiṣṣat al-Tawfiḥiyya*, xvii, Cairo 1306, p. 15–16; E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks de l'Égypte*, II/ii, Paris 1845, p. 173 and note 23; G. Weil, *Geschichte des Abbasiden schalifats in Ägypten*, I, Stuttgart 1860, xv; M. Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, Ital. transl., I, Turin and Rome 1880, p. lvi–lvii; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke*, Göttingen 1882, p. 166–167, No. 399; C. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, II, 139–140, No. 1; A. Zaky, *Mémoires sur les moyens propres à déterminer en Égypte une renaissance des lettres arabes*, Cairo 1910, p. 8–10; Cl. Huart, *Littérature arabe*, Paris 1912, p. 335; ʿUṣaydī, *Tarīḥ al-Adab al-Lughā al-ʿArabīyya*, III, Cairo 1913, p. 225–226; al-Zurukhī, *al-ʿAḥḥām*, I, Cairo 1927, p. 49; J. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de bibliographie arabe*, Cairo (1930), col. 1884–1885. (IGN. KRATSKOWSKY)

NUZHA. [See MIZAN.]

O¹

AL-OBOLLA was in the middle ages a large town in the canal region of the Tigris Delta, east of al-Baṣra. It was situated on the right bank of the Tigris and on the north side of the large canal called Nahr al-Obolla, which was the main waterway from al-Baṣra in a southeastern direction to the Tigris and further to ʿAbbādān and the sea. The length of this canal is generally given as four *farṣakh*s or two *barīds* (al-Maḥḍī). Al-Obolla can be identified with *Ἀρσάδων* *Ἐπὶ τῆς θάλασσης*, mentioned in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (Geogr. Graeci Minora, I, 285) as lying near the coast. In a story told by al-Masʿūdī (*Musawwāʿ*, III, 364) there is still a reminiscence of the period before the foundation of al-Baṣra, when al-Obolla was the only seaport in the Tigris estuary. The earlier Arab authors, in discussing the ancient administrative division of lower Babylonia in Sāsānian times and the foundations of towns by the Sāsānian kings, identify al-Obolla with other places, such as Dast-Maḥṣūn (Ibn Khurdādhbih, in *B. G. A.*, VI, 7) or Bahman Ardashīr (Taharī, I, 687), although these provinces must be sought on the opposite bank of the Tigris; Eutychius (in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, III, 911) likewise makes al-Obolla a foundation of Ardashīr I (cf. on this question: H. H. Schaefer, in *Isis*, XIV, 27 sqq.). Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 7 quotes an Arabic poem of a contemporary of Muḥammad, where al-Obolla is mentioned. In the story of the conquests the town is reported to have been captured by ʿOṭha b. Ḡharwān in the year 12 (633) and this conqueror described it to the caliph ʿOmar as the *port of al-Bahraīn, ʿOmān, al-Ḥind and al-Ṣīn* (al-Balādhurī, p. 341). This conquest enabled the Arabs to seize the opposite bank of the river (Dast-Maḥṣūn) and the so-called Euphrates

country. After the rise of al-Baṣra, al-Obolla became of secondary importance, but throughout the ʿAbbāsid caliphate it remained a large town. It was further from the sea than it had been, but still the effects of the tide were perceptible even above al-Obolla. All the great geographical authors of the xth–xiiith century give a longer or shorter notice of this place. Its environs are described in very laudatory terms (cf. Yaḳūt, I, 97); the borders of the Nahr al-Obolla were one large garden (Ibn Ḥawqāl, in *B. G. A.*, II, 160). The part of the Tigris opposite al-Obolla was important for navigation; in earlier ʿAbbāsid times there had been here a dangerous whirlpool, which had been eliminated by sinking a large quantity of stone in the water at the expense of an ʿAbbāsid princess. Here was erected a beacon light which is described by al-Idrīsī (ed. Jauherī, I, 364). Al-Obolla was in this period even larger than al-Baṣra, according to Maḥḍī (in *B. G. A.*, III, 118), and the place was noted for linen goods and also, as appears from al-Yaʿqūbī (in *B. G. A.*, VII, 360), for its shipbuilding. Naṣīr-i Khusrāw, who visited the place in 443 (1051), gives likewise a vivid description of its beautiful surroundings (Berlin 1341, p. 133). On the other hand, al-Obolla does not seem to have been an important strategical point; occasionally it was occupied, as in 331 (942) by the governor of ʿOmān in his action against the Barīd brothers in Baṣra (cf. Miškawīh, ed. Amedroz, II, 46), but as the events showed it was far from being an important bulwark of that city. After the xiiith century the general decline of those regions seems to have brought about the gradual disappearance of the place; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (II, 17 sq.) calls it only a village and the *Nuskah al-Kulūb*

1) See also U.

(p. 38) knows only the Nahr al-Obolla, but does not mention the place itself. About this time it must have disappeared; later mentions (as late as the *Djihad-Guide* of Hadrat Khalifa, p. 453) reproduce only obsolete geographical traditions.

Bibliography: Ritter, *Erkunde*, x. 52, 177, 180; xi. 1025; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 44 sqq.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

OCHIALY, Turkish corsair and admiral in the xvth century. He was born in a village of Calabria called Icastelli, about 1500, as, at the time of his death in 1587, he is said to have been over ninety years old. Ochialy is the name by which he is known in Italian sources of the time; the Turkish sources call him Uludj 'Ali, which name probably was given to him in Northern Africa. It may be the Arabic plural *al-udj* (from *udj*), denoting his foreign descent (Hammer, *G.O.R.* 2, ii. 481, 751 gives conflicting statements). After being a captured galley slave, he became a Muhammadan and entered on a long maritime career in the Mediterranean. According to the *Sijill-i 'othmani* (iii. 502), he became Tersane Kapudan in 961 (1554). He owed his rise to his connection with the famous admiral Turgud Reis, whose lieutenant he was. With Turgud he was at Djerba during Charles V's expedition against this island, and in 1565 both took part in the abortive expedition against Malta, where Turgud was killed. Then, until 1568, he was the latter's successor as viceroy of Tripolis, after which he was appointed in the same capacity to Algiers, as successor of Salih Pasha. During this time he extended the Algerian territory towards the west and, in 1567, he temporarily took Tunis from the last Hafsid sultan and his Spanish protectors. Cervantes mentions him as king of Algiers in chapter xxxix. of his *Don Quixote*. In the following year Uludj 'Ali took part in maritime expeditions against the Venetians and the Maltese. His chief exploit is connected with the battle of Lepanto [q. v.], in September 1571, where he commanded the left wing of the Ottoman fleet. His success in bringing a part of the fleet safely to Constantinople after the defeat procured him the dignity of Kapudan Pasha, the former grand admiral Mu'edhdhin-Zade 'Ali having perished at Lepanto. On this occasion the name Uludj 'Ali is said to have been changed into Kilijs 'Ali. He remained in this office until his death and commanded a series of predatory expeditions in the Mediterranean, participating i. a. in the reconquest of Tunis and La Goulette in 1574, along with the *serasker* Sinan Pasha [q. v.]. The inner political changes did not affect his favour with government circles. His last official activity was to bring the new Khan of the Crimea to Kaffa to install him in place of the deposed Khan. Ochialy displayed considerable activity in ship-building, especially after the debacle of Lepanto; in addition he was the builder of the Topkhane Djami'i at Galata, and of a *hamam* in the sultan's palace. When he died unexpectedly in his own mosque (15th Rajab 995 = June 21, 1587) he left an enormous fortune, which fell to the state.

Bibliography: The chief Turkish historical sources are the *Tarih* of Selaniki, and the *Tuhfat al-Kibar* by Hadrat Khalifa. A contemporary western source is: Pierre de Bourdeille de Brantôme, *Vies des hommes illustres et grands*

capitaines étrangers, 1594. — Further the historical works of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga, and E. Hamilton Currey, *Sea-wolves of the Mediterranean*, London 1910, p. 344 sqq.; Hadrat Husain al-Awanseri, *Hadith al-Djihad*, ii. 59. (J. H. KRAMERS)

OSCONOBA, the old name of the circle (*kūra*) in al-Andalus corresponding to the present Portuguese province of Algarve of which Silves [q. v.; Ar. *Shilb*] was the capital. The geographers and historians transliterate this place name in the forms Ukhānuba and Ukhshnuba; we also find the wrong forms Ushkūntya and Ushkūnya, the result of graphic errors. The name Osconoba seems also sometimes to be applied to a town which would be the old Santa Maria de Algarve [q. v.] now Faro. On the authority of an epigraphical reference it has however been identified with Milreu (Estoy) by Hahnier (*C.I.L.* ii. 3—4, 781—785).

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 164, 343; iii. 312; al-Makkari, *Analekta*, i. 113, 809; J. Alemany Bolufer, *La geografía de la Península ibérica en los escritores árabes*, Granada 1921, p. 110; David Lopes, *Toponymia arabe de Portugal*, in *Revista Hispánica*, 1902, p. 43—44; du., *Os Arabes nas obras de Alexandre Hercolano*, Lisbon 1911, p. 79—80. (E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

OFEN. [See BUDAPEST.]

OCHUL, a word common to all the Turkish languages, meaning "son", "child", "descendant". In this connection attention may be called to certain formations, such as *oghlu* *oghlu*, "son of good house", *hul* *oghlu*, which used to be applied to the sons of the Janissaries. *Oghul* is very frequently found in family names where it takes the place of the Persian *zade* or the Arabic *ibn*, e.g. Hekim-oghlu or Hekim-zade for Ibn al-Hekim or Ramadān-oghul for Ramadān-zade or Ibn Ramadān (where it should be remembered that the Arabic *ibn* does not mean exclusively "son" but "descendant"). An incomplete survey of such formations in an early period is to be found in *Sijill-i 'othmani*, iv. 778—812. — The new law on family names will give rise to numerous forms where *oghul* is combined with names and crafts.

Cognate is *oghlan*, "boy", "young man", "servant", a word also found in certain compounds, e.g. *il* *oghlan*, "sultan's page"; *dil* *oghlan*, "language-boy", "interpreter". From *oghlan* we also get *ahlan*, the name for light cavalry.

(FRANZ BÄHRINGER)

OHOD, a mountain about three miles north of Medina, celebrated for the battle fought there in the year 3 which ended unfavourably for Muhammad. It is a part of the great range of hills which runs from north to south but here spreads to the east over the plain and thus forms an independent group of hills. The rocky walls surmounted by a rectangular plateau — without peaks, Yāqūt says — "which rise like masses of iron" (Burton) above the plain are quite destitute of trees and plants and only the face of the south wall is broken by a ravine which played a decisive part of the battle. The country round is stony and covered with gravel but farther south there are a few cornfields and gardens watered by a brook, but these are sometimes flooded by sudden rainstorms so that the pilgrims coming from the town cannot reach the hill. The Meccans who had

set out to avenge the defeat at Badr were encamped at the already mentioned cornfields at al-'Ird or al-Lijrī, which were then full of ripe corn and supplied food for their animals. Muhammad who against his will and against the advice of the elders was forced to leave the town and meet the enemy in the open field, went unhindered past the enemy camp and drew up his troops at the foot of the hill with their backs to it: a strategy no less peculiar than that of the enemy. At first it looked as if the enthusiasm of his followers would secure him a victory like that of Badr. But when the archers, whom the Prophet had placed upon the hill with distinct orders to prevent a flank attack by the enemy and not to leave their positions, were unable to restrain themselves when they saw the Meccan camp being pillaged and hurried up to see what they could get, Khalid b. al-Walid's quick eye at once saw the weak spot and when he attacked it, the tables were quickly turned. When the rumour spread that Muhammad had fallen, the Muslims began to give way, and finally the flight became general. In reality the Prophet was only wounded, and some of his followers succeeded in concealing him in the ravine. Fortunately the Meccans, little experienced in warfare, did not know how to follow up their victory and began to go home. The Prophet was in this way saved from the worst but he had to lament the loss of many of his followers, including his uncle Hamza [q. v.], a loss which he felt particularly. It is not easy to get a clear idea of the treatment of the fallen as the traditions differ very much. It is said that the Medinese at first brought their dead to Medina but the Prophet soon forbade this; some mention a common grave in which those who knew the Qur'ān were put in the first row; but according to others the martyrs were buried singly or in twos and threes and some authorities say that the alleged common graves of the martyrs of Ohod are really those of beduins who died of hunger in the reign of 'Umar (Wāḥidī, transl. Wellhausen, p. 143). All accounts however agree in their tendency to glorify Hamza. The Prophet is said to have uttered the *takbīr* over him first; the bodies of the other dead are said to have been placed beside him one by one and Muhammad prayed over him 70 times, as he included him in the prayer with each new corpse. Every year afterwards the Prophet went to Ohod, to visit his and the other graves and the early caliphs did so also. Muhammad is said to have ordered that the women in lamenting the death of every Ansari should begin with a lament for Hamza. In this way Ohod became one of the most prominent places of pilgrimage of the Muhammadans. A mosque was built over Hamza's tomb and it is mentioned by Mukaddasī; it lay behind a well near the graves of the other martyrs. We have a brief description by Ibn 'Ubayr in the vith (xiith) century. He mentions first of all Hamza's mosque on the south side of the hill 3 miles north of Medina; a mosque is built at his grave with the grave in an open space to the north of it. Opposite lay the other graves of martyrs and opposite them again was the cave where the Prophet took shelter on the lower part of the hill. Around the graves of the martyrs is a low wall of red earth ascribed to Hamza at which the people seek a blessing. The best modern

description is that of Burckhardt who visited the place in 1814 after its devastation by the Wahhābīs. From his description we may quote the following: "About one mile from the town stands a ruined edifice of stones and bricks, where a short prayer is recited in remembrance of Muhammad having here put on his coat of mail, when he went to engage the enemy. Farther on is a large stone, upon which it is said that Muhammad leaned for a few minutes on his way to Ohod.... To the east of this torrent, the ground leading towards the mountain is barren, stony, with a mound, on the slope of which stands a mosque, surrounded by about a dozen ruined houses, once the pleasure villas of wealthy townspeople; near them is a cistern, filled by rain water. The mosque is a square solid edifice of small dimensions. Its dome was thrown down by the Wahhābīs but they spared the tomb. The mosque encloses the tomb of Hamza and those of his principal men who were slain in the battle; namely, Mu'ā'ib b. 'Umayr, Dja'far b. Shammās (not mentioned in the traditions) and 'Abd Allāh b. Dja'far. The tombs are in a small open yard, and, like those of the Bāḳī, are mere heaps of earth, with a few loose stones placed around them. Beside them is a small portico, which serves as a mosque. A little further on, towards the mountain, which is only a gunshot distance, a small cupola marks the place where Muhammad was struck in battle by a stone.... At a short distance from this cupola, which like all the rest has been demolished, are the tombs of twelve other partisans of the Prophet, who were killed in the battle.... The people of Medina frequently visit Ohod, pitching their tents in the ruined houses, where they remain a few days, especially convalescents, who during their illness had made a vow to slaughter a sheep in honour of Hamza if they recovered. Once a year (in July, I believe), the inhabitants flock thither in crowds, and remain for three days, as if they were the feast days of the saint. Regular markets are then kept there; and this visit forms one of the principal public amusements of the town". In modern times Wavell records that the opening of the railway to Medina in 1906 produced a disturbance among the beduins which resulted among other things in the Banū 'Alī, whose duty it was to protect the pilgrims visiting the tomb of Hamza, while putting no obstacles in their way, declining to take any responsibility. The Wahhābīs who now rule in northern Arabia permit pilgrimage but as at all the holy places forbid actual worship.

Bibliography: Isakhrī, in *B.G.A.*, i. 18; Mukaddasī, *ibid.*, iii. 82; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 77; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 557 *sqq.*; Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, i. 1390 *sqq.*; Wāḥidī, transl. Wellhausen, p. 101 *sqq.*; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, i/f. 25 *sqq.*; *ibid.*, 4 *sqq.*; Burckhardt, *Reisen in Arabien*, p. 553 *sqq.*; Burton, *A Pilgrimage to Mekkah* (Memorial Edition 1893), i. 423 *sqq.*; Wavell, *A Modern Pilgrim*, 1908, p. 62 *sq.*; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, i. 540—566.

(Fa. Bunt.)

'OQAILIDS, a dynasty of al-Mawṣil. The Banū 'Oqail belonged to the great Beduin tribe of 'Amir b. Sa'ā'a. From their original home in Central Arabia they spread in course of time in different directions and among their better known subdivisions were the Banū Khafadja [q. v.] and the Muntafik [q. v.]. In the fourth century of the

Hidjra the Banū ‘Oḳail in Syria and Irāk were tributary to the Ḥamdānids and when the latter were no longer able to maintain themselves in al-Mawṣil the city passed to the ‘Oḳailids. The Kurd chief Baḡh, the founder of the dynasty of the Marwānids [q.v.], endeavoured to bring al-Mawṣil under his rule whereupon the two Ḥamdānid brothers Abū Ṭāhir Ibrāhīm and Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusain appealed for help to the emir of the Banū ‘Oḳail, Abū ‘I-Dhawwād Muḥammad b. al-Musaiyih. The latter at once announced his readiness to assist them and was given as a reward Djaṣrat b. ‘Umar, Naṣibin and the town of Balad. After the death of Baḡh in battle (380 = 990–991) his sister’s son Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan continued the war with success. Abū ‘Abd Allāh was taken prisoner and when Abū Ṭāhir went to Naṣibin to seek the protection of Abū ‘I-Dhawwād, the latter took him, his son and several of his retainers prisoners, put them to death and then occupied al-Mawṣil. He then submitted nominally to the Bāyid Bāḡh al-Dawla [q.v.] and persuaded him to send a representative to al-Mawṣil. But the latter did not play a part of any importance. Bāḡh al-Dawla’s efforts to make his influence felt in al-Mawṣil did not have the success he desired. Abū ‘I-Dhawwād remained the real ruler. He died in 386 or 387 (996–997) and was succeeded by his brother al-Muḳallad [q.v.]. The latter was assassinated in Safar 391 (Dec. 1000–Jan. 1001) and his eldest son Karwāsh [q.v.] was recognised as emir of al-Mawṣil. After holding office for fifty years, he was deposed by his brother Abū Kāmil Baraka [cf. KARWĀSH] in 442 (1050–1051) and on the latter’s death in the next year 443 (1051–1052) the rule passed to his nephew Kuraish b. Badrān [q.v.]. The latter was succeeded in 453 (1061) by his son Muallim [q.v.] under whom the territory of the ‘Oḳailids attained its greatest extent; their power then declined rapidly. On Muallim’s death (478 = 1085) his brother Ibrāhīm who had been languishing in prison for years was set free and proclaimed emir of al-Mawṣil. In 482 (1089–1090) however, the Saljuḳ sultān Malikshāh invited him to come and give an account of his stewardship, and as soon as he appeared he was thrown into prison and Fakhr al-Dawla b. Djaḥir [q.v.] sent as governor to al-Mawṣil. Only after Malikshāh’s death (Shawwāl 485 = November 1092) was Ibrāhīm set free and returned to al-Mawṣil. In the meanwhile Muslim’s widow Ṣafīya who was also the aunt of Malikshāh, had married Ibrāhīm, and on the death of Malikshāh she went with ‘Alī, her son by Muslim, to al-Mawṣil. But as Muḥammad, another son of Muslim, also coveted the city, its inhabitants split up into two parties and when it came to fighting, Muḥammad had to take to flight, while ‘Alī occupied al-Mawṣil. As soon as Ibrāhīm heard of this he began negotiations with Ṣafīya and received from her the town of Balad which Malikshāh had given her as a fief. The Saljuḳ prince Tutuṣh [q.v.] then demanded that Ibrāhīm should recognise him as sultān and when the latter refused, the decision was left to arms. In Rabi’ I 486 (April 1093) the two armies met near al-Mawṣil; Ibrāhīm was taken prisoner and put to death and Tutuṣh occupied al-Mawṣil where he installed ‘Alī b. Muslim as governor. It was however not long before his brother Muḥammad b. Muallim endeavoured to dispute his power. He asked the emir Kurbūka

[q.v.] to help him against his brother and the result was that he lost his life while ‘Alī had to give up al-Mawṣil (Dhu ‘l-Ḳa’da 489 = Oct.–Nov. 1096).

In addition to the emirs of al-Mawṣil, several ‘Oḳailid dignitaries are mentioned in history. In 479 (1086–1087) Salim b. Malik b. Badrān b. al-Muḳallad surrendered Halab to sultān Malikshāh and received in return the fortress of Djaḥar [q.v.] to which al-Rakka was soon added and these remained almost without interruption in the possession of his descendants until 564 (1168–1169) when his grandson Malik b. ‘Alī b. Salim ceded them to Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zangī.

Another branch was established in Takrit [q.v.]. According to Ibn al-Aṭṭar, x. 289, where a short sketch of the history of this town is given down to the year 500 (1106–1107), the ‘Oḳailid Rāfi b. al-Ḥusain died in 427 (1036) as lord of Takrit. His nephew Abū Man’a Khams b. al-Taghlib then inherited his governorship. After the latter’s death in 435 (1043–1044) he was succeeded by his son Abū Ghashshām. The latter was suddenly attacked in 444 (1052–1053) by his brother ‘Isā and thrown into prison and ‘Isā seized the power. In 448 (1056–1057) ‘Isā died and soon afterwards his son Naḡr died also. ‘Isā’s widow Amīra then had Abū Ghashshām, who was still in prison, murdered and installed a governor named Abū ‘I-Ghannīm in Takrit but he handed the town over to the Saljuḳ sultān Taghribeg.

‘Oḳailid governors are also occasionally found in other towns, like ‘Ana, Haditha, Hit and ‘Ukkarā. After the extinction of the dynasty in Mesopotamia and the Irāk the ‘Oḳailids withdrew to Bahrain.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aṭṭar, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vii.—x., *passim*; Abū ‘I-Fidā, ed. Reiske, ii. 573; 593, 605; iii. 135 *seq.*; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Iḥār*, iv. 91 *seq.*; Hilāl al-Ṣabī, *Kitāb al-Wuzarā*, ed. Amedroz, p. 417–419, 445–453, 469–472; Amedroz and Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, see index; Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, p. 116–117; de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, p. 135; Khaili Edhem, *Dawlat-i Islāmiyye*, p. 159 *seq.*; Tiesenhansen, *Die Geschichte der ‘Oḳailiden-Dynastie*, in *Mémoires présentés à l’Acad. Impér. des sciences de St.-Petersbourg par divers savants*, vol. viii. (1859); Kay, *Notes on the History of the Banū ‘Oḳail*, in *J. R. A. S.*, N. S., xviii. (1886), 491–526.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

‘OḲĀZ, name of an oasis situated between Ta’if and Naḡhla. The Arab philologists derive the name from the root meaning ‘to retain’, in the middle forms ‘to assemble’ or from the meaning of ‘concourse’. Both interpretations are based on the fact that ‘Oḳāz was primarily celebrated for its annual fair, which was held on the 1st–20th Dhu ‘l-Ḳa’da and was at the same time an official occasion of *mufāḥhara*, i.e. a gathering of tribes or rather of groups and individuals belonging to the same tribe where individuals competed for honours and for the honour of their tribe.

These assemblies to which poets came to recite their poems, were also great fairs, at which merchandise was exchanged. That of ‘Oḳāz was followed by those of Madjanna (last ten days of Dhu ‘l-Ḳa’da), of Dhu ‘l-Madjaṣ (1st–8th Dhu ‘l-Hiddja)

and those which accompanied the great pilgrimage. These weeks formed the climax of public life in pre-Islamic Arabia — the truce of the sacred months making discussion of the political affairs of the tribes of the Hijāz possible. The Tamīm took no part in them. Islām by condemning hereditary and individual feuds was the cause of the decline of the *mawāḥim* (cf. MAWḤIM).

Muḥammad was on his way to the fair of 'Okāz with a few of his companions when at Nakhl(a) the *ǧinn* heard the Qur'ān being recited and were struck with admiration as we are told in the Qur'ān (sūra lxxii. 1 sqq.; xlv. 28 sqq.) and *ḥadīth* (Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 105; *Tafsīr*, sūra lxxii, bāb 1; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, trad. 149; Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, sūra lxxii, trad. 1).

'Okāz is also noted for the fighting which took place there at the beginning of Islām.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Ma'ājam*, s. v.; *Lisān al-'Arab*, s. v.; *Taǧ al-'Arūs*, s. v.; Azrakī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 129; Bukhārī, *Ḥadīth*, bāb 150; *Tafsīr*, sūra 2, bāb 34; Freytag, *Einführung in das Studium der arabischen Sprache*, Bonn 1861, p. 273; Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche feest*, p. 19 (*Verspreide Geschriften*, I, 15—16); Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentum*, second ed., Berlin 1897, p. 88 sqq.; G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897, p. 147—148; L. Gaidi, *Tablet alphabétiques du kitāb al-aḡḡāl*, index IV, s. v.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

'OKBA b. NĀFI' b. 'ABD KĀS AL-KURASHI AL-FIHRI, the famous general of the first century A.H. who endeavoured by consolidating the first successes of the Arab conquest in North Africa to put an end to the resistance of the Berbers but finally perished after a troubled career at the hands of African rebels.

The data supplied by the historians regarding the career of 'Okba are relatively abundant but like all that relates to the beginnings of the expansion of Islām in North Africa have frequently to be taken with caution. They come from later traditions, and W. Marçais has clearly demonstrated the particular bias which they represent (*Le passé de l'Algérie musulmane*, in *Histoire et Historiens de l'Algérie*, Paris 1931, p. 150). It is certain as regards 'Okba that the essentials of what the Maghribi historians have preserved about him are of eastern origin and in addition the most circumstantial accounts of his career that we possess are from the pens of eastern authors: Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam and al-Nawairi. The only authority for the African tradition regarding 'Okba so far known is his descendant Abu 'l-Muhāǧǧir. The information, at once detailed and new, found in a Maghribi MS. (cf. *Bibliography*) about 'Okba's raid into the south of Morocco seems fairly reliable up to a certain point from the very fact of its precision. Use of it after a critical study seems likely to throw doubt upon the statements hitherto regarded as reliable regarding the progress and chronology of the Arab conquest of Northwest Africa, such as are given in studies, already antiquated like Fournel (*Les Berbères, Étude sur la conquête de l'Afrique par les Arabes*, Paris 1875), or more recent and more distinguished works but also based on unchecked translations like that of E. F. Gautier (*Les siècles obscurs du Maghreb*, Paris 1927).

This is why in the present state of our knowledge we shall here confine ourselves to tracing a sketch

of 'Okba b. Nāfi's activities in North Africa which need not be considered final on all points.

'Okba was born in the last years of the Prophet's life and was through his mother the nephew of 'Amr b. al-'Ās [q. v.], the celebrated conqueror of Egypt, who shortly before his death in 43 (663) gave him the supreme command in Ifrīkiya. According to a story, difficult to verify, 'Okba at that time was directing his attention to the Sūdān and establishing Islām by force of arms at Ghadāmes. But this was only a raid and not a regular occupation of the country. It was not till some years later that we find him preparing for a new expedition, no doubt better equipped than the others. This was the expedition of 50 (670) in which he founded the military stronghold of al-Kairawān [q. v.] in the middle of the province of Byzacene. For this expedition 'Okba had at his disposal a force of 10,000 horsemen which was gradually increased by the accession of Berbers converted to Islām; with the help of this force he was able not only to attack the Byzantines who continued to hold out in the towns of the coast of Ifrīkiya but also the Berbers. The foundation of Kairawān, forming a strong base for the Arab troops, seems to have very much facilitated if not the occupation and pacification of Ifrīkiya, at least its conversion to the religion of and obedience to the authority of the invaders. But it was not 'Okba who gathered the fruits of this spread of Islām. Ifrīkiya remained a dependency of the province of Egypt; the new governor Maslama b. Makhlad al-Anṣārī dismissed 'Okba in 53 (675) and replaced him by one of his own clients, Abu 'l-Muhāǧǧir, who very soon undertook a raid on Algiers, and according to Ibn Khaldūn got as far as Tlemcen [q. v.]. On his return to the east, 'Okba is reputed to have complained to the caliph Mu'āwīya of the way in which he had been treated by the governor of Egypt and a little later Mu'āwīya's successor restored him his governorship.

This second appointment of 'Okba to Ifrīkiya may be put with certainty in 62 (682). His enemy, the governor Abu 'l-Muhāǧǧir, had in the course of his raid defeated the Berber chief Kusāila [q. v.] who became a Muslim and it was on these two that 'Okba wreaked his vengeance in his turn. He put them into chains and carried them with him wherever he went. At the same time he prepared an expedition on a larger scale than the previous one the stages of which can be traced from the narrative of Ibn Khaldūn. 'Okba's army, preceded by an advance guard under Zuhair b. Kaīs al-Balawī, advanced from Kairawān into the Central Maghrib, at first encountering in the Zāb and again in Tāhart Berber and Byzantine elements which he defeated and received tribute from. He finally reached the region of Tangier. The chief of the Ghumāra, Ilyān (Julian?), submitted to the Arab leader and became his military adviser. He dissuaded him from crossing the Straits of Gibraltar and undertaking the conquest of Spain and pointed out the danger threatening the Arab troops from the great body of still unconverted Berbers in the Great Atlas and Sūs [q. v.]; 'Okba therefore turned his attention to the Berbers. First of all he occupied the massif of the Zarkūn, took the town of Ullit (Volubilis), crossed the Middle Atlas and advanced through the Dra (Dar'a) and Sūs, the inhabitants of which he pursued up to the desert of the Lamtūna. He

then turned to the Atlantic coast, reached the land of Sāfi and began to subject the Berber bloc of the Maṣmūda of the Djebel Duran (Great Atlas) then that of the Anti-Atlas as far as Tāridānt [q.v.].

But however brilliant they seemed these successes led nowhere. An advance no matter how brilliant through a country meant nothing if it was not followed by an occupation which 'Okba was not able to secure. But when he and his army turned homewards, he does not seem to have realised that all would have to be done again. Kusaila escaped from him and organised resistance, making use alike of the fondness for fighting of his Berber compatriots and the discipline and technical skill of the Byzantine garrisons in the country. 'Okba trusting to his good fortune did not see the danger. Reaching the Zāb, at Thubunna (Tubna) he went so far as to divide his army into several contingents which he sent off in succession on the road to Kaitawān. Trusting the Berbers, who had submitted to him, he had only a small body of Arabs with him when he set out from Tubna for the Awrūs [q.v.]. But he was soon surrounded by Kusaila's bands on the borders of the Sahara at Tahūda and fell with 300 of his companions in 63 (683). His grave and that of his companions is still pointed out at the same place and forms the centre of a little village which bears his name: Saiyidi 'Okba (vulg. Sidi 'Okba), a few miles S.E. of Biakra, not far from the old site of Tahūda.

Bibliography: the works relating to the Companions of the Prophet, notably Ibn Ḥaǧǧar, *al-Iṣṣāḥ*; al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. and transl. de Slane², Algiers and Paris 1913, index and especially p. 12—33 *qq.*; *Kitāb al-Iṣṣāḥ*, ed. Kremer, Vienna 1852, p. 3 *qq.*, 62—63 and *passim*, transl. Fagnan, *L'Afrique septentrionale au XI^e siècle*, Constantinople and Paris 1900, p. 8 *qq.*, 111—113 and index; Abu 'l-'Arab Muḥammad b. Tamīm, *Tabaqāt 'Ulamā' Ifrīqiya*, ed. and transl. M. Benchench, Algiers 1920, text p. 8—9, transl. p. 20—21, and index; Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey (*The History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain*), Yale Oriental Series, New Haven 1922, index; Ibn al-Aṭṭār, *Kūmil*, iii, 386 *qq.*; iv, 88 *qq.* = *Annales du Maghrib et de l'Espagne*, transl. Fagnan, Algiers 1898, p. 18—23; al-Nuwairī, *Histoire d'Afrique* in the *Nihāyat al-'Arab*, in course of publication at Cairo, ed. and Span. transl. by M. Gaspar Remiro, Grenada 1919, p. 10 of the text and 11 of the transl.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. and transl. Slane, text v. i., transl. v. i. and transl. in appendix of the narratives of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam and al-Nuwairī; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, i, 11, transl. Fagnan, i, 13 *qq.*; al-Nāṣirī, *Iṭṭihāṣ*, Cairo ed., i, 36 *qq.*, transl. Graulhe, in *A.M.*, xxx, 173 *qq.*; the anonymous fragment in the MS. D. 1020 of the Bibliothèque Générale de Rabat (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Fragmentes Historiques sur les Berbères au Moyen-Âge*, Rabat 1934, introduction); Ibn Nāṣirī, *Ma'ālim al-Imān fī Ma'rifa Ahl al-Kāirāmān*, Tunis 1320—1325, v. i. A good account of our present knowledge of the question of his Arab conquest of North Africa in Ch. A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1931, p. 319 *qq.* — Cf. also the articles KAIRAWĀN, KUSAILA.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

AL-'OLAIMI, ABU 'L-YUNUS 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN b. MUḤAMMAD MUJIB AL-DIN AL-'OMARI AL-HANBALI AL-MAGDISHI, an Arab historian, born on the 13th Dhū 'l-Qa'da 860 (Oct. 13, 1456) in Jerusalem, studied from 880 (1476) in Cairo, became in 889 (1484) *ḥāfi* in Ramla and in 891 (1486) chief *ḥāfi* in Jerusalem. He retired in 922 (1516) and died in 928 (1522) in Jerusalem.

His best known work is a history of Jerusalem and Hebron, which he began on the 25th Dhū 'l-Hijja 900 (Sept. 17, 1494) and finished on the 17th Ramaḍān 901 (May 31, 1495), entitled *al-Im* (= *Ans*), which is sometimes found in the MSS. in place of it and is sometimes corrupted to *Un* *al-djall* *al-Ta'rikh al-Ruds wa 'l-Aḥāl*. For the earlier period he takes almost everything out of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maǧdishi's (d. 765 = 1364) *Muḥarrir al-Gharām fī Ziyārat al-Ruds wa 'l-Shām* (cf. C. König, *Der Kitāb Muḥarrir* etc., Leipzig Dias, 1896, p. 20) and supplements it mainly with biographical data. The work which exists in numerous MSS. (see *Cat. Cod. Ar. Lugd. Bat.*, 2nd ed., No. 957; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, ii, 43, and also Paris No. 4922, 5759—60, 5999, 6303; Aya Sofia, No. 2976; Kiliç 'Ali Paşa, No. 729; Hankipore, xv, 1084—1085, etc.) was first made known in Europe through extracts in the *Journal des Étrangers*, 1754, April, p. 2—45, and then through Hammer's *Fundgruben*, ii—v. From the printed edition, Cairo 1283, H. Sanvairé translated *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hébron depuis Adam jusqu'à la fin du XV^e siècle*, *Fragment de la chronique de Meudjiraddin*, Paris 1876. At the end of his work the author announces his intention of continuing it when able to do so. This continuation is found in Leyden No. 953 down to 914 and in Oxford (see *Cat.*, i, 853, s) and in the Khālidīya in Jerusalem (see A. L. Mayer, in *Journ. Pal. Or. Soc.*, xi, 1—13). Probably before he wrote his great work, he had written a general history with special reference to Jerusalem and continued it down to the year 896 (1491); this survives in a MS. in the British Museum, Suppl. No. 488 without title and is perhaps identical with the *al-Ta'rikh al-muṭabar fī Anṣar man 'atar* mentioned by Ḥajjī Khāṭib, ii, 150; v, 619. To the *Tabaqāt al-Ḥanbalīya* of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Raḥab (d. 795 = 1393) he wrote a continuation *al-Manḥadi al-aḥmad fī Tarāḥim Aḥād al-Imān*, MSS. Berlin No. 10043, Laleli No. 2083 (see Spies, *Beilage*, 13), in the possession of J. E. Sarkis (*Cat.*, 1928, p. 48, 131; photo in Cairo, *Fihrist*, v, 372). Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Sharif al-Ghazzi (d. 1214 = 1799—1800) wrote a continuation of this down to the year 1207 (1792—1793) and on this and the original work Muḥammad Djamīl b. 'Umar al-Shaṭṭī al-Baḥdāḥi in 1325 (1907) based his *Muḥarrir al-Ḥanbalīya*, Damascus 1339 (see *R.A.A.D.*, i, 160). Whether the al-'Olaimi who is mentioned in Dawūd al-Mawṣilī, *Makāṣif al-Mawṣil*, p. 152, 24 as the author of a commentary on the *Dirwān* of Ibn al-Firīd is the same as our author, is a question which it is impossible to decide with our present knowledge.

Bibliography: Wüstenfeld, *Gelehrten-Verzeichniss der Araber*, p. 512.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

OLĀITU KHUDĀBANDA, eighth Ilkhān of Persia, reigned from 1304 till 1317. He was, like his predecessor Ghāṣān, a son of Arghūn and a great-grandson of Hülagū. At his acces-

sion he was 24 years of age. In his youth he had been given the surname of Khārbanda, for which different explanations are given (cf. the poem by Rashid al-Dīn reproduced on p. 46 of E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, iii, p. 46 *sq.* and Ibn Battūta, ii, 115), but E. Blochet, in his *Introduction à l'histoire des Mongols* (G.M.S., xii, 51), has explained the name as a Mongolian word, meaning "the third". The Byzantine historian Pachymeres calls him *Xapaxarrēs* (ed. Bonn 1835, ii, 459). His mother Uruk Khātūn had him baptised as a Christian, but under the influence of one of his wives he afterwards embraced Islam and received the name Muḥammad, while his surname was changed to Khudābanda. In addition he took the *laqab* of Ghīyāth al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn. When Ghāzān died, Olāitu was absent with an army on the Indian frontier of the empire, but there was no difficulty about the succession, as a possible claimant, his cousin Alafrank, had been killed previously. Olāitu continued the traditional warfare of his predecessors with the Mamlūk Empire and their friendly relations with European Christian powers; some of the letters addressed by him to the Pope Clement V and the English King Edward II are still extant; these letters were brought by his Christian envoy Thomas Iliduci, who, in contradiction to the facts, kept up the fiction that his master was a Christian. Olāitu likewise sent a military expedition to relieve the Byzantine Emperor Michael Palaeologos by dividing the force of the Turks in Asia Minor, but this aid was of little avail (Pachymeres, ii, 588). Against the Mamlūks Olāitu himself conducted a campaign during which the town of Raḥba on the Euphrates was besieged in vain (1313). The authority of the government in the interior was strengthened by the conquest of Dīlīn in 1307 and in the same year by the conquest of Herāt from the vassal Kart dynasty. In 705 (1305—1306) Olāitu made the recently founded town of Sulṭāniya [q.v.] the capital of his empire, on the occasion of the birth of his son and successor Abū Sa'īd. Prosperity was increased by the laws of Ghāzān, whose canon was promulgated again by Olāitu, and also by the able administration of the famous historian Rashid al-Dīn [q.v.]; the latter's colleague and rival Sa'īd al-Dīn was executed in 1312 through the intrigues of 'Alī Shāh, who took his place. The dispute which soon arose between the two ministers made the sultān in 1315 assign to each of them the administration of half of the empire. The attitude of Olāitu towards Islam deserves special notice. After first showing preference for the Shī'a (cf. the story of Majdī al-Dīn of Shīrāz told by Ibn Battūta, ii, 57 *sq.*), he became an adherent of the Sunna. Then, after an attempt to introduce the Shī'a instead of the Hanafī *madhhab*, he finally decided again to join the Shī'a, after having visited the tomb of 'Alī; one of his coins affords proof of this. — Olāitu is described as a virtuous, liberal ruler; he showed interest in the observatory of Marāgha, where Aḡl al-Dīn, Naṣr al-Dīn's son, was appointed astronomer-royal. He likewise favoured the literary-historical activity of Rashid al-Dīn and the historian Waṣṣaf. He died at Sulṭāniya on December 16, 1316; afterwards Rashid al-Dīn was accused of having caused his death. In Sulṭāniya his tomb is still to be seen.

Bibliography: Contemporary sources are

the *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣaf*, lith. Bombay 1209, and a continuation of Rashid al-Dīn's *Dīwān al-Tawārīkh*, which continuation is found in several manuscripts, but has not yet been edited. Further the *Tārīkh-i Ghāzān* by Hamīd Allāh Mustawfī and the later Persian works. — Of European works must be mentioned: D'Ochson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iv, 478—508; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der Ilchane*, Darmstadt 1843, ii, 178—251; H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, iii, 534—584; E. Blochet, *Introduction à l'histoire des Mongols*, in G.M.S., xii, Leyden—London 1910, *passim*. — For Olāitu's coins: Stanley Lane-Poole's *Catalogue*, vi, 44 *sq.*

(J. H. KRAMERS)

'OMĀN, a nominally independent state on the Persian Gulf under the protectorate of England. Its extent has varied considerably in the course of its history. While Iṣṭakhrī, for example, who gives 'Omān an extent of 300 parasangs, includes the district of Mahra in it, Iṣṭakhrī describes the latter as an independent country. In the northwest 'Omān was bounded by the province of al-Bahrain or al-Hadjar, in the south by Yaman and Hadramūt. The sultanate reached its greatest extent under Sulṭān Ibn Mālik b. al-'Arab b. Sulṭān, under whom 'Omān not only included the territory from Rās al-Hadd to Dīfār, but also al-Bahrain and other possessions, particularly on the African coast where his son Saif conquered Kilwa and Zanzibar. 'Omān at the present day includes the whole south-eastern part of Arabia with a strip about 500 miles long on the south coast of the Peninsula including the land of Doḡar. By the decision of the International Court at the Hague in 1905 in a dispute between England and France regarding the granting of the French flag to owners of sailing-ships in Maṣkaṭ, the southern boundary was fixed at Rās Sakar and the coast as far as Khōr Kalbe reckoned to 'Omān, while at the same time the sultān's claim to the peninsula of Rās Masandam from Rās Dibba to Tibba was expressly recognised by both powers. This of course does not prevent the actual power of the sultān barely extending beyond the coast district of Maṣkaṭ and Bāṭina. The population of 'Omān is estimated at half a million but that of 'Omān proper at 34,300 only. As regards creed the 'Ibāḍīs are preponderant particularly in the south, but the northern districts are inhabited mainly by Sunnis. The capital is Maṣkaṭ [q.v.] while at an earlier period Ṣuḥār [q.v.] was regarded as the most important town in the country.

The following details of the distribution of the population may be given: the thickly populated district of Bāṭina has 105,000, the Wādī Samā'il 2,800, Maṣkaṭ 10,000, Maṭrah 11,000, Ṣūr 12,000, Ṣuḥār 7,500. 'Omān for administrative purposes is divided into four districts: 1. Dja'lan, the land of the Beni Abū 'Alī and all the land south of Bed'a; 2. 'Omān proper from Bed'a to Makīniya; 3. Durra from the latter place to al-Bureim and 4. al-Bāṭina, the narrow strip of coast from Ṣūb to Khōr Fakkan. The characteristic feature of the orography of the country is a mountain range which runs from Maṣkaṭ in a southern direction as far as Ṣūr close to the coast but runs a considerable distance inland north of Maṣkaṭ and thus leaves space for the fertile low-lying land on the coast, al-Bāṭina, which is in

a way comparable to al-Tihāma in the Yaman, although it never attains the same width, being only from 20 to 30 miles across. South of Rustāq just below 23° Lat., almost at right-angles to the former, is a second range, higher in its highest parts, known as Djebel Akhdar which with 10,000 feet is the greatest height in the country. It runs parallel to the coast as far as Rās Masāndim and sends off a second range which runs to Rās al-Khāim. The most fertile part of 'Omān is the already mentioned low-lying coast land of al-Bāṭina where in addition to intensive cultivation of the date-palm, wheat is grown and all kinds of fruits flourish. The Arab geographers praised the dates of 'Omān and al-Aṣma' was not wrong in comparing 'Omān to a garden. Among the fruits special mention is made of bannax, pomegranates, and nebek (lotus nebk). A considerable part of 'Omān however is quite unsuited for agriculture; for example the part bordering on the desert zone of Arabia which however contains a few fertile oases among the mountains, for example on the way from Benī Abī 'Alī to Nerwa. These oases are watered by subterranean deposits as was long ago pointed out by Ibn al-Fakih; where the water is not too deep below the surface or there are subterranean channels, springs supply the necessary water to the fields. The climate of 'Omān suffers from the great heat, which is only to some degree tempered by the refreshing winds from the sea; in Maskat the maximum in July and August is 91°—88° F. The rainy season is in winter from October to March, but the rains seldom fall more than three or four days in a month; among the mountains heavy storms occur and the snow sometimes lies. In Maskat the annual rainfall is 3 to 6 inches.

The cereals grown are wheat, dhura, some rice, the fruits, tamarinds, mango, bananas, pomegranates, quinces, pistachios, agurmi, grapes, almonds, figs, walnuts, water-melons, apricots and cherries, while cotton, sugar-cane and indigo are cultivated. Stockraising is now mainly confined to horned cattle; at one time 'Omān was celebrated for its strong, swift camels and asses. The Arab geographers (Ibn al-Fakih) praise 'Omān's wealth in fish, which supplied the food of large sections of the community (especially in al-Bāṭina). Industry, once very flourishing, is now confined to weaving on a modest scale in Maskat, Nerwa and 'Ihri, dyeing in the two last-named towns and the making of weapons in Maskat. Idrisi mentions the pearl-fisheries of Šīr below Cape al-Mahdijana and in Duṣṣār. The pearl-fisheries now produce about half the revenue of Bahrain (10–15,000,000 rupees). The Arab philologists (Ibn al-Arabi) derive the name 'Omān from *amāna* with the meaning 'to stay continually in one place'. According to others the name goes back to 'Omān b. Ibrāhīm al-Khalī, who built the town of 'Omān; this is of significance in as much as the classical writers know of a town called Omāna (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 149) and *Omāna luxuriosa* (Ptolemy, vi. 7, 36), this has been identified with Suhār which was later regarded as the most important trading centre. Al-Muḥaddat (p. 35) compared 'Omān with 'Aden and Egypt for importance in the world's trade and called it and Šīr [q. v.] the forecourt of China (p. 426). This does not seem however to have much benefited the people of 'Omān, for

they were regarded as dishonest, wicked and deceitful merchants; indeed Ibn al-Fakih (p. 92) describes them in much coarser language. The prosperity coming from the trade and agriculture is evident from the huge yield from taxation, 300,000 dinārs in the 'Abbāsid period. A dirhem a year was paid on each palm-tree (Muḥaddat, p. 105).

For the early history of 'Omān, Huart's account may be consulted.

The relations of England with the country have been of great importance to 'Omān. They began in 1798 with a treaty between the East India Co. and the sultan by which the French and Dutch were excluded from the territory for the duration of the war, and this was followed in 1800 by the granting of permission for the E. I. Co. to have an agent permanently resident in Maskat. By the treaties made by the French with Sa'īd Sa'īd b. Sulṭān in 1807 and 1808, this resident was joined by a French Consular agent. But French prestige suffered a severe blow when Mauritius was occupied by the English in 1810. In 1839 a commercial treaty was concluded between England and Maskat, modelled on one concluded in 1833 between the U. S. A. and 'Omān. In 1844 there followed a commercial treaty with France, which secured this country the most favoured nation clause and freedom to trade in Maskat for its subjects. In 1862 came the Anglo-French guarantee of the independence of 'Omān, but England was able to secure a predominating influence in 'Omān by vigorously supporting the sultan at various crises and by paying him a subsidy. In 1891 the sultan declared in a treaty of friendship, which also regulated questions of trade and navigation between the two countries, and was binding upon himself and his successors, that he would not cede any of his territory in any way to any power other than England. When then, in 1898, the sultan in contravention of this agreement wished to allow France to have a coaling-station in his territory, he had to withdraw the concession on receiving an ultimatum from England; France was compensated with a coaling station in Mukalla [q. v.]. The dispute assumed a more serious aspect which arose out of the practice of the French consul in Maskat giving ships' papers and French flags to Maskat ships which abused the privilege to carry arms and slaves. The dispute was settled by the International Court at The Hague, the decision being that only those ship-owners who had received permits before January 2, 1892 were allowed to retain them. The result was that in 1917 only 12 ships of 'Omān were allowed to carry the French flag. The result has been the practical exclusion of French influence from 'Omān, and the securing of English predominance.

Bibliography: al-Iṣṭakhri, *B.G.A.*, i. 25; Ibn Hawqal, *B.G.A.*, ii. 32 sq., 38; al-Muḥaddat, *B.G.A.*, iii. 34, 35, 70 sq., 97 sq., 103, 105; Ibn al-Fakih al-Hamadani, *B.G.A.*, v. 16, 35 sq., 94, 104, 135; Kādima, *B.G.A.*, vi. 249, 251; Ibn Kosteḥ, *B.G.A.*, vii. 93; al-Idrisi, *Kitāb Nushat al-Muḥaddat*, transl. A. Jaubert, i. (Paris 1836), p. 151–154; Yāqūt, *Muḥdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 717–719; *Marāṣid al-Iḥṣāṣ*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll, ii. (Leyden 1855), p. 277 sq.; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, p. 295–308; *J. R. Wallstedt Reisen in Arabien*, ed. E. Rödiger, i. (Halle 1842), p. 1–282; C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*,

viii. (Berlin 1846), p. 255; 312, 373-383, 469-563; A. Sprenger, *Polit. und Kaiserthum des Orients* (Abh. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenländer, iii.iii, Leipzig 1864), p. 145 sq.; G. P. Badger, *History of the Imams and Seyyids of 'Oman*, London 1871; Cl. Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, II. (Paris 1913), p. 257-282; F. Stuhlmann, *Der Kampf um Arabien zwischen der Türkei und England* (Hamburgische Forschungen, I., Bismarck 1916), p. 151-195; *Arabia* (Handbooks prepared under the direction of the Historical section of the Foreign Office, No. 61, London 1920), p. 35-37, 69, 75, 81-86; *Persian Gulf* (ibid., No. 76, London 1920), p. 4, 7 sq., 10 sq., 26 sq., 29 sq., 31, 32, 37, 39-43, 64-69; C. J. Eccles, *The Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, its Journ. of the Central Asian Society*, 1927, p. 14-42; E. v. Zambaur, *Manuel de géologie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, I. (Hanover 1927), p. 125-129, 213; Sir Arnold T. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf, an historical sketch from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century*, Oxford 1928, p. 8, 22, 27, 28, 53, 60, 77-83, 197-198, 237 sq. (A. GEHRMANN).

'OMAR b. 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ b. MARWĀN b. AL-HAKAM, ABD HAFS AL-AZHARĪ, Umayyad caliph. He was born in Medina in the year 63 (682-683). His father 'Abd al-'Aziz [q.v.] had been for many years governor of Egypt; through his mother he was descended from 'Omar I. She was Umm 'Āsim bint Āsim b. 'Omar b. al-Khatṭāb. He spent the greater part of his life in Medina. He was sent there by his father from Egypt to receive a fitting education in the city of the Prophet and remained there till the death of his father in 85 (704). His uncle, the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, then took him to Damascus and married him to his daughter Fāṭima. In Rabī' I 87 (Feb.-March 706) 'Omar was appointed governor of the Hijāz by al-Walid I and he settled in Medina again. Unlike other governors who were as a rule very arbitrary, 'Omar immediately on his arrival in the city formed an advisory council of ten pious authorities on tradition with whom he discussed all important matters, and further empowered them to keep a watchful eye on his subordinates. In other respects also, his patriotic rule was for the good of his subjects. But in the long run the all powerful Ḥadīṣī [q.v.] was not pleased with 'Omar's mild rule because many 'Irāqīs fled to the two sacred cities in order to escape the hard lot for which they had to be prepared in their native land. Under pressure from him 'Omar was recalled in 93 (711-712) without however being disgraced. After the death in Dĕbīk [q.v.] in Šafar 99 (Sept.-Oct. 717) of Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik who had intended him to succeed him, the autocratic theologian Radjā' b. Haiwa assembled the Umayyads in the mosque and without mentioning any name demanded that they should pay homage to whomsoever Sulaimān should have mentioned in his will. Only when they had paid homage, did he announce the death of the caliph and the name of the successor designate. As 'Omar belonged to a collateral line and had nevertheless been preferred to the two sons of 'Abd al-Malik, Yazīd and Hishām, it is not a matter for surprise that the latter at first raised objections to the choice of his cousin as commander of the faithful; but he

was soon appeased and 'Omar ascended the throne without encountering any serious opposition.

As a caliph, 'Omar stands apart; he was distinguished from his predecessors and successors alike. Inspired by a true piety, although not entirely free from bigotry, he was very conscious of his responsibility to God and always endeavoured to further what he believed to be the right and conscientiously to do his duty as a ruler. In his private life he was distinguished by the greatest simplicity and frugality, although he is said to have lived no less luxuriously than other Umayyad princes before his accession. Poets who praised the delights of worldly pleasures were therefore not particularly popular at his court.

'Omar laid no special stress on military glory, and his reign which only lasted two and a half years was poor in military events. The siege of Constantinople was raised on his accession to the throne; but it is uncertain whether the Muslim army was actually withdrawn by him. In Mesopotamia he allowed the people of Turānda to evacuate their town whereupon they settled in the adjoining Malatya and Turānda was destroyed. In the far West the Muslim armies crossed the Pyrenees, invaded Southern France and returned to Spain laden with rich booty. On a later campaign which is usually but not quite certainly attributed to the reign of 'Omar, they captured Narbonne, fortified it, and used it for a time as their headquarters. 'Omar however by no means felt obliged to spread Islām by the sword; he rather sought by peaceful missionary activity to win members of other creeds to the faith of the Prophet and in case of conversion by this means demanded no tribute. This method proved particularly successful and suitable among the Berbers and it is even said that there was not a single Berber left non-converted to Islām in the governorship of Ismā'il b. 'Abd Allāh appointed by him. In a similar way were converted the princes of Sind when 'Omar's governor 'Amr b. Muslim al-Bāhili invited them to adopt Islām and promised them complete equality with Muslims; but under Hishām they lapsed again.

His interests were primarily in home affairs. He had the untrustworthy governor of Khurāsān Yazīd b. al-Muhallab [q.v.] arrested and his post given to al-Djarrāh b. 'Abd Allāh al-Hakami. In other cases also, the most important offices were filled with men whom 'Omar thought to be capable and just. He adopted a kindly attitude to the 'Alids. The practice introduced by Mu'āwīya of publicly cursing 'Alī in the service in the mosque was abolished by 'Omar. It is said that when he was a boy and his father was appointed governor of Egypt he begged him to forbid the customary cursing of 'Alī and received the reply that such a step although laudable in itself would be against the interests of the Umayyad dynasty and might give support to the 'Alid claims to the caliphate. 'Omar gave up in favour of the 'Alids the oasis of Fadak [q.v.] which had originally been the private property of Muḥammad but was then declared a state domain and had finally become the property of the Umayyads. After his accession he decided that it should revert to its original use and according to one story expressly ordered that it should be handed over to the descendants of Fāṭima as the heirs of the Prophet. He also restored to the family of Talha their property in Mecca, which 'Abd al-Malik had

taken from them and abolished the addition to the tithe which had been levied by a former governor of the Yaman, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, a brother of al-Ḥajjāj. In general he laid great stress on compensating those who had in any way been subjected to illegal extortions; but, as is obvious, this principle, while it testifies to the caliph's love of justice, was often applied, according to Ibn Sa'd, v. 252, uncritically (*bi-ghair al-hayyā'a al-ḥaṣṣa*) and in the long run could not be beneficial to the treasury and was destined to have serious consequences.

As a devout Muslim he was gracious to members of other creeds in so far as this was possible without a breach of the principles of Islām. Christians, Jews, and fire-worshippers, were allowed to retain their synagogues, churches, and temples but not to build any new ones. In Damascus, al-Walid [q. v.] had taken down the basilika of John the Baptist and incorporated the site in the mosque of the Umayyads. When ‘Omar came to the throne, the Christians complained to him that the church had been taken from them whereupon ‘Omar ordered the governor to restore them the site of the addition to the mosque. But as the people of Damascus would not agree to this, the matter was settled with ‘Omar's approval by the churches outside the town, notably that of St. Thomas which belonged *de facto* to the Muslims and not by treaty because the *ḥabṣa* [q. v.] had been conquered by the sword and not surrendered by capitulation, being handed over to the Christians on condition that they abandoned all claims for the future on the Church of St. John. While ‘Omar endeavoured to protect his Muslim subjects from being abused, he was also anxious that his Christian subjects should not be crushed by oppressive taxation. In Aila and in Cyprus the tribute settled by treaty had been increased: ‘Omar reduced it to the original amount. In al-Yaman the Christians of Naḡran had made a treaty with the Prophet which guaranteed them complete security in their land on payment of an annual tribute of 2,000 robes (*ḥalla*) each of the value of 40 dirhams. This treaty had been broken by ‘Omar I. Nevertheless, they had to pay the full tribute until ‘Othmān reduced it by 200 robes. Mu‘āwīya or, according to another story, his son Yazīd granted them a further reduction of 200 robes because their numbers had been much reduced by death and conversions to Islām (on this see Lammens, *Le califat de Yazīd I^{er}*, p. 346 *seq.*). But when ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath [q. v.] rebelled against al-Ḥajjāj, the latter raised the total tribute to 1,800 robes because he suspected the Naḡranians of being in secret agreement with the rebels. In the meanwhile however, their numbers had sunk from 40,000 to 4,000 and when they appealed to ‘Omar to alleviate their hard lot he reduced the taxation to one tenth and demanded only 200 instead of 2,000 or 3,000 dirhams.

One of ‘Omar's most important measures was his reform of the taxation. The comprehensive administrative system of ‘Omar I which proved excellent for the conditions in his day, was now no longer suitable to the demands of the time. The treasury was continually suffering from the ever increasing conversion to Islām of non-Arabs who had paid tribute and their consequent exemption from taxation and in addition many of the new converts settled in the large cities instead of remaining at home and tilling the fields, so that

agriculture lost much of the labour it required. To overcome this difficulty al-Ḥajjāj had imposed the *ḥarāj* also upon Muslim landowners who were not paying tribute and prohibited immigration into the cities. This aroused general dissatisfaction but this did not worry him. ‘Omar, on the other hand, adhered to the principle that Muslims should pay no tribute. He further propounded, no doubt by agreement with those learned in the law in Medina, the theory that conquered land was the common property of the Muslim community and therefore could not be broken up and transformed by sale to Muslims into immune private property. Consequently in the year 100 (718–719), he forbade Muslims to buy land which should pay tribute; but he did not make this legislation retrospective and he placed no obstacles in the way of the immigration of new converts into the cities. Further, just claims upon the treasury for compensation for services rendered were never refused: he granted the Mawālī in Khurāsān, who had fought against the unbelievers, pay and exemption from taxation just like Muslim soldiers. He thus furthered the amalgamation of the various elements in the caliph's empire and although his system of reformed taxation did not survive because the principle of the inalienability of tribute-paying land could not be permanently maintained, he did his best to clear up the existing financial muddle.

The historians of the older school described ‘Omar as an unpractical idealist, who pursued purely Utopian ideals as a result of his theological preconceptions, without paying any heed to actual conditions, and only modern research has put his work in its true light. His reign was spared trouble from the Kharrījīs but hidden forces were working in secret which were to bring about the fall of the Umayyad dynasty.

‘Omar died after an illness of 20 days in Rajjāb 101 (Feb. 720) and was buried in Dair Sim‘ān near Haleb. He was succeeded by his cousin Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik [q. v.].

Very much influenced since his boyhood by pious authorities on tradition, he was one of the authorities in this field and regarded, although wrongly, after his death as one of the first collectors of Sunna. In course of time a whole cycle of pious legends gathered round his name which were quite devoid of any historical foundation. For example we are told (Ibn Sa'd, v. 301, l. 17) that a roll of parchment fell from heaven upon the men who were filling up his grave which assured him security from the flames of hell (*awṣan min Allāh li-‘Omar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz min al-nār*). Even the biased historians of the ‘Abbāsid period who as a rule run down the Umayyads on every possible occasion in favour of the ‘Abbāsids make an exception in his case and give him the highest praise. His tomb was also left undisturbed when those of the other Umayyads were desecrated after the triumph of the ‘Abbāsids.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, v. 242–302; Ibn al-Djawrī, *Manāḥib ‘Omar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz*, ed. Becker; Nawawī, *Taḥḍīb al-Awāl*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 463–472; Kutubī, *Fawā'id al-Wafayāt*, ii. 104; Ṭabarī, *Annals*, ed. de Goeje, see index; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, ii. 172, 214, 224; iii. 337, 385 *seq.*; iv. 370, 417–423, 456 *seq.*, 461, 463; v. 6, 14 *seq.*, 26–49, 51, 53, 100, 197, 373; Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtama, ii. 339 *seq.*, 349, 351, 358, 361–372; Baladhuri, ed. de Goeje (transl. into German by Rescher),

passim; Mas'ûdî, *Murûj al-Dhahab*, ed. Paris, v. 361, 397, 412, 416—445, 451, 453; vi. 32, 161; ix. 42, 50; *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum*, ed. de Goeje and de Jong, i. 37—64; Ibn al-Tiktākī, *al-Fakhri*, ed. Derenbourg, p. 173, 175—177, 335; al-Muharrad, *al-A'mil*, ed. Wright, see index; *Kitāb al-Aghāni*, see Guidi, *Tablāt al-ḥabībīyāt*; Yāqūt, *Muḥammad al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. 856; Barbier de Meynard, in *J. A.*, ser. x., vol. ix., p. 209; Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i. 438 sqq.; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*, new ed. by Weir, p. 291, 318, 336, 346 sq., 354, 361, 364, 367, 369—374, 379, 383, 396, 419, 439, 539, 597; Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Römern*, in *N. G. W. Gött.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1901, p. 414; do., *Das arabische Reich*, p. 166—194. — Cf. also the article UMAIYAD. (K. V. ZETTERSTERN)

'OMAR b. 'ABD AL-ĀH *z.* **ABI RABĪ'Ā**, "undeniably the greatest love-poet of the Arabs" (Rückert), born, according to tradition, on the 26th Dhū l-Hijja 26 (beginning of Nov. 644), died in 93 (712) or 101 (719). His biography, like those of other poets who are regarded as representatives of a particular form of poetry (e.g. Abū Nuwās with his drinking songs), is much encumbered by legend; he was regarded as the great love-poet and imitations by his contemporaries and the works of later poets were readily ascribed to him. It is only the brilliant monograph by P. Schwarz that has made it possible to separate the really historical matter in his biography and in his poems. It may be regarded as certain that he belonged to the Quraysh clan of Makhzūm; his father 'Abd Allāh, a prosperous Meccan merchant, amassed a great fortune by importing the drugs of South Arabia. For a time he was governor of Djanad in the Yaman; Omar's mother was a "Himyariite" from Hadramawt. The poet as the possessor of a large fortune was able to lead a carefree life; his youth he probably spent in Medina and his manhood mainly in Mecca. He travelled in South Arabia, Syria and Mesopotamia. There are all kinds of legends about his death which it seems did not take place in his native land. His traditional biography is mainly filled with stories of his relations with various ladies, chiefly of the house of the Umayyads. These stories are literary inventions rather than historical facts. The stories of his meetings with emirs and caliphs of the house of Umayyad seem also suspicious: he is said to have been punished along with the poet al-Aḥwas by 'Omar II and to have had to promise to write no more poetry.

We learn very little from his poems of the political history of the period or of the events of every day life. He was the first townsman poet in Arabic. His poems reflect the bright social activity of town life. This is the fundamental distinction between him and the celebrated triad of Umayyad poets, al-Akhtal [q. v.], Dīmar [q. v.] and al-Farazdaq [q. v.] as well as between him and the half-legendary representatives of the Beduin love poetry of the period like Dīmal [q. v.]. In him there is no trace of the court poet or tribal bard; he hardly ever describes journeys, and still more rarely fighting. The poetry of wine is quite strange to him. All his poems are records of his own experiences and pictures of his emotions. We need not always imagine that they are historically accurate but the expression of feeling is undoubtedly true to life.

The persons in his poems are "sensitive, simable creatures, full of individuality. They reveal their souls, they act, they speak. Dramatic scenes, full of feeling stand out vividly before the reader's eyes" (Schwarz). In the form of his verse also 'Omar is a gifted poetical genius who writes without difficulty. His verse flows easily and naturally in simple language. His prosody differs from that of the Beduin poets; although he uses the same metres, he does not prefer those most popular in the old poetry (*basīf* or *ṭawīl*) but flexible and light metres (*ḫafīf*, *ramal*, *mutaḥarir*, *munṣarir*). That he did not feel himself bound by tradition is shown by some traces of strophic verse in his poems. It would be a mistake to see in 'Omar the first love-poet of the Arabs. But he was the first to bring this form to perfection. The roots of this genre are to be found not so much in the introductory parts of the old Arabic *kaṣīda* as in the love-poems, which were particularly cultivated in South Arabia (perhaps not without Persian influence). A study of the surviving fragments of Waddāh al-Yaman, a contemporary of 'Omar which has been long in preparation by V. Ebermann, will perhaps shed new light on this point.

'Omar attained great popularity with his contemporaries and in the following generations, chiefly among singers, wits and men of letters. But his popularity among learned men was hampered by two things: his simple language offered very few "testi di lingua" in comparison with poets like, e.g. al-Farazdaq, and the matter of his poems was little suited for study in schools, especially in religious and bigoted circles. The renaissance of Arabic literature in modern times has brought about a change; besides several monographs devoted to him, special chapters are devoted to him in the text books. 'Omar b. Abi Rabī'a is now so to speak rehabilitated among the Arabs and recognised as a great poet.

Bibliography: Paul Schwarz, *'Umar ibn Abi Rabī'a, ein arabischer Dichter der Umayyadenzeit*, Leipzig 1893; cf. thereon Th. Nöldeke, in *W.Z.K.M.*, xv. 290—298; *Der Dīwan des 'Umar ibn Abi Rabī'a nach den Handschriften zu Kairo, Leiden und Paris, mit einer Sammlung anderweit überlieferter Gedichte und Fragmente herausgegeben von Paul Schwarz*. Erste Hälfte, Leipzig 1901; zweite Hälfte, erster Teil, Leipzig 1902; zweite Hälfte, zweiter Teil, Leipzig 1909, and (Schluss-)Heft: *'Umar's Leben, Dichtung, Sprache und Metrik*, Leipzig 1909 (the best monograph on any Arab poet); *Dīwān*, Cairo 1311 (al-Maḥṣa'at al-Maimaniya) and 1330 (Maḥṣa'at al-Sa'ida); C. Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 45—47; do., *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* 2, Leipzig (Anleitung) 1909, p. 63—64; L. Caetani, *Chromographia islamica* [Paris 1922—1923], col. 1141, §43; O. Rescher, *Abriß der arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Lieferung II (Stambul 1928), p. 135—140; Zakī Mubārak, *Ḥubb Ibn Rabī'a wa-Sā'iruhū* 2, Cairo [1928]; Tihā Husayn, *Ḥadīth al-'Arabi*, ii., Cairo 1926, p. 127—150; al-Wailī fī 'l-Adab al-'Arabi wa-Ta'riḥihi 2, Cairo 1924, p. 166—168; al-Mudjmal fī Ta'riḥ al-Adab al-'Arabi, Cairo 1929, p. 75—80; J. E. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de bibliographie arabe* (Arabic), Cairo [1928], col. 31.

(IGN. KRATSKHOSKY)

'OMAR b. AIYÜB. [See HAMK and AIYÜBIDA supplement.]

'OMAR b. 'ALI (SHARAF AL-DIN) AL-MISRI AL-SAFI, generally known as IEN AL-FARID, a celebrated Sufi poet. The name al-Farid (notary) refers to the profession of his father, who belonged to Hamat but migrated to Cairo, where 'Omar was born in 576 or, more probably, in 577. In early youth he studied Shafi'i law and *Hadith*; then came his conversion to Sufism, and for many years he led the life of a solitary devotee, first among the hills (al-Muqattam) to the east of Cairo and afterwards in the Hijaz. On his return to Cairo he was venerated as a saint till his death in 632, and his tomb beneath al-Muqattam is still frequented. The *Diwan* of Ibn al-Farid, though small, is one of the most original in Arabic literature. Possibly the minor odes, which exhibit a style of great delicacy and beauty and a more or less copious use of rhetorical artifices, were composed in order to be sung with musical accompaniment at Sufi concerts (Nallino, in *R.S.O.*, viii, 17); in these the outer and inner meanings are so interwoven that they may be read either as love-poems — a fact to which they owe their wide popularity in the East — or as mystical hymns. But the *Diwan* also includes two purely mystical odes: 1. the *Al-Hamr* or Wine Ode, describing the "intoxication" produced by the "wine" of Divine Love, and 2. the *Nepes al-Suluk* or "Pilgrim's Progress", a poem containing 760 verses, which is often called *al-Taiyat al-kubra* to distinguish it from a much shorter ode rhyming in the same letter. In this famous *qasida*, nearly equal in length to all the rest of the *Diwan* together, Ibn al-Farid depicts his own experience as a Sufi. The result is not only a unique masterpiece of Arabic poetry but a document of surpassing interest to every student of mysticism (for a résumé of the contents, see Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 195—199). Its whole character is psychological rather than speculative; though some passages are pantheistic in feeling and expression, it bears little or no trace of the intellectualism which marks the system of Ibn al-'Arabi; and the charges of heresy brought against the poet do not appear to be justified. Among Sufis the *Taiyat* occupies the position of a classic, and many commentaries have been written on it.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 362. — A life of the poet, written by his grandson 'Ali, the first editor of the *Diwan*, has been printed as an introduction to the edition of Rushayid b. Ghaliib al-Dahdah (Marseilles 1853). See also Ibn Khallikan, ed. Wüstenfeld, No. 511; *Shahharat al-Dhakar* (*J.R.A.S.*, 1906, pt. iv, p. 800 199), and the references given by Di Matteo (see below) and Nallino, *loc. cit.*, p. 8. — Translations of the *Taiyat al-kubra*: Von Hammer, *Das arabische heilige Lied der Liebe*, Vienna 1854 (Arabic text and German verse-translation; the latter is worthless); Di Matteo (Rome 1917); Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, ch. iii, "The Odes of Ibn al-Farid", p. 199—266 (with explanatory notes). The fullest critical study of Ibn al-Farid is that by Nallino in his review of Di Matteo's version, in *R.S.O.*, viii, 1—106 and 501—562. (R. A. NICHOLSON)

'OMAR (AMR DIA'FAR) b. HAFS was appointed governor of the province of Ifrikiya by the 'Abbasid caliph al-Mansur in 151 (768). He belonged to a family which in the time of the Umayyads had furnished a number of high officials to the state. One of his uncles, al-Muhallab b. Abi

Sufra, had attained fame as governor of Khurasan under 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan. 'Omar whose bravery was celebrated had himself held a command in the eastern provinces: he had been given the Persian epithet of *Hawmard* "1,000 men".

The difficult situation in Ifrikiya at the time justified the choice of an energetic governor. Barbary had gone over almost entirely to various sects of the Kharijite heresy. The chief leader of the movement was the Sufri Abu Kurra. The Arab *qund* showed little enthusiasm to fight the rebels and besides, it was much divided by old tribal rivalries.

'Omar b. Hafs, appointed by the caliph, brought with him 500 horsemen. He cleverly won the hearts of the people of Kairawan and was able to secure the country over three years of peace. Al-Mansur having given him orders to strengthen the defences of Tihna [q. v.], an old town, the strategic position of which on the western borders of the empire was becoming so important, 'Omar went there with some contingents of the *qund*. Ifrikiya being thus denuded of troops, the Berbers rose and 'Omar's lieutenant Habib al-Muhallab was killed. This initial success encouraged the rebels who concentrated a large force around Tripoli under an 'Ibadite chief, al-Hunaid b. Bashshar, who had assumed command at Kairawan after Habib's death, asked for reinforcements from 'Omar b. Hafs. He received them but was defeated. The insurrection now became general. Kairawan was again besieged and soon 'Omar himself who had only 15,500 men under him was besieged in Tihna by several Kharijite armies, 'Ibadite, and Sufri united under the command of Abu Kurra and numbering over 73,000 (the figures given are of course not at all reliable). 'Omar wished to cut his way through his opponents but his companions prevented him. He then tried to bribe Abu Kurra to leave his allies and offered him 60,000 dirhams but the offer was rejected. 'Omar then turned to his brother (or son) and obtained for 4,000 dirhams the secession of the Sufri. Abu Kurra had then to withdraw. 'Omar b. Hafs, thus rid of his enemies, sent a corps against the 'Ibadite Ibn Rustam who had to take refuge in Tahert (Tisret) [q. v.].

'Omar was again at work in strengthening the defences of Tihna when he learned of the critical situation of Kairawan. The town blockaded for eight months by the 'Ibadite Abu Hakin was in dire straits. With 700 men of the *qund*, he hurried to Ifrikiya but instead of marching on Kairawan he took the road for Tunis, enticing the Berbers after him. He succeeded in getting supplies into Kairawan which he then entered himself. The siege was resumed with fighting every day. Food again became very scarce. 'Omar b. Hafs wished to send two chiefs of the *qund* to procure supplies but they refused to go. He then decided to make a sortie himself which meant certain death, without awaiting the reinforcements of 60,000 men which the caliph was sending him. Throwing himself on the enemy "like a camel mad with rage" he fell on the 15th Dhu 'l-Hijja 154 (Nov. 27, 771).

Bibliography: Ibn 'Idhari, *al-Bayan al-mu-jazib*, ed. Dory, i. 64—65; transl. Fagnan, i. 85; Ibn Khaldun, *Hist. des Berbères*, i. 140—141; transl. de Slane, i. 221—223; al-Nuwairi, in Ibn Khaldun, transl., i. 379—383; Ibn al-Athir, ed. Turnberg, v. 457—459; transl. Fagnan (*Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*), p. 112—115; Fournel, *Les Berbères*, i. 369. (G. MARCAN)

OMAR B. HAFSUN, leader of a famous rebellion in Spain, who at the end of the ninth century A.D. held out for years against the Umayyad emirs of Cordova and in the end was only brought to book by the caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāsir [cf. Umayyads]. His full name was 'OMAR B. HAFS B. 'OMAR B. DJAFAR called al-Jalālī, from his conversion from Christianity to Islām and he claimed descent from an ancestor named Alfonso who had the title of count (*conde*). 'Omar's father Hafs or with the specifically Spanish suffix (-*son*), Hafsūn, was thus the grandson of a Visigothic lord who had become a Muslim and lived on the income from his lands at Iznate (Hisp. Awt) in the region of Ronda [q.v.] in the south of Spain in the middle of the 10th century A.D. His son while still quite young displayed a very violent temper and as a result of a crime committed by him against the person of one of his neighbours, had to escape for a time to North Africa, and spent some time at Tāhert [q.v.]. He only returned home to rebel at once against the Umayyad emir of Cordova. Having gathered around him a small body of followers he established himself in 267 (880) in a ruined fortress

Bobastro (Ar. بَبَاسْتَر; q.v.), which he restored.

Dory has identified this castle with el Castillón, to the south of Campillos, between Teba and Antequera, relying on the discovery at this place of an inscription, mentioning the *municipium Singillense Babastrense*, while Simonet thinks that its site corresponds to las Mesas de Villaverde, a little farther south between Ardales and Carratraca. Excavations have recently been begun in the district in order to find the ruins of Bobastro. Whatever be the real position of the castle, we know that it commanded the valley of the Guadalquivir in the direction of Malaga and from there Ibn Hafsūn could disturb a considerable part of the territory of the *ġura* of Reiya, which a governor dependent on Cordova was supposed to rule. 'Omar having had several successes, the governor tried to bring him to reason but without success and he lost his post. His successor was no more fortunate. Soon Ibn Hafsūn was exercising complete authority over all the inhabitants of the mountainous region which extends from Ronda towards Granada, Malaga and Algeciras. The Umayyad emir Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, had to organise a regular expedition against him the command of which was entrusted to his vizier Hāshim b. 'Abd al-'Aziz. Ibn Hafsūn submitted and went to Cordova to offer his services to the Umayyad emir in 270 (883). But his submission did not last long; in the following year the rebel had regained the mountains of Bobastro and took by storm the castle in which Hāshim had put a strong garrison.

From this time on Ibn Hafsūn begins to play the part of a champion in the nationalist movement in the south of the peninsula, where he put himself at the head of all the malcontents, whether Christians or neo-Muslims (*muwalladūn*). The rapid growth of his rebellion did not fail to disturb greatly the Umayyad emir whose position each day became more precarious. The task of bringing Ibn Hafsūn to book was given to the heir-presumptive al-Mundhir b. Muḥammad, who laid siege to one of the rebel's principal supporters Hārith b. Ḥamdūn al-Rifā'i in his castle of Alhama. But

in 273 (886) the emir Muḥammad died and al-Mundhir had to go back to Cordova to be proclaimed in his place. Ibn Hafsūn seized the opportunity to organise resistance in all the mountainous districts of Southern Spain and had himself recognised as leader of the rising by all the inhabitants.

On ascending the throne al-Mundhir found himself faced by a critical situation. But he at once took the necessary steps with great energy. There were continual encounters between the rebels and the loyalist troops; in the end al-Mundhir set out in person to lay siege to Bobastro, but after the siege had lasted forty days he died, undoubtedly poisoned at the instigation of his brother 'Abd Allāh who succeeded him.

The new emir displayed no less energy than his brother. Ibn Hafsūn had profited by events to increase his influence and according to the chroniclers the land which he ruled was only separated from Cordova by a day's journey. After a truce which only lasted a few months, 'Abd Allāh and Ibn Hafsūn resumed the struggle. The Umayyad emir at first devoted his attention to two rebel chiefs, Sawwār b. Ḥamdūn and Sa'īd b. Dīdī, whom he conquered, while Ibn Hafsūn was collecting a considerable army at Poles [q.v.]. But 'Abd Allāh with a superior army defeated him, put him to flight and took Poles in 278 (891), then Ecija [q.v.] and finally laid siege to Bobastro again. But the rising of the Banū 'l-Ḥajjāj in Seville created a diversion in favour of Ibn Hafsūn, who from now on seems to have received at least the moral support of the Fātimids of Ifrīkiya.

The rest of the reign of 'Abd Allāh passed without any great successes being obtained. It would take too long to detail here all the negotiations followed by agreements, more or less observed, which went on during these very troubled years. But the most striking gesture of the rebel was to repudiate Islām openly and, in order to have the more complete support of the Christians of Andalusia and Cordova, to return to the religion of his ancestors. Ibn Hafsūn then took the name of Samuel and proclaimed himself not only the leader of the Spanish nationalist movement but the champion at the same time of a regular crusade against Islām.

The situation was then very critical when 'Abd Allāh's successor, his grandson 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāsir, mounted the throne of the emirate of Cordova in 300 (912). Without delay the new sovereign saw that it was necessary before all else to dispose of this threat which was steadily increasing in magnitude. Not only the future of his dynasty was at stake but also that of Islām in Spain. For several years he made his preparations with the greatest care and displayed exceptional tenacity. The mountain districts of Andalusia were blockaded, attacked and reduced in turn. Ibn Hafsūn, more and more surrounded in the Serranía de Ronda, finally died in 305 (918) leaving to his sons the task of continuing the resistance.

According to some chroniclers, Ibn Hafsūn in the last years of his life, seeing the futility of his efforts, submitted to 'Abd al-Rahmān III and even gave him one of his sons as a hostage. He is himself said to have taken part in the campaigns against the Christians of the north in the Umayyad army.

In any case after the death of the aged rebel,

the ruler of Cordova, now favoured by circumstances, set himself to neutralise completely the influence of the sons of Ibn Hafsūn. The eldest, *Dja'far*, was attacked at Belda and finally fell a victim to a plot. The second, 'Abd al-Rahmān, after holding out for a time at Torrox and at Almaraz, met his death in an encounter at San Vicente. The third son, Hafs, was besieged by 'Abd al-Rahmān himself in Bobastro and surrendered in 316 (928) to serve in the Umayyad ranks in Galicia. The final capture of Bobastro marked the last stage in a rebellion of unexampled extent, the suppression of which had been the main care of three Umayyad rulers. It was the crowning achievement of the efforts of 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāṣir to secure the complete consolidation of his territory before beginning the attempt to advance its frontiers to the north.

Bibliography: Ibn Haiyān, *al-Muṭṭabī*, Oxford MS., very detailed for the reign of 'Abd Allāh; Ibn al-Kuṭaybi, *ʿIṣṭiṣāʾ al-Andalus*, ed. and transl. into Spanish by J. Ribera, Madrid 1926, index; Ibn 'Idhār, *al-Bayān al-muḥrik*, ed. Dozy, ii. 108 sq., transl. Fagnan, ii. 175 sq.; al-Ḥabbi, *Bughay al-muṭṭabī* (*B. A. H.*, iii., Madrid 1895), No. 1161; Ibn al-Aṭhār, *Kāmil* = *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, transl. Fagnan, index; al-Nawairi, *Nihāyat al-Arab* = *Histoire d'Espagne*, ed. and transl. Gaspar Remiro, Granada 1916, index; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-ʿIṣṭiṣāʾ al-farid*, ii. 374; Ibn Khaldūn, *Iṣṭiṣāʾ*, Cairo 1329, iv. 134–135; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *ʿAmāl al-ʿalām*, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat-Paris 1934, p. 34 sq.; do., *al-Iḥṣāʾ*, Escorial MS. No. 1674, p. 283; al-Maḥḥārī, *Nasb al-ʿAlā* = *Annales*, index; Simonet, *Histoire de las Monarquías de España*, Madrid 1903 (very detailed narrative); Fernández Guerra, *Fortalezas del guerrero Omar ben Hafsūn hasta ahora desconocidas*, in *Boletín Histórico*, Madrid 1880; Simonet, *Una expedición a las ruinas de Bobastro*, in *Ciencia Cristiana*, Madrid 1877; Ballesteros, *Historia de España*, Barcelona 1920, ii. 36–44; Gonzales Palencia, *Historia de la España musulmana*, Barcelona 1925, p. 28 sq. — Cf. also the article UMAIYAD of Spain.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

'OMAR B. HUBAIRA. [See IEN HUBAIRA, I. *supra*, ii. 388a.]

'OMAR IBN AL-KHATTAB, the second Caliph, one of the greatest figures of the early days of Islām and the founder of the Arab empire. Religious legend has naturally in the case of 'Omar, as with other heroes and saints of Islām, filled his biography with a mass of apocryphal details. Nevertheless the main characteristics of his personality are revealed to historical research with sufficient clearness for it to be possible to understand his character and assign him his place in the formation of Islām. Like many other people whose strongest characteristic is an energy of will, 'Omar began by being the declared enemy of the cause which he was later to support with all his strength. Legend has perhaps somewhat coloured the stories of 'Omar's persecution of the early Muslims and exaggerates in representing his conversion as the sudden result of his having overheard some verses of the Qur'ān read in the house of his sister Fatima, who with her husband, Sa'īd b. Zaid, had early

given ear to the Prophet's preaching. It is from this sudden reversal of his attitude as well as perhaps from the fact that it was under 'Omar that Islām became a world phenomenon, from the simple incident in Arab history that it originally was, that 'Omar has earned the epithet of the "St. Paul of Islām" which the west has given him. In reality there is nothing in common between the two, except the stubborn energy with which they later championed the cause against which they originally fought. As with all great converts, we have in his case only an example of change of polarisation of the same exclusive and uncompromising attitude which, recognising no middle course, is as impetuous in devotion as in hatred. Tradition places the conversion of 'Omar in his 26th year, four years before the Hijra. It is probable that the round figure of 30 which we thus get as the age of 'Omar at the beginning of the new era has something artificial about it. But he was in any case certainly in the flower of his vigour when he began his new career of apostle of Islām. Besides, at first his support was only personal and legend has no doubt exaggerated its importance. 'Omar was not able to assist the new religion through the power of his clan (he belonged to the Banū 'Adī b. Ka'b who being only Kuraish al-Zawāhir enjoyed no influence in the political life of the merchant republic) and his position with regard to his fellow-citizens was in no way outstanding. Even if it is true that, as tradition has it, as soon as 'Omar joined the community of the faithful, the latter's faith in its ultimate triumph was increased, his intervention certainly had no influence on the events which led to the migration to Medina. It is only in this town alongside of the Prophet and apparently through the prestige of his initiative and strength of will that 'Omar without holding any official position began to be the real organiser of the new theocratic state. His part was that of councillor rather than of soldier; although he took part in the battles of Badr, Uhud and later ones, practically nothing is recorded of his military exploits, accounts of which are so abundant in the case of 'Alī and other Companions. Tradition which traces to his initiative no less than three Qur'ānic revelations (ii. 119: on the worship of the *maṣāmi* *Ibrāhīm* beside the Ka'ba; xxxiii. 53: on the veiling of the Prophet's wives; lxvi. 6: on the threat of punishment to the same women) is probably not only true but may even record only a few of the cases in which a suggestion from 'Omar stimulated the Prophet's inspiration. What is remarkable about 'Omar in the Medina period is his perfect agreement with Abū Bakr, a concord which — a surprising thing and one which is a tribute to the two great champions of Islām — was never disturbed by jealousy. The fact that 'Omar like Abū Bakr, also became the father-in-law of the Prophet through the marriage of his daughter Hafsa, did not arouse the slightest feelings of rivalry in him; on the contrary it was he who on the death of Muḥammad thrust the caliphate upon Abū Bakr. The ingenious theory put forward by Lammens (*M. F. O. S.*, iv. 113 sq. and reproduced in *Études sur le siècle des Omeyyades*) about the "triumvirate" Abū Bakr, 'Omar, Abū 'Obaīda b. al-Jarrāh" (these three individuals united by a bond of intimate friendship are said to have dominated and so to speak monopolised the authority of the Prophet, controlling him either by direct action or through

his wives, ‘A’isha bint Abī Bakr and Hafsa bint ‘Omar) may be to some extent correct but should not be pushed too far. It is beyond question that ‘Omar, the greatest brain of the three, was able in the lifetime of Muḥammad as well as during the brief caliphate of Abī Bakr to resist the temptation to come too much into the foreground. But as soon as the first caliph was dead the power naturally passed to him.

The question whether the dying Abī Bakr designated ‘Omar as his successor has been the subject of much discussion by the theorists of Muslim constitutional law. As a matter of fact, there does not seem to have been any formal act of investiture which would in any case have been of no value for it would have been quite out of keeping with Arab custom. ‘Omar assumed power *de facto* and the recognition which was at once given him by the majority of the Companions assured him the exercise of it in a way quite similar to that in which the nomination of the emir in the tribes took place, who, as we know, was only firmly seated when the individual approval of the members of the tribe had been asked and obtained after he had effectively assumed power. Such a system however primitive gave no trouble, except when the feeling between two parties was acute; this is what happened at the election of ‘Alī. Against ‘Omar there was only the dissatisfaction of the “legitimist” party of ‘Alī and the Anṣār who had however been defeated too recently when Abī Bakr had become caliph to feel like organising a regular opposition.

‘Omar at the beginning of his rule found that the great expansion by conquest had already begun; he had perhaps contributed more than any other to its beginning in his capacity as adviser to his predecessor. This is not the place to discuss once more the traditional story of the Arab conquests, nor to subject to a revision the well-known thesis of Caetani on their origin and character. This thesis has seemed to lessen considerably the importance of ‘Omar’s personal action and to take from him the glory of having been their initiator and director, according to a strategic plan conceived in advance of the campaigns against the Byzantine empire and Persia. In reality there is reason to marvel that a simple citizen of Mecca should have been capable of controlling with an undisputed singleness of command undisciplined levies of Bednins, scattered over a vast area and should have been able to keep control over their chiefs who were practically the sole masters of the position. If the military victories were not due directly to ‘Omar it was certainly to him that the credit should go of never having lost control of his generals and above all of having been able to make use of the powerful and talented family of the Omayyads, without however allowing them to have a free hand. His quarrel with Khalīd b. al-Walīd who, after having won the most brilliant victories for Islam, was dismissed and died in oblivion, gives us an idea of the political talent of ‘Omar and the extent of his authority. The knowledge of the limits of his power (which is the mark of political genius) caused him to treat the wily ‘Amr b. al-‘Ās with tact and to leave him the initiative in the conquest of Egypt. But he was careful at the same time to put at his side an old Companion of the Prophet, al-Zubair, as a check upon him. He was careful in general

(and the appointment of al-Zubair was no exception to the rule) not to appoint to high commands respected Companions whose ambition he had cause to fear. He preferred to watch them from close at hand and to satisfy their parvenu desires with the revenues of the great royal domains of the ‘Irāk and Syria which he assigned to them (cf. Ẕaytā and Taḥṣā). If tradition has done justice to ‘Omar’s strength of will, it should be remembered that he also knew how to employ with success gentler and simple methods.

The caliphate of ‘Omar which is marked by the complete transformation of the Muslim state, is regarded by tradition as the period in which all the political institutions by which it was later ruled had their origin. That there has been in tradition a process of idealisation which centred in a single individual a complicated development extending over several generations is what historical criticism has not failed to recognise. But the part played by ‘Omar was nevertheless a great one. The regulations for his non-Muslim subjects, the institution of a register of those having the right to military pensions (the *shuḥrān*), the founding of military centres out of which were to grow the future great cities of Islam, the creation of the office of *ḫāṣṣ* were all his work, and it is also to him that a series of ordinances goes back, religious (the prayer of the month of Ramaḥān, the obligatory pilgrimage) as well as civil and penal (the era of the Hijra, the punishment of drunkenness, and stoning as a punishment for adultery; in connection with the last it looks as if he did not hesitate to interpolate a verse in the text of the Qur’ān; cf. Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur’ān*, i. 248–251). If it is true that several of these institutions, particularly those of a fiscal character, were rather of the nature of provisional regulations than definitive legislation and if it is also true that the fiscal business continued to be carried on by Persian and Byzantine officials and that the coins continued to be struck with the types of both empires, we cannot however refuse the title of political genius to the ruler who was able to impress a stamp of unity and permanence upon the variegated and confused elements which went to make up the new Muslim state.

In spite of the autocratic character of ‘Omar’s rule, his caliphate has nothing of the monarchical character about it. It is further distinguished from that of Abī Bakr by a deeper feeling of its permanent character. Thus for the title of *ḫalīfa* which conveys the idea of deputy, there was substituted that of *amīr al-mu’minīn* (which ‘Omar is said to have assumed in the year 19), in which the character of sovereign is more marked; at the same time the religious character in it becomes more distinct. Indeed one might say that ‘Omar was inclined to renew, naturally with a shade of difference, the theocratic regime of the time of the Prophet; being neither able nor willing, it must be remembered, to pose as a prophet, he yet knew how to take advantage of the intimacy in which he had lived with the Prophet to legislate in the spirit of the latter and to give to his own measures an almost supernatural origin. It is perhaps this which tradition is trying to express when it makes Muḥammad say: “If God had wished that there should have been another prophet after me, ‘Omar would have been he”

(cf. al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī, *Manāẓih al-'Aṭhār*, I, 199); we can easily understand how such an attitude was only possible through the surprising prestige of 'Omar (it ceased with him; the theory of the transmission of prophetic powers was only revived later by the Shī'a).

Tradition shows us 'Omar feared rather than loved. This feeling must have been a real one but it should be pointed out that it was only to his high moral character that 'Omar owed the respect which he inspired, for the physical force at his command was not great. The opposition to him (to that of 'Alī there was later added that of a number of the old Companions) did not dare to display itself publicly. The man in whom 'Omar confided, perhaps his successor in *fact*, was the third member of the 'triumvirate', Abū 'Ubayda. When he died, a victim of the great plague of the year 18, it does not seem that 'Omar had thought of the question of the succession. He was still, besides, at the height of his powers (53, according to the age accepted by tradition) when he fell on the 26th Dhū 'l-Hijja 23 (Nov. 3, 644) by the dagger of Abū Lu'lu'a, a Christian slave of al-Mughira b. Shu'ba, governor of Ḥaḡra. The motive which tradition gives to the murder is the very heavy tax against which the slave had appealed in vain to the caliph; according to Caetani, the murderer was only the unconscious instrument of a conspiracy of the Companions tired of the caliph's tyranny. It is certain that one of the latter's sons, the unstable 'Ubayd Allāh who fell in the battle of Siffin (in 37 A. H.), cherished this suspicion but there is really no reason to believe that it was well founded (cf. the remarks made by the writer on Caetani's views in *R.S.O.*, iv., 1912, p. 1039—1061). The history of murders of sovereigns shows that cases of assassination from personal vengeance are just as frequent as those with political motives. We may suppose that if he had lived to a greater age 'Omar would have provided for the succession — his farsighted mind would have undoubtedly shown him the necessity of settling this question which is always, in states not ruled by the dynastic principle, the crucial test of their vitality. He was not spared to do this and the plan of an elective council formed of the six oldest Companions (*ṣṭhūrā*) which resulted in the election of 'Othmān even if 'Omar had nominated him on his deathbed (which is denied with good arguments by critical historians) could only be a temporary expedient.

In going to rejoin his two dear friends, the Prophet and Abū Bakr, in the delights of Paradise, 'Omar could contemplate with satisfaction the work that he had accomplished. He was really, as has been said, the second founder of Islām, he who gave the edifice erected by the religious inspiration of Muḥammad, its social and political framework. But it must be added that the formidable problems raised by the enormous and rapid expansion of Islām did not receive their final solution from him. In particular the question of the relations between the early converts and the first helpers, the Anṣār, and the newcomers from the Meccan aristocracy and the question of the subordination to the central power of the Arab forces scattered over the immense territory of the empire, although still latent, presented difficulties and dangers of the utmost gravity. It was 'Omar's successor, 'Othmān, who had to face them without possessing

in the slightest degree the necessary qualities to overcome them.

While orthodox tradition reveres in 'Omar not only the great ruler but also one of the most typical models of all the virtues of Islām (cf. a list of his merits in the work of al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ al-nādira fī Manāẓih al-'Aṭhār*, Cairo 1327), the Shī'a has never concealed its antipathy to him who was the first to thwart the claims of 'Alī (cf. Goldziher, in *W.Z.K.M.*, xv, 321 199). The Shī'ite teaching although it exalts the ascetic austerity of the life of 'Omar, has very little to do with him: besides this type of puritan lends itself very little to mystical speculations whether in its historical reality or in its idealisation in legend.

Bibliography: All the historical material is to be found collected in L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, III.—VI. (Milan 1909—1912); vol. v. contains the historical synthesis of his caliphate and vi. the general index. The material contained in the works on Hadīth, which has only been partly utilised by Caetani, is collected by A. J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leyden 1927, p. 234—236, s.v. 'Omar. (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

'OMAR EFENDI, an Ottoman historian, according to popular tradition originally called Ellasović or Čaušević, belonged to Bosnič-Novī (Bosanski-Novī). Of his career we only know that he was acting as *kādi* in his native town when fierce fighting broke out on Bosnian soil between the Imperial troops and those of Hakiim-Oghlu 'Alī Paṣha (1150 = 1737): 'Omar Efendi at this time wrote a vivid account of the happenings in Bosnia from the beginning of Muḥarram 1149 (May 1736) to the end of Džumādā I 1152 (end of March 1739); written in a smooth easy style, this work is of considerable importance for social history. It seems to have been called *Ḡhawāṭ-i Hakiim-Oghlu 'Alī Paṣha* but is usually quoted as *Ḡhawāṭ-i Dīyār-i Bosna*, and sometimes as *Ḡhawāṭ-nāme-i Bānāluka* (i. e. Banjaluka in Bosnia). As a reward for this literary effort, 'Omar Efendi was promoted to be one of the six judges (*ṣārḥ-i melā-i ṣittā*). Of his further life and death nothing more is known. It is certain that he ended his days in Bosnič-Novī and was buried there. The site of his grave is still pointed out but the tombstone has disappeared.

'Omar Efendi's little book is fairly common in MSS. (usually copies of the first printed text); cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 277, to which we may now add: Agram, South Slav Akad. der Wiss., coll. Babinger, N^o 390 and 391 as well as N^o 631, iv. (here called *Ḡhawāṭ-nāme-i Bānāluka*). The printer Ibrahim Muteferriḡa [q. v.] revised and corrected 'Omar Efendi's narrative (cf. Hanfīsside in *Hādīdī Khalīfa*, N^o 14533: *Ḡhawāṭ-i Dīyār-i Bosna*) and published it under the title *Aḡwāl-i Ḡhawāṭ der Dīyār-i Bosna* (8 + 62 p., Stambul 1154; cf. F. Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen im 18. Jahrh.*, Leipzig 1919, p. 17). On later editions cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 277. The book is also accessible in a rather bad German translation and a not very successful English one, cf. *G.O.W.*, S. 277.

Bibliography: Salvatbeg Balagić, *Bosnaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj književnosti*, Sarajevo 1912, p. 152; F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 276 19; Mehmed Handić, *Književni rad bosanski-hercegovski*, Sarajevo 1912, p. 152.

gewaltik muslimana, Sarajevo 1934, p. 39 ff.; Muhammad al-Bosnawi (i.e. Mehmed Handžić), *al-Djauhar al-lam' fi Tarāḡim 'Ulum' wa-Shu'ara' Bisma*, Cairo 1349, p. 112.

(FRANZ BÄRINGER)

'OMAR KHAİYĀM, famous Persian scientist and poet of the Saldjūq period (d. in 526 = 1132).

Biography. Although reliable information on Khayām is still scarce we cannot underestimate the importance of the sources at present available.

In his Algebra he calls himself Abu 'l-Fath 'Omar b. Ibrāhīm al-Khayyāmī and in his verses seems to use Khayām ("tent-maker") as his *laqab*. It is likely that this nickname refers to the profession of his ancestors. W. Litten, in his pamphlet *Was bedeutet Chayyām? Warum hat O. Chayyām... gerade diesen Dichternamen gewählt?*, Berlin 1930 (25 p.), has suggested the possibility of a technical interpretation of Khayām as "poet, expert in metrics" (cf. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Kaṣ, *Muḡam*, in *G. M. S.*, p. 13—16), where metrical terms are explained by the names of different parts of the tent (*baṭ* in Arabic both "house" > "tent" and "verse"). However, in the well-known quatrains, such as *Khayyām ki khāima-kūyi kīmat midūkt* the reference is evidently to "tents" and not to "verses".

'Omar was a Khurāsānī, from Nishāpūr or its neighbourhood. The date of his birth is unknown. He was already famous as a mathematician in 467 (1074—1075) when with Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Asfārī and Maimūn b. Naḡīb Wāṣitī (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, x, 67, under the year 467) he was invited by Malik-Shāh to collaborate in the reform of the Persian calendar (cf. DJALILI). In 506 (1112—1113) Nizāmī-yi 'Arūḡ met 'Omar, whom he calls *Hudūdāt al-Haṭṭ*, in Balkh and in 530 (1135—1136) visited his grave in the Ilṭa cemetery of Nishāpūr "it then being four (variant: some!) years since he died". Consequently the probable date of Khayām's death would be 526 (1132). (On Khayām's grave beside the shrine of Muḥammad Mahrūk see Muḥammad Ḥasan, *Maṭla' al-Shams*, iii, [Tehran 1303 = 1886], p. 101, 173; Sir P. Sykes, *A pilgrimage to the tomb of 'Omar Khayyām*, in *Travel and Exploration*, London, Sept. 1909, ii, 129—138, and Williams Jackson, *From Constantinople to the Home of 'Omar Khayyām*, New York 1911, p. 240—245. See also a picture in the *Times*, July 16, 1934). On the occasion of Firdawsī's millenary (Oct. 1934) the Persian Government took the occasion also to erect a new monument of white marble over Khayām's tomb).

Nizāmī-yi 'Arūḡ's *Chahār Maqāla*, written ca. 551 (1156), remains the oldest contemporary witness to 'Omar. The second and even more important biographer is Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Baihaḡī [q.v.; died 565 (1169)]; the relevant passages, already known through quotations in Shahrastānī, have been translated by Jacob and Wiedemann, *Zu 'Omar-i Chayyām*, in *Isl.*, iii, (1912), p. 42—62 (English transl. of the principal passage by Sir E. D. Ross and H. A. R. Gibb, in *B. S. O. S.*, v., p. 467—473). Baihaḡī calls 'Omar *al-Dastūr al-Failāwī* *Hudūdāt al-Haṭṭ* 'Omar b. Ibrāhīm al-Khayyāmī. He says that he had a disagreeable character and was not so nice to his pupils as for example Asfārī. However, when in 507 (1113) Baihaḡī (at that time only 8 years old; cf. Yāqūt, *Ishād al-Arṭ*, v, 208) visited 'Omar, the latter

examined him in Arabic poetry and geometry and expressed his satisfaction. Malik-Shāh (cf. also *Chahār Maqāla*, p. 63) and the [Karakhānīd] Shams al-Mulk of Bukhārā (d. 472 = 1179) were particularly kind to 'Omar but Sanjār had a grudge against him. Among the persons who had direct intercourse with 'Omar are mentioned Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī and the learned prince of the Kākūyid dynasty Farāmār b. 'Alī b. Farāmār. In different sciences 'Omar was a follower of Abū 'Alī b. Sīnā (Avicenna). Though he was a scholar in philosophy, jurisprudence and history he was no prolific writer and of his works Baihaḡī mentions only a short treatise on physics (*Muḡtaṣar fi 'l-Taklīfāt*), a treatise on Existence (*Fi 'l-Wuḡūd*) and a treatise on Being and Obligation (*al-Kawn wa 'l-Taklīf*). In the *Khariḍat al-Kār* of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (written in 572 [1176—1177]) Khayām is mentioned as an incomparable scholar of his time enjoying a proverbial reputation (*bihī yudrah al-mathāl*). Khayāmī (d. 595 = 1198—1199) refers to him once in a verse. Among the later sources may be mentioned Shalḡh Naḡīm al-Dīn's *Mir'ād al-'Iṣād* (620 = 1223—1224) where 'Omar is called "an unhappy philosopher, atheist and materialist". Kāṣṭī, *Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā'*, ed. Lippert, p. 243—244 [the passage first utilised by Woepeke], represents Khayām as a follower of Greek learning (cf. BAIHAḡĪ). Shahrastānī's *Nuḡbat al-Arṭ* (xiiith century) chiefly repeats Baihaḡī. Raḡīb al-Dīn in his *Djāmi' al-Fawāriḡ* is the earliest authority known for the tale of three schoolfellows: Nizām al-Mulk, Ḥasan-i Šabbāh and Khayām. The chronological discrepancy involved by this story was already noticed by A. Müller: Nizām al-Mulk was born in 408 (1017) and there are no indications that Khayām [or Ḥasan-i Šabbāh] died at the age of more than 100 years (cf. A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, ii, 97, 111; Browne, *A Liter. Hist. of Persia*, iii, 190—193. On the different explanations of the legend see Houtsma's preface to al-Bundārī, p. xiv., note 2; Muḥammad-Khān Kazwīnī in Browne's translation of the *Chahār Maqāla*, p. 138 and latterly H. Bowen, in *J. R. A. S.*, Oct. 1931, p. 771—782). However, the facts remain that Nizām al-Mulk must have met Ḥasan-i Šabbāh (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, x, 110 [year 494]) and that Khayām in his metaphysical treatise dispassionately mentions the Ismā'īlī among the searchers for metaphysical truth, but the authorship of the treatise is suspect.

Khayām as a scientist. Khayām's scientific activities for a long time eclipsed his poetical renown and in 1848 Reimund in his learned introduction to Abu 'l-Fidā's *Geography* wrote: "malheureusement, 'Omar s'occupait avec l'astronomie le goût de la poésie et du plaisir".

On the reform of the calendar for which Khayām is responsible jointly with his colleagues, cf. DJALILI.

MSS. of Khayām's principal work on Algebra exist in Leyden, Paris and the India Office (see Woepeke, *L'algebra d'Omar Alkhayyami publiée, traduite et accompagnée d'extraits de mss. inédits*, p. 1851). Khayām's introduction to his researches on Euclid's axioms (*Muḡaddarāt*) has been translated by Jacob and Wiedemann, in *Isl.*, iii, (MS. in Leyden). The treatise *Muḡhīlāt al-Ḥisāb* exists in Munich. G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Washington 1927, i, 759—761, calls Khayām "one of the greatest mathematicians of

medieval times. His Algebra contains geometric and algebraic solutions of equations of the second degree; an admirable classification of equations, including the cubic; a systematic attempt to solve them all and partial geometric solutions of most of them. His classification of equations... is based on... the number of different terms which they include... thus 'Omar recognises 13 different forms of cubic equations... Binomial development when the exponent is a positive integer. Study of the postulates and generalities of Euclid" (cf. also W. E. Story, *Omar as Mathematician*, Boston 1918 [17 pages]). In physics Khayyām's researches were devoted to the specific weight of silver and gold (MS. in Gotha; see Wiedemann, *Über Bestimmung der spezifischen Gewichte* [Beitrag 8], in *S.B.P.M.S. Erg.*, xxxviii, [1906], p. 170—173). The *Ta'riḫ-i Alī* (written about 1000 = 1591) quotes the names of the *Muḥās al-ḥikam* "on the methods of ascertaining the value of objects studded with precious stones without taking the latter out" [perhaps the same work on specific weight] and of the *Lawāim al-Aḥkina* "on the methods of determining the orientation and the cause of the difference of climate of various countries".

Of metaphysical works of Khayyām a MS. of the above mentioned treatise on Existence is in Berlin and a MS. of a little Persian treatise (*Dar 'Ilm-i Kulliyat*) in Paris. Of the latter Christensen has translated several chapters; *Un traité de métaphysique de 'Omar Khayyām*, in *M.O.*, i. (1908), p. 1—16. This treatise, of the contents of which Christensen has a poor opinion, is dedicated to a certain Fakhr al-Milla wa 'l-Din Mu'ayyad al-Mulk, probably one of Niẓām al-Mulk's sons.

Finally must be mentioned the *Nawrūs-nāma* of which the existence was first revealed by F. Rosen, *The Quatrains of O. Khayyām newly translated*, London 1930, p. 5—18. The text based on the unique Berlin MS. [Rosen: 1365 A.D.; Muhammad Khān Qazwini: "not later than the viiith century of the Hijra"] was published with notes and a glossary by Muḥṭabāb Minowi, Tihān 1933. This treatise is a presentation pamphlet written at the request of a friend. The matters referring to Nawrūs [q.v.] occupy only 19 pages out of 77; the rest is taken up by such subjects as gold, horses, falcons, wine, beautiful faces. The treatise does not show any deep knowledge in the compiler and its authorship, for several reasons, cannot be considered as finally established. An incomplete copy of the same treatise (perhaps the first 43 pages out of 77 of the printed edition exists in the British Museum, Add. 23,568, fol 86^v—101^b: *Riḥla dar taḥṫīḫ-i Nawrūs* [anonymous]).

For lists of Khayyām's scientific works see Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i. 471; Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, 1900, p. 112; Muhammad Khān Qazwini, notes to the *Caḥār Maḥāl*, p. 220—221; Caillik, *op. cit.*, introduction (21 names are quoted of which some are only Persian equivalents of Arabic titles).

In a very detailed book *Khayyām, dr. urke unavāḥik wa-asṭūf par naḡidāna nāgar*, published in Hindustani by Sayid Sulaimān Nadwi, Azamgarh 1933 (508 pages), the following scientific works ascribed to Khayyām have been reproduced: *Riḥlat al-Kawn wa 'l-Taklīf* (with further polemics on the subject); *Riḥlat al-Wuḡūd* (published in

Cairo under the name of *Qiyā' al-ḥakī*); *Riḥlat al-Wuḡūd* also called *al-Awḡaf li 'l-Maḥṣūfāt*; *Riḥlat fī Kulliyāt-i Wuḡūd* (in Persian); *Muḥās al-ḥikam*.

Khayyām as a poet. Already 'Imād al-Din Isfahānī in his *Khawāṣṣat al-Kawr* (572 = 1172) mentions Khayyām among the poets of Khurāsān and quotes four Arabic verses of his. Naḡm al-Din Rāī cites two quatrains in Persian. Shahrāṣṭī gives three Arabic fragments (?) numbering respectively 4, 6 and 3 verses [while the Persian translation of Shahrāṣṭī, finished in 1011 (1602), substitutes for them 2 Persian quatrains]; that of 6 verses belongs to the same poem as the verses quoted by 'Imād al-Din. Kīṣī reproduces exactly the latter's quotation. Qūwainī (858 = 1260), l. 128, puts a Persian quatrain into the mouth of Saliyūl 'Izz al-Din who was counting the victims of the Mongol invasion in Khwārizm in 618 (1221). One quatrain is found in the *Ta'riḫ-i Gulida*, in *G. M. S.*, p. 818. From 741 (1340) we possess 13 quatrains preserved in the *Muḥās al-Aḥkār*. The MS. edited by F. Rosen contains 329 quatrains but its date 721 (1321) is certainly wrong. The other oldest collections of the ixth (xvth) century are:

Sambul AS 1032	861	(1456—1457)
		131 quatrains;
+ NO 3892	865	(1460—1461)
		315 quatrains;
Oxford Bodl. Ouseley 140	865	(1460—1461)
		158 quatrains.

Later the number of *rubā'iyāt* in some MSS. rapidly rises; the MS. in Vienna (Flügel, *Handschriften*, i. 496, N^o. 507) dated 957 (1550), has 482 *rubā'ī*, that of the Bankipūr Public Library, dated 961 (1553—1554), 604 *rubā'ī*, till finally in the Lucknow edition of A. D. 1894 one finds 770 *rubā'ī*. Miss Jessie E. Cadell (*Fraser's Magazine*, May 1879) is said to have collected from all available sources 1,200 quatrains; see the list of the MSS. in Caillik, *op. cit.*, p. 37—39.

Already in Th. Hyde's *Vetrum Persiarum... religione historia*, Oxford 1700, p. 529—30, there is found a Latin translation of Khayyām's quatrain *Av. sūkhā-ta-yi sūkhā-ta-yi sūkhā-ta-yi*. For the first time several Persian quatrains were published in a Persian grammar compiled by F. Dombay in Vienna in 1804. Khayyām's renown in Europe, however, was long based on his scientific activities and it is noteworthy that his Treatise on Algebra was translated in 1851, while the first edition of Fitz-Gerald's famous version of the quatrains was published in 1859, the French edition by Nicolas in 1867, and only since the second edition of Fitz-Gerald's version in 1868 has the wave of admiration for Khayyām swept through western lands.

Critical studies of the text started only in 1897 when Żukowsky published his article 'Omar Khayyām i stranutuwuḡūbiya i intwrestishiya, in *al-Muḥaffariya*, a presentation volume to Baron V. Rosen, St. Petersburg 1897, p. 324—363 (made more widely accessible in an early (abridged) translation by Sir E. D. Ross, in *J. R. A. S.*, xxiii, 1898, p. 349—366). Żukowsky's merits consist in: 1. rendering accessible some old texts on Khayyām's biography entirely unknown up to that time, and 2. shattering the uncritical belief in the authenticity of the existing collections of quatrains. Żukowsky showed that 82 out of 464 quatrains included in Nicolas' edition are found also in the *ḥawāṣ* of

39 other authors (and sometimes simultaneously in the *diwāns* of several poets). He then divided these 82 quatrains into different subject groups and thought that the proportion thus obtained would (in inverse order) serve as a hint for the characteristics of Khayyām. For example, the interpolations of epicurean character represent 33⁹/₁₀, and those which give expression to Muslim free-thinking 2⁹/₁₀. Therefore, the safest way is to take as a basis the least interpolated groups "of which the authenticity has been shattered the least". Consequently Żukowsky attaches a particular importance to the "mystic *gūfīyān*" in Khayyām's poetry. This theory (which puzzled Christensen, *Recherches*, p. 10, and misled Hartmann, in *W.Z.A.M.*, xvii, 367) is certainly insufficient both psychologically and statistically, for it is not the percentage of interpolations but that of the remaining quatrains which is of importance. So Żukowsky's discovery of a high proportion of "wandering" quatrains is valuable only as a negative principle (cf. Barthold, in *Zsp.*, xxv, 403-404). The thoroughness of Żukowsky's work is shown by the fact that the later researches by E. D. Ross and Christensen resulted in the raising of the total number of ascertained "wandering" quatrains only to 108.

In his *Recherches sur les Rubā'iyāt de 'Omar Hayyām*, Heidelberg 1904, Christensen went one stage farther. Stating how rapidly the number of quatrains increased since the date of the Bodleian MS. (only a century later the Baskipūr MS. contains 604 quatrains!), he postulated a similar process for the time separating that MS. from Khayyām's death (over three centuries): "how many quatrains then would remain attributable to Khayyām? A *diwān* is transmitted tolerably intact, whereas a collection of *rubā'ī* is much more exposed to tampering". Consequently "there exist no criteria [of genuineness] both as regards the form and the matter" of the quatrains (p. 32). Christensen admitted only the probability that the twelve *rubā'ī* containing Khayyām's name and the two quoted by Naḍīm al-Dīn Rāzī had some chance of being genuine. [But even one of the 12 quatrains of the first category has a variant ascribed to Aḥmad al-Kāshī]. The more optimistic conclusions of Christensen are that those 14 quatrains "contain, so to speak, in nucleus all the *rubā'iyāt*" and that in general the poetical and historical importance of the *rubā'iyāt* must be severed from the question of their authorship. As Khayyām wrote in the national Persian spirit the later addition kept "within the same cycle of ideas" (see the 14 quatrains above mentioned). Only the few mystical and erotic quatrains seem to be interpolations foreign to Khayyām's nature. In a following chapter Christensen studies the historical traits of the Persian national character and winds up by saying that "Khayyām's spirit is the Persian spirit as it existed in the Middle Ages, and as in substance it is nowadays" (p. 89). This part of Christensen's reasoning must be inevitably accepted *cum grano salis*, such matters admitting unfortunately no final demonstration. A further step in the study of Khayyām's text was the discovery by Muḥammad Khān Kaṣwaf of 13 quatrains in the anthology *Mu'nis al-Aḥrār* (composed and copied in 714 = 1340; see Sir D. Ross, in *B.S.O.S.*, iv/iii, p. 433-439). F. Rosen, in the Persian preface to his new edition (1925) of the *Rubā'iyāt* (also in German, *Zur Textfrage der Vierzeiler 'Omars des Zellmachers*,

in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1926, p. 285-313), criticised the exaggerations of the theory of "wandering" quatrains but authenticated only 23 *rubā'ī* (those quoted by Rāzī, Ḍjwānī etc., six of those containing the name of Khayyām and 13 of the *Mu'nis al-Aḥrār*). Finally, after a new revision of all the materials available, Christensen in his *Critical Studies in the Rubā'iyāt of 'Umar-i Khayyām*, Copenhagen 1927, offered a new criterion to ascertain the genuineness of the quatrains. He divided (p. 19) the collections of quatrains into three categories: those in which the quatrains are disposed without any alphabetical arrangement, those with single alphabetical arrangement (i.e., in groups according to the final letter of the rhyme) and those with double alphabetical arrangement (under each rhyme letter the quatrains disposed in the order of the first letter, of the beginning word). He takes the first arrangement as the oldest and of this group mentions five specimens: one bearing the apparently false date 721 (1321), one dated 902 (1496) etc. The double alphabetical arrangement is already found in the Bodleian MS. and the single alphabetical one must be presumably older. Moreover Christensen noticed that in different collections (of the first and second class) there were found series of quatrains "in the same, longer or shorter succession" (p. 13). Though the comparison of the non-alphabetical group led "to a purely negative result" (p. 27) as regards the establishing of a textual tradition, Christensen suggests that in some cases (MSS. dated 1528 and 1540) the principle underlying the non-alphabetical arrangement was the disposition according to the contents. Moreover he thinks that we may "learn something by studying the total stock of the texts" (p. 27) and consequently (p. 39) lays down an elaborate system of rules based upon the number of times a given *rubā'ī* is found in different groups of MSS. This system being strictly enforced entails considerable changes in the former views on the subject: thus out of the six best attested quatrains containing Khayyām's name one is proclaimed spurious, one uncertain and four genuine (p. 40). Finally 121 quatrains which have stood the test are taken as a basis for a new characteristic of 'Omar.

The new method, in spite of its mathematical character, greatly depends on the materials utilised by its author. H. Ritter in his important review of Christensen's work (*Zur Frage der Echtheit der Vierzeiler 'Omar Chayyām*, in *O. L. Z.*, 1929, No. 3, col. 156-163) has quoted 7 ancient MSS. found in Constantinople. Of these the two oldest (that of 861 = 1456 containing 131 quatrains, and that of 865 = 1461 containing 315 quatrains) are non-alphabetical while that of 876 (1471-1472) containing 320 quatrains is alphabetical. This fact is partially in favour of Christensen's views but the order in the two non-alphabetical MSS. is different from that of BN1 (the oldest of the non-alphabetical MSS. quoted by Christensen, dated 902 = 1496-1497 and containing 213 quatrains). On the other hand, the MS. of 865, contemporary with the famous Bodleian MS., contains double the number of the latter's quatrains. Lastly two of the MSS. mentioned by H. Ritter contain each 478 quatrains in a special arrangement by Ver (ز) Aḥmad b. Ḥusain al-Rashīd al-Tabrizī, who in 867 (1462-1463) arranged the quatrains

in nine chapters according to their subjects. This fact, Ritter thinks, may be responsible for the traces of a similar arrangement in the two later MSS. (dated 1528 and 1540) mentioned by Christensen [on Tabriz's redaction a paper was read by M. F. M. Köprülü-zâde at the Orientalists Congress at Oxford; it was also known to Husain Dānīsh; v. l.]. So H. Ritter falls back upon Christensen's conclusions of 1904 and in a somewhat modified form insists on the practical impossibility of authenticating this or that of Khayyām's quatrains. The *rubā'iyāt* have been transmitted by methods typical of popular songs (*typische Volksliedüberlieferung*); they express the popular feeling of the masses (*Volksempfindung*) which opposed the official religious and literary spirit of foreign origin. As now we happen to speak of a truly "Khayyāmic" quatrain, so historically the particular genre must have been associated with the great savant, and Christensen's attribution of his selection of quatrains to 'Omar can be understood only in the sense of a collective name for all what is looked upon as a manifestation of a peculiar tradition (*Einzelüberlieferung*).

Finally must be mentioned the discovery of a MS. dated 1423 and containing 206 quatrains announced by Mahfūz al-Hakī at the meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, on April 5, 1932, and H. H. Schaefer's paper *Der geschichtliche und der mythische 'Omar Chayyām*, read at the Orientalistentag held at Bonn at the end of August 1934. Schaefer is extremely and perhaps excessively sceptical as regards the attribution of the quatrains to 'Omar Khayyām. He concludes by saying that "Khayyām's name must be struck out of the history of Persian literature". He also doubts the authenticity of the treatise published by Christensen and the *Nawāz-nāma*. Schaefer's paper will appear in book form. For a resumé see *Z. D. M. G.*, xiii, 2, 1934, p. 25-28.

Conclusions. The upshot of the preceding study is that we possess nothing approaching a *recensio scripto* of Khayyām's poetical works. What should we say, if for characteristics of a historical personality we had his correspondence in which scarcely a single letter could be authenticated and many were decidedly spurious? Taking, for instance, the important point of "mystic Sūfism" we find that Żukowsky makes a strong point of it in Khayyām's poetry, while Christensen denies its importance, though in support of this insufficiently attested tendency one could quote Khayyām's metaphysical treatise in which the most honourable place is reserved to the Sūfī seekers of Truth (cf. Rosen, 1926).

The striking contradictions in the ideas and feelings expressed in the *rubā'iyāt* have struck all those who have written on Khayyām and the characteristic trait of the "type associated with Khayyām" seems to be precisely the alternation of sarcastic pessimism and epicurean hedonism, of the consciousness of frailty of our contingent existence and the joyful motto of *carpe diem*. Nevertheless it must be admitted that the pessimistic side of Khayyām's poetry is better attested by the quotations in the older biographies and, what is more, by the Arabic verses of 'Omar Khayyām which may have suffered in transmission but which certainly could not be imitated by popular tradition (F. Rosen has utilised the Arabic verses in his penetrating study of 1926).

FitzGerald's version. Khayyām's popularity among large circles of the public is chiefly due to the English version by E. FitzGerald [1809-1883]. This paraphrase of exceptional poetical merits, consisting in the second edition of 110 quatrains [third edition: 101], cannot, however, be taken for a translation in the strict sense of the word. E. Heron-Allen who most carefully compared the English and Persian texts (*Some side-light upon FitzGerald's poem 'The Rubā'iyāt of 'O. Khayyām'*, 1898) has established that 49 quatrains are faithful paraphrases of single *rubā'ī*; 44 are traceable to more than one *rubā'ī*; 2 are inspired by the *rubā'ī* found only in Nicolas' edition; 2 reflect the "whole spirit" of the original; 2 are traceable exclusively to 'Attār; 2 are inspired by Khayyām but influenced by Hāfiz and 3 (only in the first two editions) could not be identified. As manifestations of the almost religious feeling with which the admirers treat FitzGerald's version may be mentioned the 'Omar Khayyām Club, founded in London in 1892 (and its numerous imitations in the U. S. A.), as well as J. R. Tutin's book, *A concordance to FitzGerald's translations*, London 1900.

Bibliography: See the works mentioned in the present article. For the older bibliography see H. Ethé, in *G. I. Ph.*, II, 275-277; Bruwne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 1906, II, 246-259; Kāfīsky, *Itoriya Persii* (*Trudi po vostokovedeniyu*, xvi., tome I., №. 4), Moscow 1909, p. 358-390. Last in date and very complete is A. G. Potter, *A bibliography of the Rubā'iyāt of 'Omar Khayyām, together with kindred matter in prose and verse pertaining thereto* [second edition], London 1929, 314 pp. [contains 1,308 printed items and mentions over 50 principal MSS. and 35 editions of the text].

More important articles on Khayyām are P. Horn, *Gesch. d. persischen Literatur*, Leipzig 1901, p. 150-155; E. D. Ross' introduction (p. 1-91) to H. B. Batson's edition of FitzGerald's version, London 1901; R. A. Nicholson's introduction to FitzGerald's version (printed by A. and C. Black), London 1909 (numerous reprints); Muḥammad Khān Karwīnī, notes to his edition of the *Čahār Maḥala*, in *G. M. S.*, 1910, p. 209-228 and 359, resumé in E. G. Browne's translation, 1921, p. 134-139; E. Bertels, *Ostere literari persidskoy literatury*, Leningrad 1828, p. 44-45.

The principal European editions of the Persian text are J. B. Nicolas (with a French translation), Paris 1867; E. H. Whinfield (with an English translation), London 1882, 1893 etc.; E. Heron-Allen (facsimile of the Bodleian MS. of 865 = 1460 with an English translation), London 1898; F. Rosen, Berlin, Kavian Press, 1304 = 1925; Husain Dānīsh with a translation and an interesting introduction in Turkish, second edition, Constantinople 1346 = 1927; Christensen, *Critical Studies* (v. x.) with a complete comparative table of the quatrains in the principal collections; B. Caillik, *Les manuscrits mineurs des Rubā'iyāt de 'Omar Khayyām dans la Bibl. Nationale, textes originaux des mss., Suppl. Persan 1777, 826, 745, 793, 1481, 1425, 1817, 1327, 1458*, published as №. 2 of the *Travaux de la Bibl. Universitaire de Sargel*, viii. (French introduction) + 69 (Hungarian introduction) + 85 p. (Persian text) [a very thorough study].

Translations into principal European languages; into English see above, Whinsfield, Heron-Allen, Christensen, J. Payne, 1898; F. Rosen, *The quatrains newly translated*, London 1930; into German: A. von Schack, Stuttgart 1878; Bodenstedt, Breslau 1881; F. Rosen, *Die Sinnprüche Omars des Zelmachers* (several editions); into French: see above Nicolas, Ch. Grolleau, Paris 1902; Claude Anet (in collaboration with Muhammad Khān Kārwtī), Paris 1920 (144 quatrains). Cf. also the extensive collection of translations into English, French, German, Italian and Danish edited by N. H. Dole, Boston and London 1898, 2 vols., clxix + 655 p. Single quatrains have been translated into most of European and extra-European languages, Basque, Yiddish and Gypsy included. Modern Arabic translations: Ahmad Ḥamid al-Ṣarrāf, Baghdad 1350 (1931) (with lengthy introduction); al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Ṣafī al-Nadjaṣī, Dimishq 1350. (V. MINORSKY)

'OMĀRA b. ABI 'L-ḤASAN 'ALI b. ZAHVĀN AL-ḤAKAMĪ AL-YAMĀNĪ, an Arab man of letters born in 515 (1121) in Marṭān on the Wādī Wāsī in the district of al-Zarā'ib in the Tihāmat al-Yaman, executed on Ramaḍān 2, 569 (April 6, 1174) in Cairo by orders of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (cf. the article SALADIN). In that period the Yaman, broken up into many little principalities, was suffering severely from continual civil wars. Traditional learning was still in a flourishing condition however, especially in the large towns. In 530 (1136) 'Omāra was sent by his father to Zabīd, where he studied, especially Shāfi'ī law, under 'Abd Allāh b. al-Abbār and others. In the year 535 he was given his teacher's diploma (*ijāza*), visited his parents and taught for three years in the madrasa of Zabīd. While civil war was raging with particular violence in Zabīd, he spent some time in the coast town of 'Anḥara where he was on intimate terms with one of the pretenders, 'Alī b. Maḥdī [q. v.]. Returning to Zabīd, he continued his studies and in the years 538—548 engaged in trading between Zabīd and 'Aden which brought him into contact with the Banū Naḍjāh, a dynasty of Abyssinian origin reigning in Zabīd. In the year 538 (1143) he went on his first ḥajj with some members of the dynasty. In 'Aden he entered literary circles and was able to develop his poetic gifts. The rivalry between the Naḍjāhids and the Zūmīds who ruled in 'Aden provoked intrigues against him which threatened his life and forced him to leave the Yaman. In 549 (1155) he went on pilgrimage to Mecca and was sent by the Sharīf Kaṣīm b. Ḥaḥīm on a mission to the Fātimids in Egypt. Returning to Mecca in the same year, he visited Zabīd and 'Aden for the last time in 551 (1156) and in 552 (1157) again made the ḥajj. Sent on a mission a second time, he settled permanently in Egypt. He said himself that he came here to seek "position and fortune" (*al-ḥuṣnā 'l-ḥāṣa wa 'l-māla: Diwān, i. 287*); his later life is typical of the Arab *adīb*. Although he held for some time the title of *qāḍī*, he devoted himself exclusively to working as a court poet. His *kaṣīdas* of praise were dedicated not so often to the last Fātimid caliphs *faiḥānīs* al-Fa'iz [q. v.] (d. 555 = 1160) and al-'Adīd [q. v.] (d. 567 = 1171) as to their autocratic viziers, who changed on the stage like marionettes: Ṭalā' b. Ruzīk

[q. v.] (d. 556 = 1161), Ruzīk (d. 558 = 1163), Dirghām [q. v.] (d. 559 = 1164) and Shirkūh [q. v.] (d. 564 = 1169). In the continued changes at court, 'Omāra managed always to hold his position. When Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn came to power first as vizier, he addressed to him in 1169 an appeal in verse which appears to have had the desired effect. With the end of the dynasty his position became difficult; 'Omāra was neither a Shī'ī nor an Ismā'īlī (cf. however 'Imād al-Dīn in Derenbourg, I, 399 or al-Dīnādī, *ibid.*, II, 546—547) but his sympathies inclined to the Fātimids and he openly expressed them in a popular *kaṣīda* of lament. Very soon afterwards he took part in a conspiracy, the object of which was the restoration of the Fātimids, was crucified along with other participants and buried in the cemetery of Cairo.

Among his contemporaries 'Omāra was especially renowned as an authority on law; in Zabīd he was known as *al-Faraṣṭ*, in al-Yaman as *al-Faḥīl* (see al-Dīnādī in Derenbourg, II, 546); several textbooks compiled by him on *al-faraṣṭ* were popular in his native land in his lifetime (see *al-Nukat* in Derenbourg, I, 23). Nothing of his legal work has survived and we only know him as a literary man of very ordinary type. His works are of considerable importance for the history of his own time, but Derenbourg much exaggerates their literary value. The most interesting is perhaps *al-Nukat al-ḥurriyya fī al-ḥikāh al-Wuṣṣā' al-Miṣriyya* (ed. by Derenbourg, I, 5—154; II, 503—511) which contains many autobiographical details, an anthology of his verse and notes on the contemporary Egyptian viziers. It begins in the year 558 (1162) and comes down to the death of Shāwar (564 = 1169). He dedicated his history of al-Yaman to the *qāḍī* al-Faḍīl [q. v.] (1135—1200); it was begun at his suggestion in 563 and finished in the following year (ed. by H. C. Kay). Based on the same plan as a work of his predecessor, the emir of Zabīd Dīnāyāh b. Naḍjāh (d. 498 = 1158), called *al-Maṣīd fī al-ḥikāh al-Zabīdiyya*, which has not come down to us, it is known as the *Ta'rikh al-Yaman*. Its importance lies mainly in what he tells from his own experience or from hearsay. Of less interest are his *Tarāimūlāt*, nine in number (ed. Derenbourg, II, 431—490). They show the influence of the famous *Rasā'il* of al-*qāḍī* al-Faḍīl, being in rhymed prose filled with all kinds of stylistic figures. His anthology of the poets of Arabia, particularly of al-Yaman, has not come down to us but was much used by 'Imād al-Dīn in his *Ḥikāyat al-Ḥaṣr*. Of his *Diwān* (ed. by Derenbourg, I, 155—394; II, 405—429, 511—539) no proper edition exists and all the known manuscripts differ in their contents and are not all complete. His famous *kaṣīda* of lamentation for the Fātimids for example is known not from his own *Diwān* but from the separate MSS. and other sources (in addition to the texts from Ibn Wāṣil and al-Makrīzī given by Derenbourg, II, 612—616 see now al-Kālikashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aḥḍā*, III, Cairo 1914, p. 530—532). As a poet 'Omāra was entirely in the tradition of the later 'Abbāsid school. His models in the panegyric style he found in Baḥshār, Miḥyār and al-Buḥārī (*Diwān*, I, 266—267); to these may be added Abū Tammām (the Arab critics had already noticed this; cf. e.g. Ibn al-Aṭṭār, *al-Maṭhal al-ṣā'ir*, Cairo 1282, p. 409) and al-Mutanabbī. The influence of the last named is particularly marked,

not only in his verses, but also in many passages in his letters. As regards subject, his poems are mainly ḡhāḡas of praise or lamentation. Satires (*hiǧā'*) are rare as he had once promised his father never to insult a Muslim (Derenbourg, ii. 791). This of course did not prevent him from mocking officials of Christian origin in epigrams which are quite obscene (*Diwān*, i. 312, 331); in keeping with the taste of his time we frequently find in his *Diwān* pornographic lines (i. 383, 393; ii. 421, No. 343). The form of his poetry follows tradition in matter and composition; only a few *muwašṣḡḡāt* are attributed to him (*Diwān*, i. 388—391; to be added in M. Hartmann, *Das arabische Strophenmaß*, L. Weimar 1897).

Bibliography: *Yaman. Its early medieval history by Najm al-dīn 'Omdrah al-Hakami... The original text, with Translation and Notes by Henry Camille Kay, London 1892* (cf. thereon W. Robertson Smith, *Remarks*, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1893, p. 181—217 and Henry C. Kay, *Observations*, *ibid.*, p. 218—236); *'Omdrah du Yémen, sa vie et son œuvre par Hartwig Derenbourg*, i., *Autobiographie et Récits sur les Vrais d'Égypte. Choix de Poésies*, Paris 1897 (= *P. E. L. O. V.*, ser. iv., vol. x, p. 71); (*Partie arabe*). *Poésies, Épitres, Biographies. Notices en arabe par 'Omdrah et sur 'Omdrah*, Paris 1902; ii. (*Partie française*). *Vie de 'Omdrah du Yémen*, Paris 1904—1909. Never finished after the author's death (= *P. E. L. O. V.*, ser. iv., vol. xi); important Arabic sources are given in the original by Derenbourg, i. 395—399; ii. 491—502, 541—652 (a good many additions can now be made, e.g. al-Yāfi', *Mir'at al-Djānān*, iii., Haidarābād 1338, p. 390—392); F. Wustenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden-Chalifen*, Göttingen 1881, p. 344—347; do., *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke*, Göttingen 1882, p. 90—91, No. 263; P. Casanova, *Les derniers Fatimides*, in *M. I. F. A. O.*, vi., part 3, Cairo 1893, p. 420, 431, 441; Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, i. 333—334; Kh. al-Zurkāt, *al-Aḡāwī*, ii., Cairo 1927, p. 709—710; J. E. Sarkis, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de bibliographie arabe* (Arabic), Cairo [1929], p. 1377—1379. — It is to be hoped that the revival of interest in Ismā'īlī literature will throw further light on 'Omdrah's activity in the last days of the Fatimids. (IGN. KRATSKOWAKY)

OMDURMAN (UMM DURMĀN), a town of the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān situated on the west bank of the main Nile immediately below the junction of the Blue and White Niles. A seven-span steel bridge built in 1925—1928 connects Omdurman with Khartūm [q.v.], and the two towns (together with Khartūm North on the right bank of the Blue Nile) form for practical purposes a single city; but whereas Khartūm as the seat of the government and the centre of foreign commerce has acquired a European character blended of British and Levantine elements, Omdurman remains the focus of native life and of the internal trade of the Sūdān. The inhabitants number some 110,000, of whom the great majority are natives drawn from every part of the country.

The importance of Omdurman is of very recent origin: it started as an insignificant village in the territory of the Fūḡāḡ (a branch of the Lihyanīya tribe) and is first mentioned as the dwelling-place of an ascetic and "holy man", Ḥamad b. Muḥammad generally known as Ḥamad

Walad Umm Maryām, who lived from 1610 to 1730 A.D. (see MacMichael, *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, ii. 277). The site first became important when it was fortified by Gordon for the defence of Khartūm against the Darwish army of Muḥammad Aḥmad [q.v.] who captured it on January 15, 1885, ten days before the fall and sack of Khartūm. Under Muḥammad Aḥmad's successor, the khalifa 'Abdallāhī, Omdurman was the capital of the Mahdist state and the religious centre of the new sect. The Mahdī's tomb, a domed building designed by an Egyptian captive, was erected in the middle of the new settlement which henceforth was known as Buḡ'at al-Mahdī, the [holy] place of the Mahdī, and by the khalifa's ordinance the duty of visiting the tomb was substituted for the orthodox pilgrimage to Mecca. In order to consolidate his personal rule the khalifa induced large numbers of his fellow-tribesmen, the Ta'āḡiḡa and other Baḡḡāra from the western Sūdān, to settle in Omdurman where they could support themselves only through the spoliation of the riverain population; this migration was described as a *hiǧra* in accordance with the Mahdist practice of establishing analogies between the life of Muḥammad Aḥmad and his companions and the early history of Islām. The population of Omdurman was further swelled by the enforced settlement of large numbers of tribesmen from all parts of the country whom the khalifa desired to concentrate at his own headquarters for political or military reasons. The town grew up in a haphazard fashion and, apart from the homes of the khalifa and his principal amīra, consisted of a straggling mass of straw huts covering a length of about six miles from south to north. The khalifa's "mosque" was a vast open space in the centre of the town enclosed by brick walls. For a graphic description of Omdurman under the khalifa's rule see Sir Rudolf von Slatin's *Fire and Sword in the Sudan*.

The reconquest of the Sūdān by the Anglo-Egyptian forces under Sir Herbert (later Lord) Kitchener was completed by the battle of Omdurman on September 2, 1898, the scene of which was near the village of Kerreri a few miles to the north of the town. Under the new administration the town has acquired such modern features as regularly laid-out streets, tramways and electric light. The houses of the well-to-do townspeople and the government buildings are built of brick and stone, but a large part of the town still consists of the rectangular mud buildings which are characteristic of the northern Sūdān, and the life of the busy markets preserves its Oriental and African character. Associated with the principal mosque there is an institution known as *al-maḡhad al-'ilmi*, presided over by a *shaykh al-'ulamā'*, which provides instruction in the traditional subjects of Muslim learning. The khalīs employed in Muslim law courts are however drawn from students of the Gordon College in Khartūm. For secular education Omdurman possesses a government intermediate school and several *kuttāb* (government elementary schools) as well as a number of schools maintained by missionary societies and by private enterprise.

Bibliography: Baedeker, *Egypt and the Sudan*, eighth ed., Leipzig 1929; W. S. Churchill, *The River War*, London 1899; H. A. MacMichael, *History of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge 1922, see index; Rudolf von Slatin Pasha, *Fire and Sword in the Sudan* (first ed., London 1896;

often reprinted); *Report on the Administration, Finances and Condition of the Sudan* (H. M. Stationery Office, London 1925, and annually). (S. HILLELSON)

ORĀMĀR, URMAR. The administrative geography of Turkey speaks sometimes of the *ḥaḍā* of Urmār containing two *nāḥiya*, Dīlulur and Iḥtāzin, with 32 townships and 25,910 inhabitants (cf. Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, II, 756), sometimes of a *nāḥiya* of this name forming part of the *ḥaḍā* of Gawar, in the *sandjak* of Hakkari, in the wilāyet of Wān [q. v.]. We incline rather to the second definition, having visited this district, lost in the middle of Central Kurdistan. Not only has Orāmār not the importance of a *ḥaḍā* but the two *nāḥiya* attributed to it are inhabited exclusively by Nestorians [q. v.] the one, Dīlul, being autonomous while Orāmār is at present at least purely Kurdish and an appanage of the house of Mālā Mīrī, a tribe of Duskani Zhūri and not Heriki (Cuinet, *op. cit.*): a further proof of the inaccuracy of the Turkish statements regarding this part of Kurdistan. The boundaries of Orāmār are on the north Iḥtāzin and Gawar; on the south Rēkān; on the west Dīlul, Bāz and Tkhūma [cf. NESTORIANS] and Artūsh; in the east Sār [cf. SHAMDINĀN]. Orāmār situated at a height of 5,520 feet (cf. Dickson) is a group of hamlets scattered on the two sides of a rocky mountain spur above the Rūhārī Shā. On the spur itself which is called Gaparānī Zhēr, at the place named Gire Būlī, is the capital of the group and the residence of the *aghā*, the Nāw Gund or 'the middle of the town'. A large cemetery occupies the promontory at the end of the spur. The name Gire Būlī which we explain as the 'hill of the idol' seems to indicate the antiquity of the settlement. The fact that the slopes separated by the Gaparān are very carefully cultivated and present a complicated system of little terraces each of which is a field or tiny kitchen garden, leads one to believe that man chose this site for habitation a long time ago, perhaps simply on account of its extreme isolation in the centre of a wild country.

Orography. On the general character of the country see the article NESTORIANS. Orāmār is at east end of the curve traced by the system of the Dīlul Dāgh. According to Dickson, the chains and valleys of Turkish Kurdistan run roughly along the parallels of latitude and take a south-eastern direction as they approach the Persian frontier and at the point where they change their axis form a complicated system of heights and valleys. The most complicated part near the centre of the change of axis in question may be called Harkī-Orāmār.

Road system. Although they are really nothing but tracks used for intertribal communications, it is nevertheless interesting to indicate the directions to connect the routes with the road-system which we have studied at Rawāndīz and Shamdīnān [cf. these articles] which must have played a more prominent part in ancient times. Orāmār is connected with Gawar via Shamsīki, the pass of Baḡtāzin, 'Alī Kūt, Bāzīrgā and Dīzza. It is a road which shows traces of works undertaken at the more dangerous places. To the south the road going through a very narrow defile leads first to Nerwa (cf. below) where it forks: 1. to the west, by the district of Artūsh, via Bīrī-Čī-Tīm and the district of Nirwēi via Willā and Pīrī Hālāna, this last place being

on the left bank of the Great Zāb opposite Suriya on the road from 'Akrā; 2. to the east, by the district of Rēkān, via Bezālī-Sahādja and Awi Marik (water course) to Barān and Bahri Rān on the left bank of the Great Zāb opposite Bīra Kepran, also on the road from Akrā. A third road goes from Nerwa to Nehri, the centre of Shamdīnān, via Raḡa, the heights of Peramīzi (frontier of the three tribes — Rēkānī, Harkī, Duskānī), Deri, defile of Harkī (Shiwa Harkī), Begor, Mazra, Nehri. — It is to be hoped that with the final delimitation of the boundary between Turkey and the 'Irāq, this region will be properly surveyed and mapped and will no longer as at present show so many blanks and inaccuracies on the maps (cf. *Asie Française*, Oct.-Nov. 1926, treaty of delimitation).

Ethnography. The following Kurdish tribes may be mentioned in Orāmār itself and in the vicinity with ramifications inevitable as a result of the Kurd migrations. After the name of each tribe we give in brackets that of the district and the number of households: Duskānī Zhūri (Orāmār, 2,000); Nirwēi (Nerwa, *ḥaḍā* of Amādiya, 800); Dīrī (Gawar and Geli Dīrī, 1,000); Penlānīsh (between Gawar and Dīlulmērk, and the part of the Pīrkhulki, near Baḡtāz, 4,000); Duskānī Zhūri (*ḥaḍā* Dehuk, 2,000); Mīzīrī Zhūri (*ibid.*, 5,000); Berwāri (*ibid.*, 4,000); Guwēi, nomads (wintering at Dehuk; summering at Gawar and Orāmār, 1,400); Čeli (Dīlulmērk, 6,000); Artūshī (summering at Fīrāshīn; wintering at Berīci Zhengār, 6,000); Artūshī (sedentary): Albāk, 1,000; Nurdīzī, 1,000; parts of Artūshī: Gerdan, Mām Khōran, Zhīrki (around Dīlulmērk, 6,000).

History. There are so far as we know no texts mentioning Orāmār except this brief note in the *Mīrāt al-Buldān* (Tīhrān, p. 22): *Urmār bi-damm-i awmal wa-rakūn-i (hānī) iālī at-aghā-i Adharbaīdjan at dar āndāzī ghawī kuthūr bīrdī ghāḡ wa-mudāfā-i Sā'id ibn al-'Aī ghawī shudand Sā'id Dīyar ibn 'Abd Al-lā al-Baḡlālī rā bi ghāḡ-i ān ghawī at mamūr kard wa-Dīyar ān ghawī at rā munhasir wa-sarkhā-i lūhān rā bi dār and.* — We may note here: 1. the reading Urmār which corresponds to the pronunciation of the Highland Nestorians for the first part *Ur* but differs from it in giving an *a* and not an *ā* for the second (in Kurdish the pronunciation is Horāmār with the characteristic aspiration); 2. the qualification al-Baḡlālī which is to be connected with Baḡlī, a Kurd village in the neighbourhood known for its family of Shāikh Baḡlālī; 3. the fact that the date of this event is not indicated. Orāmār however like all this part of Central Kurdistan must have had a rich history full of associations with the history of Christianity in these regions. Here we give a description of the Nestorian church of Mārī Mamū which is in the village of the same name in Orāmār and has not been previously described; Dickson mentions it; as to Cuinet (*op. cit.*, II, 757) he says that 'the 40 Nestorians rays domiciled in Orāmār are entrusted with the care of the two Nestorian churches in the Kurdish town (sic)'. The second church called that of Mār Danīl at Nāw Gund (cf. above) has been turned into a mosque within the memory of the present generation. The Nestorian charm uttered at the sight of a snake in order to escape its bite mentions the two saints: *Mārī Mamū Mār Danīl kīpā 'i-hawā bīk* ('M. M., M. D., the stone on the snake'). For legend says

that the saint Mārī Mamū escaped from martyrdom in the time of Julian the apostate at Caesarea in Cappadocia and took refuge in the mountains where he collected the reptiles and shut them up under a flagstone over which was built the church which bears his name (cf. *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, ed. Bedjan, vi., 1896). The life of the saint however contains no mention of Orāmār or of reptiles but it does attribute to him certain powers over wild animals. The version collected by Dickson seems to differ too much from the life of the saint. Dickson thinks that the church was erected on the site of an Assyrian *iskhurat*. In any case the following is the description of the sanctuary which is guarded by the Nestorian family bearing the title of Serdar Bi Mārī Mamū. Were it not for a very little door adorned in the upper part with a Nestorian cross and two circles within which is the same cross, one would not suppose that the building of rough stone in the form of a parallelepiped was a church. In the semi-darkness of the interior one can see that a quarter of the area is taken up by the sanctuary which is separated from the nave by a wall in which are two doors. Through that on the left one approaches the altar proper represented by a stone over three feet high and about two broad half built into the wall with rounded edges and narrowing towards the top. Above this altar is an embrasure which admits a little light; on the left in the wall is a small niche. From the sanctuary a door through a stone wall leads into another chamber in which there is a primitive baptistry carved out of the rock and a little lower on the same base a hearth (*tanura*) for the preparation of the unleavened bread. In front of this part set aside for the divine offices, there are two pulpits also in stone for the liturgical books and for the Gospels and the cross. The bells are replaced by two metal plates hung from a rod connecting the two walls at the bottom of the vaulting. There are no sacred images. The dimensions of the church are 40 feet long, 17 broad and 16 high. According to the legend, the reptiles shut up beneath the altar would come out if the family of guardians were deprived of their secular privileges. The dust from the walls possesses virtues against the bites of mad dogs, the stings of snakes and scorpions, etc. — We have very little certain information about the Nestorian churches of Kurdistan, some of which, that of Mār Bishū on the Persian frontier (Tergawar), that of Mār Zaiā at Dīlū, that of Mār Sawa at Aghita as well as the ruins at Kučanis must with Mār Mamū go back to a high antiquity between the 14th and 15th centuries, for it is to this period that we are told we must put the coming of the first missionaries, Mār Awgū, Mār Bishū etc. The plan of Mārī Mamū may be compared with that of Mār Bishū given by Herzl (*Kurds and Christians*), while in W. A. Wigram (*The Assyrians and their Neighbours*, London 1929) is a sketch of the interior of the church of Mār Shulthā at Kučanis. In any case there is reason to believe that Orāmār was once inhabited by Christians. A local tradition even suggests that the ancestor of the modern *ʿAḡā*s came long ago into this Christian district and by stratagems and intrigues succeeded in driving out its inhabitants. The toponymy of Orāmār seems to confirm this. The etymology of the name Orāmār itself would also seem to be Aramaic. — We owe to Mgr. Gossin the interpretation of the name as

Ur-ur, "citadel of the master" (cf. *Ur-shalim*). This explanation would be corroborated by the inaccessible character of the region. It would confirm at the same time our supposition that this district was inhabited at a very early date. — There are similar place-names elsewhere in the region: Orā Bishū, one of the slopes of Kiria Tawka (cf. above); Orishū, a village beyond Gelia Nu; Uri, a Nestorian clan; finally Umiya itself.

Bibliography: The only works with which we are acquainted are listed in our joint study with E. B. Soane, *Sute and Tuto, a Kurdish text with transl. and notes*, in *B. S. O. S.*, iii., p. 1. — In the review of the Geographical Society of Paris appeared in 1935 our study on *Le système routier du Kurdistan*, containing besides many geographical details a general view of Orāmār from a rare photograph.

(B. NIKITINE)

ORAN (WAHRĀN), a sea-port town on the coast of Algeria (33° 44' N. Lat.; 0° 39' W. Long.). The anchorage which is protected on the west by the heights of the Aidour, the extreme end of the little range of the Murdjado, and the bay of Mar al-Kabir, 10 miles distant, was probably the *Portus Divini* mentioned in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus. According to the Arab writers however, the town was founded, like a number of other towns on the same coast, by Andalusians: at the beginning of the tenth century (c. 290 A.D.) a band of these émigrés came there under the leadership of two chiefs in the service of the Umayyads of Cordova, Muḥammad b. Abī 'Awn, and Muḥammad b. 'Abdūn who concluded a treaty with the families of the Berber tribe of the *Ardādja* settled in the district.

Seven years after its foundation, Oran, which the agents of the Umayyads had no doubt wished to make a base for the enterprises of their masters, felt the repercussions of the rivalry between the Umayyads and the Fātimids of Kairawān. A body of soldiers sent by the latter and supported by the *Ardādja* Berbers seized the town and burned it. Rebuilt, Oran was placed under the authority of the Fātimid governor of Tiyāret. Throughout the fourth century (tenth A.D.) it was held alternately by the Fātimids and Umayyads and was taken and re-taken and destroyed (notably in 910 and 954) and rebuilt by expeditionary corps or Berber chiefs representing the two rival caliphs. In spite of these vicissitudes, the town enjoyed great economic prosperity as a result of its position on the coast. The geographer Ibn Hawḳal, who visited it in the second half of the tenth century, thought that there was not a more sheltered port in the whole of Barbary. The commercial relations with Spain were considerable. (The town however at this date was under the authority of *ʿAlī* b. *MANĀD* [cf. *ʿAlī*], a vassal of the Fātimids). Large quantities of wheat were exported from it. The country around was well cultivated. The river (Wādī Rehi, now covered over in its passage through the town) served to irrigate the fine gardens.

In the eleventh century, Oran belonged to the Banū Khazir, a branch of the Maghāwīa Zanāṭa who ruled in Tlemcen. It was from them that the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāghfīn took the town when he conquered the Central Maghrib in 473 (1081). 63 years later it was to be the scene of the drama in which Almoravid power met its end.

On Ramadān 27, 539 (March 23, 1145) the second last emir of the dynasty, Tashfin b. 'Alī, defeated near Tlemcen by the Almohads, died there. Three days later the town passed to the Almohads.

Under its new masters the town prospered. Idrisi described it as surrounded by a good wall of earth and possessing well-furnished bazaars. The harbour which was supplemented by that of Mars al-Kabir was within easy reach of Almería. It had a naval arsenal and 'Abd al-Mu'min built ships there.

The part which it played in commerce with Spain became still more important when the 'Abd al-Wadīd [q.v.] replaced the Almohads in the Central Maghrib. Oran was, along with Honain, to the east of the modern Nemours, a port of Tlemcen. The wealth of the capital depended on the possession of these ports and on the safety and liberty of traffic on the roads which led to them. This explains why throughout the 15th century when the Marinids came to besiege Tlemcen, they sent a force against the coasts to try to take Honain and Oran. In 748 (1347) the Marinid Abū 'l-Ḥasan built two forts there.

At the beginning of the 15th century, the Castilians, continuing the work of the Reconquista on the Berber coast, endeavoured to take Oran, which had now become a dangerous centre of piracy. They were only able to take Mars al-Kabir in 1505 and Oran in 1509. On May 17, Pedro Navarro entered the town, massacred 4,000 Muslims and sent off 8,000 prisoners. Cardinal Ximenes who had organised the expedition came in person to take possession of the new conquest. Wishing to develop their success the Spaniards interfered in the quarrels of the last 'Abd al-Wadīd kings of Tlemcen. They gave their support to one of these princes who had lost his throne and this provoked the intervention of 'Arūj [q.v.], the Turkish corsair of Algiers. The latter having been defeated and killed, the 'Abd al-Wadīd Abū 'Abd Allāh was restored to the throne of Tlemcen by the Christians in 1543 and became their vassal. The other expeditions planned from Oran as a base produced little result and were ended by the disastrous expedition of the Count Alcaudete against Mostaganem in 1558. The Spaniards were at Oran, as elsewhere, practically confined within their walls, badly supplied by their Berber allies (los Moros de Paz), exposed to famine, plague and the attacks of the Berbers supported by the Turks; they nevertheless held it till 1708. After a siege of five months, they capitulated and the Bey of Mascara Bū Shalāgham took possession of it in the name of the Dey of Algiers.

At the end of twenty-four years of Turkish rule the Spaniards re-entered the town. The Count of Montemar, having routed the Arabs who held the coast, entered the town which was undefended in 1732. Bū Shalāgham tried in vain to re-take it. At last in 1791 after a terrible earthquake in which almost 2,000 perished and which was followed by an attack by the Bey of Mascara, Muḥammad al-Kabir, the king of Spain Charles VI agreed to surrender Oran to the Dey of Algiers; some 70 or 80 Spanish families remained in it however. The town restored to Islām became the residence of the Bey of the West and remained so till 1830. On Jan. 4, 1831, the French, already masters of Mars al-Kabir, entered Oran.

The town has developed immensely since then.

The population, which was 3,800 in 1831, is now over 166,000. Of this total the Muslims number at least 25,000. They live mainly in the southern quarter known as the "village nègre". Among the Europeans the element of Spanish origin is considerable.

There is little trace of its Muḥammadan past in Oran. The Spanish period has left more, notably the old fortress with its gateway adorned with vigorously carved coats of arms.

Bibliography: Ibn Hawkal, ed. de Goeje (*B. G. A.*, vol. ii.); transl. de Slane, *Description de l'Afrique* (*J. A.*, 1842, vol. i.); Bakri, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1911, p. 70-71; transl. in *J. A.*, 1859, II, 121-123; Idrisi, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, Leyden 1866, p. 84; transl. p. 96-97; R. Basset, *Fastes chronologiques de la ville d'Oran pendant la période arabe*, Paris-Oran 1892; Fey, *Histoire d'Oran avant, pendant et après la domination espagnole*, Oran 1858; Walin-Esterhazy, *Notice historique sur le Maghzen d'Oran*, Paris 1849; Ruff, *La domination espagnole à Oran sous le gouvernement du comte d'Alcaudete, 1554-1558*, Paris 1900; Braudel, *Les Espagnols en Algérie, in Histoire et géographie de l'Algérie*, Paris 1931. (G. MARCANGI)

ORFA (Greek Edessa, Syr. Orhāi, Armen. Uthay, Ar. al-Ruhā), an important town in Diyār Muḍar, the ancient Osrhoëne.

The origin of the town, which must have existed before the Macedonian conquest, is lost in obscurity. Repeated attempts to prove the existence of the name in Assyrian times (E. Honigsmann, *Orfa hellinisch-römisch nachweisbar*), in *Z. A. N. F.*, v, 1930, p. 301 sq.) have so far failed. The original name was probably 'Oppa which has survived in that of the spring Καλλιόπη, which lay below the walls of the town, and in that of the district of Osrhoëne (cf. 'Oppa in Isid. Charac., I, ed. Müller, in *G. G. M.*, I, 246; 'Oppou, Steph. Byz., s. Bérrois; *Arabis Ores*, Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, v, 85; vi, 25, 129; in inscriptions *Orrheni*, *C. I. L.*, vi, 1797; their land was called in Syriac *Bittā Orhāy*: Cureton, *Spicil. Syr.*, p. 20). A derivation of the Syriac Orhāi from the Arabic *Wurhāt* (a *fa'fai*-form from *wariha*, "rich in water") as proposed by Markwart (in *E. Herzfeld*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxviii, 1914, p. 665 sq.) can hardly be accepted; as little probable is that from Orhāi, the alleged first ruler and eponym of the town.

Edessa was refounded by Seleucus I on the site of an older settlement (Euseb.-Hieron., *Chron.*, ed. Helm, p. 127) and renamed by Antiochos IV 'Αντιόχεια ἡ καλλιόπη (Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, v, 86: "... Edessam quae quondam Antiochia dicebatur, Callirhoea a fonte nominatam; coins in Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, ciii.; Head, *Histor. num.*, 2, p. 814 and Hill, *Greek Coins of Arabia in the British Museum*, London 1922, p. cxiv-cviii and 91-119). It received its Hellenistic name very probably from that of the capital of Macedonia (the ancient Aigai, now Vodena) and the wealth of water may have contributed to the choice of the name (Steph. Byz.: "Εδεσσα, πόλις Συρίας, διὰ τὴν τὴν ἑσάταν ῥοήν οὖσα καλεῖται ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Νόδισκου, *Hermes*, v, 459, wished to emend οὖσα to Ὀρ-ῶν, but cf. *Edessa* from *ēdu* = *ēdu*, *ēdu*, from which Vodena is derived: G. Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen*, Göttingen 1906, p. 257; J. Marquart, *loc. cit.*, p. 665 sq.; W. Tomaschek, in *S. B. Ak. Wien.*

xxxx, 1893, treatise II, p. 5). According to Malalas, the town was also called 'Αντιόχεια ἡ καὶ ἑσπέρησις (p. 418 sq., ed. Bonn).

In the pre-Christian period Edessa, like Harrān, was the centre of a planet-cult. Edessenes called Venus "Bath Nikkal" (*Doctrina Addai*, p. 24), i.e. "the daughter of Ningal" (G. Hoffmann, in *Z. A.*, xi, 1896, p. 258—260, § 11; Winckworth, in *Journal of Theol. Stud.*, xxv, 402).

Before the foundation of the Osrhoëne kingdom, the town seems to have been an unimportant place under the Seleucids (to 139 B.C.). Its earlier history is quite unknown. The kings of Osrhoëne, whom the Romans regarded as Arabs (Tacit., *Ann.*, xii, 12, 14; Plin., *Nat. Hist.*, v, 85: *Arabum Osrhoënon*), bore Nabataean (Ma'nū, Bakrū, 'Abdū, Sahrū, Gebar'ū, Aryū), Arab (Abgar, Ma'ūr, Wā'il) or Parthian (Phradasht, Pharnataspat or Parthamaspatēs) names. From the end of the first century A.D. the dynasty was closely related by inter-marriage to that of Adiabene (Duval, *Hist. d'Édessa*, p. 27 sq.) which then ruled Nisibis also (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xx, 68).

The names and chronology of the kings or, as the Greeks called them, toparchs or phylarchs of Edessa (Osrhoëne) are known from the "Edessene Chronicle" (composed about 540 A.D.) and the "Chronicle of Zuqnān" (near Amid; preserved in the same Cod. Vat. Syr. 162) written about 775 A.D. According to the "Edessene Chronicle", the dynasty ruled for 352 years, and began in 133—132 B.C. with Orhāl bar Hewyā but according to v. Gutschmid, rather with Aryū (*Doctr. Addai*, ed. Phillips, p. 47), whose name is not to be regarded as Iranian (v. Gutschmid, in *Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des Scienc. de St. Pétersb.*, series vii, xxxv, 1887, p. 19), but as Semitic ("Lion") (Duval, *Hist. d'Édessa*, p. 26 sq.).

The list of toparchs which has been corrected by von Gutschmid from historical references and coins is as follows: they were under Parthian suzerainty at first (down to 87 B.C.):

Aryū (132—127 B.C.); 'Abdū bar Ma'ūr (127—120); Phradasht bar Gebar'ū (120—115); Bakrū I bar Phradasht (115—112); Bakrū II bar Bakrū (alone 112—94; together with Ma'nū I 94; with Abgar I Pekkā 94—92); Abgar I (alone 92—68), in whose reign the kingdom passed for a short time to Tigranes of Armenia; Abgar II (Ariamnes?) bar Abgar, of the family of Ma'ūr, hence in Florus III, 11, and Ruf. Fest., *Brev.*, 17; Mazorus, Mazzares etc. (68—53), who entered into friendly relations with Rome about 65—64. After the battle of Carthage there was an interregnum of one year (53—52). Ma'nū II Allāhā (Theos, 52—34); Pakuri (34—29); Abgar III (29—26); Abgar IV Sumākā (26—23); Ma'nū III Saphlū (23—4 B.C.); Abgar V Ukkāmā (4 B.C.—7 A.D.); Ma'nū IV bar Ma'nū (7—13 A.D.); Cumont found in the citadel of Biredjik an epitaph in Syriac of 6 A.D. (?) of Zartān, commandant of Bithā and governor for the toparch Ma'nū bar Ma'nū (Kugener, in *R.S.O.*, I, 1908, p. 387; Cumont, *Études syriennes*, Paris 1917, p. 144); Abgar V Ukkāmā (for the second time: 13—50); Ma'nū V bar Abgar (50—57); Ma'nū VI bar Abgar (57—71); Abgar VI bar Ma'nū (71—91), under whom the Senator Ma'nū bar Ma'nū had a sepulchral tower built for himself in Berrin on the Euphrates (H. Moritz, *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, ed. Oppenheim, Leipzig 1913, p. 163 sq.); interregnum of

18 years (91—109; rule of Sanatruces of Adiabene, nephew of Abgar, over Edessa?); Abgar VII bar Izat (109—116).

After the great rebellion of 116 the town was taken by Lucius Quietus and burned. There followed a brief interregnum under Roman rule (116—118). Ilur (or Yalud) and Pharnataspat (118—122), then Pharnataspat alone (122—123); Ma'nū VII bar Izat (123—139); Ma'nū VIII bar Ma'nū (139—163). In the Parthian war of Lucius Verus, Edessa was besieged by the Romans in 163—164 and surrendered to them after the murder of the Parthian garrison. During the war the ruler was Wā'il bar Sahrū (163—165). After the conclusion of peace (165) Edessa passed under Roman protection; Abgar VIII (165—167); Ma'nū VIII Φαρνασπατης (for the second time 167—179); Abgar IX bar Ma'nū (on coins: Α. ΑΙΛΙΑΣ ΣΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΥ ΜΕΤΩΣ ΑΒΓΑΡΟΣ; 179—214), under whom occurred the first great inundation of Edessa (Nov. 201) which destroyed his palace; a winter palace was thereupon built in the Tēbārā quarter. The official account of the catastrophe and of the measures taken by the king is preserved in the "Edessene Chronicle" from documents in the royal archives. Abgar was in Rome perhaps in 202 where he was received with all honour by Septimius Severus. Christianity is said to have been made the state religion in his time (which has however not been proved: Gompertz, *Archäol.-epigraph. Mitt. aus Osterr.-Ungarn*, six, 154—157); according to legend Abgar V Ukkāmā had become a Christian in the year 29 or 32 (R. A. Lipsius, *Die edessische Abgarische kritisch untersucht*, Brunswick 1880). A friend of Abgar IX was the Christian scholar Bardaisān (Βαρδαισάνης, 154—222 A.D.); Sex. Julius Africanus is also said to have spent some time at his court (Ps.-Moses Khoren., *Hist.*, ii, 10). The cult of Tharathā was exterminated by Abgar IX with great rigour. Abgar then ruled along with Severus Abgar X bar Abgar as co-ruler (214—216); both were put in chains by the emperor Antoninus Caracalla in 216. The emperor spent the winter in Edessa which was now created a Roman *colonia* and on Apr. 8, 217 he was murdered on his way from there to Caesarea.

After the fall of the kingdom of Edessa, according to the "Chronicle of Zuqnān", Ma'nū IX bar Abgar ruled for another 26 years (216—242); but he probably lived during this time in Rome and was only nominal ruler.

When the Sāsānians Ardashtir and Shāhpuhr I disputed Osrhoëne with the Romans, Gordian III again set up a member of the old family as king in Edessa. According to the coins, Abgar XI Phrabates reigned from 242—244; he was probably a son of (Antoninus) Ma'nū. Returning to Rome, he erected a tombstone there to his wife Hoddā with inscription (*C. I. L.*, vi, 1797).

After the royal house had adopted Christianity, Edessa became along with Adiabene the centre of literary activity in Syriac (east Aram.) (cf. Duval, *Hist. d'Édessa*, p. 107 sq. and the histories of Syriac literature by Wright, Duval and Baumstark).

Edessa became a Roman city from the time of Gordian (244); after his death, it is true, Philip the Arabian handed over Mesopotamia as far as the Euphrates to the Parthians; but the Roman garrisons remained in the country (Mommson, *R.G.*, v, 422). Shāhpuhr I besieged Edessa in 260, and the emperor Valerian was taken prisoner by the Persians not far from here about this time. The

town then belonged for a time (till 373) to the kingdom of Palmyra under Odainath and Zenobia.

After the peace of 363 Aphrem (Ephraim; d. June 9, 373) of Nisibis moved to Edessa and founded there the "Persian school"; the emperor Valens banished the Orthodox from Edessa as Arians in Sept. 373 and they only returned after his death in 378. The monasteries on the sacred hill at Edessa were plundered by the Huns in 396 and Aphrem's nephew 'Abanuyā composed laments upon this.

It is only from the beginning of the third century that we know the names of bishops of the town; these begin with Pāllū (c. 200) and among them are Rabbūllā, the enemy of the Nestorians (411–435), his opponent and successor Hībā (435–457) and in the sixth century the founder of the Severian "Jacobites", James Baradaïos (Ya'kōb Bārde'ānā, d. 578), but later persecutions of the Christians led to the martyrdoms, much embellished by legend, of the "Edessa professors" Šarbil and Baranuyā (250 A.D.), Šhemōnā, Gīryā, and Habbīb (309–310). The legend of the "man of God from the city of Rome" (St. Alexius) is put in the period of Rabbūllā.

Edessa became the capital and ecclesiastical metropolis of the eparchy of Osrhoēne. There were seven bishoprics under it in 451: Μακεδόνας (Syriac Hikkā de-Saiyādā, "temple of the hunter"), Kāllā (Harrān), Kīrānā, Bēṭā (now Bīrēdjik), Kallānūs, Κωνσταντῖν (Tellē, Tellē de-Mawcēlāib), and that of the Tāiyāyē (Schulthess, in *Abd. G. W. Geir.*, N.S., x, 1908, No. 2, p. 134). Later were added Bāṭnā (Sarrūj), Tēlīmāhīrē, 'Hīmarīā (Syr. Imērtā), Δαύσα (Arab. Kal'at Dī'a-bar', Nā' Oslānīnīā and Marāṭī (Syr. Ma'rāṭhā; cf. *B. Z.*, xiv, 1924, p. 73 sq., 77 sq.).

The emperor Zeno in 489 finally closed the "school of the Persians" after the Nestorians had already with their leader Narsai been driven out of Edessa in 457 (Baumstark, *Gesch. d. syr. Lit.*, p. 104, note 12, p. 109, note 10).

The war with the Persians (502–506) in the reign of Anastasius is described in the Syriac chronicle by an Edessene, the author of which is wrongly said to be Joshua (Ishō') Stylites. After Amida had fallen in 503, Kāwāḥ besieged Edessa but could not take it (Procopius, *Bell. Pers.*, ii, 13). The undisciplined Gothic troops, who were to defend it, plundered it like enemies and practically the whole of Osrhoēne was depopulated. After the fourth inundation of the town (525 A.D.; see below) the emperor Justin I restored it and gave it the name of Ἰουστινιανούπολις (Malalaa, ed. Bonn, p. 419; Euagrius, *Hist. eccl.*, iv, 8; Hallier's quite unfounded doubts, *Texte u. Unters.*, ix/i, 130, are repeated by Ed. Meyer, *R. E.*, s. v. *Edessa*, No. 2, etc.). Khusrāw I in May 540 on his way back from Syria encamped in front of the city but retired on receiving 200 pounds of gold (*Chr. of Edessa*, ch. 105; Nöldeke, *Fabari*, p. 239). His stubborn siege in 544 proved without success. According to a late legend, the wondrous powers of the *skēnē ēxurōpōlītes*, which were rediscovered at this time, saved the city from the enemy.

In the sixth century the whole of Syria and Mesopotamia was won for the Monophysites. In Edessa Stephanos bar Sudālī, who, influenced by Origen, preached a pantheistic doctrine, found many followers. In 580 Hormizd IV sent the general

Adharmahan against the Byzantines but he retreated after a three days' siege of Edessa. Khusrāw II who had been previously in Edessa on his flight to Mauritius, conquered the town in 609 (*Chron. Pesh.*, ed. Bonn, p. 699; Cedren., ed. Bonn, i, 714; Theoph. contin., ed. Bonn, p. 432) after it had previously gone over to him for a time under the Byzantine general Narses, and deported a large number of Jacobites to Khūrsān and Sijdīstān (Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, ii, 125). After his victories over Persia, Heraclius in 628 restored orthodoxy in Edessa, and banished the prominent Jacobite families.

On the topography of the town Syriac and Greek authors supply us with a good deal of information. Edessa lay at the intersection of the road from Samosata (Samūt) to Carrhae (Harrān) with the great trade route between east and west from the Euphrates at Zeugma-Balkis and Bīrthā-Bīrēdjik via Mārdīn and Nāshlīs to the Tigris. The *Antonine Itinerary* knows (p. 184–192) two roads from Germaniceia via Zeugma, one from there via Samosata and one from Callicome to Edessa. The town lay in a hollow surrounded on three sides by mountains and open on the southeast on the river *Σαῦρος* (Syr. *Daipān*, "the Leaper"), the modern Kara Koyūn or Nahr el-Kut. This river which with the Djulāb flows into the Balikh, in the past, according to the *Edessene Chronicle*, four times inundated the town and wrought great havoc (in Nov. 201, May 303, March 18, 413 and April 22, 525) until the emperor Justinian had a canal dug to drain off the flood water north of the town (Procopius, *De aed.*, ii, 7, 1 sq.; *Anecd.*, 18, 38). We hear again in 668 and 743 of floods however (*Theoph. Chron.*, ed. de Boor, p. 537; *Chronicle of Zuḥmīn*, under the year 743). The town was surrounded by a double wall. This enclosed on the southwest the citadel which stood on a spur of the Nimrūd-Dāgh and was overshadowed by this mountain; Justinian therefore had its walls strengthened on this side. At the western end of the citadel are two columns one of which, according to its inscription, was put up by queen Shalmat, the daughter of Ma'nā (Sachaa, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxxvi, 153 sq.). On a large open place in the citadel called Bēth Tēbārā, Abgar IX after the inundation of 201 had a winter palace built (cf. above) and the aristocracy of the town moved their quarters to the adjoining upper market called Bēth Sabrīyē. There was also a large altar there which was still standing in Christian times, and probably also the royal archives (*ἀρχαῖον*; Bēth 'Udhīnā). Below the citadel there were two ponds inside the town. The larger fed by a spring, the fish in which were considered sacred like those in the lake of Bambyke (Manbidj), corresponded to the old spring *Καλλήϊς*, the modern Birket Ibrāhīm. South of it lay the smaller pond 'Ain Zīlka. In the town stood the council house (*βουλευτήριον*), a gallery built in 497 (*περίπατος*), several public baths (*θυεῖαι*), a theatre, a hospital and the hippodrome. The six gates were called: the Gate of Bēth Shemesh and the Gate of Barlāhā (*Βαράσθ πύλαι*; Procop., *Bell. Pers.*, ii, 27, 44) in the north, the Gate of the Caves which led to the catacombs in the west, the Gate of the Hours (Shā'a, probably the *Ταῦρος πύλαι* of Procopius, *Bell. Pers.*, loc. cit.; cf. Duval, *Hist. d'Édessa*, p. 207, note 1) in the southwest, the Great Gate in the south and the Gate of the Theatre in the east (Duval, p. 24).

At a later date, the Arabs only mention four gates: that of Harrān, the Great Gate, the Gate of Sab'a and the Water Gate. The "Old Church" several times destroyed by floods stood near the "Tetrapylon" and the square of Bāth-Shabūa (Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, i. 359). The Syrian authors mention many other churches within and without the town (Duval, *loc. cit.*, p. 16 sq.; Baumstark, in *O. C.*, iv. 164-183).

In the Nimrūd-Dagh west of the town caves were hewn out of the rock in very early times; there also were the mausoleums of the kings, that of the bishop Abbelānū bar Abgar and, 2½ hours from the town, that of Amathēhemesh ('Amarēdun), wife of Sāgeles, son of Māwe. Numerous anchorites had their cells in the "sacred mountain" and many monks their monasteries on it. It is probably τὰ Ἐράβια (read Ἐράβια "Cross Hill" as at Antioch) upon which the monk Aswānā ('Asān) had his visions (Philoxenus, *Letter to Patricius*, under the wrong title: Ishāq of Niniveh, *Letter to Symeon from Qapuzari* spec. in *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, ed. Angelo Mai, viii., Rome 1871, p. 186, ch. 39; cf. Baumstark, *Gesch. d. syr. Lit.*, p. 29, 142, note 10; 225, note 2). Another hill was called in the Christian period Rāmāthā de-Bāth Alāhā Kīlā (Symeon Metaphrastes, *Migne, Patr. Græc.*, cxvi., col. 141: Ῥαμαθὰ δὲ Βαθ Ἀλά Κίλα). In the vicinity of Edessa were the villages of Bokhān, Serrin, Kubō and Kefar Selem or Neghath. Two aqueducts restored in the year 505 brought down from Tell Zīmā and Mawdāh supplied the town with spring water (Ps.-Joshua Stylites, col. 59 sq., 62, 87). The position of these villages and of the buildings in Edessa can as a rule no longer be ascertained exactly (plans of ancient Edessa: by G. Hoffmann, who corrected the old sketches by Carsten Niebuhr [1780] in Wright, *Chron. of Joshua Stylites*, 1882; better in F. C. Burkitt, *Euphrates and the Geth*, London 1913, p. 46).

Abū 'Ubayda in 637 sent 'Iyāḡ b. 'Uḡnam to al-Djazīra. After the Greek governor Joannes Kateas, who had endeavoured to save Osrhoene by paying tribute, had been dismissed by the emperor Heraclius and the general Ptolemaios put in his place, al-Ruhā (Edessa) had to surrender in 639 like the other towns of Mesopotamia (al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 172-175; Ibn al-Aṭhir, ed. Törnberg, ii. 414-417; Yāqūt, s. v. al-Djazīra; Khwārizmī, ed. Baethgen, *Fragmente syr. u. arab. Historiker*, Leipzig 1884, p. 16, 110 = *Abh. K. M.*, viii., No. 3; Theophanes, ed. de Boor, p. 517, 521). The town now lost its political and very soon also its religious significance and sank to the level of a second rate provincial town. Its last bishop of note, Jacob of Edessa, spent only four years (684-687) and a later period again of four months in his office (708). The Maronite Theophilos of Edessa (d. 785) wrote a "Chronicle of the World" and translated into Syrian the "two Books of Homer about Ilion".

Al-Ruhā, like al-Raqqa, Harrān and Karkisiya, is usually reckoned to Diyār Mudar (Ibn al-Aṭhir, viii. 218; al-Yāqūt, i. 177; M. Hartmann, *Beiträge*, p. 88, note 2 and 3 = *M. V. A. G.*, 1897, i. 28). In 67 (686-687) al-Ruhā, Harrān and Sumaiṣ formed the wilāyat, which Ibrāhīm b. al-Aṣṭar granted to Hātim b. al-Na'mān (Ibn al-Aṭhir, iv. 218).

The "old church" of the Christians was destroyed by two earthquakes (April 3, 679 and 718). In 717 a Greek named Baghr appeared in Harrān

and gave himself out to be "Tiberias the son of Constantine"; he was believed at first but was later exposed and executed in al-Ruhā (Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 119). In 133 (750-751) the town was the scene of fighting between Abū Dja'far, afterwards the caliph al-Manṣūr, and the followers of the Umayyads, Ishāq b. Muslim al-Uḡaili and his brother Bakkar, who only gave in after the death of Marwān (Ibn al-Aṭhir, v. 333 sq.). But continual revolts broke out again in al-Djazīra (Ibn al-Aṭhir, v. 370 sq.); in the reign of al-Manṣūr, for example, the governor of al-Ruhā of the same name, the builder of Hīṣa Manṣūr, was executed in al-Raqqa in 141 (758-759) (al-Balādhuri, p. 192). When Hārūn al-Rashīd passed through al-Ruhā, an attempt was made to cast suspicion upon the Christians and it was said that the Byzantine emperor used to come to the city every year secretly in order to pray in their churches; but the caliph saw that these were slanders. The Gūmayyē (from al-Djūma, the valley of 'Afrin in Syria), who, with the Telmahrayē and Ruṣāfiyē, were one of the leading families of al-Ruhā, suffered a good deal however from his covetousness (Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, p. 130). In 812 the Christians were only able to save the unprotected town from being plundered by the rebels Naṣr b. Shabath and 'Amr by paying 5,000 dir̄; Abū Shāikh therefore fortified al-Ruhā at the expense of the citizens (Barhebraeus, p. 136 sq.). At the beginning of his reign al-Ma'mūn sent his general Tāhir to al-Ruhā, where his Persian soldiers were besieged by the two rebels, but offered a successful resistance supported by the inhabitants among whom was Mār Dionysios of Telmahrayē (Barhebraeus, p. 139). Tāhir, who himself had fled from his mutinous soldiers to Kallinikos, won the rebels over to his side and made 'Abd al-A'la governor of al-Ruhā; he oppressed the town very much (Barhebraeus, p. 139 sq.). Muḥammad b. Tāhir who governed al-Djazīra in 825 persecuted the Christians in al-Ruhā as did the governors under al-Mu'taṣim and his successors.

In 331 (942-943) the Byzantines occupied Diyār Bakr, Arran, Dārā and Rās 'Ain, advanced on Naṣbīn and demanded from the people of al-Ruhā the holy picture of Christ called *ἡ εἰκόνα τοῦ Χριστοῦ* (al-*ḥimat al-Manṣūf*); with the approval of the caliph al-Muttaṣi it was handed over in return for the release of 200 Muslim prisoners and the promise to leave the town undisturbed in future (Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī, ed. Kračkovskij-Vasil'ev, in *Patrol. Orient.*, xviii. 730-732; Thabit b. Sinān, ed. Baethgen, *op. cit.*, p. 90, 145). The picture reached Constantinople on Aug. 15, 944 where it was brought with great ceremony into the Church of St. Sophia and the imperial palace (cf. in addition to Yahyā, *loc. cit.*; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, ii. 331; Ibn al-Aṭhir, viii. 302 and an occasion ascribed to Constantine Porphyrogenetos on the *ἡ εἰκόνα τοῦ Χριστοῦ* or *De imagine Ederena*, ed. Migne, *Patrol. Græc.*, cxiii., col. 432, better ed. v. Dobechütz, *Christusbilder*, in *Texte u. Untersuch.*, xviii.). But by 338 (949-950) this treaty was broken by Saif al-Dawla who together with the inhabitants of al-Ruhā made a raid on al-Maṣṣīṣ (Yahyā, *op. cit.*, p. 732). Under the Domestikos Leon the Byzantines in 348 (959-960) entered Diyār Bakr and advanced on al-Ruhā (Ibn al-Aṭhir, viii. 393). The emperor Nicephoros Phocas towards the end of 357 (967-

968) advanced on Diyār Muḍar, Maiyāfīrīn and Kafartūn (Vahyā, p. 815). According to Ibn al-Athīr (viii. 454 *infra*), al-Ruhā was burned to the ground in Muḥarram 361 (Oct.-Nov. 971) and troops left in al-Djazīra. One should rather read Muḥarram 362 and take the reference to be to the campaign of John Tzimisce, unless there is a confusion between Edessa and Emesa (Him) which was burned in 969 (Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, p. 190).

Ibn Hawkal in 978 refers to over 300 churches in al-Ruhā and al-Maḥdīst reckons the cathedral, the ceilings of which were richly decorated with mosaics, among the four wonders of the world.

Down to 416 (1025-1026) the town belonged to the chief of the Banū Numair, 'Uṭair. The latter installed Aḥmad b. Muḥammad as *nā'ib* there but afterwards had him assassinated. The inhabitants thereupon rebelled and offered the town to Naṣr al-Dawla the Marwanid of Diyārbakr (Greek *Ἀνταρκαδίας*), who had it occupied by Zangī. After the murder of 'Uṭair and the death of Zangī (418 = 1027), Naṣr al-Dawla gave 'Uṭair's son one tower of al-Ruhā and another to Shabāl's son (Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 244). The former (according to others a Turk Salmān, *Σαλμανός*), appointed governor, who was hard pressed by 'Uṭair's widow) then sold the fortress for 20,000 daries and four villages to the Byzantine Protopatharios Georgios Maniakes, son of Gudelios, who lived in Samosata; he appeared suddenly one night and occupied three towers. After a vain attempt by the emir of Maiyāfīrīn to drive him out again in which the town, which was still inhabited by many Christians, was sacked and burned (winter of 1030-1031), Maniakes again occupied the citadel and the town (Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 281*ff.*; Michael Syrus, ed. Chabot, iii. 147; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, p. 214; Aristakēs Lastivertzi, c. 7, p. 24 *ff.*; Matt'os Uthayec'i, ed. 1898, c. 43, p. 58-62 = transl. Dulaurier, p. 46-49; Kedren-Skylitzes, ed. Bonn, ii. 500; the accounts of the events preceding the surrender differ very much). Edessa under Maniakes seems to have enjoyed a certain amount of independence from Byzantium, as he sent an annual tribute thither (Kedren-Skylitzes, p. 502).

In Rajab 427 (May 1036) the Patrikios of Edessa became a prisoner of the Numairi Ibn Waṭṭḥāb and his many allies; the town was plundered but the fortress remained in the hands of the Greek garrison (Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 305; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, p. 217). By the peace of 1037 the emperor again received complete possession of Edessa which was refortified (Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 313; Barhebraeus, p. 221).

According to the Armenian sources, Maniakes was followed by Apukap or *Διον Δανδραππος*, then by the Iberian *Βασίλειος* as strategos of Edessa; in 1059 *Ἰσίδωρος ὁ Δανδορτζης* was Katapano of the town. In 1065-1066 and 1066-1067 the Turks under the Khurāsān-Sālār attacked the town and Alp Arslān besieged it for fifty days in 1070; it was defended by Wasil (son of the Bulgar king Alōslan?). After the victory of Manzikert Edessa was to be handed over to the sultan but the defeated emperor Romanos Diogenes had no longer any authority over it, and its Kapetano Paulos went to his successor in Constantinople (Skylitzes, ed. Bonn, p. 702). In 1081-1082 Edessa was again besieged by an emir named Khusrav in vain. After the death of Wasil the Armenian Smbat

became lord of Edessa and six months later (Sept. 23, 1083) Philaretos Brachamios succeeded him. But he lost it in 1086-1087 when in his absence his deputy was murdered and the town handed over to Sulṭān Malikshāh. The latter appointed the emir Buṣṭā governor of al-Ruhā and Harrān. When the latter had fallen in 1094 fighting against Tutush, Alpyārūk, general of the sultan of Dimashk and Halab, occupied the town but it was not plundered by his army as he was poisoned by a Greek dancing-girl called Galt. Then the Armenian Kuropalates T'oros (Theodoros), son of Het'um, took the citadel. When in 1097-1098 Count Baldwin captured Tell Bāshir T'oros asked him to come to al-Ruhā to assist him against their joint enemies and received him with joy but was shortly afterwards treacherously murdered by him (Matt'os of Edessa, ed. 1898, p. 260-262 = transl. Dulaurier, p. 218-221; *Anonym. Syriac Chronicle of 1203-1204* in Chabot, *C. S. C. O., Acad. Inscr. Lettr.*, 1918, p. 431 *ff.*).

From 1098 the Latins ruled for half a century the "county of Edessa" to which also belonged Sumaiṣāt and Sarūdj (1098 Baldwin I; 1100 Baldwin II; 1119 Joscelin I; 1131 Joscelin II). The town suffered a great deal under them. On Dec. 23, 1144 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī of al-Mawṣil took it (a detailed description of these events in the *Anonymus Syriac Chronicle of 1203-1204*, ed. Chabot, in *C. S. C. O.*, series iii., vol. xv., p. 118-126; transl. Chabot, *Une épique de l'histoire des Croisés*, in *Mélanges Schlumberger*, i., Paris 1924, p. 171-179). Under Joscelin II and Baldwin of Kaisūm the Franks again attempted to retake the town in Oct. 1046 and succeeded in entering it by night, but six days later Nūr al-Dīn appeared with 10,000 Turks, and soon occupied and sacked it; the inhabitants were put to death or carried into slavery. Baldwin was killed and Joscelin escaped to Sumaiṣāt (Barhebraeus, p. 311 *ff.*). The fall of this eastern bulwark of the Crusaders aroused horror everywhere; in Europe it led to the Second Crusade. The Syrian Dionysios bar Salibi as Diaconus wrote an "oration" and two poetic *mishā* about the destruction of the town. Three similar pieces were written by Basilios Abu 'I-Faraj b. Shammānā, the favourite of Zangī; he had also written a history of the town of Orhāi (Baumstark, *Geogr. d. syr. Lit.*, p. 293, 298).

After the death of Nūr al-Dīn his nephew Saif al-Dīn Ghāzi took the town in 1174; in 1182 it fell to Saladin who later handed it over to al-Malik al-Manṣūr. When Malik al-Adil died in 1218, his son Malik al-Ashraf Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsā became lord of al-Ruhā, Harrān and Khilāt. In June 1234 the town was taken by the army of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kāikubād and its inhabitants deported to Asia Minor (Kāmil al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, in *R.O.L.*, v. 88; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, p. 468). But it was retaken within four months by Malik al-Kīmīl. In 1244 the Tatars passed through the district of al-Ruhā and in 1260 the Mongols under Hūlgū. The people of al-Ruhā and Harrān surrendered voluntarily to him but those of Sarūdj were all put to death (Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, p. 509; *Chron. arab.*, ed. Bairūt, p. 486).

In the time of Abu 'I-Fidā' al-Ruhā was in ruins. Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfi about 1340 could still see isolated ruins of the main buildings. According to al-Kāfīshandī, the town had been

rebuilt by his time (c. 1400) and repopulated and was in a prosperous state. In connection with the campaigns of Timur, who conquered al-Djazira in 1393, al-Ruha is repeatedly mentioned in the *Zafar-nāma* of Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yāsīdī (written in 828 = 1425).

The Ottomans finally took the town, to which they gave the name of Orfa, in 1637 during Murād IV's war with Persia.

To-day Orfa (Urfa) has nearly 30,000 inhabitants. It is the capital of a wilāyat of the same name numbering a little more than 200,000 souls. The town is 550 m. above sea-level.

Bibliography: al-Khwārizmī, *Kitāb Sūrat al-Ard*, ed. v. Mīlik, in *Bibl. arab. Hist. u. Geogr.*, III, Leipzig 1926, p. 21 (N^o. 294); Suhrah, *Kitāb 'Adjā'ib al-Akālīm al-sa'ā'a*, ed. von Mīlik, *ibid.*, 1930, v. 32 (N^o. 302); al-Bat-tūnī, *al-Zīj al-Sibt*, ed. Nallino, in *Publicac. del R. Osservatorio di Brera in Milano*, N^o. 21, II, 41; III, 238 (N^o. 153); al-Iṣṣakhrī, *B. G. A.*, I, 76; Ibn Hawkal, *B. G. A.*, II, 154; al-Makdīnī, *B. G. A.*, III, 141, 147; Ibn Khurādībīh, *B. G. A.*, VI, 73, 96, 161; Kūḍāma, *ibid.*, p. 215, 229, 246; al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, *B. G. A.*, VIII, 144; Ibn Djaubār, ed. Wright, p. 246; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, II, 331, 531, 876; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḥwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinand, p. 277; transl. Guyard, II, 52; Hamīd Allāh al-Mustaẓfī, *Nuḥdat al-Kūḍān*, Bombay, p. 166; Khālīl al-Zāhirī, *Zuhdat Kaḥf al-Ma-mūlik*, ed. Ravaisse, p. 31; Kalkashandī, *Sudḥ al-A'ibā*, ed. Cairo, IV, 139; Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yāsīdī, Calcutta 1887, I, 662; Ḥajjājī Khālīfā, *Djāhān-Nūma*, Stambul, p. 443; E. Sachau, *Edessenische Inschriften*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1882, XXXVI, 142 sqq., 158; do., *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, p. 195 sqq.; A. v. Gutschmid, *Untersuchungen über die Geschichte des Königreichs Osroene*, in *Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de St. Pétersb.*, ser. VIII, XXXV, N^o. 1, 1887; Tixeront, *Les Origines de l'Eglise d'Édesse et la légende d'Abgar*, Paris 1888; J. P. Martin, *Les Origines de l'Eglise d'Édesse et des églises syriennes*, Paris 1889; R. Duval, *Histoire politique, religieuse et littéraire d'Édesse jusqu'à la première croisade*, Paris 1892 (reprint from *J. A.*, 1891—1892); L. Hallier, *Untersuchungen über die Edessenische Chronik*, Leipzig 1892, in *Texte und Untersuchungen zur altchristl. Lit.*, IX, 1; E. v. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, Leipzig 1899, in *Texte und Untersuchungen zur altchristl. Lit.*, XVIII; Ed. Meyer, art. *Edessa*, in Pauly-Wissowa's *R. E.*, V, col. 1933—1938; R. A. Lipsius, *Die edessenischen Abgarage kritisch untersucht*, Braunschweig 1880; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905 (repr. 1930), p. 103 sq.; J. B. Chabot, *Edesse pendant la première croisade*, in *C. R. Acad. Inscr. Lett.*, 1918, p. 431—442; F. C. Burkitt, *Euphrates and the Gath with the Acts of martyrdom of the Confessors of Edessa*, ed. and exam., London 1919; J. Laurent, *Des Grecs aux Croisés: étude sur l'histoire d'Édesse entre 1071 et 1098*, in *Byzantion*, 1924, I, 367—369; M. Canard, *Soyf al-Daula; recueil de textes relatifs à l'émir Soyf al-Daula le Hamdanide*, Algiers-Paris 1934, p. 53, 54, note 3, 79—81 (*Bibliotheca Arabica*, publ. by the Faculté des Lettres d'Alger, VIII.) (E. HUYGHEMANN)

ORIHUELA, Arab. *Uryūla*, a town in Eastern Spain (Levante), 15 miles N. E. of Murcia, the capital of an administrative area (*partido*) and the see of a bishop, contains with its adjoining country, which is thickly populated, 35,000 inhabitants. It was conquered by the Muslims at the same time as the other towns of the *lūra* of Todmir [q. v.] and was for a long time the capital of this *lūra* before it had to give way to Murcia. Its history was that of the latter town as long as it remained Muslim. It was however for a very brief period in the middle of the 10th century A. H. (middle of the 10th century A. D.) the capital of a petty independent state ruled by the Kādī Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. 'Asīm.

Bibliography: al-Iṣṣakhrī, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, p. 175 and 193 of the text, 210 and 234 of the transl.; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, I, 403; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḥwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinand and de Slane, p. 179 of the text, 256 of the transl.; Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyari, *al-Rawḍ al-mafar*, Spain, a. v.; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *A'lam*, Spain, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat-Paris 1934, p. 297—298; E. Tormo, *Levante* (Guías Calpe), Madrid 1923, p. 297—306. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

ORISSA (ODRA-DEÇA), a part of the modern Indian province of Bihār and Orissa, has an area of 13,706 square miles and a population of 5,306,142, of which only 124,463 profess the Muslim faith. For administrative purposes it is divided into the five districts of Cuttack, Balasore, Puri, Angul and Sambalpur. There are in addition twenty-four native states, the Orissa feudatory states, with a population of 4,465,385; the Muhammadans numbering only 17,100 (Census of India, 1931).

Modern Orissa, which embraces the deltas of the Mahānadi and neighbouring rivers, extends from the Bay of Bengal to the borders of the Central Provinces and from the river Subarnarekha to the Cīlka Lake. In the past its inaccessibility proved its salvation for, while the coastal strip was sometimes conquered, the highlands of the interior remained under semi-independent or tributary chiefs. It was included in the ancient kingdom of Kalinga, the sole conquest of the peace-loving Aśoka, but, with the disintegration of the Maurya empire, once more passed to the Kalinga kings. Until the eleventh century the history of this area is extremely confused. Those interested in the solving of chronological puzzles would do well to consult the first volume of Banerji's *History of Orissa*.

Certain parts of modern Orissa were annexed to the empire of Muhammad b. Tughluq and were included in the province of Džādnagar. The real conqueror of Orissa, however, was Akbar's famous general Rājā Mān Singh, who took it from the Afghāns of Bengal, who had obtained a temporary footing in the country. Under Akbar it was administered as part of the *suba* of Bengal, for it was not until the reign of Džahāngīr that it became a separate province. With the decline of the Mughal empire Orissa fell into the hands of the Bhonslā Marāṭhās of Nāgpur [q. v.]. Although it nominally passed to the British by the dīwānī grant of 1765 it was not finally conquered until the year 1803.

With the exception of the district of Sambalpur, the territory now known as Orissa was administered along with Bengal until October 1905, and with

West Bengal until March 1912, when Bihar and Orissa were formed into a separate province. Orissa has always been a stronghold of Hinduism and the temple of Djagannāth still draws thousands of pilgrims to the sands of Puri.

Bibliography: R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, 2 vols., Calcutta 1930—1931; *Bihar and Orissa, First Decennial Review (1912—1922)*, Patna 1923; W. W. Hunter, *Orissa*, 2 vols., London 1872; *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*; Cobden Ramaay, *Feudatory States of Orissa*, Calcutta 1910; H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. I, Calcutta 1931; *Report of the Orissa Committee*, 2 vols., Calcutta 1932; J. Sarkar, *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign. Orissa in the Seventeenth Century*, Calcutta 1933; A. Stirling, *An Account of Orissa Proper or Cuttack*, Calcutta 1904; G. A. Toyubee, *Sketch of the History of Orissa from 1803—1828*, Calcutta 1873; the *Mādala Pāñji*, an ancient record on palm leaves preserved in the Djagannāth temple at Puri appears to have little historical value.

(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

ORKHAN or **URKHAN** (UR-KHAN?) was the eldest son of the emir 'Othmān [q. v.], the founder of the Ottoman dynasty. His mother was Malkhatun, the daughter of Shaikh Ede-Ball of the village of Ithurnu near Eski-Shehir. The year of his birth is not known and indeed the whole chronology of his reign leaves much to be desired. Ottoman sources say he was born in 687 (beg. Feb. 6, 1288); according to others, he was born as early as 680 (beg. Apr. 22, 1281). The first date which probably goes back to Hādīdī Khalifa's *Taḡmīm* has most in its favour. We know very little about his youth. When barely twelve years old he was married in 699 (1299) to the daughter of the lord of Vār-Hişar named Nūṣfer-Khatun [q. v.], a Greek girl, who was betrothed to the lord of Belokoma (Bilecik). From this union were born among others his sons Murād, who succeeded him, and Sulaimān Paṣha. Orkhan was nearly 40 when he ascended the throne in, it is said, Ramaḍān 726 (Aug. 1326). According to tradition, Orkhan offered his brother 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī (usually called 'Alā' al-Dīn only; cf. *ibid.*, xi, 20, note 3) a portion of the ancestral possessions but the latter is said to have been content with the vizierate. This story strongly resembles that of Moses and Aaron as given in the *Kur'ān* (xx, 30) and is probably intended to give a historical foundation for the office of vizier. 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī was also the first to bear the title *paṣha* [q. v.] which then passed to Orkhan's son Sulaimān and was inherited from him by Kara Khalīl.

Orkhan's rule may be divided into two periods: that from 1326 to 1344 when he was establishing the Ottoman power in Asia Minor, creating the army and becoming the founder of the Ottoman empire; and the period from 1344 to his death in 1359—1360 during which he was preparing to gain a footing in Thrace and Macedonia and to extend his rule on European soil. He laid the foundations for the later empire of the Ottomans and is to be regarded as its real creator.

Orkhan had already showed his ability as a conqueror in the lifetime of his father. Shortly before the latter's death of gout at the age of about 70 he had taken Brussa without bloodshed. It now became the capital of the kingdom. Nicaea

and Nicomedia were now the next objectives of Ottoman arms. He was assisted by a number of able leaders of whom the best known were Köse Mikhāl [see MIKHAL-ÖZÜLÜ], Akke Ködja, Konur-Alp, 'Abd al-Rahmān Gbāri, Kara 'Alī, Kara Mursāl. With their help he carried through all his enterprises with the greatest success. Before taking these two cities, Orkhan first of all secured possession of the most northerly peninsula of Bithynia, which is enclosed on the north by the Black Sea, on the south by the Gulf of Nicomedia and on the west by the Bosphorus. The two strongly fortified fortresses of Semendra and Aidos which guarded the military road from Constantinople to Nicomedia were taken. The town and district of Semendra were given in feudal tenure to the general Akke Ködja and henceforth known as Ködja-İli. The fall of these strong places was followed by the subjection of most of the little towns on the coast on both sides of the Gulf of Nicomedia, of which the fort of Hereke offered most resistance. Kara Mursāl conquered the land on the southern coast by occupying Yalowa, famous for its medicinal baths, and the district of Kara Mursāl which bears his name. As Orkhan's vassal, he pledged himself to maintain a small fleet to protect the coast so that communication by sea between Constantinople and Nicomedia was entirely stopped. Orkhan now took the field against Nicomedia in person. The town was taken without any special difficulty after the hill fort of Köyün-Hişar had fallen. While the emperor Andronikos abandoned Nicomedia, he prepared to defend the old seat of the Palaeologi, Nicaea. At the beginning of 1350, the Byzantines moved over to the Asiatic shore and in the vicinity of the little coast town of Philokrene in Mesothynia, now Tawghandjil, a battle was fought about which there are no records in the Ottoman sources while the Byzantine historians (Kantakuzenos, ed. Bonn, i, 341 *sq.*; Nikephoros Gregoras, ed. Bonn, i, 434; cf. thereon Phrantzes and Chalcocondyles) show obvious errors and deliberate perversions of the facts. The defeat of the Byzantines at Philokrene meant the end of any hope of saving Nicaea. The inhabitants did not even attempt a serious resistance but hurried to swear fealty to Orkhan. The city, upon which Orkhan lavished all kinds of endowments, soon became one of the most flourishing and prosperous towns in the Ottoman empire after its period of tribulation. Nicaea, now İznik [q. v.], became celebrated as a centre of Muslim intellectual life especially through its medreses. In 1333 Orkhan's son Sulaimān undertook a campaign into the still independent country north of the Sangaria (Sakarya) with the towns of Goinik, Modrene and Tarakdjī, which he occupied almost without striking a blow. All Orkhan's victories and conquests had so far been won at the expense of the Greeks and there had been no warlike encounters with the little principalities which had arisen in Anatolia out of the Saljuq empire. The adjacent country of Karai [q. v.] where in 1335 the succession had given rise to a dispute between two brothers, the youngest of whom, Tursun, was living at Orkhan's court, came first. Orkhan's help was called upon by Tursun against his older brother (named Tindir-khan?) and he invaded Karai on receiving certain assurances. On the way he took Uludağ, Kirmasif [q. v.] and Mikhālidj along with the castles of Koibos and Ailsos. Balikesir was surrendered to Orkhan

without a blow and the resistance shown was limited to Berghama. This town also soon passed into Ottoman hands as a return for the leniency shown by Orkhan to the lord of Karasi when the latter had treacherously disposed of his younger brother (736 = 1336). Hüdudî II-beghi, the vizier of the last prince of Karasi, was entrusted with the administration of the newly won territory, and as his councillors Edje-Beg and Ewrenos [q.v.] were appointed. After the fall of Berghama Orkhan was engaged in consolidating his rule by systematic regulations and arranging for the administration of the now considerably enlarged Ottoman kingdom. He seems to have been the first to organize his rule on Anatolian soil (on this cf. the full account in Zinkeisen, *G.O.R.*, I, 118 *sqq.*) in which his brother 'Alâ' al-Din 'Alî played a prominent part until after his death in 1333 his place was taken by his nephew Sulaimân. In 728 (1328) 'Alâ' al-Din is said to have induced his brother to set up the first mints (according to Sa'd al-Din). In this year the first gold and silver was struck in Orkhan's name and replaced the Seldjuk coins which had previously been current throughout the Ottoman empire. A regulation regarding dress produced a strict distinction between ranks and classes, and the army was completely reorganised in keeping with the new conditions by Çendereli Khulîl [q.v.]. In 1339 the corps of Janissaries [q.v.] was founded, the Turkish infantry composed of youths of Christian birth and associated with Hüdudî Bektaşî [q.v.]. But the irregular infantry also, the 'Azaba, was put on a better footing and the feudal cavalry (*akinci*) developed in keeping with the objects of the new empire. At the same time Orkhan founded numerous mosques, monasteries and schools and the foundations which he made everywhere in the newly conquered territory bear witness to the great attention which he gave to matters of religion. The dervish system which at this time was at the height of its development — the order of the Bektaşî seems to have arisen in the reign of Orkhan — had undoubtedly a great patron in Orkhan as is seen by the number of cells and monasteries of holy men in his capital Bursa, who had come from the east during his reign to find asylum in the Ottoman empire. The religious life of Islam under Orkhan, which had a marked 'Alid, not to say Shi'a, stamp, is one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of religion and still requires elucidation in essential points through special studies.

In Orkhan's reign we have the beginnings of friendly and peaceful intercourse between Ottomans and Byzantines, although we also have an alternation of peace and war, of enmity and alliance (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, I, 126). Ottoman troops were repeatedly summoned to the assistance of the Byzantine emperors and when Orkhan ascended the throne, Turkish hordes had already crossed the straits three times, without success it is true, and without leaving the slightest trace on European soil (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, I, 120 *sqq.* and Zinkeisen, *G.O.R.*, I, 184 *sqq.*). There obviously was no idea of establishing Ottoman power on the other side of the Dardanelles in these raids and the Byzantine emperor paid very little attention to them. But in course of time there arose out of these casual enterprises more and more regularly organised expeditions by the petty dynasts of Anatolia. For example the ruler of Aidin-ell [q.v.],

Umur-Beg, one of the most brilliant, if very little known, figures of the time, had undoubtedly intended to develop systematically his repeated raids into Europe. Orkhan himself is said in 1333 to have concluded a treaty with the emperor Andronicus at the time of the siege of Nicomedia, by which he bound himself not to disturb farther the towns of Asia Minor which were under Byzantine suzerainty (cf. Kantakuzenos, ed. Bonn, I, 446). The increasing weakness of Byzantium and the growing power of the Ottomans soon however deprived any such agreement of its binding force. Already in 1337 Orkhan had tried to effect a landing near Constantinople with a fleet of 36 ships; his intention must have been to attack the capital and establish himself in Thrace. The Ottomans suffered a disastrous defeat and escaped with one ship only. The dynastic troubles which broke out soon afterwards in Constantinople when the Grand Domestikos Kantakuzenos became emperor and joint ruler with John Palaeologus, brought about a rapprochement between Orkhan and Kantakuzenos. Umur-Beg renewed his efforts to gain a footing on European soil, but, in spite of the expenditure of men and ships, they remained unavailing. Orkhan maintained an attitude of watchfulness. The empress Anna, mother of the young emperor John Palaeologus, induced him to send a force to help her against her rival Kantakuzenos. The latter saw the increasing danger and after this force had come to a miserable end endeavoured with all his power to win Orkhan over for his own plans. In return for 6,000 soldiers he offered him his daughter Theodora, who was still a minor, as a wife in January 1345 (cf. Kantakuzenos, III, 31; ed. Bonn, p. 498; Dukas, 9, ed. Bonn, p. 33 *sq.*; Chalcoz, I, 24) and in May 1345 the wedding was celebrated with great splendour in Selymbria (Kantakuzenos, III, 95, p. 585 *sq.*; Nikeph. Gregoras, xv, 5, p. 762 *sq.*; Dukas, 9, p. 35; according to Nikeph. the bride's name was Maria, cf. I, 762, certainly a mistake). It is worth noting that Orkhan's bride did not abandon her religion but remained a devout Christian (cf. Kantakuzenos, ed. Bonn, p. 588; Zinkeisen, *G.O.R.*, I, 201 *sqq.*) and acquired great merit by purchasing numerous Christian slaves and sending them home to freedom. The prince Khalil Çelebi, who later became a prisoner of the Genoese and when very young married a daughter of the emperor John V, was probably the result of this union (cf. Jorga, *G.O.R.*, I, 201). The alliance with the Ottomans was to cost Kantakuzenos dear. When, shortly after the wedding, Orkhan sent him 10,000 men to help in his fight with the Serbian prince Stjepan Dušan, the Turks turned against the Byzantines and returned with vast booty from Europe to Asia. This breach of faith did not deter Kantakuzenos from again asking for assistance from his son-in-law in 1349. But this time also the army of 20,000 men, summoned unexpectedly back to Anatolia, recrossed the Dardanelles after burning and plundering all the way. Besides these two invasions of Europe by request the continual raids of the Anatolian borders went on and the sufferings of the people of Thrace became intolerable. Orkhan took advantage of this uncertainty to carry out his long cherished plan of establishing the Ottomans permanently in Europe. His son Sulaimân Paşa in 1356 was ordered to cross the Dardanelles. The crossing was successfully carried through at the fortress of Tzympe (the modern

Djümenlik). In 759 (1357) Gallipoli (now Gallipoli) was taken by the Ottomans. The sudden death in 760 (1358) of the conqueror Süleymân Paşa, who was buried not in Brussa but in Bulair on Thracian soil, put an end for the time to any further advance by the Ottomans. Hâdîdî II-beghi and Edje-Beg conducted raids into the interior, it is true, but no effort was made to extend Ottoman power. Orkhan died very soon after Süleymân. The date of his death is not exactly known. The most probable statement is that which says he died at the beginning of 761 (beg. Nov. 23, 1359). The statement (taken by K. J. Jiriček from a Slav chronicle) that Orkhan lived till March 1362, after the capture of Adrianople, has no claim to credence (cf. *Archiv für slav. Phil.*, xiv, [1892], p. 260), although Oskar Halecki, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome* (Warsaw 1932 = *Trajanus historicus de la Société des Sciences et des Lettres de Varsovie*, vol. viii.), p. 74, note 3, based on C. Jiriček, *loc. cit.*, and *Byz. Zeitschr.*, xviii, (1909), p. 582 *sq.*, is inclined to accept the year 1362. That the Byzantine annals (cf. especially p. 392) edited by Jos. Müller, in *Sitzungsber. d. k. k. Ak. d. Wiss.*, Vienna 1853, ix, are in favour of such a supposition cannot be disputed as well as the fact that the Florentine chronicler Matteo Villani (cf. Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Script.*, xiv., p. 672 *sq.*) puts "Orcam's" first actions still in November 1361. If Murâd I is justly called the "conqueror of Adrianople" the year of his father's, i. e. Orkhan's death must be fixed earlier as the taking of this town in spring 1361 (cf. thereon F. Bahinger, in *M. O. G.*, ii, 311 *sqq.*) can now be taken for granted (cf. thereon the fact not noted in *M. O. G.*, that, according to O. Halecki, *loc. cit.*, p. 75, the capture of Adrianople became known in Venice on March 14, 1361). — Orkhan was buried beside his father in Brussa (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i, 157 *sq.* with a description of what his personal appearance is said to have been).

Bibliography: Contemporary Ottoman sources have so far not come to light. Of the Byzantine chroniclers the most important is Orkhan's father-in-law Kantakuzenos although his bias makes it necessary to use him with great caution. Nikephoros Gregoras is much more to be believed. The crossing of the Ottomans into Europe in the sixteenth century has been critically studied by Joh. Drazsecke, in the *Neues Jahrbuch für das klassische Altertum*, vol. xxxi., p. 7 *sqq.* The whole period of Orkhan's reign has recently been dealt with in not always reliable fashion by H. A. Gibbons (d. 1934), *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford 1916, p. 54—109. Further sources are indicated in the works of J. v. Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga.

(FRANZ BAHINGER)

ORMUZ. [See HORMUZ.]

ORTOKIDS (URTOKIDS), a Turkmen dynasty, branches of which ruled in Märdin, Hîsn Kaifâ and Khartabirt.

When the Saldjuk sultan of Damascus, Tutush, conquered Jerusalem in 479 he appointed as governor of the town his officer Urtuk b. Aksab, who had already served under Malikshah and had taken part in the siege of Amid in 477. He was succeeded in 484 (1091) by his sons Sukmân and Ighâzi. After the Holy City had been taken for the Fatimids in Sha'tân 489 (1096) by al-Afdal b. Badr al-Djamâli, Sukmân went to al-Ruha and

Ighâzi to his lands in the 'Irâq. In 495 (1101) Sultan Muhammad made Ighâzi his commissioner (Shahna) in Baghdad.

A. Hîsn Kaifâ. Mu'in al-Dawla Sukmân I (cf. iv., p. 510) assisted Mûst when he was besieged by Djakarmish in al-Mawqil and as a reward received from him in 495 (1101) 10,000 dinars and the town of Hîsn Kaifâ (Ibn al-Athîr, x, 234—236). He had already owned Sarûdj since 488 and in 498 or shortly before, Märdin also fell into his hands (Abu 'l-Fidâ' ed. Reiske, iii, 350—353). Along with Djakarmish, Sukmân took Count Baldwin and his brother Joscelin prisoners at Harrân. After his death in 498 his son Ibrâhîm ruled in Hîsn Kaifâ while Märdin passed to his brother Ighâzi in 502. In Hîsn Kaifâ, Ibrâhîm was succeeded first by his brother Rakû al-Dawla Dâwûd (who is mentioned in 508 and again in 541; Ibn al-Athîr, x, 352 *sq.*; xi, 73), then by the latter's son Fakhr al-Din Qasî-Arsâlân who ascended the throne about 543 and probably died in 562 (or perhaps not till 570) (van Berchem, in *Abh. G. W. Gott.*, N. S., ix/iii., 1907, p. 143, note 3). He ruled over Hîsn Kaifâ and a considerable part of Diyârbakr (Ibn al-Athîr, xi, 217); to him or his father we probably owe the bridge over the Tigris at Hîsn Kaifâ [q. v.]. After his death he was succeeded by his son Nûr al-Din Muhammad. When Salâh al-Dîn in 578 came to Diyârbakr, Nûr al-Dîn was ready to pay homage to him and to assist him at the siege of al-Mawqil. As a reward he was next year given the valuable town of Amid (579). He died in 581 and was succeeded by his son Kutb al-Din Sukmân II who lost his life in 597 from a fall (Ibn al-Athîr, xii, 112). Before his death he had designated as his successor a Mamlûk named Ayâs, as he hated his brother al-Malik al-Sâlih Nâsir al-Din Mahmûd, whom strict Sunnis condemned as a philosopher and heretic. But Mahmûd seized Amid when the emir asked him to do so (Ibn al-Athîr, xii, 112). He recognised the suzerainty of the Aiyûbids 'Adil and Kâmil and of the Saldjuk Kaikâ'ûs. On an Amid inscription of the year 605 (1208—1209) he calls himself sultan of Diyârbakr, al-Rûm and al-Arman (van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 147). After his death in 619 he was succeeded by his son al-Malik al-Mas'ûd Mawdûd (Ibn al-Athîr, xii, 260). According to a coin of 628, Hîsn Kaifâ then belonged to the ruler of Märdin. The lands of the Ortokids had already been much diminished by the attacks of the Saldjuk sultans of Rûm, when in 629 (1231) the Aiyûbid al-Kâmil advanced against Amid and took it with the towns that belonged to it, including Hîsn Kaifâ (Abu 'l-Fidâ', iv, 393) which, if this statement is correct, had therefore again been taken by Mawdûd from his relative. Al-Kâmil's son, al-Malik al-Sâlih, remained in possession of Amid and Kaifâ. In 639 he had to cede Amid to the allied armies of Halab and Rûm, while he retained Kaifâ (Kamâl al-Din, *History of Aleppo*, transl. E. Blochet, p. 219 = *R. O. L.*, vi, 16). Mawdûd remained in prison until the death of al-Kâmil in 635; he then escaped and found refuge with al-Mu'azzar of Hama until his death probably during the Tatar invasions (Abu 'l-Fidâ', iv, 393).

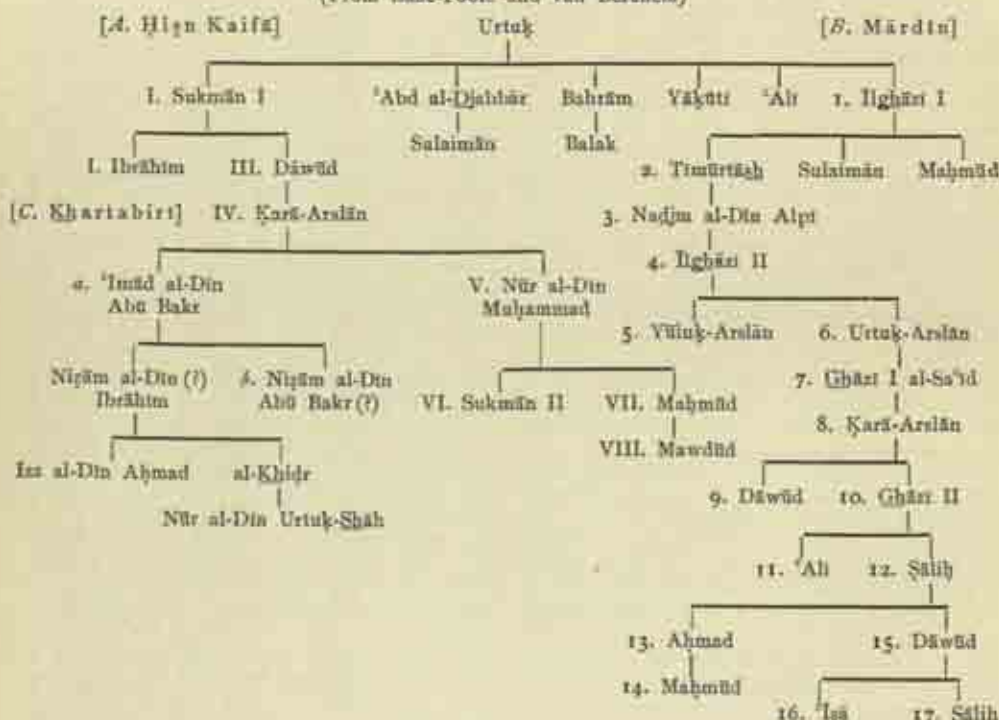
B. Märdin. On the death of its governor Lu'lu' the city of Halab submitted voluntarily in 1117—1118 to Nâdir al-Din Ighâzi I [q. v.], who had since 502 (1108) been lord of Märdin. Ighâzi

gave it to his son *Timurtāsh* (*Ibn al-Athīr*, x. 372). When in 515 the latter was sent by his father to *Sulṭān Maḥmūd* to intercede for *Dubās* b. *Saṭāka*, the *sulṭān* gave his father *Ughāzī Maīyāfurīn* (*Ibn al-Athīr*, x. 418) which henceforth remained *Ortokīd* until *Salāḥ al-Dīn* annexed it in 581. After the death in 516 of *Ughāzī*, the most dangerous enemy of the Crusaders among the *Ortokīds* (*Ibn al-Athīr*, x. 426), he was succeeded by his sons *Shams al-Dawla Sulaimān* in *Maīyāfurīn* and *Ḥusām al-Dīn Timurtāsh* [q. v.] in *Mirdīn*, and in *Ḥalab* by his nephew *Radr al-Dawla Sulaimān* b. *ʿAbd al-Djabbār* (*Ibn al-Athīr*, x. 426) who had already in 515 been appointed governor of it by *Dihāzī*, when his son *Sulaimān* had

attempted to stir up a rising against him there (Ibn al-Athir, x. 417 *sqq.*). As a fighter against the Crusaders his other nephew Balak b. Bahrān followed his uncle's example; in 497 (1103-1104) he occupied 'Ana and al-Haditha after the Franks had taken Sarḡūj from him in 494. In 515 he brought Joscelin de Courtenay Count of Edessa and his brother Galeran prisoners to his fortress of Khartabūt (Ibn al-Athir, x. 418 *sq.*), and defeated Baldwin king of Jerusalem at Gargar and brought him prisoner to Harrān (see BALAK). He had taken this town in 517 (Ibn al-Athir, x. 433). In the same year he took Halab from his cousin Badr al-Dawla Sulaimān, as he did not seem fitted to defend it against the Franks. At the siege of Man-

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ORTOKIDS

(From Lape-Poole and van Berchem)



biḡ in 518 Balak received a mortal wound from an arrow (Ibn al-Athir, x. 436). In Halab and his other possessions he was succeeded by Ḥusām al-Dīn Timūrtaşh but the latter lost Halab as soon as he went to Diyarbakr as the city, besieged by the Franks, opened its gates to al-Bursukī (cf. Aḡ. İNKŞAR AL-BURSUKİ). After the death of his brother Sulaimān in 518 Timūrtaşh inherited Maysafarikin also (Ibn al-Athir, x. 441) and at his death in 547 (1152—1153) was lord of Mardin and Maysafarikin (Ibn al-Athir, xl. 115). He was succeeded by his son Naḡm al-Dīn Alpi. During the lifetime of his father he had received al-Bira from the Franks in 539; they had given him the town out of fear of İmād al-Dīn Zangī. At a later date (before 565), we find ruling there Şahh al-Dīn b. Iḡtāş who had distinguished himself in fighting against the Crusaders. His son was besieged in 577 (1181—1182) in al-Bira by Şahh al-Dīn Iḡtāş II of Mardin (cf. ii. p. 466), who had succeeded his father Alpi in 572, and

appealed for help to Salāh al-Dīn; at the latter's command Ḳuṭb al-Dīn retired to Mārdīn (Ibn al-Aṭṭār, xi. 313). After his death in 580 the guardians of his son Shāh Arman Sukmān of Akhlāt, then after the latter's death in 581 (1185) Salāh al-Dīn, took possession of Maiyāfāriqīn (Ibn al-Aṭṭār, xi. 335; C. Defrémery, in *J.A.*, ser. iv., i., 1843, p. 72—78). In Mārdīn Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was succeeded by his son Ḥusām al-Dīn Yūlūk-Arslān (var. Bulūk, Bulūk-Arslān) who again in 587 regained Maiyāfāriqīn for a short time; the next successor was the latter's brother Nāṣir al-Dīn Urtuḡ-Arslān al-Manṣūr (from c. 596—598). In his time Mārdīn was besieged in 599 by al-Ashraf by order of al-ʿAdil. At the conclusion of peace the Urtuḡid recognised the suzerainty of al-ʿAdil (Ibn al-Aṭṭār, xii. 117; coins). The later Urtuḡids of Mārdīn are given by Abu l-Fida' (v. 295) down to his time (715 = 1315). Urtuḡ-Arslān was followed in 637 by his son Naḡīm al-Dīn Ghāṣī I al-Sa'īd, in 658 by the latter's son Ḳarā-Arslān al-Muṣṭafī, about 691 by his son

Shams al-Din Dawūd, about 693 by his brother Najm al-Din Ghāzi II al-Manṣūr, in 712 by his son 'Imād al-Din 'Alī Alpt al-'Adil, then by his brother Shams al-Din Ṣāliḥ, in 765 by his son Ahmad al-Manṣūr, in 769 by his son Maḥmūd al-Ṣāliḥ, in 769 by his uncle Dawūd al-Muḥaffar, in 778 by the latter's son Maḥd al-Din Taḥ al-Zāhir, and lastly by the latter's brother Ṣāliḥ (809–811 = 1406–1408). After Tīmūr had taken Mārdīn, the ownership of the town passed to the Karā-Koyunlu.

To the territory of the Ortokids of Mārdīn belonged at least down to the time of Najm al-Din Ghāzi II the town of Dūnaisir (q.v., now Kūc Hissar), according to coins found in the neighbourhood near Tell Ermen (E. Sachau, in *Abh. Fr. Ak. W.*, 1880, phil.-hist. Kl., treatise ii., p. 80).

C. Khartabirt (Kharput). Khartabirt is found as early as 515 in the possession of the Ortokid Balak b. Bahrām, who held it till 518. His relative Sulaimān then occupied it but he seems to have died in the same year. It then belonged successively to Dawūd of Hīn Kaifā and his son Karā-Arsiān and grandson Muḥammad. There is an inscription (dated 561 = 1165–1166) of Fakhr al-Din Karā-Arsiān commemorating a building in Kharput (van Berchem, in *Abh. G. W. Gott.*, ix/iii., 1907, p. 142 sq., No. 9). After the death of Nūr al-Din Muḥammad in 581 (1185–1186) his brother 'Imād al-Din Abū Bakr founded an independent dynasty there as Lane-Poole was the first to show (*Essay on the Ortokids*, in *Numb. Chron.*, N.S., xiii., 1873) (van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 144, note 1). At his brother's death he was in Ṣāliḥ al-Din's camp before al-Mawṣil and at once set off for Hīn Kaifā on hearing the news to claim his inheritance. But his nephew Sukmān II had already taken possession of the fortress and had been recognised by Ṣāliḥ al-Din. The uncle had therefore to be content with Khartabirt (Ibn al-Athir, xi. 339). Abū Bakr must have died in 600 at latest for Maḥmūd of Kaifā and Amīd unsuccessfully besieged his son Nūṣr al-Din in Khartabirt in 601 (Ibn al-Athir, xii. 132). This last Ortokid of Khartabirt is said to have been called Nūṣr al-Din Abū Bakr; according to the inscription on a bronze mirror in the Blacas collection in Paris, his name was more probably Nūṣr al-Din Ibrāhīm, unless we have to see in Abū Bakr a (childless) brother of Ibrāhīm (van Berchem, *op. cit.*). Ibrāhīm had two sons: 'Izz al-Din Ahmad mentioned in a manuscript of 685 written in his reign and al-Khiḍr named on the above mentioned mirror, father of Nūr al-Din Abū 'l-Faḍl Ortok-Shāh who ruled at an unknown time and unnamed place. Khartabirt probably remained in possession of the Ortokids only down to 631. At least the town was taken in this year by Sultān Kaikubād I.

Coins. Four mints are named on the coins of the Ortokids: al-Hīn or Kaifā, i.e. Hīn Kaifā, Amīd, Mārdīn and Dūnaisir. The strong influence of trade with Byzantium is seen on the coins in a remarkable fashion; we find on them not only rulers' heads taken from ancient coins and no longer understood but also the Virgin Mary, Christ and the Greek inscription Emmanuel on them.

Bibliography: The Arab historians of the Crusades and the Syriac chroniclers, such as Michael the Great and Barhebraeus; Stanley

Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Urtuk Turkumans*, in Marsden's *International Numismatic Orientalia*, vol. i/ii., London 1875; do., *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, iii., 1877 (*The coins of the Turkumans House of Seljuq, Urtuk, Zenge et c.*), p. 118–176; ix., 1889 (*Additions*), p. 299–302; x. (*Index*), x.v., 40., *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, Paris 1925, p. 166–169; Stokvis, *Manuel d'histoire, de géographie et de chronologie*, Leyden 1888, i. 21, 97 sq.; Isma'īl Ghālib Edhem, *Catalogue des monnaies turcomanes*, Stambul 1894; M. van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften*, in *Abh. G. W. Gott.*, phil.-hist. Kl., N.S., ix/iii., 1907, p. 125–160 (esp. p. 142–146); No. 9. *Bauinschrift des Ortokiden Fakhr al-Din Karā-Arsiān in Kharput*; p. 146–152; *Bauinschrift d. Ortok. Malik Ṣāliḥ Maḥmūd in Amīd*; Kātib Ferdi, *Mārdīn Mülūk-i Urtukīya Ta'riḥi*, written in 944 = 1537 (ed. by 'Alī Emīrī Efendi, Stambul 1331; cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 83, note 1); further references in the articles DİYAR BAKI, HALAR, HİSAR KAİFA, KHARPUT, MAİVAFAKIRIN and MARDIN. (E. HONIGMANN)

OSMAN DIGNA [see 'OSMAN AND BAKI DIGNA.]

OSRUSHANA, the name of a district in Transoxania. The form Osrushana is the best known although Yāqūt (i. 245) says that Oshrusana is preferable. In the Persian versions of the text of al-Istakhri and in the Persian text of the *Ḥudūd al-'Alam* (ed. Barthold) we find more often Surtushana while Ibn Khurdādhbih sometimes has Shurushana; the original form may have been Srōshana. This district lies to the northeast of Samarkand between this town and Khodjand, to the south of the Sir Daryā (Saiḥūn) so that it forms the approach to the valley of Farghāna; on the north west it is bounded by the steppe. The southern part is occupied by the mountains of Battam which run along the upper course of the Zār-Afghān; these hills are generally regarded as forming part of Osrushana. The geographical information about this region is based almost exclusively on the geographers of the tenth century; the later geographers down to Ḥajjīdī Khalifa only repeat what their predecessors have said: it appears therefore that the name Osrushana had fallen into disuse before the end of the middle ages. As a result of its numerous streams, which flow into the Sir Daryā, it was at one time a rich country visited by many travellers because the route to Farghāna lay through it. The geographers describe several roads from Samarkand to Khodjand all of which passed through the towns of Sabāt and Zāmin, the name of which still survives. The principal town — in which in the tenth century the governor lived — was in all probability called Nawmāndj-kath — this must be the basis of the more or less uncertain readings of a number of manuscripts (cf. especially Balādhuri, p. 420); the form Mundj-kath given by Yāqūt (i. 744; but see also iv. 307 where the name is Kunh) and adopted by Barthold is a late corruption; it lay a little to the south of the great road and was identified in 1894 by W. Barthold with the ruins called Shahrastān to the south of the present town of Ura Tube; these ruins were examined a little later by P. S. Skvarky. The geographers describe the town in detail. Two other towns of some importance were Zāmin and Dīzak, and a number of other places are recorded;

there were also rural areas without towns, while al-Ya'qūbī (*R.G.A.*, vii, 294) says that there were 400 fortresses in the country. In the tenth century there was an important market-place called Marsamanda. There is some further geographical information about the country in the *Bāhur-nāma*.

At the time when the first Arab invasion of the country took place under Kutayba b. Mu'alla (712–714), Osrushana was inhabited by an Iranian population, ruled by its own princes who bore the title of *afshin* (Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 40). The first invasion did not result in conquest; in 737 the Turkish enemies of the governor Asad fell back on Osrushana (Tabari, ii, 1613). Naṣr b. Saiyār (q.v.) subdued the country incompletely in 739 (Baladhuri, p. 429; Tabari, ii, 1694) and the Afshins again made a nominal submission to al-Mahdī (Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ii, 479). Under al-Ma'mūn the country had to be conquered again but soon a new expedition was necessary in 822. On this last occasion the Muslim army was guided by Haidar, the son of the Afshin Kāwūs, who on account of dynastic troubles had sought refuge in Baghdad. This time the submission was complete; Kāwūs abdicated and Haidar succeeded him, later to become one of the great nobles of the court of Baghdad under al-Mu'tasim where he was known as Afshin (q.v.). The dynasty of the Saffids of Adharbāidjān was also descended from the royal family. His dynasty continued to reign until 893 (coin of the last ruler Sair b. 'Abd Allāh of 279 [892] in the Hermitage in Leningrad); after this date the country becomes a province of the Samānids and ceases to have an independent existence while the Iranian element was almost entirely replaced by the Turkish.

Bibliography: The geographical descriptions (Ibn Khurdādhbih, al-Ya'qūbī, al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Hawqal, al-Mahdī) have been analysed and utilised by W. Barthold, *Turkistan down to the Mongol Conquest*, 2nd ed., in *G. M. S.*, N. S., v, London 1928, p. 165–169. — The second part of the same book contains all the historical references (cf. index); cf. also Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 473 sqq.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

OSTĀDH (P.), master, teacher, artisan.

This word has passed into Arabic, with the plural *ostādūn*, *ostādha*. It also means eunuch, musician, merchant's ledger, in the modern language particularly teacher. Combined with *dār* the form *ostādār*, "master of the house", major-domo, was applied to one of the great dignitaries of the Mamlūk sultāns (q.v.). We also find the abbreviated forms *ostā*, *ostā*, plural *ostamāt*, *ostamāt*, *ostamāt*, which in Cairo is applied to coachmen.

Bibliography: the lexicons of Vullers, Lane, Dozy; C. A. Nallino, *L'arabo parlato in Egitto*, second ed., Milan 1913, p. 185–186.

(A. J. WENINK)

OSTĀDSIS, the name of the leader of a religious movement in Khurāsān, directed against the Abbāsids. The rising began in 150 (767) and spread rapidly in the districts of Herat, Badghis, Gāndj-Kustāk and Sijistān; the sources say that it had 300,000 adherents. The first opposition it met with was at Marw al-Rūdī but the rebels killed the Arab leader al-Adhām with a number of his officers. On hearing this, the caliph al-Mansūr sent his general Khāsim b. Khuzaima to his son al-Mahdī at Nishapur and the latter ordered Khāsim to attack the rebels with 20,000 men.

After several checks due to the treachery of subordinates, Khāsim entrenched himself in a camp at a place, the name of which is not given, and by a number of strategic movements and with the help of reinforcements from Tukharistān succeeded in defeating the rebels, of whom large numbers were slain. Ostādsis escaped to the mountains but was captured in the course of the following year. The 30,000 who accompanied him were set free but he and his sons were sent to Baghdad and executed. The rising of Ostādsis was of a religious character: he represented himself as a prophet and exhorted the people to *kuf*r (Tabari, iii, 773); he was one of a series of heretical rebel leaders who appeared in Khurāsān after the death of Abū Muslim (q.v.) like Sinbādīh the Magian, Bih-afṣal (q.v.), Vūṣaf al-Barm, and al-Mukannā. It is probable that his views were based on Zoroastrian doctrines. The name of the leader is given by Tabari as *Ustādh-Sis*, "Lord Sis"; the name *Sis* is found in several Iranian names (cf. Justi, *Altiran. Namenbuch*, p. 336; Mani's successor was called, according to the *Fihrist*, p. 334: *Sis al-Imām* and in the Greek sources: *Sisinnios*). On the other hand this heretic numbered among his adherents, according to the *Kitāb al-Bud'* wa-*l-Ta'rikh* (ed. Huart, vi, 86), a large number of Ghuzz Turks, as was the case also with the rebel Ishāk al-Turk, who saw in Abū Muslim an incarnation of the deity. In al-Ya'qūbī's story it is said that Ostādsis declined to recognise al-Mahdī as heir apparent, but the most astonishing statement is that of Ibn al-Athir, who says that Ostādsis was the father of Marādīl, wife of Hārūn al-Rashid and mother of al-Ma'mūn, and that Ghālib, son of Ostādsis and maternal uncle of al-Ma'mūn, assassinated the latter's vizier, the famous al-Faḍl b. Sahl known as *Ḍhu'l-Riyāsatain*. It is impossible to say what can be at the basis of this story but perhaps we may see in it a tradition from a Persian source the object of which was to give al-Ma'mūn a royal or even saintly pedigree. The rising of Ostādsis broke out about half a millennium after the foundation of the Parthian dynasty and one of its bases was Sijistān which may have made this leader be regarded as one of the "saviours" (*soḥyān*) expected in Zoroastrian religious tradition (cf. G. van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination arabe*, in *Verh. Ak. Amst.*, i, 3, 1894, p. 68).

Bibliography: al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Houtsma, ii, 457; al-Tabari, iii, 354–358; Ibn al-Athir, v, 452 sqq.; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, ii, 65.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

'OTBA b. GHAWWĀN b. al-Harith b. al-Dhikr b. Waḥb (or Wuhab) b. Nuṣayb Abū 'Ubayd Allāh or Abū Ghawwān al-Māzini, belonged to the tribe of Kaṣīr Allān, half of the Nawfal or of the 'Abd Shams, one of the oldest Companions of the Prophet, "the seventh of the Seven", i.e. the seventh to adopt Islam and one who had shared in the sufferings to which the first believers had been exposed in Mecca. He took part in both hijras, the battle of Badr, and in most of the battles and expeditions of the Prophet. — He is best known as the founder of Baṣra. In the caliphate of 'Umar he first of all conducted an expedition which ended in the capture of Obolla. 'Umar then appointed him agent (*ʿamīl*) in "the country of India", i.e. the borderland between Arabia and Persian territory with orders to begin a campaign in the Sawād (q.v.). He made

his headquarters at a hamlet called Khuraiba, where he built all that was necessary for a military base: a mosque (cf. iii., p. 318), a residence for the governor, quarters for the soldiers, their families and all that goes to make a rising town. This was the nucleus of al-Basra [q. v.]. The order of events and the chronology generally are far from being settled; the years given vary between 14 and 17. The years 15 and 17 are given for his death. Having performed the pilgrimage, he asked 'Omar to be allowed to resign his governorship but 'Omar refused to permit it. He then prayed God to spare him from returning to Basra. On the way back he fell dead from his camel at the age of 57. Another tradition is given by Ibn Sa'd (cf. *Bih.*). He was succeeded by al-Mughira b. Shu'ba [q. v.].

Bibliography: al-Baladhuri, ed. de Goeje, index; do., ed. Ahlwardt, p. 14, 140; Tabari, ed. de Goeje, index; al-Mas'udi, *Muruj al-Zuhab*, iv. 225; do., *Kutub al-Tanbih*, in *B. G. A.*, viii. 357—358; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, iii/i. 69; Ya'qubi, ed. Houtsma, ii. 22, 71, 163, 166; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, ed. Tornerberg, index; al-Dinawari, *Kutub al-Akbar al-fawid*, ed. Girgass and Kratchkovsky, p. 122—124; al-Nawawi, *Tahdhib al-Armi*, ed. Wustenfeld, p. 405—406; Ibn Hadjar al-Asqalani, *Kutub al-Isaba*, No. 9778; do., *Tahdhib al-Tahdhib*, Haidarabad 1325, vii. 100; Ibn al-Athir, *Ud al-Ghata*, Cairo 1286, iii. 363 *seq.*; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, index to vol. iii.; Wellhausen, *Stimmen und Vorträge*, vi. 74; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, index to vol. iii.—v. (A. J. WESSING)

OTBA B. RAH'IA B. 'ABD SHAMS B. 'ABD MANAF ABU 'L-WALID, one of the chiefs of the tribe of Kuraish, who refused to follow Muhammad. He met his death in the battle of Badr. His daughter Hind was the wife of Abu Sufyan [q. v.].

Shocked by the number of adherents of Muhammad, 'Otba having consulted the other chiefs of the Kuraish, went to the Prophet to offer him anything he would care to ask if he would only abandon his propaganda. According to the traditional story, Muhammad in reply only repeated a part of Sura XLi, which made such an impression on him that the effect was still visible when he rejoined his friends, whom he advised not to importune Muhammad any more. — Tradition puts him in a similar light when it represents him as one of those who on the eve of the battle of Badr endeavoured in vain to persuade the Kuraish to withdraw. He himself was mortally wounded in the battle and his body was thrown into the common ditch (*shat*). Muhammad is said to have thought highly of his gifts.

Bibliography: Ibn Hisham, *Sira*, ed. Wustenfeld, index; Tabari, ed. de Goeje, index; Ya'qubi, ed. Houtsma, ii. 6, 19, 36; Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, Leipzig 1930, p. 183, 191, 242, 252; Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'égire*, Beirut 1924, p. 69, 75.

(A. J. WESSING)

'OTHMAN I, very often called 'Othman Ghani, founder of the dynasty of Ottoman sultans and the first in the traditional series of the members of the dynasty. We are only imperfectly acquainted with the life and personality of this founder of a great empire but we may conclude from the fact that his name

has remained attached to the dynasty of the 'Othman Oghullari or Al-i 'Othman and is later found in the description of the empire and its inhabitants as 'Othmanli or 'Othmani, that behind the name of 'Othman there lies a powerful personality. The most extensive source of information about him is Turkish historical literature and particularly its ancient chronicles, the *Tawarikh-i Al-i 'Othman*, representing the oldest tradition, along with a few poetical compositions of an epic nature dating from the end of the sixteenth century, like the latter part of the *Lekender-nâme* of Ahmedî. The study of the ancient chronicles reveals to us that although they certainly contain some good historical traditions, they are loaded with additions of a legendary character. These additions are explained by the enormous expansion of the power of the earlier Ottoman princes within less than a century of the death of its founder. As often happens in such cases the obscure history of the ancestor was embellished with details of a legendary character foreshadowing the greatness of his descendants. On the other hand, all the chronicles show a tendency to establish a historical connection between the power of the Seldjûks of Asia Minor and that of the first Ottoman rulers by making Ertoghrul or 'Othman be invested with certain powers by Sultan 'Ala' al-Din (II). These relations are more than doubtful. A third feature of the traditional accounts of 'Othman's career, which we find in all the chronicles, is the explanation of a number of geographical names by connecting them with events which took place in the glorious period of the founder of the dynasty. There is further the tendency which we find pushed to its greatest extent in the chronicle of 'Ashik Pasha Zade to attribute to 'Othman events which belong to the tradition of Ertoghrul, like the prophetic dream regarding the greatness of the posterity of 'Othman and the daughter of Shaikh Edebal, and the capture of the castle of Karadja Hisar; in the same way the chronicles put many feats of arms of Orkhan like the taking of Brusa and even the conquest of Kodja Ili to the reign of 'Othman, who had then long been an invalid "with a disease of the limbs". While in the chronicles we can still distinguish with some probability the non-historical features, pragmatic Ottoman historiography, with which 'Ashik Pasha Zade and Idris Bidlisi form the transition, represents these traditions as historical facts. Among the Byzantine historians, Pachymeres and Nicephoros Gregoras alone have preserved historical features independent of the Ottoman tradition, which clearly shows its influence in the later Byzantines (Phrantzes, Ducas, Chalcocondylas). Quite legendary stories of 'Othman are also found in the hagiographic literature (cf. *Das Veltjet-Nâme des Hâggi Bektaşî*, transl. E. Gross, in *Türk. Bibl.*, xiv., Leipzig 1925, p. 133 *seq.*).

According to unanimous tradition, 'Othman was one of the sons of Ertoghrul [q. v.] whom he succeeded as chief of a semi-nomad Turkish clan which had its winter camp at Söğüt [q. v.] in the valley of the Kara Su. The date of Ertoghrul's death is uncertain; later sources vary between 1264 and 1282. At this time Karadja Hisar and Eskî Shehir [q. v.] situated considerably to the south of Söğüt were perhaps already in the possession of this clan. They formed the frontier district bordering with the lands of the Germiyan-

Oghla. ‘Othmân in the first phase of his career extended this cradle of Ottoman power to the north by taking the fortresses of Inegöl, Khar-meodjik, Biledjik, Yâr Hiyar and Köprü Hiyar, which had hitherto been in the hands of the Byzantine feudal lords. This country consists of mountains and valleys lying to the west of the course of the Sakarya [q.v.] and ends in the north in the plain of Yeñi Şehir; the capture of the last place seems to have been of great military importance as it became a base of operations for future conquests (cf. the map *Das Stammgebiet der Osmanen*, attached to the article *Anatolische Forschungen*, by F. Taeschner, in *Z.D.M.G.*, N.S., vii. 53 1893). Von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, i. 69 thinks the enumeration by Pachymeres (ed. Bonn 1835, ii. 413) of the fortresses taken by the Turks corresponds pretty well with the conquests of ‘Othmân. It is perhaps to this first stage of conquests that belongs the first recital of the *şühâ* at Karadja Hiyar in the name of ‘Othmân by Tarsun Fakih. The chronicles put this event in 689 (1290). During this time the newly conquered territory seems to have received an increase of population from the side of the Germiyan (‘Ashk Pasha Zade, ed. Giese, p. 20). The second phase in ‘Othmân’s career is that in which from his base at Yeñi Şehir he continued his conquests in the westerly direction towards Brusa and in a northern direction towards Iznik. The Turks were not strong enough to take these towns but they ravaged the country round. According to the chronicles, there was a battle between ‘Othmân’s Turks and a confederation of lords (*sakawir*) of Brusa, Iznik and several other places at Koyun Hiyar, near Iznik, in which the Turks were victorious; this battle has been identified since von Hammer’s time with the battle of Baphazon, in which, according to Pachymeres (ii. 337), the heterarch Mouzalon was defeated in 1301 as a result of the impetuous onslaught of the Turkish cavalry. This victory enabled Lefke and Ak Hiyar on the Sakarya to be taken and in the west Tricoccia between Iznik and Brusa (Pachymeres, ii. 637). In connection with this last victory (in 1308) Pachymeres mentions a personal feud between ‘Othmân and the Byzantine princess Maria, sister of the emperor Andronicus, who lived in Nicæa. She had been promised in marriage to the Ikhân Oltairu Khudibanda [q.v.] and had threatened ‘Othmân with the latter’s intervention. In this second period the Turks extended their conquests as far as Ulubâd (Leopoldia) to the west of Brusa. The third phase is that in which ‘Othmân no longer took part personally in the military expeditions although, according to tradition, he was still alive. It was Orkhân [q.v.] and his companions in arms who continued the conquests. The first enterprise of Orkhân was the expulsion of a horde of Tatars who had invaded the district of Eski Şehir (perhaps sent by the Mongol allies of Byzantium). In the latest stage, ‘Othmân devoted himself to the closer encirclement of Iznik and Brusa. This last town finally fell in 726 (1326), according to the chronicles, shortly before the death of ‘Othmân who is said to have received the good news just before he died in Söğüt. The sources are not agreed as to whether ‘Othmân was buried at Söğüt or Brusa. This last town has however for a very long time claimed to have a *cabe* of ‘Othmân.

From the very beginning of his reign ‘Othmân

was surrounded by a group of devoted followers, consisting in part of his brothers and their sons and in part of allies like Shaikh Edeballi — whose daughter Malkhatun (in the two versions of Uradj Beg her name is Rab’a) became the wife of ‘Othmân and the mother of his sons Orkhân and ‘Alâ al-Dîn — and the Byzantine lord of Khirmendjik, Kose Mikhâl [q.v.] who later became a Muslim. The chronicles record how ‘Othmân divided among his friends the civil and military administration of the places he conquered. As to ‘Othmân’s foreign policy, it seems that his relations with the Germiyan Oghla were not very friendly; it was from their territory that Eski Şehir was exposed to the invasions of the Tatars. The chronicle of ‘Ashk Pasha Zade tells us that he had other independent Turkish allies like Samanua Ca’ish with whom he made raids across the Sakarya.

The chronology of the career of ‘Othmân is uncertain. It is a pure fiction to say his reign began in 700 (1300); this is connected with the popular belief that at the end of each century a new conqueror makes his appearance (cf. ‘Alî, *Kush al-Akshar*, v. 3). Neither does the statement made by several chroniclers that at his death ‘Othmân had reigned nineteen years (*kyelik etti*) agree with other records. Perhaps however it gives a hint that his death took place long before the traditional date. The importance of the career of ‘Othmân has attracted research into the true nature of the expansion of the little Turkish clan and the power of its first chief. It has been suggested (Gibbons) that it was the conversion of ‘Othmân to Islam which gave the first impetus to expansion, but that is little probable as most of the available facts suggest a million already Muslim; ‘Othmân did just what a number of other Turkish chiefs were doing in Asia Minor about the same time. ‘Othmân’s name, which looks strange among the Turkish names of the members of his family (the name of his grandfather Sulaimân Shah excepted), has also been the subject of study. While the chroniclers all write ‘Othmân (like the few coins of Orkhân, cf. *T.O.E.M.*, vii. 48 and an inscription of Orkhân at Brusa; cf. *T.O.E.M.*, v. 318 1893), Pachymeres has the form ‘Armas and Nicephorus Gregoras (ed. Bonn 1829, i. 539) ‘Armas. Some Arabic sources (Ibn Battuta, ii. 321; Ibn Khaldûn, *Mar.*, v. 562) give ‘Othmândjik (Ibn Fañl Allâh al-Umari, however, has Taman) and the Italian historian Donato da Lanzo (*Historia Turcica*, Bucarest 1910, p. 4) says that Ottoman was the son of Zich. Now some traditions make the founder of the dynasty be born in the town of ‘Othmândjik to the south of Sinope (Ewliya Celebi, ii. 179) which may be a hint of the origin of the name. Moreover, the text of the chronicle of Uradj Beg (p. 6), taken in combination with other texts, shows that Ertoghul had three sons with Turkish names which might even make one suppose that ‘Othmân was not a son of Ertoghul (cf. J. H. Kramers, *Wer war Osman?*, in *A.O.*, vi. 242 1893; W. L. Langer and R. P. Blake, *The Rise of the Ottoman Turks and its Historical Background*, in *American Hist. Review*, 1932, p. 496). ‘Othmân Ghâzi then may have belonged to one of the corporations of *ghâzi*’s or *shâh*’s as did several members of his entourage like Edeballi and his nephew Akhi Hasan (‘Ashk Pasha Zade, p. 28), corporations which at this period represented a Muslim element more civilised

and more orthodox than the semi-nomad Turks.

Bibliography: The Turkish chroniclers quoted in the text are those of Neshri (ed. Nûldeke, in *Z. D. M. G.*, xlii, 194-199), ‘Ashîk Pasha Zâde (ed. Giese, Leipzig 1929), Urîdî Beg (ed. Babinger, Hannover 1925) and the *Anonymous Giese* (Breslau 1922). All the general Ottoman histories give the history of ‘Othmân (G. O. W.) as do the histories by v. Hammer, Jorga and Zinkeisen. A careful historical investigation is found on p. 11-53 of H. A. Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford 1916. (J. H. KRAMERS)

‘OTHMÂN II, sixteenth sultan of the Ottoman empire, was born on the 19th Dju-mâdâ II 1012 (Nov. 15, 1603; cf. *Sidjill-i ‘Othmânî*, I, 56), the son of Sultan Ahmad I. After the death of his father in Nov. 1617, the brother of the latter had been proclaimed sultan as Mustafa I [q. v.] but ‘Othmân, taking advantage of the weak character of his uncle and supported by the mufti Es’ad Efendi and the Kizlar Agha Mustafa, seized the throne on Feb. 26, 1618 by a coup d’état. The youth of the new sultan at first assured the promoters of the coup d’état of considerable influence. To them was due the replacement of Khalil Pasha as grand vizier by Okûz Mehmed Pasha [q. v.] in Jan. 1619. Khalil had just concluded a treaty of peace with Shih ‘Abbâs I of Persia, after a campaign which had been indecisive. The relations with the other powers, Austria and Venice, with which the capitulations were renewed, were also peaceful. But after, in Jan. 1620, Mehmed Pasha had been replaced by the very influential favourite Güzelîje ‘Ali Pasha [q. v.] who removed from the court all possible rivals, the chances of war increased. This time it was a war with Poland, which broke out through the intrigues of the wojwod of Moldavia. In the battle of Yasny on Sept. 20, 1620, the Polish army was annihilated by the ser-asker Iskender Pasha. The grand vizier, who held office mainly by satisfying the avarice of the young sultan, never lost an occasion to irritate and provoke the enmity of Austria and Venice. He died on March 9, 1621 and under his successor Husain Pasha of Ohhri, ‘Othmân II took part in person in the campaign of 1621 against Poland. This campaign ended in a check for the Turks and the Tartars, who, with great losses, had in vain tried to storm the fortified Polish camp on the Dniester near Chocim. A preliminary peace was signed under the same conditions as before under Sulaimân I and the sultan appointed a new grand vizier Dilâver-Zâde Husain Pasha. Since the time when ‘Othmân, still considerably under the influence of the Kizlar Agha Sulaimân and his Khodja Molla ‘Omer, had begun to act independently, he had not been able to gain the sympathy of the army on account of his brutal treatment of the Janissaries, nor of the people chiefly as a result of his avarice, nor of the ‘ulama’. The latter were particularly horrified at the sultan’s wish to take four legitimate wives from the free classes of his entourage; he actually married the daughter of the Mufti Es’ad. His unpopularity increased still further when he wished to put himself at the head of an army to fight Fakhr al-Dîn, the Emir of the Druses, and to go on and make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Preparations had already been made for this expedition when on May 18, 1622 a mutiny broke out among the Janissaries

and Sipahis who plundered the house of Molla ‘Omer. Next day the rebels secured the cooperation of the chief ‘ulama’ and demanded the heads of the Kizlar Agha, the Khodja, the grand vizier, and three other high officials. ‘Othmân at first refused but after the rebels had forced the third wall of the palace he had to sacrifice the grand vizier and the Kizlar Agha. But in the meanwhile his uncle Mustafa had been brought out from his seclusion in the harem to be proclaimed sultan. ‘Othmân tried during the night to secure his throne through the influence of the Agha of the Janissaries, but the latter was killed on the following morning and he became the prisoner of the Janissaries who took him to their barracks. The rebels had no intentions against his life but in the meanwhile the direction of affairs had passed to Dawûd Pasha, the favourite and son-in-law of Mâh-Feiker, the mother of Sultan Mustafa. Dawûd Pasha being appointed grand vizier had ‘Othmân taken to the castle of Veli Kule where he was put to death in the evening of May 30, 1622. He was buried in the *türbe* of his father Ahmad I. — ‘Othmân is praised for his skill as a horseman and for his intelligence. He was also a poet with the *makhlûf* of Fâriat. He was the first of three sultans to lose his life in a rising, the others being Ibrahim and Seltm III.

Bibliography: The Turkish sources are the works of Na’imâ, Peçewî, Hasan Bey Zâde, the *Rawfat al-Abrâr* of Kara Çelebi Zâde, and the *Fethîlke* of Hâdîdî Khalîfa. — The *Wakâ-i Sulân ‘Othmân Khân* of Tughî is specially devoted to the deposition of ‘Othmân (transl. by A. Galland; cf. G. O. W., p. 157), while his whole reign is described in a *Shahname* by Nâdirî (G. O. W., p. 169). Among contemporary western accounts: the *Relations* quoted by von Hammer, in the note on p. 306 of G. O. R. 2, ii, and that of Sir Thomas Roe. Cf. also the general histories by von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga. (J. H. KRAMERS)

‘OTHMÂN III, twenty-fifth sultan of the Ottoman Empire and son of Mustafa II, succeeded his brother Mahmûd I on Dec. 14, 1754. He was born on Jan. 2, 1699 (*Sidjill-i ‘Othmânî*, I, 56) and had therefore reached an advanced age when he was called to the throne. No events of political importance took place in his reign. The period of peace which had begun with the peace of Belgrade in 1739 continued; at home only a series of seditious outbreaks in the frontier provinces indicated the weakness of the Empire. In the absence of any outstanding personality the sultan was able to rule as he pleased, but his activities were practically confined to changing his grand vizier frequently (six times). His favourite Silâhdâr ‘Ali Pasha, grand vizier from Aug. 24 to Oct. 22, 1755, had his career terminated by execution. The appointment on Dec. 13, 1756 of Râghîb Pasha [q. v.] was an important one, as for five years this great statesman showed himself an excellent administrator of the empire under Mustafa III. ‘Othmân III’s other activities were the suppression of *cafes*, of the liberty of women to show themselves in public and the regulation of the dress of his non-Muslim subjects. His name is associated with the great mosque of Nûr-i ‘Othmânî, which had been begun by Mahmûd I and was solemnly opened in Dec. 1755. The reign of this sultan is remembered

for the great fires in the capital in 1755 and 1756. He died on Oct. 30, 1757 and was buried, like Mahmūd I, in the tomb of the Yenî Djâmi'.

Bibliography: The *Tarîkh* of Wazîf is the principal source. The reign is described in the great histories of von Hammer, Zinkeisen and Jorga. (J. H. KRAMERS)

'OTHMÂN b. 'AFYÂN, the third caliph (23—35 = 644—655). He belonged to the great Meccan family of the Banû Umayya and to the branch descended from Abu Ṭ. 'Āṣ, whose grandson he was (cf. the genealogy in Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, U, 23). This makes his prompt acceptance of the teaching of Muḥammad quite noteworthy; he became a convert, if not at the very beginning of the Prophet's mission, at least at a very early date, several years before the Hījra. 'Othmān was a rich merchant and an accomplished man of the world; tradition, which likes to represent him as a model of beauty and elegance and deals to a degree which borders on exaggeration with his toilet, may be correct, simply because it is unusual. Whatever was the exact motive that induced him to embrace a cause of which no one could then have possibly foreseen the success is a question that can never be answered with certainty. One set of historical traditions connects his conversion with his marriage to Muḥammad's daughter Ruḳaiya but other sources, probably with more justice, put this marriage after his conversion. The conversion of 'Othmān, the first Muslim of high social rank, must have made a sensation and contributed to the success of the new religion, but his personal efforts on behalf of Islam were never remarkable. His indolent character, which was however accompanied by a very living faith and great good nature, is another feature ascribed by tradition to 'Othmān and it is unlikely that we have here an invention intended to excuse the inaction of this caliph against his lying officials; just because lack of energy and initiative is evident in 'Othmān from the very beginning of his career, this defect must have been a real one. 'Othmān is believed to have taken part in the two migrations to Abyssinia and then joined the *muhājirūn* in Medina; but he did not take part in the battle of Badr (it is alleged that he had to attend to a sick wife; the Prophet however regarded him as present and allotted him his share of the booty). After the death of Ruḳaiya the Prophet's alliance with 'Othmān was renewed by his marriage with another daughter, Umm Kulthūm; the doubts raised by Lammens (*Fatima et les Allés de Mahomet*, Rome 1912, p. 3—5) regarding the actuality of this marriage do not seem to be justified; there is no reason to think that Muḥammad did not lay great stress on this alliance with the only member of the Meccan aristocracy of whom the Muslim community could so far boast.

During the lifetime of the Prophet and those of the caliphs Abū Bakr and 'Omar, the part played by 'Othmān was a very humble one; how did it happen then that the council (*shūrā*) appointed by 'Omar on his deathbed chose him as successor to the second caliph? The sources dealing with the history of this laborious conclave have been minutely analysed by Caetani; but it is only too evident that the mysteries of these secret deliberations are never destined to be revealed to historical criticism. What it seems possible to affirm is that, as often happened in the papal

conclaves, the most outstanding candidates ruled one another out; for example 'Alī whose election would have meant the negation of 'Omar's policy; or al-Zuhair and Talha, also it seems opponents of 'Omar and whose ambition and covetousness was feared. If among the three who remained, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf and 'Othmān, it was the latter who was chosen, it may be thought that even more than his relationship to the Prophet it was his being a member of the Umayyad clan that proved the decisive argument in his favour. The Umayyads had already regained in the lifetime of the Prophet, and especially during the caliphate of 'Omar, a part of the position they held during the Dīhiliya. There is no need to think as some one has done that Abū Sufyān, the head of the family, was the *dux ex machina* of policy during the first twenty years of the caliphate, and it would be naive to represent the Umayyads as having formed a kind of secret committee dealing with the Islamic state as it pleased. In reality it was not so much to their noble birth as to a real talent for affairs possessed by several of their members that the Umayyads owed their influence. But this was counterbalanced in the time of 'Omar by the part played by other elements and especially by the oldest Companions. The strong personality of the second caliph had been able to maintain equilibrium among a number of heterogeneous elements, often in opposition to them.

It was otherwise with 'Othmān. In reality, as Wellhausen pointed out and Caetani has expounded at length, 'Othmān only followed and developed the policy of 'Omar. The difficulties he encountered were only the results of the policy of his predecessor. But it was just here that the difference in their talents became apparent.

The tragedy which put a bloody end to the reign of 'Othmān and opened up the period of civil wars has caused the greatest embarrassment to the Arab historians, forced to record the series of grievances which the adversaries of 'Othmān raised against his rule and faced with the alternative of either acknowledging that the caliph had sinned against the laws of Islam or that his accusers, among whom were some of the most venerated patriarchs of the faith, had either lied or been deceived. It is owing to this painful dilemma (out of which orthodox tradition extricated itself by means of the theory of the "excusable error" and other subtle distinctions) that there has been preserved for us the long list of these grievances (which are given in great detail for example in Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *al-Riyāḍ al-nāḥiyya fī Manāḥib al-'Aḥqar*, Cairo 1327, II. 137—152). The first and perhaps the gravest charge against him is that he appointed members of his family to the governorships in the provinces; if Syria had already been long in the hands of the Umayyad Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, 'Othmān replaced Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās at Baḡra and Kūfa respectively by his two relatives 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amir b. Kurayb and al-Walīd b. 'Ukba, his half-brother; when the latter was dismissed, having been involved in a scandal, he was replaced by another Umayyad, Sa'd b. al-'Ās, to whom is attributed the celebrated saying: "The *Ṣawād* of Kūfa is the garden of the Quraysh". Egypt, the first conqueror of which, 'Amr b. al-'Ās, seemed to deserve the right to hold the governorship for

life fell to 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. Abi Sarh, who was not an Umayyad, but whose Muslim past was, to say the least, suspicious. Finally the caliph's intimate adviser to whom tradition likes to ascribe a baneful influence, was Marwān b. al-Hakam b. Abi 'l-'Asī, first cousin of the caliph, who had recalled his father from the exile to which the Prophet had condemned him. It cannot be denied that these measures of 'Othmān were not entirely free from nepotism; but we must recognise in them a deeper motive: the intention of establishing unity of government and administration, which was being threatened by the excess of independence which the governors enjoyed. It was practically the same end that 'Omar had had in view but the latter had succeeded by his energy and prestige in imposing his authority even on governors who belonged to other tribes and clans. 'Othmān thought he could obtain the same results by using officials connected with him by ties of blood; he was not successful; the parts were reversed and it was the caliph who was under the influence of his relatives (perhaps however to a less extent than the official historians say); besides, popular discontent ascribed solely to this cause the troubles that arose, which were probably quite independent of the personality of the officials. Indeed (and it is one of Caetani's great merits that he has called attention to this) the *shūbah* system instituted by 'Omar demanded that the plunder taken in war should increase steadily in perpetuity, the regular receipts from the taxation of the *Abi al-Dhimma* not sufficing for the new recruits who hastened to the provinces from the depths of Arabia. From this came the stimulus to the expeditions which in the caliphate of 'Omar never ceased to push forward the frontiers of the Arab empire: such were the conquest of the last provinces of the Sāsānian empire (the dynasty of which became extinct with the murder of the last king Yaadagird III), the occupation of Armenia, a series of expeditions along the north coast of Africa, into Nubia, into Asia Minor, and by sea into the eastern basin of the Mediterranean. If we sum up the conquests made or begun by the Arabs in the caliphate of 'Othmān we shall see that if they do not show the swift expansion of those that took place under 'Omar, they are nevertheless impressive as they mark on one side the conclusion of the initial stage of the Arab empire and on the other the preliminary to the second period of expansion, that of the Umayyads.

Nevertheless the booty produced by these expeditions was perhaps not so great as had been hoped; besides, 'Othmān — this is another of the grievances against him — instead of assigning it entirely to the soldiers, reserved a share for his governors and for the members of his family, by developing the system of fiefs (*kāfā'*), which 'Omar had already made great use of. In this again, we should recognise not a simple scheme for enriching his relations but perhaps rather a conscientious attempt to form domains for the state in contrast to the communistic system of dividing all the booty among the combatants. The Islamic empire was tending from an innate necessity to give itself a regular administration, for which the Byzantine and Persian afforded models. What 'Omar had already begun, what the Umayyads to some extent accomplished and the 'Abbāsids realised, the transformation of the incoherent and anarchistic grouping of the tribes into an absolute monarchy of oriental

type, was also 'Othmān's programme. He may be reproached with not having chosen the means best fitted to realise it and described as not being fit for a task of this magnitude; but his plan was a reasonable one and only meant following up 'Omar's ideal. Besides, the economic crisis, the inevitable consequence of the sudden enriching of the Arab masses, very soon forced the state to make economies and to cut down the military pensions; this not unnaturally increased the number of malcontents.

One of the steps which contributed very greatly to stirring up against 'Othmān the religious element, formed of the old Companions of humble or even servile origin (such as 'Ammār b. Yāsir, Abū 'Uthayr, 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd etc.), whose influence upon the masses was very strong, was the official edition of the *Kur'ān* (cf. Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Korāns*, II. 47-119). What was found most odious in this process was the destruction of the provincial copies. 'Othmān was no doubt urged to this step by considerations of a religious and liturgical nature, but nevertheless the dominant motive may have been a political one. The *furā'*, who were the receptacles and of course also the expositors of the sacred text, exercised for this reason a tremendous influence on the masses, which made them to some degree independent of the central power, the latter having no way of checking whether the *Kur'ānic* passages used by the *furā'* were authentic or not. In depriving them of this weapon and making itself the monopolist of divine revelation, the government was endeavouring to realise unity and to establish its absolute power over the state: but it is only very natural that the opposition to this tendency should have accused the caliph of having mutilated and destroyed the divine word.

'Othmān therefore made himself enemies in very different quarters: the turbulent elements of the *ansār* [see *misq*] faced with economic difficulties and disposed to accuse the caliph of confiscating for his own benefit the property of the Muslims; growing pietism to which the assertion of the authority of the state seemed a breach of the principles of equality laid down by the Prophet; lastly the former governors who had been dismissed and the great Companions who, removed from power, were striving for it with all their might: such were Talha, al-Zubair and 'Ali. It may be asked if 'Othmān, while following the line of conduct imposed upon him, as we have seen, by the necessities of state and the example of his predecessor, could have avoided the fate which overtook him and which so profoundly disturbed the unity of Islām. Although the answer to this kind of question cannot be a definite one in the field of history, it may be supposed that a more intelligent mind and a more energetic temperament than that of the third caliph (or to be more definite a real political genius such as Mu'awiya would undoubtedly have revealed if he had then been at the head of the government) might perhaps have overcome these difficulties. Perhaps also his adviser Marwān, who was thirty years later to face a situation not less difficult, lacked as yet experience and prudence. In any case, 'Othmān, incapable in himself, was also badly advised and the Umayyads, whom he had overwhelmed with riches and honours, thought more of themselves than of their relative in the hour of danger.

The course of development of events can only be briefly indicated here. Tradition divides quite artificially the caliphate of 'Othmān into two periods of equal length: six years (23-29) of good government and six (30-35) of illegality and confusion. The change is represented symbolically by the loss of the seal of the Prophet which 'Othmān, according to the story, dropped into the well of 'Ara in the year 30. It is in any case a fact that it was just at this period that the first movements of rebellion began in the 'Irāk, the region which was suffering most from the economic crisis and the one where the turbulent elements were the most numerous. The episode of Abū 'Ibarr, one of the precursors of asceticism in Islām, exiled to Syria with several of his companions, and later sent to Rabadhā to die there in destination, although embellished by legend is characteristic as showing the attitude of the growing pietism to the secular transformation of the caliphate. Much more serious troubles broke out in Kūfa in 32-33, led by the *ḥarāḍī*, who combined a religious character with political activity and gathered round them a number of doubtful elements. In spite of severe measures taken against them, the recalcitrant elements succeeded in procuring the deposition of Sa'īd b. al-'Ās who was replaced by the former governor of Basra, Abū Muḥammad al-Ash'arī, himself a pietist and opponent of 'Othmān; Kūfa was henceforth no longer under the central government. Similarly in Egypt, Ibn Abī Sarh had to yield to the violence of a group led by the young Muḥammad b. Abī Hudhafa who although an adopted son of 'Othmān took the side of his opponents. It seems that the wily 'Amr b. al-'Ās who had retired to Palestine after his dismissal was secretly encouraging the revolutionary movement in Egypt. The storm which had been brewing for some time burst at the end of the year 35 when bodies of rebels advanced on Medina from the provinces. The first to arrive were the Egyptians; dramatic interviews took place between them and the caliph; the grievances against 'Othmān were expounded with great bitterness of language. But the rebels were disarmed by the humble and conciliatory attitude of the caliph who gave in to all their demands, promised to annul his previous measures and to change his governors; the Egyptians left satisfied. But suddenly, on the way back at the halting-place of al-'Arīsh, a messenger of 'Othmān's was seized and a letter found upon him from 'Othmān to Ibn Abī Sarh, confiscated which contained an order to put to death or mutilate the leaders of the movement on their return. The latter turned back furious and retraced their steps to Medina, determined on vengeance. 'Othmān denied that the letter was genuine, and even insinuated that it had been forged by his enemies in order to ruin him. Although official tradition shows a tendency to attribute this forgery to Marsūn, there is also the trace of other versions and even of one (preserved by al-Balādhurī alone), which says that 'Othmān suspected 'Alī; this, by the way, is what Caetani had suspected without knowing of this text (*Annali*, viii, p. 159). Whatever we may think of this suspicious episode (we know well that the manufacture of false documents intended to bring ruin upon an adversary who cannot be defeated otherwise has been regularly practised in ancient as well as modern times), it is certain that, while it was the immediate cause of the

tragic end of 'Othmān, events had already begun to move. A regular siege of 'Othmān's house was set up; the conduct of the old Companions who remained in veiled opposition was of the most hypocritical character; without having the courage to share in the deposition of the caliph by violence, and without the desire to help him against the rebels, they, 'Alī in particular, maintained an attitude of malevolent neutrality. 'A'isha, the widow of the Prophet, who had conducted a violent campaign against 'Othmān, preferred to slip away at the last moment on the pretext of a pilgrimage to Mecca. Reduced to the last extremity, 'Othmān mustered all his dignity and refused to abdicate. After a siege, the length of which is given differently in the different sources, a number of men penetrated into the house in the last days of 35 (June 656) led by Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (the son of the first caliph and brother of 'A'isha) who raised his hand against 'Othmān. We do not know if it was he or another (tradition gives several names and it is evident that the exact details were obscure from the first) who gave the coup de grâce to the caliph. His blood flowed; it is said, upon the copy of the Qur'ān which he was reading when attacked; his wife, the Ka'bi Na'ila bint al-Farāḥa, was wounded. The house was pillaged. During the night the body was buried with the greatest secrecy by his wife and some friends. The troops sent by Mu'āwiyā from Syria (too late, says tradition, accusing him of duplicity) received the news of the murder when half way there and quickly returned home.

We know how the new caliph was elected in the midst of tumult and terror (cf. Caetani, *Annali*, ix, 321-342); it shows, the author of this article thinks, that there was no previous arrangement among the principal Companions, each of whom probably thought he could deal with events as they arose. The election of 'Alī was without doubt due, even more than to the prestige given him by his close relationship and alliance with the Prophet, to the support of the Anṣār who in the confusion in the Umayyad party had resumed control over their own town. But the new government from the first was destined to be challenged either by the unsuccessful rivals or by Mu'āwiyā, the only one of the Umayyad governors who had remained master of his province. Political unity, and soon also the religious unity, of Islām was now at an end and the period of schisms and civil wars had begun. The caliphate of 'Othmān and its bloody end mark a turning point in Muslim history and give to the third caliph an importance which his true personality, a somewhat mediocre one at best, would never have merited.

Bibliography: The sources and earlier works are collected and summed up in Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, vii. and viii., Milan 1914-1918 (cf. also by the same author *Chronographia Islamica*, p. 279-388). The only historical text of importance still unpublished, the *Amāl al-Aḥrāf* of al-Balādhurī, is in course of publication by the University of Jerusalem. The part relating to 'Othmān, edited by D. S. F. Goitein (who has lent the writer proofs) suggests and complements on many points the material already available but does not supply much that is new. We may also expect shortly the publication of the long biography of 'Othmān in the *Ta'rikh*

Dimashq of Ibn 'Asākir, vol. viii. The *ḥadīth* relating to Othmān are given in A. J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leyden 1927, p. 239-240.

(LÉVI DEILLA VIDA)

OTHMĀN b. MAZ'UN b. ḤAKIM.... ABU 'L-ṢĀ'IN of the Quraysh clan of Djamah, one of the earliest companions of Muhammad, the thirteenth man to adopt Islam. He took part in the hijra to Abyssinia, returned, like some other refugees, on the false news of a reconciliation between Muhammad and his pagan enemies and became for some time the client of al-Walid b. al-Mughira. Soon he renounced this privilege, because he preferred to bear his share in the insults offered to his co-religionists in Mecca. On a quarrel between Othmān and the poet Labid see Ibn Hishām, p. 343-344.

Othmān took part in the hijra to Medina where he found lodging with Umm al-'A'ī. When Muhammad formed pairs of "brothers" between the Muhājirūn and Anṣār, Othmān was associated with Abu l-Ḥarith b. al-Taiyihān. He took part in the battle of Badr and died in the following year, 3 A. H.; according to other accounts in the year 4. He was the first Muslim buried in Baḳī' al-Gharaqad. The affection in which Muhammad held him was seen in the grief he showed at the sight of his corpse. Nevertheless Muhammad is said to have reproved his widow Shuwayla bint Ḥakim al-Salamya for using language, more natural than theological, and saying her dead husband was one of the inhabitants of Paradise.

In Tradition Othmān is the most characteristic representative of the ascetic tendencies which were not entirely foreign to primitive Islam. He abstained from wine before this beverage was prohibited. He neglected his wife who did not fail to complain to 'Ā'isha whereupon Muhammad tried to divert him from a too rigorous asceticism by suggesting that he should follow his example. The tradition is also very well known according to which he asked Muhammad to permit him to castrate himself, a request which the Prophet did not at all consider with favour.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, ed. Wustenfeld, Index; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, III/1, 286-291; Wāḳidī, transl. Wellhausen, Index; Ibn Ḥajar al-Askalānī, *al-Iṣṭaḥṣā*, N° 9819; Ibn al-Athir, *Urd al-Ghāba*, III, 385-386; the references in canonical Ḥadīth in Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muh. Tradition*, s.v. 'Uthmān b. Maz'un; A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muhammad*, Berlin 1861, I, 387-399; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, Leipzig 1930, p. 97, 119, 179. (A. J. WENSINCK)

OTHMĀN DAN FODIO. [See FUL.]

OTHMĀN ABU BAKR DIGNA (DIGNA), governor and general of the Mahdiyya in the Eastern Sudan from 1883 onwards, born in Sawāḳin about 1840 (cf. Shukair, III, 200; Dietrich, p. 50), was according to some a descendant of Kurds of Diyār Bakr who had come in 1517 under Sultān Selīm to Sawāḳin and intermarried with the Hadendowa. The resulting family of the Dignā (Dignā) settled in Erkowit (Arkuwait) west of Sawāḳin. Shukair mentions several relations of Othmān: two brothers, Muhammad Mūsā and the slave dealer 'Alī, a half-brother Ahmad Digna, two nephews, Madani b. 'Alī and Muhammad Fāi, emir of Kassala. Othmān gave them appointments

in the army and in the administration. Ahmad Digna and Madani both fell in fighting in the Eastern Sudan.

Down to the outbreak of the Mahdist rising, Othmān was a trader, dealing especially in slaves between the Hijāz and the Sudan. The prohibition of the slave-trade by the Egyptian government in 1877 affected not only his livelihood and his liberty—he and his brother 'Alī suffered a period of imprisonment in Djidda—but also his religious conviction that the slave-trade was a permitted one. Even then his religious fanaticism displayed itself in his joining the ecstatic begging order of the Maḳḳādhil. On hearing of the coming of the Mahdi Muhammad Ahmad (q.v.), "he migrated to him" (*saḡḡara*), met him shortly after the fall of el-Obeid (al-Ubayyid) in 1883 and took the oath of obedience to him (*ḥaf'a*). Henceforth he was blindly devoted to the Mahdiyya and retained his allegiance to it until his imprisonment.

It is evidence of the Mahdi's keen judgment that he at once recognised Othmān's extraordinary abilities and in a proclamation to the tribes of the eastern Sudan on May 8, 1883 (in Shukair, III, 201 *qq.*) appointed him governor-general (*amīl 'āmm*) over the till then peaceful tribes of the Bedjja, between the Atbara and the Red Sea (with the towns of Sawāḳin, Ṭōkar and Kassala). These tribes who did not speak Arabic and had never been ruled by an Arab, readily gave obedience to their kinsman Othmān who was not only well known to them through years of friendly commerce but also knew their language and ways.

Othmān's activity from 1883 to 1900 falls into two periods. In the first (1883-1891) as leader of the Mahdist rising in the eastern Sudan he carried out the important task of protecting the eastern frontier of the Mahdiyya against the Anglo-Egyptian government, which made it possible for the Mahdi to concentrate his forces on the Nile. In the second period (till 1900) after the loss of the eastern Sudan, he was still general of the Mahdiyya along with others in the service of the Khalifa 'Abdullāhī against the English under Kitchener.

I. The events of the first period which he opened from Erkowit with the encounter at Sinkat on Aug. 5, 1883 were at first concerned with Sawāḳin. The details of this fighting are given by Shukair, III, 200 *qq.*, 323 *qq.*, 400 *qq.*, 538 *qq.*, 604 *qq.* The main object was not so much the taking of Sawāḳin and other towns as the command of the roads between Sawāḳin and Berber, the shortest and most convenient route to the Nile. Othmān is entitled to the merit of having for seven years successfully closed this road to the government. In contrast to this, the results of the actual fighting were of little significance on either side. Othmān defeated the Egyptians under Mahmūd Pāshā at el-Tēb (Nov. 5, 1883), destroyed an Egyptian expedition at al-Tamanīb (Dec. 1883), undertook the siege of Sawāḳin, Sinkāt and Ṭōkar, defeated Baker Pāshā in a second battle at el-Tēb (Feb. 4, 1884), on Feb. 8 forced Sinkāt to surrender and on Feb. 24 Ṭōkar, but on Feb. 29, 1884 suffered a severe defeat at el-Tēb and again on March 13 and 27 at Tamāi at the hands of General Graham, which checked him for a time but did not cause him to withdraw. It was not till March 1885 that he began new operations from Tamāi, Tell Ḥaḡḡim and Ṭōkar, with little success

because the tribes which composed his army threatened to disperse, fearing English intervention. Nevertheless, he succeeded again and again in inspiring the undisciplined masses with enthusiasm, not least by the fact that he transferred the centre of his activities to Kassala and Abyssinia. The years 1884–1885 mark the zenith of his career. He incited the people of Kassala by Mahdist pamphlets; after the death of the Mahdi on June 22, 1885 and the fall of Kassala he was sent there by the Khalifa ‘Abdullāhī, as the only higher official of the Mahdi (not related to the Khalifa) who had remained in his position, and from there waged war on the Amānīr and the Abyssinians. He compensated himself for the failure of his Abyssinian campaign by a savage treatment of the people of Kassala. As he was continually threatening Sawākin and even went so far as to draw trenches round the town and begin a regular siege from Handūb, Kitchener, who was then in command at Sawākin, forced him after a series of defeats to retire to Tōkar. ‘Othmān’s popularity now began to decline. The tribes became alienated by his strictness and severity and the continual warfare. The exhaustion of the Mahdists was so great that the Khalifa allowed ‘Othmān to resume trading between Sawākin and the Mahdiyya via Handūb, but this was stopped on the opening of the final struggle between the Mahdists and the Anglo-Egyptian government, and the result was famine among the Mahdists. The oppression of Kassala by Muḥammad Fāi, sent there as emir by his uncle ‘Othmān, induced the Khalifa to summon ‘Othmān to Omdurmān [q. v.]. He returned with full approval of his conduct and with new military powers but was completely defeated by Hotted Smith Paşa who finally took Tōkar in Feb. 1891; the tribes scattered, ‘Othmān fled abandoned by everyone to the mountains between Kassala and Berber. The country between the Atbara and the Red Sea was lost to the Mahdists; Berber and Kassala were open to the English and Italians. ‘Othmān was banished by the Khalifa to Adirāma on the Atbara, where in addition to busying himself with agriculture he endeavoured to raise a new army which was to hold the Atbara line.

II. When at the beginning of the decisive campaign against the Mahdiyya, Kitchener conquered Berber in 1897, ‘Othmān came to the front again. He led an army over the Nile at Ghendi and joined his fellow-general Maḥmūd. They were both defeated and Maḥmūd was taken prisoner. In the battle that followed at Omdurmān (Sept. 2, 1898) he attempted in vain to check the flight of the dervishes with a strong force between the Surghām hills and the Nile. After the defeat he accompanied the Khalifa on his flight until the latter’s death at Gadīd (Nov. 24, 1899), refused to surrender, escaped across the White Nile and Atbara into the Werribs mountains and endeavoured with the help of the Shaikh of the Djamīlūb to cross the Red Sea into the Hidjāz. Through the treachery of the Shaikh he fell into the hands of the authorities of Sawākin on Jan. 18, 1900, and was sent to prison in Damietta where Shukair saw and spoke with him in 1903 (see *Bibl.*). To the kindness of the Royal Egyptian Embassy in Berlin I owe the following data of ‘Othmān’s later life: ‘Othmān’s imprisonment took place on Jan. 12, 1900; he was brought to Rosetta, from there to Tura near Cairo, finally, out of climatic reasons, to Wādī Halfa. After some years his lot was relieved; he was

allowed to retain his property in Berber, but did not take any interest therein. In 1924, at a great age, he made the pilgrimage to Mecca; after his return to Wādī Halfa he settled outside the town, where he died in 1926; he was buried there.

‘Othmān Digna was the model of a primitive unbroken nature. He was the type of the fanatical Mahdist, noteworthy as the only non-Arab to hold high office in the Mahdiyya. He was an imposing figure as described by Shukair, iii. 200 (German by Dietrich, p. 49). Not only did he know the languages of the tribes placed under him but he also spoke and wrote Arabic fluently (a specimen of his concise style is given by Shukair, iii. 206 sq.). Courage verging on foolhardiness and cleverness which seized upon the slightest advantage, strictness to the verge of cruelty, and a stubbornness in following up his goal, from which even the severest defeats could not turn him, were combined in him with an ecstatic piety — Shukair described his ecstatic fits in prison (iii. 669) — and an ascetic mode of living. From the time of the coming of the Mahdi he went without sandals and shoes and used riding-beasts only for longer journeys. He was therefore, along with Wad Nadjūm and Abū ‘Andja, the most important Mahdist general and the most dreaded enemy of the government.

Bibliography: Na’ūm Bey Shukair, *Ta’rīkh al-Shūdān*, iii., Cairo 1903; E. L. Dietrich, *Der Mahdi Muhammad Ahmed vom Sudan nach arabischen Quellen*, Berlin 1925, p. 49 sqq. (with further literature). — Cf. also the article MUHAMMAD AHMAD.

(ERNST LUDWIG DIETRICH)

‘OTHMÂNDJİK, the chief town in a kaḍā of the sandjak of Amasia in the wilāyet of Siwas [q. v.] in Turkey in Asia, lies in a picturesque position at the foot of a volcanic hill which rises straight out of the plain and is crowned by a castle which formerly commanded the celebrated bridge said to have been built by Bāyazīd I. The settlement is probably very old as is evident from the numerous rock chambers cut out of the cliffs. The number of inhabitants according to Maercker (1893) was about 5,000 and they lived in 920 houses. It is connected by road with Meraifun in the east and with Tosla in the west. The importance of the place however lies entirely in the part it has played in history. The name ‘Othmāndjīk is connected with that of ‘Othmān I [q. v.], the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, and it is said that ‘Othmān I took his name from this place which had been granted him as a fief. This suggestion, which is found as early as the xvth century (probably for the first time in the *Geschicht von der Turkey* of Meister Jörg v. Nürnberg, Memmingen n.d. but about 1496, and again in Spandugino, van Busbeek etc.), has little claim to credibility although it has been revived in modern times e.g., by Cl. Huart, in *J.A.*, ser. 11, vol. ix., 1917, p. 345 sqq. and by J. H. Kramers, in *Acta Orient.*, vi., 1927, p. 242 sqq.; cf. thereon W. L. Langer and R. P. Blake, in *American Historical Review*, xxxvii. (1932), 496, note with other references. It is probable that ‘Othmān is the arabicised form of a Turkish name which may have sounded something like Atman, Azman and we must not forget Ibn Battūta’s assertion that the founder of the dynasty called himself ‘Othmāndjīk, i.e. ‘Little ‘Othmān’ to distinguish himself from the third caliph. The

Turkish sources are contradictory: Hâdjî Khalîfa says that the town of ‘Othmândjîk took its name from the fact that in the 12th (1) century a leader named ‘Othmân conquered it, Ewliyâ Çelebi (1647–1648) says (ii. 180 199.) that many see in ‘Othmândjîk the birth-place of the emir ‘Othmân. This opinion had become the current one about the middle of the 17th century, as may be seen from a passage in *Les Voyages et Observations* of François le Gonx (Paris 1653, p. 65). The place does not appear in the clearest light of history till 1392 when it was taken by Bâyezîd I from the lord of Kastamuni, Bâyezîd Kötürüm, and definitely incorporated in the Ottoman empire. The fact is worth mentioning that there was evidently a considerable Bektashi settlement here at an early date and the tomb of the famous Bektashi saint Koyun Baba [q. v.] in ‘Othmândjîk has always been much visited. The inhabitants according to Hâdjî Khalîfa belonged almost entirely to the order of the Bektashis. Cf. on this point in 1546 *Le Voyage de Monsieur d’Armen*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1887, p. 66 (where Cochiny-Baba should be read Koyun-Baba). — Makarius of Antioch mentions a place called ‘Othmândjîk near Mar’ash. He visited the site where there was said to have been formerly a large town of this name also called Osmân Dada (= ‘Othmân Dede?) (*Travels*, ii. 453 199.).

Bibliography: Ewliyâ Çelebi, *Siyâhat-nâme*, ii. 180 199.; Hâdjî Khalîfa, *Djâhân-nâmâ*, p. 625, middle; Maetcker, in *Z. G. F.*, vol. xxiv., Berlin 1899, p. 376; F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wogenit*, I. 199 19., 205, 216; J. G. C. Anderson, *Scandia Pontica*, I., Brussels 1903, p. 103 (with a picture of the bridge built by Bâyezîd II, not I); v. Flottwell, *Aus dem Stromgebiet des Grays-Yrmag*, in *Pitt. Mitt.*, 1895, Ergänzungsheft, No. 114, p. 11 (according to whom ‘Othmândjîk is inhabited by the Kildî-bash); F. W. Haselack, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, I., Oxford 1929, p. 95 199. (on the saint Pambuk Baba); on the name cf. also F. Gliese, in *Z.S.*, ii., 1923, p. 246 199. and A. D. Mordtmann, in *Z.D.M.G.*, xxx. 467 199. (FRANZ BARINGHOR).

‘OTHMÄN-ZADE AHMED TÂ‘ÏN, a notable Ottoman poet, scholar and historian of the end of the 17th and first third of the 18th century. The son of the *rûs-nâmâdjî* (*mâlîye tashvîdjî*) of the pious foundations, ‘Othmân Efendi, he took up a theological career. The year of his birth is not recorded. From 1099 (1687) he held the post of *müderris* in various medreses in Constantinople. At intervals he also worked in other places. For example in 1107 (1695) he went to Damascus with Kemânkesh Mehmed Pasha when the latter was appointed governor there. In 1124 (1712) he was appointed *müderris* at the Sulaimîniye, a post he had aimed at from the very beginning. He then went as chief judge (*Hâleb mollâs*) to Aleppo in 1126 (1716) and lastly as *Mîr mollâs* (chief justice of Cairo) to Cairo, where he died at the end of his year of office on the 2nd Ramadan 1136 (May 25, 1724). According to Brusaî Mehmed Tâhir, there is in existence a biography of ‘Othmân-zâde composed by Ibn al-Emin Mahmûd Kemâlî Bey.

‘Othmân-zâde was regarded by his contemporaries as the most important poet of his period. He was particularly celebrated for his chronograms (*âzîrâk*)

and *hîfa*. A chronogram on the birth of prince İbrâhîm (1133 = 1720–1721) made such an impression on Sultan Ahmed III (1115–1143 = 1703–1730) that he gave ‘Othmân-zâde the title “king of poets” (*malik-i sulûs*) *al-sha‘arâ*) and granted him a special *hâft*. ‘Othmân-zâde left behind him a *dîvân* of the usual type (*müretteb dîvân*) which consists of 12 *hâsidas*, 32 chronograms and 77 ghazels. Along with these are isolated poems, e.g. a satire (*hîfâ*) on Thâkîb Efendi composed in 1124 (1712). He also wrote in verse a commentary on the 40 hadîths entitled *Sharh-i Hadîth-i arba‘în*, which is also known as *Sîphat-âbid*; it was written in 1128 (1715).

It is however to his prose works that he owes his fame with posterity, especially his historical works, some of which are still popular and valuable at the present day. The most important is his biographical collection *Hadîkat al-Wuzarâ*, a most estimable and still important collection of lives of the first 92 grand viziers of the Ottoman empire, from ‘Alî al-İbn ‘Alî Pasha to Râimî Mehmed Pasha who was dismissed in 1115 (1703). The work was composed six years before his death. It was printed at Constantinople in 1271 (1854). ‘Othmân-zâde’s idea was later taken up by others. His biographical collection was continued by: Dîlâver Agha-zâde ‘Omar Efendi (‘Omar Wahîd), a friend of Râghîb Pasha’s who wrote a *Dhail-i Hadîkat al-Wuzarâ*, also called *İlmül-i Manâkib-i Wuzarâ-i ‘îlâm* or *Gül-i Zîbâ*, which covers the period from the grand vizier Kâwanos Ahmed Pasha to Sa‘îd Mehmed Pasha; also by Ahmed Dîlâver Bey, who compiled a continuation entitled *Wird al-Mufarrâ* which covers the period 1172–1217 (1758–1802), from Râghîb Pasha to Yûsuf Ziyâ Pasha, the conqueror of Egypt; finally by ‘Abd al-Fettâh Şehkâtî Baghdâdî entitled *Berk-i sebâ*, covering the period 1217–1271 (1802–1854), from Ziyâ al-İbn Yûsuf Pasha to ‘Alemdâr Muştafâ Pasha.

All three continuations are printed as an appendix to the *Hadîkat* of ‘Othmân-zâde, while the later continuation by Rif‘at Efendi: *Wird al-Hâdîk* appeared in a lithograph separately while the continuation by Mehmed Sa‘îd Şehîrî-zâde entitled: *Dhail-i Hadîkat al-Wuzarâ* or *Gül-i Zîbâ* or *Gülşon-i Mulûk*, which deals with 31 grand viziers from Nîhâdjî Ahmed or Sîlîhdâr Mehmed Pasha to Sa‘îd Mehmed Pasha, is still only available in MSS.

The two sketches of Turkish history by ‘Othmân-zâde also attained great popularity. The longer: *İlmül-i Manâkib* (or *Tevârîkh-i Salâtin-i ‘Alî* ‘Othmân deals with the first 24 Ottoman sultans, from the founder of the dynasty to Ahmed III. The shorter version: *Fihrist-i Şâhân* or *Fihrist-i Şâhân-i ‘Alî* ‘Othmân or *Mukhtâsar-i Târîkh-i Salâtin* or *Tufâs al-Mulûk* or *Hadîkat al-Mulûk* covers the period from ‘Othmân to Muştafâ II. The number of varying titles shows the popularity of the work. The book, sometime quoted as *Fadâil-i ‘Alî* ‘Othmân, dedicated to Dâmad İbrâhîm Pasha, seems to be only a variant title of one of these books.

In the year of his death (1136 = 1724) ‘Othmân-zâde wrote a history of Fâzil Ahmed Pasha entitled: *Târîkh-i Fâzil Ahmed Pasha*, which like most of his works is only accessible in MSS. The *Munâşarâ-i Devletân* (struggle between the two kingdoms) in the form of questions and answers is also dedicated to İbrâhîm Pasha (MS. in Vienna)

and is an interesting contribution to the very highly developed *manẓūm* literature.

As further independent works may be mentioned: *Ṭaj̄is Naṣīḥ al-Ḥukamā’* and *Tuḥfat al-Nuṣṣān*. Here we may mention his anthology *Ḍiṣṣi* ‘al-*Laṣṣif* (a collection of anecdotes, jests etc.). His stylistic collection *Munḥaṣṣ-i Ṭālib Eṣnā’* was intended for practical purposes; it is a collection of letters in three *fajl* and a concluding chapter.

His extracts from and editions and translations of other works are very numerous. The greater part of his work is collected in his *Kulliyāt* with an introduction by Ahmad Hanif-zāde. Some titles cited by von Hammer and Brunsell Mehmed Ṭāhib which apparently go back to Hanif-zāde, the continuator of the *Kaṣf al-Zunūn* of Ḥādīdī Khālifa, are probably not correct and refer to double or subsidiary titles. — Translations by him are: *Maḥṣarīḥ al-Awṣar* and *Maḥṣarīḥ Sherif*, the latter entitled: *Tawālī’ al-Moṣālī’* on *ḥadīth*. — Extracts from or versions of other works are: *Aḥl-i Ṭālib* (or *Muḥṣar-i Aḥl-i Ṭālib*) or *Khālifa al-Aḥl-i Ṭālib* from the *Ethics* of Hunain b. ‘Alī Kāshifī, who is known as Wāḥ al-Ḥerwī (d. 910 = 1504). The actual work which was written in Persian for Mirzā Muḥsin b. Ḥusain al-Bākara was translated by Pir Mehmed known as Gharamī, with the title *Asl al-Arifīn* in 974 (1566); *Aḥl-i Ṭālib*, an extract from the work of ‘Alī b. ‘Amr Allāh, known as Ibn Hinnī (Kāshif-zāde) which was written for the Emir al-Umayr of Shām, ‘Alī Paṣhā, and therefore called after him; the *Manāḥib-i Imāmī aṣ-ṣūm*, i.e. of Abū Hanīfa. We also have from his pen a synopsis of the *Ḥumayūn-nāme*. The *Awṣar-i Suhailī*, the Persian version of Ibn Muḥammad’s Arabic version from the original Indian (Pahlawī) of Hīdpat was the work of Hunain Wāḥ Kāshifī, court-preacher to Husain Bākara of Herāt. This *Awṣar-i Suhailī* was translated into Ottoman Turkish by ‘Abd al-Wāḥī ‘Aḥd Muḥṣī ‘Alī Çelebi b. Ṣāliḥ, known as ‘Alī Wāḥī or Ṣāliḥ-zāde al-Rūmī with the title *Ḥumayūn-nāme* and dedicated to Sulṭān Sulaimān. ‘Oṭhmān-zāde abbreviated the *Ḥumayūn-nāme* to about a third of its length. This version was printed in Constantinople in 1256 under the title *Ṭiḥṣir al-Awṣar*. In the *Kulliyāt* this extract is entitled *Zuhd al-Naṣīḥ*.

The version of the *Naṣīḥ al-Mulūk* of Re’is Eṣnā’ī Sarī ‘Abd Allāh entitled *Taḥḥit al-Ḥikam* is also described as a synopsis of the *Ḥumayūn-nāme*. A synopsis of the *Moṣālī’ al-Aḥl-i Ṭālib* of ‘Alī is also attributed to ‘Oṭhmān-zāde.

Bibliography: Sālim, *Tashree*, Constantinople 1314, p. 178—181; Faṭm, *Tashree*, Constantinople 1271, p. 32; Ḥādīdī Khālifa, *Kaṣf al-Zunūn*, ed. Flügel, esp. however Ahmad Hanif-zāde, *New Opera* (Athens) *ibid.* in vol. vi.; do., *Kaṣf al-Zunūn*, Constantinople 1321, l. 423; Thureyā, *Sijill-i ‘Oṭhmānī*, l. 242; Mu’allim Nāḍi, *Esami*, Constantinople 1308, p. 92; Sāmi, *Kāmar al-Aḥd*, iii. 1361; Brunsell Mehmed Ṭāhib, *Oṭhmānī Mütelliferi*, ii. 116—117; Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix. 238; do., *G. O. R.*, iv. 120—131; Babinger, *G. O. R.*, p. 254 esp. a.u., the MS. Catalogues by Flügel (Vienna); Perich (Berlin); Aumer (Munich); Ries (Brit. Museum); Uppala, No. 192.

(Th. MENZEL)

OTRĀR, a town on the right bank of the Str Daryā (Saiḥān), a little south of its

tributary the Aris. The name is found as a geographical term for the first time in Yāḥyā (l. 310) as Utrār but Tahārī (iii. 815—816) already knows of a prince called Utrār-banda as a rebel vassal of the Caliph al-Ma’mūn. The place that Maḥdī calls Tarār Zarākh (*B. G. A.*, iii. 263, 274) in the district of Ishdījāb must be quite a different place. Otrār may perhaps be the same as the capital of the district of Fārāb [q. v.], a town which replaced the older one of Kadar (mentioned by Istakhrī and Ibn Hawqāl) and called Fārāb by Maḥdī (Bārūb on p. 273). The town of Otrār acquired a melancholy fame through the part it played at the time of Činghis Khān’s invasion. It was then a frontier town of the empire of the Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad, who had captured it in 1210 from the Kara Khitāy. The town was at that time under the command of Tādī al-Dīn Bilḡ Khān who was giving trouble to his new ruler. In 1218, there came to Otrār a great caravan of 450 people (Djuwainī), all Muslims, sent by the conquering Mongol to open up commercial and peaceful relations with the Muḥammadan empire. Detained at first by the commandant Inṣṭīk, either because he thought they were spies or simply because he coveted their wealth, they were later all massacred and the commandant seized their merchandise. One source (Nasawī) throws upon the sultan a part of the responsibility for this deed; in any case when an ambassador came from Činghis Khān to complain of the outrage and demand the surrender of Inṣṭīk, he refused to hand him over and put the envoy to death. This made war inevitable. In 1219, Činghis Khān appeared with a Mongol army on the Str Daryā and laid siege to Otrār. The town was taken after several months’ siege and Inṣṭīk was captured and sent to Karakorum to be executed. It was from Otrār that the Mongol armies set out which conquered the empire of the Khwārizmshāh. Otrār still existed at the beginning of the 19th century for Timūr Lang died there in 1405 (‘Alī Yazdī, *Zafar-nāme*, ii. 546). The site of Otrār is now only indicated by ruins.

Bibliography: The massacre and capture of Otrār are narrated by the historians: al-Djuwainī, *Ta’rīkh-i Dīkhan-gusha*, in *G. M. S.*, i. 61 esp.; al-Dīndījānī, *Taḥṣīl-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Naman Lees, p. 272, 967; al-Nasawī, ed. Houdas, p. 34 esp.; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, xii. 239 esp.; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Ḍiṣṣi* ‘al-*Tawārīkh*, vol. 1. (ed. Beresin). — Cf. also the histories of the Mongols by d’Ohsson, von Hammer and Howorth, and W. Barthold, *Turkistan down to the Mongol Invasion*, in *G. M. S.*, v. 177 and *passim* in the historical section; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 485.

(J. H. KRAMERS)

OUDE (AWADH), a district now forming part of the United Provinces of modern India, has an area of 24,154 square miles and a population of 12,794,979, of which 11,870,266 are to be found in the rural districts (Census of India, 1931).

From very early times Oudh and the neighbouring countries of the great alluvial plain of northern India have been the peculiar home of Hindu civilization. The ancient Hindu kingdom of Kosala corresponded very nearly to the present province of Oudh. Its capital, Ayodhya, the modern Adiyodhya on the river Gogra, is supposed to have been the residence of Daśaratha, the father of Rāma whose

exploits are recorded in the *Rāmāyana*. Here too arose a number of religious reactions against the asceticism and the social exclusiveness of Brahminism.

Apart from plundering raids, such as Mahmūd of Ghazni's attack upon Mansi and the doubtful exploits of Salar Ma'ūd Qāsi recorded in the *Al-Jāmi Ma'asir* of 'Abd al-Rahmān Cihiti, it was not until the last decade of the twelfth century, in the days of Kuṭb al-Dīn Aibak (see above), that the Muslim invaders established themselves in Ouddh and annexed it to the Delhi Sultanate. It definitely formed a province of Muhammad b. Taghluq's extensive empire, but, towards the close of the fourteenth century, it was absorbed by the Sharqi kingdom of Džawnpūr [q. v.]. Under the Lodis [q. v.] it was once more part of the Sultanate.

In the days of Akbar [q. v.] it formed a *suba* of his empire, extending from the Ganges on the south-west to the Gandak on the north-east, and from the river Sal in the south to the Tarai of Nepāl in the north. According to Abu 'l-Faḍl, it was divided into five *sarkars* and thirty-eight *parganas* (*Āin-i Akbari*, in *Bibliotheca Indica*, ii. 470-177 [tr. Jarrett], 1891). Local traditions in Ouddh, however, conflict with the Muslim accounts and declare that the Rājput chiefs maintained their authority practically intact throughout the Mughal period (W. C. Bennett, *The Chief Clans of the Roy Bareilly District*, 1895). The weakness of the central government under Aurangzeb's successors gave the nawābs of Ouddh an opportunity of asserting their independence, although nominally they still acknowledged the authority of the Mughal emperor.

Sa'adat Khān Bushān al-Mulk, the real founder of the Ouddh dynasty, was descended from a respectable Saiyid family of Nishāpūr (*Muntakhab al-Lubāb of Khāfi Khān*, ii. 902). During his nawābship (1732-1739) he both maintained internal order and extended his dominions so as to embrace Benares, Ghazipur, Džawnpūr and Cunnar. His successor, Saḍdar Džang (1739-1754), was appointed wazir of the empire in the year 1748. It was he who invited the Marāṭhas to assist him against the Rohillas, the engagements entered into at that time forming the basis of later Marāṭhā claims on Rohilkhand. His son and successor, the nawāb-wazir Shudjā' al-Dawla (1754-1775), came into conflict with the rising power of the English. East India Company and was totally defeated at Bakkar in 1764. This left Ouddh at the disposal of the Company. By the treaty of Allahābād (1765) Ouddh was restored to Shudjā' al-Dawla with the exception of Kora and Allahābād, which were given to the emperor for the upkeep of his dignity. British relations with this buffer state between Bengal and the Marāṭhas were placed on a firmer footing by the treaty of Benares (1773) which fixed the subsidy for British troops at 210,000 rupees a month. At the same time Kora and Allahābād were sold to the ruler of Ouddh for fifty lakhs of rupees, because the emperor had deserted the Company and surrendered these districts to the Marāṭhas.

The accession of the Incepsable Āṣaf al-Dawla (1775-1797) enabled the hostile majority on Warren Hastings's council to raise the subsidy to 260,000 rupees per mensem and to force the new nawāb to cede Benares, Džawnpūr and Ghazipur in full sovereignty to the Company. At Cunnar, in

1781, Hastings attempted to reform the wazir's administration and to afford him relief by reducing the number of English troops in Ouddh. His share in the resumption of the *chāḍris* and in the sequestration of the treasures of the bēgams of Ouddh formed one of the charges against him on impeachment.

In 1801 Lord Wellesley forced Sa'adat 'Alī Khān (1798-1814) to cede the whole of Rohilkhand and part of the Dōāb, the revenues of which were devoted to the payment of the subsidiary force. Sa'adat 'Alī Khān was succeeded by his eldest son, Ghāzi al-Dīn Haidar, who was the first ruler of Ouddh to assume the title of king. The remaining kings of Ouddh were Nāsir al-Dīn Haidar (1827-1837), Muhammad 'Alī Shāh (1837-1842), Amjad 'Alī Shāh (1842-1847) and Wāḍid 'Alī Shāh (1847-1856).

It was a provision of the treaty of 1801 that the ruler of Ouddh should introduce into his country a system of administration conducive to the prosperity of his subjects and calculated to secure their lives and property. In spite of repeated warnings nothing was done and misgovernment continued unchecked. On these grounds Ouddh was annexed by Lord Dalhousie in 1856. Wāḍid 'Alī Shāh received a pension and was allowed to reside at Calcutta where he died in 1887, his title expiring with him.

On annexation Ouddh was controlled by a Chief Commissioner, until, in 1877, both Agra and Ouddh were placed under the same administrator, who was known as the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Chief Commissioner of Ouddh. The title of Chief Commissioner was dropped on the formation of the United Provinces of Agra and Ouddh in 1902. It was not, however, until 1921 that this administration was raised to the status of a Governor's province.

The first land revenue settlement after annexation was carried out with a lack of consideration for the great talukdār families of the province, who were ousted from the greater part of their estates. This was reversed after the Mutiny when Canning reverted to a talukdār settlement and confirmed the rights of the talukdārs by sanads.

To-day in Ouddh Muhammadans are to be found chiefly where they held sway in the past, their preference for urban life explaining their presence in the chief towns. Although the population is predominantly Hindu it is interesting to note that in the last decade Muslims have increased nearly twice as rapidly as Hindus. This is largely the result of social customs which permit Muslim widows to remarry and do not favour early marriages. Conversion has not affected these figures, for the *tabligi* movement on the part of Muslims was countered by the *chudhri* and *sungathan* movements on the part of Hindus.

Bibliography: (in addition to works cited in the article): C. U. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, vol. i., Calcutta 1909; W. Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Ouddh*, 4 vols., Calcutta 1896; C. A. Elliott, *Chronicles of Odnas*, Allahābād 1862; M. R. Gubbins, *The Mutinies in Ouddh*, London 1858; *Tajdih al-Ghāfilin*, transl. W. Hoey, Allahābād 1885; Muhammad Fa'iz Bakhtsh, *Tārīkh-i Farahbād* (transl. W. Hoey, *Memories of Delhi and Fatahabad*, 2 vols., Allahābād 1888-1889); H. C. Irwin, *The Garden*

of India, London 1880; W. Knighton, *The Private Life of an Eastern King*, Oxford 1921; Khair al-Din Muhammad, *Tahfai Tāza* (Balwant-nāma); W. Oldham, *Historical and Statistical Account of the Ghazipur District*, Allahabad 1870; *Papers relating to Land Tenures and Revenue Settlement in Oudh*, Calcutta 1865; *Papers respecting a reform in the administration of the government of . . . the Nawab-Wazir*, London 1824; *Parliamentary Papers*, Oudh, vol. xliii, 1857–1858; *Report on the Administration of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, Allahabad, published annually; W. H. Sleeman, *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oudh in 1840–1850*, 2 vols., 1858; A. L. Srivastava, *The first two Nawabs of Oudh*, Lucknow 1933. (C. COLLIN DAVIES)

OUDJA (WADJA), a town in Eastern Morocco, eight miles from the Algerian frontier in the southern part of the vast plain of Angad. It was founded in 384 (994) by Ziri b. 'Atiya chief of the great Zenāta tribe of the Maghrawa [q. v.]. We shall give a résumé of the events that led up to its foundation. In the course of the fighting between the Sanhādja and the Zenāta, the latter had been driven towards the extreme Maghrib. Supporters of the Umayyads of Cordova, they had loyally defended their imperial policy in Barbary, especially in the time of the great minister Ibn Abi 'Asir al-Manāfir. Ziri b. 'Atiya al-Maghrawi, who had proved himself a particularly valuable ally, was allowed to occupy with his tribe the environs of Fās. He seized the opportunity to expel from the city the Banī Ifran, another family of the Zenāta who had established themselves there. Not however having full confidence in the Umayyad minister, of whose policy he disapproved, and not feeling secure in the vicinity of or in the town of Fās, and wishing to be in touch with the central Maghrib which was the real country of his tribe, he founded the town of Oudja and garrisoned it with his troops; he brought his possessions there and put one of his relatives in it as governor. The foresight of the founder was justified; in 424 (1033) the Banī Ifran having reoccupied Fās the emir Hammama, one of the successors of Ziri, took refuge in Oudja.

According to al-Bakrī, about the middle of the xth century (after 440 = 1048), a new quarter surrounded by a wall was added to the original nucleus by a chief of the Ourtaghām (r). The great mosque was outside of the two towns.

During the period of Umayyad expansion Yūsuf b. Taghfin occupied Oudja in 472 (1079). In the middle of the xth century it became an Almohad town. In the reign of the Almohad al-Nāṣir, when the Banī Ghāniya, hoping to restore the power of the Almoravids, came from the south of Tunisia and extended their ravages into the region of Tlemcen, the fortifications of Oudja were repaired and strengthened (*Kiṭāb*, p. 203; transl. p. 194).

It was however mainly after the installation of the 'Abd al-Wādids in Tlemcen [q. v.] that the town of Oudja "the bulwark of the frontier which separates the central from the extreme Maghrib" (Ibn Khaldūn) was summoned to play an important strategic part. Belonging to the kingdom of Tlemcen, it was the first place encountered by the Marinids of Fās when they invaded the lands of their hereditary enemies and the first victim of their attacks. In 670 (1271)

the Marinid Abū Yūsuf having defeated Yaghmurāsan, the king of Tlemcen, near Oudja, laid the town in ruins. In 695 (1296) the Marinid Abū Ya'qūb having fortified his own frontier town of Taūrit seized Oudja and destroyed its defences. In the following year he seems to have wished to make Oudja a base for his future expeditions. He rebuilt it; he erected a palace there, a citadel and a great mosque (probably that which still exists) and began the siege of Tlemcen which lasted eight years. In 714 (1314) the Marinid Abū Sa'īd delivered a fierce attack on Oudja which resisted and, presumably leaving troops in front of it to immobilise the garrison, he went on towards Tlemcen. In 735 (1335) Abū 'l-Hasan besieged Oudja: it was taken and the fortifications dismantled. In 772 (1372), Tlemcen being occupied by the Marinids and Oudja being also in their hands, the Arab tribes of the region took the side of the dispossessed 'Abd al-Wādids and laid siege to the town.

If these Arabs, the Dhawī 'Ubaid Allāh of the great tribe of Ma'kil, were on this occasion supporting the cause of Tlemcen, it was not always so. They were for a long time on the side of the Marinids and were a serious danger to the 'Abd al-Wādids on whose frontiers they were.

The tribes of the region, Arab as well as Berber, were also closely involved in the fighting in the xvth down to the xixth century between the Turks of Algeria and the Moroccan sultāns. In the town itself there were clans which supported each side. Authority passed from one side to the other, but it was only a relative authority, enjoyed precariously and intermittently. "When peace reigned in the Maghrib and the sultān's orders were fully carried out, Oudja formed part of his empire; if on the other hand the country was troubled and the power of the sovereign weakened, Oudja went with the province of Tlemcen and belonged to the Turks" (Voinot). One of the few periods during which the authority of the shari'at was firmly established in this remote province was the reign of Muḥyī Ismā'īl (1082–1139 = 1672–1727), who brought to Oudja Arabs from the south of Marrakech, formed them into a *ghila* [q. v.], strengthened the defences of the town, built several *ḥaḥas* around it and organised the tribes of the plain. After his death the country lapsed into insecurity and anarchy. The Turks reappeared. Finally in 1795, a Sherifin force again took possession of Oudja which henceforth remained under Moroccan rule. An *'amil* (governor) represented the sultān in it.

In 1844 after the battle of Isly, the town was temporarily occupied by the French as a punishment for the help given to 'Abd al-Kādir by the sultān. The French troops reappeared there in 1859 and finally occupied it in 1907.

Oudja, a town of old Morocco, where local government was non-existent had become a haunt of smugglers and fugitives from Algerian justice; it has been cleansed of all suspicious elements. The town, surrounded by its wall which however only dates from 1896, is surrounded by modern suburbs and beautiful gardens. The population is now about 30,000 of whom half are Europeans.

Bibliography: al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1911, p. 77–78; transl. in *J.A.*, 1859, ii. 160; Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, ii. 44; transl. iii. 243 and *passim*; Ibn Abi

Zar', *Kirfa*, ed. Tornberg, p. 65; transl., p. 89 and *passim*; Aug. Bernard, *Les confins algéro-marocains*, Paris 1911; L. Voiron, *Oudjda et l'amalat*, Orlan 1912; H. Saladin, based on Beaulaincourt, *Les monuments d'Oudjda*, in

Bulletin archéologique, 1910, p. 224 *passim*; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman*, II, 481, 558-559; P. Ricard, *Le Maroc (Les guides bleus)*. (G. MARÇAIS)

OXUS. [See AMU DARYŪ.]

P

PĀ' (pā); *bā'-i fārit* or *bā'-i 'aḡḡant*: the *bā'* with three points subscript, invented for Persian as supplement to the soft Arabic *ā'* and to represent the hard labial. It is sometimes interchangeable with *bā'* (e.g. *uṣp* and *uṣh*, *ḡābir* and *ḡāfir*) and, more frequently, with *fā'* (e.g. *ṣāḡid* and *ṣāḡil*, *Pārs* and *Fārs*). The regular use of the letter in manuscripts is comparatively modern, but it is found in good ones of the 15th-16th century while at the same time it is often omitted in manuscripts of much later date (*G. I. Ph.*, i/v, p. 74). (R. LEVY)

PĀDISHĀH, the name for Muslim rulers, especially emperors. The Persian term *pādīshāh*, i.e. (according to M. Bittner in E. Oberhammer, *Die Türken und das Osmanische Reich*, Leipzig 1917, p. 105) "lord who is a royalty" in which the root *pad* is connected with Sanskrit *pāti*, lord, husband, fem. *pātnī*, Greek *πάτρις* *patēr*, Lat. *patens* (G. Curtius, *Griech. Etymol.*, p. 377), was originally a title reserved exclusively for the sovereign, which in course of time and as a result of the long intercourse of the Ottomans with the states of the west also came to be approved for certain western rulers. In the correspondence of the Porte with the western powers, the grand vizier Kuyulija Marid Pasha (d. Aug. 5, 1612) probably for the first time applied the title *pādīshāh* to the Austrian emperor Rudolf II. At the conference of Nemtsov (1737) Russia demanded the title for its Czar (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, vii, 488) and claimed it again at the negotiations at Bucharest (1773; cf. *ibid.*, viii, 412). When *pādīshāh* came to be applied to the sultan, the *pādīshāh-i ʿilāhī* 'Ottomān, does not seem to be exactly known. In any case it is found in conjunction with all kinds of rhyming words as early as the beginning of the 15th century in Ottoman documents. *Pādīshāh* therefore may have come to be used towards the end of the 14th century, presumably instead of *ḡāḡāḡ* (from *ḡāḡāḡāḡāḡ*; cf. *J. A.*, ser. ii, vol. xv, p. 276 and 572), an obsolete word, as well as *ṣulṭān* (cf. *ibid.*, xi, 70) already found in derwish *ṣūḡam*, and was regularly used till the end of the sultanate (cf. the cry of *pādīshāh-i ṭāḡ* or *bā yāḡa* with which the sultan was until quite lately greeted by his troops and subjects).

Bibliography: St. Kekulé, *Ueber Titel, Aemter, Rangstufen und Anreden in der offiziellen osmanischen Sprache*, Halle a. d. S. 1892, p. 3 and P. Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, Strassburg 1893, p. 61, No. 266 (where however another derivation is given, from Old Persian *pad*, protector, and *shāh*, ruler; cf. thereon Horn, in *G. I. Ph.*, i/v, 274,

309 and i/v, 41, 88, 97, 159, where the Old Persian, Pahlavi etc. forms are given).

(FRANZ BARINGER)

PADRI "Padries" or "Padaries", also "Pedaries" is the name given in Dutch literature to the people who wished to carry through by force a reformation of Islām in the early decades of the 16th century in Minangkabau (Central Sumatra). In explanation of this expression it may be said that, according to one opinion, the word is connected with Pedir, a harbour on the north coast of Sumatra, while, according to another, it corresponds to the word *padri* (Port. *padre*) used in several Indonesian languages meaning "Christian clergyman", whether Roman Catholic or Protestant. The first derivation cannot be supported, but the second is probably correct. It may be that Malays, when asked by Dutchmen after the troubles, accommodated themselves to the linguistic level of the interrogators by designating the instigators as *padri* as they laid special stress on the religious life. Such a case would not be unique in dealings of Dutchmen with natives. The Dutchmen then adopted the word and retained it; it also occurs sometimes as *pidari* in native sources. The usual native name however for the people called *padri* by us was *wang putih*: "white men", a common term among Indonesian peoples for those who take their religious duties with particular seriousness and are distinguished by their white robes (van Rookel, in *Indische Gids*, 1915, ii, 1103). In the official reports and Dutch colonial literature of the time, those who did not join the Padris are called "Malays", a misleading designation as the Padris were also Malays. Padris and non-Padris were of the same stock. A better name for those who held by the old customs is the "Adat party"; they formed the party who on every occasion tried to base their action on the traditional usage.

The Minangkabauns or Minangkabau Malays inhabit the central Sumatran highlands between about $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. lat. and $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ S. lat. From this mountainous country they have extended eastwards over the highlands which form the transition to the eastern Sumatran lowlands. To the west they reached the coast of the Indian ocean. Here there are several harbours which gave a connection with the outer world. It is generally supposed that the country was converted to Islām from Atjeh. The Atjehese held several points on the coast when the Dutch and English Trading Companies established themselves here.

Islām was firmly established in the country when the activity of the Padris began. There was a burning zeal for the faith, in certain circles at

least. In 1785, a spiritual leader came down from the mountains with some thousands of followers and disciples in order to circumcise the Christian population of the port of Padang, then the principle possession of the Dutch, and force them to adopt Islam (*T. B. G. K. W.*, v. 55). The Minangkabauans managed to combine a strongly Muhammadan outlook with the retention on a large scale of their old popular institutions. Matriarchy still prevails among them. The administration of a village is conducted by the leading heads of families, the various *raju*, i.e. union of families of different descent in common council. The form of government is republican. Every matter of any importance is considered by all the prominent families, their chiefs and other leading men (*mupak*, *Ar. mawāḥaka*). It is a wearisome process, not calculated for speedy decisions. A society organised on these lines is naturally at a disadvantage against vigorous and powerful attacks.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century three Minangkabau pilgrims came home. They had seen Wahhābī rule in Mecca (after 1806). Filled with the peritan zeal of the Wahhābīs, they set out to purify the religion of their own land. They were able to win over to their views a prominent theologian of the central district of Agam named Tuanku nan Rēntjēh (*Tuanku* is a title for a theologian). He at once set to work. He first of all insisted on the exact observance of the law, particularly in ceremonial. Popular customs which in his opinion were contrary to the *ḥarā* were attacked, such as cock-fighting, which was associated with betting and was the most popular pastime of the people, dice, drinking of palm-wine, opium-smoking, betel-chewing, filing the teeth, wearing long nails, smoking tobacco. All these were forbidden. The prohibition of interest was insisted upon. The men were to cut their hair, let the beard grow and wear white clothes in the Arab style. The women were to wear veils. Finally the Padris dealt a blow to the matriarchal institutions by taking their women into their houses with them (de Stuers, I. 183, footnote 3). The prohibition of tobacco seems to be directly taken from Wahhābī practice, while the other prohibitions and commands all find a place in the Shāh's school. It is also evident from Tuanku nan Rēntjēh's attitude that he did not intend to institute Wahhābism. In the same district of Agam lived a highly respected and very influential teacher: Tuanku Kotā tuā; he was *guru turekat* (*Ar. furīḥa*), a master of mysticism; to what order he belonged is not known. Mysticism of a popular kind is much cultivated in Minangkabau. Tuanku nan Rēntjēh turned to him, not to quarrel with him but to seek his cooperation. The Tuanku Kotā tuā agreed that a strict observance of the law should be aimed at; but when Tuanku nan Rēntjēh insisted that if any one did not perform the *ḡalib* correctly he was a *murtadd* and was liable to the penalty of death as *ḡalib*, Tuanku Kotā tuā met him with the milder doctrine that the *murtadd* should not be put to death, unless every effort to bring him to the true faith had failed, a case which however did not exist and was not to be expected. Tuanku nan Rēntjēh now went his own way. After the Minangkabau custom, he summoned an assembly which was to approve his views. He met with enthusiastic approval from the theologians but with opposition from the chiefs;

for the latter recognised at once that the Padri demands attacked their positions and would overthrow the whole social system. Tuanku nan Rēntjēh went vigorously forward. With his own hand he stabbed his mother's sister whom he caught smoking; the body was thrown into the forest and not allowed to be buried. The effect was considerable; his followers applauded the deed, his silent or open enemies shrank back; he who had done such an unprecedented thing as not to heed the bonds of blood must be acting under a higher inspiration: it was not cruelty but self-sacrifice; the reformation went on with fanatical zeal. Whoever omitted a *ḡalib* had to pay a fine; for a second offence the punishment was death. Opponents were overcome by force, their villages burned, themselves killed or made slaves or at least made to pay an indemnity. Soon the greater part of Agam and of the district of Tuanku Kotā tuā were in his power. Several villages which had already yielded to pressure and adopted the stricter teaching of Tuanku Kotā tuā were also plundered and burned. In the end the doings of his followers were too much for the leader and he retired after about eight years. It was only at a later date when the Dutch troops entered the country that he again placed himself at the head of the movement. He died in 1832.

The procedure adopted by Tuanku nan Rēntjēh was as follows: after a village had been taken, he appointed on his own authority an *imām* and a *ḡalib* (*Ar. ḡalib*); the former was head of the mosque and had control of all religious matters; the sphere of activity of the *ḡalib* is not quite clear. In any case, this proceeding was revolutionary; by constitutional law the offices were hereditary with certain limitations; important decisions could only be made by *mupak* (see above).

Another teacher, Tuanku Pasaman, also called Tuanku Lintau, was active in the south east in the district of Lintau. Less well known than Tuanku nan Rēntjēh he in no way yielded to him in fanatical ardour. Lintau was soon in his power. He then entered the adjoining territory of Tanah Datar. Here in the old capital lived in the faded glory of their former greatness the descendants of the royal house of Minangkabau. Well led, their power might have resulted in a restoration of their former greatness. Tuanku Lintau had them all murdered, except one who escaped across the frontier. Burning and murdering, he brought the whole land under his rule.

A third centre of Padri activity was Aiahanpandjang in the north. The movement began here at the same time as in Agam and Lintau. Very soon there came to the front here a man who is best known by his later name of Tuanku Imam, first as an adviser and then as the leading figure. We possess exceptionally a native source for the life and deeds of this important figure. Quite recently a Malay work, a kind of biography written by one of his sons, has been discovered and published (see Ronkel, *Indische Gids*, 1915). The Padris of Aiahanpandjang began by building a fortress which they called Bondjol. Here the strict doctrine was observed and it was the central position of their power from which they sent out expeditions in all directions. Invited by sympathisers they would go to a village, subject it, appoint a *ḡalib* and *imām*, as Tuanku nan Rēntjēh did, and return to Bondjol with rich booty. The bio-

graphy relates that campaigns were undertaken at intervals of about a year. This was the period of Tuanku Imam's rise to be *imam* "for in many matters he was *imam*, *imam* in religion, *imam* in all matters requiring intelligence and reflection so that all quarrels and disputes were finally brought to him". — Four men were sent to Mecca to guarantee the purity of the doctrine. After a long time they returned, even more strict. There was not yet regular spiritual intercourse with Mecca. Pilgrims were very few in number.

As soon as the Padris had overcome or driven away the supporters of the Adat, the latter tried to involve the English who had occupied Padang in 1795 in their agitation, but they could get no help from them. It was not till 1818 that the first post was established in the highlands by Sir Stamford Raffles. But its weak garrison could effect nothing; it was attacked by the Padris but without success. When in 1819 Padang was again handed over to the Dutch, they maintained and strengthened this post. In 1822 the offensive was assumed and lasted with some interruptions for 15 years. The Dutch colonial government troops were as a rule superior to the natives in the fighting but the attacks of the latter were continually resumed. Finally in 1832 all activity by the Padris stopped. Tuanku Imam, who had till then held out in Bondjol, surrendered. He then secretly prepared a rising which broke out in the beginning of 1833. The Dutch colonial troops who were distributed in small detachments over the entire country were almost wiped out. It soon became clear that members of the party who had invited the foreigners into the country were on the side of the Padris. Historians have shown that errors of policy by the military leaders and the not always tactful conduct of officers and men contributed to produce this misfortune. The truth of this cannot be disputed, but it should be pointed out to explain the altered attitude of many Malays that the very strict rules laid down by the Padris of the early period had become less rigid in course of time. The strength of the movement had been weakened by internal quarrels. Tuanku Kotā till, at our time attacked by Tuanku nan Runtjeh's successors, was revered as a saint in 1827, soon after his death. Padri and non-Padri made pilgrimages to his tomb. With the presence of the Dutch-Indian troops the Padris could no longer deal so harshly and arbitrarily with their fellow-countrymen. Their popularity had increased. It is said in the biography of Tuanku Imam of Bondjol, the bulwark of extremism: "the country was governed according to the *shari'a*; the tribal chiefs relied upon it; when disputes arose the matter was brought before the four legists, in matters of common law however, the decision was left to the chiefs". Tuanku Imam a little later told his son: "the authority of the common law shall be recognised by you, and follow as faithfully as possible the *adat*" [q. v.]. During the pauses in the siege of Bondjol the Padris used to exchange tobacco with the soldiers; Padri and non-Padri had drawn nearer to one another. When the Padris summoned their compatriots to fight against the unbelievers, the appeal found an echo in wide circles.

After the rising the colonial troops again assumed the offensive. Gradually the conquerors enforced their authority. Only the Padris of Bondjol still resisted, they now formed the war party; any one

of like views joined them. When the fortress was finally stormed in 1837, the Padri movement came to an end. Tuanku Imam finally surrendered and was banished.

The object which the Padris had originally aimed at was not attained; the patriarchal institutions still survived. If the movement had exerted any influence at all, it was in the direction of a more accurate and general observance of the law especially of ceremonial. Nothing very definite can be said about it. We have no information about the situation in the country before the rise of the Padris. The movement can hardly have passed without leaving any trace at all.

Bibliography: *De Soete der Padaries in de Padangsche beoelanden*, in *Indisch Magazin*, 1844, ii. 21 sqq. (illuminating); Ph. S. van Ronkel, *Inlandsche geschiedenis aangaande den Padri-oorlog*, in *Indische Gids*, 1915, ii. 1099 sqq. — For the history of the fighting: H. M. Lange, *Het Nederlandsch Oost-Indisch Leger ter Westkust van Sumatra (1819-1845)*, 2 vols., 's Hertogenbosch 1852; political and military: H. J. J. L. de Stuur, *De vestiging en uitbreiding der Nederlanders ter Westkust van Sumatra*, 2 vols., Amsterdam 1849-1850; comprehensive, including official reports: E. B. Kielstra, *Sumatra's Westkust van 1819-1825*, in *B. T. L.*, *V.*, series 5, vol. ii, p. 7; do., *van 1826-1832*, *ibid.*, series 5, vol. iii, p. 216; do., *van 1833-1835*, *ibid.*, series 5, vol. iv, p. 161, 313, 467; do., *van 1836-1840*, *ibid.*, series 5, vol. v, p. 127, 263.

(R. A. KERN)

PAHANG. [See MALAY PENINSULA.]
PĀT (Hind.), anglice pie, the smallest copper coin of British India = $\frac{1}{12}$ of an anna. Originally, in the East India Company's early experiments for a copper coinage, the pie as its name implies, was the quarter of an anna or pice [cf. PAISA]; since the Acts of 1835, 1844 and 1870, however, the pie has been $\frac{1}{3}$ of a pice.

(J. ALLAN)

PAISĀ (Hind.), anglice pice, a copper coin of British India = 3 pies or $\frac{1}{4}$ anna. Under the Moghuls the name paisā became applied to the older *āḥa*, introduced by Shēr Shāh, 40 of which went to the rupee, as the unit of copper currency; the name found on the coins however is usually simply *suḥr* or *rewānī*. Paisā is the general name for the extensive copper coinage coined in the xviiith and xixth centuries by the numerous native states which arose out of the Moghul empire (cf. J. Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, ed. E. Thomas, London 1858, p. 62 sq.).

(J. ALLAN)

PĀLĀHENG, PĀLĀHENG (P.), lit. string, rope, halter, cord, is applied to the cord worn by dervishes around the neck, at the end of which hangs a many-rayed star of carnelian, the size of a crown piece, called *teḥm taḥ*, which is given to the young dervish at the end of his discipleship. With some, especially the Bektashi dervishes [cf. BEKTAŠĪ], a number of olive-shaped, whitish-grey, transparent stones are strung on the cord; these are found in Mesopotamia and called *durr-i Nedjef* ("Pearls of Nedjef"). The jasper (Turkish *yirhem*) from which the *teḥm* stones of the Bektashi monks are made is said to be found in the neighbourhood of the tomb of Hādīdī Bektash.

Bibliography: Th. Ippen, *Shutari und die nordarabischen Kustentente*, Sarajevo 1907,

p. 78 (with reference to the Bektaşit of Kruja in Albania); John Porter Brown, *The Dervishes or Oriental Spiritualism*, ed. H. A. Rose, London 1927, p. 214. (FRANZ BAHINGER)

PĀLANPŪR, a Muslim state in India now included in the Western India States Agency. The territory incorporated in this agency includes the area formerly known as Kāthiāwār together with the Cutch and Pālanpūr agencies. Its creation in October 1924, marked the end of the political control of the Government of Bombay and the beginning of direct relations with the Government of India. The old Pālanpūr Agency with its headquarters at the town of Pālanpūr was a group of states in Gujjarāt [q.v.] lying between 23° 25' and 24° 41' N. and 71° 16' and 71° 46' E. It was bounded on the north by the Rājput states of Udaipūr and Sirohi; on the east by the Mahi Kāntha Agency; on the south by the state of Baroda and Kāthiāwār; and on the west by the Rann of Cutch.

The state of Pālanpūr was conquered towards the end of the sixteenth century by Lohāni Pathāns, subsequently known as Džihlōria. A short account of its history under the Mughal emperors will be found in the *Gazetteer of Bombay*, v. 318—324, and in the *Mir'at-i Aḥmadi* (Etbe, N^o. 3599, fol. 741). British relations with this state date back to the year 1809, when, through British influence, arrangements were made for the payment of tribute to the Gaekwar of Baroda (Aitchison, vi., lxxxix.). This engagement was further strengthened by an agreement signed on November 28, 1817 (*op. cit.*, xci.). In 1848, the appointment of agent from the Gaekwar was abolished and the finances of the state remained under British supervision until 1874 when the ruler of Pālanpūr was entrusted with the management of his own finances.

Pālanpūr is still ruled by Lohāni Pathāns. It has a population of 264,179, of whom 245,000 speak Gujjarātī. The distribution of population according to religion is as follows: Hindus, 222,714; Muhammadans, 28,690 and Jains, 12,542.

Bibliography: C. U. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, vol. vii, 1909; *Census of India*, vol. x., The Western States Agency, 1933; *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. v., 1880; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, s.v. Pālanpūr; 'Alī Muhammad Khān, *Mir'at-i Aḥmadi* (India Office, Etbe, N^o. 3597—3599); *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, N^o. xxv., 1856. (C. COLLEN DAVIES)

PALMYRA, Tadmor, now Tadmur, the ancient Tadmor, called Palmyra by the Greeks (probably a corruption of the older name by a popular etymology; cf. Hommel, in *L.D.M.G.*, xlv. 547; M. Hartmann, in *Z.D.P.V.*, xx/ii. 128 sqq.) lies northeast of Damascus in the great desert in an oasis watered by two springs. The water is sulphurous but drinkable after it has settled. The climate is unfavourable, having great differences of temperature between day and night and being unbearably hot in summer and sometimes having snow in winter. What it lacked in climatic conditions was compensated for by its situation which made Tadmur an important junction on the caravan routes connecting east and west, notably that from the Euphrates to Damascus. The natural supposition that the place was already of importance and settled in very early times has been confirmed by several inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I of the xiith

century B.C. because the "town of Tadmor in the land of Amurru", which the Assyrian king mentions, can hardly be anywhere else (R. Meissner, in *O. L. Z.*, 1923, p. 157; Dhorme, in *B. B.*, 1924, p. 106). Otherwise the city is not mentioned till shortly before the beginning of the Christian era and in the Old Testament only in a peculiar *quid pro quo*. While in I Kings ix. 18 in the accepted text it is said that Solomon built Tamar (in southern Palestine) among other towns, the Chronicler (ii. 8, 4) followed by the variants and by Josephus, *Archaeology*, viii. 6, 1, gives Tadmor instead. From this it appears that the latter in his time must have been of some fame and size and also that the later widely known legend according to which Solomon built the wonderful city, was already in existence. This story was known at a later date to the Arabs among whom it was related, in keeping with the fantastic elaboration of the legend of Solomon, that the djinn helped the king in the work (cf. Nabigha, v. 22 sq.; Bakrī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 514 and several of the Arab geographers mentioned below; according to Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, i. 166 the queen Bilqīs visited Solomon in Tadmur and is buried there).

Its incorporation in the Roman empire was of the greatest importance for Palmyra. Its already busy trade increased enormously and great wealth poured into the town, surrounded by the dreary desert (on the roads connecting Palmyra with the outer world see Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, 1927, p. 248—270). From this period dates the brief but accurate account of Palmyra by Pliny (*Hist. nat.*, v. 25). The merchants were able cleverly to use the enmity between Rome and Parthia for their own advantage, and the conditions, when the emperor Hadrian, by the clever stroke of policy of leaving Assyria and Mesopotamia to the Parthians, inaugurated a long period of peace, contributed still more to the prosperity of the town. The customs tariff of the year 136 written in Aramaic and Greek gives a vivid picture of the business life of the Palmyrene republic in this period, while the splendid ruins of the temple of the sun and of several other fine buildings show how highly developed was the artistic sense of its citizens under Greek influence. In the third century, further prospects opened up which induced the Palmyrenes for a brief period to dream of a new power in the east with their city as its centre. At the beginning of the third century arose the new Persian dynasty of the Sāsānians which revived the ancient bitter feud with the Romans so that the Palmyrenes again had an opportunity to use their diplomatic ability. The Palmyrene prince Odenathus (Udhaina) II at first wanted to join the Persians under Shāpūr (241—272) but, when his offer was rejected, he joined the Roman general Ballista in Asia Minor and inflicted a heavy defeat on the retreating Persians. Under Gallienus he became the actual ruler of the whole of the east and was given the title Augustus by the emperor. When in 266—267 he was murdered, his dignity passed to his son Vaballathus, but the real power was in the hands of his widow Zenobia (Zainab), a highly gifted lady who extended her kingdom, notably by the conquest of Egypt. This was done with the approval of the emperor Aurelian, but Palmyra soon rebelled against the Romans and in 270 a battle was fought in which Zenobia was

defeated. Palmyra then surrendered. When it rebelled again, Aurelian had the city with its fine buildings destroyed. Zenobia fled, was captured and brought to Rome. This queen, distinguished alike for her beauty and intellect, made a great impression on her contemporaries and her memory survived among the Arabs under the name of al-Zabla' although only in fabulous tales in which the Arab king 'Izzadilma [q.v. and the article 'Izzadilma] to her and then killed him by opening his arteries. His nephew 'Amr b. 'Adi wished to erase his obligation as avenger of blood but was forced by the cunning Kafir to do so and when the latter by stratagem got the cunning queen in his power, she took poison which she always carried in a ring she wore, in order not to be put to death by him.

With the fall of Zenobia, Palmyra lost its importance. The walls however were rebuilt although not on the former scale but the trade, the source of the town's livelihood, began to dry up. In this period Christianity began to spread in the town; bishops are mentioned and Justinian among others built a church there. Palmyra remained under Roman rule for about 3½ centuries until the Arab conquest put an end to it. When Khalid b. al-Walid approached the town on his celebrated campaign, the inhabitants thought of defending the town against him but abandoned the idea and capitulated voluntarily in order to secure the status of *djinn* [q.v.]; they seem however to have rebelled again for it was only when Yazid sent Dihya against it, after the taking of Damascus, that it was finally subjected.

Palmyra never regained its former prosperity under Muallim rule. It was inhabited mainly by Kalbis and was one of the towns which rebelled against Marwān II who set out with an army against it. An agreement was come to however, but according to Ibn al-Fakih (298—902), Marwān had a part of the walls destroyed. According to the legend, he abandoned the idea of destroying the town completely when he came upon the corpse of a richly dressed woman on whose forehead was a plate of gold with an inscription warning him against doing so.

Several Arab geographers mention Tadmur but very briefly. Some of them speak of the wonderful buildings and ruins, and as a rule they repeat the old legend that the town was built by Solomon with the help of the *djinn*. Yāqūt makes the intelligent observation that people are everywhere inclined to attribute great buildings to this king. The terrible earthquake of 1157 affected Palmyra. Benjamin of Tudela (1173) makes the rather remarkable statement that no fewer than 3,000 Jews able to bear arms lived in the town. Dimishki mentions along with incomparable ruins the *djinn* monuments of which was formed of 15 stones. The strong citadel of Kalat al-M'as north of the town is ascribed by the inhabitants to the famous Druse king Fakhr al-Din [q.v.] but this is doubtful. Palmyra disappeared in the period of great decline in the east; its inhabitants finally lived in a wretched village built on the court of the temple of the sun, quite forgotten by the west. Not till 1678 was the once so famous city again discovered by members of the English factory at Aleppo and in 1751 it was more closely explored by Robert Wood and described in a handsome

volume. When traffic began to revive again, Palmyra resumed its importance as a station on the caravan routes and in quite recent times new life has been given it by the motor, the new means of transit across the desert; these give a rapid and comfortable connection between Palmyra and the cities of east and west.

Bibliography: Partsch, *Palmyra, eine historisch-klimatische Studie* (Berichte d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., lxxiv.); E. Honigsmann, in *Z.D.P.F.*, xlvii, 27 sq.; on the customs tariff: Beckendorf, in *Z.D.M.G.*, llii, 370—415; on Zenobia: Tabari, ed. de Goeje, i, 757—766; Ibn al-Athir, ed. Tornberg, i, 166, 247; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, ii, 28, 36, 196—198; Freytag, *Proverbia arabica*, i, 424 sq.; A. v. Sallet, *Die Fürsten von Palmyra*, 1866; L. Double, *Les Chârs de Palmyre*, 1827; Grimm, *Palmyra und Tadmur vorhielt fata quae fuerint temporis mutinica*, 1866; Baidhust, *Futuh*, ed. Goeje, p. 3; Tabari, i, 2109, 2154, 3447; iii, 53 sq.; Ibn al-Athir, v, 249 sq., 332; vi, 76; viii, 438; x, 414; xi, 1224; Yāqūt, in *B.G.A.*, vii, 324; Isakhari, *ibid.*, i, 13; Mukaddasi, *ibid.*, iii, 156, 186; Ibn al-Fakih, *ibid.*, vii, 110, 165; Ibn Khordadbeh, *ibid.*, vi, 1; Yāqūt, *ibid.*, ed. Wustenfeld, i, 828—831; Dimishki, ed. Mehren, p. 39; *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, transl. and ed. by Asher*, 1843, p. 87; Wood and Dawkins, *Les Ruines de Palmyre*, 1812; v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer bis zum Persischen Golf*, 1899, p. 278—337; W. Wright, *An Account of Palmyra and Zenobia*, 1895; Camout, *Feuilles de Douce-Europe*, text, 1926, p. alvii—lxiv. (FR. RUHL)

PAMPELUNA, Sp. PAMPLONA, Ar. BARRALONA, a town in the north of Spain, capital of the province of Navarre, has at the present day about 30,000 inhabitants. It was conquered by the Arabs in 121 (738) during the rule of the mull 'Oqba b. al-Harithi. But the occupation of the town and its territory was of very short duration. It soon became the capital of the province of Navarre when Garcia Iñigo tried to found a small independent state; later at the beginning of the tenth century, it was the capital of the first king of Navarre, Sancho Abarca. Several expeditions were sent against Pampeluna by the Umayyad emirs of Cordova, in 228 (843), 246 (860), and in 260 (874). 'Abd al-Rahmān III succeeded in taking it for a time in 312 (924) in the course of his campaign against Navarre and destroyed it. Other attempts against Pampeluna were made by the Muslims in 322 (934) and during the rule of the two 'Amirid ḥadībs al-Manṣūr [q.v.] and al-Muṭaṭṭar [q.v.].

Bibliography: al-Idrisi, ed. and transl. into Spanish by Saavedra (*La España de Edrisi*), p. 59—73; Abu 'l-Fida', *Taqwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, ii, 180/159—260; Ibn 'Abd al-Man'im al-Himari, *al-Rawḍ al-miṣṣar*, Spain, No. 31; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-muḥarrir*, ii, Index; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, new ed., Leyden 1932, Index. (E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

PANDJAB, the land of the five rivers, is a province of modern India which, together with the North-West Frontier Province and Kashmir [q.v.], occupies the extreme north-western corner of the Indian Empire, and, with the exception of

the recently-constituted Delhi province, comprises all of British India north of Sind and Rājapūṭāna and west of the river Djamna. Geographically therefore it includes more than its name implies, for, in addition to the country watered by the Džhelum, Čināb, Rāwī, Beās, and Satledj, it embraces the table-land of Sirhind between the Satledj and Djamna, the Sind-Sagar Dōāb between the Satledj and the Indus, and the district of Dera Ghāzi Khān.

Administratively the province is divided into two parts, British territory and the Pandjāb States. British territory, which has an area of 99,365 square miles and a population of 23,580,852, is divided into 29 districts, each administered by a deputy-commissioner. These districts are grouped into the five divisions of Ambāla, Džullandur, Lahore, Rāwalpindī, and Multān, each under a commissioner. The Pandjāb States have an area of 37,699 square miles and a population of 4,910,005. The conduct of political relations with Duddānā, Patāwdī, Kalsā, and the 27 Simlā Hill States is in the hands of the Pandjāb Government. The remaining states of Lohāru, Sirmūr, Bilāspūr, Mandī, Suket, Kapurthāla, Mālēr-Kōṭā, Farīdkōṭ, Čambā, Bahāwalpūr, and the Phūlkian states of Pattialā, Hjind, and Nabha, are directly under the Government of India.

The history of this area has been profoundly influenced by the fact that the mountain passes of the north-west frontier afford access to the Pandjāb plains. For this reason it is ethnologically more nearly allied to Central Asia than to India. The recent excavations at Harappa in the Montgomery district are evidence of a culture which probably flourished in the Indus valley about 3000 B.C., and which bears a general resemblance to that of Elam and Mesopotamia (Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, 3 vols., 1931). But the first migration of which we have any evidence is that of the Aryan-speaking peoples who established themselves on the Pandjāb plains in pre-historic times. Centuries later successive waves of invaders swept like devastating torrents through the mountain passes of the north-west. Persian, Greek, and Afghan, the forces of Alexander and the armies of Mahmūd of Ghazni, the hosts of Tīmūr, Hībur, and Nādir Shāh, and the troops of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī (cf. these articles), all advanced by these routes to lay waste the fertile plains of the Pandjāb. All these migrations and invasions added to the heterogeneity of the existing population in the land of the five rivers. The history of invasions from Central Asia proves that the Pandjāb and the frontier zone from the banks of the Indus to the Afghan slopes of the Sulaimān range have never presented any real barrier to an enterprising general. The Sulaimān range itself has seldom formed a political boundary, for the Persians, Manryas, Graeco-Bactrians, Sakas, Pahlawas, the Kūghān branch of the Yüeh-chi, and the Hūnas all bestride this mountain barrier.

The capture of Multān [q.v.] by Muhammad b. Kāsim [q.v.], in 713 A.D., extended Arab power to upper Sind and the lower Pandjāb, but the real threat to Hindustān came from the direction of modern Afghanistan. The Ghaznawid invaders found the powerful Hindūshāhiya dynasty of Waiḥand ruling between Lamaghān and the Čināb. The power of this Hindu state was completely shattered by Mahmūd of Ghazni who annexed the Pandjāb, which became a frontier province of his

extensive empire and the sole refuge of his descendants when driven out of Ghazni by the Shamsabadi sultans of Ghūr [see GHŪR]. Multān and the surrounding country had remained in Muslim hands since the days of the Arab conquest, but the fact that its rulers were heretical Karmāṭians [q.v.] was one reason for Mahmūd's attack in 1006 A.D. Muhammad Ghūr annexed the Pandjāb in 1186 A.D. and on his death in 1206 A.D. it definitely became a province of the Sultānate of Dīhli under the rule of Kuṭb al-Dīn Aibak. With the exception of occasional rebellions and raids from Central Asia it remained under the Sultāns of Dīhli until the defeat of Ibrāhīm Lodi [q.v.] by Babar at Pānipat [q.v.] in 1526 A.D. paved the way for the foundation of the Mughal empire. Under Akbar [q.v.] the modern province of the Pandjāb was included in the *subas* of Lahore, Multān, and Dīhli, a detailed description of which will be found in the *Alam Akbari* (transl. Jarrett, II, 278-341).

The persecuting policy of Akbar's immediate successors led to the growth of Sikh political power in the Pandjāb and transformed a band of religious devotees, founded by Guru Nānak in the second half of the fifteenth century, into a military commonwealth or Khālā animated with undying hatred toward Muslims (cf. the art. *SIKHS*). The weakness of the central government and the unprotected condition of the frontier provinces under the later Mughals exposed Hindustān to the invasions of Nādir Shāh [q.v.] and Ahmad Shāh Durrānī [q.v.]. On the bloodstained field of Pānipat, in 1761, the Marāṭhās, who were aspiring to universal sovereignty, sustained a crushing defeat at the hands of the Afghan invader. In the following year, at Barnāla near Ludhiāna, Ahmad Shāh disastrously defeated the Sikhs who had taken advantage of his absence in Kābul to possess themselves of the country around Lahore. The Sikhs, however, soon extended their sway to the south of the Satledj and ravaged the country to the very gates of Dīhli, but their further advance was checked by the Marāṭhās who had rapidly recovered from their defeat at Pānipat. It was the defeat of the Marāṭhās by Lord Lake, in 1803, which facilitated the rise of Ranjīt Singh and enabled him to found a powerful Sikh kingdom in the Pandjāb. His attempts to extend his authority over his co-religionists, the cis-Satledj Sikhs, brought him into contact with the British, and, by the treaty of 1809, he pledged himself to regard the Satledj as the north-west frontier of the British dominions in India (Aitchison, VIII, N^o. III). After the death of Ranjīt Singh, in 1839, his kingdom rapidly fell to pieces under his successors. Revolution succeeded revolution, and during the minority of Dalip Singh the Khālā soldiery became virtually rulers of the country. Unprovoked aggression on British territory produced two Sikh wars which ended with the annexation of the Pandjāb in 1849.

At first the newly-conquered territories were placed under a Board of Administration. This was abolished in 1853, its powers and functions being vested in a Chief Commissioner. In 1859, after the transfer of the Dīhli territory from the North-Western (now the United) Provinces, the Pandjāb and its dependencies were formed into a Lieutenant-Governorship.

The annexation of the Pandjāb by advancing the British administrative boundary across the Indus

brought the Government of India into closer contact with the Pathan tribes of the north-west frontier and the Amir of Afghanistan [q. v.]. Because this frontier was too long and too mountainous to admit of its being defended by the military alone, much depended upon the political management of the tribes. At first there was no special agency for dealing with the tribal tracts, and relations with the tribesmen were conducted by the deputy-commissioners of the six districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, Dera Isma'il Khan, and Dera Ghazi Khan. In 1876, the three northern districts formed the commissionership of Peshawar, the three southern ones that of the Deradji. The system of political agencies was not adopted until 1878, when a special officer was appointed for the Khyber during the Second Afghan War. Kurram became an agency in 1892, while the three remaining agencies of the Malakand, Tochi, and Wana were created between 1895 and 1896. The Malakand was placed under the direct control of the Government of India from the outset, all the other agencies remaining under the Pandjab Government. This was the arrangement until the creation of the North-West Frontier Province in 1901.

The Pandjab attained its present dimensions in 1911 when Dikh became a separate province. It was not however until 1921 that it was raised to the status of a governor's province. To-day it contains 14,930,000 Muhammadans, 5,600,000 Hindus, and 4,072,000 Sikhs. Unfortunately the spirit of communal antagonism has been fanned in the province by the activities of the *zanat*, *tabaq-i Islam*, and *tabligh* movements organized by Muslims for the purpose of combating the proselytizing activities of the Hindu community known as the *shudhi* movement. In 1926 Swami Shirdhanand, a leader of the *shudhi* movement, was murdered in Dikh by a Muslim. Communal relations were further embittered by the murder in Lahore of a Hindu bookseller who had published a libellous attack on the character of the Prophet of Islam in his book entitled the *Rangla Rasol*. Far more serious than this communal strife were the political disturbances culminating in the Jallianwala Bagh incident of 1919 (Sir M. O'Dwyer, *India As I Knew It, 1885-1925*).

At least 90 per cent. of the total population live in villages and 60 per cent. is supported by agriculture, for the Pandjab is a country of peasant proprietors. But the bulk of the cultivators are born in debt, live in debt, and die in debt. Almost the whole of this money has been advanced by Hindus and Sikhs who are not debarred by religion from the taking of interest, but, unfortunately, well over half of this debt has been incurred by Muhammadans. No community can hope to thrive under so great a handicap and some organization to combat this evil is essential to the prosperity of the Muhammadan community.

Bibliography: In addition to the standard works on the history of India: C. U. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads*, vol. viii, 1909; Mufti 'Ali al-Din, *Ibratnāma* (India Office, N° 3241); *Census of India (1931)*, vol. xvii, 1933; J. D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, 1918; M. L. Darling, *The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt*, 1925; C. C. Davies, *The Problem of the North-West Frontier*, 1932; C. Gough and A. D. Innes, *The Sikhs and the Sikh War*, 1897; L. H. Griffin, *The Rajas of*

the Punjab, 1873; do., *Ranjit Singh*, 1892; *Indian Statutory Commission*, vol. 4, 1930; S. M. Laif, *History of the Punjab*, 1891; do., *Lahore, its history, architectural remains and antiquities*, 1892; M. Macauliffe, *The Sikhs, Religion*, 6 vols., 1909; Ghulam Mahi 'Idin, *Tarikh-i Pandjab* (India Office, N° 3244); Muhammad Naki, *Shir Singh Nāma* (India Office, N° 3231); T. C. Plowden, *Kull-i-Afghāni*, 1875; H. Priestley, *Hayat-i-Afghāni*, 1874; *Punjab Administration Reports* (published annually); H. A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 3 vols., 1919.

(C. COLLIER DAVIES)

PANDJDIH, (PENJDEH) a village in the Turkoman republic of the U. S. S. R., situated to the east of the Kushk river near its junction with the Murghab at Pal-i Kishk. The fact that the inhabitants of this area, the Sarik Turkomans, were divided into five sections, the Soktis, Harzags, Khursandis, Bairat, and the 'Ali Shah, has been put forward as a possible explanation of the origin of the name Penjdkeh, but it carries no weight as the Sariks were only nineteenth century immigrants whereas the name was in use in the fifteenth century.

This obscure oasis owes a somewhat melancholy importance to the "Penjdkeh Incident" of 1885, when an Afghan force suffered heavy losses in an engagement with Russian troops. History proves that an ill-defined boundary is a potential cause of war. It was a knowledge of this and the Russian occupation of Merw, in 1884, that gave the necessary impetus to negotiations which ended in the appointment of an Anglo-Russian Boundary Commission for the delimitation and demarcation of the northern boundary of Afghanistan. Trouble immediately arose in this quarter for while the Russians contended that the inhabitants of Penjdkeh were independent the British held the view that they were subjects of the Amir of Afghanistan. According to the British, the district of Penjdkeh, which comprised the country between the Kushk and Murghab rivers from the Band-i Nadir to Ak Tepé, together with the rest of Badghis, formed part of the Herat province of Afghanistan. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century Penjdkeh had been occupied by Djamshidis and Hazaras. Towards the end of this period some Turkomans of the Ersari tribe, whose settlements were scattered along the banks of the Oxus between the Cardui and Balkh, moved to Penjdkeh and obtained permission to settle there. Salor Turkomans had also settled in this area. About 1857 the Ersaris migrated from the oasis of Penjdkeh and soon afterwards the Sarik Turkomans, forced southwards by their more powerful neighbours, the Tekkes, occupied Yulatan and Penjdkeh and compelled the Salor families to migrate elsewhere. Although, therefore, Penjdkeh had from time to time been occupied by various tribes, they had all, whether Djamshidis, Hazaras, Ersaris, Salors or Sariks, acknowledged their writ on Afghan soil and paid tribute to the *naib* or deputy of the Afghan governor of Herat. The Sarik Turkomans had even supplied the Amir with troops. The British therefore contended that the district of Badghis, of which Penjdkeh formed a part, had long been under Afghan rule (Foreign Office MSS. 65, 1205).

The Russians on the other hand contended that

the people of this oasis had always enjoyed independence. Lessar, a Russian engineer, who visited Pandjeh in March 1884, discovered no trace of Afghan authority, but a Russian doctor, named Regel, who visited it in June of the same year reported the presence of an Afghan detachment. In their opinion therefore Pandjeh had only recently been occupied by Afghan troops.

The fact that the Afghans had not permanently garrisoned this area was no proof of its independence. On the contrary, it was only natural that, after the Russian occupation of Merw and Pul-i-Khatun, Abd al-Rahmān Khān should have taken steps to indicate his sovereign rights over this area. When, therefore, an Afghan garrison occupied Pandjeh, the Russian Government immediately protested and disputed the Amir's claim to the territory. While negotiations were taking place between London and St. Petersburg events moved swiftly on the frontiers of Afghanistan. On March 29, 1885, General Komarov sent an ultimatum demanding the withdrawal of the Afghan garrison. The Afghans resolutely refused to withdraw whereupon the Russians attacked them driving them across the Pul-i-Khatun with the loss of some 900 men. It must be admitted that the posting of Afghan troops in Pandjeh, and the Russian advance to Yulatan on the Marghāb and to Pul-i-Khatun on the Hari Rūd, were regrettable actions almost certain to precipitate war. The whole incident should have been avoided, but the confusing reports of Lumsden, the British Commissioner, to the Foreign Office, and the delay of Zelenoi, the Russian Commissioner, in arriving at Sarakhs complicated matters still more.

At the time this incident seemed likely to embroil Russia and Britain in war, but, fortunately, the good sense of the Amir, who was at this critical moment on a visit to the Viceroy, and the diplomatic skill of Lord Dufferin prevented this, for even the pacific Mr. Gladstone had proposed to Parliament that £11,000,000 should be expended on preparations for war.

It was finally agreed that Pandjeh should be handed over to Russia in exchange for Dhu'l-Fikār, and by the year 1886 the northern boundary of Afghanistan had been demarcated from Dhu'l-Fikār to the meridian of Dukki within forty miles of the Oxus. After a dispute as to the exact point at which the boundary line should meet the Oxus, the process of demarcation was completed in 1888. This recognition of a definite frontier between Russia and Afghanistan led to a decided improvement in the Central Asian question.

Bibliography: Delimitation Afghane. Négotiations entre la Russie et la Grande-Bretagne, 1872-1885, 1886; Parliamentary Papers, Central Asia, 1884-1885, lxxxvii., c. 4387-4389, 4418; Public Record Office, London; Foreign Office MSS. 65, 1205; 1238-1245; C. E. Yate, Northern Afghanistan, 1888.

(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

PANGULU (Jav.), *pangulu* (Sund.), *pangulu* (Madur.), literally "headman, director" used in the east Indian Archipelago as the name for secular and religious chief administrators, in the islands of Java and Madura the name of a mosque official, namely the chief in his area. The official representatives of religion are organized there on the same scheme as the native administrative officials. Alongside of the regent, the highest

administrative official, is the pangulu of the regency, alongside of the head of the district is the pangulu of the district, called the *pangulu mab* or briefly *mab*, and so on. The officials of the mosque are graded in a hierarchy; the pangulu at the capital of the regency is at the head of all the personnel of the mosques of the regency. The village official in charge of the divine services is of a different origin. He is a member of the village authority for attending to the religious requirements of the village and does not belong to the staff of the mosque. This man is exceptionally called pangulu in Banten (Western Java); elsewhere he is known by other names.

The pangulu is the director of the mosque and the chief of its personnel; according to *adat* law, he is appointed, like the rest of the staff of the mosque, by the regent, usually being chosen from the staff of his own or another mosque. This procedure does not always guarantee that the man appointed is specially qualified (see below).

Theological training is quite free from special prescriptions. The student of theology, whether he intends to take up an official position or remain a private student, studies at schools (all private institutions of which there are many in the land). Each studies as he pleases, for shorter or longer period, just as he likes; an effort is made to attend lectures at several schools.

The functions of the pangulu are very varied, but not uniform throughout the whole regency. The office of director of the mosque has already been mentioned; in larger villages, especially at the capital of the regency, the staff is large: there the pangulu does not himself take part in the work. The pangulu has charge of marriages which are concluded in his presence: *talik* and *rukun* are pronounced by him and marriages are registered by him. The pangulu of a regency only performs this office in the case of very prominent families: in this case it is the custom to conclude the marriage in the house of the family. The pangulu also performs the ceremony when the *wali* of the bride appoints him *walik*, a regular custom, observed by the majority without the reason being quite clear to them; to the popular mind the pangulu is the person who binds in marriage. It is therefore a very old custom to have the marriage performed in the mosque by the pangulu: this unwritten custom has now been given the force of law by a colonial enactment (since 1895, the law in question is of 1929). This law also regulates the fees to be paid at marriages, proclamations of *talik* and *rukun*, taking the old customs as the guiding principle. These fees form the most important part of the income of the pangulu and his staff; the latter also receive their share; if properly qualified they frequently act as deputy for the pangulu at marriages. Women who have no *wali* are married by the pangulu as *wali hakim*. The number of pangulus with this qualification is always less than the number of officials appointed to perform marriages. In some districts the regent appoints himself *wali hakim* but in practice he leaves the exercise of his rights to the pangulu.

The *shukut* (Ar. *shukr*) is of course not collected in Java and Madura by the authorities; it is, if it is levied at all, a free-will offering and in many places insignificant. Only in Western Java was the collection at one time organised and in the

Additions and Corrections

- p. 834^b, l. 12, instead of *Sofite*, to be read *Sofitae*;
p. 946^a, l. 67, instead of *Leipig*, to be read *Upsala*.



E. J. BRILL — PUBLISHER — LEYDEN

Just published.

STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE UND KULTUR DES NAHEN UND FERNEN OSTENS

PAUL KAHLE zum 60. Geburtstag überreicht von Freunden und Schülern
aus dem Kreise des orientalischen Seminars der Universität Bonn,
herausgegeben von W. HEFFENING und W. KIRFEL.

1935. With 3 fig. in the text and portrait. Svo. VIII, 232 pages.

Price . . . 9 guilders

Bound in buckram 10.50 guilders

CONTENTS

- A. SCHÜRT-BOHN: Wann entstand das Gilgamesch-Epos?
- B. ROHMERT-BOHN: Die Geschichte der Maure.
- C. HUBER-BOHN: Das Schicksal im Alten Testament.
- D. PETER-BOHN: Beitrag zur textgeschichtlichen Überlieferung von Ez. 34, 11.
- E. SCHÜRT-BOHN: Die Probleme einer Edition der Septuaginta.
- F. SCHÜRT-BOHN: Nachahmung christlicher liturgischer Akklamationen in den Psalmen der Septuaginta.
- G. E. ARYAN-BOHN: Paul's First Century: Faint or the status of Christianity in the Mosaic Empire.
- H. L. DIERCKX-BOHN: Lehrer und Schüler im Koptischen Orientalehen des 16. Jahrhunderts.
- I. FRIEDRICH-BOHN: Die Begriffe des Propheten in der islamischen und Theologie.
- J. W. FRIEDRICH-BOHN: Spuren des Zoroastrismus in der islamischen Tradition.
- K. HEFFENING-BOHN: Zum Aufbau der islamischen Rechtswerke.
- L. LAY-BOHN: Le'har al-Bihar: Ein islamisches Schatzkästchen.
- M. MIZUKAWA-BOHN: (Hühner) „Süßes Lamm“.
- N. ROHMERT-BOHN: Über gläserne Leinwand und chinesische Formulare in islamischen Liedern.
- O. BOHN-BOHN: al-Magasin's Spezialwerk über „Märtyrer der Liebe“.
- P. HEFFENING-BOHN: Die Anschauungen von den Konstellationstypen in der Medizin Al-Buhārī und moderner Zeit.
- Q. KIRFEL-BOHN: Vom Steinkult in Indien.
- R. LÖNN-BOHN: Versuch einer Entwicklungsgeschichte in Indien.
- S. MATSUOKA-BOHN: Seribitum-wirkende Pflanzenstoffe. Komplexionstypus.
- T. KIRFEL-BOHN: Kanton zu Kanton. Ein spezifisch chinesisches Fernprinzip und die beiden Gegenrichtungen seiner Verwertung in der ostasiatischen Literatur.
- U. FRIEDRICH-BOHN: Shōmō Tōshi 18. Hōshi 18. Kōmō — 18. 17. Verfassungsgesetz Shōmō Tōshi's und eine japanische Interpretation.
- V. SCHÜRT-BOHN: Verwendungen pulverisierter Formulare in der chinesischen Medizin.
- W. WANG-BOHN: Mithrasische Beziehungen zwischen China und dem Westen im Laufe der Jahrhunderte.
- X. KIRFEL-BOHN: Verschiedenheit der Schichten Paul Kahle's.

C35 ✓ Vol III
THE
ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

A DICTIONARY OF THE GEOGRAPHY,
ETHNOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY OF THE
MUHAMMADAN PEOPLES

PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF LEADING ORIENTALISTS

EDITED BY

M. TH. HOUTSMA, A. J. WENSINCK

H. A. R. GIER, W. HEFFENING and E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL

C35

38/36

14/8/36

NUMBER 88

PANGULO — HARR

LEIDEN

LAT. E. J. BRILL LTD. 1936

SOLE AGENTS AND PRINTERS

LONDON

LEWIS & CO.

40 GREAT RUSSELL STREET

Abh. G. W. Göt. = Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen
 Abh. X. M. = Abhandlungen I. d. Kunde der Morgenländer
 Abh. Fr. Ak. W. = Abhandlungen d. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.
 Ab. Fr. B. = Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française
 Ab. Fr. SC. = Bulletin du Com. de l'Asie franç., Enseignements Coloniaux
 AM = Archives maritimes
 AMZ = Allgemeine Monatszeitschrift
 Anth. = Anthropologie
 Ann. Wiss. = Annalen der phil.-hist. Kl. d. Ak. der Wiss. Wien
 AO = Acta Orientalia
 AQW = Annales Quarterly Review
 ARW = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
 As. Fr. I. = Bulletin du Comité de l'Asie française
 BAH = Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispanica
 BGA = Bibliotheca geographorum arabicarum ed. de Guize
 BIE = Bulletin de l'Institut Egyptien
 BPAO = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire
 BSOS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institute
 BTLY = Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned.-Indië
 BZ = Byzantinische Zeitschrift
 CIA = Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum
 CIS = Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum
 EC = L'Egypte Contemporaine
 GAL = Geschichte der arabischen Literatur
 GGA = Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen
 GJ = Geographical Journal
 GMS = Göttinger Memorial Series
 GOR = Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches
 GOW = Gelehrte, die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke
 GZP. = Geschiedenis der Iranische Philologie
 GSI = Giornale della Soc. Asiatica Italiana
 HUP = Hüb., History of osman. poetry
 IJ = Indische Gids
 IJM = International Review of Mission
 J. = Der Islam
 JA = Journal Asiatique
 JAS = Journal of the African Society
 JAO = Journal of the American Oriental Society
 JAnt. = Journal of the Anthropological Institute
 JBB = Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Soc. of Bengal
 JE = Jewish Encyclopedia
 JHS = Journal of the Hellenic Historical Society
 JR = Jewish Quarterly Review
 JRS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
 JGS = Journal of the Royal Geographical Society
 JF. S. = Journal de la Société Française d'Égyptologie
 KCA = Kirimi Cuman Archives
 KZ = Kolnische Rundschau
 KZ = Kölnische Rundschau (Review orientale)
 Mch. = Al-Machmud
 MDIV = Mitteilungen und Nachr. des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
 MFH(orient.) = Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de Beyrouth
 MGG Wien = Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien
 MGH = Mitl. z. Geschichte der Math. und Naturwissenschaften
 MHW = Monatschrift f. d. Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judentums
 MZ = Mitteil.
 MZEGH = Mémoires de l'Institut Egyptien
 MZSO = Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire
 Mitt. DÖG = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
 Mitt. VAG = Mitteilungen des Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft
 MMAP = Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire

MO = La Revue orientale
 MÖG = Mitteilungen der orientalischen Gesellschaft
 MFO = Mémoires de la Société Française d'Égyptologie
 MSL = Mémoires de la Société Linguistique
 MSOS Ab. = Mitteilungen des Sem. für orient. Sprachen, Afr. Studien
 MSOS As. = Mitteilungen des Sem. für orient. Sprachen, Westasiat. Studien
 MTM = Mitl. türkisch-islam. weltansch.
 MW = The Moslem World
 NE = Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi
 NGW Göt. = Nachrichten d. Gesellschaft d. Wiss. Göttingen
 NO = Des Neue Orient
 OA = Orientalisches Archiv
 OC = Oriens Christianus
 OLZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
 OM = Oriens Modernus
 PEFQS = Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement
 PELOV oder F. E. Lang. Or. Vie. = Publications de l'École des langues orientales vivantes
 Pst. Mitt. = Petersburger Mitteilungen
 PRGS = Proceedings of the R. Geographical Society
 QDC = Questions diplomatiques et coloniales
 RAAD = Revue de l'Asiatic Arabie de Damas
 RAfr. = Revue Africaine
 REJ = Revue des Études Juives
 RE. Isl. = Revue des études islamiques
 RHE = Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
 RI = Revue Indigène
 RMM = Revue du Monde Musulman
 RO = Revue Orientalologique
 ROC = Revue de l'Orient Chrétien
 ROL = Revue de l'Orient Latin
 RRAH = Rev. de la B. Asiatique de la Historia, Madrid
 RRAI = Rendiconto della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di sci. mor., attic. e stor.
 RSO = Rivista degli studi orientali
 RT = Revue Tunisienne
 SHAL. Berl. = Stempelberichte der Ak. der Wiss. Heidelberg
 SHAL. Wien = Stempelberichte der Ak. der Wiss. in Wien
 SH. Bayr. Ak. = Stempelberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
 SHPM = Stg. = Stempelberichte f. phys.-math. Statistik in Erlangen
 St. Fr. Ak. W. = Stempelberichte der preuss. Ak. der Wiss. in Berlin
 TBGW = Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Wetenschappen
 THM = Türkiye (Türk) Edebiyatı Medeniyeti, Revue Historique publiée par l'Institut d'Études Ottomane
 THM = TOEM
 TLV = Tijdschrift v. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
 Vth. Ak. Amst. = Verhandlungen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam
 Verh. Med. Ak. Amst. = Verhandlungen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam
 WI = Die Welt des Islams
 Wiss. Verh. DÖG = Wissenschaftliche Verhandlungen der Deutschen Oriental-Gesellschaft
 WZEM = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
 Z = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
 Zep. = Zepher
 ZATW = Zeitschrift f. alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
 ZDMG = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
 ZDV = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
 ZIE. Berl. = Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde in Berlin
 ZI = Zeitschrift für Indologie u. Iranistik
 ZK = Zeitschrift für Kakanalipische
 ZMG = Zeitschrift f. Orientalische Geschichte

hands of the mosque officials. The revenue went to them. To this day the *djakat* is still a considerable source of revenue for the pangulus, especially in western Java.

The pangulu — this is true only of the pangulu of the regency — is also the *haji*; but his jurisdiction is limited to family law and the *mekap* (Ar. *wakf*) estates. The office of *haji* is his main sphere of activity. These judicial functions of the pangulu have a curious history. The colonial authorities thought from the official position of the mosque officials that they were priests; they further thought that they had to deal with a *collegium* because the pangulu sits with some of his subordinates to assist him when in legal session. This misunderstanding was perpetuated fifty years ago in colonial legislation. The pangulu was made president of a bench of judges; his assessors were appointed by the authorities and chosen from the subordinates of the pangulu and private individuals learned in law. In this way a pangulu of lower rank may be a member of a "priestly college". It is now intended to restore the old state of affairs. The "college" is to be abolished and the pangulu's court i. e. one in which the pangulu, sitting with assistants, will be sole judge, will take its place. The law is prepared but has not yet been put into operation (1934). The "priestly college" holds its meetings in a room in the mosque. Most of the cases are brought by women. In Western and Central Java it is the regular custom for the husband immediately after the wedding to be forced to pronounce the *talik* in a way which, from the legal point of view, is not quite free from objection. If he does not fulfil the obligations which he takes upon himself in the *talik* formulae and if the wife is not satisfied she brings the matter before the "college" and the latter pronounces that a *talik* has taken place. These are the most common cases in Eastern Java and Madura; a facilitated *faikh* takes the place of the *talik*. We also find cases in the rest of Java where the "priestly college" decides questions of *faikh*. Women who are refused *rafafa* also apply to the "college". If there are difficulties after a divorce about the division of property acquired during marriage, or if the heirs to a property are dissatisfied with the decisions of an ordinary pangulu, the matter is referred to the "college" for decision. The method of procedure is as follows. The "college" gives its verdict as to how the property should be divided according to the *shari'a*. If the parties prepare to carry this out but all are not ready to do so, the scheme can only be legally enforced when the secular court has given authority. This is always done if the verdict of the "priestly college" is formally in order; no test is made of its material correctness. Fees have to be paid whenever application is made to the "college"; a considerable revenue is gained from the division of estates as in such cases the "college" gets a percentage of the objects in dispute, often 10% — hence the name *unur*. The "college" is consulted also in other matters of family law but these are of less importance.

Finally there are *mekap* foundations the founders of which intended the revenues for mosques, schools of religion, or cemeteries. It is the task of the "priestly college" to decide according to the *shari'a* such disputes as arise and in general to supervise the administration.

The pangulus in the native states are appointed by the princes; their sphere of activity is the same. Whenever a new pangulu is appointed he is given his appointment as *haji* by an edict "in confirmation of my oral command", as the phrase is, in order to comply with the demands of the *shari'a*. In this edict the phraseology suggests that the ruler hands over his jurisdiction to the pangulu.

The Netherlands Indies colonial law requires the presence of the pangulu when Muslims appear in the government courts as accused in civil or criminal cases. A number of such assessors are attached to each court according to its requirements. They are appointed by the government and chosen from the personnel of the mosques. It is arranged that the director of the mosque is at the same time an assessor. The right of appointing pangulus has thus gone out of the hands of the regents into those of the colonial administration. As the pangulu is usually chosen from the lower staff, the government has been able to secure influence over the appointment of these minor officials so far as they are capable of being pangulus. The object is to choose as competent men as possible, so that the prestige of the pangulu has increased in the Muslim community. This is less true of their position as assessors at the courts; the colonial law intended that the court should be advised regarding the *adat* (traditional) law. The choice of the pangulu was therefore a mistake, as the latter goes by the *fiqh* books.

The word pangulu as the name of a mosque official is not unknown outside the islands of Java and Madura. In some places there are pangulus whose work resembles that of the pangulus of Java, e.g. in the centre of the former sultanate of Palembang (Sumatra). The colonial authorities have retained the name; they have also given the name to the court assessors appointed by them in districts where the name was not previously in use.

Bibliography: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Vereenigde Geschiedenis*, IV, 279 188, 89 188; 189, 366 188; C. van Vollenhoven, *Het Adatrecht van Nederlandsch-Indië*, II, 160 188.

(R. A. KERN)

PANIPAT, a town and *taluk* in the Karnal district of the Punjab [q. v.]. On three occasions has the fate of Hindustan been decided on the plain of Panipat: in 1526, when Babur [q. v.], the Barid Turk, defeated Ibrahim Lodi; in 1556, when Akbar [q. v.] crushed the forces of Hemu; and lastly, in 1761, when the Marathas were defeated by Ahmad Shah Durrani [q. v.]. The geographical factor combined with internal decay and a weak system of frontier defence has been chiefly responsible for this. From the strategic background of Afghanistan the path for invaders lay along the lines of least resistance, the Khyber, Kurram, Tochi, and Gomal passes, on to the Punjab plains, for the Indus has never proved an obstacle to an enterprising general. Checked on the south by the deserts of Rājputāna, invading armies were forced to enter the Ganges and Jhanna valleys through the narrow bottleneck between the north-eastern extremity of the desert and the foot of the Himalayas.

Babur's success over Ibrahim Lodi, in 1526, has long been regarded as resulting from the extensive employment of artillery. The source of this error is to be found in an inaccurate translation of the word *arsab*. It is true that 700 *arsab* were used

by Bābur, but it is incorrect to regard these as gun-carriages, for the word simply means "cart". There is no textual or circumstantial evidence for supposing that Bābur had guns in such numbers as to demand 700 gun-carriages for their transport. Indeed, from Bābur's "Autobiography" it may be inferred that he possessed two guns only and Bābur himself makes his victory a bowman's success. The importance of the first battle of Pāṇipat is that it decided the fate of the Lodī dynasty. Far more formidable was the resistance offered by the Rājputs at Khāna in the following year.

The second battle of Pāṇipat, in 1556, when Akbar defeated Hemū, is of outstanding importance in the history of India, for there was no Mughal empire before Akbar, only the attempt to create one.

After his victory over the Marāṭhas in 1761, Ahmad Shāh Durrānī made no attempt to consolidate his position in Hindustān but returned to Afghanistan. The Marāṭhas were only temporarily crushed, for they rapidly recovered from this defeat and, by 1774, were once more a menace to the peace of India. The importance of this battle is that it facilitated the growth of British power.

Bibliography: A. S. Beveridge, *Bābur-nāma*, II, 1921; H. Beveridge, *Akbar-nāma*, II, 58-109; Ali Muhammad Khān, *Mir 'Alī Akbar* (Ribe, N° 3598, fol. 583 v.), *Nigār-nāma-i Hind*, Orme 1896 (see also *Asiatic Researches*, vol. III, and Elliot and Dowson, VIII, 398-402); *Selections from the Padshah's Daftar, Letters and Dispatches relating to the Battle of Panipat, 1747-1761*, 1930. (C. COLLIN DAVIES)

PĀRA, a Turkish coin, originally a silver piece of 4 *ashra*, first issued early in the sixteenth century; it soon replaced the *ashra* as the monetary unit. The weight, originally 16 grains (1.10 grammes), sank to one quarter of this weight by the beginning of the sixteenth century and the silver content also depreciated considerably. The multiples of the silver *pāra* were 5 (*beḡlik*), *pāras*: 10 (*onik*); 15 (*onbeḡlik*); 20 (*yigirmi para-lik*); 30 (*çelebi*) and 40 (*churuk*) or piastre. Higher denominations: 60 (*altmışlik*); 80 (*ikilik*) and 100 (*yüzlük*) *pāras* were occasionally issued.

In the new Medjidiye currency of 1260 (1844) the *pāra* became a small copper coin with multiples 5 (*beḡ para-lik*), 10 (*on para-lik*), 20 (*yigirmi para-lik*) and 40 (*churuk*). In the later years of the Turkish empire, the larger copper pieces were replaced by nickel. The *pāra* under the republic is a money of account, the 100 *pāra* or 2½ piastre piece of aluminium bronze being the smallest denomination issued.

When Serbia became independent it retained the name *pāra* for its smallest coin as did Montenegro also. The name survives in Yugo-Slavia, where the nickel 50 *pāra* piece is the smallest coin issued. During the Russian occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1773-1774 copper coins were issued with the value in *pāras* and copecks.

Bibliography: Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol. VIII, London 1881; Bellin, in *J.A.*, ser. 6, III, p. 447-451. (J. ALLAN)

PARGANA, the Indian name for an aggregate of villages. The first reference to this term in the chronicles of the Sultanate of Delhi appears to be in the *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāh* of Shams al-Shihī 'Alī (*Bibliotheca Indica*, 1891, p. 99), for it is not used by Hasan al-Nisām in

his *Tarīkh al-Mulūk* or by Miṣbāḥ al-Dīn in his *Tārīkh-i Nāṣir*. Although it first came into prominence in the sixteenth century partially superseding the term *ṣayla*, it is, in all probability, based on still more ancient divisions in existence before the Muslim conquest. The exact date of its creation is therefore uncertain.

An account of the internal working of a *pargana* occurs in the chronicles of the reign of Shīr Shāh who learned the details of revenue administration in the management of his father's two *parganas* at Samārah in Bihār. When he became ruler of Hindustān he organized his kingdom into administrative units known as *sarkārs* which were divided into collections of villages termed *parganas*. Each *pargana* was in charge of a *shifār* or military police officer who supported the *amir* or civil officer. The *amir* had for his civil subordinates a *shifār* or treasurer and two *shikhs* or clerks, one for Hindi and the other for Persian correspondence. It does not seem correct to hold the view that in this respect he was an administrative innovator, for the provincial officials and institutions which he has been credited with creating were already in existence before he ascended the throne. This remained the administrative system until Akbar organized the Mughal empire into *sabhs* (provinces) which were divided into *sarkārs* (districts). The smallest fiscal unit under Akbar was the *pargana* or *maḥall*. Thus, for example, the *sabha* of Oudh was divided into five *sarkārs* and thirty-eight *parganas* (*Pin-i Akbar*, in *Bibliotheca Indica*, II, 170-177 [jr. Jarrett], 1891).

Under the Mughal emperors the chief *pargana* officials were the *ḥānṣā*, the *amir*, and the *shifār*, who were responsible for the *pargana* accounts, the rates of assessment, the survey of lands, and the protection of the rights of the cultivators. Similarly in each village a *patwārī* or village accountant was appointed whose functions in the village resembled those of the *ḥānṣā* in the *pargana*. It must not be imagined that the *pargana* was a stable and uniform unit. Not only did it vary in area in different parts of the country, but often a new land settlement was followed by a fresh division and re-distribution of these fiscal units. The co-extensiveness of a *pargana* with the possessions of a clan or family has given rise to the suggestion that it was not only a revenue-paying area, but that it was founded on the distribution of property at the time of its creation.

The Twenty-four *Parganas*: a district of Bengal lying between 21° 31' and 22° 57' N. and 88° 21' and 89° 6' E. It derives its name from the number of *parganas* comprised in the *saminādar* ceded to the English East India Company in 1757 by Mir Dīr, the Nawab Nājib of Bengal. This was confirmed by the Mughal emperor in 1759 when he granted the Company a perpetual heritable jurisdiction over this area. In the same year Lord Clive, as a reward for services rendered by him to Mir Dīr, was presented with the revenues of this district. This grant which amounted to £ 30,000 per annum, made Clive both the servant and the landlord of the Company. The sum continued to be paid to him until his death in 1774, when, by a deed sanctioned by the emperor, the whole proprietary right in the land and revenues reverted to the Company.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

PĀRSIS. Under this name (Pahl. *pārsīk*, Mod. Pers. *ḥarsī* literally "inhabitant of Pārs") are known the Zoroastrian Iranians, who, after the Arab conquest, refusing to adopt Islam fled and after various vicissitudes finally settled in India in Gujjarāṭ, where they now form an ethnical and religious group of 100,000 persons (101,778 according to the census of 1921). At the present day the name *Pārsi* is beginning to be used also for the Zoroastrians remaining in Irān instead of *zēher*, the somewhat contemptuous significance of which (cf. WAGHĀN) is no longer in keeping with the spirit of tolerance which is increasing every day in Irān.

What we know of the wanderings of the Pārsis before their arrival in their present abode in India is based principally on two narratives: *Āḡosh-i Sanjān*, written in verse by a Zoroastrian priest named Bahman Kāi Kōhād of Nowsārī in the year of Yazdagird 969 (1600 A.D.) and *Āḡosh-i Zor-asthīyān-i Hindūstān wa-Bayān-i Atāsh Bakrām-i Nowsārī*, a work written at the end of the xviiith century by the Dastur Shapurji Manockji Sanjān (1735-1805).

According to these sources, the first group was composed of Zoroastrians who about a century after the Arab conquest went from Shīrkān, where they had sought refuge, to the south, reaching the island of Hormuz at the mouth of the Persian Gulf (751 A.D.). After a short sojourn there they crossed to Dīn on the Gulf of Cambay to the south of the coast of Kathiāwar (766) and remained there 19 years. Continuing their journey southwards they landed at Sanjān (785) and installed the sacred fire there. According to the tradition of the Pārsi priests, before obtaining permission to settle there they drew up for the lord of Dīn, Dīshī Kāush, in a series of 16 *shāhans* the principal articles of their faith. In these *shāhans*, of which several versions exist in Sanskrit and Gujjarāṭī, several points of contact between Hinduism and Zoroastrianism are cleverly brought out. At Sanjān they were twice joined by other bodies of refugees and these formed a community which prospered rapidly and spread to Cambay, Bāziw, Bhaktner and Ankleswar. After the year 1000 Pārsis are also found in upper India, but it is probable that these were isolated bodies who came directly from Irān.

In 1490 A.D. the Pārsis who had made common cause with the Hindus were forced by the troops of sultan Mahmūd Bigara to abandon Sanjān and take refuge with their sacred fire among the mountains of Barhut. When the Muslim pressure ceased, the Zoroastrian community resumed its development. According to the date given in *Āḡosh-i Sanjān*, the sacred fire was installed at Nowsārī in 1491 after the sack of Sanjān, and after a brief period at Barhut and Bānsdah it was brought back in 1516.

The sacred fire was installed at Sūr in 1735 as a result of the raids of the Pindarries but the settlement of the Pārsis in the town dates from the second half of the xviith century. We do not know the exact date when the Pārsis went to Bombay, which is now the principal centre of the Pārsi community in India.

The Pārsis were able to settle in India without meeting any opposition mainly owing to the excellence of the moral principles of the Mazdaean religion observed in the threefold rule of *amata*,

āšta, *āwarsān*—"good thoughts", "good words", "good works"—which is found in the Avesta. Although they have always abstained from any proselytising activities, they had the good fortune to attract the great emperor Akbar to the Mazdaean religion. Trustworthy and active, assisted by the fact that the social character of their religion does not prevent adaptation to the forms of western life, they are at the present day a flourishing and well organised community much appreciated for the high standard and dignity of their lives.

The old religious inheritance of Zoroastrianism has been preserved by the Pārsis with remarkable piety. In the xviith century on the initiative of the *darī* Cāngi Ash of Nowsārī a mission was sent to Persia to obtain from the Zoroastrians who had remained there information regarding certain details of the religion. As a result the study of the manuscripts of the Avesta and of the exegetic literature was intensified and at the present day Pārsi scholars are displaying a laudable activity in the publication of the old texts.

The sacerdotal class still occupies a predominant place in the community; its hierarchy (*dastūr*, *mōdān*, *ārbān*) is a hereditary one.

The interests of the community are managed by a committee (*panjāp* composed of 6 *dastūrs* and 12 *mōdāns*) but with incorporation in the public life of British India the functions of such a committee are gradually diminishing.

The mass of the faithful (*shāstān*) conform—with a few concessions to the demands of modern life—fully to the ritual prescription of Zoroastrianism. Birth must take place on the floor of the house to show detachment from the things of the world. At the age of 7 there is the investiture with the *āwari*, the sacred cord formed of 72 threads which winds three times round life. The funeral rites consist of exposure of the corpse on the tower of silence which is frequented by vultures (*dakhn*). In the ceremony of marriage, which tends more and more to monogamy with the marriage of full rights (Pahl. *banh-i pāstāshāyīk*) to the exclusion of secondary marriages, Hindu customs have prevailed.

The prohibitions regarding contamination of the sacred elements of fire, water, earth are still scrupulously observed and the greatest care taken in purification after contact with impure objects, especially corpses. The Zoroastrian principles of morality are faithfully observed in all activities of life; hatred of falsehood, honesty in all dealings, assistance of the poor are the regular rules of piety.

The Zoroastrian community in India is keenly interested in the lot of their co-religionists in Irān and it was through the intervention of the Pārsi "Persian Zoroastrian Ancestral Fund" that the *ghizy* paid by the Zoroastrians of Yazd and Kirman was abolished in 1882 by the Persian government. As a result of the decline of religious intolerance in Persia, there has been increasing intercourse with the Zoroastrian communities still existing in Irān and the Pārsi community has frequently sent appeals to the Muslims of Persia to ask them to return to the ancient religion.

While as regards doctrine perfect harmony still exists in the community, as regards ritual controversies have not been wanting and are not lacking within it. In 1686 the question of precedence was raised between the priests of Nowsārī and those

of Sandjān. Another question which has been a subject of controversy even since the xviiith century, is the question whether the use of the *padān* — i.e. a kind of veil placed in front of the mouth to prevent the sacred fire from being contaminated by the breath — should also be put on the dying, thus violating the laws of piety.

Much more serious however is another controversy, that regarding the calendar; it goes back to the xviiith century and divides the community into two sects: the *Shahenshāhīs* and the *Qadīmīs*.

According to the Avestic calendar adopted by the Pārsis, to make up for the loss of a quarter of a day each year, a month is added every 120 years but this system was not observed during the period of persecution following the Muslim conquest. In 1745 a group of the faithful felt the need for a reform of the calendar; but this group, which took the name of *Qadīmīs*, was opposed by those who wished to adhere to the Hindu system of calculating the months and who took the name of *Shahenshāhīs*. The result is that the calendar adopted by the latter is a month behind that adopted by the *Qadīmīs*. The Pārsis follow the era of Yazdigird which dates from the accession of the last Sāsānid (June 16, 632).

Bibliography. For the *Kitāb-i Sandjān*, cf. E. B. Eastwick, in *J.R.A.S. Bombay Branch*, i. (1842), p. 167—191 and J. J. Modi, *A few Events in the Early History of the Pārsis and their Dates*, in *Zartoghti I* (1273 Yazdigird), ii. (1274 Yazdigird). — For the *Kitāb-i Zartoghti*—*Kitāb-i Hindustān*, cf. J. J. Modi, *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, xvii. (1930), p. 1—63; xix. (1931), p. 45—57; xxv. (1933), p. 1—155; Romandji Byramdji Patell, *Pārsi Prākāśh, being a Record of Important Events in the Growth of the Pārsi Community in Western India, Bombay 1878—1888* (Gujarātī), ser. ii., 1891; *The Gujarāt Pārsis from their Earliest Settlement to the Present Time*, Bombay 1898; D. Menant, *Le Pārsi: histoire des communautés zoroastriennes de l'Inde*, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, Paris 1898; *Pārsis et Parsisme*, *ibid.*, Paris 1904; art. *Pārsis*, in Hastings, *Encyclop. of Rel. and Ethics*, J. J. Modi, *Pārsis at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Mithrji Rana*, Bombay 1903; Menant, *Les Pārsis à la Cour d'Akbar*, in *R. H. R.*, i. (1904), p. 38 199; G. Bonet-Maury, *La religion d'Akbar et ses rapports avec l'islamisme et le parsisme*, in *R. H. R.*, ii. (1905), p. 153 199; K. Inostrantsev, *The Emigration of the Pārsis to India and the Muslim World in the midst of the xviiith century*, transl. by L. Bogdanov, in *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, i. (1922), p. 33 199; J. J. Modi, *A Pārsi High Priest (Dastur Azar Kaimūn 1509—1614 a. D.) with his Zoroastrian Disciples in Patna, in the 16th and 17th Century a. C.*, *ibid.*, x. (1932), p. 1. 199. (ART. PAGLIARO)

PARWANA. [See MU'IN AL-DIN SULAIMĀN.]

PASANTREN. Javanese "*santri*-place", a seminary for students of theology (*santri*) on the islands of Java and Madura, Madar, *pasantren*, Sund. usually *pondok*, i.e. the lodgings of the students of the school ("to go to the *pondok*" = to attend a *pasantren*). — Elementary education i.e. reciting the *Kuṣṭha* and the elements of a knowledge of ceremonial law is given in the East Indian Archipelago wherever there are Muhammadans by teachers, who confine themselves to these subjects, in their own

houses. In the larger villages and towns of Java and Madura there are also teachers who collect pupils around them in a mosque, in their own house or in a special building. If their reputation increases it often happens that students come from a distance and live in the place for a time to enjoy their instruction.

The *pasantrens* however are institutions for advanced theological training. They consist of several buildings and when they are not built out in the country, form at least a separate quarter of the village. Javanese princes have from time to time issued edicts making villages "free" i.e. the taxes and services which they have to yield are given in perpetuity to the teacher of the *pasantrens* founded there. Pious individuals have also endowed *madāris* in favour of *pasantren*. The others are private institutions which owe their origin to the initiative of a learned man who establishes himself as a teacher. Their foundation and prosperity or decline is therefore bound up with the personality of the teacher and the estimation in which his learning is held; even *pasantrens* which are regularly endowed are influenced by this factor.

The *pasantren* consists in the first place of the houses of the teacher and his assistants, then of lecture-rooms, a chapel, rarely a Friday Mosque, the lodgings of the students (*pondok*), rice-barns, all of which occupy a considerable space. The *pondok* alone possess a peculiar form of architecture not found in other buildings. A *pondok* is a quadrangular building built of the usual materials. The interior is divided by two walls into three long compartments of about equal breadth, the central one of which forms a corridor running from an end of the building to the other. The two outer ones form the living rooms; each of them is divided into cells of equal size by partitions. The door of the *pondok* is in the centre of one of the shorter outer walls; it opens into the corridor. Only blank walls are seen on right and left as one enters; then it is noticed that very low little doors are let into these walls, made of the same material as they are; these admit to the cells. The little doors are at regular intervals in the two walls, two always being opposite one another. The cells are lit from the outside by little windows in the wall; they are so low that the occupant can only sit or lie on the floor; for the students study in a recumbent position. Several students live in one cell; in very popular *pasantrens*, the *pondok* may have two stories. The number of students may amount to several hundreds. It may also be quite small. There are hundreds of *pasantren* in existence. In each *pondok* discipline is maintained by one of the older students or by a junior teacher. In spite of this, cleanliness leaves much to be desired. The head of the *pondok* is at the same time tutor and assists the students under him in every way. We also find women sharing in the instruction given in a *pasantren* but it is very rare for them to live in one.

The *pasantrens* have a life of their own. Great activity prevails even before dawn. After the *salat al-subh* which the teacher himself conducts and which is followed by a *dhikr*, the lectures begin. The teacher takes the beginners one after the other and after their lesson they return to the *pondok*; here they go over what they have learned by themselves or with a more advanced student or with the head of the *pondok* until noon. The students

then have their midday meal, the *santri* of each *pondok* forming one mess; this is practically speaking their only meal. All then go to chapel to the *jalat al-yukh*. They are summoned to three further *jalat* in the course of the day. The intervals between them are devoted to lectures and study. The more advanced students are taken together by the teacher; he reads the Arabic text, translates it and adds any necessary notes of explanation. After the *jalat al-‘ishā* the day's work is over and the students retire for the night. Some *santri* may still be engaged on little tasks which may bring them in something, soon these also stop and quiet reigns over all. — Friday brings a variation in this monotonous round; all go to the nearest Friday mosque to attend the *jalat al-‘ajunā*. Harvest is also a busy time for the *santri*; they work in the rice-fields or beg for *sakāt*. Many *santri* go home in the month of the fast.

Fikih is the primary subject of study in the *pasantrens*; the Arabic works used are those in use in other Shīfī lands. There are also a large number of Javanese works; those based on Arabic sources or theological works taken from Arabic are known as *kitab*. Javanese is the language of the *pasantrens*; in the Sundanese speaking districts (western Java) Javanese works are more and more replaced by Sundanese. At the same time dogmatics are also studied. Here no particular *madhab* is followed, nor are the works used written only by Shīfīs. Orthodox mysticism is less studied. There is, it is true, a popular form of mysticism tinged with pantheism; but this is less and less taught in the *pasantrens*. The *santri* calls the main *fikih* book used by him in the *pasantren* *kitab pekik* without further qualification (he hardly knows its title) and work on dogmatics *kitab usul*. Small books for elementary instruction on the duties of religion and dogmatics are also called *kitab usul*.

The method of instruction is one peculiar to the *pasantren*. As soon as he has finished the elementary text-books, the student is introduced to more important Arabic texts. He reads them, sentence by sentence, under the supervision of the teacher who himself has perhaps never studied Arabic properly and has only his memory to rely upon for the vocalisation. The sentence is translated into Javanese and paraphrased by the teacher. Finally the student is so far advanced that he can translate essay texts from Arabic into Javanese (a list of the texts most used [at the time] is given in *T.B.G.K.W.*, xxxi. [1886], p. 518 *seq.*). This takes a long time; the joy however at seeing his knowledge steadily increasing and the pleasant feeling of being able to read texts in the original spurs the student on. Under Meccan and Hadramawt influence, however, this method is being gradually driven out by another which begins with Arabic grammar. It certainly seems the more logical; one disadvantage, however, is that the study of Arabic offers so many difficulties to the Indonesian that many lose heart before they succeed in reading texts.

Study at the *pasantrens* is quite free. Diplomas are neither sought nor given. The student comes and goes as he pleases. The majority when they enter the *pasantren* have already had an elementary education at home. The desire to increase their knowledge of the faith, the wish among rich and prominent families to see one of their sons devoting himself to the study of religion and among others

the hope of gaining a livelihood, bring young men into the *pasantren*. The *santri* endeavour to attend the lectures of a number of teachers, each on his special subject. They therefore go from one school to another; some indeed travel about all their lives studying. Others when they think they have acquired sufficient learning settle somewhere, but not in their own districts, as teachers or become assistant teachers in a *pasantren* or they may prefer to remain "independent scholars". There are no offices for which study in a *pasantren* is a requisite preliminary; in general the theologians are averse from anything official or belonging to the state but the higher mosque officials have usually studied for a time in a *pasantren*.

It is considered very reprehensible to give instruction in sacred learning for an agreed fee. Nevertheless, most of the teachers are well to do. Pious gifts are liberally given to them on account of the blessing they bring. The teacher is a most welcome guest at religious feasts, of which there are many in Javanese life. All appeal at all times to his learning or for his intercession; gifts accompany these appeals. New arrivals among the students, if they can afford it, make their offerings; sons of the better situated parents bring back presents when they go home, and poor students work in the teacher's fields.

The majority of the students are poor and indeed live by begging. On certain days they go round the district; their begging is not considered a nuisance; they are assisted readily for they are acquiring sacred learning; to give to them brings a blessing. Work on the land, the copying of *Kur'ān* etc. also bring them in the little they require for their frugal life. The colonial government only troubles about the *pasantren* in so far as it exercises a general supervision over them; the foundations of new ones are reported to the authorities and the principal has to keep a register of the names of the students and of the titles of the books used.

The spread of schools on the European model has dealt a blow to the *pasantrens* in recent years. Only the *pasantrens* could give religious instruction as the public schools instituted by the colonial authorities gave none. On the other hand, only the latter prepared for everyday life. This has resulted in the growth of private schools intended to do both. These are called *madrasah* and are intended to be schools for all. Attached to the *madrasah* are schools for higher education; in these religious instruction plays a very prominent part. In these schools, which owe their origin to circles influenced by modern ideas, the method of instruction is taken from European models; but their outlook is not by any means broader than that of the old *pasantrens*. The name *madrasah* points to Egypt or perhaps Arabia; the organisation, apart from the religious instruction, is modelled exactly on the government schools.

In the country of the Minangkabau Malays (Central Sumatra) there are theological seminaries which correspond on the whole with the *pasantren*; they are called *surau*, a name also given to elementary schools, chapels, houses for men, and also to the separate buildings of the institution called *surau*. The students' houses are not divided into cells; the occupants have a common lecture- and sleeping-room.

Atjeh also has seminaries comparable with the

Javanese. The method of instruction however, which in Java may be called the new one, is the only one here; Malay takes the place of Javanese there; a knowledge of this language is therefore indispensable for students in Atjeh. The lodgings of the students (*ranglang*) have the same plan as the *pondok* of Java; just as the pasantrens are also called *pondok*, so the name *ranglang* in Atjeh is also applied to the whole institution.

Bibliography: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers*, Batavia 1894, II, 1 299; do., *De Islam in Nederlandisch-Indië*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, IV/II, 377 299; *De mardjids in inlandische godsdienstscholen in de Padangsche bewanlanden*, in *J. G. v. L.* (1888), 318 299. (R. A. KERN)

PASE, the name of a district on the north coast of Atjeh (Sumatra) which according to the prevalent native view stretches from the Djambi-Aje-river in the east to the other side of the Pase river in the west. The whole area is divided up into a number of little states each with an *ulitabang* or chief.

Pasé at one time was a kingdom known throughout eastern Asia. The north coast of Atjeh was in the middle ages on the trade route by sea from Hindustan to China. Islam followed this route and firmly established itself from India on this coast, the first point in the east Indian archipelago which it reached. In the sixteenth century we know there were already Muslim rulers here. One of these was Malik al-Salih (d. 1297), according to native tradition founder of the state and the man to make the country Muslim; his tomb made of stone imported from Cambay (India) has been discovered along with several other gravestones on the left bank of the Pase river, not far from the sea. The capital of the kingdom is said to have been here. A second capital rather more to the west was Samudra; it was the royal residence when Ibn Battuta in the middle of the sixteenth century twice visited the land, on his way to China and on the return journey. The present name of the island of Sumatra, by which it is known in the west, comes from Samudra — in Ibn Battuta: Sumatra. Pasé was then a flourishing country on the coast; the ruler was king of the port, who himself sent out trading-ships; a ship belonging to him was seen by Ibn Battuta in the harbour of Ch'anchow (Fukien) in South China. Life at the court was modelled on that of the Muhammadan courts of India. The ruler at this time was an ardent Muslim, who took a great interest in learning. He waged a victorious *ghihad* on the natives in the hinterland. Lead and coins struck in the country and Chinese crude gold were the means of exchange. The chief food was rice.

Shortly after Ibn Battuta left the country the king had to recognise the suzerainty of the Javanese Hindu empire of Majapahit (before 1365). A tomb of a queen or princess found near Lho' Sakon has an Arabic inscription, dated 791 (1389) at the top of the stone and at the bottom an inscription in much weathered old Javanese script. It has not yet been read. The Chinese envoy Chang Ho remarked in 1416 that the land was involved in continual war with Nago (Pidie). He mentions rice, silkworms and pepper as its products. The last-named attracted the Portuguese there. From 1521 they had a fortified settlement in Pasé but in 1524 they were driven

out by the sultan of the rising kingdom of Atjeh (i.e. Great Atjeh). Henceforth Pasé was a dependency of Atjeh. The tombs of the rulers of the former kingdom were still an object of pilgrimage to the most famous sultan of Atjeh, Iskandar Thani, as late as 1638 (1638—1639); at the present day even the memory of the old kingdom is extinct. The mouth of the Pase river is silted up and the place where the capital stood is no longer recognisable.

Pasé exercised through the years a considerable influence in the Malay Archipelago through its Muslim scholars and missionaries. Javanese and Malay tradition have preserved their memory.

Bibliography: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschieden*, IV/I, 402 299; IV/II, 101 299; C. Deffremery and B. R. Sanguinetti, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, IV, 228 299; W. P. Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, in *Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China and the Indian Archipelago*, ser. II, vol. I, London 1887, p. 171, 208 299; J. P. Moquette, *De eerste vorsten van Samudra-Pasé (Neder-Sumatra)*, in *Rapporten Oudheidk. Dienst Nederlandisch-Indië*, 1913, p. 1 299; *Oudheidk. Verslag*, *ibid.*, 1915, p. 127 299. (R. A. KERN)

PASHA (T., from the Pers. *pādishāh*, probably influenced by Turkish *paşah*), the highest official title of honour (*umman* or *lafaz*) in use in Turkey until quite recently and still surviving in certain Muslim countries originally parts of the Turkish empire (Egypt, Irak, Syria). It was always accompanied by the proper name like the titles of nobility in Europe but with this difference from the latter, that it was placed after the name (like the less important titles of *bey* and *efendi*). In addition, being neither hereditary nor giving any rank to wives, nor attached to territorial possessions, it was military rather than feudal in character. It was however not reserved solely for soldiers but was also given to certain high civil (not religious) officials.

The title of pasha first appears in the sixteenth century. It is difficult to define its original use exactly. The word had in any case early assumed and lost the vague meaning of "seigneur" (*dominus*) (cf. *Düvânî türki-i Sülfân Wile*, p. 14; text of the year 712 = 1313, where Allah himself is invoked in the phrase *Ey Pasha*!). At this same period the title of pasha like that of *sultan* was sometimes given to women (cf. Ismâ'il Hakki, *Altâbeler*, 1927, index, s. v. Kadem pasha, Selçuk pasha), a practice which recurs only once again, and then exceptionally, in the sixteenth century in the case of the mother of the Khedive [cf. WILSON, *ibid.*].

Under the Seldjûks of Anatolia the title of pasha (in as much as it was an abbreviation of *pādishāh* and always by analogy with that of *sultan*) was given occasionally to certain men of religion who must also have at the same time been soldiers and whose history is not yet well known. To judge from the genealogy which 'Ashk-pasha-râde claims for himself, the title of pasha was already in use in the first half of the sixteenth century. Mukhlis al-Din Must Baka, alias Shaikh Mukhlis or Mukhlis Pasha had, according to 'Ali Efendi, seized the power before the Karamanoglu and in the same region, after the defeat of the Seldjûk Sultan Ghiyâth al-

Din Kaikhosraw II which took place in 1243 (cf. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, i. 177).

At the end of the same century the title of pasha seems to have been added to the names of certain members (restricted in number) of the petty Turkish and Turkoman dynasties which shared Asia Minor; these are sometimes rulers, sometimes members of their families. It was the same in the principalities of Tekke, Aidin, Denizli and Kizil-Ahmadli (cf. the article *TURKS*, iv., p. 961) and probably also in other little kingdoms of Anatolia (cf. for Sarukhan, 'Ali Pasha, according to Shihab al-Din b. al-'Umari, *al-Ta'rif* etc. quoted by Kalkashandi, viii. 16, 14).

In the family of 'Othman, two individuals are credited with the title of pasha: 'Ali al-Din, son of 'Othman, and Sulaiman, son of Orkhan.

The case of 'Ali al-Din is very obscure. Two different individuals of this name have even been distinguished: the one being 'Ali al-Din Bey, son of 'Othman, the other 'Ali al-Din Pasha, "wasir" of 'Othman, and the two may have been confounded (cf. Hüseyin Hüsameddin, *'Alideddin Bey*, in *T. T. E. M.*, years xiv. and xv., 4 articles). It may be added that the same individual or one of the two individuals in question may also have been a *beylerbeyi* (cf. Orudj's chronicle, ed. Babinger, p. 15, 13). Whatever be the case with this insoluble problem, it seems certain that the title of pasha was early given to statesmen (cf. a Sinan Pasha under Orkhan: article *TURKS*, iv., p. 962).

The title of pasha in any case very soon became the prerogative of two classes of dignitaries: 1. the *beylerbeyis* of the provinces and 2. the *wasirs* of the capital. It was later extended to officials with similar functions.

In the second half of the xivth century (in 1359 or 1362?) Lala Shahn who, according to the Ottoman historians, was the first (?) *beylerbeyi* of the 'Othmanlis, was given the title of pasha at the same time as he received this office. The same title was then given to the *beylerbeyis* of Anatolia (thus keeping up the idea of the two *beylerbeyis*, one of the right and one of the left wing) and later as new posts were created in the growing empire, extended to the other *beylerbeyis* or *valis* "governors-general".

It was the same with the *wasirs*, of whom the first (?) according to the Ottoman historians, was Qushtari Khali surnamed Khair al-Din Pasha (in 770 = 1368-1369). The number of the *wasirs* (cf. *WAZIR*) who were called *hüddet wasirleri* down to the time of Ahmad III was raised to three and then to nine and the title of *wasir*, also given to high officials like the *kapudan pasha*, the *nizâmîdâr*, the *defterdar*, became more and more one of honour, carrying with it the title of pasha; but since at the beginning and for a considerable time in the capital itself there was only one *wasir*, the title of pasha, par excellence and without any addition, came to be applied to the prime minister (later *ulu vezir* or *îzâr d'jam*), whence the expression *pasha kapî* which was later replaced by that of *kâh-kâh*, "Sublime Porte, the door of the first minister".

The increase in the number of pashas was not at first very rapid. M. d'Aramon mentions only 4 or 5 pashas or *wasir*-pashas and at the time he wrote (in 1547), there were only three (Ayar, Güzelde Kâsim and Ibrahim, all three of Christian origin). It is true that here he is referring only to the capital.

In the provinces they were, and became, more numerous, and two classes of pashas were distinguished: 1. the pashas of 3 horse-tails (*tağ*) or *wasir* (a rank which became more and more one of honour and extending to the provinces gradually absorbed that of *beylerbeyi*); 2. the pashas of 2 horse-tails or *mir-mirân* (rank at first the Persian synonym for the Turkish *beylerbeyi* and the Arabic *amir al-umara'* but gradually became a lower rank). Besides, the old *sanjak-beyis* having in principle a right to only one horse-tail were promoted *mir-mirân* and thus became pashas in their turn.

After the Tancimat the title of pasha was given to the four first (out of 9) grades of the civil (1. *wasir*, 2. *bâfâ*, 3. *âfâ*, 4. *âniye* (*âfâ* *emeli*) or military (1. *müşâr*, 2. *birinci ferik*, 3. *ferik*, 4. *liva*) hierarchy and to the notables (3. *rûmîli beylerbeyi*, 4. *mir-mirân*, with in practice unjustified extension to the fallen *mir-al-umara'*, in this case to the purely honorary rank of the sixth grade).

The table of ranks having been abolished after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish Republic retained the title of pasha for soldiers only. It has just been abolished by the Grand National Assembly of Ankara (Nov. 26, 1934). Instead of pasha one now uses *general* and in place of *müşâr*, *marechal*.

In western usage the word was at first pronounced *basha* (the pronunciation *pasha* does not appear till the xviith century): Ital. *bascia*, Low Latin *bassa*, Fr. *bacha* or *bassa*, Engl. *bashaw*, to say nothing of variant spellings. In Greek on the contrary, the form *pasha* is the oldest (xivth century) but probably under western influence we also find *basha* (xviith century); cf. Duval, *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Græcitas*, s. v. *basas*.

The pronunciation as *basha* by Europeans is due either to the influence of Arabic in Egypt or to a confusion with the old Turkish title of *basha* (cf. at the end of the article).

Etymology of the word pasha: we shall examine the various etymologies that have been proposed.

1. Pers. *pâ-yi shâh* "foot of the sovereign". This explanation, which was based on the fact that in ancient Persia there were officials called "eyes of the king", is found already in Trévoux's Dictionary (s. v. *bacha*) and was revived by G. v. Hammer. — It is to be rejected.

2. Turk. *bash* "head, chief" already suggested by Antoine Geoffroy (*Briefve description de la Court du Grand Turc*, 1542) and by Leunclavius (Löwenklau), *Pandectæ historiarum turcarum*, suppl. to his *Annalis* (1588). Cf. also Trévoux's *Dict.* and Barthier de Meynard, *Suppl.* — It is to be rejected. — Cf. the following word.

3. Turk. *bash-aga* taken (for the purposes of proof) in the meaning of "elder brother". This is the etymology accepted in Turkey until lately (Mehmed Thureiya, *Sigilli 'Othmani*, iv. 738; Shams al-Din Sami, *Kamûs-ı turki*, s. v. *pasha*) and based on the fact that Salaiman Pasha and 'Ali al-Din Pasha were the elder brothers of Orkhan and 'Othman respectively. 'Ali Efendi in his *Kanûn-ı Akhâr* written in 1593-1599 (v. 49, 22) and 'Othman-zade Ahmad Ta'ib (d. 1724) called attention to this use of the word pasha among the Turkomans (*Hadîqat al-Wusarâ*, Istanbul 1271, p. 4, 10). Heidborn (*Manuel de Droit Public et Administratif Ottoman*, Vienna 1908, p. 186, note a) also says that pasha

means "elder brother" among the Greeks of Karmania, but there seems to be nothing to confirm these isolated statements. Some Turkish lexicographers like Ahmad Wefik (under پاشا) and Salâhi have admitted this etymology but by two stages: pasha comes from the Turkish title *baş* which is for *baş-aga*. The title of *baş* to be discussed below does really seem to come from *baş-aga* but, contrary to what I at first thought, has nothing to do with pasha.

4. Pers. *pādīshāh* "sovereign". — Etymology, the only admissible one (with however the possibility of the influence mentioned under 5), proposed by the Turkish-Russian dictionary of Boudagov (1869) and later revived by the Russian Encyclopaedia of Brockhaus and Efron. It had previously been proposed by d'Herbelot (under *pasha*, a propos of the spelling with final *h*). This explanation is based on the use of the words *sultān* and *pādīshāh*, as the titles most often placed after the names when applied to individuals of high rank in the religious world (dervishes). Cf. Giese, in *Turkisch-Medienat*, i., 1925, p. 164. It seems that one can even explain by *pādīshāh* the obscure phrase used by Orkhan to 'Alī al-Dīn Pasha in 'Ashik-pasha-nāme (ed. Giese, p. 34–35) before the latter asks leave to retire (cf. above). Orkhan says "You will be pasha for me". Now a few lines earlier he had asked him to be a *doğan pādīshāh*, i.e. a shepherd for his people.

On the other hand, it will be noted that the title of pasha is often used not only as an alternative for *pādīshāh* but also for *shāh*. Here are a few examples:

Shudjā al-Dīn Sulaimān, of the dynasty of Klāfī Ahmedī, is called Sulaimān Pādīshāh in Ibn Battūta (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, ii. 343) and Sulaimān Pasha in Shihāb al-Dīn b. al-'Omari al-Tarīf *fi l-Muṣṣalāh al-sharīf*, Cairo 1312, p. 4; written *baḥa*, following the Arabic script) and in Munadidjīm Bashi (iii. 30). The son and successor of this ruler, Ibrahim, is called Shāh in Ibn al-'Omari and Pasha in Munadidjīm Bashi. — In the *Dustūr-nāme-i Enverī* (ed. Mukrimin Khalil, p. 83–84) Sulaimān Pasha, son of Orkhan, is called Shāh Sulaimān (with poetical inversion). — 'Alī b. Cifek (Çeçek), the Ilkhanian governor of Baghdad (d. 1336), is called 'Alī Pasha by Ibn al-'Omari. According to Nāzīmī-zāde (*Gülshen-i Khulafā*), Constantinople 1143, he is also found in some MSS. as 'Alī Shāh. He is also called 'Alī Pādīshāh (Cf. Huart, *Histoire de Bagdad*, p. 10). — In the oriental dialects the title of *pādīshāh* is given to petty local rulers; for there has taken the form, not of *pasha* but of *patika* (Kirghiz) and *pātikā* (Ozbeg).

5. Turk. *başka* (variants *başkāk*?, *başkhan*?) "governor, chief of police" (Dictionary of Pavet de Courtaillé and under *hazma* in that of Boudagov). This word of the "Khwarizmi language" according to Vullers came into use in Persia (Ilkhanid). Among the Mongols it meant the commissioners and high commissioners sent by them to the conquered provinces (of the west only?), notably in Russia. The accepted etymology is from the verb *hazma*, "to press, crowd, oppress, impress", whence the meaning "oppressor, extortioner" for *başka*, an official, it is noted (cf. the Russian and Polish encyclopaedias), whose main duty was to collect taxes and tribute. However extraordinary such an explanation of an official title may appear it seems to be confirmed by the parallelism with the Mongol

equivalent of *başka* which is *darughā* or *darughā* [q. v.] and which may be compared with *darughā*, a Mongol verb, synonymous with *hazma* in the sense of "to impress". These may however be popular etymologies.

Schefer in his edition of the *Voyage de M. d'Aramon* (p. 238, note 3) says "The etymology of the word pacha given by Geoffroy (from the Turkish *bach*) is wrong. Pacha is a softened form of the word *bachaq* or *bachag* which means a military governor".

Carpini renders the Mongol *başka* by *bachati* (variants in the MS.: *bachati*, *bachati*; cf. *The text and versions of John de Pl. Carpini*..., London, Hakluyt Soc., 1903, p. 67 and 261 notes). In the edition of 1598 (Hakluyt) there is a marginal note "Basha, vox Tartarica qua utuntur Tartari". This also implies a confusion between the words *başka* and *pasha*.

It is not impossible that there was actually some confusion among the Turks themselves between *pādīshāh* (*pasha*) and the title *başka*, the synonym of the Mongol *darughā*. We had thought of this even before we saw the notes of Schefer and Hakluyt. It may be noted that the title of pasha (which is not found in Persian sources, as Muhammad Karwini kindly informs us) was applied either to Anatolians, subject in fact or in theory to the Mongols, or to officials of the Mongol Ilkhāns (like the governor of Baghdad mentioned above; cf. also *pāter-i 'Alī Pasha* alluded to in the *Bezm-i Akrām* of 'Aziz b. Ardashir Astarshadi [ed. Köprülü, p. 249, 8]). The confusion could be explained the more easily as one finds (rarely it is true) the form *başkāk* (Buwaini, *Tārīkh-i Dīkhān-Gushā* of 1260, ed. Muhammad Karwini, ii. 83, note 9; in this passage there is a reference to a Khwarizmi official of 609, i.e. before the Mongol conquest).

It may be suggested that but for the influence of this confusion with the title *başkāk* that of pasha would never have attained such importance.

The Turkish title of *başka*. — This title which is not to be confused with the preceding, nor with the Arabic or old eastern pronunciation of it, was also put after the proper name but was applied only to soldiers and the lower grades of officers (especially janissaries) and, it seems, also to notables in the provinces (Meninski, *Thesaurus*, i., col. 662 and 294, l. 18; *Onomasticon*, col. 427; d'Herbelot, s. v. *pasha*; Vignier, *Éléments de la langue turque*, 1790, p. 218, 309, 327; Zenker, p. 164, col. 2 (probably following Meninski); De La Mottraye, *Voyages*, 1727, i. 180 note 2; cf. Ewliya Çelebi, v. 107^b, 216^b; Nā'imā, v. 71^h; Ismā'il Hakkī, *Kıldeler* (شکر پاشا, p. 41 and 8)). De La Boullaye-Le-Gouz (*Voyages*, 1657, p. 59 and 552) also distinguishes the title from *bacha* and translates it by "monieur". Meninski, *loc. cit.*, also notes the pronunciation *başhi* (باشی) which is not to be taken as the word *baş* followed by the possessive suffix of the 3rd pers. -i; Meninski knew Turkish too well to make such a mistake. As to the pronunciation *başhi* (given by Chloros, s. v. *pasha*) it comes from the spelling باش (cf. e.g. Ahmad Wefik Pasha, *Zoraki Fahi*, act i., sc. 2, ironically applied to a woman) but Meninski pronounces *başhi*, even with this spelling.

As the lexicographers have sometimes confused

bagha and *pasha*, some have thought that *bagha* also meant "elder brother" (Mehmed Salâhi, *Kamûr-i 'osmâni*, II, 291 sqq. followed by Chloros). I think we have two separate problems and that *bagha* is really for *bagh-aghâ* but with the meaning of "agha (military title) in chief". The *kurâsi* (also called janissaries or *yamâkî*) were called *bagh-aghâ* (according to Roehrig). On the other meanings of *bagh-aghâ* and in general for more details on some of the points dealt with here see Deny, *Sommaire des Archives turques du Caire*.

Note on the accentuation. — In the word *pasha* the tonic accent is on the last syllable (*pasha*). In the word *bagha* it is on the first (*bagha*) as is shown by the weakening of the final vowel in the pronunciation *baghi*, already mentioned.

(J. DENY)

PASHALIK (T.), means 1. the office or title of a *pasha* [q. v.]; 2. the territory under the authority of a *pasha* (in the provinces).

After some of the governors called *sandjak-beyi* (or *mir-lima*) had been raised to the dignity of *pasha*, their territories (*sandjak* or *lima*; q. v.) also received the name of *pashalik*.

Early in the sixteenth century of 158 *sandjaks* 70 were *pashaliks*. Of these 25 were *pasha sandjakht*, i.e. *sandjaks* in which were the capitals of an *eyâlet*, the residence of the governor-general or *wâli* of a province. For further details, cf. Mouradges d'Othman, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, VII, 307.

(J. DENY)

PASHTO. [See AFĠHÂNISTÂN, I, 149 sq.]

PASIR. The sultanate of Pasir in S. E. Borneo comprises the valley of the Pasir or Kendilo river, which, rising in the north on the borders of Kutai runs in a southeasterly direction along the eastern borders of the Beratos range and turning east finally reaches the straits of Malacca through a marshy district. The country, about 1,125 sq. km. in area, is still covered by primitive forest, in so far as the scanty population, which is found mainly in Pasir, the residence of the sultan, and in Tanah Grogot, that of the official administration, has not cleared the trees to make ricefields. Although some gold, petroleum and coal are found in Pasir, Europeans have not exploited them, still less do they practice agriculture. A European administrative official was first stationed in 1901 at Tanah Grogot at the mouth of the Kendilo river. Pasir is therefore a good example of the Borneo coast state which as regards Islam has developed independently of European influence. The population of the sultanate is estimated roughly at 17,000. It consists of Dayaks who live by growing rice, of immigrant Bandjarese and Buginese from Celebes, who control the trade; they are found chiefly in the flat country at the river mouth. On the coast the Badjox, a people of fishermen, live in their villages built on piles in the sea. Of the 9,000 Dayaks, about 4,000 have adopted Islam, while 5,000 in the highlands are pagans. The 5,000 Buginese have a predominating influence in view of their large numbers and their prosperity; the 1,200 Bandjarese are of less importance. There are very few Europeans and about 50 Chinese and Arabs in Pasir.

Half of the population are therefore foreigners, but like the Dayaks they belong to the Malay race and mix with one another.

Pasir is despotically ruled by the sultan and

the members of his family; the people have no voice in the government. Alongside of the sultan and his presumed successor there is a council of five notables which the sultan consults on important occasions; this is also the highest court of the country. These notables and a number of other members of the sultan's family have estates as fiefs. Since 1844 each sultan on his accession has concluded a treaty with the Netherlands Indian authority. In 1908 they declared themselves vassals of the Netherlands Indian government. In 1900 the right to collect duties on imports and exports and taxes, as well as the monopoly of opium and salt, was ceded to the government in return for compensation. This amounts to 16,800 gulden yearly of which 11,200 go to the sultan and 5,600 to the notables.

The sultan still collects the following taxes: a poll-tax from adult males; 1/10 of the yields of the rice-fields and forest products, 2 cocoanuts from each fruit-bearing tree; also military service. He also has an income from the administration of justice in the capital.

From the very legendary history of the country it may be gathered that this despotic government which is foreign to the Dayaks was introduced from eastern Java. Under the ruling caste are the chiefs of lower rank, priests and landowners and freemen as a middle class. At the beginning of this century there were still slaves and debtor-slaves as the lowest class in Pasir; although slavery had long been abolished in other states of the Indies under Dutch influence. As is usual among other Dayak tribes, slaves go about like free men, take part in all festivities and games, may own property and are not even distinguished by dress. If their debt is paid to their master by some one, they go over to the latter. Slaves are not sold.

As the social condition of the Muslim Buginese, Bandjarese and Badjox have already been described elsewhere, the following remarks are confined to the pagan Dayaks and their Muslim relatives, the Pasirese.

According to tradition, an Arab (Tuan Said) brought Islam to Pasir. His marriage with the daughter of the reigning chief did much to further the progress of Islam in the country.

As to the Pasirese, their social life was only superficially affected by Islam. In their daily life a pagan conception of the worship of the deity and of the world of spirits still prevails. The old belief in the important influence of spirits on the fate of man and reliance upon their signs are evidence of this. The fact also is significant that throughout Pasir there is only one *maistigi* and a few smaller places of worship. The number of Muslim priests and *hadjdjis* is also small nor is the enthusiasm to make the pilgrimage to Mecca great. On important occasions appeal is made for assistance to the spirits; this is particularly the case with illness among the Pasirese, who hold the pagan *kliau* feasts, which are also celebrated in South Borneo. Amid a great din of gongs and drums which can be heard a long way off, the pagan priest (*halian*) becomes possessed by the spirit which then communicates to him the remedy for the illness. Even in the capital Pasir, exclusively inhabited by Muhammadans, the advice of the *halian* is sought; only during the month of Ramadan the sultan forbids this.

How attached the upper classes of Pasir still

are to animistic views is evident from the legend still current according to which Salān Adam in the middle of the last century used to isolate himself for several days in the year on the mountain of the spirits, Gunung Melikat; he had concluded, it was said, a marriage there with a female *ginn* from which a son named Tendang was born. This son, who has the gift of making himself invisible, is said to live on the island of Madura where he married a princess of the *ginn*. He appears from time to time in Pasir, when he is invited by a great sacrificial feast (formerly also human sacrifice). These feasts are still celebrated occasionally, especially in order to free the land from misfortune and sickness. In the village of Busu a house has been built for Tendang with a roof in three parts, which is built on a large pole and thus resembles a dove-cote.

The revenues of the priests consist of what they collect at the end of the month of fasting in *sokāt* and *fitra*, everyone giving what he can and the chiefs exercise no pressure. A priest also receives a small fee at a marriage or divorce.

The calendar now in general use in the sultanate is the Muhammadan. As elsewhere among the Dayaks the tilling of the fields begins when a particular constellation becomes visible in the heavens.

The family life of the Pasirese has developed to some extent according to Muslim ritual. Among the followers of Islam, marriage is performed through the intermediary of a priest, with the father or another man as *wali*, but only after an agreement has been come to about the very considerable dowry. This is paid to the parents of the bride; she herself only receives a small part of it. According to Dayak custom young people are allowed to meet very freely before marriage. A marriage feast is marked by a very considerable consumption of palm-wine. The man remains at least a year in the home of his parents-in-law before he can take a home of his own. Divorce is very frequent because attention is seldom paid to the wishes of the woman in the negotiations between the parents. Man and woman retain their property after marriage; after a divorce this goes back to the family. Property acquired during marriage is divided into two equal portions between husband and wife. After the death of one or the other the survivor inherits all. Only a few families follow the Muslim law. The followers of Islam are buried with Muhammadan rites.

Bibliography: A. H. F. J. Nusslein, *Beschreibung von der Insel Pasir*, in *B. T. L. V.*, 1905. (A. W. NIEUWENHUIS)
PASSAROWITZ. [See POJAREVAE.]

PASWAN-OGHLU (written **پاسوان اوغلی**;

cf. *Kāmir al-A'lam*, ii. 1467) or **Paswan-Oghlu** (**پاسوان اوغلی** in 'Abd al-Rahmān Sharaf, *Tārīkh*, ii. 280) or, according to the new orthography, **Paswanoglu** (Hāmit ve Mahsūn, *Tārīkh-i Tārīk*, p. 423) but on his own seal 'Paswan-sāde 'Othmān' (in Orłowski, *see Bibli.*), the rebel Pasha of Vidin (1758—1807). His family originated in Tuzla in Bosnia, but his grandfather Paswan Agha, for his services in the Austrian wars, was granted two villages near Vidin in Bulgaria about 1739. 'Othmān's father 'Omār Agha Paswan-Oghlu not only inherited these villages but as *hān* etc. was also a rich and prominent man (*see* below), on account

of his defiant attitude, however, he was put to death by the local governor.

'Othmān himself only escaped death by escaping into Albania, but after taking part in the war of 1787—1789 as a volunteer, he returned to his native town. Very soon he was in the field again and fought with distinction, returning to Vidin in 1791. From there he organised with his men raiding expeditions into Wallachia and Serbia. When the sultan wanted to punish him for this he cast off his allegiance in 1793, took to the mountains and at the end of 1794 captured Vidin with his robber band and became the real ruler in the pashalik there. Vidin, which he fortified again, thus became a meeting-place for robbers and discontented janissaries who were driven out of Serbia in 1792, and he himself became the popular leader of all those who opposed the reforms of Selim III.

In 1795 Paswan-Oghlu even attacked the governor of Belgrade, Hādījī Muṣṭafā Pasha, a supporter of the reformers, who had been given the task of disposing of him; strong bodies of troops were sent by the Porte but without success. In consequence negotiations were begun at the end of 1795 but Paswan-Oghlu remained practically independent in the whole of Upper Bulgaria.

But since the Porte did not also formally recognise him, Paswan-Oghlu drove the official governor out of Vidin and in 1797 attacked the adjoining pashaliks: in the east his forces occupied or threatened a number of places in Bulgaria (but they were defeated at Varna) and in the south they attacked Nish [q. v.] without success; in the west they advanced up to Belgrade, occupied the town but were driven back from its fortress by the resistance of the Turks and Serbs whom Hādījī Muṣṭafā had armed. As a result of this and because of Paswan-Oghlu's negotiations with France and Russia the Porte in 1798 sent an army of 100,000 men against him under Admiral Kozak Humān Pasha. He besieged Vidin in vain until October and had to withdraw with heavy losses. This defeat and Napoleon's invasion of Egypt induced Turkey to come to terms, nominally at least, with Paswan-Oghlu and give him the rank of Pasha of three tails (1799).

Nevertheless he declared himself against the reforms, against the central government and even against Selim III; he also sent several expeditions to plunder Wallachia (1800 and 1801) and incited the janissaries who had in the meanwhile returned to Belgrade to occupy the fortress (in the summer of 1801) and to murder Hādījī Muṣṭafā Pasha (at the end of the year).

At this time he repeatedly asked the Czar to number him among his faithful subjects and also offered his services to France. The Porte, which shortly before had forgiven Paswan-Oghlu everything, from 1803 declared war on him again, but the Serbian rising of 1804 diverted their attention. Paswan-Oghlu himself had to fight in the western part of his territory against Pintea's rising (1805). The appearance of the Russians on the left bank of the Danube (1806) induced him to offer his services to the Porte but the latter instead gave the supreme command to the commander of Ruschuk. This embittered him so much that he resolved to defend only his own territory against the allied Russians and Serbians but he died soon afterwards on Jan. 27, 1807.

That Paswan-Oghlu was able to hold out so long was due to the state of the Ottoman empire at the time, to his personal ability and foresight (he never abandoned Vidin!) but for the most part to luck. Within his area he collected customs and taxes, ruled strictly and despotically, although not entirely without mildness and justice. Although his health was rather poor as a result of too great mental strain, ambition led him to aim at independence as evidence of which we have the coins struck by him and known as *Pasmanleta*.

Bibliography: Various notes on Paswan-Oghlu are already found in the contemporary travels of G. A. Oliver (1801) and L. Pouqueville (1805), but it is not till the *Notes sur Paswan-Oghlu 1758—1807 par l'adjudant-commandant Mézière, of the French agent in Vidin (1807—1808)*, that we have a complete picture of him which is still the best account of his career; these *Notes* were edited by Grgur Jakšić in *La Revue Slave* (vol. I, Paris 1906, p. 261—279 and 418—429; vol. II, 1906, p. 139—144 and 436—448; vol. III, 1907, p. 138—144 and p. 278—288) and transl. in the *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja* (vol. XVII, Sarajevo 1906, p. 173—216) into Serbokroat. — Also: J. W. Zinkeisen, *G. O. R. in Europa*, VII, Gotha 1863, p. 230—241; C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, Prague 1876, p. 486—503; Iv. Pavlović, *Spisi iz francuskih arhiva*, Belgrade 1890, especially p. 103—128 (diplomatic reports regarding Paswan-Oghlu, 1795—1807); M. Gavrilović, in *La Grande Encyclopédie*, vol. XXVI, Paris n.d., p. 68; St. Novaković, *Turiko carstvo pred srpski ustanak 1780—1804*, Belgrade 1906, p. 332—389; M. Vukićević, *Karadžić*, vol. I, Belgrade 1907, p. 166—176 and 185—208; P. Orškov, *Nitelko dokuminta za Pasvanoglu i Sofreni Vrabanski (1800—1812)* [from the Russian Foreign Ministry], in *Sbornik of the Bulgarian Academy of Science*, vol. III, Sofia 1914, article 3, p. 1—55; V. Corović, in *Narodna enciklopedija*, vol. III, Zagreb 1928, p. 272.

(FERHID BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)

PATANI, an administrative district of Siam in the extreme south of the kingdom on the east coast of the peninsula of Malacca; it is bounded on the south by the Malay states of Kelantan and Kedah, both under British protection. The whole district is made up of seven Malay petty states, each with its own native chief who is assisted by a Siamese official. Malay forms of government are allowed to remain. In the capital of the same name resides the Siamese High Commissioner of the district. His advice has to be obeyed by the rulers of the states.

The native inhabitants are Muslims. Friday and other mosques are distinguished. The latter are called *surau* and have their own staffs. All the states have law-courts: the *sharia* is followed in matters of family law, Siamese law in other cases.

Patani is a very mountainous country. There is only a strip of plain on the coast. The area is about 13,000 sq. km. and the number of inhabitants about 350,000; the great majority are Malays, the remainder being Siamese and Chinese. There are few roads. The railway which connects the Siamese Southern railway with the English lines in Malacca cuts through the country a short distance from the coast. Agriculture is of little importance; only in the environs of Patani and in Nawog-

Chik rice is cultivated. A large number of the people live by fishing; the fish caught are salted with salt obtained locally. Tin-mining is increasing. The exports include dried fish, salt, cattle, elephants and tin. Intercourse with Bangkok and Singapore is maintained by small steamers. The revenues amount to £45,000, of which one third is allotted to the Malay rulers as private income for themselves and their families, one third goes to administration, and a third set aside for special purposes, is also as a rule used for administrative purposes.

Fra Odorigo of Pordenone in 1325 mentions a place called *Patun* in this region, which he identifies with *Thalamasin*. It is doubtful whether the reference is to Patani. The first certain occurrence of the name is in the xvth century when the Portuguese begin to come here to trade. Patani has for centuries belonged to Siam. Advancing southwards the Thai reached Ligor about 1284 (on the coast, a little N.W. of Patani; Sukhotai inscription); in 1350 the whole of the peninsula of Malacca was under Siamese rule; the conquest of Patani took place between those dates. The *Nāgarakṛtāgama* in 1365 mentions Djēre, the modern Djering, one of the seven states of the district with its capital on the sea, a little east of the town of Patani, as conquered by the Javanese kingdom of Madjapait. Soon after the conquest of the town of Malacca in 1511, the Portuguese began to trade in Patani. Many Portuguese settled here. About 1600 the Dutch and English appeared; Patani at this time was a prosperous centre of trade, a station between Malacca and China and a depot for the exchange of goods from China on the one side, and the most important harbours of the East Indian Archipelago on the other. When this last activity began to decline about 1620, the place lost its importance and the Europeans abandoned their settlements.

It is not definitely known when Patani became converted to Islam. About 1600 it was a Muhammadan country; the queen ruling at this time had succeeded her husband fifteen years before; in all probability the country was already Muhammadan at an earlier date when Mendes Pinto (1534, 1540) visited it. According to native tradition, the conqueror of the land, Chaw Sri Bangsa, a son of the Siamese king, converted the country to Islam, after adopting it himself and taking the name and title of Sultan Ahmad Shah. He is said to have acknowledged the suzerainty of Malacca; this suggests that Malacca was the power that caused the conversion. Malacca, as is well known, was during the xvth century the predominant power in the Malay Peninsula.

Bibliography: G. P. Rouffner, *Oudite ontdekkingstochten tot 1907*, in *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, s.v. *Tochten*, IV, 350 (with Bibl.); P. A. Tiele, *De Europeanen in den Maleischen Archipel, in Bijdragen Kon. Instituut*, ser. 4, III, 35; 66; IV, 301; VI, 178 sq.; VIII, 77; ser. 5, I, 267 sq.; II, 241 sq.; *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Oost-Indische Compagnie*, Amsterdam 1646, I, 71; Peter Floris, ed. Moreland (*Hakluyt Society*, Ser. ser. Ixxiv), London 1934; T. J. Newbold, *British Settlements in Malacca*, London 1839, II, 67 sq.; *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, ed. Krom, the Hague 1919, p. 51; F. Mendes Pinto, *Wonderlijke reizen*, Amsterdam 1653; A. W. Graham, *Siam*, London 1912.

(R. A. KERN)

PATHAN. [See AFĠĦANISTĀN, I. 149 ff.]

PAULĀ, the name given in the Moghal Emperor Akbar's monetary system to the $\frac{1}{4}$ *āḍam* (*ḍāḍā*). (J. ALLAN)

PEČENEGS, a people of Turkish stock of the middle ages. Their name occurs in numerous variants (Badjnah, Padnah, Πατζινάκια, Πατζινάκια, Patzinacitae, Patzinacae, Piccinigi, Picenakiti, Pecenaci etc.; also Byasseni, Bessi, in Hungarian Besenyők, etc.). There is no longer any doubt that they were a branch of the Turkish race. Rāshid al-Dīn (xiiith century; see GHĀZĀN) and Maḥmūd Kāshgharī (1073) number them among the Ghuzz [q. v.] tribes; the latter (*Divān Lughāt al-Turk*, I. 27; cf. *A. G. S.*, I. 36) puts them in the northern group of Turkish peoples, to which the Kiptak, Oghuz, etc. belong and describes them "as next to the Rhomaeans" i.e. the most westerly Turkish tribe.

In all probability the Pečenegs separated very early from their brethren in the original home of the Turks in Turkestan. Their earlier home is said to have been the Emba-Ural-Volga region; which according to Bakrī and Gardīzī was 30 days' journey in length and breadth. There they remained probably for a considerable time, their neighbours being the Khazars in the S.W. and the Oghuz in the S.E., and they traded with Persia and Khazaria.

But by 860 the Oghuz began to move westwards and to drive the Pečenegs from the Ural region. Towards the end of the 10th century the Oghuz (Uzun, Olḡar) came to terms with the Khazars and drove the main body of the Pečenegs from their old home, so that in 922 Ibn Faḍlān found only a small remnant of the Pečenegs there; according to *De administrando imperio* (p. 166), the latter remained there of their own accord.

The fugitive Pečenegs came up against the Magyars, drove them into Hungary and occupied their lands, at first the territory between the Don and the Dnieper and later as far as the Danube. Constantine Porphyrogenētos (c. 950) says this took place "fifty years ago", but the chronicler Regino (d. 915) dates it exactly in 889. The power of the Pečenegs in the end extended from South Russia over Bessarabia and Moldavia up to the Eastern Carpathians.

Warlike and powerful as they were the Pečenegs were a constant danger to their neighbours. Here however we can only briefly mention their relations with Hungary, Russia and Byzantium. In the course of the 10th and 11th centuries they frequently attacked Hungary from the Eastern Carpathians or settled peacefully in various Hungarian districts (cf. the map of their settlements in Németh, *Die Inschriften des Schatzes von Nagy-Szent-Miklós*, I. Beilage). In the 13th century the Pečeneg settlements in Hungary still enjoyed certain special political privileges. They finally became merged in the Komans.

With the Russians, the Pečenegs were early on friendly terms (according to the *De adm. imp.*, p. 69, they sold them cattle, horses and sheep); sometimes they were their allies against Byzantium and Bulgaria (in the time of Igor, 941), but more frequently they were attacking the Russians. In the year 968 they besieged Kiev, in 971 they killed the Grand Duke Sviatoslav on his way back from Bulgaria and the Russians had to build a number of fortifications against them. Their last

attack (1034) was completely repulsed. A little later (1065) they were being hard pressed by the advancing Uzen and moved more and more towards the Danube and later also back to the Balkan peninsula.

The Byzantine imperial historian in *De adm. imp.* (p. 68) recommends the maintenance of peaceful relations with the Pečenegs and there was actually an alliance with them but by 970 we find them fighting with the Russians against Byzantium. Henceforth the Pečenegs were continually at war with the Byzantines until the emperor Alexius I in 1091 routed them completely at the mouth of the Maritsa and in 1122 John II inflicted another heavy defeat upon them. Of the remnants of the Pečenegs some were taken into the military service of the Byzantines and some settled in the Balkan, especially in Bulgaria. The Gagauz [q. v.] are sometimes regarded as what was left of them but their present language gives very little evidence of this (cf. vol. IV., p. 992). Nevertheless a number of Balkan place-names still recall the fact that the Pečenegs were once there.

With the nomadic nature of the Pečenegs it is obvious that the tribal organisation was an important factor. According to C. Porphyrogenētos the Pečenegs were divided into eight tribes (four beyond and four on this side of the Dnieper) with as many great chiefs and into 40 clans with petty chiefs. The names of the tribes according to Németh were mainly derived from the names of horses and from titles of the supreme chief e.g. Σαρκαλῆς = *turn Kul-bey*, i.e. "the tribes of Kul-bey, with grey horses". The three tribes who were prominent for bravery and distinction are called Kangar (Κάγγαρ) by Porphyrogenētos. Of the names of chiefs that of the tribe of Jula (Ἰούλα), namely Korkut [q. v.], is probably the most remarkable. In the time of Kedrenos (ii. 581—582) there were thirteen Pečeneg tribes "each of which had inherited its name from its ancestor and chief".

We know very little about the religion of the Pečenegs. According to Bakrī, they were formerly fire-worshippers (Magians) but according to other sources there were already a considerable number of Muslims among them by the beginning of the tenth century.

As to the Pečeneg language, Anna Comnena (xiith century) already asserts its identity with that of the Komans [see KIPČAK]. Until recently its scanty remains consisted almost entirely of the names of the Pečeneg tribes, chiefs and fortresses listed by C. Porphyrogenētos. But when in 1931 Németh succeeded in deciphering the inscriptions of the treasure of Nagy-Szent-Miklós, it became evident to him that the gold and silver vessels contained in it belonged to the Pečeneg chief Bota-ul Čuban (c. 900—920) and that we had here further specimens of the Pečeneg language; from these he concluded that the language of the Pečenegs was closely connected with that of the Komans in Hungary and that of the Codex Cumanicus. The characters of these inscriptions may be called Pečeneg runes, which belong to the family of the Kōk-türk script and are closely connected with the Hungarian runes.

In conclusion, from the fact that there are two baptismal fonts in the treasure of Nagy-Szent-Miklós it may be assumed that several Pečeneg chiefs were converted to Christianity. Very

little more is known of the Pečenegs; cf. however the index to K. Dieterich (s. *Bibli.*).

Bibliography: The earliest Arabic (Ibn Rūta and Bakr) and Persian (Gardīz) records of the Pečenegs are based on Djaihihi (tenth century) and on a source of the first half of the 11th century so that they only refer to the earlier home of the Pečenegs; Mas'ūdi's account however includes the period after they were driven from the Volga region. Both groups of sources have been used by J. Marquart and W. Barthold. — Also: Constantinos Porphyrogenētos, ed. Bonn, vol. iii. (1840) see index historians (the whole of ch. 37 deals with the Pečenegs); P. Golubovskiy, *Pčeniži, torki i polovci do najstarejših tatar'*, Kiev 1884; Sh. Sami Bey, *Kāmir al-Ālām*, ii. 1306; K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 1897, p. 1105, G.; *Eniklopedičeski Slovar' Brokhaus-Efron*, vol. xxiii., St. Petersburg 1898, p. 538 sq.; J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und asiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, s. index; *Révi Nagy Lexikona*, vol. iii., Budapest 1911, s. v. *Betenyik*; K. Dieterich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder- und Völkerkunde*, 1912, part ii., esp. p. 51—58, 147 and 186; N. Āsim and M. Ārif, *Öğmünlü Tarih*, vol. i., Constantinople 1335, p. 75 sq.; E. Oberhummer, *Die Türken und das Osmanische Reich*, Leipzig and Berlin 1917, s. index; Z. Gomhocz, *Über den Volknamen deseny*, in *Török*, Budapest 1918, p. 209—215; W. Bang, *Über den Volknamen deseny*, *op. cit.*, p. 436—437; G. Fehér, *Die Petschenegen und die ungarischen Hunnen*, in *K. Ct. A.*, i. 123—129 (assumes among other things that the royal family of the Abas is descended from Casha or from the Pečeneg tribe *Türk*); Gy. Czebe, *Türk-byzantinische Miscellen (I)*, in *K. Ct. A.*, i. 209—219 (rejects Fehér's hypotheses, approves Németh's linguistic deductions and analyses once more the Pečeneg chapter in Porphyrogenētos); W. Barthold, *Orta Asya Türk Tarihine İttihaf*, Istanbul 1927, p. 23 and 92 sq.; J. Németh, *Zur Kenntnis der Petschenegen*, in *K. Ct. A.*, i. 219—225; do., *Die petschenegischen Stammennamen*, in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, vol. x., 1930, p. 27—34; do., *Die Inschriften des Schatzes von Nagy-Szent-Miklós*, Budapest-Leipzig 1930, especially p. 36 and 45—59; Hüseyin Namik, *Pechenegler* (Turkish), Istanbul 1933.

(FERHİ BAJRAKTAKEVIĆ)

PEČEWI, Ibrahim, Ottoman historian. Ibrahim was born in 982 (1574) in Fünfkirchen (Hungary, Hung. *Pécs*, Turk. *Pelewi*, i.e. *Pelewi*) whence his epithet *Pelewi* (cf. Pečewi, *Tarih*, i. 286 and ii. 433; also J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. 5, note). His ancestors were holders of fiefs in Bosnia and Hungary. Pečewi has not recorded his father's name (cf. *Tarih*, i. 87); he was in any case already domiciled in Fünfkirchen. His mother was a member of the celebrated family of Sokolović (Sokolli). Of Pečewi's early years, we know that at the age of 14 he was taken as an orphan into the home of his uncle Ferhād Pasha, governor of Ofen, and later went to another relative Lala Mehmed Pasha (cf. his *Tarih*, ii. 323); he spent 15 years in the latter's entourage. In 1602 (1593) he joined the army, took part in the Hungarian campaigns of Sinan Pasha, was an eye-witness of the siege of Gran (cf. *Tarih*, ii.

136, 180), of the Erlau campaign and the siege of Peterwardein. The next few years he spent mainly on the staff of Lala Mehmed Pasha who had been grand vizier since 1613 (1604). He gives a detailed account in his history of the various offices which he held. After the death of his patron Lala Mehmed Pasha (1624 = 1615) he was sent by his successor to Anatolia where he had to prepare a description of several sanliaks. He was next *defterdar* for a short period in Tokat, went in the same capacity to Rumelia and finally was given the office of Anatolia as *alim*. He spent the rest of this life in his native district. He became *mukarrif* of Stuhlweissenburg, then *defterdar* of Temesvár. In 1651 (1641) he retired from office and went to Ofen. He spent his last years here and in his native town engaged in writing his history. The date of his death is not exactly known. He must however have died about 1660 (1650).

Ibrahim Pečewi, who from his youth upwards displayed a marked turn for history, is the author of a work which is one of the best Ottoman sources for the years 926—1049 = 1520—1639. While for earlier events he relies upon the accounts of his Turkish predecessors, and as N. v. Istvánffy and K. Helai have shown, also Hungarian sources, for the later period he writes from his own observation or information. His work, which is written in lucid and simple language, survives in numerous manuscripts (to those detailed by Bahinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 194 may now be added two others in Upsala, University Library, cf. Zettersteen, *Katalog*, p. 331 and a manuscript in Rhodes in the possession of Hacı Ahmad, No. 446), but so far we have no critical edition. Several preliminary drafts seem to exist which vary considerably in the periods covered and were presumably later expanded. The Stambul printed edition of the *Tarih-i Pečewi* in two parts (10 + 304 pp. and 7 + 487 pp., printed 1283; cf. *Z. A.*, 1868, i. 471 and 484 and F. v. Kraelitz, in *Isl.*, viii. 259) covers the period from the accession of Sulaiman the Magnificent to the death of Murād IV in 1049.

Bibliography: F. v. Kraelitz, in *Isl.*, viii. (1918), 252 sqq. and the sources given in Bahinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 195.

(FRANZ BAHINGER)

PECHINA, Arab. *BADJĪNĀ*, formerly an important town in the south-east of Spain, to the north of Almería [q. v.] (originally *Mariyat BadjĪnā*), from which it is about six miles distant. Towards the middle of the ninth century it was the centre of a kind of maritime republic founded by Andalusian sailors, who had also a colony on the Algerian coast at Tenes [q. v.]. It consisted of several quarters separated by gardens; becoming the capital of a *hīra* of the same name. Pechina was later supplanted by its neighbour Almería, to which its inhabitants soon migrated.

Bibliography: al-Idrisi, *Description de l'Espagne*, ed. Dory and de Goeje, text, p. 174, 197, 200; transl., p. 209, 240, 245; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ta'rif al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, ii. 177—254; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 494—495; Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyari, *al-Rawf al-maf'ūr*, Spain, No. 37; Simonet, *Description du royaume de Grenade*, Grenada 1872, p. 136—137, 145.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

PEHLEWĀN, MUHAMMAD b. ILDEGİZ, SHAMS AL-DIN, Atabeg of Adharbāidjān. His father Ildegiz [q. v.] had in course of time risen to be the real ruler in the Saljuq empire; the widow of Sultan Tughril [q. v.] was Pehlewān's mother and Arslān b. Tughril [q. v.] his step-brother. In the fighting between Ildegiz and the lord of Marāgha, Ibn Aḥ Sanqar al-Aḥmadī, Pehlewān played a prominent part [cf. the article MARĀGHĀ]. From his father he inherited in 568 (1172-1173) Arrān, Adharbāidjān, al-Djibāl, Hamadān, Isfahān and al-Ray with their dependant territories and a few years later he also took Tahriz, which he gave to his brother Kīlī Arslān [q. v.]. Like Ildegiz, Pehlewān also became the real ruler. Sultan Arslān b. Tughril was completely under his control as was also his young son Tughril [q. v.], whom Pehlewān put on the Saljuq throne, after Arslān had been disposed of by poison. Pehlewān died in Iḥu l-Hidjja 581 (Febr.-March 1186) or the beginning of 582 (1186) and his brother Kīlī succeeded him.

Ibn al-Athīr (xl. 346) pays a high tribute to Pehlewān's statesmanlike qualities and during his tenure of office peace and prosperity prevailed in his governorship. After his death however, bloodshed and unrest broke out. In Isfahān the Shī'īs and Hanafīs fought one another and at al-Ray the Sunnis and Shī'īs until order was gradually restored.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), xl, xii, & index; Hamd Allāh Mustawfī-i Qazwīnī, *Tārīkh-i Guzida* (ed. Browne), i. 466, 470, 472-475; Defrémery, *Histoire des Seldjukiens*, in *J. A.* ser. 4, xiii. 15 sqq.; Mirkhān, *Histoire Seldjukide* (ed. Vailly), chap. 34; *Récueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoukides* (ed. Houtama); Houtama, *Some Remarks on the History of the Saljuks*, in *A. O.*, iii. 136 sqq.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEEN)

PENDJDIH. [See PANDJDIH.]

PERA. [See CONSTANTINOPLE.]

PERAK. [See MALAY PENINSULA.]

PERSEPOLIS. [See ISTAHR.]

PERSIA.

I. HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL SURVEY.
(J. H. KRAMERS)

II. LANGUAGE AND DIALECTS.

(H. W. BAILEY)

III. MODERN PERSIAN LITERATURE.

(E. BERTHELS)

I. HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL SURVEY.

Name. The name Persia is of Western origin and probably only in the Middle Ages began to be used for the countries occupying the Iranian plateau (in Plautus Persia is found once instead of Persis). It is derived from the Greek-Roman appellation "Persae" for the Achæmonids, an appellation that goes back to the name of the region of Persis in the south-west, named in its turn after a tribe that is probably identical with the Parus, known by the Assyrian inscriptions as having occupied formerly a part of Media (oldest mention 844 B.C.). The name Pārs (New Persian: Pārs) in Muhammadan times is applied to the same region of Persis only, but *Pārs* was already at an early time used for one of the types of language spoken in the Iranian provinces (cf. *Nikrit*, ed. Flügel, p. 13),

which language since the 12th century became the written literary language that we call Persian. Equally the appellation *al-Fārs*, found in early Arabic literary sources, denoted the whole of the people of Persia, but was restricted in use to the Persians of pre-Islamic times or to those who had kept to their ancient traditional and religious views. This meaning is often synonymous with the Arabic expression *al-ʿAdām*.

The form *Irān* is of Pehlevi origin and goes back to an earlier form *Aryana*, originally an adjective (*airyana* in the younger Avesta) meaning "Aryan". It was the name of the core of the state of the Sāsānids, who styled themselves "kings of Erān and Anērān", and it occurs in the early Arabic historical and geographical sources in the form *Irān-shāh*, meaning the country of Irān (cf. i. a. Vāqūf, i. 417 sqq.). In Muhammadan times the name became popular again by the revival of the ancient traditions in the *Shāh-nāma*, but the use of the word *Irān* for the modern kingdom of Persia is probably not older than the 16th century, when the Persians began to call themselves *Irānīyān* (about 1890 there existed already a newspaper called *Irān*). Nor does the use of the words "Iranian" and "Iranistic" in scientific publications appear to be older than the second part of the 16th century (Spiegel's *Iranische Altertumskunde* was published since 1871, and Darmesteter's *Études Iraniques* in 1883).

Geographical survey. Throughout the Middle Ages Persia was neither a geographical nor a political unity. In treating the Persia of Muhammadan times we therefore must choose an arbitrary delimitation of the country, namely the territory comprising present Persia, Afghanistan and Baluchistan and in addition the region of Marw as far south as the present Persian frontier. The territory thus circumscribed may represent the actual Achæmonid and later the Sāsānid empires, excluding the territories of al-ʿIrāq, Mesopotamia and Armenia, which during both periods belonged to those empires; Babylonia was called even in Sāsānid times *Dil-i Irānshāh* (*B. G. A.*, vi. 5).

The greater part of Persia thus circumscribed consists of a plateau, very mountainous in parts, with the coastal regions of the Caspian and the Persian Gulf. With the exception of these coastal regions the waters of Persia have no outlet to the sea. The consequence is that there are hardly any great streams, the only rivers deserving that name being the Hilmānd, which falls, like many smaller streams, into the depression of the Sīstān lake, and the Hērt-Rūd, which ends in the northern steppe. The many small streams allow only of a limited cultivation in the mountain valleys and on the fringes between the mountains and the deserts. This circumstance gives even to the inhabited mountainous stretches of the plateau the character of a series of oases, which are larger or smaller as the irrigation system (mostly effected by the subterranean aqueducts called *kāris*) is more or less developed. The territory between the oasis towns and villages is steppe, which, in central Persia, become real desert, the soil of which is more or less salish. The steppes, as also the higher mountain regions, support nomad life only, as they are only habitable during certain periods of the year, to which cause is added the very considerable variation of temperature in many regions. Nomads or semi-nomads have therefore

always lived together on the Iranian plateau with the settled population; the proportion has considerably varied on account of the frequent invasions of nomad peoples. Persia consists of a number of regions of very different character, which accounts for the lack of political unity during long periods of history. Each of these regions has formed occasionally an important political and cultural centre and the Islamic geographers in describing Persia give for each of them its own description. Their division is mainly traditional and at the same time geographical, but disregards the very variable and ephemeral political frontiers.

The regions may be divided into a western and an eastern group, separated by the great central Iranian desert, which extends from the Caspian Sea south-eastwards practically as far as the Indian Ocean in Mukrān. This desert, called by the geographers *Mafāsat Khurāsān*, *Mafāsat Fāris*, *Mafāsat Kirmān* or *Mafāsat Sīstān*, depending on the parts particularly taken into consideration, varies in breadth and character. Its level is on the whole considerably lower than the eastern and western parts of the Iranian plateau. The northern part is a large salt desert, where vegetation is hardly possible. Further to the south, to the east of Fāris, begins the region called on modern maps *Dasht-i Lūt*; here, and further to the south-east there are not a few oases, which form important resting points on the many caravan ways that have linked up since olden times Fāris and Kirmān with Khurāsān and Sīstān. In the southern regions of Tūrān and Mukrān, with which is linked the large desert to the south of the Hilmand river, the desert or steppe character is prevalent. This series of deserts, though not forming an impassable barrier between east and west, has often coincided with political frontiers; only in the north in the region of Kūmis, east of al-Rāy (later Teheran) and along the Caspian coast, a more continuous cultivated stretch links up Media with Khurāsān.

The central part of the western regions is Media, called al-Djibāl in Muhammadan times and later 'Irāk-i 'Aḡhami, consisting of a plateau all covered by mountain ranges running mainly from N. W. to S. E. and bordered on its south-western side by the Zagros mountains; the most important towns are here Hamadhān and Isfahān. To the north-west Ādharbāidjān forms a continuation of al-Djibāl, from which it is separated by the desertlike region of Ardālān. Ādharbāidjān is still more mountainous, being a transition to the Armenian and Caucasian mountain systems; it is also richer in water-courses; the river Araxes (al-Rass) may be considered its northern boundary. Its chief geographical feature is the big salt lake of Urmīya. In early Muhammadan times Ardābil was here the most important place, succeeded in modern times by Tabriz. The small coastal border to the east of Ādharbāidjān belongs to the South Caspian regions, known in Islamic geography as al-Djīl, al-Dāllam, and further Tabaristān, now Gilān and Mazandarān. This region consists of a narrow coastal stretch, widening somewhat towards the east and contrasting with the rest of Persia by its moist climate and rich vegetation; to the south it slopes rapidly upwards to the high range of the Elburz that forms the northern border of the central plateau; alongside the southern slope of this range stretches a narrow cultivated and

inhabited area, in which al-Rāy was the most important town and through which ran the main route to Khurāsān, passing, after al-Rāy, Samnān, al-Dāmaghān and Bastām. At the south-eastern corner of the Caspian the route passed south of the mountain region of Djurdjān, which region, owing to the fact that its waters — the rivers Djurdjān and Atrek — flow towards the Caspian, does not belong geographically to Khurāsān.

In the south of al-Djibāl the Luristān mountains are a transition to the low country of Khuzistān, the ancient Elam and the modern 'Arabistān. It is very similar to al-'Irāk, from which it is separated by desert stretches. The river of Ahwāz, now the Kārūn, fed by its tributary the Kerkhā, in the early Middle Ages flowed directly into the Persian Gulf, and later into the Shatt al-'Arab. To the east of Khuzistān and south-east of al-Djibāl begin the mountain ranges of Fāris with their many mountain lakes and their fertile valleys, which find their continuation in the similarly shaped mountain region of Kirmān, where, however, the desert areas are more numerous. The chief town of Fāris in mediæval and modern times, Shirāz, has replaced the ancient towns of Dūr and Iṣṭakhr, while the mediæval towns of Kirmān, al-Sirādjān and Djirāft, have disappeared, the present town of Kirmān being comparatively young. The coastal region of Fāris and Kirmān is barren; here were the very important ports of Tawwadj, Sīmr, Sīrāl and Hurmuz, now replaced by Bushīr and Bandar 'Abbās. The geographers distinguish in Fāris and Kirmān a southern hot zone (*ḡurūm, ḡarmīr*) and a northern colder zone (*ḡurūd, serdest*), a distinction important to nomads and pertaining to the climate and the vegetation; "hot regions" are found, however, also in the north-eastern parts of Kirmān, where the land descends to the level of the central desert. The oasis of Yazd and environs is generally counted a part of Fāris. The country east of Kirmān as far as the Indus, occupied by several mountain ranges, is poor in cultivated areas and has not much importance as a passage to the Indus region. It consists of the coast region of Mukrān and the parallel inner zone of Tūrān, forming together the present Baluchistān.

The north-eastern part of the Iranian plateau consists of three main regions, of which Sīstān with al-Rukhkhā-dj (Arachosia) is formed by the basin of the Hilmand; these waters flow into the Sīstān lakes, which have considerably changed their form in the course of history. The principal mediæval towns were Zaranj and Bust. The mountain ranges become higher towards the north of this region and run mostly north and south; the eastern border is the water-shed of the Indus valley. To the north of Sīstān stretches the large region of Khurāsān. Its main features are a series of mountain ranges running east and west, bordered in the east by the Hindū Kūsh; between these mountains flow a number of rivers, mainly from the south-eastern ranges to the north-west or the north, where they lose themselves in the desert bordering the south bank of the Djailūn (Amū Daryā) and continuing in a western direction towards the Caspian. The largest river is the Heri-Rūd, on which is situated Herāt, then the Murghāb with Marw al-Rūdh and Marw, and the river of Balkh. The westernmost section of Khurāsān with Isfāryūn, Nishūr and Tūs (Meshhed) receives its waters from the western mountains that form a

not quite complete watershed between Khurāsān and Džurdžān. Though certainly presenting a geographical unity, the large extent of Khurāsān allows the division into smaller regions, such as Bādghīs, al-Džundžān, Tūkhārīstān and others. The present frontier between Persia and Afghanistan cuts from north to south right through Khurāsān and Sostān. Finally the basin of the Indus and its tributaries forms a region of its own, although the part with Kābul to the south of the Hindū Kush and Ghazna (Zābulistān) was often counted by the Islamic geographers to Khurāsān. The more southern part of the Indus valley is separated from the Hindmand system by the Sulaimān range and the deserts of Wāhristān and is, owing to climate, poor in cultivated areas.

All over the Iranian plateau a system of secular caravan roads links up the many cultivated centres. The chief connections with the surrounding countries were the passage of the Araxes towards the eastern Caucasus (al-Rān), the passes west of Urmia to Armenia, the pass-ways of Shahrīzūr and Hulwān to Mesopotamia and al-Irak, and the road from al-Basra to Ahwāz. The sea-ports on the Persian Gulf maintained regular intercourse with the coast towns of Arabia, India and even Eastern Africa. Towards Transoxania (Mā warā' al-Nahr) the chief passage went by Tirmidh on the Oxus, while the roads from Kābul and Ghazna to Multān were the chief connections between the Iranian plateau and the Islamic parts of India. The Caspian ports maintained a small traffic with the Volga mouth.

Historical survey. The relations between Arabia and Persia date from long before Islamic times. Arabs settled in southern Persia from the time of Shāpūr I, and the Sāsānids were masters of southern Arabia up to the time of Muḥammad. Then began, under the caliph 'Umar, the Arab conquest of Persia, which inaugurated the Islamic period in the history of that country. The political and psychological prelude to this conquest was the taking of the capital of the Sāsānid empire, al-Mada'in, in 637, after the battle of al-Kādisiyya. Although the exact dates of the different conquests and battles are not known, the early historical sources allow a reliable survey of the phases of the amazingly rapid progress of the Arabic invaders all over the Iranian plateau. For, with the exception of Makrān and Kābul, all regions had been reached, as far as Balkh, before the death of the caliph 'Othmān (656). We may distinguish different chief expeditions that were directed primarily from Medina, and secondarily from Kūfa and Basra by the governors of those two garrison towns. The first expedition, however, the conquest of the greater part of al-Djibāl and south-eastern Ādharbāidjān, was the immediate consequence of the capture of al-Mada'in by the army of Sa'd b. Abi Waqqāṣ. It was followed, probably in 638, by the battle of Djalāla and the conquest of Hulwān, Karmīstā (Kirmānshāh) and, after reinforcement had been sent from Kūfa, by the famous battle of Nihāwand. These events caused the flight of King Yazdegerd by the way of Isfahān, Isfakhr, Kirmān, Sijistān, to Marw, where he was killed by the Marzban Māhūya (651). Immediately after Nihāwand came the capitulation of Ardabīl (about 641), together with raids into Džilān. The further conquest of Ādharbāidjān, however, started from Mābul, taken in 641 by 'Othbā b. Fakhād, who, in the course of his ex-

pedition, took Shahrīzūr, Urmīya and several other places in Ādharbāidjān. Nihāwand remained the base from which, under the direction of the first governors of Kūfa, were conquered al-Rāy and the towns of Kūmis (after 641), and about the same time Hamadān, Kāzwin and Zandjān. In the following years several expeditions were necessary in this region against the Dailamīs and other mountaineers. From Kūfa started also the first invasion of Khūzistān under the governor al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba, but the real conquest of this region began in 638 under the famous governor of Basra Abū Mūsā al-Ash'ari. The subjugation of this very near neighbour did not take much time, the most serious resistance being met at Tustar (Shūstar). Khūzistān remained Abū Mūsā's base, from which he conquered the remaining towns of al-Djibāl, namely al-Sirwān, al-Saimara, Kumm and Kāshān, and finally, in 644, by means of his lieutenant 'Abd Allāh b. Budhail, Isfahān. The latter was also the first to move in the direction of Khurāsān by forcing the towns called al-Tabasān to capitulate. About the same time took place the first invasion of Fāris, not, however, from Khūzistān, but from the opposite Arabian province of al-Bāhrein, whose governor 'Othmān b. Abi 'l-Ās had an encounter with the marzban on the island of Abarkawān and subsequently took Tawwadj, from where he began raids on the other towns of Fāris. His brother al-Hakam defeated the marzban of Fāris near Rāshahr on the coast, in 640, in a great battle, which, according to al-Balādhuri, was equal in importance to that of al-Kādisiyya. Then Abū Mūsā was ordered to join forces with 'Othmān b. al-Ās. Together they conquered between 644 and 647 a number of towns: Arrādjān, Shahr, Shīrāz, Sinis, Dārābdjīn, Fasa; Abū Mūsā penetrated far into Kirmān, Shīrāz became here the principal Arab garrison. It was from here that, in the caliphate of 'Othmān, started the great campaigns of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir, after his appointment as governor of Basra. In 649 he took the not yet conquered towns of Isfakhr and Džūr, and in 650 he set out for the conquest of Khurāsān; the reason of this is said to have been an invitation by the marzban of Tū, addressed equally to his colleague of Kūfa, Sa'd b. al-Ās. But while Sa'd did not go beyond Tabaristān and Džurdžān, where the *malik* was made tributary, 'Abd Allāh became the real conqueror of Khurāsān. He had already dispatched his lieutenant Mudjāshi' b. Ma'ād towards Kirmān, in pursuit of Yazdegerd; this first expedition having failed, Mudjāshi' was sent a second time to Kirmān in 650, where he conquered the principal towns: al-Sirādjān, Bamm and Džirāft. Battles were fought near Hormuz and in the Kufi mountains. A similar minor expedition was sent by 'Abd Allāh to Sistān, under al-Rabī' b. Ziyād, who crossed the desert from Fāradj and conquered with considerable difficulty Zaranj, the capital of Sistān, where he remained several years. His successor having been expelled from Zaranj, 'Abd Allāh dispatched 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Samura, who reconquered the country and penetrated as far as Dāwar, Bust and Zābul. In 650 'Abd Allāh had in the meantime proceeded to al-Tabasān, already conquered, and sent from there al-Aḥnaf b. Qays to the conquest of Kūhīstān. He himself reached Nāshūr, which surrendered after a siege. From there several

towns were subdued by him and by his lieutenants, and with the *marzban* of Fārs a treaty was concluded. Marw capitulated without a fight. A secondary expedition to Herāt under Aws b. Tha'lab resulted in the capitulation of the ruler of that town, while finally eastern Khurāsān was raided by al-Aḥnaf b. Qays, who fought a decisive battle near Marw al-Rūdī and conquered the region of al-Djizdjan and the town of Balkh, continuing from here his advance as far as Khawāzīm. When 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amir returned, he left Qays b. al-Haitham as the first governor of Khurāsān.

This was the military situation at 'Othmān's death. The conquests were by no means secure, least of all in Sistān and Khurāsān, but the placing of garrisons in Nihāwand, al-Ahwāz and Shīrāz, enabled the Arabs to complete their conquests after the civil wars were over. The people and the authorities with whom the Arabs had to deal in Persia were very different. After the royal army had been destroyed at al-Kādisiyya and Nihāwand, it was chiefly the *marzbāns* who opposed the Arab invaders with their local troops and concluded on their own account treaties (*mudā'arāt*), which guaranteed freedom of religion and the possession of private property against payment of *haraj*. Where a town or a region had been taken by force, the Arabs became proprietors of the soil, as in the Median regions Māh al-Kūfa and Māh al-Bayra. Wholesale acceptance of Islām, as is reported of Karwin, was rare; the Zoroastrians continued the practice of their religion, notably in Fāris and Adharbāidjān, but from Fāris many of them took refuge in Sistān and Mukrān, and about 700 took place the first emigration of Zoroastrians to Kathiawar in India. In the town of Dārābīrd it was the local *harabād* who treated with the Arabs. On the other hand, many Persians were taken as captives to 'Irāk and Arabia, where they became *mawālī*, while also entire groups, such as many knights (*asāwira*) of Yezdegerd's army, and different elements of the population of southern Persia (the Zott, Sayābidja and others) joined forces with the Arabs. The mountaineers, however, in Fāris and al-Djibāl, and especially those of Dīlān and Dailām, long remained unconquered, living under petty local dynasties. In Kūhistan the Arabs had had to deal with remnants of the Hephthalites (*Hayāthila*), still further east with polytheists (*mushrikān*), probably Buddhists and, in Khurāsān, often with Turkish auxiliaries. On the other hand, the conquests introduced a contingent of Arab Muslims in the Persian towns, where they generally began by establishing a mosque; they increased by colonisation in Umayyad times and among them were many bearers of the traditions (*ḥadīth*) about the Prophet and other religious matters and in this way was prepared the gradual Islamisation of the population, favoured at the same time by economic conditions.

The civil war, in which not a few Persians took part in 'Irāk, crippled for some time the Arab progress; the emissaries of 'Alī's governors in Kūfa and Bayra had great difficulty in maintaining themselves, and the whole of Khurāsān rebelled, in spite of the reported visit of the *marzban* of Marw to the fourth caliph. Balkh was even for some time under Chinese control. It was only under the energetic governors of 'Irāk under the Umayyads, Ziyād and al-Hadīdjād, that the conquest was taken up with renewed vigour. Under Ma'āwiya 'Abd

Allāh b. 'Amir had been again appointed governor of Bayra (662) and he sent again 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Samura to Sistān, and then the Arabs reached Kābul, although he and his successors experienced greater difficulties in their dealings with the Kābul-Shāh and the different rulers of Zābulistān who are called *sambh* (according to Marquart, *Erasmianer*, p. 248). These difficulties continued throughout the Umayyad period and became less only when Sistān was joined administratively to Khurāsān, and the Arab domination grew stronger in the latter region. Ibn 'Amir was also the first to begin the reconquest of Khurāsān by his lieutenant al-Qays b. Haitham (capture of Herāt and Balkh); it was continued by Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (from 666), under whom Marw was made a strong Arab garrison, and shortly afterwards 50,000 Arab colonists were established with their families in Khurāsān. Al-Hadīdjād operated in Khurāsān through his able generals al-Muhallab b. Abī Sufra, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, and finally Ka-taiba b. Muslim. One of the greatest difficulties was, in his time as many times afterwards, the clearing of the main road to Khurāsān by al-Raiy, Kūmis and Tabaristān, where many battles were fought with the mountaineers. The transfer of a considerable Arab contingent to Khurāsān under Ziyād had been a consequence of tribal wars that had started during Ma'āwiya's reign. The new comers soon began to infect the Arab soldiers of the garrisons, while at the same time the political and religious parties born from the civil war began to gain adherents in Persia, first among the Arabs and soon among their Persian clients. Prominent were the Khārijīs, who, under their leader Kaṭarī b. al-Fudjā'a (killed ca. 697), found a refuge in Kirmān and made from there raids to the north and the west. And towards the end of the Umayyad period, Isfahān with parts of Fāris and Khūzistān were temporarily in the power of 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'āwiya (744-746). The main object of the Umayyad administration was the collection of the *ḡizya* and the *haraj* and, until the time of al-Hadīdjād, the books were kept by native scribes in Persian, after the custom of the Sāssanids. Under al-Hadīdjād the language and the script of the administration were changed to Arabic in 'Irāk, and we must assume that gradually Arabic came into administrative use in the Persian provinces; nevertheless the first Arab governors, and among them Kaṭarī, had coins struck with Pehlevi and Arabic legends. A considerable advance in the Islamisation of Persia was due to the financial policy of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz and Hishām; after 'Umar's edicts had induced many Persians to adopt Islām in order to get rid of the *ḡizya*, the taxing of Muslims and non-Muslims alike by Hishām brought about an assimilation of the different elements of the population, from which there emerged at this time a reliable class of Islāmic-Persian functionaries. Only the mountain people under their local chiefs remained unruly. But notably the remote province of Khurāsān, though revolts were not rare, and notwithstanding the continuous tribal feuds of the Arabs, remained under firm government control, owing to the presence of the strong garrison at Marw, where the governor resided, and in a not less degree to the successes of the Muslims in Transoxania under Kaṭaiba.

This makes comprehensible why the anti-Umayyad propaganda, directed by the 'Abbāsids in Syria, chose Khurāsān as the field of operation for their

emissaries. Making use of the animosity between the Arab tribes and of the general dissatisfaction with the existing rule, this propaganda resulted finally in the revolt of Abū Muslim in 747 and his victorious entrance into Marw and soon afterwards into Nisābūr. So it was to the Arab legions in Persia and their Persian helpers that the 'Abbāsids owed their final victory in 750. This, of course, brought about a completely new orientation of Persia within the empire of the new dynasty, the more so as the 'Abbāsids transferred their residence to 'Irāq, where the centre of the last national Persian dynasty was formerly situated. Persian attitude to life and Persian tradition became dominant in the new centre of Arab political power and soon of Islamic civilisation in the newly founded Baghdad (762). A symptom of this Persian cultural influence is the translation into Arabic of products of Pehlvi literature by authors like Ibn al-Muqaffā. Further, powerful families of Persian origin, gained as the Barmakids, and afterwards the Banū Nawbakht, such influence as viziers on the affairs of state. This was also the time when the racial sentiment of the Persians began to assert itself in the *Šahādhaye* movement and when the manifestations of the Persian *zimā* aroused the anxiety of religious circles. The caliphs themselves showed more interest in their Persian provinces than the Umayyads had ever done; they were moreover compelled to do so, as events had shown what a powerful commander might be able to undertake against the central authority. In the south-western provinces — al-Djīl, Khūzistān and Fāris — revolts of this kind were not to be feared, but farther away and in the mountains authority could only be maintained by repeated expeditions. So when the governor of Khūzistān showed signs of disloyalty, the caliph al-Manṣūr sent his son al-Mahdī with the general Khāsim b. Khuzaima to restore order and afterwards to subjugate a local dynast in Tabaristān. Then al-Mahdī took up his residence in al-Ray until his accession. Hārūn al-Rashīd undertook himself at the end of his life an expedition against Khūzistān and Transoxania, during which he died at Tūs (809). His son al-Ma'mūn, who had accompanied him, remained in Khorāsān, even after he had become caliph (813), until 817. During this time happened the episode of the imām 'Alī al-Riḍā (q. v.). In the same early 'Abbāsid period the attitude of the Persian population towards Islam had changed in so far as notably the revolt of Abū Muslim had induced many Persians of the better class (the *dihāns*) to become Muslims, but at the same time the lower classes were liable to outbursts of religious fanaticism, in which Islamic and pre-Islamic views were intermingled. In Khūzistān a number of 'false prophets' made their appearance: Sinbādū the Magian (754—755), Ostādīs (766—768), Yūsuf al-Barmī, al-Mukanna' (777—780). To the same kind of religious movements belonged the prolonged rebellion of the Khurramites under Bābak (816—838) in Adharbāidjān. The caliphs were justified in repressing these movements with great severity, because they were generally accompanied by aspirations towards political independence. The revolt of the 'Alid Yahyā b. 'Abd Allāh in Daīlām in 793 showed likewise that it was already possible to operate in Persia with Islamic devices, and for this reason the caliph Hārūn had to proceed with much circumspection in its repression.

Under al-Ma'mūn begins the political loosening

of Khūzistān and neighbouring provinces from the 'Abbāsid caliphate, not by the action of the ancient Persian nobles or princes, nor by the popular movements already described, nor by Khāridjite or 'Alid propaganda, but by the action of Persian-Muhammadan governors not of ancient noble lineage, but nevertheless animated by national feelings, preparing in this way the Persian-Muhammadan political and cultural renaissance. Tāhir b. al-Husain, general of al-Ma'mūn, was appointed in 820 governor of Khūzistān. His descendants, the Tāhirids, were nominally governors of the caliphs, but the latter had to leave to them an almost independent authority over Khūzistān with the regions to the east as far as the India and to the west as far as al-Ray. Those regions never came back under the caliphs' full authority, for the Tāhirids lost their power, and their territory in 873 in the struggle against the Saffārids, a dynasty of still less noble descent, who in 867 had begun to make themselves masters of Sistān under Ya'qūb b. al-Layth and his two brothers. Their territory comprised for some time Khūzistān with the regions of Kābul and al-Rukh-ghadj — where the 'Abbāsid power had never been well established — and even Kirmān and Fāris, but the position of the Saffārids as leading power in Persia soon came to an end, when they were beaten in 879 in Khūzistān in their endeavour to attack the caliph in Baghdad. The cultural and religious position of the Saffārids is not well known, but their exploits remained famous in Persia long after their extinction. During the same period the caliphs had to suffer the establishment of other more or less independent dynasties, such as the Dulafids in al-Karadj in the southern part of Media (842—897), and the Rudaini family in Adharbāidjān. Far more important is the rise of the Sāmānid dynasty in Khūzistān and Transoxania. This dynasty originated in Khūzistān; they had been at first faithful servants of the Tāhirids and occupied already a powerful position in Transoxania when the troubles in Khūzistān, after the fall of the Tāhirid power, enabled them to establish their power in Khūzistān in 892, under the nominal suzerainty of Baghdad. Under Naṣr b. Aḥmad (913—943) they governed also in Sistān, Kirmān, Djundjān, al-Ray and Tabaristān. The immense cultural importance of this dynasty for Persia lies in the fact that a revived national but Islamized Persian spirit found an opportunity to develop itself in Khūzistān, as is revealed to us by the beginnings of the New Persian Islamic literature (cf. *infra*, iii.). This development certainly goes back at least as far as the time of al-Ma'mūn. The Sāmānids resided in Transoxania and had Khūzistān governed by governors, so that it was not the neighbourhood of their brilliant court alone which favoured the Persian form of Islamic culture; this was due rather to the general prosperity which began to reign and which brought into existence a class of wealthy landowners who were able to patronize literary and scientific activity, for Arabic literature also began to flourish in Khūzistān (al-Balkhī and others). It is further noteworthy that the Persian renaissance did not take place in the traditional centres of Persia, Fāris and Adharbāidjān, where about this time the ancient conditions had not much changed, but rather in a (culturally speaking) new country, where new forms could more easily come into existence.

In western Irān the manifestation of the Per-

sian national spirit took other, less refined forms, as the promoters were the never entirely subjected peoples of Dailam and Djilān. Here the Zaidite 'Alid propaganda, begun under Hārūn al-Rashid, had supplied popular opposition to the Caliphate with an Islamic badge. Several petty local dynasties were still in existence in Dailam at the beginning of the 10th century and from here started predatory expeditions, whose first aim was the town of al-Ray. The brigand chiefs became generals and some of them became rulers of countries with continually changing frontiers, owing to their warfare with each other and with the Sāmānids. The most stable of the dynasties thus formed were the Ziyārīds (928—1042), who ruled for some time in al-Ray, Isfahān and Ahwāz, but were reduced in the end to the territories of Tabaristān and Djurdjān. In al-Djibāl, Fāris and Khūzistān they were soon replaced by the much more successful Būyids, their former Dailamite confederates. The independent rise of the three brothers 'Alī, Hāsān and Ahmad, sons of Būya, began about 935 and soon nearly the whole of western Persia had ceased to pay taxes and tribute to the Baghdad government, where, moreover, the caliphs were dominated by military commanders. This situation enabled Ahmad b. Būya, already master of Khūzistān, to occupy Baghdad in 946 and to incorporate the seat of the caliphate in his possessions. The caliphate was allowed to survive under the political power of this Persian Shī'ite dynasty. The other Būyid brothers resided at al-Ray and at Shīrāz, and the most brilliant reign was that of 'Aḍud al-Dawla, son of 'Alī of Shīrāz, who in his turn became master of Baghdad in 978 and reigned until 985, while his son Bahā' al-Dawla (989—1013) continued to reign in 'Irāq, Fāris and Kirmān. At the same time the north-western part of Persia had fallen, after the semi-independent reign of the governors of the Sāfid family in Adharbāidjān (890—929), into the hands of Kurdish dynasties, such as the Mas'ūdids, the Shaddādids, the Rawwādids and others.

On account of these grave political disturbances western Irān was somewhat slower to assimilate the specifically Persian cultural development that had started in Khurāsān, but towards the middle of the 10th century, when conditions became more settled, there clustered around the Būyid courts and in other large centres a class of Persian-Islamic writers — such as Hamza al-Isfahānī (d. c. 970) — and scholars, among them such brilliant personalities as the Būyid waṣīr Abu 'l-Faḍl b. al-'Aṣmī and Ismā'īl b. 'Abbād. At the same time the different religious currents of the time altered through into the classes of the continually increasing Islamic population, one centre preferring Shī'ite doctrines, another Mā'talīzīm, another traditionalism (*ad al-hadīth*), and so on (cf. the geographers *passim*). Karmatīsm was, however, severely suppressed, when it appeared in Khurāsān at the end of the 10th century, and though the Karmatīan propaganda had been strong in south-western Persia, its political successes were realised only on the opposite coast of al-Bahrain. Sūfism likewise became widely spread in its different forms, developing peculiar types of Persian Sūfism as early as the 10th century; the life story of al-Hallāj shows equally the fertility of south-western Persia for Sūfī propaganda. All these germs were destined to bear fruit in later centuries, but on the whole the political distribution

of forces had already brought it about that western Persia, situated between Sunni Eastern Persia and Sunni 'Irāq and Mesopotamia, tended towards the Shī'a.

The 10th century witnessed the rise of the Turks in Persia. Turkish troops had already formed large contingents in the armies of the governors and princes who disputed with each other parts of Iranian soil, not excluding the mountaineers who needed horsemen alongside their local foot-soldiers. It is true that already in Sāmānid times sections of Turkish tribes had been established south of the Djāhān in Tūkhārīstān, but the main role of the Turks in Persia had always been that of soldiers and military commanders in the service of local governors and princes. In the Sāmānid state several Turks had risen to high military and administrative functions, and, as the military power of the Sāmānids began to weaken, these Turkish commanders aspired to political leadership, relying on their Turkish troops and using their natural capacity for military organisation. In this way the Turkish vassal of the Sāmānids, Subuktākin, founded his independence in the newly conquered region of Ghazna and Kābul, where until then local Hindu rulers had been able to maintain themselves; his power soon became a menace to the Sāmānids themselves, who, in Transoxania, were continually losing ground to the Turkish Hekkhāns. Subuktākin had been a Sāmānid governor in Khurāsān, and it was after his death (997) that his son Mahmūd of Ghazna (999—1030) took the opportunity of establishing an independent power in Khurāsān, choosing Balkh for his capital at the outset. He extended his sway in Persia over Sīstān and as far as eastern Media, while his conquests in India and Transoxania gave a strong backing to the consolidation of his power in Irān. Mahmūd had asked the caliph for a diploma of investiture and was noted as a champion of Sunnism. Under his reign the new cultural Persian-Islamic tradition of the Sāmānids was continued; his court was a centre of Persian court poets and whatever his personal relations with Firdawsī may have been, they show at any rate that his states offered congenial soil for the renaissance of Persian traditions. The name of al-Bīrdī is sufficient to show also that the noblest and highest form of Islamic scholarship could flourish under his reign. And his immense popularity in later Persian Sūfī poetry has made this Turkish ruler a cultural Persian hero. The final Islamisation of the Kābul country was the work of the Ghaznawids. In western Irān in the meantime, the later Būyids were able to maintain themselves with less brilliance; apart from the Ghaznawids they were seriously weakened in Fāris by the Shabānkara Kurds in the first half of the 11th century. Yet conditions did not hinder the prosperity of Persian literature and science (Avicenna).

The rise of the Ghaznawids was only the prelude to the Turkish invasion under the house of Seljūq, by which Seljūqīd rule became established in Persia and beyond. This time the Turks, mostly called Ghuzz, had begun, since 1029, to migrate into eastern and northern Persia, in spite of the opposing measures of the Sāmānids and the Ghaznawids. Within seventeen years from his first appearance in Khurāsān (1038), their leader Tughrīl Bek had overran the whole north of Persia, and made his entrance into Baghdad (1055).

At the same time the power of the remaining Ziyārids and of the different Buyid dynasties was entirely crushed; the Iranian possessions of the Ghaznawid power were considerably reduced, and thus nearly the whole of Persia was united again under the Turkish dynasty of the Seldjūks, whose members divided amongst them the different provinces: Khurāsān, Sistān with Herāt, Kirmān, Fāris and Adharbāidjān. Tughril Bek fixed his residence at al-Rāy, he and his successors being called the Great Seldjūks, in contrast to the minor Seldjūk dynasties. The last Great Seldjūk, Sandjar (1117—1157), though an able ruler, was real master only in Khurāsān and had already to face new factors in Persia, which, after his death, brought about a political disintegration that could only be arrested by the Mongol conquest.

The Turkish invasion, which brought nomadic Turks into nearly all parts of Persia, where they found conditions suited to their mode of life, and which in many regards may be compared with the Arab invasion, did not make of Persia a Turkish country, as was the case with Transoxania and Asia Minor, with the exception only of Adharbāidjān. The young Persian cultural renaissance had gathered enough vital force to assimilate the ruling Turkish elements, and this to such a degree that, until the thirteenth century, the Seldjūks continued to spread Persian culture in Asia Minor. The nomadic Ghuzz did not find the opportunity, as elsewhere, to assert themselves otherwise than as a very turbulent element, which in the thirteenth century became threatening even to the Seldjūks themselves. The influence of their certainly not very orthodox Islamic religious views on the religious history of Persia has certainly not a little contributed to the spreading of Shī'ite ideas. The Seldjūks themselves continued the tradition of the Sāmānids and Ghaznawids by becoming champions of Sunnism. The minister Niẓām al-Mulk is an outstanding figure among the many personalities of Persian descent who were the pillars of the political, religious and literary currents of the time. Under his patronage worked al-Ghazālī, the scene of whose later activity was Nishāpūr in Khurāsān. Persia had acquired at this time an importance as a seat of Islamic culture equal to that of Irāk and other parts of the Islamic world. The theological colleges founded by Niẓām al-Mulk (Baghdād and Nishāpūr) were the crowning work of the Sunni Islamic civilisation, but involved at the same time a consolidation by which religious and cultural ideals were fixed and anchored for the centuries to come. The early Seldjūk period shows also a continuation of the best of Muḥammadan scientific activity in Persia, for which we have to quote only 'Umar-i Khayyām.

Western Persia, however, asserted her non-Sunni tradition by the Ismā'īlī propaganda which resulted in the capture of the stronghold of Alamūt near Karwin by Ḥasan-i Sabbāḥ in 1091. The sources of this propaganda were in the East (Najr-i Khumraw) and the West (Egypt) alike, but its real political effects were concentrated, as far as Persia is concerned, in al-Djibāl, Fāris and Khūstān and, in a less degree, in the east in Khūstān, where about the same time a number of fortresses were acquired by the Ismā'īlites. Ḥasan-i Sabbāḥ and his successors became a political power in western Irān, especially in al-Djibāl, against which the Seldjūks were more and more

powerless, and which was crushed only by the Mongol invasion.

The Seldjūks had established in their dominions a system of hereditary military fiefs (*iqṭā'*) with the object of being able to dispose of an army commanded by reliable chiefs. The consequence of this system was the loosening of the central power which was supplanted in course of time by a number of independent military governors, who are known in history as *atabeks*. On Persian soil the chief Atabek dynasties were those of Adharbāidjān (since 1146), of Luristān (since 1148), of Yazd (since 1170), and the Atabek dynasty of the Salgharids in Fāris (since 1137), who annexed also Kirmān after the extinction of the ruling Seldjūks of Kirmān. In the southern parts of Fāris and Kirmān the Shabānkara continued their irregular authority. In Khurāsān the Seldjūks were eclipsed after Sandjar's death by the Khwārizmshāhs, and simultaneously these rose into prominence the Ghōrid dynasty, originating in the mountains of al-Ghōr and al-Dāwar. It was the Ghōrids who, by taking Ghazna in 1149, put an end to Ghaznawid rule in Persia; they likewise extended to Sistān and the country of Bost, and to the north, Bāmiyān and eastern Khurāsān. Later on they too lost the greater part of their possessions to the Khwārizmshāhs. Sometimes the Ghōrids were allied with the wandering Ghuzz, and sometimes they fought the latter; on the whole the devastations wrought by the Ghōrids and their temporary allies mark the beginning of the cultural decline in north-eastern Irān.

This decline was hastened by the Mongol invasions. After the Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad had come into conflict with Čingiz Khān (1218), the Mongols first took possession of his lands in Transoxania, of which their appearance in Khurāsān was the political and military consequence. In the campaign of 1220—1221 the Mongol generals Djebek and Subutai conquered Khurāsān and the northern part of western Persia as far as Adharbāidjān, driving the Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad to the island of Abiskūn in the Caspian, where he died, and forcing his son Djālāl al-Dīn to cross the Indus. The great towns of Khurāsān were devastated in a way that made it impossible for them to recover their ancient splendour; the population must have been considerably reduced by the wholesale massacres, and the works of art and literature were destroyed. The conquered cities were immediately placed under Mongol administration; where the population revolted, as in Hamadān, there followed a pitiless massacre. The conquered territories were annexed to the part of the Mongol empire given to Čaghatāi. Southern Persia was spared for the moment; in Kirmān the Mongol emissary Burāq Ḥadīb founded in 1224 an almost independent state. Soon afterwards Djālāl al-Dīn reappeared from India to make his turbulent way to Adharbāidjān and Armenia without being able to drive out the Mongols. Then, in 1256, came the second invasion of Mongol armies under Hūlagū, brother of the reigning Khān Mangu. This expedition had been carefully prepared and was directed against the Ismā'īlī heretics in Persia and against the caliphate in Baghdad, which was exterminated in 1258. Whatever the real political and religious motives for the expedition of Hūlagū, the friend of the Christians, may have been, its results were of immense consequence for eastern Islam in general.

Persia was entirely subdued and came to form the greater part of the dominions of the non-Islamic Mongol dynasty of the Ilkhāns, who resided most of the time in Ādharbāidjān (after 1306 in Sulṭāniya). By the end of the thirteenth century the smaller existing dynasties, such as the Salgharid atabeks of Fāris and the Kuthugh Khāns of Kirmān were also extinguished.

By the terrible devastations in Khurāsān these regions ceased to be a hearth of national Persian Islamic culture and this role now was taken over by the west. At the same time these political events had loosened the ties with the western Islamic centres which at the time were wholly absorbed by the action against the Crusaders. Moreover by the extermination of the Ismā'ili power and the uncertain attitude of the Ilkhāns towards Islām and its different aspects, Persian Islām passed in this period through a profound crisis, and many conflicting currents were at work. In this period lived in Ardabil the Shaikh Saif al-Dīn (1252—1334), the ancestor of the Safawid dynasty. Still the Persian national character maintained itself and assimilated the many new foreign elements, mostly Turkish, so far as these were capable of advance to a higher cultural level. Great Persian poets (Sa'di) flourished, and the Ilkhāns showed an interest in the achievements of Islamic science (Naṣir al-Dīn Tusi) and literature (Rashid al-Dīn).

During the Ilkhān period (1265—1337) Persia was considered by the European Christian powers as their ally against Egypt, now the chief champion of Islām in the west. But although the political opposition between the Ilkhān empire and western Islām became a living reality, any attempt to organize and propagate Christianity in Persia by the institution of bishoprics was fruitless. Persia was opened, however, to closer contact with the European world than ever had been the case in Islamic times, not so much by the series of well-known travellers who passed through Persia on their way to the centre of the Mongolian Empire, as through the establishing of commercial settlements by the Italian republics in Ādharbāidjān for the overland commerce from their establishments on the Black Sea (Trebisond) through Armenia and Persia to Central Asia.

After the death of Abū Sa'id (1335) the dynasty of the Ilkhāns came to an end in the quarrels between the Djālā'ir and Chūbān families. Abū Sa'id had already had great difficulty in maintaining the unity of his state, especially in his struggle against the influential amir Chūbān. Further the later Ilkhāns had already had to suffer the existence of semi-independent dynasties, such as the Kurt dynasty at Herāt, the only large town in Khurāsān that had escaped Mongol devastation. Other powerful commanders, who had served the Ilkhāns, found during the troubles after Abū Sa'id's death opportunity to aspire to political independence; the most successful were the Muṣaffarids in Fāris and Kirmān, a dynasty of Arab extraction, who from about 1340 until their destruction by Timūr in 1392 held sway in southern Persia and for some time as far as Persian Irāk (al-Djibal) and Ādharbāidjān. Further Ādharbāidjān was now in the power of the Khān of the Golden Horde and now in that of the Djālā'ir dynasty of Baghdad. Eastern Persia was mainly divided between the Kurt dynasty of Herāt already mentioned and the Serbedār clan who had their centre in Sebzewār.

In these chaotic times, when the authority of political power was waning, the more popular and, in a way, democratic elements in Persia, gained more opportunity of asserting themselves, as may be seen from the rather independent way in which the citizens of different towns behaved towards the quarrelling rulers. This self-assertion of democratic elements is also to be observed in Asia Minor, but on the culturally more fertilized soil of western Iran, it bore the fruit of a brilliant literary development in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which at first sight may seem astonishing in such unfavourable political surroundings. This development was accompanied by an intensification of the religious currents that were at work among the population, where it was strongly influenced by the lower forms of Sūfism as propagated by derwishes. In the case of the Serbedārs in Khurāsān the derwish activity had even political consequences and here also is a striking parallel with conditions in Asia Minor. Higher Sūfism was confined to the upper classes and expressed itself in literature, by which we are able to follow the different trends of thought. From the poems of Hāfiz we learn that the Shi'a creed of the *Ikān* 'ashariya was already widely spread and that the tomb of 'Alī al-Ridā in Meshhed had become an object of national veneration.

At the end of the thirteenth century followed a fearful political reaction in the conquest of Persia by Timūr Lang, another foreign intervention which for the last time held up the development of a national state in Persia. Timūr, after conquering for himself an empire in Central Asia, founded on his descent from Čingiz Khān a claim to the domination of Persia. In 1370 he had already conquered Balkh; in 1380 he subdued Khurāsān, Sistān and Māzandarān, and in 1383—1384 he completed the conquest by taking Ādharbāidjān, Persian Irāk, and finally Fāris by exterminating the dynasty of the Muṣaffarids (1392). The Serbedārs had already been swept away and in 1389 disappeared the Kurt dynasty at Herāt. The most bloody event during this conquest was the sack of Isfahan in 1387. Timūr never resided for long in Persia, but confided its government to some of his sons, notably Shāhrukh, who became "king" in Khurāsān and Sistān as early as 1397. In Ādharbāidjān reigned Mirānshāh, not altogether to the satisfaction of his father. After Timūr's death (1405) the political unity of the empire was on the whole preserved under Shāhrukh (d. 1447), who sought to repair much of the devastation wrought by his father's campaigns. Shāhrukh still recognized nominally as his suzerain the emperor of China. After his death different descendants of Timūr, the Timūrids, disputed with each other parts of Persia, while after 1450 the dynasties of the Kara Koyunlu emerged from the west to dominate large parts of Persia. The best known Timūrid in Persia was Soltān Husain Baikara, who ruled from his capital Herāt over Khurāsān, Sistān and Djurdjān from 1468 to 1506.

Timūr's reign in Persia meant also a Sunni reaction, but in western and middle Persia this reaction was not lasting. Among the many heterodox religious manifestations of this time is the appearance of the Hurūfi sect, one of whose adherents tried to murder Shāhrukh in Herāt in 1426. This religious movement was suppressed by the government, but it had, like similar currents,

strong connections towards the west, through Ādharbāidjān into Asia Minor, where at this time the Sunni power of the Ottomans was re-establishing and strengthening itself to oppose the heterodox influence emanating from Persia. Meantime Persian cultural life continued to manifest itself in the important literature produced in western Persia, while also in the Caucasian countries and Muhammadan India Persian cultural and literary influence was reaching its climax. This was not the case in Khurāsān; here, in the intellectual centre of Herāt, developed at this time the eastern Turkish Čaghatai literature, promoted by 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī at Husain Bālkara's court at Herāt. Although the Persian-Islamic tradition continued its influence in these regions, eastern Persia begins to be culturally separated from the west under influence of the Turkish and local elements; a development similar to that witnessed at the same time in Asia Minor and the regions of Arabic tongue in Mesopotamia and 'Irāq.

The events that preceded the rise of the Safawid dynasty have Ādharbāidjān as their chief scene of action. It was in Ādharbāidjān that Kāra Yūsuf of the Kāra Koyunlu dynasty began his career by taking Tabriz in 1406, and that his successors had the centre of their empire, which, under Djahānshāh (1435—1467), extended over nearly all western Persia and in the east as far as Herāt. And it was through Ādharbāidjān that Uzun Hasan of the Ak Koyunlu penetrated Persia, after his victory over Djahānshāh in 1467. Then he defeated the last Timurid Abū Sa'īd and became master of western Persia, inaugurating in the meantime the series of wars with the Ottoman Turks, that were to last for three centuries. The successors of Uzun Hasan had already come into conflict with the Safawid leaders Shāikh Haidar and Sultān 'Alī, who about this time had acquired enormous influence in Ādharbāidjān and Asia Minor. The Safawid movement began indeed in a much more democratic way than the preceding dynasties. Its chief adherents belonged to seven tribal groups of Turkish origin, amongst whom Shī'ite convictions had been spread by means of Shī'ite propaganda methods. This ever-increasing flock acquired at this time the celebrated nickname of Kīlī-Bāsh. Thus their political rising under Shāh-Isma'īl was again a reaction against the official orthodoxy of the ruling classes, a reaction in which it was not difficult to enlist the Persian town population of western Irān, since olden times ready to accept non-official and unorthodox religious views, by which at the same time they showed their dislike for foreign rule. These different elements gave a Persian "national" character to the Safawid dynasty, although their leaders were Turks from unincorporated Ādharbāidjān. Shāh Isma'īl, on emerging from his hiding place in Dīlāw, gained his first success in the Caucasus against the king of Shīrwān, and this made him strong enough to turn his arms against the last ruler of the Ak Koyunlu, whom he defeated in the battle of Sharūr (1501). By 1510 he was master of western Persia, and in addition of Armenia, Mesopotamia and 'Irāq (Baghdād taken in 1508) with the holy tombs of the Imams in Nadjaf and Karbala'. He then turned to eastern Persia, where a new invasion from Transoxania was threatening, after the death of Sultān Husain Bālkara at Herāt (1506), by the rise of the Uzbek power under Šahbān Khān. The latter had already invaded Khurāsān, and had he not been

defeated and killed in the battle of Marw (1510) by Shāh Isma'īl, Persia might have experienced a fourth wave of conquest from Central Asia. Then followed in 1514 the famous battle of Čaldīrān; the defeat suffered here by Shāh Isma'īl from the army of Selīm I showed where the political frontiers of the Safawids were henceforward to be; the wave of sympathy that had spread west from Ādharbāidjān far into Asia Minor was ruthlessly suppressed by the Ottoman Sultāns and Čaldīrān showed that any political extension of Persia in this direction was impossible.

Thus the important events of Isma'īl's career determined the field of action of the Safawid dynasty, which was to last until 1736. Religious and cultural traditions and geographical necessity gave this dynasty the character of a "national" dynasty, and the long period of its existence, together with the religious isolation of their empire, contributed not a little to the coming into existence of a real Persian "nation", that overcame the troublesome period of the xviiith century and asserted itself ever more vigorously during the xixth. The nature of the country, however, was not favourable to a rapid development in this direction. The many nomadic elements of Iranian, Turkish and Arab origin kept much longer to their own traditions, and the disconnectedness of the various inhabited centres could not but weaken the authority of the government. Throughout Safawid rule, the kings had to reckon with the existence of half independent governors and tribal formations, from which came the powerful nobles and courtiers. In the time of Tahmāsp I some Georgian nobles, relatives of the king, were in a dominant position, but on the whole it was the Kīlī-Bāsh clans who formed at times a dangerous power in the state, while nevertheless the kings were dependent on these elements for the defence of the country. It was only during the reign of 'Abbās I that something of a royal militia (the Shāh-sewan) could be formed, while on the other hand the army was reinforced by European artillery. Therefore the civil and military administration of the country never acquired even such a regularity and a cohesion as is witnessed in the Ottoman Empire; the Safawids had to suffer for instance the permanent establishment of the Portuguese in Hormus (1507—1622) and afterwards of the English, but this did not yet conflict with the state conceptions of that time. Governmental authority could only be maintained in the interior by the utmost severity, as was practised notably by 'Abbās I. For the same reason the frontiers of the Safawid empire in east and west were never very stable, although gradually a demarcation takes place. The eastern part of Khurāsān and the regions to the south of it, long since culturally disconnected from western Persia, never returned to the Safawids. Balḫ and Marw were under the almost unbroken domination of the Uzbeks ('Abbās I only temporarily occupied Balḫ in 1598), while Kābul and Kandahār belonged from the beginning to the empire of the Great-Mughals of India, Kandahār being only temporarily held by the Safawids. Only Herāt was for most of the time under their control, and far into the sixth century Persia had not abandoned her claim to this town. All this makes clear why eastern Irān, after the extinction of the Uzbek and the Mughal power did not return to Shī'ite Persia, but came to form at last an independent state

under the Afghan rulers. Only western Khurāsān, with the shrine of Meshhed, and Sistān remained an integral part of Safawid and consequently of modern Persia. In the west the Ottoman Turks and the Persians disputed with each other in a continual series of campaigns, interrupted by temporary peace, the large band of territory stretching from the Persian Gulf to Georgia. In the xvth century the Turks won and occupied Agharbāidjān, Mesopotamia and 'Irāq. Under Abbas I most of the lost territory was recovered, but the recapture of Baghād by Murād IV in 1638 made an end of Persian domination in the Tigris valley, while Agharbāidjān and parts of Armenia and Georgia remained to Persia. In 1668 took place the first conflict with Russia through a descent of Cossacks upon Māzandarān.

Since the beginning of Ismā'il's career the Shi'ite creed had been forcibly imposed on the settled population and a regular persecution of all Sunnite theologians had begun. This persecution was accompanied by a repression of all Shi'a manifestations, whereby the new state religion took at last the aspect of a fanatical and intolerant church, whose ministers, the Shi'ite divines, repressed all utterances of free thought. Browne ascribes to this development the sudden paucity of literary production in Safawid Persia. In these circumstances Persia became much isolated from the surrounding Islamic countries, but on the other hand the enemies of the Ottoman power in Europe looked upon Persia as a valuable ally in their common efforts to crush that power. To this was due the forming of friendly diplomatic connections with European powers, such as Venice and Spain, who, in addition, sought to profit by commercial relations. These relations, together with the political necessity of securing their colonial establishments in India and beyond, led other European states also to take up friendly relations with the Safawid court, namely the English, the Dutch and the French, after the Portuguese had been driven from the Persian Gulf. The European envoys, amongst whom the Sherley brothers are most notable during 'Abbas I's reign, were well received, and established the first real contact between Persia and European civilisation. These relations also provoked the sending of some memorable Persian embassies to Europe. The political reasons that had brought the European sea powers to the Persian Gulf prevented Persia, however, from ever becoming a maritime power; even the endeavour of 'Abbas I to make of the newly founded Bender 'Abbas a great maritime commercial town remained unrealised.

Most of the Safawid kings had very long reigns, for which the not uncommon practice of killing possible pretenders amongst the royal family was probably responsible. The most brilliant reign was that of 'Abbas I (1587-1629), who transferred his residence from Kāzwin to Isfahān, which, by his buildings, became a splendid royal city. His successors profited by his work. After the middle of the xvth century Persia was passing through a peaceful period, owing mainly to the weakening of its neighbours. Conditions at this time are well known by a series of European travel accounts. The same peaceful conditions had allowed, however, the establishment at Kandahār in 1709 of a Sunni rebellious movement, which was opposed in vain by the Safawid king Husain and was the beginning of the Afghan state. In 1722 the

Afghan army of Mir Mahmūd conquered Isfahān, after which the Afghans were masters in Persia for about eight years. At last the Safawid successors of Husain were able to liberate the country through the help of their general Nādir Kull of the Afshar tribe who, in 1736, made himself king of Persia as Nādir Shāh. At that time he had already restored to Persia the cities in Agharbāidjān and Georgia that had been taken by the Turks and likewise Rasht and Bākū, occupied by Russia. After his coronation he set out on his invasion of India and the Afghan country, but his reign had brought so little stability that, after his murder in 1747, there followed a period of general lawlessness in Persia. The Afghans regained strength, but allowed Nādir's blinded grandson Shāhrukh to reign over Khurāsān. The failure of Nādir Shāh to establish a lasting dynasty was also due to his endeavours to abolish the Shi'ite religious practices, but in this he met a determined opposition from the people and their spiritual leaders. After Nādir's assassination there was hardly any question of restoring a Safawid to the throne. The real power devolved on Karīm Khān Zand, who resided mostly in Shirāz and who succeeded in uniting Persia during a benevolent reign; in his time the troubles on the 'Irāqian frontier led even to the conquest of Basra. His death in 1779 occasioned a dispute for the throne among his descendants. Agha Muhammad Khān of the Kādjār tribe round Astārshād profited from these troubles by bringing with much cunning and much cruelty the entire empire under his control. He was finally enthroned in Teherān in 1796 and was assassinated in 1797. With him began the Kādjār dynasty, which reigned until 1925.

At the beginning of Afghan rule Russia had occupied Derbend and Rasht, while Turkey had invaded the country as far as Hamadān; the Afghan ruler Ashraf, however, and after him Nādir Shāh succeeded in recovering the occupied territories. A second Turkish attack in 1740 was equally thrown back by Nādir. During the second half of the century Russia and Turkey were too much occupied with each other to pay attention to Persia. The political development in the north-east had eliminated direct danger from the Uzbek states, but now the lawless Turcomans north of Khurāsān had become by their raids the terror of the Persian population; Agha Muhammad Khān inflicted serious blows upon them. With the coming of the Kādjārs, however, the international situation grew much more difficult, owing to Persia's becoming involved in world-wide political struggles. Until 1814 the alliance of Persia was an object of dispute between England, whose position in India made Persian friendship a vital question, and the France of Napoleon, who schemed an invasion of India with the aid of the Russian army. In 1814 the French threat disappeared and England concluded a treaty with Persia. But the struggle with Russia for the possession of Georgia, which had begun already in 1812, soon led to military disasters and finally to the loss of all territory to the north of the Araxes by the peace treaty of Turkmanchāi (1828). From this time on begins the rivalry between Russia and England, the latter country's policy being to prevent Persia, now politically under strong Russian influence, from gaining strength. Great Britain opposed for this reason any extension of Persian territory in

Afghanistan; it prevented the capture of Herat—a cherished Persian ideal—in 1858, and, when Herat was really taken in 1856, went even so far as to declare war on Persia and to land troops in the Persian Gulf; at the peace treaty of 1857 in Paris, Persia had to abandon her claims. In the meantime Russia's position grew ever stronger; a Russian naval base was founded in the bay of Astarabad, and by the Russian conquest of Khotwa and Bukhara, completed by the subjugation of the Tekke Turkomans in 1881, and the acquisition of the Marw oasis, the Russian Empire had attained an enormous military and political ascendancy over Persia, to which was added the Russian influence in northern Afghanistan and Turkish Armenia. Persia was not able to assert entirely its political freedom, but it gained for the first time well-defined frontiers; difficulties with Turkey in Iraq (massacre of Persians at Kerbela) had led to the fixing of the Turkish-Persian frontier in 1843 (followed by a rectification in 1913), while the eastern frontiers with Afghanistan and Baluchistan were defined by the Anglo-Persio-Afghan boundary commission in 1872; these measures had been mainly necessitated by the establishing of a telegraph line through Persia to India. During the long reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (1844-1894) international conditions remained stable, to which the on the whole untroubled domestic situation also contributed, but when, under his successor, conditions became less secure, owing to inner political and financial troubles, the intervention of the two great Powers became more threatening. It took the shape of the Anglo-Russian treaty of 1907, which practically divided Persia into a northern and a southern sphere of influence.

During the sixteenth century indeed the Qājār dynasty had been able to rule Persia in the traditional way, succeeding in checking the action of the troublesome tribes and their chiefs by profiting from their eternal discords. The influence of the higher Shīʿite religious leaders, over whose nomination the government had no authority whatever, and who resided for the greater part in the religious centres of Kerbela and Najaf, was supreme among the population, although some divergent theological trends had developed, such as the Shaikhī's, since the beginning of the sixteenth century. This more spiritualized sect finally paved the way for the appearance of the Bāb in 1844; the Bābī movement for some years took the aspect of a religious-political rebellion, which the government had to suppress with bloody measures. Since then Bāhism and afterwards the movement of the Bahā'īs to which it gave rise, disappeared from the surface, but remained all the time a living factor in the national-religious life of the Persians. This contributed not a little to the awakening of a more independent political attitude among the more educated classes of the population, who generally found the higher divines at their side in their increasing criticism of government actions. The pan-Islamic propaganda of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī also furnished elements to the awakening public opinion. Thus the bad inner conditions that had developed under Muṣṭafā al-Dīn Shāh and the consequences of the foreign loans contracted by that ruler brought about a popular action that led to the granting of a constitution and the opening of the first National Assembly (*Majlis*) in October 1906. The succeeding Shāh's reactionary policy ended with his dethronement in

1909, but the troubles connected with the accompanying revolutionary movement gave opportunity to the Russians to occupy Tabriz and Kazwin, while at the same time the Persian government was obliged to use foreigners in different branches of its administration (gendarmerie, finances, customs). During the world war Persia was officially neutral, but the German scheme of attacking Great Britain in India gave rise to an at first successful German propaganda in Southern Persia in 1915. On the other hand Russian troops were landed at Enzeli and these opposed the Turkish advance into Persia, which had begun in 1916 by the taking of Kirmanshāh. In this same year began the British counter-action in Southern Persia by the formation of the South Persian Rifles. When by the Russian revolution the action of the Russian troops was crippled, British troops landed in the Gulf and succeeded in checking the Turkish advance in the western frontier region and in repressing, together with Russian troops, the local opposition of the Jangalis in Gilān. Finally in 1918 the British had great difficulty in opposing a similar national rising in Shīrāz, headed by the Kashgāy tribe.

Persia was evacuated after the war and became from the outset a member of the League of Nations. A treaty with Great Britain in 1919 re-established British influence, but the coup d'état of that same year suddenly changed Persia's internal and external policy. Saiyid Dīyā' al-Dīn and Rīdā Khān assumed forcibly the leadership of the government. Rīdā Khān became minister of war and proved to be the strong man needed. His chief achievement during the following years was the subjugation and disarmament of the turbulent tribes, and the forming of a reliable army of 40,000 men. In 1923 he became Prime Minister, Ahmad Shāh Qājār left the country and was deposed in October 1925 by the *Modjlis*, whereby the Qājār dynasty was brought to an end. At the end of the same year the scruples of many sections of the population against a new dynasty were dispelled and the dictator became king of Persia under the name Pahlavī; he was crowned on April 25, 1926.

Persia's internal situation has been much improved by the action of the present king, while the exploitation of the oil wells in Arabistan has secured the government a profit that has not a little contributed to its financial liberty of action. The finances have been moreover controlled by an American adviser since 1923 and since 1928 by a German adviser. As to the currents of spiritual culture, the intellectual classes are abandoning the traditional religious views and this secular movement is favoured by the government; in connection therewith the influence of the divines is declining. On the other hand, the interest awakened towards the end of the sixteenth century for pre-Islamic Persia has given a new direction to national sentiment, expressing itself amongst others in literary occupation with ancient Iranian subjects and a great interest in excavations, the results of which are no longer allowed to leave the country.

The present ethnographical structure of Persia is quite different from what it was before the Arab conquest, owing to the repeated invasion of foreign elements during the thirteen centuries of its Islamic history. The combined existence of a sedentary and a nomadic or semi-nomadic population, however, is a feature proper to the geographical conditions of the country and has continued up to the present

day. The general tendency of the nomadic elements to become settled, which can be observed all the time, was repeatedly counteracted by fresh invasions of nomads, chiefly from the north-east. At present the proportion of the nomads to the settled population is estimated to be 20%. The development of urban settlement is a feature proper to Islamic times; it began with the expansion of the population outside the walls into the *rubaḥ* (cf. al-Falaḥūrī, p. 324). From that time on the Persian name for a town became *shahr*, which word had designated originally an entire region or country. The Arabs often placed their garrisons in less important places, which subsequently overshadowed the ancient centres. In the course of history many towns were devastated, but were generally rebuilt on or near the spot of the ancient ruins. Since the later Middle Ages great Islamic towns like al-Ray and the towns of Kirmān have disappeared, to be replaced by formerly less significant places; among the latter are Teherān, Tabriz and Mashhad, at present the largest towns of Persia. The townspeople, composed of craftsmen and merchants, have been in history the passive and suffering element, together with the rural population of the villages clustered together in the oases. This settled population was generally regarded with scorn by the tribesmen, who were the aristocrats, and from whom until modern times were recruited the ruling classes and the high officials. From the tribes have also been recruited the best soldiers in the armies.

At present the largest towns in Persia are Teherān (210,000 inh.), Tabriz (200,000), Isfahān (90,000) and Mashhad (70,000). The town population has been constituted in the course of centuries from the very different invading ethnic elements. They now constitute the most stable element in Persia and speak, with local dialectic variations, the New-Persian language, which runs more or less parallel with the written New Persian. Only in Ādharbāyījān Ādhari Turkish is the language of the townsfolk and the peasants.

The rural population of the villages around the towns have kept many particular local features of their own and amongst them many remnants of other Iranian dialectal groups have been preserved, a fact which is already noted in ancient Islamic historical and geographical sources. In north-eastern Persia the different dialectal groups of these peasants are called *Tāt*, while in southern and eastern Persia they are often designated as *Tādjīk*.

Among the rural population, however, and in a less degree amongst the townsfolk, there are many elements that are conscious of their allegiance to tribal formations, mostly so in regions where the population of the neighbourhood still possesses the tribal organisation. These settled members of the tribes are often called *shahr-nishīn*, *dīk-nishīn* and *qubā-nishīn*.

As to the tribes themselves, called *lliyāt* in Persia, they nearly always occupy a definite territory nowadays, on which many members of the tribe have become entirely settled, while the others are no more than semi-nomads who, in summer, go with their cattle to the higher mountain regions. Nomadism is not extinct, however, and anywhere in the Persian steppes the black tents of nomads may be seen occasionally.

The origin of the tribes is an extremely complicated problem. In almost every region they have resulted from a mixture of pre-Iranian, Iranian, Arabic and

Turkish-Mongolic elements. In northern Persia the Turkish element is no doubt the dominating, as judged by the language; here the redoubtable mountaineers of the Dālm and the Dīl, who so long withstood Islamisation and had still in the Middle Ages a language of their own, have mostly been turcized, in so far as they have not been assimilated by the Iranian settled population. In the mountain region stretching from Ādharbāyījān to Fārs and Kirmān, the Iranian element is largely prevalent, again so far as we can judge from the languages spoken there. The local traditions circulating among those tribes, and about those tribes among the neighbouring populations, have often preserved the memory of extensive migrations that betray a partial Turkish or Arab origin. Some groups are even known as Turkish, although they speak Iranian dialects. Other tribes are still conscious of their Arab origin, although they no doubt have already been infixed for centuries; only a few tribes in Kūhistan and Khurāsān have preserved the Arabic language. But those local traditions, which never go back more than two hundred years at most, often do not square with what we may regard as established facts from historical sources. It is true, however, that even in recent historical times more or less important migrations of Iranian tribes have taken place. The movement of the Balūḥīs from the North-West to Kirmān and afterwards to modern Balūḥistān had already begun in the early Middle Ages. In addition, reasons of military policy induced several rulers of the xviiith and xixth centuries to transplant some Kurdish tribes to the North-East; best known is the settlement of Kurdish tribes by Nādir Shāh on the Khurāsān frontier around Kūcan and in Māzandarān, where they have still preserved their own features and their language. The only possible description of the tribes in Persia has therefore to be based on their geographical distribution.

With the mediaeval Arab geographers all the tribes in al-ʿIrāq and Fārs are included under the designation of *Akrād*, i.e. Kurds, but this general term has hardly any ethnographical value. At the present day the name of Kurds is generally restricted to the tribes inhabiting the environs of Kirmānshāh and further to the north into western Ādharbāyījān. South of Kirmānshāh begin the Lur tribes, to the west of whom, in the mountains between Persian ʿIrāq and ʿArabistān live the Bakhtiyārī's. The northern mountains of Fārs are occupied by the Kūhgelu and the Mamāsenī tribes. South of these, round Shirāz, live the Kashkay, who still speak a Turkish dialect. In ʿArabistān, where in the Middle Ages the local *ʿArabi* language was not yet extinct, the Arab element of the settled population is strong; the Arab tribes here belong to the Ka'b division and consist for the greater part of Arabs transferred here from Najd under ʿAbbās I. The tribes on the Gulf fringe, in Persian Balūḥistān, and in Sīstān are Balūḥī's who, since their immigration, have absorbed such inconsiderable local elements as the Kūf, known from medieval sources. Further to the north there are Arabs in Kūhistan, notably around Kāin. There is further a not unimportant part of the population, who claim descent from the Prophet, and consequently an Arabic origin; these sayyids abound especially in Māzandarān, where there were ʿAlid dynasties at an early period. In Persian Khurāsān there are also Arabs,

a few Afghan elements and the already mentioned Kurds on the frontier. Finally there live all along the northern frontier of Khurāsān Turkish tribes, some of whom have been there since the later Middle Ages, such as the Afghars and the Kādžars (round Astarābād), while the more recent element is composed of Turcomans.

Other ethnic elements are the Armenians in Persian Armenia in Aḡharbūdjan, and the large Armenian colony in the suburb Djulfa of Isfahān transplanted there by 'Abbās I. The Nestorian Christians east of the Urmia Lake have nearly disappeared as a result of the war. In 'Arabistān there are still remnants of Mandaeans, and finally there are reported to be about 40,000 Jews in Persia, who for the greater part are probably descendants of the Jews who lived already in Persia in the beginning of the Islamic period and among whom notably the Jewish colony of al-Yahūdiya at Isfahān was well-known.

The great mass of the inhabitants of Persia, including in the first place the townspeople and the settled population, but also many members of the tribes of ancient Turkish origin, belong to the Imāmiye Shī'a (the Ithnā 'Ashariya) and follow the *madhhab* called Dī'stari. Their number is estimated at little less than 7 millions. About a million of them are the so-called Akhbārīya, living in Hamadān and al-Ahwāz and environs, who recognize only the authority of the traditions of the Prophet and the Imams. Other Shī'ite sects are the Shaikhīya (about 250,000) and the Nektāwiya (about 100,000 in Gilān, of Zaidite origin). The Hābis and the far more numerous Bahā'is are represented in all towns and reach together about the number of 700,000. The extreme Shī'ites called 'Alī Hābis or Ahl-i Hāḡḡ are found among the Kurds round Kirmānshāh, among the Lurs, and partly in Māsandān and Khurāsān; their number amounts to 300,000. Half that number is given for the adherents of the Imā'ili Hārūfī sect, spread all over Persia. There are also some Yazidis on Persian soil near Mākū. Sanni (Shāfi'ite) Muhammadans are found only among the Kurds and the Arabs, the Turcomans and the Afghans, these latter being Hanafites (about 85,000). Finally there are still remnants of the Zoroastrian creed at Yazd, Kirmān, Teherān, Shīrāz and Kāshān.

The entire population of Persia is given as 12,000,000. This last figure is given on the authority of the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; the other figures given are derived from the *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, 3rd edition 1929.

Bibliography. In view of the general character of the above article it is sufficient to refer for all detailed bibliographical information to the historical, geographical and ethnographical articles dealing with Persia, and to the general bibliographical works on Persia: M. Schwab, *Bibliographie de la Perse*, Paris 1875, and A. T. Wilson, *A Bibliography of Persia*, Oxford 1930. (J. H. KRAMERS)

II. LANGUAGE AND DIALECTS.

Introduction. The Persian language is one member, now the most widely extended member, of a group of languages which are spoken over a region stretching from the River Euphrates to the East of the Hindu Kush, with branches in the Caucasus and in the Masandam Peninsula, Ormuz. It is convenient to group these languages, which

in turn form one group within the Indo-European languages, under the name Irānian, a designation from Irān, the modern national name of the Persians, as it was also earlier, in Sasanian (*aryān, irān*), and Achaemenid times (*ariya-*), and which is used also by the Ossetes (*ir, ira, iron*). Formerly these Irānian dialects were more widely extended, to the north of the Caspian Sea, from Chorasmia (Khwarizm) to the west of the Black Sea (see M. Vasmer, *Untersuchungen über die ältesten Wohnsitze der Slaven*, I, *Die Iraner in Südrußland*, 1923), and also to Sogdian colonies in Northern Mongolia (see O. Hansen, *Zur soghischen Inschrift auf dem dreisprachigen Denkmal von Karabalgoun*, in *J.S.P.O.*, xlv, 1930).

Earliest sources. 1. Saka. Three divisions of the Saka are referred to in the Achaemenid inscriptions: *Sakā khamnavargā*, *Sakā tigraxaudā*, *Sakā tyafī faryadraya* (on the tomb inscriptions published in *J.R.A.S.*, 1932, p. 374: *Sakā faryadraya*). They are the *Sakai* of Herodotus, and the *Saces* of the Latin writers. At a later period they are attested in Sakastan (mod. Sistān), and in the Saka kings of India. Names of Sakas are preserved in Greek and Latin authors, and the Middle Saka dialect is now largely known.

2. Chorasmia and Sogdiana. Both these countries are named in the Avesta (*xvārazm, sogde-*) and the Old Persian inscriptions (*[š]xvārazmī, sogdā*), but the dialects are known only in later times.

3. Media. The Medes (Madai, Amadai) appear first 835 B.C. in the inscriptions of Shulmanasharid III (see F. Hommel, *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients*, 1926, p. 194). Names and some words are known in Greek (Herodotus quotes *ewéex* 'bitch'), and there are loanwords in Old Persian (*xvārazmā-*, cf. the *da-na-ih* of the Elamite version).

4. Persia. The Persian of Persia is well-known through the inscriptions of the Achaemenids (bibliography in J. H. Kramers, *A Classified List of the Achaemenian Inscriptions*, 1931; later publications are by E. Bevan, in *B.S.L.*, xxxiii, 1932; xxxiv, 1933; R. G. Kent, in *J.A.O.S.*, lili, p. 1 199; *Language*, ix, 1933 [March and September]; V. Scheil, *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique de Perse*, xxiv, 1933; A. W. Davis, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1932, p. 373-377; E. Herzfeld, *Kurzgefasste Darstellung der Geschichte der Achaemeniden*, *Atchār-i millī*, Tihān 1312).

5. The Avesta. To avoid too definite implications, it is usual to employ the designation 'language of the Avesta' (Pahl. *zafā*, Syr. *zafā*, Pārsand *avastā, avistā*, Arab. *ahastā, ahastā, wastā, bastā*) for the language preserved in the oldest Zoroastrian texts. The considerable extent of these texts makes them the most important witness to the Old Irānian stage of the dialects, although they have been preserved in a late orthography¹. In spite however of continued discussion (see F. Todesco, in *M.O.*, xv, 255 199; H. Reichelt, *Iranisch*, p. 29; in *Geschichte der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft*, II, 1927; G. Morgenstierne,

¹ For convenience the transcription of the *G. I. Pā.* is here followed, but a revised orthography, more conformed to that of the Old Persian texts and the Greek and Akkadian transcriptions, would represent the Old Irānian form more satisfactorily (as e.g. *ahya* for *aihi*).

Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan, 1926, p. 28 sqq.; J. Markwart, *Das erste Kapitel der Gāthā Utiavadi*, 1930), it has proved impossible to point definitely to the provenance of this dialect (or possibly two dialects). The legendary matter of the Avesta points to Chorasmia as the earliest home of the Irānians (E. Benveniste, *L'Éran-vair et l'origine légendaire des Iraniens*, in *B. S. O. S.*, 1934, vii, 265 sqq.), while the Zoroastrian traditions became closely associated with the region of the Haimant (Hilmand) river (E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, i.-ii., 1929-1930; A. Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, 1937, p. 5).

A comparison of the linguistic development within the Avesta with all the other known dialects suffices to isolate Avestan. This may be briefly indicated. In Avestan *sp* (*aspa* 'horse') corresponds to Old Persian *s* (*asa* 'horse'), Saka *ś* (*asā* 'horse'), and Wakhi *š* (*yaš* 'horse'). Old Persian, Saka and Wakhi are therefore separated from Avestan from an early period. All other dialects have *sp*, but other tests suffice to exclude them. Avestan *sr* (*š*) < *st*, *b* < *dy*, *m* < *tu*, *sm* < *sm* exclude Sogdian (*swrth* 'dead'), *špr* 'door', *γ'san* 'antelope'), *Yaghuabi* (*šrt* 'flour', *švar* 'door'), *Mundji* (*švdr* 'door'), *Yāghulāmi* (*švdr* 'door'), North-Western dialect forms (Turkic texts *aršdr* 'righteous', Pahlavi, New Persian *garšan* 'deer', New Persian *kisum* 'foal', Armenian loanword *mašdrn* 'worshipping Mazda'). Here again Pashto, Ishkashmī, Parāčī and Ōrmūzī agree with Avestan for *dy*, and the evidence of *st* is indecisive (Pashto *mar* 'dead', Ishkashmī *mālāk* 'man', Parāčī *mar* 'died', Ōrmūzī *mulluk* 'died'). Probably however Pashto is excluded by *ft* > *nd* (*aršdr* 'hot', Avestan *tašta*), and by *gr* (Pashto *weil* 'rice'), Ishkashmī by *ft* > *nd* (*šud* 'seven', Avestan *hapta*) and by *sn* > *ai* (*šarud* 'yesterday', *rozd* 'cushion'); Ōrmūzī by *gr* (*rēzan* 'rice'); Parāčī does not permit, in the absence of examples of *gr*- and *sn*, and in the development *ft* > *t* (*šst* 'seven'), any decision. The negative conclusion is so far of interest that connection with the North-Western dialects is excluded.

6. It is possible that other dialects developed in the cities of Carmania (Strabo, xv, 2, 14 speaks of *καρμανιανῶν τῶν Καρυμνιῶν*), Arachosia, Arēia and Margiana, but nothing survives.

Relationship with Indo-Aryan and Kāfiri dialects. The Old Iranian dialects stand in close connection with the Indo-Aryan languages of India, which are known in their oldest form (apart from the words of uncertain position within Indo-Iranian history preserved in the Mitanni and Hittite documents, see N. D. Mironov, *Aryan Vestiges in the Near East of the Second Millennium B. C.*, in *Acta Orient.*, 1933; J. Friedrich, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 1929, i, 144 sqq.; A. Christensen, *Die Iranier*, 1933, p. 209 sqq.) in the Vedas, and with the modern Kāfiri dialects of Kāfiristān. The vocabulary of Indo-Aryan and Irānian is largely identical (*āp* 'water', *vak* 'speak', *martiya* 'man', *kar* 'do', *ap* 'up to', *pari* 'around', *tuam* 'thou', *ka* 'who'), so also is the morphology of verb and noun. Differences do however exist in vocabulary (Irānian *yār* 'year', *gauh* 'speak', *gah* 'pray for', *snag* 'to snow'), and in morphology (Irānian *-sa* 2 sing. pret. middle, as Greek *-σας*). In phonology the two groups have diverged in the oldest texts. To Sanskrit *t* < *ch* / *k* (*lato* 'hundred', *chand* 'to appear', *foṣ* 'to

know', *deh* 'to form') correspond Avestan *t* < *z* (*lato*, *rand*, *am*, *daiz*), and Old Persian *t* < *d* (*hard* 'ycar', *band* 'to appear', *dam* 'know', *diā* 'fortress'); Sanskrit *g* < *gh*, *d* < *dh*, *k* < *kh*, to Avestan, Old Persian *g* < *h*; Sanskrit *ā* < *iā* < *ph* to Avestan, Old Persian *a* < *f*; Sanskrit *id* < *idh*, *id* < *idh* to Avestan *ad*, *id*, *ud*; Sanskrit *ti* < *dhi* to Avestan *ti* < *ad*.

The Kāfiri dialects of Kati, Ashkun, Prasun, Wāligali, are known only in a modern form from the sixteenth century, and adequately only this century (see Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, 1926, p. 39 sqq.; do., *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, 1932, p. 46 sqq.; do., *The Language of the Ashkun Kāfirs*, in *N. T. S.*, ii, 192-289). The evidence of the Kāfiri dialects is important for the Indo-Iranian period, in particular for the history of the sounds represented by the Kāfiri *ts* and *z*, *de* and *z* corresponding to the Avestan *s*, Old Persian *š*, Sanskrit *t* < *ch* / *k*. Thus Kati has *dut* 'ten', *haru* 'autumn', *har*, *ru* 'U'.

Periods of the Irānian dialects. The extant documents, of widely different character, and in many scripts, are sufficient to allow the distinction of three periods: Old, Middle and New Irānian. In the west of the Persian empire, the change to the Middle Irānian stage (marked by loss of large part of the old inflexion) is attested already in the later Achaemenid inscriptions.

Old Irānian. The Old Irānian stage of development is known in the Old Persian inscriptions, the Avestan texts and the names of Medians and Sakas. The two dialects Old Persian and Avestan, in spite of the restricted number of texts, and hence little known vocabulary, agree closely, but yet are clearly distinct. In phonology Old Irānian has *t* < *p* < *k* unchanged before and between vowels (*lāt* 'to run', *tap* 'to be hot', *pat* 'to fly', *kar* 'to make', *ata* 'bad'), but they are represented by spirants before consonants (*hāyva* 'true', *zafush* 'sleep', *axša* 'spoken'); before and between vowels *z* is represented by *h* (Old Persian *hata* 'with', *hata* 'he was'), except that *z*, *ai* replace older *ts*, *as* (as also do *ij*, *ui* in Sanskrit, though unchanged in Kāfiri), thus Avestan *mišast* 'sitting', *dat* 'bad'. Old Irānian verbal and nominal morphology is richly developed, with great facility of composition and derivation. Noun bases terminate in consonants, or in vowels and diphthongs: *a* *i* *ē* *o* *u* *ai* *au* *āu*. Alternation of vowels (apophony, Ablaut) rests upon the older system attested also in the other Indo-European languages. The inflexion can be seen in an Avestan noun with base *-at* (whereby falling all forms of one noun the following are quoted: *ahura* 'lord', *aspa* 'horse', *aka* 'bad', *astata* 'hand', *qua* 'party', *marsta*, *malva* 'man'): singular, nom. *ahurā*, acc. *ahuram*, instr. *ahurā*, dat. *ahurāi*, abl. *ahurāi*, gen. *ahurāyā*, loc. *astataya*, *astatāi*, voc. *ahura*; dual, nom. acc. *astata*, dat. *ahurāit̪ya*, gen. *astatāyā*, loc. *astatāyā*; plural, nom. *aspa*, *astatāyā*, acc. *malvāi*, instr. *astatāi*, dat. *astatāyā*, gen. *malvāyā*, loc. *astatāyā*. The verbal system is elaborately developed, but the extant texts do not provide all the forms. There are three voices: active, middle and passive; six moods: indicative, conjunctive, injunctive, optative, imperative, infinitive, with tenses present, preterite (imperfect and aorist), perfect, pluperfect, future,

with personal terminations in singular, dual and plural, and in addition participles present, aorist, future, and perfect. These cannot all be illustrated here. The following Avestan forms may be quoted: *baraiti* 'he bears', *yauiate* 'he worships', conj. pres. *barēi* 'he will bear', opt. pres. *ayēi* 'he shall be', opt. perf. *jaymyam* 'I would have come', imperative *bara* 'bear', *baratu* 'let him bear', *id* 'go', *kratēi* 'make'. The infinitive has no single form, but is expressed by oblique cases of verbal nouns of action: *anapairēi* 'fall down', *ōzdyāi* 'to choose', *apagharēi* 'remove'. There is an aorist passive (*rūti* 'was spoken', *jaini* 'was struck'), confined to the 3rd sing. The personal terminations differ in pres., pret., perf. and imperative. In the present are found: *barāmi*, *barahi*, *baraiti*, dual 3 *barāh*, plur. *barāmah*, *payēti*, *baraiti*; in the imperfect: *barəm*, *jay* 'thou comest', *barat*, dual 1 *jayāne* 'we two live', 3 *jayāne* 'they two come', plur. *barāmā*, *jayāh*, *barəm*. The present base was formed either with or without suffix, or by reduplication: *asti* 'he is', *dadāiti* 'he gives', *baraiti* 'he becomes', *harānti* 'they remove', *āyitāmi* 'I bless', *harānti* 'makes', *brinasti* 'leaves', *hīnaiti* 'pours out', *jayēyimi* 'I pray for', *šāpayēti* 'heats'. The aorist was formed direct to the base (*adāt* 'he created') or with the suffix *-s-* (*dārāt* 'he held'), the perfect was either reduplicated (*nomāta* 'has spoken') or not (*vaēdā* 'has known') with special terminations, the pluperfect was expressed by the use of preterite endings to the perfect base (*axatāt* 'had said'). The active present and future participle was formed by the *-ant-* suffix, and the passive preterite participle usually by the suffix *-ta-*. Of these present bases and of these and other participles examples are preserved in New Persian. The comparison of adjectives could be expressed in two ways (suffixes *-yak-*, *-ita-* and *-tara-*, *tima-*): *vahu-* 'good', *vayak-*, *vahita-*; *ako* 'bad', *akata-*, *akstima-* 'best'. Three morphological genders (masc., fem., neut.) are expressed in nouns and adjectives. Of the many suffixes may be named the noun of agent in *-tar-*, noun of action in *-ta-*, abstract noun in *-tā-*. Compounds are of many forms: *aspaētra-* 'horses and men', *vīrajan-* 'slaying men', *dakhyapati-* 'lord of a country', *poumēbrātra-* 'possessing many brothers', *zīku-* 'up to the knee', *dārayatara-* 'holding a chariot'. Of this whole elaborate Old Iranian system but small part has survived to the present day.

Middle Iranian. Since 1904 when F. W. K. Müller published the *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkestan*, I. (S. B. Pr. Ak. W., 1904), II. (Abh. Pr. Ak. W., 1904), the middle period of Iranian linguistic history has been increasingly enriched with new material. It is now possible to describe five forms of Middle Iranian, of which Middle Persian forms one, from numerous documents in a variety of scripts. Early loanwords are preserved in Armenian (see Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, I., 1897; R. Gauthiot, *Iranica*, in *M. S. L.*, xix. [1915]; A. Meillet, in *M. S. L.*, xvii. [1911]; H. S. Nyberg, *Ullrichs Buch des Pehlevi*, II., Glossar, 1931). These are particularly important as being written in a script possessing vowels. A document dated 22–21 A.D., found at Awestmān (Minnas), in *J. H. S.*, 1915, p. 38 sqq.; Unvala, in *B. S. O. S.*, I. [1920] 125–146; H. S. Nyberg, in *M. O.*, xvii. [1923] 182–230; E. Herzfeld, *Pahlavi*, 1924) is

known, accompanied by another document dated 88 A.D. with almost illegible writing. Coin legends of Pārs from about 250 A.D. and of the later Parthian and Sāsānian kings, Kushano-Sāsānian coins, Sāsānian royal and official inscriptions in two dialects, and on gems and seals, a large Zoroastrian literature, mostly religious but including some secular pieces (in Pahlavi), and texts in two western dialects from the Manichean documents from Central Asia, some being in the Chinese script (F. W. K. Müller, *loc. cit.*; K. Salemann, *Manichäische Studien*, I., 1908, and other texts in *Manichaea*, III., *Expositio Abad. Nauk.*, 1912; Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaea aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, I., S. B. Pr. Ak. W., 1932; II., *ibid.*, 1933; III., *ibid.*, 1934; Waldschmidt-Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichismus*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1926; do., *Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten*, 1933), fragments of a version of the Psalms with the Canons of Mar Abā translated from Syriac into Middle Persian (Andreas-Barr, *Bruchstücke einer Pehlevi-Übersetzung der Psalmen*, in *S. B. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1933) have combined to disclose the character of the Western dialects. The Zoroastrian texts are written with an historical orthography, through which the phonetic development rarely appears, with the exception of the frequent transcription of "Pahlavi" words into the fully vocalised Avestan alphabet. The Manichean writers rejected the old orthography. Eastern dialects are represented by Sogdian texts, letters of the 5th century A.D. (H. Reichelt, *Die sogdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, II., 1931) found in Chinese Turkestan, and other letters not yet published, found in Soghd (preliminary report by A. Freiman, in *Sogdische Abhandl.*, in *Abd. Nauk.*, S. S. S. R., 1934), besides many Buddhist texts (Gauthiot, *J. A.*, 1912; *M. S. L.*, xvii, 1912; Gauthiot-Benveniste, *Le Sūtra des Causes et des Effets*, 1926; H. Reichelt, *loc. cit.*, I–II; F. Rozenberg, *Un fragment sogdien bouddhique du musée asiatique*, in *Expositio Abad. Nauk.*, 1927; R. Gauthiot's *Essai de grammaire sogdienne*, 1914–1923 was completed by Benveniste (1929), by Manichean Sogdian texts first made known in F. W. K. Müller's *Handschriften-Reste*, II., and later in Waldschmidt-Lentz, *loc. cit.*, and by Christian Sogdian texts in F. W. K. Müller, *Sogdische Texte*, I., *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1913 and Müller-Lentz, *Sogdische Texte*, II., 1934, and by Saka texts, business letters (A. F. R. Hoernle, *A Report of the British Collection of Antiquities from Central Asia in J. A. S. Bengal extra-number to LXX*, 1902; do., *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, I., 1916), an official document from Saka (F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow, *Two Medieval Documents from Tun-huang*, 1929), and Buddhist translations and original compositions (E. Leumann, *Zur nord-arischen Sprache und Literatur*, 1912; do., *Buddhistische Literatur*, 1920; do., *Das nordarische (saktische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus*, 1933–1934; Sten Konow, *Saka Studies*, 1932, with references). Certain words of the dialect of the Saka invaders of India are known (Sten Konow, in *S. B. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1916, p. 799 sqq.). On the Sogdian and Saka phonology it must suffice to refer to the books cited: Sogdian *ātar* 'fire', *šāz*, *šāl* 'foot', *šāp* 'to praise', *hant* 'city', *šān* 'life', *ān* 'I'; Saka *hant* 'city', *šān* 'he knows', *hantama* 'best', *šāt* 'year', *šānra* 'snow', *ān* 'I'.

19. Simnāni (in North Persia, east of Tihān):
vā 'willow', wā 'wind', a mazaran 'I eat',
dār 'door', mā mām 'I know', wā 'day', a
dumārīzan 'I pour', janik 'woman', kām 'wife',
kār 'knife', mā kārīdan 'I bore', pā 'son',
hāra 'three'.

20. Sangari (related to the dialect of Lāgirdi):
vā 'willow', kārī 'I eat' (Aor.), kām 'knee',
sā 'hundred', wā 'day', kām 'I say' (Aor.),
kām 'woman', kām 'to strike', kām 'hour', kām
'three', pā, pā 'son'.

21. Tāli (on the west of the Caspian Sea):
wā 'snow', kām 'sleep', hāde 'to sing', kām
'door', wā 'I', wā 'to know', dāran 'needle',
kām 'house', wā 'white', wā 'day', kām 'to live',
kām 'woman', pā 'bridge', hāde 'to do'.

22. Gilaki (closely connected with Māzandarāni
and the dialect of Gōzar-khō): wā 'snow',
dāran 'I eat', wā 'son-in-law', kār 'brother',
kām 'I burn', -pā 'cooking', wā 'to strike',
kārīdan 'I bore'.

23. Gūrāni of Kandūla (dialects of Kandūla,
Pāw, Aarāmān, Rijāb, Bājān, Talahedegh are
recorded): wā 'rain', wā 'snow', wā 'sun',
wā 'sleep', wā 'heart', kām 'son-in-law',
wā 'the pours out', wā 'window', kām
'bowstring', kām 'woman', -I kām 'he made'.

24. Kurdi (in several dialects: the following is
from the Mukri): wā 'snow', wā 'eaten',
dār 'door', dāran 'I know', wā 'white',
wā 'day', dāran 'it is burnt', kām 'woman',
kām 'done', kām wā 'I sent', kām, kām 'three'.

25. Zāzi (dialects of Siwerek, Rijāb, Chākhūr,
Kighi, Kot, Cernuq and Palu are recorded): wā
'snow', wā 'wind', wā 'to eat', kām 'door',
wā 'to know', wā 'fire', wā 'to flow', wā
'day', wā 'to cook', wā, wā 'to say', kām
'to strike'.

26. Kumārī (in the Masandam Peninsular,
Omān): wā 'rain', wā 'hunger', wā 'he
ate', wā 'sleep', dāran 'winter', wā
'anger', wā 'earth', wā 'white', wā 'hap-
pened', wā 'needle', wā 'window', wā
'woman', kām 'strike', wā 'man', wā
'food', wā 'sickle', wā 'son'.

27. Tāti (on the Apsheron Peninsular): wā
'snow', wā 'widow', wā 'sister', dār 'door',
dāran 'son-in-law', dāran 'to know', wā
'winter', wā 'tongue', wā 'to be',
dāran 'to see', wā 'brother', wā 'autumn',
wā 'I sift', wā 'day', wā 'woman', wā
'to live', wā 'to eat'.

28. Fāsi (dialects of Songhū, Pāpā, Māzār,
Bāringūn and Imāmshāde Imānī): wā 'I see',
kām 'to send', wā 'I slept', wā
'I do not know', wā 'knee', wā 'given',
wā 'I cook', wā 'struck', wā, wā 'borne'.

29. Luti, Bakhtīāri: wā 'snow', kām 'tent',
wā 'to eat', wā 'son-in-law', wā
'tongue', wā 'white', wā 'smoke', wā, wā 'willow',
wā 'to sift', wā 'day', wā 'to strike', wā
'woman', wā 'hour'.

30. New Persian: wā 'willow', wā 'wind', wā
'mother-in-law', wā 'self', dār 'door', dāran 'I
know', dāran 'son-in-law', wā 'hundred', wā
'white', wā 'I cook', wā 'I sift', wā 'hour',
wā 'made', wā 'died', wā 'three', wā 'son'.

The following general tendencies may be espe-
cially noticed: 1. w- is replaced by a guttural in

Balōči, Khārī, Ōrmū, Parāči and partly also in
New Persian; 2. the correspondence of Ossetic h-
(Iron dialect p-), p-, d-, Vaghānī p-, d-,
Shughnī and Vārgulāni p-, d-, d-, Mundī p-,
p-, Pashtō p-, w-, l-, in contrast to Ōrmū and
Parāči p-, d-, d-, marks a distinction within the
eastern group; 3. -i tends to be modified in the
eastern dialects: Ossetic hā, gā 'ear', Ōrmū
gā, Parāči gā, Mundī gā, Pashtō gā, Wāyati
gā, Shughnī gā, Ishkashmī gā, Sarikol gā,
Rōshāni gā, Bartangi and Oroshori gā, Vā-
gulāni gā, contrasting with New Persian gā
(gā).

Relationship of the Dialects. The larger
divisions among the New Iranian dialects are
results of old differences, originating in the earliest
period. Two great groups, an Eastern and a
Western, are distinguished by phonology, morpho-
logy and vocabulary (see G. Morgenstierne, *Report
on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, p. 31
sq.). The eastern group is itself divided by old
differences into subordinate groups. Ossetic, isolated
in the Caucasus, has developed a morphology which
separates it sharply from the Vaghānī, with which
however it shares, for example, the plural -ā,
Vaghānī -ā. Vaghānī is in turn isolated as the
only surviving Sogdian dialect. In the Pamirs
Shughnī forms a group with Oroshori, Vārgulāni,
Rōshāni, Bartangi, Sarikol, and the now extinct
Wāyati; similarly Ishkashmī and Sanglī. Mundī
in several dialects (see the classification by G.
Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to
North-Western India*, p. 70) has close relations
with Yūghā Wakhi stands alone, noticeably in
its phonology (I in *lāl* 'dog', *gā* 'iron', *et* in
mā 'dead', *et* in *pā* 'son'). Ōrmū and Parāči,
though now widely different, yet have common
phonological traits, in particular p-, d-, and the
replacement of w- by p-. Pashtō is known in
several dialects (G. Morgenstierne, *Report on a
Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, p. 11).

In the Western group subdivisions are similarly
to be recognised. Zāzi, Gūrāni, Kurdi, Khārī,
Balōči, Gilaki (with Tāli, the dialect of Gōzar-
khō, and Māzandarāni) form sharply distinct
groups. The southern dialects, Luti, Fāsi, Kum-
ārī, and the literary New Persian show clear
descent from a dialect similar to, and probably
identical with, the Old Persian. To these Tāti
belongs as the dialect of garrisons settled in the
region of Darband.

In the central district lying between Tihān,
Isfāhān, Hamāghān and Yazd, are found a number
of dialects which have not yet all been fully in-
vestigated. They share a common vocabulary. The
formation of the present affords a means of grouping
them. The Sangisari, Lāgirdi and Shāmarzādī agree
in forming the present with the infix of a nasal -w-
(possibly representing the Old Iranian -ant-
participle; similarly in Zāzi: Sangisari *ānān*
'I strike', Lāgirdi *ānān* 'we say', Shāmar-
zādī *kāfān* 'he falls'). Simnāni is then isolated,
with present *mānān* 'I know'. The dialects of
Wānīshān (Wānīshān), Mahallāt and Khūnsār agree
in having *ān* (*ān*, *et*) in the pres.: Wānīshān
ānān 'I break', Mahallāt *ānān*, Khūnsār
ānān. Nātanī, Fārizānī and Varānī form
one group: in the pres. Nātanī *kān* 'I do',
Fārizānī *ānān*, Varānī *ānān*. Sōi (*ānān*),
Meimī (*ānān* 'he does'), Kōbrūdī (*ānān*), Keshī

(*ākerōn*) also have *ā-*, while *Zafre* (*harōw*), like *Nātanr*, has no preverb. *Siwand* is again isolated in phonology (cf. for 'sun', *fēh* 'dry'), and pres. *mīkeri* 'I do'. *Nāni*, *Anāra* and *Yazdi* (as spoken by the Zardushis of Yazd and some of the adjacent villages) show some resemblance: *Nāni* *mt*, *ti*, *ti* (sing. and plur. with the preterite verb), *Yazdi* sing. *mt*, *dt*, *ti*, plur. *mā*, *dt*, *ti*; pres. *Nāni* *hāngi* 'I sit', *Yazdi* *mt dāge*, *Nāni* *mt kēl* 'I do', *Yazdi* *mē kēl*; vocabulary, *Nāni* *mt zādūni* 'I send', *mt mēndi* 'I sent', *Yazdi* *mt vāndē*, pret. *mēndi*. Near *Isfahan* the dialects of *Gaz*, *Se-deh*, *Kāfrōn*, *Komshe* and *Khorūgh* are closely related, but with differences in detail: *Gaz* *zādūne* 'I sit', *Khorūgh* *zādūne*, *Se-deh* *nāni*, *Kāfrōn* *hāngi*, *Komshe* *inigi*.

Morphology. 1. Gender. Gender expressed by distinct forms of nouns and adjectives is either eliminated entirely from New Iranian, as in Ossetic, New Persian, *Gaz*, *Parāci* and other dialects, or has survived in a system of two genders (masculine and feminine). In *Paštō* and *Mundji* these two genders are still in full vigour. *Ormuri* has preserved traces of the distinction of masc. and fem. in the participles (*maṣṭab* beside *nāṣṭ* 'taken'), and similarly in the *Shughni* group. In the western dialects, *Simmāni* distinguishes a masc. (*i*) and fem. (*ia*) of the indefinite article. In the *Gūrāni* dialects, the Avestan shows slight trace of gender (*a* 'he is', *ānā* 'she is'), and *Kandūlā* keeps the masc. determinative suffix (*-ā*, *-ānā*) distinct from the fem. (*-ā*, *-ānā*). Traces of gender are recorded in *Farizāndi* (*-e* 'he is', *-ā* 'she is'). The *Zāz* dialects have a fully developed system: in nouns, masc. *-ā*, fem. *-ā*; the adjective has at times fem. *-ā*; in pronouns masc. *nā*, fem. *ānā* 'this'; in verbs *yānā* 'he comes', *yānā* 'she comes', *ānā* 'he came', *ānā* 'she came'.

2. Nominal inflexion. Ossetic stands apart in New Iranian with a full inflexion representing for the most part an innovation. Elsewhere the inflexion is much reduced; in New Persian and other western dialects, it has disappeared. A system of two cases (direct and oblique) is found in *Yaghābi*: *yār* 'mountain', obl. *yār*, plur. *yār*, obl. *utārti* 'sheep'; in *Paštō* *yār* 'mountain', obl. *yār*, plur. *yārā*, obl. *yārā*; in *Mundji* *-yā*, obl. *-ān*, plur. *-ā*, obl. *-āf*, in *Vādghā* *kyē* 'house', obl. *kyēn*, plur. *kyē*, obl. *kyēf*. *Wakhi* has a distinct oblique plur.: sing. *ān* 'house', plur. *ān*, *ānā*, obl. *ānān*, and similarly *Sarikoli* *ān* 'house', plur. *ān*, obl. *ānān* (see P. Tedesco, in *Z.I.F.*, iv, 94 sq.). *Parāci* has sing. *yār* 'house', gen. *yārā*, obl. *yār*, plur. *yārān*, gen. *yārān* (a). In the west *Balōči* has the same two cases: *lōg* 'house', obl. *lōgā*, plur. *lōg*, *lōgān*, obl. *lōgān* but also a gen. sg. *lōgā*, with *-ā* from *-ay*; *Simmāni*: *āp* 'horse', obl. *āpī*, plur. *āpī*, obl. *āpīn*; *Kurdi* (*Mukri*): *ānā* 'God', obl. *ānā*; *dā* 'water', obl. *dān*; plur. direct and obl. *āpān* 'horses'. In forming the plural New Persian has *-ān* (Old Iranian *-ānām* gen. plur.), a trace of old inflexion, but also the abstract suffix (probably originally in collective sense) *-ān*, corresponding to the Pahlavi *-yā*, as also the Judeo-Persian *-yā*, cf. the form of the Targum texts *ānānām* 'regions'. A different abstract suffix is used in Ossetic *-ān*, *Yaghābi* *-ā* (cf. Middle Sogdian *-āy*), and in *Wakhi* *-ān* (cf. Middle Sogdian *-yā*).

Verb. The divergence from the Old Iranian system, already marked in Middle Iranian, has developed further in New Iranian. New verbal systems have been evolved. In spite of independent growth, however, a general resemblance is found, for example, between New Persian and Ossetic. In New Persian means are to hand to express active and passive, indicative, conjunctive, optative, imperative, infinitive, present (punctual and durative), imperfect, preterite, perfect (punctual and durative), pluperfect, future and conditional.

Infinitives. The infinitives show independent selection from Old Iranian verbal nouns. Old Persian *-tanaiy* reappears in New Persian *-ān*, Straudi *hārdān* 'bear', Vonihiun *hārdān*, Sangisari *hārdān*, Ardistant *mādan* 'die', Mukri Kurdi *hārdān* 'draw', Gilaki *gīstān* 'say', Tāli *dīrān* 'see', and other western dialects, beside a second infinitive (representing the Old Iranian verbal noun *-ā-*, which serves in the dative in Avestan *-ā-* as infinitive): New Persian *gūft* 'speak', *Gaz* *hārt*, *Se* 'make', Mukri Kurdi *kūst* 'kill', Ardistant *rā* 'say', *Zafre* *hārt* 'bear'. Other verbal nouns are found: Ossetic *fārōn* 'ask', *Gaz* *hārdānām*, *hārdānām* (with related dialects), *Yazdi* *retōn* 'pour out', *ārdān* 'give', *Gūrāni* (Aurāmiti) *ānā* 'come', *hārdān* 'make', *Zāz* *hārdān* 'make', *Balōči* *janag* 'kill', *Yaghābi* *hārdān* 'do', *Wakhi* *zanag* 'speak', *Ormuri* *zanag* 'laugh', *Parāci* *kurē* 'make', *Sanglōči* *ārdān* 'go', *Isfahāni* *xārdān* 'eat', *Shughni* *ārdān* 'bear', *Mundji* *vārd* 'know', *hārtā* 'reap', *Vādghā* *hārdān* 'make', *Paštō* *hārt* (here *-ā* represents the Old Iranian *-ā-*).

Present tense. In Old and Middle Iranian pres. indic. and pres. conj. are clearly separated. Both modes of thought are expressed in New Iranian. Conj. pres. inflexion, distinct from indic. pres., is preserved in *Yaghābi* (*kūnt-ān* 'he does', conj. *kūntān*) and Ossetic (*kūntān* 'does', conj. *kūntān*). Other dialects have one form of present inflexion, which therefore serves to express both present and aorist (with meanings of fut. and conj. pres.). In certain dialects, as in early New Persian *ānām* 'I do', *Mundji* *ārdām* 'I eat', *Vādghā* *xārdām* 'I plur.', *Oroshori* *ārdām* 'I do', *Shughni* *xārdām* 'we eat', 'I plur.', *Sanglōči* *xārdām* 'I plur.', this form appears alone in both senses. But greater precision was attained by use of prefixes, suffixes and periphrastic forms marking off the present. So in *Khūrti* *de* (*deferōm* 'I eat'), *Kurdi* *Mukri* *ān* (*ārdānām* 'I fall'), *Kurūmāndi* *a* (*ārdānām* 'I fall'), *Abdū* *ān* (*ārdānām* 'I bear'), *Khānsari* *ān* (*ārdānām* 'I bring'), *Mahāllāci* *ān* (*ārdānām* 'I come'), *Nāni* *ān*, *i* (*mī ārdānām* 'I bring'), *ārdānām* 'he runs'), *Lari* *Bakhtiāri* *ān* (*ārdānām* 'I do'), *Yarāni* *a* (*ārdānām* 'I bear'), *Farizāndi* *a* (*ārdānām* 'I bear'), *Sōi* *a* (*ārdānām* 'he grinds'), *Gūrāni* *Kandūlā* *mā* (*mārdānām* 'I make'), New Persian *kānā*, *mī* (*mīrdānām* 'I do'), *Yazdi* *se* (*se vārdānām* 'I cook'), *Gaz* *se* (*se vārdānām* 'he grinds'), *Zāz* of *Siwerek* *ān* (*ārdānām* 'I weep'), *Lārgirdi* *ān*, *ān* (*ārdānām* 'I say'), *Se* *ānānām* 'they say'), *Sangisari* *ān*, *ān* (*ārdānām* 'I say'), *Ormuri* *ān*, *ān* (*ārdānām* 'I take'), *Se* *ān* 'he makes'. Periphrastic forms are used in *Parāci*: *d'ānām* *ārdānām*, *ān* *ārdānām* 'I eat'. *Gilaki* has *ārdānām* 'I am coming' (infinitive *ārdānām* 'to come' with *ārdānām*), beside the durative preterite *ārdānām* *ārdānām* 'I was coming', and *Balōči* *ārdānām* 'I am doing', *Zāz* *ārdānām* 'I am doing'. *Nātanr* *ārdānām* 'I bear' and *Gilaki* *ārdānām* have no prefix. The aorist (in meaning fut. and

conj. pres.) may equally be defined. Parāči *janem* 'I strike' (aor.) is without preverb but the present indic. is formed periphrastically. Similarly in Zāzā the aor. 1 sing. *ādrān* is distinct from the indic. *ādrān*; in Gūrāni (Kandīlāt) aor. 1 sing. *ādrā* beside indic. *mādrā*; in Gāzi *berān* aor. 1 sing. beside indic. *berān*. But most commonly the aor. is marked by the preverb *be-*: New Persian (colloquial) *kānunām*, Gilaki *bābāram*, Zāzā *bābārmām*, Simnāni *bābāram*, Kurdi Mukri *bābām* 'I do', Pashto has *wa* (*wa kṛam*, but also *kṛam*, beside the indic. *baṛam*). Shughol has a preverb *ta-*: (*tā āwā* 'if thou go'), Sanglichi a suffix *-a-*: *as lam-a* 'I go', Wakhi and Sarikoli may suffix *-ā*.

Apart from Vaghābi which has a preterite with augment (*akunim* 'I did'), all New Iranian dialects employ forms of the *-t* participle (representing the Old Iranian *-ta-* part.) to express the preterite. In accordance with the original distinction of this participle in transitive and intransitive, a twofold form of expression was developed: for transitive verbs passive in construction, for intransitive active, as, for example, in Gāzi *hīndi* 'I saw', but *bābāyān* 'I became'. This passive transitive preterite is well maintained in the dialects Tālishi, Simnāni, Gāzi, Sōli, Kurdi, Gūrāni, Zāzā, Nānāzi, Nāfā, Sīvāndi, Fārsi dialects, Balōči, Ormuzi, Parāči, Pashto, Mundji, Wakhi, and others, and is known in early literary New Persian (*garīft-ān* 'he took'). When the personal suffixes accompanied the participle, they usually preceded, but in some cases tended to be affixed, as in Gāzi *hīndi* 'thou sawest', but *dārdi* 'he had', Simnāni *ta bābārdi* 'thou madest', Aurkūni *dār* 'thou gavest', *dār* 'he gave', Mundji *man ham* 'I gave', *ta liyat* 'thou gavest'. The intransitive was expressed by the participle with the verb substantive. The two forms remained then sharply distinct. But in New Persian (and traces of the development are found in the Middle Persian of the Turfan texts) the transitive preterite is modelled on the intransitive, and both are made identical: *kardam* 'I made', *kardi*, *kard* as *āmadam*, *āmad*, *āmad* 'I came', etc. In the original passive construction there is no affix to the participle, as in Zāzā *min* (*tā, āi, mā, hīnd, tādān*) *kārd* 'I made', etc., but *ās āmad* 'I came', *ā āmad*, *ā āmad*, *mā āmadān*, *hīnd āmad*, *ā āmad*.

Perfect and Pluperfect. A perfect and a pluperfect were developed from the adjectival form of the participle (in Pahlavi and Sogdian *-tk*, Old Iranian *-taka-*, as in Avestan *nivāntaka-* 'turned'), to which were added the pres. and pret. of the verb substantive. Here too the construction is passive in transitive verbs, e.g. Gūrāni (Kandīlāt) perf. trans. *-āi kārdān* 'he has made' (*-n* 'he is'), pluperf. trans. *-āi kārdān* 'he had bound' (cf. *nāi* 'he was not'), Gāzi perf. intrans. *Meiān* 'I have become' pluperf. intrans. *hīstāyān* 'I had become'. But in New Persian the perfect and pluperfect, alike transitive and intransitive, are identical in form: *kardam* am 'I have done', *kardam būdam* 'I had done', as *āmadam* am 'I have come', and *āmadam būdam* 'I had come'.

Passive. In New Iranian the passive (which is of infrequent use in the colloquial language) shows but few traces of the Middle Iranian passive (*-ā-*): Gūrāni (Kandīlāt) *kārdān* 3rd sing. perf. pass. 'has been made' *mārdān* 'it burns'; Zāzā *ās kilyān* 'I am killed'; Kurdi of Sinnā has *akūyēm* 'I am killed'. From Yaranī is quoted *bāmarid* 'was broken'. The passive with umlaut in Kurdi Mukri *dābiri* may represent the Old Iranian passive in *-ya-*. Eastern Balōči employs *-j-* (as it seems borrowed from the identical Sindhi passive): *ēlījān* 'I am killed'. But usually in New Iranian dialects the passive is expressed by the participle with auxiliary verbs. So in Balōči *kūstān* 'I am killed'; New Persian has used the verbs *āmadan* 'to come', *gāstan* 'to turn', *īdan* 'to go, become' (this latter is now the usual auxiliary); in other dialects *bar-* 'to become' is frequent: Gilaki *bākande būbāst* 'it was dug down', Simnāni *vāpārd mādān* 'I am asked'. Mundji uses the verbs *ā-* 'to come' (for the pres.) and *ly-* 'to go' (for the preterite) with the participle in *-ā-*. In Ormuzi the auxiliary is *jā-* 'to go', and in Parāči *ā-* 'to go' or *par-* 'to go', and similarly *īwā-* 'to go, become' in Pashto. In Ossetic two forms are found, *nyamad tam* 'I am counted' and *haznydam* 'will be made known'.

Bibliography: G. I. Ph., i, 1895—1901, with *Anhang*, 1903 (Avestan, Old Persian, Middle Persian, New Persian, Pashto, Balōči, Kurdish, Pāmir dialects, Caspian dialects, Central dialects, Judeo-Persian, Ossetic, with bibliography); H. Reichelt, *Iranisch, Geschichte der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft*, ii, 1927. — Avestan: C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, 1902; do., *Zum Altiranischen Wörterbuch*, 1906 (Beilage zum XIX. Band der *Indogermanischen Forschungen*); H. Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, 1909; Andreas-Wacker-nagel, in *N. G. W. Götz*, 1909, 1910, 1913, 1931. — Old Persian: Meillet-Benveniste, *Grammaire du vieux perse*, 1931. — Middle Iranian literature as quoted above in the course of the article. — New Iranian, Western dialects: P. Lerch, *Forschungen über die Kurden und die iranischen Nordchaldäer*, 1857—1858 (Kurdish and Zāzā); E. Prym and A. Socin, *Kurdische Sammlungen*, 1887, 1890 (Kurdish of Jār 'Abdin); A. Von le Coq, *Kurdische Texte*, 1903; E. R. Soane, *Kurdish Grammar*, 1913; O. Mann and K. Hadank, *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, part i: *Die Tülük-Mundarten der Provinz Fārs*, 1909; part ii: *Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme*, 1910; part iii, vol. 1: *Die Mundarten von Khunār, Mahallāt, Nānāz, Nāyin, Simnān, Sīvānd und Sō-Kohrūd*, 1926; vol. 2: *Mundarten der Gūrān, besonders da: Kandīlāt, Auramān und Bādkāhān*, 1930; vol. 4: *Zāzā-Mundarten, hauptsächlich aus Siwerek und Kor*, 1932; part iv, vol. 3: *Die Mundarten der Mukri-Kurden*, part i., 1906, part ii., 1909; V. A. Zhukovskii, *Materialy dlia izučeniya Persidskikh Narčiči*, part i., 1888 (dialects of Kashan, Vonišun, Kohrud, Keshe, Zefre), part ii., 1922 (dialects of Sengiser, Shemertod, Sede, Gaz, Kafron, Sīvānd, Abdu, Talahedehk, Judeo-Persian of Kashan, Tadjirish), part iii., 1922 (dialects of Čeharlang and Heftlang); A. M. Benedicts and A. Christensen, *Les dialectes d'Avermān et de Pōwā*, 1921; A. Christensen,

1) See K. Barr, in *Iranische Dialektforschungen aus dem Nachlass von F. C. Andreas, herausgeg. und bearbeitet von Arthur Christensen, K. Barr und W. Henning, Kurdische Dialekte, Gümrük*, § 37, note 1.

Le dialecte de Samnān, 1915; do., *Contributions à la dialectologie iranienne, dialecte guilak de Reht, dialecte de Fārsūdān, de Yaran et de Natan*, 1930; A. Romaskevitch, *Sur la dialectologie persane*, in *Doklady Akad. Nauk.*, 1924, p. 122 sq.; B. Thomas, *The Kumari dialect of the Shikah Tribe, Arabia*, 1930 (*Asiatic Society Monographs*, xxi.); W. Geiger, *Etymologie des Balūči*, and *Laufteher des Balūči* (both in *Abh. d. k. Bayer. Ak. d. Wiss.*, 1891); G. Morgenstierne, *Notes on Baluchi Etymology*, in *N.T.S.*, v., 1932; I. I. Zarubin, *K izluchiyu Beludzhogo Yazyka i Folkloru*, in *Zapiski Koll. Vostok.*, 1930; W. Iwanow, *Two Dialects spoken in the Central Persian Desert*, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1926; do., *Notes on the Dialect of Kūh and Mīhrjān*, in *A.O.*, 1930; do., *The Dialect of Gushkhan in Alamut*, in *A.O.*, 1931; Ws. Miller, *Očerki fonetiki Evreisko-Tatshogo Naričiya*, 1900; do., *Očerki morfologii Evreisko-Tatshogo Naričiya*, 1901; B. V. Miller, *Tatishskie Teksty*, 1930; D. L. R. Lorimer, *The Phonology of the Bakhtiari, Badakhshani and Madaglashti Dialects of Modern Persian*, 1922. — *Eastern Dialects*: Ws. Miller, *Osetinskie Etyudy*, i.—iii., 1881—1887; do., *Die Sprache der Osseten*, in *G.L.Pk.*; A. Christensen, *Textes ossetes*, 1921; B. Munkácsi, *Blüten der ossetischen Volksdichtung*, in *Keleti Szemle*, vols. xx., xxi., reprint 1932; Ws. Miller and A. Freiman, *Ostlich-Russisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, vols. i.—iii., 1927—1934; R. B. Shaw, *On the Ghalehah Languages*, in *J. A. S. Bengal*, xlv., xvi.; W. Thomaschek, *Centralasiatische Studien*, ii.: *Pamir-Dialekte*, 1880 (based on Shaw's material); R. Gauthiot, *Quelques observations sur le Mundjani*, in *M.S.L.*, xix., 1915; do., *Notes sur le Yagoulami*, in *J.A.*, 1916; G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. x.: *Specimens of Languages of the Iranian Family*; do., *Ikkhānami, Zebaki and Yagoulami*, 1920; I. I. Zarubin, *Suppléments à la liste des langues du Pamir*, in *Doklady Akad. Nauk.*, 1924; *ibid.*, p. 82—85; do., *Caractéristique de la langue mundjani*, in *L'Iran*, 1927; do., *Ovosherskie Teksty i Slovar' (Tendy Ekspeditsii, vypusk VI, Akad. Nauk.*, 1930); H. F. J. Junker, *Drei Erzählungen auf Yarynab*, 1914; do., *Arische Forschungen, Yaghob-Studien*, i., 1930; G. Morgenstierne, *An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*, 1927; do., *Notes on Shughni*, in *N.T.S.*, i., 1928; do., *The Wanetsi Dialect of Pashto*, in *N.T.S.*, iv., 1930; do., *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, vol. i.: *Parachi and Ormuri*, 1929; do., *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, 1926; do., *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, 1932; do., *Supplementary Notes on Ormuri*, in *N.T.S.*, v., 1932; Wolfgang Lenz, *Pamir-Dialekte*, 1933 (with full bibliography). (H. W. BAILEY)

III. PERSIAN LITERATURE.

Definition. By Persian literature we understand all works written in modern Persian, in contrast to middle Persian (Pahlavi), or in other words the whole of Persian literature from the Arab conquest of the present day. It should be observed however that this literature can be regarded as a unity only up to a certain point. The vicissitudes of western Asiatic history brought it about that Persian became the literary language of a number of peoples whose vernaculars had no connection

with Persian. Persian became the language of the upper classes of these peoples, just as French became in the xviiith century for various peoples in Europe. The result is that Persian literature in the wide sense includes not only the literature of Persia, but also the literature of Central Asia, and to some extent of Turkey, India and Afghanistan. Although down to the xvith—xviiith century these literatures were very slightly differentiated, in modern times the differences between them have become so strongly marked that their literatures can no longer be considered as a single whole. This circumstance makes a comprehensive survey of all the literature which may be called Persian an impossible task and forces the student to set more precise limits, which must also apply to this article. Here therefore by Persian literature we mean only the literature of Persia, and such writers as belong to Central Asia, India or Afghanistan will be more or less disregarded.

The beginnings. It has so far not been possible to trace the initial stages of Persian literature exactly. There is, it is true, no lack of anecdotes relating to these first steps but they are so obviously unreliable that they are hardly worth consideration. It is of course natural that these early stages could only have been recorded by chance, as from the point of view of later ages they appeared of very little value.

Nevertheless the fragments that have survived make it possible to put forward certain hypotheses which are probably not too far from the actual truth. The early centuries after the Arab conquest saw a gradual decay of Pahlavi literature. At first sight it might appear that literary activity in Persia ceased completely. But this was not the case. If we turn to the Arabic literature of this period we find that a large number of Persian poets and scholars were writing in Arabic. The valuable anthology of al-Tha'libi (d. 1038), *Yatimat al-Dahr* (pr. 1885), contains most interesting information which shows that already in the 1st century Arabic had become the literary language of the upper classes in Khurasan and Transoxania. But at the same time there were signs of activity in the opposite direction. The political situation of Persia, whose rulers were trying to cast off the Arab yoke, and the gradual exhaustion of the caliphate demanded not only political opposition to the Arabs but also the ending of the domination of the Arabic language in the field of literature. But the 150 years of the supremacy of Arabic did not pass without leaving a trace. Pahlavi had become a dead language; there was therefore only Persian to oppose to Arabic as a literary language. On the other hand, there prevailed, especially in poetry, Arabic forms (*qasida*, *ghazal*) and the Arabic quantitative metre ('*arud*'), which so firmly established rhyme, probably foreign to Pahlavi, that a return to the poetical technique of the Sāsānian period was impossible. Arabic poetry had however to submit to certain changes, such as the introduction of the very long syllable into prosody, which was not possible in Arabic at all and probably arose in the process of inserting Persian words into Arabic lines. How and when the first lines of verse entirely in Persian arose it will hardly be possible to ascertain with certainty. Persian sources profess to consider the fragments that survive of a *qasida* by 'Abbas Marwazi said to have been composed in Marw (809) in honour of

Ma'mūn, son of Hārūn al-Rashīd, as the oldest poem in Persian. Unfortunately it is still somewhat difficult to express a definite opinion on the genuineness of these lines. The anthologies (*adabkharā*) and dictionaries (notably Asadī's valuable *Lughat-i Furs*) contain isolated lines from poets like Abū Ḥafṣ Ṣughdī, Ḥanzala Bādghīsī, Maḥmūd Warrāq Harawī, Fīrūs Mashriqī, Abū Salīk Gurgānī etc. of whom some may possibly be as early as the viiith century. These fragments however are but miserable remnants, which give evidence of the existence of poetry but do not enable us to obtain a clear idea of Persian verse in its earliest period.

xth—xiith century. As early as the tenth century we find these early efforts attaining a very high degree of artistic perfection. The courts of the various princes around whom the poets gathered formed centres of literary activity. But as the poets were usually directly dependent on their patrons and had to some extent to adapt themselves to their taste, it is quite natural that almost every dynasty in Persia was surrounded by a group of poets who present a certain unity, especially from the point of view of style, so that the classification of Persian poets by dynasties, as has been usual in Persia from early times, has a certain amount of justification in literary history. In order to give some lucidity to our account of the rather complicated process of the literary evolution of Persian poetry, we shall retain this classification, at the same time subdividing our account according to the various kinds of poetry so that the links may not be broken. In the first section the following kinds of poetry are mainly concerned: a. lyrical court poetry, b. epic, c. mystic. Prose hardly comes into consideration at all in this section, as the older Persian literature scarcely ever uses prose for belles-lettres. Prose is for old Persia the language of scholarship only. But it is to be noted that for the pre-Mongol period the language of scholarship is predominantly Arabic so that even in this field a higher degree of development of Persian prose is only slowly attained.

a. The Court Lyric. While as early as the time of the Tāhirids and Saffārids we can recognize the first approaches to the formation of a characteristic court style, we do not see it in its full perfection till the time of the Sāmānids (875—999), whose capital was Bukhārā. Although here also the devastation wrought by time has left us only a few remains, it is still absolutely clear that at this time a flourishing literary activity in Bukhārā was in full swing. Round the Sāmānid court gathered a large number of distinguished poets, who on the one hand were engaged in singing the praises of the rulers in sonorous *qaṣidas* and on the other in bitter rivalries with one another for pre-eminence, a struggle carried on with poetical weapons also, i.e. satires (*ḥudūd*, *ḥidā'*). Of all these poets the greatest was the celebrated Rūdākī [q.v.] of Samarkand. His *qaṣida Mūdār-i mai* is an unsurpassed masterpiece. Rūdākī seems to be the first creator of the type of the Persian poet which all others endeavoured to copy: poet, aristocrat, liberal, frivolous, amorous, wine-loving, chivalrous, devoted only to the joys of life, never touching its gloomier sides. In the field of didactic poetry also he won great fame by a version (which has unfortunately not come down to us) of the *Katila wa-Dinna*. But he introduced another theme into Persian poetry, the

lament for lost youth, which he expressed in moving language. His younger contemporary Kisā'i [q.v.] (b. 953) of Marw dealt with the same theme. It may be assumed that these laments were not simply exercises in style but had a genuine foundation in the circumstances of the Persian poet. His duty was to adorn the court of his prince, to share his pleasures and to amuse him; a soured old greybeard was not suited for this and was no doubt, little appreciated in spite of former services. No less characteristic are the laments of the famous Shāhid of Balkh who is said to have been the first to collect a complete *Diwān*. He laments principally the injustice in the distribution of the world's goods, which clearly points to his lack of success at court. The language of all these poets is clear and lucid; they are still very moderate in the use of poetic artifices and observe the limitations of poetry. Of second class (or perhaps by chance less known) names of this circle of poets the following may be mentioned: Ma'rūfi Balkhī (c. 954—961), Abū Shu'ayb Harawī, Abū Zarrā'a Gurdjānī, Abū Tāhir Shu'arawānī, Dīyūbārī Bukhārā'i, Amīr Aghādī, Bukhārā'i, Kawnaqī, Ma'nawī, Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Bustī (known also from his poems in Arabic) and 'Ammāra Marwazī.

After the fall of the Sāmānids a new literary centre arose in Ghazna at the court of the celebrated Sulṭān Maḥmūd (q.v., 998—1030) and his successors. This school received its key-note from the famous poet 'Unṣurī (q.v., d. 1050) of Balkh. His *qaṣidas*, which celebrate the sulṭān and his campaigns and endeavour to prove his claim to the throne of Persia by theological hair-splittings, are very fine examples of the more serious court poetry. Rūdākī's frivolity would have been out of place at the court of the rigidly orthodox sulṭān. Two other poets who were mainly active at the court of his brother Amīr Nāṣr recall in their *joie de vivre* more the poetry of the Sāmānid period. They are Mīnūshīrī (q.v., d. c. 1050) of Dāmghān, who has given us in several poems fine specimens of humorous humour and liked to make allusions to pre-Islāmic legends, and Farrukhī of Sistān (q.v., d. 1037—1038), whom Persian literary historians are fond of comparing with the master of the Arabic *qaṣida* al-Mutanabbī [q.v.]. The glowing colours of his descriptions of nature are really marvellous expressions of the imagination. As a theorist also he is known for his treatise *Tarjūmān al-Balgha*. No less important is Asadī (q.v., d. between 1030—1041) of Tūs, who was the first to enrich the varieties of court poetry with the *munāzara* or disputation (like the *tenue* of Southern France). Two poets of this name are usually distinguished; the younger, author of the *Gurūsh-nāma*, is said to be a son of the elder. But there are reasons for thinking such a distinction unnecessary and the existence of two Asadīs doubtful. Under the successors of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, who were no longer able to hold together their father's gigantic empire, poetry was still held in high honour. Of the poets who adorned their courts the master of the *qaṣida* Abū 'l-Faraj Rūmī (d. about the beginning of the viiith—xiith century) and his pupil Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān (d. 1131) were specially prominent. The latter in particular, who spent a great part of his life in prison, created a new kind of poem, the *ḥabībūt* (prison *qaṣidas*), in which he lamented his cruel

fate. No less important is 'Uḡmān Mukhtārī (d. about the middle of the viii—xiith century) in whose poems the learning of his time gradually penetrates into poetry. The other dynasties who shared the power with the Ghaznawids, but were hardly on the same level, also endeavoured to attract poets of talent to their courts. Mention must thus be made among the poets of the Būyids (932–1055) of Kamāl al-Dīn Būndār of Ray, who in addition to literary Persian used the dialect of Ray for his poems. The celebrated Kaṣṣānī (q.v., d. 1072–1073) also sang the praises of the Būyids, but he was for the most part in the service of the rulers of Ādharbāidjān and his poems were long thought to be the work of Rūdākī. Even beyond the Oxus among the Turkish Ilak-Khāns (931–1165) Persian poetry flourished. The best poet of this school was the brilliant 'Am'aḳ (d. c. 1148), who shared his fame with Rāshidī and Naḍībī Farghānī. 'Am'aḳ's ḡasidas are especially distinguished by their unusually fresh and joyous *nasibs*, which are full of unexpected turns of speech.

As already mentioned, prose played very little part at this period in the life of the court. But we must mention at least three works of the greatest importance for the history of the development of Persian prose style, namely the universal history in Persian of the Sāmānid vizier Abū 'Alī Bāī'āmī (q.v., d. 996), the highly interesting history of the Ghaznawids by Abū 'l-Faḍl Balḡhūkī (q.v., d. 1077–1078) and the *Kābū-nāma* (begun 1082) of prince Kai-Kā'ūs b. Iskandar b. Kābūs.

Court poetry undoubtedly reached its highest development in the time of the Saljūqs (q.v.) (1037–1300). But the simplicity and the vigour and freshness of colour which so delight us in Sāmānid poets gradually disappear; the ḡasida becomes more arid, but attains more and more technical dexterity, which finds expression on the one hand in an accumulation of poetical artifices and on the other in the utilisation of all branches of scholastic learning to create choice and unusual images. While in the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd the works of the court poets were readily intelligible to any reader of some education, the later Saljūq period produces poems which presuppose a well-educated reader and could be a source of pleasure only to specialists. Many works of this period are really only intelligible through commentaries which have been preserved. Among the poets of this period the following are outstanding: Azraḳī of Herāt (q.v.; d. c. 1113), who procured a somewhat doubtful fame as author of the *Alfīya-Shalīfiya*, a didactic poem on the art of love. Adīb Šābir, the great master of the ḡasida, who was sent by his sovereign on a political mission to the Khwārizm-shāh where he met a tragic end (between 1145–1151). The favourite of Sulṭān Sanḡār, Amir Mu'izzī (q.v.), about whose wealth and fabulous greed the biographers have much to say. Lāmī'ī (q.v.) of Dihlūjān, 'Abd al-Waṣī' Djabālī (q.v.; d. 1160) who has quite a peculiar style and brings many animals into his ḡasidas with great skill. The place of honour among all these masters must be given to the unrivalled Anwārī (q.v.), whose ḡasidas, among which are the famous "ears of Khurāsān", are undoubtedly the finest that this complicated style was able to produce (d. between 1189–1191). The rulers of Khwārizm

endeavoured to check Anwārī's influence with the work of Rāshid al-Dīn Waṭwāt (q.v.; d. 1182–1183). This poet, who is also entitled to credit for his work as a theorist, is distinguished by unusually caustic language but as a poet he can scarcely be compared with Anwārī, beside whom only the characteristic figure of Khāḳānī (q.v., d. 1199), who sang the praises of the Shāhs of Shirwān, remains unfaded. The difficulty of the language of this original poet is proverbial in the east but nevertheless he is recognised to this day as the greatest master of the ḡasida. Sūzānī of Samarkand (d. 1173–1174) was also an occasional panegyrist of the Saljūqs but he was known chiefly for his satires and parodies which are often obscene but very witty. Women also wrote poetry; for example we have a few lines by Sulṭān Sanḡār's friend Maḥiātī, which show great talent although they unfortunately contain unusually cynical expressions. Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī (q.v.) of Samarkand was a poet at the Ghūrid court; he is chiefly notable for his *Chahār Maḡala*, one of the most important sources for the biographies of poets. The end of this period is marked by the two last great poets of ḡasidas, Zāhir al-Dīn Fāryābī (q.v., d. 1202), whose poems in spite of facility of technique show in comparison with Anwārī a certain decline of the court style, and Kamāl-i Lam'ī'ī called *Khālīq al-Ma'āni* or "Creator of Spiritual Ideas" (d. 1237). This last poet turned in his later years from the court style and preferred the contemplative life of a Šāfi shaykh to success at court. His best work is already full of the spirit of Šāfi mysticism and in this field also he succeeded in creating real masterpieces.

4. Epic. The first essays in epic poetry, a genre which had been practically unknown to the Arabs and which, so to speak, represented the Irānian national element in Persian literature, were made by Persian poets even before the time of the Sāmānids, in the period of the first wars against their Arab masters. In this field therefore the Persians had no foreign models and were completely dependent on pre-Islāmic tradition and to some extent on popular poetry. Unfortunately once more only fragments of the oldest works have come down to us, which do not permit us to gain anything like a clear idea of their character. In this field it was again the old master Rūdākī who created the first work of any size, namely the celebrated version of the *Kallīla wa-Dimna* of which only some 50 baits have come down to us. At the same court the talented young and vivacious poet Daḳṭkī (q.v.) undertook a larger work, namely a metrical version of the official Sāsānian book of kings, the *Khudā-nāma*. His premature death prevented him from carrying out this grandiose scheme. All that he left was about 1,000 baits, which seem to have given the stimulus to the greatest achievement of Persian poetry, the *Šāh-nāma* of the celebrated Abū 'l-Kāsim Firdawsī (q.v.) of Tūs (born c. 934, d. between 1020–1026). This gigantic work, which according to the poet himself contains 60,000 baits and combines the whole epic tradition of Persia into an artistically perfect whole, became the foundation for a long series of later poems or *maṭnawīs*, as this genre is called, from an Arabic technical term. Firdawsī's second work, finished when he was well over seventy years of age, namely his *Pānuf u-Zulāikha*, is from the artistic point of view little

inferior to his masterpiece. The story of Joseph, which with later poets (Djāmi) became a song of songs of mystic love, becomes in his hands a moving lament of the boy carried off to a strange land, which may well describe the feelings of the aged and homeless poet in Baghdad. Firdawsi's first successors followed his example closely and wrote regular epics, among which the already mentioned *Garshasp-nāma* of Asadi and works like the *Barsū-nāma*, *Sām-nāma* etc. may be particularly noted. But very soon the character of the epic changes and it gradually becomes a romance of chivalry. Thus for example the *Wāsiṭ-nāma*, now lost, of the already mentioned 'Unṣuri, in spite of its many descriptions of fighting, is mainly concerned with the love-story of the hero and heroine. This transformation is still more evident in Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgāni's (see GURGANI) celebrated *Wīs u-Rūmān* (written about 1048), the Persian counterpart of the European Tristan story, in which the hero, regarded from the point of view of the heroes of old Persia, is almost entirely devoid of knightly qualities. The court epic attains its zenith in the quintette (*Khamsa*) of the great Nizāmī (q. v.) of Gaddja (1141—1203). Some of his poems have really very little connection with the old epics and are, like *Laili u-Madjnun*, predominantly lyrical and romantic in tone. After Nizāmī the Persian court poets hardly ever attempted to treat of new subjects and remained within the bounds already laid down for them.

c. *Mysticism*. We have so far been mainly concerned with the court poetry, but the other current in Persian literature has its source in very different circles. Sūfism [see TAḤAWWUF], arising on Arab soil, entered Persia also and spread among the artisans and to some extent also among the merchants who populated the towns of Persia. In its quite early stages Sūfism became connected with the *futuwa* movement (q. v.) and the mystical note became more and more emphasised. So far as we can judge, the oldest Sūfi lyrics arose from the demand for a poetry of their own which should brighten the public meetings of the Sūfi bodies. Isolated lines, quatrains and *hifz*'s of pronounced Sūfi colouring arose as early as the tenth century, but the first more or less extensive collections belong to the first half of the 11th century. While the famous Bābī Ṭāhīr 'Uryān (see ṬAHIR: d. 1019) expresses pronounced Sūfi views only in his prose works and in his quatrains follows the model of the popular poetry (even in language, for a number of them are written in dialect). Bābī Kūhī Shīrāzī (d. 1050) is already a mystic through and through in the full sense of the word. His *Divān* which has come down to us is, it is true, much corrupted, but the theories of the 11th century are quite apparent from his verses which are interspersed with Qur'ān verses and ḥadīths. Until quite recently it was generally thought that the earliest Sūfi poet was the celebrated Shaikh Abū Sa'īd of Maḥana. But there is no longer any doubt that he only once in his life composed a quatrain on the spur of the moment. All the other poems ascribed to him are either forgeries, or possibly were really declaimed by him during his sermons without having been composed by him. The mystical lyric attains a higher degree of perfection in Anṣārī (q. v.) also called Pir-i Anṣār or Pir of Herāt (1006—1088), whose principal work is the celebrated *Munāṣṣat*, ardent

prayers full of feeling in rhymed prose. The soil was now sufficiently prepared and Persian mysticism began to bear its finest flowers, which have given Persian poetry world-fame. But before we pass to these great masters we must briefly mention two names which it has hitherto been the custom to mention in connection with Sūfism. These are the famous scholar 'Omār Khayyām (q. v.; d. c. 1123) and the preacher of Ismā'īlism Nāṣir-i Khawarizmshāh (q. v.). To return to orthodox Sūfism we must first mention Sanā'ī (q. v.; 1048/1049—1141), the poet of Ghazna. If his *Divān*, half secular, half mystical, reveals further development along the path laid by Anṣārī (q. v.), his didactic poems, among which we may mention the *Ḥadiqat al-Haṣṣa*, represent the first attempt to enliven the theories of Sūfism by inserting parables of a popular character. This device, only sparingly used by Sanā'ī, is brilliantly exploited by his successor, the celebrated Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (see AṬṬAR: 1119—1230). In his poems the inserted tales attain full development and frequently display the greatest artistic perfection in their simplicity. The climax of this ascending series is formed by the incomparable and gigantic work of the great Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (q. v.; 1207—1273) also known as Mawlā-yi Rūm. His didactic poem, which bears the proud title of *Mathnawī*, i. e. "the poem" *par excellence* (perhaps with allusion to *al-Kur'ān*), is the finest thing that Oriental mysticism with its unlimited riches has produced. The famous Sa'dī (q. v.; 1184—1292?) is also usually reckoned among the mystics, although really only a few of his works have a distinctly mystical tinge. Sa'dī is rather a teacher of practical wisdom; he endeavours to show his readers the way by which in his troubled period the all too heavy blows of fate could be softened.

d. *Prose*. We have already observed that classical Persian literature was accustomed to clothe belles-lettres with a metrical garb, and preferred Arabic for learned works. The prose literature of this period is therefore not so rich as the poetry is. Along with the already mentioned work of Bā'ānī we may also note the famous Abū 'Alī b. Sīnā (Avicenna; q. v.), who in addition to his works in Arabic wrote an encyclopaedia of philosophy in Persian, the *Dānish-nāma-yi 'Alī*. The dialect of Jābaristān was used at the end of the tenth century by Marḥān b. Rustam (q. v.) for the *Marḥān-nāma*, a version of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (q. v.). Unfortunately this work is now lost and known only from Sa'd Warāwīnī's Persian translation (written between 1210—1215). The *Siyāsat-nāma* of the Saljuq waṣīr Nizām al-Mulk (q. v.; d. 1092) is an important book, which besides containing valuable historical material well reflects the political ideas of the period. This list of the most important works shows quite clearly that there is practically no belles-lettres proper. The first work that we can put in this class is the Persian translation of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* finished in 1144 by Abū 'l-Ma'ālī Naṣr Allāh (see NAṢR ALLĀH). But here again it must be pointed out that the book was not then regarded as light literature but as a kind of "mirror for princes", that is to say as a learned work. The aim of the Persian translation of the *Faragḥ-bād al-Shidda* completed in 1155 by Ḥusayn al-Mu'ayyadī was similar, but with particular stress on the didactic element. The end of the 11th century

brings a series of romances of chivalry and versions of pre-Islamic material, the greater part of which is known only in later versions, often only in the form of popular romances. We may mention here the romance *Asfār-i Samak 'ayār* by Šadāka Šīrāzi composed in 1189, the fantastic and enormous romance of Amīr Hamza, the *Bakhtiyār-nāma* and the romance of the Beduin hero *Ḥatīm Taṭīl*. To conclude this section, we may mention that in this period we already find a certain development of historical writing, a series of works on poetics, and the first attempts at anthologies (*taḏkīra*, among them 'Awfi's [q.v.] valuable *Lubāb al-Aḥbāb*). But as this compressed survey of Persian literature is forced to confine itself to belles-lettres such works cannot be dealt with here.

From the Mongols to the sixteenth century. The early years of Mongol rule were a period of tribulation for Persia. Although later Mongol rulers took an interest in the restoration of the country the destruction done in the early invasions was so vast that the land could only recover slowly. In the general havoc it could hardly be expected that Persian literature would continue on its earlier lines. Yet it is this period that produces the great series of eminent historians whose works form the foundation of all research by European scholars. Without going into further details we must at least briefly mention the more important names. These are 'Alā Malik Djuwainī [see DJUWAINI], Waṣṣaf [q.v.], the great Rashīd al-Dīn [q.v.], Faḍl Alish and Ḥamd Alish Mustawfi Kāzwinī [see KAZWINI]. Poets on the other hand became rare and they seek comfort mainly in mysticism. Court poetry after the destruction of the brilliant court life survived mainly in outlying parts of the country which had suffered less in the general destruction. But this poetry could not for the most part rise above the level of the classical period and seeks to surpass its predecessors in dexterity of technique. Several poets who knew that they possessed a certain perfection of style left their native land and sought refuge with the rulers of India. For example Badr-i Cāz, a fairly skilled master of the *kaṣīda*, left Central Asia to become court poet of Muḥammad b. Tughluq (1325–1351); there he was followed by Kānī'ī of Tūs who however afterwards went to Anā Minor. An endeavour to give new life to the court language, which had become arid and formal, by the addition of Mongol and Turkish loan-words was made by Pūr-Bahā-yi Dīlāmī, who described the earthquake at Nishāpūr in 1267–1268 in a successful *kaṣīda*. Only the mystical poets still retain traces of the ecstasies which filled the works of their predecessors. Of great importance is Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāki of Hamadān (d. 1289) who in his *Lam'āt*, suggested by Anarī's *Munāẓẓāt*, produced a work *rai generis*; his *Ushshāq-nāma* also contains much that is valuable. Less known but interesting is Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmāni whose *Mizbān al-Arwāḥ* in many ways recalls the *Divina Commedia*. Awḥadī [q.v.] of Marāgha attained great renown. His *Dīwān-i Dīwān*, which is now very little read, was copied 400 times in a single year. For European scholarship the *Gulistan-i Rūs* of Maḥmūd Shabīstari (d. 1320) had considerable importance. This was the first work from which a clearer idea of the teachings of Sūfism was obtained. A further development of the mystical quatrain is found in

Afḡal al-Dīn Kāshāni (also called Bahā Afḡal; d. 1307), who also can claim mention as the author of several treatises of a philosophical character. Among all these quite a special position is occupied by Nizārī Kūhistāni (d. 1320). Although an Ismā'īlī, like Naṣir-i Khusrāw at an earlier date, he is distinguished from the latter by sarcastic outbursts against orthodox Islam with such drastic effect that almost all authorities declared his writings heretical and hostile to religion. As a result manuscripts of his works are very scarce. Some of his longer poems (like *Muḥṣir u-Aḥṣar*) read like deliberate parodies of the aphorisms of Sa'di and the court epic.

If Persian literature in the Mongol period had fallen into a kind of lethargic trance, under Timūr and his successors (1370–1405) it experienced a renaissance. The reason for this is probably that, with the decline of Mongol sovereignty, a large number of petty local dynasties arose who were all anxious to restore the ancient usages of court life and to adorn their courts with poets. This period therefore became a new flowering-time of Persian poetry and it may well be called the second classical period. Although the greater part of its poetry lacks the freshness and vigour of the pre-Mongol period, some of its poets succeeded in surpassing their predecessors. Of the masters of this period the following may be mentioned: Ibn Yamin [q.v.; d. 1368], for a time court poet to the Sarbadars in Sabrawūr, a great artist in the *ḡiṭā*, which was very little cultivated before him and then mainly for *vers d'occasion*. Khwādīr Kirmāni [see KIRMĀNI; d. 1281], author of a *Khamsa* which endeavours to discard the rather pedantic learning of Nizāmī and is distinguished by grace and lightness of touch. His *ghazels* also show an endeavour to cast off Sa'di's moralising tendency and to melt into pure expressions of feeling. 'Ubaid [q.v.] Zakkāni (d. 1371), one of the most original figures of Persian literature, whose occasionally rather bold parodies contain ruthless criticism of and contempt for the Persian aristocracy. Salīmān [q.v.] Sīwādji (d. 1376), celebrated for his difficult play on words, witticisms and technical skill, and lastly Lisān al-Ghāib Khwādji Ḥāfiẓ [q.v.] Shīrāzi (d. 1389), the incomparable master of the *ghazal*, who was able to combine the greatest freshness and depth of feeling with the elegance demanded by the taste of the age and brought the *ghazal* to the height of its development, never again reached by any one after him. Two less talented parodists must be mentioned as characteristic representatives of the period: Abū Ishāq Aṭ'ima, the poet of cooking, and Kārī Yazdī (second half of the xvth century), the tailor poet. Their works show that the grand style of the court poetry was already in decline and a new wave was about to break which revealed its weaknesses and made new 'humble' objects the subject of its art. Among the prose writers we may here mention Dīyā' al-Dīn Naḥshabī [see NAHSHABĪ], whose book of the parrot (*Tuḥf-nāma*, 1330), a version of the old and now lost *Sindbād-nāma*, had a great success and was utilised by several later writers. His short prose romance *Gulistan* should also be mentioned.

Under Timūr's successors the striving after artificiality increases still further. The poet's object is not to be generally understood. On the contrary his aim is to write only for a few select connois-

seurs who are able to appreciate his difficult tours de force. Outwardly this aim finds expression in the widespread use of a new form of poem, the *mu'ammā* [q.v.], a kind of riddle on names in verse. The best poets of this period were not ashamed to devote their attention to the *mu'ammā* and even the mystic Dīwānī, who had cut himself off from the world, wrote a treatise on the theory of it. The authors of this period are all more or less influenced by Sūfism, which was probably a result of the years of trial and of the great invasions, which had clearly shown even to the great ones of the earth the transitoriness of worldly fortune. The famous *shāikh* and much honoured saint Ni'mat Allāh Kirmānī [see NĪMAT ALLĀH Wālī; d. 1431] who founded a darwish order which bore his name, left, in addition to some 500 short prose treatises, an extensive *Dīwān* which is not without a certain beauty. The mystic Kāsim al-Anwār [see KĀSIM-I ANWĀR; d. 1433-1434] is important; in his *Dīwān* he used not only Persian but also Turkish and even the dialect of Gilān. Kātibī [q.v.] Nishāpūrī (d. 1434-1435) returned to the scheme of the *ghamza* but almost all five of his parts are pervaded by mystical allusions and endeavour to conceal a certain adherence to stereotyped pattern by artifices of technique. 'Arīfī of Herāt (d. c. 1449) achieved great fame by his celebrated *Ḥāl-nāma* also called *Gūy u-Cawgān*. 'Ismat Bukhārā'ī (d. 1425-1426), who was able to work up an old Sūfi legend in his *Adham-nāma* to a beautiful work of art, is also of interest. Husain Wā'iz Kāshifī [see KĀSHIFĪ] (d. 1504-1505) occupies a prominent place; he achieved great fame by his version of the *Kāllā wa-Dīwana* called *Anwār-i Suhailī* and set the pattern which has never been equalled for a highly artificial and unusually difficult prose style. The greatest master of this period is undoubtedly 'Abd al-Rahmān Dīwānī [see DĪWĀNĪ; d. 1492], a prolific poet who left in addition to seven great *mathnawīs* an extensive *Dīwān* and many treatises. In spite of great versatility and a certain depth of feeling (as, for example, in his celebrated *Vāṣf u-Zulāikha* or *Lālī u-Maḥjūn*) all his work shows traces of decline, which is especially apparent when his poems are compared with works of the classical period. In this period also the writing of history flourished, and out of a number of distinguished historians we may mention Ḥāfiẓ-i Abru [q.v.], 'Abd al-Razzāq [q.v.], Samarkandī (d. 1482), Mirkhwand [q.v.; d. 1498] and Khwāndamīr (d. after 1534).

It has been the custom in Europe to close the history of Persian literature with the Timūrid period. The Safawid period is, it is quite true, a period of great decline in Persian poetry. As these rulers did not encourage praise of the secular government, the poets of this period sought in their *kasidas* to celebrate the supposed ancestors of their rulers, the imāms of the Shī'a, which gave the poet Muḥtaṣam Kāshānī (d. 1588) the opportunity to compose his famous *Haftband* in honour of the imāms. Many other names could be mentioned such as Ḥāfiẓī (q.v.; d. 1520-1521), Ḥabīb Fighānī (see FIGHĀNĪ; d. 1519), Umīdī (d. 1519 or 1523-1524), the two Abhis, Turahīnī (d. 1527-1528) and Shīrāzi (d. 1535-1536), Hāfīzī (q.v.; d. 1528-1529), Lisānī (d. 1533-1534), Wakḥshī (see WAKHSHĪ NĀYRĪ; d. 1583). But it must be confessed that

very little attention has so far been paid by orientalisists to these poets and practically nothing has been written about most of them. It seems however that isolated works, such as the *Farḥād u-Shīrin* of Wakḥshī, deserve attention and might afford quite interesting material for the student. A characteristic feature of the xvth and also of the xvith century is the migration of Persian poets to India, attracted by the brilliant court of Akbar and his successors. The result was that a second centre of Persian poetry arose in India and gradually a peculiar Indian style developed, which in turn exerted a considerable influence on the literature of central Asia. The best known of these Indo-Persian poets are 'Urfī [q.v.] Shīrāzi (d. 1590-1591), who endeavoured to replace bombastic rhetoric by impressiveness and "sweetness" (*ḥalāwat*), and his teacher Faiḍī (d. 1595), a distinguished scholar, who studied the religious doctrines of India and even translated several works from Sanskrit into Persian. The xvith century again shows a long series of names, among which we mention those of Saḥābī (d. 1601-1602), the last great master of the quatrain, Zuhallī (q.v.; d. 1615), author of *Saḥf Sa'yāra*, seven longish poems of which the most notable is *Maḥmūd u-Ayūz*, Taḥlīb-i 'Amulī (d. 1626-1627), the author of an interesting romance of adventure in verse, and lastly the Ḥāfiẓ of the xvith century: Ṣā'ib [q.v.] Tabrizī (d. 1677-1678) who is still much read in India and Central Asia. Sūfism, which was mercilessly persecuted by the Safawids, falls almost completely into the background in this period, but instead a very copious theological literature of the Shī'a develops in Persian. As the theologians of this period wanted their works to be as widely disseminated as possible, they succeeded in creating a peculiarly light and elegant prose style, which is very favourably distinguished from the artificial periods of the Timūrids and prepares the ground for modern Persian literature. Philosophical literature also was considerably enriched by the works of the great Mullā Ṣadrā (see ṢADR AL-DĪN; d. 1640-1641) and his successors.

The Kādjār and modern Persia. The Kādjār monarchy established at the end of the xvith century brought with it a literary revival in Persia. While Fath 'Alī's court poets still followed the old traditions and produced little of value, a distinct change becomes apparent in the second half of the sixteenth century, the result of a closer contact with the European powers who were vying with one another for predominance in Persia. Fath 'Alī Shāh's court poets, like Naḥāt (q.v.; d. 1828-1829) with his tender lyrics, Ṣabā (d. 1822-1823) with his *Shāhān-shāhnāma*, an imitation of Firdawsī, which celebrates the wars of 'Abbās Mirzā with the Russians, or the 'Dīwān of the sixteenth century, Wīzāl, all have much that is admirable to their credit, but nevertheless they are only epigones who lack originality completely. Quite a new note is struck in the works of the three great masters of this period: Kā'ānī (d. 1853-1854), Shāibānī (q.v.; d. 1888) and Vaghīmā (q.v.; d. 1860). Although Kā'ānī studied both French and English and translated several books from these languages, his *kasidas* are still, broadly speaking, repetitions of the long obsolete court style. But in the *mathnawīs* of these bombastic exercises in style there are many wonder-

fully realistic scenes which would be quite impossible in the "golden age". Shāhīnī, who suffered great injustice from the Qājārs, strikes a gloomy and pessimistic note and bitterly laments the rottenness of the whole structure of the Qājār monarchy. Yaghmā, perhaps the most interesting of all three poets, whose life was an unbroken chain of sorrows, attacked the Persian notables in bitter satire and ended with even blacker pessimism and a complete denial of the possibility of a happy life. His effort to purify the Persian language of Arabic loanwords is of interest. A great influence on further development was exercised by the *Dār al-Funūn* (1852), the first educational institute intended to further the study of western learning, the teachers in which were almost exclusively Europeans. The work of this institute required the translation of a series of western textbooks. This task however revealed that the rhymed prose of the classical period could not be used for such a purpose. The works of these first translators, who in addition to the textbooks also translated several novels, chiefly from the French, was of tremendous importance for the literary language of Persia and prepared to some extent the way for the literature of contemporary Persia. The *Dār al-Funūn* was also of great significance for learning in Persia. Its first director Rida Kālt Khān (q. v.; d. 1871), who used the *taḥḥalluṣ* Hidāyat for his poetry, was one of the greatest literary historians of Persia. Among his pupils were the famous historian Šānī al-Dawla, later known as Iḥtishām al-Sāliḥān (d. 1896), whose works are still one of the most valuable sources for the history of modern Persia. The efforts of the *Dār al-Funūn* also produced a widespread desire to help in making known the achievements of European science. Remarkable in this respect is the work of Mirzā 'Abd al-Rahmān Nadjdār-Zāda who under the name of Tālihoff published a series of popular works which dealt with the most varied subjects. Of these works the most important are the *Kitāb-i Ahmad* and *Masālik al-Muḥsinin*. Of the greatest importance for Persian literature of the sixteenth century was the introduction of printing (first press in Tahriz in 1816—1817), which also made newspapers possible. But the first newspapers were intended only for court circles. It was not till 1851 that the first newspaper of any size appeared. The press made remarkable progress during the great struggle for the constitution (*mashrūṭa*) especially after the opening of the Majlis.

This struggle hastened the literary revolution, which had been prepared for by the work of the writers of the sixteenth century. The political struggle made quite new demands upon the participants. Literature was no longer to be the special property of the aristocracy but had to speak clearly and intelligibly to the masses. Satirical poetry, which was particularly cultivated during these years (1906—1909), therefore broke away from the old tradition; instead of the old literary language which was difficult to understand it uses the language of the street and of the bazaar, instead of the dry old classical forms it sets out to imitate the street halled (*zayn*). The vernacular also found its way into prose. 'Alī Akbar Dikḥudā (Dakḥaw), the great master of the feuilleton, wrote his biting and humorous pamphlets *Carand-pāremā*, which brightened the revolutionary paper

Šūr-i Ibrāhīm. This style was also adopted by later writers and influenced two of the best satirical works of recent years, namely the incomparable collection of stories *Yakī ḥād yakī na-ḥād* ("Truth and Fiction") by Aghā Saiyid Muḥammad 'Alī Djamāl-zāda (1922) and the trilogy by Muḥammad Mas'ūd (M. Dihālī) the last part of which appeared in 1934 under the title *Ashraf-i Makhḥūḥāt* ("the Crown of Creation").

In the war against the antiquated, the dramatic form, unknown to the classical literature, was also used. While old Persia had had only farces ("wandering players") and religious mysteries (*ta'ziya* [q. v.] or *'asā*), the comedy after the European model made its appearance in the form of Persian translations of the famous works of the Ādharbāidjāni author Fath 'Alī Akhund-zāda, which were translated by Mirzā Dja'far Karadjadāghī. These plays obviously served as models for the original plays by the well known politician and founder of freemasonry (*farāmūsh-ghāna*) in Persia, Mirzā Malkum-Khān. If the theatre was influenced on the one hand by Ādharbāidjāni literature, on the other acquaintance with the Turkish drama made possible the appearance of versions of Molière's plays, among which we may mention *Le médecin malgré lui*, *Le Misanthrope* and *Fortuſte*. The lack of a regular stage in Persia however made the further development of the drama impossible for the time being. Only in recent years have tragedies appeared in Persia, among which the historical *Dāstān-i Khān* (1926) by Saiyid 'Abd al-Rahīm Khāl-khālī, *Akḥarīn yādgar-i Nādirshāh* (1927) by Sa'īd Nāfisi and *Parvin* (1931) by Šādīk Hidāyat may be mentioned. The wave of satire in the first decades of the twentieth century also produced the first satirical novel *Siyāhat-nāma-yi Ibrāhīm-beg* by Hādījī Zayn al-'Ābidīn of Marāgha (d. 1910). This work, planned in three parts on the model of the Divine Commedia, had a fabulous success and is still of value as a characterisation, exaggerated it is true, of the defects of old Persia.

The Present Day. In order not to destroy the continuity we have already been compelled to mention some of the most recent works. It would be very difficult to give at this time a comprehensive sketch of the last few decades. The period after the War and the great changes that have taken place in Persia naturally have also had their influence on literature. Yet it is not so easy for Persian literature, particularly poetry, to cast off the thousand-year-old traditions of the classical literature. The struggle with these traditions found expression mainly in two ways: on the one hand prose attempts to gain predominance over poetry and thus to reverse the old proportions, and on the other the new poetry endeavours both in form and matter to break through the old limitations. This second task is the more difficult as it requires unusual ability to prevent the efforts of the innovators appearing as mere schoolboys' work alongside of the perfection of the classics. For this reason the greatest of the modern poets still adhere rather tenaciously to the traditional forms, even if as regards matter they are far removed from the old models. The greatest of the modern poets, Saiyid Muḥammad Adīb-i Pišāwārī (d. 1931), can hardly be distinguished as regards form from the classical poets, of whose

technique he has a complete mastery, but as regards matter his poems with their glowing hatred of England and echoes of the World War are something quite new for Persia. The same may be said of the celebrated Malik al-Shu'arā' Bahār, whose great *kasidas* in spite of their traditional style are almost entirely political in content. On the other hand, Abu 'l-Kāsim 'Arif Kāẓimī (born c. 1879—1880) has cast off the old tradition to a considerable extent. Of classical forms he prefers the *ghazal*, but has attained his greatest fame by popular *tañīfs*, some of which played a great part during the fighting in the Persian Revolution. The poems of Iradjmirzā (d. 1926) are very famous; his main theme was the fight for the liberation of the Persian woman. Unfortunately his works are characterised by a repulsive cynicism which is quite irreconcilable with the loftiness of his ideals. Among the younger poets first place must be given to Rūshid Vāsīmī (born 1897), whose tender lyrics distinctly betray the influence of European poetry. Vāsīmī has also distinguished himself as a literary historian. Nīmā is endeavouring to create new forms and in his *Mahbas* ("prison") he succeeded in impressively depicting the tragic lot of the Persian peasant. Mention must also be made of Niẓām Wafā, author of two short *mathnawīs* which the European reader will feel to be too sentimental. The *Sargudhāsh-i Ardashir* is interesting; its author, Wahid Daštgirī, is editor of the *Armaghān*, the best Persian literary monthly. There are also women-writers and the rather naive verse of the poetess Parvīn shows that we may hope for success in this field also.

Revolutionary tendencies in Persian poetry are represented by Mir-zāda 'Ishkī (killed in 1925), noted for his poem *Idāl-i Firdaws-i Dihān*, and Kāsim Lāhūtī, now working in the USSR (b. 1887), who has with great skill been able to overcome the old traditions and to give his revolutionary poems artistic forms most effectively.

If the Persian poetry of recent years is still feeling its new way only very tentatively, the prose can show remarkable achievements. The first years after the War gave the Persians their first historical novel *'Ishk u-Saltanat* (printed 1919) by Shāikh Muṣṣa Hamādānī, the chief hero in which is the Achaemenid Cyrus. The episode of Bīghan and Manīgha from Firdaws's *Shāh-nāma* was worked up into a long novel by Aghā Mirzā Ḥasan-Khān Badī'; the story of *Mandak* was used by San'atī-zāda Kirmānī, who also wrote a novel from the life of *Māni* (pr. 1927). The most interesting of all these historical novels is the *Shāms u-Tughārā* (in three parts: written in 1909) of Muḥammad Bekir-Mirzā Khuzarawī, who describes the condition of Fārs under Mongol rule (xiiith century). Kamālī's novel *Lāshk* (1931) is outspokenly nationalist. If the historical novels are intended to remind the Persian reader of the departed greatness of his country and arouse his national pride, the second group of modern novels is devoted to the criticism of present conditions. The difficult position of women in Persia is dealt with by 'Abbās Khālīlī in his *Kūzgar-i siyāh* (2nd ed. 1925). The same author has written a number of shorter novels and stories, among which we may mention *Intihām*, *Intān* and *Asrār-i Shāh*. The hard lot of the working classes and the criminal conduct of the Persian bureaucracy before the revolution of 1921 are described by

Mustafa Muṣṭafī Kāẓimī in his *Jārān-i mahḥūf* (2nd ed. 1924). The same author has also published several shorter novels. Aḥmad-'Alī-Khān Khudādāda deals with the sufferings of the peasant in his *Rūz-i siyāh-i kargar* (1927). The novel *Maḥma-i Dīvānagān* (1925) of the already mentioned San'atī-zāda is fanciful and Utopian; the same author in 1934 published another Utopian novel, *Rustam dar Kārn-i bist u-dunwum*, in which he endeavours to demonstrate the inadequacy of the old ideals of chivalry.

This compressed survey, which can only mention more important works, shows that modern Persian prose has developed much more vigorously than poetry. If we consider the difficulties which the Persian moderns had to overcome, there can be no doubt that the next few years must produce an ever greater literary revival and that new Persia will soon produce works of art, which will be able to take their place beside the noble creations of the classical period in the literature of the world.

Bibliography: Only comprehensive surveys are given as this is not the place to give a complete list of monographs on individual authors. — E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*: I. *From the earliest Times until Firdawsī*, II. *From Firdawsī to Sa'dī*, London 1906–1908; do., *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion (A. D. 1265–1502)*, Cambridge 1920; do., *A History of Persian Literature in Modern Times (A. D. 1500–1924)*, Cambridge 1924 (so far the best and most complete work); do., *The Prose and Poetry of Modern Persia*, Cambridge 1914; H. Ethé, *Neupersische Litteratur*, in *G. I. P.*, II. 212–368 (a brief survey but indispensable for references); P. Horn, *Geschichte der persischen Litteratur*, Leipzig 1901; A. E. Krimski, *Die Geschichte Persiens, ihrer Litteratur und der Philosophie der Darwischs*, vol. i., Moscow 1916; vol. ii. (lith.), 1909; vol. iii., 1914–1917 (Russian); I. Fizi, *Storia della poesia persiana*, Turin 1894, 2nd vol.; R. Levy, *Persian Literature, an Introduction*, London 1923; Rūḡ-Khān-Khān, *Maḥma' al-Fuṣṣṣā*, Tihān 1295; do., *Kiyāf al-'Arifin*, Tihān 1305 (both works of great value); Shihlī No'mānī, *Sā'ir al-'Adām*, i–v., Lahore 1924 (Hindustānī); K. Tschajkin, *Kurzer Abriss der neuesten persischen Litteratur*, Moscow 1928 (Russian); E. Berthels, *Abriss der persischen Literaturgeschichte*, Leningrad 1928 (Russian); do., *Der persische historische Roman im XX. Jahrh.*, Leningrad 1932 (Russian); do., *Das persische Theater*, Leningrad 1924 (Russian); A. E. Krimski, *Das persische Theater, sein Ursprung und seine Entwicklung*, Kiew 1925 (Ukrainian).

(E. BERTHELS)

PERTEW PASHA, the name of two Ottoman statesmen.

I. PERTEW MEHMET PASHA, Ottoman admiral and vezir, started his career on the staff of the imperial harem, became *kapudji bāshī* [q. v.], later Agha of the Janissaries and in 962 (1555) he was advanced to the rank of vezir; in 968 (1561) he was appointed third vezir, in 982 (1574) second vezir and finally commander (*serdar*) of the imperial fleet under the *kapudan pasha* Mu'ezzīn-zāde 'Alī Pasha. He later fell into disgrace and died in Istanbul where he was buried in his own *türbe* in the cemetery of Eiyüh.

Bibliography: J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iii. 382, 438; Mehmed Thureiyyā, *Sijill-i 'othmāni*, ii. 37 sq.

II. PERTEW MEHMET SA'ID PASHA, Ottoman dignitary and poet. He was of Tatar descent and was born in the village of Darıfja near Urmiya. In his early youth he came to the capital Stambul and entered upon an official career. In Muharram 1240 (Sept. 1824) he became *keylikçisi efendi*, i.e. State referendary and in Şa'bān 1242 (March 1827), head of the imperial chancery (*raf' al-kutub*). Two years later he lost the post of chancellor and went on a special mission to Egypt. On his return he became in 1246 (1830) assistant (*kayya*) to the grand vizier. On the 23rd Dhu'l-Ka'da 1251 (March 12, 1836) he was appointed minister for civil affairs (*mülkiye nâzırı*) and given the title of marshal (*mühür*). In the spring of 1836 he was given the title of Pasha but was dismissed by the autumn. In the beginning of Sept. 1836 he was banished by Mahmūd II to Scutari in Albania. Pertew Pasha set out a few weeks after his banishment to his place of exile but did not reach it. He died in Adrianople three hours after a banquet which the governor there, Mustafa Pasha, gave in his honour (according to Gibb, *H.O.P.*, iv. 333; Emin Pasha). No one doubted that his sudden death was due to poison and public opinion ascribed the crime to Mahmūd himself. On his family see *Sijill-i 'othmāni*, ii. 38. His son-in-law, who shared his views, was the intriguing private secretary to Mahmūd II, Waṣṣaf Bey, a highly educated man but lacking in character and accessible to bribery, who lost his office about the same time as Pertew Pasha and was banished to Tokat in Anatolia; cf. G. Rosen, *Geschichte der Türkei*, i., Leipzig 1866, p. 255 sq. Pertew Pasha's successor was his political opponent Akif Pasha, cf. Bahinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 357 sq. — As a statesman Pertew Pasha took up a pronounced anti-Russian attitude and was no less hostile to the Christians, whom he oppressed with long obsolete and forgotten laws. His feeling against the Christians increased with advancing years.

As a poet, Pertew Pasha composed a *Diwān*, which was esteemed as a model of the poetical art of the period of Mahmūd II. There are two editions of it: Büllük 1253 (8°, 91 pp.) and Stambul 1256 (8°, 130 pp.). On other works by Pertew Pasha see Brüssel Mehmed Tahir, *'Othmāni Muvallifleri*, ii. 114 sq. — His valuable library, rich in manuscripts, is now in what was formerly the Selmīye monastery in Scutari.

Bibliography: G. Rosen, *Geschichte der Türkei*, i., Leipzig 1866, *pass.*, esp. p. 255 sq.; Gibb, *H.O.P.*, iv. 332 sq. with references to Jouannin and J. van Gaver, *Turquie*, Paris 1843, for an account of the death of Pertew Pasha in Adrianople; Mehmed Thureiyyā, *Sijill-i 'othmāni*, ii. 38; Sāmi Bey Frāgheri, *Kiṣās al-'Alaw*, p. 1494 sq.; Brüssel Mehmed Tahir, *'Othmāni Muvallifleri*, ii. 114. — This Pertew Pasha is not to be confused with the statesman and poet Pertew Edhem Pasha who died on the 7th Dhu'l-Ka'da 1289 (Jan. 6, 1873) as governor of Kastamuni [q. v.], a number of whose poems have been published e.g. in *Şühūnūme* and *Zaḥīḥ*, s.l. (= Stambul) n.d., and *İftāḥ al-Afkar fi 'Aḥd al-Akkār*, Stambul 1304. On him cf. Mehmed Tahir, *op. cit.*, ii. 114 sqq.

(FRANK BAHINGER)

PESANTREN. [See PASANTREN.]

PESHĀWAR, a district, *taḡīl*, and city in the North-West Frontier Province of British India. The district which lies between 71° 25' and 72° 47' E. and 33° 40' and 34° 31' N. has an area of 2,637 square miles and a population of 947,321 of whom 92 per cent are Muslims (1931 Census Report). It is bounded on the east by the river Indus, which separates it from the Panjab and Hazāra, and on the south-east by the Nilāh Ghāṭh range which shuts it off from the district of Kohāt. Elsewhere it is bounded by tribal territory. To the south lie the territories of the Ḥasan Khēl and Kohāt Pass Afrīdā; westwards, the Khaiber Afrīdā and Mullāgora. Farther north, across the Kābul river, the various Mohmand clans stretch to the Swāt river. The northern boundary of the district marches with the territories of the Utmān Khēl, the Yūsufzai of Swāt and Buner, the Khudu Khēl, Gaduns and Utmānzais. Mountain passes famous in frontier history connect it with the surrounding tribal tracts. In the north-east, the Mora, Shākot, and Malakand passes lead into Swāt. The historic gateway of the Khaiber connects it with Afghanistan, while, to the south, the Kohāt Pass runs through a strip of tribal territory, known as the Dhowaki peninsula, into the neighbouring district of Kohāt.

References to the district occur in early Sanskrit literature and in the writings of Strabo, Arrian, and Ptolemy. It once formed part of the ancient Buddhist kingdom of Gandhāra, for, from the Khaiber Pass to the Swāt valley, the country is still studded with crumbling Buddhist stupas. Here, too, have been unearthed some of the best specimens of Graeco-Buddhist sculpture in existence, while one of Aśoka's rock edicts is to be found near the village of Shāhāzgarha in the Yūsufzai country. Both Fa-hien, in the opening years of the fifth century A.D., and Hsien Tsang, in the seventh century A.D., found the inhabitants still professing Buddhism. It is also on record that Puruṣapura was the capital of Kanishka's dominions. Through centuries of almost unbroken silence we arrive at the era of Muslim conquest, when, between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, numerous Pathān tribes from Afghanistan spread over and conquered the country roughly corresponding to the modern North-West Frontier Province (T. C. Plowden, *Salāḥ-i Afghāni*, chap. i.—v., Selections from the *Tārīkh-i Muraṭṭa*).

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, according to local tradition, two large branches of of Pathān tribes, the Khakhsai and the Ghōriya Khēl, migrated from their homes in the hilly country around Kābul to the Djalālābād valley and the slopes of the Safid Kōh. The most important divisions of the Khakhsai were the Yūsufzai, Gugiyani and Tarkhāni; the Ghōriya Khēl were divided into five tribes, the Mohmands, Khalilā, Dā'udzais, Čamkantzais and Zerānis. The Yūsufzais, advancing into the modern Peshāwar district, expelled the inhabitants, known as Dilāzaks, and finally conquered the country north of the Kābul river and west of Hoti Mardān. By the opening years of the sixteenth century, the Ghōriya Khēl had also reached the Khaiber area. Eventually these powerful tribes dispossessed the original inhabitants, driving some to the Swāt Kohistan and forcing the Dilāzaks across the Indus. Later, the Ghōriya Khēl attempted to oust the Khakhsai

branch but were signally defeated by the Yūsufzais.

Since the modern Peshāwar district lay athwart the route of invading armies from the direction of Central Asia, much of its history resembles that of the Panjāb. The Pathāns of this part of the frontier proved a thorn in the side of the Muslim rulers of India, and, although nominally incorporated in the Mughal empire, they were never completely subjugated, even Akbar and Aurangzeb contenting themselves with keeping open the road to Kabul. With the decline of Mughal power this area became a part of the Durrāni empire founded by Ahmad Shāh Abdālī. Disintegration set in under his weak successors and eventually in the early nineteenth century Peshāwar was seized by the Sikhs of the Panjāb. Sikh rule was of the loosest type, and Peshāwar groaned under the iron heel of the Italian General Avitabile. With the annexation of the Panjāb in 1849, the Peshāwar valley came permanently under British control and remained an integral part of the Panjāb until the formation of the North-West Frontier Province in 1901. (A detailed examination of British administration and of the various expeditions against the frontier tribes will be found in *The Problem of the North-West Frontier* by C. Collin Davies). In recent years this area has been the scene of the activities of 'Abd al-Ghaffar Khān, the founder of the 'Red Shirt' movement, which, although ostensibly based on Gandhi's creed of non-violence, has seriously disturbed the peace of the Peshāwar valley.

Peshāwar City, the capital of the North-West Frontier Province, has a population of 87,440 and is situated near the left bank of the Bīrā river about 13 miles east of the Khaiber Pass. Its importance as a trading centre on the main route between India and Afghanistan has increased since the construction of the Khaiber railway in 1925. It has 16 gates which are closed every night and opened before sunrise. The richest part is the Andarabāhr where the wealthier Hindus have taken up their abode. In this quarter, conspicuous on account of its high minarets of white marble, stands the mosque of Mahābat Khān who was governor during the reign of Shah Durrānī. On the north-west the city is dominated by a fort known as the Bālā Hīṣār. The Shāhī Bāgh with its spacious and shady grounds is a favourite resort of the inhabitants in the spring. The fame of the Kīṣā Khwān or Storytellers Bazaar is known throughout the length and breadth of the frontier and beyond.

Two miles to the west of the city are the cantonments (population 34,426), the principal military station in the province. Some three miles to the west of the cantonments is the famous Islāmiya college which, although essentially a Muslim college, opens its doors to students of all castes and creeds.

Bibliography: C. Collin Davies, *The Problem of the North-West Frontier*, 1932; do., *British Relations with the Afghāns of the Khaiber and Tirah*, in *Army Quarterly*, January 1932; M. Foucher, *Notes sur la géographie ancienne du Gandhāra*, 1902; *Frontier and Overseas Expeditions from India*, vol. I, 1907; Supplement A, 1910; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, s.v. Peshāwar; H. R. James, *Report on the Settlement of the Peshāwar District*, 1865; *North-West Frontier Province Administration Reports*

(published annually); W. H. Paget and A. H. Mason, *Record of Expeditions against the N. W. F. Tribes since the annexation of the Panjāb*, 1885; *Panjāb Administration Reports* (published annually); *Peshāwar District Gazetteer*, vol. A, 1933; T. C. Plowden, *Kālidāsi Afghān*, 1875; H. Priestly, *History of Afghāns*, 1874.

PESHWA. [See PISHWA.]

PETERWARDEIN. [See PETROVARADIN.]

PETROVARADIN (Hungarian Pétervárad, Tur-

kish Waradin *واردين*), a famous fortress and town in Sirmia (Vugoslavia) on the main railway line Belgrad (-Petrovaradin)-Novi Sad-Subotica-Budapest, lies on the right bank of the Danube opposite Novi Sad (Neusatz), chief town and headquarters of the Danube banate, with which it is connected by two bridges and since 1929 also administratively. There are two fortresses, an upper one which rises 150 feet above the Danube on rocks of serpentine surrounded on three sides by the river (forming the most northerly spur, 400 feet high, of the Fruška Gora) and a lower one which stands at the foot of the cliffs on the north. In the upper fortress there are no private houses but only military buildings, including the celebrated arsenal with many trophies from the Turkish wars, while the other fortress has a fine market, a main and two side streets. Numerous trenches have survived within the area of the two fortresses which have room for 10-12,000 men. The town proper lies half on the Danube and before its union with Novi Sad it had over 5,000 inhabitants (1921). There are many vineyards in the vicinity.

There was a settlement here even in Roman times called Cusum in which definite traces of the cult of Mithra have been found. According to one legend, the settlement received its later name Petricum from Peter the Hermit, who assembled the armies for the First Crusade here. In any case the town was known as Petrikon in the wars of the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenos (1143-1180) with Hungary. After belonging for a brief period to Byzantium, Petrovaradin returned to the kings of Hungary, and Bela IV in 1237 presented the town and the royal palace to the Cistercian abbey there of the B. M. V. Belefantis de monte Varadioipetri. This abbey survived throughout the middle ages until 1521 but from 1439 it and the town of Petrovaradin passed under the control of the ban of Mačva.

In Sulaimān I's second campaign against Hungary, the first blow was dealt at Petrovaradin: the grand vizier and brother-in-law of the sultan, İbrāhīm Paşa (cf. *Sijill-i 'otkāmānī*, I. 93-94), stormed the town on the 15th and the fortress after a brave resistance on the 27th July. The Turks held Petrovaradin till 1687 when they began to withdraw gradually after the fall of Ofen. Soon afterwards the town was occupied by the Austrians (finally in 1691) and after Süremlî 'Alî Paşa had besieged it in vain for 23 days in 1694 (from Aug. 29) it was definitely ceded to them by the peace of Carlowitz 1699. But it is from the war of 1716-1718 that Petrovaradin is best known. The grand vizier Shahid 'Alî Paşa (on him cf. 'Abd al-Rahmān Sharaf, II. 138 and *Sijill-i 'otkāmānī*, III. 528-529) with an army of 150,000 men encountered Prince Eugene of Savoy near the town and tried to begin

a regular siege. The Austrian general however foiled this attempt and instead fought a five hours pitched battle with his 64,000 men which ended in the defeat of the Turks (Aug. 5, 1716). This battle, in which 'Ali Pasha himself fell, with the fall of Temesvár and Belgrade (1717) brought about a decision in the war and led to the peace of Passarowitz [q.v.] which established the Turkish frontier much farther south of Petrovaradin (indeed over the Save). A little later the empress Maria Theresia built the new fortress. In the Hungarian war of independence (1848—1849) Petrovaradin was for over nine months in Hungarian hands until it surrendered to the Austrians in Sept. 6, 1849. On the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1918 the town passed to Yugoslavia.

Bibliography: (in addition to references in the article): Ewliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnâme*, vii. (Sstanbul 1928), p. 145—147 (gives a very full account of the capture by the Turks; the other statements are rather vague as most of the figures are left unfilled in); Hammer, *G.O.R.*, ii. 50; iii. 866 and iv. 145; Zinkelsen, *G.O.R.*, ii. 652 and v. 533—534; Sh. Sâmî, *Kâmus al-A'âm*, ii. 1489 (wrongly thinks that Petrovaradin remained Turkish down to the reign of Ahmad III [1703—1730]); 'Abd al-Rahmân Sharaf, *Ta'rikh-i Devlet-i 'otmâniye*, ii. 143; Meyers Reisebücher: *Türkei* etc., Leipzig—Vienna 1898, p. 33; J. Modestin in *Noradna enciklopedija*, iii. (Zagreb 1928), p. 336—337 (where some further literature is given); *Almanah kraljevine Jugoslavije*, Zagreb 1931, p. 331; *Glasnik istorijskog društva u Novom Sadu*, vol. vi., Heft 1—2, Stemski Karlovci 1933 (special number devoted to Novi Sad and Petrovaradin with important contributions and several old plans [from 1688] of the latter town).

(FEHIM BAJKAREVIĆ)

PHARAO. [See FARAON.]

PIALE PASHA. Ottoman Grand Admiral, came according to St. Gerlach, *Tage-Buch* (Frankfurt a/M. 1674, p. 448), from Tolna in Hungary and is said to have been the son of a shoemaker probably of Croat origin. Almost all contemporary records mention his Croat blood (cf. the third series of the *Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, ed. E. Alberti, Florence 1844—1845, and esp. III/ii. 243: *di nazione croato, vicino al confini d'Ungheria*; p. 357: *di nazione croato*; III/iii. 294: *di nazione unghero*; p. 418). Following the custom of the time his father was later given the name of 'Abd al-Rahmân and described as a Muslim (cf. F. Babinger, in *Litteraturdenkmäler aus Ungarns Türkenzeit*, Berlin and Leipzig 1927, p. 35, note 1). Piale came in early youth as a page into the Serai in Sطنبول and left it as *kapudji bachi* [q.v.]. The year 961 (1554) saw him appointed Grand Admiral (*kapudan pasha*; q.v.) with the rank of a *sancakbeyi* and four years later he was given the status of a *beylerbeyi* (J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iii. 406). He succeeded Sinân Pasha, brother of the grand vizier Rustam Pasha (q.v.), in the office which he had held from 955—961 (1548—1554). When after his capture of Djerba and other heroic achievements at sea he thought he might claim the rank of *vezir* with three horse-tails, Sulân Sulaimân, thinking it too soon for this promotion and regarding it as endangering the prestige of the *vezirate* (cf. Hâdîdî Khalîfa, *Tuhfat al-Khatir*, first edition, fol. 36 and J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iii. 406), married him

to his grand-daughter Djewber Sulân, a daughter of Selim II (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iii. 392; summer of 1562). It was not till five years later that he received the three horse-tails as a *vezir* related by marriage (*dâmâd*) like Mehmed Sokollî Pasha. In the meanwhile he had carried out several of his great exploits at sea and attained the reputation of one of the greatest of Ottoman admirals. Along with Torgud Re'is, at the instigation of the French ambassador d'Aramon, he had harassed the coast around Naples, besieged and taken Reggio and carried off its inhabitants into slavery. In 982 (1555) he endeavoured in vain to besiege Elba and Piombino (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iii. 418) and finally took the fortified harbour of Oran in Algeria with 45 galleys. In the following year with 60 warships he occupied the port of Bizerta (Bent-Zert) and a year later ravaged Majorca with 150 galleys and burned Sorrento near Naples. In 995 (1558) he lay inactive with his fleet, 90 in number, before Valona in Albania in order to watch the enemy fleets there which were preparing an enterprise against Djerba and Tripolis. July 31, 1560 saw his greatest exploit at sea, namely the capture of Djerba which had shortly before been taken by the Spaniards; this he did with 120 ships setting out from Modon. On Sept. 27, 1660, he held his triumphal entry into Sطنبول, to which he had sent in advance the news of his victory by a galley (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iii. 421 *seq.*). The Grand Admiral did not take the sea again till four years later when in Aug. 1564 he took the little rocky peninsula of Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera from the Spaniards and in order to prepare for the conquest of Malta, which the sultan's favourite daughter Mihrimah [see MIHTEM PASHA] was conducting with all her resources. This time however fortune no longer favoured him, for the siege of Malta in June—July 1565 failed against the heroic courage of the Christian defenders who performed miracles of bravery and inflicted heavy losses on the Ottomans. During the Hungarian campaign of Sulaimân in the spring of 1566 Piale Pasha was placed in charge of the harbour and arsenal of Sطنبول (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iii. 438), after previously undertaking a successful raid on Chios and the Apulian coast (*ibid.*, iii. 506 *seq.*) in which the island of Chios and its harbour passed into his hands (Easter Sunday 1566). Under Selim II, his father-in-law, he was disgraced and deprived of office of Grand Admiral because, it was alleged, he had kept the greater part of the booty of Chios for himself (according to the report of the embassy of Albrecht de Wijs of May 1568 in J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iii. 782) and replaced by Mu'ezzîn-âdî 'Ali Pasha. He at once endeavoured to regain the imperial favour by new exploits at sea. In April 1570, he set sail with 75 galleys and 30 galleots, landed first of all on the island of Tine which he captured and next took part in the conquest of Cyprus. On January 20, 1578 — according to Ottoman sources on the 12th Dhu'l-Ka'da 985 (Jan. 21, 1578) — he died in Sطنبول according to Stephan Gerlach (cf. his *Tage-Buch*, Frankfurt a/M. 1674, p. 448). His vast estates passed some to the imperial treasury and some to his widow and children. His widow later married the third *vezir* Mehmed Pasha and his second son became Sandjak Bey of Klis (Clissa) above Split (Spalato in Dalmatia) in 1584 (cf. the Italian record quoted by J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iv. 104, note 1: *La*

Sultana *fo moglie di Piale era di Mohammadhassia* *terzo visir, ha ottenuto dal Sign. il Sangiaco di* *Cilicia per il secondo suo figlio con Piale*. Piale Pasha is buried in Istanbul in the Kâsim Pasha quarter in the mosque founded by him (cf. Hâfiî Husein, *Hadîkat al-Djâwâmî*, ii. 25 194).

Bibliography: In addition to works quoted in the text the histories of Zinkeisen and Jorga, and Râmîs Pasha-tâde Mehmed Efendi, *Kharîf-i Kâpudânân-i Deryâ*, Stambul 1285; also Hâfiî Husein, *Hadîkat al-Djâwâmî*, ii. 25 194, and Mehmed Thuraiyâ, *Süfîlî-i'othmânî*, ii. 41 19.

(FRANZ BARINGER)

PIASTRE. (See **GHRUSH**.)

PIE. (See **PAI**.)

PINANG or **PULAU PINANG**, an island on the western shore of the Malay Peninsula, lying in latitude $5^{\circ} 24' N$. and longitude $100^{\circ} 21' E$. The area is 276 km.²; it is separated from the mainland by a channel from 3 to 16 km. broad. The town of Pinang is built on the northeastern promontory, 4 km. off the shore of the mainland. The official names, Prince of Wales' island and Georgetown, never became popular and exist only in official documents. — The island was acquired in 1786 for the East India Company against a yearly payment from the Sultan of Kedah by an agreement with Capt. Light, who founded the colony in the same year. He hoped the place would become an emporium of the eastern seas. It was practically uninhabited at the time and was made a penal settlement shortly afterwards. It remained the penal station of India till 1857. In 1805 it became a separate Presidency. When in 1826 Singapore and Malacca were incorporated with it, Pinang continued to be the seat of government; in 1837 Singapore was made the capital. In 1867 the Straits Settlements were created a Crown Colony; since that year Pinang has been under the administrative control of a resident responsible to the Government of the Straits. He is assisted by officers of the Malayan Civil Service. Unofficial members of the legislative council of the colony, which holds its sittings in Singapore, are appointed with the sanction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to represent Pinang. — Pinang has an excellent harbour and is important as a port of call; there is regular steamer-communication with the Dutch East Indies, Singapore, (British) India etc. The terminus of the Federated Malay States' railways is on the mainland opposite. Trade is adversely affected however by the proximity of Singapore, there are no port duties. — The island is now well opened up, the population has rapidly increased; it is largely Chinese and Tamil, though Malays are well represented, most of these originating from the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra; all of them are Muhammadans of the Shâfi'i rite. — Wellesley Province, a strip of land opposite on the mainland, forms part of the settlement of Pinang. It was acquired in 1800 from the Sultan of Kedah against a yearly sum paid for it and includes a district which was purchased in 1874 from the Sultan of Perak. The soil is well cultivated; there are large estates owned by Europeans and Chinese. Until recently a second strip of territory on the mainland and adjoining islands, known as the Dindings, formed part of the settlement; it was ceded by Perak and has now been restored to that state. — The population of the whole settlement, Dindings included, was 304,000 according

to the census of 1921, that of the town 123,000; the number of Muhammadans is not known.

Bibliography: *Memoir of Captain Francis Light*, in *Journal Straits Branch R. A. S.*, No. 28, p. 1 199; F. A. Thomas, *A school geography and history of Pinang*, Singapore 1906; *Malaya*, ed. R. O. Winstedt, London 1923.

(R. A. KERN)

PİR (P.), elder. In the Sûfi system he is the *murîd*, the "spiritual director". He claims to be in the direct line of the interpreters of the esoteric teaching of the Prophet and hence holds his authority to guide the aspirant (*murîd*) on the Path. But he must himself be worthy of imitation. "He should have a perfect knowledge, both theoretical and practical, of the three stages of the mystical life and be free of fleshly attributes". When a *pir* has proved — either by his own direct knowledge or by the spiritual power (*wilâyat*) inherent in him — the fitness of a *murîd* to associate with other Sûfî's, he lays his hand on the aspirant's head and invests him with the *khirka*. The *murîd* need not necessarily receive his investiture from that *pir* who gave him instruction, who is called the *pir-i-jahat*. *Pir* also is the title given to the founders of derwish orders.

Bibliography: R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, and literature there quoted; J. P. Brown, *The Derwishes*, Oxford 1927.

(R. LEVY)

PİRİ MEHMET PASHA, an Ottoman grand vizier, belonged to Amasia and was a descendant of the famous Djâlal al-Din of Akserây and therefore traced his descent from Abû Bakr. He took up a legal career and became successively *kâdî* of Sofia, Siliwri and Galata, administrator of Mehmed II's kitchen for the poor (*imâret*) in Stambul and at the beginning of the reign of Bâyezîd II attained the rank of a first *defterdâr* (*bâsh defterdâr*). In the reign of Selim I he distinguished himself by his wise counsel in the Persian campaign (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 412, 417 199), was sent in advance to Tabriz to take possession of this town in the name of the sultan, and at the end of Sept. 1514 was appointed third *vezir* in place of Mustafa Pasha who had been dismissed (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ii. 420). He temporarily held the office of a *hâ'imâm* of Stambul and after the end of the Egyptian campaign was appointed grand vizier in place of Yunus Pasha, who had been executed on the retreat from Egypt in 923 (1517). In this capacity he took part in the conquest of Baghdad in 1521. Soon after the occupation of Rhodes, Piri Pasha fell from the sultan's favour as a result of the slanders of the envious Ahmad Pasha who coveted his office, and was dismissed with a pension of 200,000 aspers on the 13th Sh'abân 929 (June 27, 1523). His successor was Ibrahim Pasha [q.v.], a Greek from Farga. Piri Mehmed lived another ten years and died in 939 or 940 (1532-1533) at Siliwri, where he was buried in the mosque founded by him. One of his sons, Mehmed Beg, had predeceased him in 932 as governor of İzil. Piri Mehmed Pasha created a number of charitable endowments, among them a mosque in Stambul called after him (cf. Hâfiî Husein, *Hadîkat al-Djâwâmî*, i. 308), a medrese and a public-kitchen as well as what was known as a *tâb-khâne*. — While his *lafaz* was Piri, he used *Remî* as a *maghâz* for his

poems, which are of moderate merit (cf. J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, ii, 327 sqq. with the wrong year of death and also i, p. 187 under Piri without the identity of the two being recognised, also Latifi, *Tadhkira*, p. 168 under *Kemal*).

Bibliography: Mehmed Thuraiya, *Sigill-i 'Osmânî*, ii, 43, more fully in 'Osmânîde Mehmed Taib, *Hadikat al-Wasara*, Istanbul 1271, p. 22 sqq. and the Ottoman chroniclers of the xvth century. — Brunsall Mehmed Tahir, 'Osmânî Mâ'ârifet, ii, 111 sqq. deals with Piri Mehmed Pasha as a literary man. According to him he wrote a small collection of poems (*Divânle*) and an exposition of a part of the *Mathnawî* and of the *Shâhidî* entitled *Tuhfe-i Mir* but both works are described as still in MSS.

(FRANZ BÄHRINGER)

PİRİ MUHYİ 'L-DİN RE'İS, Ottoman navigator and cartographer, was probably of Christian (Greek) origin and is described as nephew of the famous corsair Kemal Re'is (on the latter see the Bonn dissertation by Hans-Albrecht von Buskili, *Kemal Re'is, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der türkischen Flotte*, Bonn 1928 and especially J. H. Mordtmann, *Zur Lebensgeschichte der Kemal Re'is*, in *M. S. O. S.*, xxxii, part 2, Berlin 1929, p. 39–49 and p. 231 sq.), who was probably a renegade. His father is said to have been a certain Hâdjî Mehmed, while he himself in the preface to his sailing-book calls himself the son of Hâdjî Hâğiri, which is perhaps only to be taken as a name chosen to rhyme with Piri (cf. Sinân b. 'Abd al-Mannân or Dâwûd b. 'Abd al-Wadûd and similar rhyming names of fathers of renegades usually formed with 'Abd). As Hâğiri cannot be an *alam* but at most a *mahallat*, the pure Turkish descend of Piri is more than doubtful, if he was not called simply Hâğiri Mehmed, i.e. bore a name for which there is evidence, for a later period it is true, in the *Sigill-i 'Osmânî*, ii, 239. The same source (ii, 44) says that the corsair's full name was Piri Muhyi 'L-Din Re'is. In any case it may safely be assumed that Piri is to be taken as a *tahallus*, while the real name (*alam*) was probably Mehmed — the combination Piri Mehmed was quite customary in the xvth century — i.e. an *alam* to which Muhyi 'L-Din corresponded as *hikmet* (cf. *ibid.*, xi, 1921, p. 20, note 3). Of the life of Piri Re'is, who made many voyages under his uncle Kemal Re'is (d. 16th Shawwal 916 = Jan. 16, 1511) and later distinguished himself under Khair al-Din Barbarossa (q.v.; July 4, 1546) we only know that on these raids he had acquired an unrivalled knowledge of the lands of the Mediterranean. He afterwards held the office of *kapudan* of Egypt and in this capacity sailed from Suez on voyages to the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea. In 945 (1547) he occupied 'Aden (cf. *Die osmanische Chronik des Rustem Pascha*, ed. by Ludwig Forrer [*Türk. Bibl.*, xxi, Leipzig 1923], p. 174 sqq. with full commentary). In 959 (1551) he lost on the coast of Arabia several of his 30 ships, took the port of Maskat and carried off a number of its inhabitants as slaves. He then laid siege to Hormuz but raised the siege and returned to Basra, having accepted bribes to do so. It is said (according to Petewi, 'Ali, Hâdjî Khâlid, *Tuhfat al-Kâbir*, first edition, fol. 28 according to J. v. Hammer, *G. O. S.*, ii, 413). A report that an enemy fleet was approaching

decided him to return hurriedly home with only 3 galleys but with all the treasure he had collected. He was wrecked on the island of Bahrain, but succeeded with two ships in reaching Suez, then Cairo. Kobad Pasha, the governor of Basra, had in the meanwhile reported to the Porte that the expedition had been a failure, which resulted in an order for the execution of Piri Re'is being sent to Cairo. He was beheaded there, in 962 (1554–1555), it is said, but probably rather in 959 or 960 and his estate sent to Istanbul. After his death envoys are said to have arrived from Hormuz representing the plundered inhabitants to demand the return of the treasure he had carried off; they were naturally not successful. The post of *kapudan* of Egypt was given to another noted corsair, Murâd, the dismissed sanjakbey of Kâtiif (probably the same as survives in the proverb, according to H. F. v. Dietz, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, part i, Berlin 1811, p. 55, as *Murâd kapitan*).

Piri Re'is is generally known as the author of a sailing-book of the Aegean and Mediterranean known as *Bahrîye* in which he describes all the coasts he had voyaged along with an account of the currents, shallows, landing-places, bays, straits and harbours. Piri Re'is had already begun the work in the reign of Selim I (d. Sept. 1520) although he says in the preface that he did not begin it till 927 (end of 1520), in order to make the dedication to Sulaimân the Magnificent be more impressive. He presented the completed atlas to the latter in 930 (1523). Paul Kahle has published an edition with text and translation based on the known manuscripts, entitled *Piri Re'is, Bahrîye. Das türkische Segelhandbuch für das Mitteländische Meer vom Jahre 1521* of which so far (middle of 1935) vol. i, text, part 1 and vol. ii, part I, section 1–28 have been published, Leipzig and Berlin 1926. Separate sections had been previously published, e.g. H. F. v. Dietz, *op. cit.*; E. Sachau, *Stellen*, in *Centenario della Nascita di Michele Amari*, ii, Palermo 1910, p. 1 sqq.; R. Herzog, *Ein türkisches Werk über das Ägäische Meer aus dem Jahr 1520*, in *Mitteilungen der Kaiserl. Deutschen Archäolog. Institut, Athenische Abteilung*, xxvii, 1902, p. 417 sqq.; E. Oberhummer, section Zypern, in: *Die Insel Zypern*, Munich 1903, p. 427–434. — Other sections in Carlier de Pinon, ed. E. Blochet (with pictures) and K. Foy, in *M. S. O. S.*, part ii, xi, 1908, p. 234 sqq. Cf. thereon F. Taeschner in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxxvii, (1923), p. 42 with other references.

The so called "Columbus map", found in October 1929 by Khail Edhem Bey in the Seray Library in Istanbul, according to his signature on it of the year 1513, seems also to go back to Piri Re'is; it is in Turkish in bright colours on parchment, 85 by 60 cm., and represents the western part of a map of the world. It comprises the Atlantic Ocean with America and the western strip of the Old World. The other parts of the world are lost. It has been supposed that this is the same map as Piri, according to a statement in his *Bahrîye*, presented to Sultan Selim in 1517 which would explain its preservation in the Imperial Library. On it cf. Paul Kahle, *Imprime Colombiane in una Carta Turca del 1513*, in *La Cultura*, year 2, vol. 1, part 10, Milan-Rome 1931; do., *Una mapa de América hecha por el turco Piri Re'is, en el año 1513, basándose en una mapa de*

Colin y en mapas portugueses, in Investigacion y Progreso, v., 12, Madrid 1931, p. 169 sqq.; "C" in *The Illustrated London News*, cxxx., No. 4845 on Febr. 27, 1932, p. 307; *A Columbus Controversy — and two Atlantic charts* (with reproduction); P. Kahle, *Die verschollene Columbus-Karte von 1498 in einer türkischen Weltkarte von 1513* (with 9 maps, 52 pp., Berlin and Leipzig 1933); also Eugen Oberhammer, *Eine türkische Karte zur Entdeckung Amerikas, in Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1931, p. 99—112; do., *Eine Karte des Columbus in türkischer Überlieferung, in Mitteilungen der Geographischen Ges. in Wien*, lxxvii., 1934, p. 115 sqq. and lastly P. Kahle in *Geographical Review*, 1933, p. 621—638.

Bibliography: Hādījī Khalifa, *Dihānunnā*, Sтамбул 1145, p. 11; do., *Tuhfat al-Kibar fi Ifsar al-Bihar*, Sтамбул 1142, p. 28; do., *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ed. G. Flügel, li. 22 sqq. (No. 1689); Mehmed Thureiyā, *Sidjill-i 'otmānī*, li. 44; P. Kahle, *op. cit.*, Introduction; Hans v. Milič, *Pish Rāo und seine Bahārij, in Beiträge zur historischen Geographie etc.*, ed. by Hans v. Milič, Leipzig and Vienna 1929, p. 60—76.

(FRANK RABINGER).

PISHWĀ, the title given to one of the ministers of the Bahmani sultāns of the Deccan; the chief minister of Shiwājī; the head of the Marāṭhā confederacy. (Persian "leader"; Pahl. pēshōpāy; Arm. pēshōpāy. For older forms see Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, i. 230).

Shiwājī, the founder of Marāṭhā political power in the Dakhan, was assisted by a council of ministers known as the Ashta Pradhan, one of whom was the Pishwā or Mukhya Pradhan. The office of Pishwā was not hereditary and the nature of Shiwājī's autocratic rule can be gauged from the fact that his ministers were not even permitted to select their own subordinates or *nā'ib*s, all of these being appointed by Shiwājī himself. Next to Shiwājī the Pishwā was the head of both the civil and military administration, placing his seal on all official letters and documents. During the reign of Rājaram the power of the Pishwā was eclipsed by that of the Pant Pratinidhi. It is usual to regard Balādjī Visvanāth (1714—20) as the first Pishwā because he was the real founder of a line of rulers who gradually supplanted the rājās of Satārā as heads of the Marāṭhā confederacy. But there were really six pishwās before his time, namely, Shāmrajj Nilkanth Rosekar, Mōro Trimbak Pinglē, Nilkanth Moreshwar Pinglē, Parashram Trimbak Pratinidhi, Bahiro Moreshwar Pinglē, and Balkrishna Vasudev.

Balādjī Visvanāth Bhatt (1714—1720), the founder of the dynasty of the pishwās, was an able Chitpāwan or Konkanasth Brahman whom Shāhū (1708—1749) appointed as chief minister. The difficulties facing Shāhū, the political confusion in Mahārāṣṭra, and the weakness of the later rājās of Satārā were the chief factors underlying the growth of the power of the pishwās. The imprisonment of the Pratinidhi Dādoba (Djagdi-vaurāo) at the time of Shāhū's death removed another obstacle to their advancement and marks the end of Deshasth Brahman political influence in the Dakhan. Balādjī Visvanāth found the country torn by civil war; he left it peaceful and prosperous. By complicating the revenue accounts he increased

Brahman control over the state finances. During his period of office the Mughal emperor, Muhammad Shāh, recognised the right of Shāhū to levy *lawāḥ*, a contribution of one-fourth of the land revenue throughout the Dakhan, and permitted him to supplement this levy by an additional tenth of the land revenue, called *ardzumukhi*. His son, Hādījī Rāo I (1720—1740), adopted a policy of territorial aggrandizement. The year before his death, a treaty, principally of a commercial nature, was concluded with Law, the Governor of Bombay (Aitchison, vi., No. i.). The third Pishwā, Balādjī Hādījī Rāo (1740—1761), entrusted the government to his cousin, Sadāshiv Rāo, the Bhāo, and the command of his armies to his brother, Raghunāth Rāo, better known as Raghoba. His period of office was marked by the rapid extension of Marāṭhā power, his armies ravaging the country from the Carnatic to the Panjāb until their crushing defeat at Pānīpat [q. v.] in 1761. As a result of an agreement in 1755 an Anglo-Marāṭhā expedition crushed the power of Angria, a pirate chief whose depredations were a constant menace to the shipping of the Konkan coast. At the end of this expedition a treaty (Aitchison, vi., No. iii.) was made with the Pishwā which provided for the exclusion of Dutch traders from Marāṭhā territory. Dissensions broke out after the death of this pishwā which seriously impaired the strength of the Marāṭhās. Power now passed to the Marāṭhā generals, Sindhia of Gwālior, Bhonsla of Nāgpur, Holkar of Indore, and the Gaekwār of Baroda.

During the rule of Mādhu Rāo (1761—1772) Sindhia, in 1771, once more re-established Marāṭhā influence in northern India, and Shāh 'Ālam, the Mughal emperor, who had deserted the English, became a puppet under Marāṭhā control. Mādhu Rāo was succeeded by his brother, Narāyan Rāo (1772—1773), who was murdered at the instigation of his uncle Raghoba. For a time the Marāṭhā confederacy was divided into two hostile camps, the supporters of Raghoba, who was a pretender to the pishwāship, and the Court Party under Nānā Phadnavis, who supported the claims of Mādhu Rāo Narāyan (1774—1795), a posthumous son of Narāyan Rāo. The action of the Bombay Government in supporting the claims of Raghoba led to war between the English Company and the Marāṭhās which ended, thanks to the exertions of Warren Hastings, with the Treaty of Sāihān in 1782. This treaty which virtually recognized the independence of Sindhia secured peace between the English and the Marāṭhās for twenty years. Marāṭhā history now becomes a struggle between Nānā Phadnavis (Balādjī Djanardhan), who attempted to bolster up the power of the pishwā, and Māhādājī Sindhia, who strove to control the Pishwā in order to use him as a cloak to cover his aggressions.

The seventh and last pishwā was Bādījī Rāo II (1796—1818). During the governor-generalship of the Marquis Wellesley, after the death of Nānā Phadnavis, in 1800, there followed a struggle for supremacy at Pūna between Holkar and Daxwat Rāo Sindhia who had succeeded Māhādājī Sindhia in 1794. During this struggle the Pishwā fled to Bassein where he threw himself upon the protection of the English. In 1802, by the Treaty of Bassein (Aitchison, vi., No. xiii.) Wellesley constituted himself protector of the Pishwā who agreed to accept a "subsidiary" force and to permit the

English to mediate in his disputes with the other Indian princes. This naturally did not prove acceptable to the other members of the Marāṭhā confederacy. Unfortunately Bāḍji Kāo came under the influence of an unprincipled favourite, Trim-bakdji, who was privy to the murder of the Gaekwār's emissary who had been invited to Pūna under a guarantee from the English of his personal safety. When Elphinstone, the Resident, reported that the Pishwā was secretly conspiring to form a Marāṭhā coalition against the English, the Pishwā was forced to come to terms and sign the Treaty of Pūna (1817), which completed the work of Bassein. But Bāḍji Kāo's promises were written in water for, when Lord Hastings proceeded to crush the Marāṭhās, the Pishwā rose in revolt and plundered the British Residency. Eventually his forces were defeated and the pishwāship was abolished. Bāḍji Kāo, however, was granted a pension and allowed to reside at Kithūr where he died in 1851. His adopted son, Nāṣā Silihb, disappeared in 1858.

Bibliography: C. U. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads*, etc., vol. vi., 1909; *Cambridge History of India*, vol. v., chaps. xiv., xxii. and xxiii.; T. E. Colebrooke, *Life of Mountstuart Elphinstone*, 2 vols., 1884; M. Elphinstone, *Report on the Territories conquered from the Pishwa*, 1838; G. W. Forrest, *Selections from the letters etc. preserved in the Bombay Secretariat*, Marāṭhā Series, 1885; Home Series, 1887; J. H. Gense and D. R. Banerji, *The Third English Embassy to Poona*, 1934; J. C. Grant Duff, *A History of the Marāṭhas*, 2 vols., 1921; V. V. Khare, *Aitihāṣik Lekha Sangraha*, 12 vols.; A. Macdonald, *Memoir of the Life of the late Nana Furumwade*, 1851; M. S. Mehta, *Lord Hastings and the Indian States*, 1930; D. B. Parasnis, *Itihās Sangraha*, 7 vols.; Publications of the "Bhārat Itihās Samodhak Mandal", Poona; V. K. Rajwade, *Marāṭhāchya Itihāṣānchi Sādhāna*, 22 vols.; G. S. Sardesai, *Marāṭhī Riyāsat*, 8 vols.; *Selections from the Pishwa's Daftar* (ed. G. S. Sardesai), 45 vols.; S. Sen, *The Administrative System of the Marāṭhas*, 1923. (C. COLLIN DAVIES)

PIST (پست), a kind of food compounded of the liver of gazelles or almonds etc. A daily portion of the size of a pistachio (*pistāh*) is taken by those derwishes and others who undertake long fasts, e.g. the *illa* or forty-day fast, and is sufficient to maintain life.

Bibliography: Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, s. v. *pist*, *illa*. (R. LEVY)

PLATO. [See **AFLEXUN**.]

PLEVEN (Plevna, Plevna, Turkish Plevne پلونا), an important town in Northern Bulgaria, 350 feet above sea-level in a depression formed by the little river Tuznitsa (c = ts), which flows not far from the town on the right into the Vid, the right bank tributary of the Danube. Surrounded by hills and at the intersection of the high roads to Vidin, Nikopol, Sofia and the passes of the Balkans, Plevna has long been a place of strategic importance; it is now also crossed by one of the main railway lines (Sofia-Plevna-Sumen-Varna). This busy town, the capital of a circle, where the chief business is in cattle and wine, and which has museums, which recall the Russo-Turkish War, is rising rapidly and in 1926 had 29,063 inhabitants.

Although in the vicinity of Plevna there are the remains of Roman settlements, the town really arose only under the Turks. We have however very little definite information about this period of the town's history. Ewliya Çelebi's statement that Plevna was built by the Wallachian bas Ladka (لادکا) has of course to be taken with caution; on the other hand, his assertion that "in the year 720 (1320) in the time of the Ghāz Khudāwendigār it was taken by Mikhāl-Beg", is not free from objections on chronological grounds. According to the same writer, Plevna after the conquest was an arpaḳ-ñef of the sons of Mikhāl-Beg and at a later date was still within the sphere of influence of the noble family of the Mikhāl-oghlu (ق. v.), who had several buildings erected there. According to Ewliya Çelebi and other Turkish sources (cf. vol. iii., p. 495* and *Glanik Shapshog namag draltia*, xiii. 73 and 81), Plevna is the last resting-place of Mehmed Beg, a son of Kōse Mikhāl, who died in 825 (1422), as well as of the celebrated 'Alī Beg Mikhāl-oghlu who is said to have died after 1507. According to Ewliya Çelebi, 'Alī Beg was buried in the mosque founded by him. That Plevna was the capital of a district in the sandjak of Nikopol we know not only from Ewliya Çelebi but also from Hāḍidjī Khalifa (*Rumeli und Bosna*, transl. by v. Hammer, *Spomenik*, xviii. 23). In the xviith century, when Ewliya Çelebi visited the town, it had 2,000 houses, a ruined fortress, a college founded by the above mentioned 'Alī Beg, 7 schools, 6 tekke's and 6 inns etc. — In the last days of Turkish rule, Plevna had, according to Sh. Sāimī (*Aḥmās al-Aḥmās*, ii. 1532—1533), 17,000 inhabitants and 18 mosques but, as many Muslims migrated after the Russo-Turkish war, the population sank to 14,000 and most of the mosques were described in 1889 as in ruins.

But it was not till the Russo-Turkish war of 1877—1878 that Plevna became world famous. When the Russians after crossing the Danube on July 19, 1877 appeared before Plevna, they met with the unexpected resistance of 'Othmān Pasha, who had come up from Vidin. They attacked unsuccessfully on July 20 and 30 and suffered heavily. As Plevna was not fortified, 'Othmān Pasha now had strong and extensive earthworks thrown up around it. On Sept. 11 and 12 the Russians with the help of the Romanians, whom they had summoned to their assistance, made a third attempt to take Plevna by storm and were again repulsed with great losses. After all these and further failures (on Sept. 18 and Oct. 19) the allies decided upon and began a regular siege of the town which was conducted by Tottleben, the defender of Sebastopol, in person.

In spite of all 'Othmān Pasha was not yet shut in on his west side and received munitions and supplies from there until Oct. 10. In the middle of November he was completely surrounded and on the morning of Dec. 10 he undertook a last desperate sortie in an attempt to break through the western lines of the besieging army of 120,000 men (including the Czar). This bold effort was accompanied by success for a few hours but in the meanwhile the heroic 'Othmān Pasha (the "Lion of Plevna") was himself wounded, and towards midday on the same day was finally forced to surrender with some 40,000 men. The Russians

had already forced their way into Plevna, the five months' siege of which had cost them and the Rumanians over 40,000 men.

The fall of Plevna opened the way for the Rumanians to Adrianople and on to San Stefano, where they dictated the peace which was there concluded.

Bibliography: (in addition to references in the text): Ewliya Celebi, *Siyahatnâme*, vi., Istanbul 1318, p. 164—165; F. Kanitz, *Donaubulgarien und der Balkan*², Leipzig 1882, ii., esp. p. 76 sqq.; C. Jireček, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, Vienna 1891, p. 189, 286 and 545; Meyers Reisebücher: *Türkei* etc.⁸, Leipzig-Vienna 1898, p. 130—131; S. Lane-Poole, *Turkey*², London 1908, p. 361; N. Jorga, *G. O. R.*, v., Gotha 1913, p. 575—577; A. Ischirkoff, *Bulgarien, Land und Leute*, part II., Leipzig 1917, p. 99 and 108. — The little book entitled *Plevna* by Kemalettin Sükrî (Istanbul 1932) gives only a popular account of the siege of 1877. Quite recently Jordan Trifonov published in Bulgarian a history of the town down to the war of liberation (*Istoria na grada Plevna do osvoboditelnata vojna*, Sofia 1933, illustrated) (cf. *Bibliographie Géographique Internationale*, 1933, p. 319).

(FRUM BAJRAREVIĆ)

PLEVNA. [See PLEVEN.]

POLEI, transcribed by Arab writers as بلي, is the old name of a stronghold in the south of Spain the site of which is the modern Aguilar de la Frontera, a little town with about 13,000 inhabitants, in the province of Cordova, 12 miles N.W. of Cabra and of Lucena. The identification of Polei with Aguilar was made by Dozy on the strength of information supplied by a charter of 1258. The town which played a considerable part in the rising of the famous Omar b. Hafsun [q.v.] against the Umayyad emirs of Cordova is again mentioned in the 13th century by the geographer al-Idrisi. The ruins of a fortress which dates from the Muhammadan period can still be seen there.

Bibliography: al-Idrisi, *Description de l'Espagne*, ed. and transl. by Dozy and de Goeje, text, p. 205; transl., p. 253; Ibn Haiyan, *Maṣābiḥ*, MS. of the Bodleian, *passim*; Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, new ed., Leyden 1932, ii. 62 sqq.; do., *Recherches*², i. 307.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

POMAK, the name given to a Bulgarian speaking Muslim in Bulgaria and Thrace. This name which is usually given them by their Christian fellow-countrymen, used also to be given occasionally by Bulgarians to Muslims speaking Serbian in western Macedonia. There however the Serbian Muslims are usually called *turbeli* (sing. *turbel*) by their Christian fellow-citizens, sometimes also *poturi*, more rarely *kurhi* etc. How far these Serbian Muslims are still called Pomaks by some people depends mainly on the influence of the Bulgarian school and literature and would only be correctly applied when used of Muslims who had actually migrated from Bulgaria, e.g. in 1877—1878 (cf. J. H. Vasiljević, *Južno Stara Srbija*, i. 187—188, 207 and 236). In the Rhodopes the Bulgarian Muslims are also called *ackrjani* (ch = kh) or *agerjani* (Ischirkoff, ii. 15). In some parts of Southern Serbia and Bulgaria the name *itak* (pl. *itaci*) is occasionally heard and it used

sometimes to be said (most recently by A. Urošević, in *Glasnik Skopskog muslimanog društva*, vol. v., 1929, p. 319—320) that this name was only given to Serbs converted to Islam; the truth seems to be however that this name is limited to Turks in the two countries (cf. H. Vasiljević, *Muslimani*..., p. 34 and Elezović, in *Srpski književni glasnik*, p. 449 and in *Rečnik književno-metohičkeg dijalekta*, ii. 449). No more correct is the statement that *apovci* is the name given to Serbian Muslims in Southern Serbia; for this seems to be a name applied to one another only by Albanians who are closely related to one another (brothers and cousins, according to H. Vasiljević, *Muslimani*..., p. 34).

The origin and the etymology of these names are in part more or less obscure and arbitrary. The usual explanation that the name Pomak comes from the verb *pomoci* "to help" and means helper (*pomogals*) i.e. auxiliary troops of the Turks, was first given by F. Kanitz (*Donaubulgarien und der Balkan*, vol. ii., Leipzig 1882, p. 182) but was soon afterwards (1891) declared by Jireček (see *Bibl.*) to be inadequate. Another equally improbable popular etymology is that which explains Pomak by the Bulgarian word *mak* = "torment, force", and justifies this explanation by saying that the conversion of the Bulgars to Islam on a considerable scale was carried out by force and constraint (Ischirkoff, ii. 15). Quite recently Iv. Lekov (see *Bibl.*) has explained the name Pomak from *poturnjak* (lit. "one made a Turk"). Whether the word *tomak* which in Turkish means "club, cudgel", in Uigur "Muslim" and in South Russia "pedlar" (cf. Barthold, *Orta Asya*..., p. 82—83), is in any way connected with Pomak, or has been influenced by the Bulgarian *poturnjak* or confused with it has still to be investigated.

The history of the conversion of the "Pomaks" or "Torbelli" is very little known in detail. In any case the adoption of Islam did not take place everywhere at once but was gradual and at different periods. A beginning was made immediately after the battle of Marica (1371) and after the fall of Tynovo (1393): many Serbs and Bulgars at this time, especially as Jireček thinks, the nobles and the Bogomils among these, adopted Islam. After these first conversions under Bayazid II considerable numbers of converts were made according to native tradition in the reign of Selim I (1512—1520); for this purpose he is said to have sent his "favourite Sinân Paşa" into the territory of the Sar-mountains. The highlands of Čepino (in the Rhodopes) were converted according to local histories in the beginning of the 17th century, according to Jireček (*Fürstenthum*, p. 104) however, not till the middle, in the reign of Mehmed IV (1648—1687); the grand vizier Mehmed Köprülü is said to have taken a leading part in the work. The conversion to Islam of the Danube territory (Laveč etc.) is put in this period. Towards the end of this century (17th) further conversions took place among the Serbs in the Debar region. In some districts Islam only gained a footing on a large scale in the course of the 18th century and sometimes not till the beginning of the 19th (e.g. in Gora, south of Prizren).

Until recently one was very often inclined to believe that these conversions to Islam were made under compulsion, even by force of arms, but now the view is beginning to prevail that the authorities

never took any direct steps to proselytise their Christian subjects; conversion was on the contrary voluntary and for quite different reasons except in a few exceptional cases (cf. e.g. H. Vasiljević, *Muslimani*... esp. p. 53-61).

Towards the end of the sixteenth century when the process of conversion had ceased for decades everywhere, the great majority of the Slav Muslims (Bulgar and Serb) were to be found in the Rhodopes and the mountains of eastern Macedonia and in groups of considerable size up and down Macedonia as far as the Albanian frontier, a wide area which stretched in the north from Floridiv (Philippopolis) to Salonika in the south and in the east from the central course of the Arda over the Vardar and even beyond the Crni Drim, i.e. across the districts of Ohrid, Debar, Gostivar and Prizren to the west. At that time only a small part of this territory which was interspersed with Christian areas belonged to the principality of Bulgaria; the greater part was still Turkish and only after the Balkan War passed to Serbia or after the World War to Yugoslavia. — In addition to the main body of Muslim Bulgars in the Rhodopes mountains, there were at the same time also sporadic groups north of the Balkan range in the Danube territory, in the circles of Loveč, Plevna (Plevna) and Orshovo (Rahovo).

Since then however the frontiers of the "Pomaks" have receded considerably. During the siege of Plevna almost all the Bulgarian Muslims fled from the Danube districts to Macedonia; although they returned in 1880 they soon afterwards migrated into Turkey. After the union of eastern Rumelia and Bulgaria in 1885 the Rhodopes "Pomaks" also began to emigrate. — The frontiers of the "Torbeši" likewise were not unaffected. The Balkan War and the World War brought about certain changes which resulted in the migration of some bodies of Serbian Muslims out of Southern Serbia.

As a result of various wars and the territorial changes that followed them, the statements regarding the number of Muslim Slavs in Bulgaria, Macedonia (or Southern Serbia) and Thrace as well as about their total number differ considerably and are often unreliable. For example Jireček (1876) estimated the total at about 500,000 including 100,000 in Loveč and Plevna (see *Bibl.*). At the beginning of the sixteenth century Gavrilović (see *Bibl.*) estimated the total at only 400,000 and Ischirkoff at about the same (1917).

As regards the distribution of these Muslim Slavs according to countries the following statistics may be quoted. In what used to be the principality of Bulgaria Jireček estimated (1891) their number at most 28,000 souls and before the Balkan War there were within the old frontiers of Bulgaria (according to official statistics of 1910) 21,143 (0.49% of the population). In the lands acquired in the Balkan War in Southern Bulgaria there were however many more Pomaks, mainly in the regions of the rivers Arda, Mesta and Struma so that the official census of 1920 makes their number 88,399 (1.82% of the whole population). A somewhat higher figure is given by the *Annuaire du Monde Musulman* for 1929 (p. 305), namely 16,000 Pomaks in Bulgaria proper and 75,337 in Thrace, i.e. 91,337 in all. Finally the latest published statistics (1926 census) give 102,351 Bulgarian speaking Muslims in Bulgaria, i.e. 1.87% of the population, while the number

of Muslims in Bulgaria without distinguishing their languages was then 789,296 or 14.41% of the population. — Of these 102,351 Bulgarian speaking Muslims only 5,799 lived in the towns and the remaining 96,552 in the villages; the proportion of men to women was 1,000 to 1,065. Literate Pomaks in the whole of Bulgaria in 1926 numbered only 6,659 in 1926 (of whom 5,534 were men).

The number of Pomaks (in reality of Muslim Slavs) in Macedonia was according to S. Verković (1889; see *Bibl.*) 144,051 men (this figure is therefore doubled in *Données statistiques sur l'éthnographie de la Macédoine*, publ. by the Comité national de l'Union des organisations des émigrés macédoniens en Bulgarie, Sofia 1928, and amounts to 288,092 [with an error of minus ten souls], according to G. Weigand (*Die nationalen Bestrebungen der Balkanvölker*, Leipzig 1898) 100,000 men, according to V. Kăncov (1900; see *Bibl.*) 148,800 and according to Vl. Sis (Macedonien, Zürich 1918) 150,030 souls.

As regards the number of Serbian speaking Muslims in Southern Serbia, they were estimated by H. Vasiljević (*Muslimani*... p. 11 *sqq.*) whose calculations are however to some extent based on the situation before the Balkan War, at 100,000 souls; now (1935) the figure is put at 60,000 and the number of Serbo-Croat speaking Muslims in the whole of Yugoslavia at about 900,000 (exact figures cannot be given because the statistics according to religions have not been published).

For Thrace the figure of 75,337 Muslim Bulgars has already been given from the *Annuaire*; in Western Thrace there were according to the interallied census (of March 1920) 11,739 (cf. *La question de la Thrace*, ed. by the Comité suprême des réfugiés de Thrace, Sofia 1927).

On these statistics the following observations may be made. The Bulgars (e.g. Kăncov) usually include as "Pomaks" all the Macedonian Slavs of Muslim faith, i.e. including Serbs from Southern Serbia. On the other hand on account of their religion these Muslim Slavs are sometimes carelessly counted with the Turks. Moreover some statistics are not completely free from chauvinistic and political bias. The European estimates finally are based on approximations or are quite arbitrary.

In spite of the fact that the Pomaks and Torbeši are occasionally included among the Turks and in spite of the fact that they sometimes call themselves Turks, they are nevertheless the purest stratum of the old Bulgarian or Serbian population as the case may be who have preserved their Slav type and Slav language (especially archaic words) very well, sometimes even better — as a result of their being cut off from the Christians and their isolation in outlying districts — than their Christian kinsmen, who have been constantly exposed to admixture from other ethnic elements. They have a certain feeling of aversion for the Turks whose language they do not understand. It is only in the towns that we find that in course of time some of these Slavs have adopted the Turkish language. What bound them to the Ottomans was not language but principally a common religion with its prescriptions and customs (e.g. the veiling of women) which along with Turkish rule naturally imposed upon them many Arabic and Turkish

words. In spite of this there survived among them many pre-Islamic customs and reminiscences of Christianity (observation of certain Christian festivals etc.).

That the Bulgar Muslims in particular occasionally (esp. in 1876-1878) fought with the Turks against the Christian Bulgars may be ascribed to the fact that as a result of their low cultural level they made no clear distinction between nation and religion and that their Christian fellow-countrymen treated them as Turks and not as kinamen. These mistakes were repeated in the Balkan War when the victorious Bulgar troops and the orthodox priests were led to so far as to convert the Pomaks in the Rhodopes and other districts to Christianity mainly by pressure and force of arms. But on the conclusion of peace they returned to Islam again. This is frankly admitted by the Bulgarian geographer Birkov (Ischirkoff) and the Bulgarian writer Iv. Karaivanov (in his Bulgar periodical *National Education*, Klustendil 1931, according to Čemalović [see *Bibl.*]).

Fifty or sixty years ago the songs and ballads of the "Pomaks" were the subject of much dispute. A Bosnian ex-cleric, Stefan Verković (1827-1893), an antique dealer in Seres, published under the title of *Veda Slavena* (i.e. the "Veda of the Slavs" Belgrad 1874, vol. i.) a collection of songs which were alleged to have been collected mainly among Pomaks and which celebrated "pre-Christian and pre-historic" subjects (the immigration into the country, discovery of corn, of wine, of writing and legends of gods with Indian names, of Orpheus etc.). A. Chodzko, A. Doron (*Chansons populaires bulgares inédites*, Paris 1875; cf. also *Revue de littérature comparée*, xiv, 1934, p. 155 *seq.*) and L. Geitler (*Portische traditio Thracica i Bulgarica*, Prag 1878) also strongly supported belief in this "Veda": it was even assumed that the Pomaks were descended from the ancient Thracians, who had been influenced first by Slav culture and then by Islam.

But of ballads on such subjects neither the Muslim nor the Christian Bulgars knew anything and Jireček, who investigated the question on the spot, repeatedly described this "Slav Veda" as the fabrication of some Bulgarian teachers (*Fürstenthum*, p. 107⁴). We now know that Verković's chief collaborator was the Macedonian teacher Iv. Golovanov (cf. Pentcho Slavejkoff, *Bulgarische Volkslieder*, Leipzig 1919, p. 15).

In view of the fact that the Muslims in question consist mainly of conservative dwellers in the mountains and villages — who are very industrious, honourable, and peaceful — they are for the most part illiterate and there could be no possibility of any literary activity among them. The only people among them who can write are the khodjas, who frequently use the Turkish language and Arabic alphabet when writing. They also frequently use the latter alphabet when writing their mother tongue. Of earlier generations of Bulgar Muslims many distinguished themselves in the Turkish army or otherwise in the Turkish service. The modern generation who have been educated in the state schools have more national consciousness and are more progressive but are too few in number to make themselves felt in politics or otherwise.

Bibliography: (in addition to works mentioned in the text): C. Jireček, *Geschichte*

der Bulgaren, Prag 1876, p. 356, 457, 520, 568 and 578; do., *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, Prag-Vienna-Leipzig 1891, p. 102-108 (the principal passage), 310, 346, 353 and 453-456; S. I. Verković, *Topograflesko-etnografleski včrk Makedonij*, St. Petersburg 1889 (gives full tables of the numbers of Pomaks in some districts and even villages); V. Kancor, *Makedonija etnografija i statistika*, Sofia 1900, p. 40-53 (where a portion of the older literature is given, esp. p. 41) with an ethnographical map of Bulgaria on which this "Muslim Bulgar" settlements are specially marked; J. Cvijić, *Osnove za geografiju i geologiju Makedonije i Stare Srbije*, vol. I, Belgrad 1906, p. 182; Vl. R. Bordević, *U Srednjim Rodopima, putopisne beleške od Plovdiva do Čepelara*, in *Nova tiskra*, Year viii., Belgrad 1906, p. 172-176 and p. 198-205 (interesting description of a Serbian journey in the year 1905 on the life and customs of the Pomaks); M. Gavrilović, in *Grande Encyclopédie*, s.v.; A. Ischirkoff, *Bulgarien, Land und Leute*, vol. II., Leipzig 1917, p. 14-17; J. Hadži Vasiljević, *Muslimani naša krvi u Turskoj Srbiji*, Belgrad 1924; do., *Šopljci i njegeva školina*, Belgrad 1930, p. 314; J. M. Pavlović, *Muslimani i Muslimi*, Belgrad 1929, p. 35, 244-245 and 351; S. Čemalović, *Muslimani u Bugarskoj*, in *Gajret*, Year xiii., Sarajevo 1932, p. 345 *seq.*, 364 *seq.* and 375 *seq.* (also in *La Nation Arabe* for 1932, No. 10-12; in the same periodical for 1933, No. 1-3; A. Girard treated of the situation of the Muslims in Bulgaria; an article by Diyā al-Din al-Azhari in *al-Fatā* of Cairo against Čemalović's pretensions, cited in the last mentioned passage, was not accessible to me); A. Bonamy, *Les musulmans de Pologne, Roumanie et Bulgarie*, in *R. E. I.* for 1932 (deals with the Pomaks [p. 88] very superficially); Iv. Lekov, *Kum včpres za imeto pomak* (On the question of the name "Pomak"), in *Štornik poluvčedovna Bčlgarija*, Sofia 1933, p. 38-100 (cf. *Bibliographie Géographique Internationale*, Paris 1933, p. 517, which also quotes a short article by G. Ivanov on the history of the Loveč-Pomaks [*Za minaloto na lovečskite pomaci*], appeared in *Loveč i Lovečsko*, vol. v., Sofia 1933); *Annuaire statistique du royaume de Bulgarie*, Sofia 1934, p. 23, 25 and 28. (FEHIM BAJRANTAREVIĆ)

PONTIANAK, the name of a part of the Dutch residency "Wester-Afdeeling" of Borneo, also of the Sultanate in the delta of the river Kapuas and of its capital.

As a Dutch province Pontianak includes the districts of Pontianak, Kubu, Landak, Saungau, Sekadau, Tajan and Mėliam. The administration is in the hands of an assistant-resident whose headquarters are in Pontianak where the Resident of the "Wester-Afdeeling" also lives. The Dutch settlement is on the left bank of the Kapuas, where also is the Chinese commercial quarter. The Malay town lies opposite on the right bank.

The sultanate of Pontianak with its capital of the same name is independent under the suzerainty of the Netherlands and is 4,543 sq. km. in area. In 1930 the population consisted of 100,000 Malays and Dayaks, 562 Europeans, 26,425 Chinese and 2,378 other Orientals. The term Malays includes all native Muhammadans among them many descendants of Arabs, Javanese, Buginese, and Dayaks converted to Islam. The Dayaks

in the interior are still heathen. Roman Catholic missions are at work among the latter and the Chinese. This very mixed population is explained by the origin and development of Pontianak.

The town was founded in 1772 A.D. by the Sharif 'Abd al-Rahmān, a son of the Sharif Husain b. Ahmad al-Kadiri, an Arab who settled in Matan in 1735 and in 1771 died in Mampawa as vizier revered for his piety. In 1742 'Abd al-Rahmān was born, the son of a Dayak concubine, and very early distinguished himself by his spirit of enterprise. He attempted to gain the ruling power, successively in Mampawa, Palembang and Bandjarmasin, from which he had to retire with his band of pirates, although the sultan had been his patron, after he had taken several European and native ships. By this time he had married a princess of Mampawa and Bandjarmasin and possessed great wealth. On his return to Mampawa his father had just died. As he met with no success here, he decided to found a town of his own with a number of other fortune-seekers. An uninhabited area at the mouth of the junction of the Landak with the Kapuas, notorious as a dangerous haunt of evil spirits seemed to him suitable. After the spirits had been driven away by hours of cannon fire he was the first to spring ashore, had the forest cut down and built rude dwellings there for himself and his followers.

The favourable position of the site and the protection which trade enjoyed there soon attracted Buginese, Malay and Chinese merchants to it so that Pontianak developed rapidly and Sharif 'Abd al-Rahmān was able by his foresight and energy to hold his own against the neighbouring kingdoms of Matan, Sukadana, Mampawa and Sanggan.

He appointed chiefs over each of the different groups of people and regulated trade by reasonable tariffs. He was able to impress representatives of the East Indian Co. in Batavia to such an extent that they gave him the kingdoms of Pontianak and Sanggan as fiefs after the company had bought off the claims of Banten to Western Borneo. As early as 1772 the Buginese prince Radja Haddji had given him the title of sultan. After his death in 1808 his son Sharif Kasim succeeded him. He was the first to change the Arab ceremonial at the court for more modern ways.

According to the treaty concluded with the Dutch Indies government in 1855, the sultan receives a fixed income from them while they administer justice and police of the country. The relationship to the Dutch Indies government has now been defined in a long agreement of 1912, which also settles the administration of justice and the taxes. From the local treasury, then constituted, the sultan receives 6,800 gulden a month; he also receives 50% of the excise on agriculture and mines.

In keeping with the nature of its origin Pontianak is predominantly Muslim in character and a relatively large number take part in the pilgrimage to Mecca. For these pilgrims who are known as Djawa Funtiana, the sultan when he performed the pilgrimage in the 80's founded several *mosques* houses in the holy city.

The main support of the whole population is agriculture and along with it trade in the products of the jungle. The exports are copra, pepper, gambier, sago, rubber and rotan, especially to Singapore and Java. Rice, clothing and other articles required by Europeans and the more prosperous Chinese and Arabs are imported. The import and export trade is

mainly in the hands of the Chinese. They live together in the Chinese quarter in the European half of Pontianak on the left bank where also the other foreign Orientals have settled.

This is therefore the centre of trade and commerce in the valley of the Kapuas.

The Chinese traders maintain with their own steamers connections with the Chinese merchants farther up the river and also over seas with Singapore, both in competition with the Royal Paketfahrt Co.

In the swampy lands of Pontianak, intercourse with the outer world is almost exclusively by water. Only in recent years have motor-roads been laid over the higher ground from Pontianak to Mampawa and Sambas, to Sungai Kakap and from Mandor to Landak.

It may be particularly mentioned that Pontianak is a healthy place for the town is very often inundated and it is so far from the sea that there is no malaria.

Bibliography: P. J. Veth, *Borneo's Water-Afdeeling*; J. J. K. Enthoven, *Bijdragen tot de geographie van Borneo's Water-Afdeeling* (*Tijdschrift Kon. Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, 1912, p. 203—210).

(A. W. NIEUWENHUIS)

POONA. [See PUNA.]

PORT SAÏD, a Mediterranean seaport of Egypt at the entrance of the Suez Canal on its western bank, in 31° 15' 50" N., 32° 18' 42" E., 145 miles from Cairo by rail via Zagazig and Isma'iliya, 36 and 125 miles from Damietta and Alexandria respectively along the coast. It was founded in 1859, as soon as the Suez Canal was decided, during the reign of Sa'id Pasha [q. v.], Viceroy of Egypt, and was named after him. Except for the strip of sand which, varying in width between 200 and 300 yards, separates Lake Manzala from the Mediterranean, the site of the present town was under the water. This site was selected by a party of engineers under Laroche and de Lesseps, not on account of being the nearest point across the isthmus to Suez, but because the depth of the water there corresponded most favourably to the requirements of the projected canal. As soon as work was started on the Canal, five wooden houses were constructed above the water, supported on massive piles and equipped with a bakery and a water-distiller for the use of the pioneers. A year later, dredgers began to deepen the waters of the newly established harbour, and the mud thus raised was immediately utilized for more buildings which soon numbered 150 houses, 150 cottages, one hospital, one Catholic and one Orthodox Church, and one Mosque, besides the workshops, covering 30,000 square metres in all. This, however, did not suffice for the rapid growth of the population as the work on the Canal progressed towards Isma'iliya. To meet this emergency and in the absence of stone quarries within reasonable reach of Port Saïd, the manufacture of artificial stones capable of resisting the action of sea-water was begun by Messrs. Dussaud in 1865. Details of this process are given in 'Ali Pasha Mabarak's *Égypte* (x. 38—40). These stones weighed about 22 tons each and were used both for the construction of the two huge breakwaters of the outer harbour and for the creation of further building ground. In the same year, mail boats sailed up the Canal to Isma'iliya while others brought imports to Port Saïd. In 1868 the breakwaters were finished, and in 1869 the Canal was completed. As a result,

the town was thronged by consuls and representatives of many nations, and the population reached 10,000.

Like most Eastern foundations of this period, Port Sa'id was from the beginning markedly divided into Egyptian and European quarters. The first has grown up in the west and south-west around the mosque, officially inaugurated on Friday 14th Sha'ban 1300 (1883); and the second is situated near the Canal entrance and the beach towards the north and north-east. A regular water-supply now comes from the Nile by the Isma'iliya Canal and the pipes leading to a large reservoir (château d'eau) capable of holding several days' supply. The great rapidity of the growth of Port Sa'id may be illustrated by the increase of its population, numbering 49,884 in 1907.

The town quickly rose to eminence as an emporium of Egyptian trade — second only to Alexandria in that country, — and it also became one of the most important stations for sea-borne traffic between the East and the West. Its outer harbour, covering an area of 570 acres, its two moles or breakwaters built in such a way as to protect the Canal from the continuous onrush of sea-water and sand-drifts, and its docks numbering originally three on the western bank, all had to be extended. A large floating dock (250 ft. long, 85 ft. wide and 18 ft. deep, with a lifting capacity of 3,500 tons) was constructed; and, further, in the years 1903—1909, new docks were established on the eastern bank. To accommodate the workmen on these docks, the new town of Port Fu'ad, named after the present King of Egypt, has sprung up on the east side.

To safeguard the ships approaching the Canal by night, the Khedive Isma'il ordered four light-houses to be erected at the expense of the Egyptian Government at Rosetta, Burullus, Burdj al-'Ibu near Damietta, and Port Sa'id. The last is 174 ft. high and its beams is distinct from those of the other three and is visible at a distance of 20 miles. It lies at the base of the western mole which, at its sea-ward extremity, carries a colossal statue of Ferdinand de Lesseps by E. Farnier, unveiled in 1899.

Among the notable buildings of Port Sa'id are the offices of the Suez Canal Company. The town has a very cosmopolitan population and is noted for no special industry. Small dealers live on the sale of Oriental wares and curios to tourists on their passage to the East or to the West.

Bibliography: The chief contemporary source is 'Ali Pasha Muharak: *al-Khatat al-Tamiziya*, 20 vols., Cairo (Bulak) 1305—1306. — See also 1. publications on the Suez Canal and its history; 2. the annual *Tafsimat*, *Annuaire statistique* and the *Trade Returns* issued by the Egyptian Government and the Suez Canal Company; 3. guides to Egypt such as Baedeker's, Murray's (ed. Mary Brodric) and Cook's (ed. Sir E. A. Wallis Budge). (A. S. ATIYA)

POTIFAR. [See KITEIK.]

POŽAREVAC (pronounced Pósharevats; in the French orthography Pojarévats; Passarowitz is a corruption like the Turkish Pasarofça), a rising commercial town in Yugoslavia (in the Danube banate), headquarters of the district of the same name in the fertile plain between Morava and Mlava, only 10 miles from the Danube port of Dubravica with 13,731 inhabitants (1930).

The town, the name of which is popularly

connected with the Serbo-Croat word *polar* ("fire") (M. B. Miličević, *Kulturna Srbija*, Belgrad 1876, p. 172 and 1058), is first mentioned towards the end of the xvth century. It must however have been previously in existence and have become Turkish like the surrounding country in 1459. According to the Turkish treasury registers of Hungary of 1565 (A. Velics, *Magyarsági török kincstári defterek*, ii., Budapest 1890, p. 734), Požarevac belonged to the Turkish sandjak of Semendria (Semendria, Smederevo), and in the middle of the xvth century Hādīdjī Khalifa describes it as the seat of a judge (*šāfi'ī*) (cf. *Spomenik*, xviii., Belgrad 1892, col. 26). Towards the end of the century many Serbs migrated from Požarevac and at the beginning of the xviiith century it is sometimes mentioned as a village.

Požarevac was however destined soon to become famous through the peace which ended the Austro-Turkish war of 1716—1718. At the end of 1714 Turkey had already declared war on Venice on the pretext that the peace of Carlovitz was not being observed and in 1715 occupied Morea and some of the Ionian Islands. Austria, which at first intervened to negotiate as an ally of Venice, in 1716 entered the war herself and her armies led by Prince Eugene won three great victories, at Peterwardein, Temesvár and Belgrad, so that England intervened to secure peace. After long preparations (cf. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, iv. 159—164) the congress of Požarevac was convoked. The negotiations at which plenipotentiaries of Turkey, Austria, Venice with England and Holland as mediators took part began on June 5, 1718 and the Treaty was signed on the 21st July.

Peace was concluded on a basis of the country actually held by the opponents at the time (*ut possidetis*): Austria retained the eastern part of Sirmia, the banate with Temesvár, the whole of N. E. Serbia, with Belgrad, Požarevac etc. and Little Wallachia; Venice also retained a few places she had taken on the Dalmatian and Albanian coasts, received certain commercial preferences and the island of Cerigo (Turkish *Asi*) and had to

restore to Turkey the whole of the peninsula of the Morea and the south-eastern districts of the Hercegovina. By a commercial agreement which was also concluded in Požarevac on July 27 Austria secured certain trading and other privileges in the Ottoman Empire.

Following the traditional formalities observed after the conclusion of a treaty of peace the first Turkish plenipotentiary Ibrahim Pasha went to Vienna with his retinue and Count Wirmont, the Austrian representative in the negotiations, to Constantinople. A member of the Turkish embassy wrote in 1726 an interesting account which has been published by Fr. van Kraelitz in text and translation (*Bericht über den Zug des Gross-Botschafters Ibrahim Pascha nach Wien im Jahre 1719*, in *S.B.A. Wien*, vol. 158 [1908]; in *T.O. E. N.*, vii. [1332 = 1916], 211—227, the Turkish text of this edition was reprinted by A. Reffk).

During the Austrian occupation (1718—1739) Požarevac was the most important place in this territory. In the Serbian war of independence against Turkey it was besieged for a long period, and had finally to surrender to the Serbs (1804). In 1813, the town again fell into Turkish hands but became Serbian again in 1815.

In the years of peace that followed (1815—1915) Požarevac developed. Prince Miloš in 1825 made it his second residence and had two *kotaks* (palaces) built there. Shortly afterwards a Prussian officer visited the town and left interesting notes on the conditions there (Otto v. Pircb, *Reise in Serbien im Spätherbst 1829*, Berlin 1830, part I., p. 119—171). In the second half of the 19th century the population increased steadily but otherwise the town offered "little of interest" (F. Kanitz, *Serbien*, Leipzig 1868, p. 13).

At the beginning of the 20th century Požarevac was one of the most important towns in Serbia. In the Great War it was occupied by the Germans in 1915 and by the Bulgarians (from Oct. 1916) but in the autumn of 1918 it was again occupied by the Serbs. Since then it has belonged to Yugoslavia.

Bibliography: (In addition to the references in the text): V. Bianchi (the Venetian plenipotentiary at the peace negotiations), *Istoria relazioni della pace di Požarevac*, Padua 1719; 'Abd al-Rahmān Sharrāf, *Tārīkh-i Dewlet-i 'Osmāniye*, II. (1312 = 1894), 140—147; G. Noradounghian, *Récueil d'actes internationaux de l'empire ottoman*, vol. I. (Paris 1897), p. 61—62 (N^o 308 and 309), 208—216 (Latin text of the treaty of peace with Austria) and 216—220 (French résumé of it); Drag. M. Pavlović, *Požarevački mir* (1718. g.), in *Letopis matice srpske*, Novi Sad 1901, part 207, p. 26—47, and part 208, p. 45—80 (good historical study on the peace of Požarevac); V. Popović, in *Narodna enciklopedija*, vol. III. (Zagreb 1928), p. 428; *Almanah kraljevine Jugoslavije*, Zagreb 1930, I. 561; M. A. Purković, *Požarevac*, Požarevac 1934 (first attempt at a monograph on the town and its history). (FAHIM BAJRAKTAREVIĆ)

PRANG SABIL, the name of the *djihad* [q. v.] in the East Indian archipelago; *prang* (Indon.) = war.

The course of history has made it impossible for Muslims to fulfil their duties with respect to the *djihad*. The representatives of the law however still teach and the masses readily believe that arms should only be allowed to rest against the *kāfir* so long as any success must be despaired of. In a Muhammadan country under non-Muslim rule like the Netherlands Indies the teachers however prefer to be silent. At most they say that under the prevailing conditions there is no legal inducement to conduct the *djihad* in view of the superior forces and the comparative freedom enjoyed by believers. Or on the other hand, they expound particularly those texts which remove the more serious feuds between Muslim and *kāfir* to the next world. — When political events, catastrophes, misfortunes of any kind result in disturbances, it is not at all uncommon for the Muslim population of the East Indian Archipelago to look at these things from a religious point of view. It may happen on such an occasion that the feeling of being bound to fight the unbeliever is aroused again. If the leaders utter the war-cry "prang sabil", it finds a ready answer. It is true that according to the law, the signal for the *djihad* should be given by the imām. There is now no imām; but even in the time when the sultan of Turkey was still recognised as imām any misgivings were easily overcome if the imām remained inactive. Outside the boundaries of the territory in which

the holy war is proclaimed, the silent sympathy of the believers is with the fighters. Any forcible conversion which takes place, anywhere in the Archipelago is generally praised by Muslim chiefs and represented as a fulfilment of the more solid obligations of the *djihad*.

This practical teaching of the *prang sabil* was of particular importance in Atjeh in the last quarter of the 19th century. Circumstances were very much in its favour. The Atjehnese were a self-satisfied people, convinced of their own superiority and also of a warlike disposition. Non-Muslims were everywhere hated or at least despised. At the same time those individuals who were in any way connected with divine worship were held in great honour. These qualities were however not in themselves sufficient to conduct a *prang sabil* with success against a disciplined attacking power. A military leader was necessary. There was indeed a sultan in Atjeh but he was a negligible factor as regards the situation in the country. The chiefs, the real rulers of the land, preferred to confine themselves to their own territory; they were not fitted for co-operation. Bands of armed men ravaged the country doing the *kāfir* as much damage as possible but they could raise no claim for general co-operation and assistance as they were not waging war in the way Allah had willed. The law lays down the sources from which the costs of the *djihad* can be met; pillage and plundering, as was the practice of these bands, could never be blessed by Allah. In addition the organisation of these bands was such that they never held together long. In these circumstances it was the '*ulamā*' (also used as a singular) who took in hand the organisation of the war; among these the most prominent were the '*ulamā*' of Tiro, from olden times a centre of study of sacred lore. They reproached the chiefs with their slothfulness and the people with preferring worldly advantages to heavenly rewards. Going up and down the country they preached the doctrine of the *djihad* and there was no one who could openly oppose them; indeed they represented the divine law. In order to be able to wage war a war-chest was needed. The '*ulamā*' claimed the share of the *sabit* set aside for Allah's purposes; the '*ulamā*' of Tiro in particular used it to train a strong force of duly converted recruits. The '*ulamā*' were for a long time the soul of the war. It is however clear that the authority which they had gained over the secular rulers could only last so long as they were able to inspire the people to continue fighting. When the war was over, they returned to their old still very influential position as representatives of the holy law. — Various writings which together form a regular war literature, proved an effective means of inspiring their warriors with enthusiasm. They were an accompanying feature of the *prang sabil*. '*Ulamā*' wrote pamphlets and tracts in which attention was called to the duty of waging the holy war; emphasis was laid on the heavenly reward that awaited the *sabit*, and the *kāfir* to be overcome were painted in the blackest colours. An elaborate poem, the *Hikajat Prang sabil*, of which there were many versions, was specially intended to be declaimed in order to increase the courage and contempt for death of those who heard it.

Bibliography: C. Snoeck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers*, Batavia 1893—1894, I. 183 pp.; II.

123; do., *Verstreute Geschriften*, IV/ii. 233 189. H. T. Damsté, *Atjehische orlogspapieren*, in *Indische Gids*, 1912, i. 617 189., 770 189.; do., *Hikajat Frang Sabil* (text and transl.), in *B. T. L. V.*, lxxxiii. 345 189. (R. A. KRAK)

PUL (FULBE), a West African tribe, originally pastoral nomads, now to a large extent settled and agricultural. Fulbe, their name for themselves, is the plural of Pulo; they are called Fulani by the Hausa, Felata by the Kanuri, and by French writers Peul. Their language is called by themselves Fulfulde.

They appear to have come in from the north-east, perhaps ultimately from Fezzân, but their lines of migration in more recent times have rather been from west to east. Migeod, in 1923, found them in what is now the British Mandated Territory of Cameroons, which they had penetrated during the lifetime of persons whom he met. Their main centres of distribution are Futa Djallon in French Guinea and Massina in Haut-Sénégal-Niger.

Ethnographically, though various theories have been advanced, they are now accepted as Hamitic by race. Meek (vol. i., p. 94) points out that they have a strong resemblance to the Proto-Egyptians. Delafosse was disposed to class them as hybrids between some mysterious Beni-Israel (not yet satisfactorily accounted for) and the tribe or tribes whom they found already in occupation: according to one account, the Tekrôr (now called the Toucouleur [q. v.]). Frobenius (*op. cit.*, p. 165) says they migrated to the S.W. from Fezzân in order to escape the oppression of the "Gara", identified by himself and others with the Garamantes of Herodotus. He finds them spoken of in Soninke tradition under the name Bororo (still retained by the Nomad Fulbe in Adamawa at the time of Passarge's visit in 1893) or Borojogo, as a despised subject race. He finds no originality in the legends collected from their "singing men" (*mabule*), but holds that, so soon as they become independent they adopted the traditions of their former overlords. In passing, it may be remarked that Frobenius is clearly in error when he says (*ibid.*): "Schon Barth identifizierte sie mit den Leucaethiopen".

Barth's own words are (ii. 305): "Darum aber möchte ich sie nicht (!) für die Leucaethiopen der Alten halten". Barth's own view is that they are half-way between a mixed Ambo-Berber and a pure negro stock. His reference, in the same passage, to indications of a connection between their language and that of the "Kaffer Südafrika's" must be based on the existence of noun-classes in both, a fact which will be dealt with in a later paragraph.

Meek, after considering various hypotheses, comes to the conclusion (i. 96), that "the Fulani are probably a very ancient Libyan tribe whose original home was Egypt or Asia". He considers the nomad Fulbe as the purest representatives of the Hamitic element in Nigeria (i. 26).

Their physical characteristics are perhaps best summed up in the following quotation from Meek (i. 26), which agrees in the main with the accounts of Mungo Park, Barth, Nachtigal, Passarge and other travellers:

"Their colour varies from a light to a reddish brown"; — Passarge says "heilbrölich gelb" — "their physique is slender and sinewy, and sometimes even effeminate; the face oval, the lips thin, the head dolichocephalic, the forehead rather receding

towards the temple, the nose straight or even aquiline, and often slightly rounded at the tip. There is little or no prognathism, the hair is ringlety and often straight... On his chin a man wears a scrappy tuft of beard. The eyes are almond-shaped and overhung by long black silken lashes. The beauty of countenance and graceful carriage of Fulani women are well known. In character the Fulbe is distrustful and shy, shrewd and artful. No African native can equal him for dissimulation and finesse".

This estimate coincides on the whole with that of the observers previously mentioned. Passarge calls them "eine ritterliche Nation", in the sense that they despise both manual labour and trade, regarding war, the chase and the care of cattle as the only occupations worthy of a man. They have more dignity and force of character than the negro; at the same time, "traue ich dem Fulla (sic) mehr überlegte Hinterlist zu. Er ist der grössere Charakter, aber auch im gegebenen Moment der grössere Schatke". Barth, also, says (ii. 305): "Die liebenswürdige Seite im Charakter der Fulbe ist ihre Einsicht und ihre Lebhaftigkeit, während sie andererseits einen ausserordentlichen natürlichen Hang zur Bosheit haben und bei weitem nicht so gutmütig sind wie die eigentlichen Schwarzen".

Passarge describes them as "fanatical in religion"; but, as the nomad Fulbe are still, at any rate to some extent, pagan (Meek, I. 200 and elsewhere), this must refer to the settled Fulbe, called by the Hausa *Fulanin Gidda*, who would seem to have been converted to Islâm, like the other tribes of Nigeria, about the eleventh century (Meek, ii. 1—11). Those settled Fulbe are "by free inter-marriage and wholesale concubinage with the races whom they have conquered, fast being absorbed by the negro. Their noses are broadening, their lips are thickening, their hair is curling, their build is coarsening, and the prognathous mouth of the Negro type is beginning to appear. While they have profoundly modified the Negro type of those with whom they have settled, this modification must, in the absence of fresh infusions of Fulani blood, tend rapidly to disappear... they do not intermarry with the nomad pagan Fulani" (Meek, i. 28).

According to Labouré, nomad Fulbe are scattered over the country in small colonies "généralement installées à côté des villages sédentaires pour en garder les troupeaux". They supply the settled population with dairy products: Fulbe women selling milk and butter are a familiar sight to travellers.

The Fulbe reached the Upper Senegal region about 1300 A.D., when the Ghana empire was at the height of its power. About 1400, a section of the tribe, coming from Termes in the north-west, established themselves in Massina, under chiefs of the Djallo family. This kingdom was conquered by Ashia Omar, the Songhai chief, in 1494. About the same time or not much later, a Pulo chief (*aridé*) named Tengella revolted against Omar, but was killed in 1512. His son, Koli, set up an independent pagan kingdom in Badiar, on the Upper Gambia, and his descendants, known as the Denianke dynasty, remained in power from 1559 to 1776.

The Fulbe entered Bornu during the xvth century and, as they had done elsewhere, gradually penetrated

the country in the guise of inoffensive herdsmen, until, watching their opportunity, "by a sudden coup, they made themselves its political masters" (Meek). Towards the end of the xviiith century, Shehu Usman dan Fodio (born 1754) initiated a religious revival which ended in the conquest of Northern Nigeria. Usman established his capital at Sokoto (built by his son Belo in 1810) and before his death in 1817 was acknowledged as *Sarkin Musulmi* or spiritual head of the Muslims within his empire. He was succeeded by his son Belo, the "Sultan Bello" visited by Denham, Clapperton and Oudney in 1821. He had his capital at Sokoto and later at Wurno, while his uncle Abdulahi ruled at Gando.

Meanwhile, in the west, a Pulo *marabout*, Seku Hamadu, had converted the Masina Fulbe to Islam about 1810, seized Djenné and even (1826) made himself master of Timbuktu; but the dominion founded by him was short-lived, his grandson being overthrown by al-Hajjaj Umar in 1862. Before this, in 1776, the Muslim Tekor, in Futa Toro, had revolted against the Fulbe Denianke and established a "theocratic elective monarchy" (Delafose) which lasted till the French annexation in 1881. — Umar, at the head of another section of the Tekor, had conquered the local Fulbe and continued to give trouble to the French authorities till his death in 1864 (Delafose).

The settled Fulbe do not differ greatly in customs from other Islamized tribes, though even these appear to retain some traces of their pagan ancestry. Animal tabus, which may or may not be connected with totemism, are observed by some Muslim families (Meek, i. 174); apparently Hausa are meant, but it would seem as if the statement were intended to include at least one "Fulani Muslim sub-tribe". Moreover, when Muhammad al-Tunsi says (Meek, i. 99): "In Sudan it is related that they descend from a chameleon", this, so far from being "a fable invented for the purpose of contempt" may reflect a real totemic belief.

A system of castes, otherwise unknown in Negro and Bantu Africa is common to the Fulbe, Wolof, Malinke, Marks and Bamana, with this difference that, with the Fulbe, the "castes" originated in tribal distinctions ("werden durch bestimmte Völker gebildet": Frobenius, p. 166), and therefore are rigid, whereas, among the Mande, "werden die Kasten durch Sippen gebildet, die in ihrer Kastenzugehörigkeit schwanken". The castes of the Fulbe are:

Nobles	Rimbe (plural of Dimu)
Serfs	Rimaibe
Traders and Herdsmen	Diawambe
Singers and Weavers	Mabube
Leather-workers	Sakebe (elsewhere Gargassabe)
Wood-workers	Laobe (elsewhere Sekaebe)
Smiths	Wailbe (plural of Baila)

It is noteworthy that the Fulbe, unlike the other tribes mentioned, did not recognise a separate class of slaves. The serfs (called "Hörige" by Frobenius) were the descendants of the Rimbe by captive women. The wood-workers' and traders' castes are peculiar to the Fulbe; the rest are common to all the other tribes.

In contrast to the Galla, Somali and other pastoral Hamitic tribes, the Fulbe do not seem

to have any special customs or ritual connected with milk. They keep two distinctive breeds of cattle, one or both of which they are believed to have brought with them in their southward migration. Some particulars concerning their cattle are given by Meek (i. 115—118).

The Fulfulde language was long thought to be absolutely unique. If Barth found in it "Andeutungen eines Zusammenhanges dieses Stammes mit den Kaffern Südafrikas", he must have had in mind the system of noun-classes, which, in some respects, resembles that of the Bantu speech-family, though both more complete and more logical than the latter. F. Müller placed the language in a class by itself, forming one division of the "Nuba-Fulah group", for which he could discover no other affinities. A. W. Schleicher (1891) attempted to connect it with Somali, relying chiefly on verbal coincidences, entirely disregarding the system of noun-classes, and admitting that one important grammatical feature of Fulfulde is not to be found in Somali. In so far as he classes the language as Hamitic, he is partly in agreement with Meinhof who, somewhat later, came to the conclusion that it represents a pre-Hamitic stratum, from which were developed, on the one hand, the Hamitic languages as known to us to-day (Shilha, Saho, Galla, etc.), on the other, the Bantu family.

In addition to the class-system already mentioned (in which the plural is formed by a change, not, as in Bantu, of prefix, but of suffix), Fulfulde exhibits a remarkable cross-division into *a*. human and non-human; *b*. large objects and small objects. Here, the plurals are formed by a change of initial consonant according to certain fixed rules summed up by Meinhof as the Law of Polarity. From this latter classification, Meinhof worked out a hypothesis as to the origin of grammatical gender, which has much to commend it. This is set forth in his *Sprachen der Hamiten* (1912). More recently, however, he has found reason to modify his view of Bantu origins, and considers it at least possible that the class-system is not a primitive feature in Fulfulde, but might have been taken over from some Bantu or "Semi-Bantu" language (Westermann prefers the term "Klassensprachen" for the latter and would extend it to include others than those enumerated in H. H. Johnston's *Comparative Study*). It has also emerged that Fulfulde is less of an isolated phenomenon than had at first appeared. It has points of contact with Serer and other adjacent languages, and in particular, with the little-known Biáfada of Portuguese Guinea, studied by G. A. Krause as long ago as 1895. Two important essays by A. Klingenheben in *Ztschr. f. Eingeborenen-sprachen*, 1923—1924 and 1924—1925 are calculated to shed new light on a complicated problem. Fulfulde, like Hausa, possesses a written literature, for which the form of Arabic script, locally known as *ajemi* (Ar. *ʿajami*), has been used, probably, since the introduction of Islam. This script has peculiarities which cause it to differ markedly from that in use by the Swahili.

Some excellent facsimiles are to be found in Captain F. W. Taylor's *Fulani-Hausa Readings*. *Bibliography*: 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sa'di, *Tārīkh al-Sūdān* (transl. Houdas), Paris 1900; H. Barth, *Reisen und Entdeckungen in Nord- und Central-Afrika in den Jahren 1849 bis 1855*, 5 vols., Göttingen 1857; Abbé P. D. Hailat, *Esquisse Sénégalaise, physiologie du pays, peuplade,*

commerce, religion, past, avenir, récits et légendes, Paris 1853; R. N. Cusi, *A Sketch of the Modern Languages of Africa*, 2 vols., London 1883; Denham, Clapperton and Oudney, *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa in the years 1822, 1823 and 1824*, London 1826; L. Desplagnes, *Le Plateau Central Nigérien*, Paris 1907; Maurice Delafosse, *Haut-Sinégal-Niger*, 3 vols., Paris 1912; do., *Traditions historiques et légendaires du Soudan occidental traduit d'un manuscrit arabe inédit*, Paris 1913; do. and H. Gaden, *Chroniques du Fouta sinigalais*, Paris 1913; do., *Les Nègres de l'Afrique* (Collection Payot, No. 15), Paris 1922 (contains very full bibliographical notes); C. Faidherbe, *Essai sur la langue Poul*, Paris 1875; Leo Frobenius, *Atlantis*, vol. vi., Jena 1921; Henri Gaden, *Le Poular, dialecte Poul du Fouta Sinigalais*, Paris 1912; do., *Proverbes et maximes peuls et toucouleurs traduits, expliqués et annotés*, Paris 1932; T. G. de Guiraudon, *Manuel de la langue Foulle*, Paris-Leipzig 1894; A. Klagenheben, *Die Frazschlaven des Ful*, in *Zeitschr. für Eingeb.-Spr.*, xiv., 1923-1924, p. 189-222, 290-315; do., *Die Permutation des Biapada und des Ful*, *ibid.*, vol. xv., 1924-1925, p. 180-213, 266-272; H. Labouret, *La situation linguistique en Afrique Orientale Française*, in *Africa*, iv., 1931, p. 56; do., *La parenté à plaisanteries en Afrique Occidentale*, in *Africa*, ii., 1929, p. 244; Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, Hamburg 1912; do., *Das Ful in seiner Bedeutung für die Sprachen der Hamiten, Semiten und Bantus*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1911; C. K. Meek, *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, vol. i. (esp. p. 23, 28, 94 sq.) and vol. ii., Oxford 1925; F. W. H. Migeod, *Through British Cameroons*, London 1925; do., *A View of Sierra Leone*, London 1926; C. Moutell, *Une Cité Soudanaise-Djenné*, Paris 1932; Gustav Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan: Ergebnisse sechsjähriger Reisen in Afrika*, 3 parts, Berlin-Leipzig 1879-1889; Mungo Park *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa*, 1795-1797, 3 vols., London 1799; Siegfried Passarge, *Adamus: Bericht über die Expedition des Deutschen Kamerun-Komitees in den Jahren 1893-1894*, Berlin 1895; L. N. Reed, *Notes on some Fulani Tribes and Customs*, in *Africa*, vol. v., 1932 (p. 422 sq.); H. Reeve, *The Gambia*, London 1910; Ch. A. L. Reichardt, *Grammar of the Fulde Language*, London 1876; A. W. Schleicher, *Afrikanische Petrosfakten*, Berlin 1891; Flora L. Shaw (Lady Lugard), *A Tropical Dependency*, London 1905; F. W. Taylor, *Fulani-Hausa Readings in the Native Scripts. With Transliterations and Translations* (being vol. v. of Taylor's Fulani-Hausa Series), Oxford 1929; do., *Fulani-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1932; R. Thurnwald, *Social Systems of Africa*, in *Africa*, vol. ii., 1929 (p. 371-373); D. Westermann, *Handbuch der Ful-Sprache*, London 1909; J. R. Wilson-Haffenden, *The Red Men of Nigeria*, London 1930.

(A. WERNER)

PUNA, a city and district of British India in the Central Division of the Bombay Presidency. The district has an area of 3,532 square miles and a population of 1,169,798 of whom 54,997 are Muslims (*Census Report*, 1931). It was included in the powerful Andhra kingdom of the Dakhan which came to an end about the middle of the third century A.D. The available

evidence also points to the fact that later the Western Chalkyas, the Rashtrakutas, and the Deogiri Vādavas ruled over this area. With the Khalji and Tughluk (see MUHAMMAD TUGHLUK) invasions of the Dakhan it came under Muslim control. An interesting account of Pūna when it formed part of the Bahmani kingdom has been recorded by the Russian traveller Athanasius Nikitin (1468-1474), who appears to have been the first foreign traveller whose impressions have been preserved for us since the visit of the Chinese pilgrim, Fa-lien, in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. (R. H. Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Hakluyt Society). Pūna remained under Muslim rule until the growth of Marāṭhā power in the latter half of Aurangzeb's reign. The district is therefore associated with the beginnings of Marāṭhā history and closely connected with the career of Shiwājī. Under the Pishwās (q. v.) it became the centre of Marāṭhā power until the British conquest in the early nineteenth century.

Pūna city, which is situated at the confluence of the Muthā and Mula rivers, has a total population of 250,187, of whom 28,925 are Muhammadans (*Census Report*, 1931). When but a village it was included in the *ḡāḡ* of Maloji Bhonsla, the grandfather of Shiwājī. Later, Shiwājī finding Pūna too exposed transferred his capital to Rāigad where his coronation took place. Pūna was the scene of his daring attack upon Shāyistā Khān. With the growth of the power of the Pishwās Pūna once more became the capital and centre of the Marāṭhā kingdom. The fortified palace of the Pishwās, known as the Shāhwarī, was destroyed by fire in 1827. It was at Pūna in the year 1885 that the first meeting of the Indian National Congress took place.

Bibliography: *Administration Reports of the Bombay Presidency* (published annually); J. M. Campbell, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*; Poona, vol. xviii., 1885; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, s.v. Poona; D. R. Parasani, *Poona in Bygone Days*, 1921; J. Sarkar, *Shiwājī and his Times*, 1919; S. Sen, *Siva Chhatrapati*, 1920; L. W. Shakespeare, *A Local History of Poona and its Battlefields*, 1916.

(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

PÜST or PÖST (P.), skin; Turkish: *püskü*; a tanned sheepskin, used as the ceremonial seat or throne of a *pir* or *ḡāḡ* of a derwish order. The head, sides and foot had mystical significances ascribed to them. It corresponds to the Arabic *ḡāḡ*. According to Ewliya Çelebi (Stambul, i. 495), the *ḡāḡ*, after passing the test by the *pir*, is called *püskü püst*. On ceremonial occasions amongst the Baktāshī order, the hall or convent was set out with twelve püsts of white sheepskin in remembrance of the twelve imāms.

Bibliography: J. P. Brown, *The Derwishes*, Oxford 1927; G. Jacob, in *Türkische Bibliothek*, ix., Berlin 1908; H. Thurning, *ibid.*, xvi., 1913.

(R. LEVY)

PUWASA (Skr. *upavāsa*), in the East Indian Archipelago the name for the month of Ramaḡān and for fasting in this month or at other times. The Arabic names however are not unknown. Fasting is in Indonesia generally a favourite pious practice not only on the days prescribed or recommended by law but also as a means of attaining a desired end. The observation of the fast in Ramaḡān is here as elsewhere

regarded as the most important of the pillars of Islam; here also we find the popular belief prevailing that it can atone for the sins of the whole year. Not all however continue the fast to the end of the month; if any one finds it difficult he satisfies his conscience by fasting on the first and last days of the month; nevertheless such people or even those who do not fast at all have the same elevated sentiment which fills all and which stamps Ramadan as the Muhammadan month like no other. Students, merchants, all whose business takes them away from home endeavour to spend this month at least in the family circle. In many districts the approach of puwasa is remarkable for the increase of slaughtering in the last days of the preceding month. The meat is preserved for use; meals in puwasa are somewhat heavier than usual in order to strengthen for the strain of fasting. The markets are also more animated towards the end of the month; this is the time to make purchases in view of the approaching end of the fast. The beginning of the month is publicly notified; e.g. the drums which form part of the equipment of the houses of prayer are beaten in a special way. The beating of the drums is repeated throughout the whole month at particular times of day, especially after sunset and shortly after midnight in order to warn the faithful that the time for eating is nearly over so that they can prepare the morning meal (Ar. *saḥūr*). Finally at the end of the month when the period of abstinence is over, the drums are beaten with particular vigour. The ascertainment of the end and beginning of Ramadan usually leads to friction every year. Those who are free-thinkers in religious matters use the calendar and do not hesitate to announce the end of the fast in advance; all who demand that the law should be strictly followed and these include the modernists, stick to *ru'ya* (evidence of the senses). The *tawarukh* (Ar. *tarwīḥ*) service is held in the public houses of prayer immediately after the 'idha'; it is also eagerly attended by people who on other occasions do not observe the legal obligations of religion. The lack of seriousness and the unfitting conduct of many participants induces the devout to avoid this *tawarukh* service and to observe it elsewhere with a small company of similarly minded people. It is worst in Atjeh; the *tawarukh* service here is simply a caricature (Snouck Hurgronje). A special importance is usually attached to the last five odd nights of the month devoted to religious exercises in connection with the *ta'lat al-hadar*. They are not agreed as to which of these nights is most probably the correct one; the 21st and 27th are preferred but the practice varies in different localities. Part of the ceremonial observation of these nights consists in having illuminations in front of the dwelling-houses. In Java special emphasis is laid on the eating of meals together. Every one, if he can at all do it, gives a religious feast every evening. Later they go round their friends; open house is generally kept and time spent in rejoicing until far into the night. Besides these private entertainments there are meals of an official nature. The people of the village come to the house of the village headman to a religious feast; every one brings his share. The higher officials, especially the administrative officials, give a feast to their subordinates. The most splendid observance of these five nights however is found in the palaces of the Javanese

princes. According to ancient custom, these feasts took place in great splendour after sunset; the broad forecourts of the palaces give an excellent opportunity for them. These feasts known as *maluman*, with which many legends are associated, follow one another in a hierarchical succession. First the prince has his on the 21st; next come the crown-prince, the princes of the blood, the governors and ministers; the dishes are intended for the host's subordinates. In recent years these *maluman* have become restricted so that only the first of them retains its official character. The "little" feast is a day of rejoicing far surpassing the "great" feast. After the *afra* has been performed on the last day of Ramadan or even earlier and ablutions have been taken with special care, in which the Javanese sometimes includes his cattle, a feast is prepared in the house in the evening after the breaking of the fast. The more devout make a modest meal precede this within the month of the fast to take farewell of the spirits of the deceased who wander about during Ramadan and now return to their abodes. The ceremonial *jalat* on the 1st Shawwal is little observed in Atjeh but is a great ceremony in other places; there is no *jalat* in the whole year which is better attended; many, who otherwise never enter a mosque never fail to be present on this occasion. In Java the regents, the highest native government officials accompanied by the whole of the staff of the regency, all in full dress go in the early morning, before sunrise from the regent's house to the mosque in order to take part in the *jalat* there. After the end of the *jalat* they return in the same way. The regent then receives the homage of all. The same custom prevails in the southern Celebes; except that here the native princes take the place of the regents. On this day the young people let off fire-works. After the ceremonial *jalat* people set out in new clothes to visit relations and friends; congratulations are given on the successful conclusion of the fast and pardon is asked for any sins committed deliberately or involuntarily in the past year. It is a widespread custom to visit on this day the tombs of ancestors which have previously been cleaned, and there to spend some time scattering flowers and incense in pious devotion. In Java again we have the custom for the higher officials to treat their subordinates to what are called "mountains of food" (dishes of all kinds arranged in artistic forms). In the native states, at the end of the fast, one of the three public holidays is observed, the essential feature of which is the public representation of the unity of the kingdom in the person of the prince. The three feasts are on the whole on the same lines. The prince appears in oriental splendour and shows himself in the outer court of the palace before the assembled people. Large supplies of food have already been prepared in the royal kitchens and are ceremonially piled up into mountains of food of exactly defined form and preparation. These "mountains" which are so large that it takes several persons to carry one, are carried to the place of audience as soon as the prince has taken his seat and at his command taken on to the mosque. Here the food is distributed after the chief supervisor of the mosque has offered a prayer for prince and country. On account of the blessing associated with it it is lucky to get any of the food. The six days' fast in Shawwal recommended by law is only observed

by a few very pious people; a minor festival is observed on the 8th of the month to mark its conclusion.

Bibliography: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Afghans*, Batavia 1893, I, 244-299; do., *Verspreide Geschiedenis*, 1912, 349-299; R. Soedjono Tirtokoesomo, *De Guribz in het Sultanaat*

Jogjakarta, Jogjakarta 1931; B. F. Matthes, *Ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes*, 's-Gravenhage 1875, p. 85-299; C. Poensen, *Brieven over den Islam uit de binnenlanden van Java*, Leyden 1886, p. 31-299, 51-299; L. Th. Mayer and J. F. A. C. van Moll, *De siddikah's en shmittan's in de dist. Semarang*, 1909. (R. A. KERN)

Q

QUETTA (Pashtu: Kwatta), a *tahsil* and town in the Quetta-Pishin district of British Baluchistan [q. v.]. The district, which contains the *tahsils* of Quetta and Pishin and the administrative sub-division of Čaman, has an area of 4,806 square miles and a population of 147,341, of whom 107,945 are Muslims. Nearly all these Muslims are Pashtu speaking Pathāns, only a very small minority speaking Brahūi and Balūči. The district, which is very mountainous, is bounded on the north-west by Afghan territory, on the east by the Zhōb and Sibi districts, and on the south by the Balūči Pass district and the Sarawān division of Kalāt.

The *tahsil* of Quetta, which is held on lease from the Khān of Kalāt, has an area of 548 square miles and a population of 76,649. The town of Quetta was destroyed by earthquake in 1935. In 1931 it had a population of 60,272, of whom 25,391 lived in the cantonment (*Constat of India*, 1931, vol. iv., Baluchistan).

Until the middle of the eighteenth century, when Quetta finally came under Brahūi control, the history of Quetta-Pishin is probably identical with that of Kandahār [for early history see the art. BALUCHISTAN and KANDAHAR]. Quetta was temporarily occupied by the British during the First Afghan War, 1839-1842 (see W. Hough, *A Narrative of the march and operations of the army of the Indus in the expedition into Afghanistan*, 1840). Its strategic importance was first recognized by General John Jacob who urged Lord Canning, in 1856, to garrison this important point of vantage (*Views and Opinions of General John Jacob*, ed. Pelly, p. 349). The proposal was rejected on the grounds that, surrounded by hostile tribes and cut off from its true base, the isolated position of the garrison would be extremely precarious. Ten years later, Sir Henry Green, the Political Superintendent of Upper Sind, seeking to improve the British scheme of frontier defence, proposed that Quetta should be garrisoned and connected by rail with Karāči. Unfortunately for those who desired an advance into Baluchistan the proposal had to face the united opposition of Lord Lawrence

and his Council, all of whom were champions of non-intervention. Ten years passed. The exponents of "masterly inactivity" were no longer predominant in the Viceroy's council chamber; Khitwa [see KHWAJAS] had fallen before the Russians, who were drawing nearer and nearer to the gates of India; and, more dangerous still, the estrangement of Shīr 'Alī had brought the Amir of Afghanistan and the Government of India to the brink of war. It was therefore decided, in 1876, to occupy Quetta. The British right to despatch troops into Kalāt territory had been recognized by the treaty of 1854 (Aitchison, xi, 212-213). Chiefly owing to the efforts of Major (afterwards Sir Robert) Sandeman, this treaty was renewed and supplemented on December 8, 1876, by the Treaty of Jacobabad (*Parl. Papers*, 1877, lxiv., c. 1808, p. 314-316). In return for an increased subsidy the Khān granted permission for the location of troops in, and the construction of railways and telegraph lines through, Kalāt territory. This was followed by the formation of the Baluchistan Agency, for on February 21, 1877, Sandeman was appointed Agent to the Governor-General with his headquarters at Quetta.

The strategic importance of Quetta is now almost universally recognized. Protected on the south-west by the lofty Chiltan range and on the north-east by the Zarghun plateau, it dominates all the southern approaches to the Indus valley.

Bibliography: *Administration Report of the Baluchistan Agency* (published annually); C. U. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, vol. xi., 1909; D. Bray, *Ethnographical Survey of Baluchistan*, 2 vols., 1913; C. G. Davies, *The Problem of the North-West Frontier*, 1932; *Frontier and Overseas Expeditions from India*, vol. iii., 1910; R. Hughes-Buller, *Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series*, vol. v., Quetta-Pishin District, 1907; *Parliamentary Papers*, Quetta and Central Asia, 1878-1879, lxxvii.; Kalāt 1877, lxiv., c. 1807, c. 1808; T. H. Thornton, *Life of Sir Robert Sandeman*, 1895. (C. COLLIN DAVIES)

R

RĀ, tenth letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value of 200. For its palaeographical evolution see the article **ARABIA**, plate i. It belongs to the group of the liquids and is frequently interchanged with *l* and *n*. It regularly corresponds to the *r* of other Semitic languages. It is not guttural but lingual.

Bibliography: W. Wright, *Lectures on the comparative grammar of the Semitic languages*, Cambridge 1890, p. 67; H. Zimmern, *Vergl. Grammatik der sem. Sprachen*, Leipzig 1898, p. 31—32; Brockelmann, *Précis de linguistique sémitique*, transl. by W. Marçais and M. Cohen, Paris 1910, p. 74; do., *Grundriss der vergl. Grammatik der sem. Sprachen*, i. 44, 137—138, 173, 176, 202—203; A. Schaade, *Schawahiit's Lautlehre*, Leyden 1911, index a.v. rā.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

RABĀB, the generic name in Arabic for the viol, or any stringed instrument played with a bow (*ḥaww*). The origin of the name has been variously explained: *a.* from the Hebrew *ṭōbāb* (*l* and *r* being interchangeable); *b.* from the Persian *rabāb* (*V. ramāva*), which was played with the fingers or plectrum; and *c.* from the Arabic *rabāba* (to collect, arrange, assemble together). The first derivation is scarcely feasible. The second has a *raison d'être*, although the mere similarity in name must not be accepted without question. In spite of the oft repeated statement that the Arabs admit that they borrowed the *rabāb* from the Persians, together with the word *ḥamām* for the bow, there is not the slightest evidence for it. No Arabic author (so far as the present writer knows) makes an admission of this kind, nor have the Arabs adopted the word *ḥamām* for the bow, their own term *ḥaww* having been considered sufficient. It is true that we read in the *Mufaṣṣṣ al-Uṭūm* (xth century) that "the *rabāb* is well-known to the people of Persia and Khurāsān" (237), but this author was writing in hither Persia, and we know from al-Fārābī that the *rabāb* was also well-known in Arabian lands. One argument against the alleged borrowing from Persia is that the *rabāb* with the Persians has ever been a plucked and not a bowed instrument. Still, the Arabs may have borrowed the plucked instrument and adapted it to the bow. On the other hand, the Arabic root *rabāba* as the parent of the word *rabāb* has much in its favour. As the Arabic musical accousticians point out, plucked instruments such as the *ḥūd* (lute), *ṭanbur* (pandure), etc. gave short (*munfaṣil*) sounds, but bowed instruments such as the *rabāb* gave long or sustained (*muṭṭaṣil*) sounds. It was application of the bow which "collected, arranged, or assembled" the short notes into one sustained note, hence the term *rabāb* being applied to the viol (see Farmer, *Stud.*, i. 99).

The *rabāb* is mentioned as early as the Arabic polygraph al-Būhārī (d. 868) in his *Maḥmūdāt al-Rasālāt*. Yet we cannot be sure whether this was

the bowed *rabāb* or the plucked *rabāb*. At any rate, it already had a legendary history when he wrote. According to the *Kaṣf al-Humūm* (xvth—xvith century) it is first found in the hands of a woman of the Banū Tayy (fol. 263). Turkish tradition ascribed its "invention" to a certain 'Abd Allāh Fāryāsī (Ewliya Çelebi, *Siyāhat-nāme*, i/ii. 226, 234). An Andalusian legend places its invention within the Iberian peninsula (Delphin and Guin, *Notes sur la poésie et la musique arabe*, p. 59). One thing is certain even if we have iconographic evidence of the viol in the viith or ixth century (cf. *infra*), the earliest literary evidence of the use of the bow comes from Arabic sources, i. e. from al-Fārābī (d. 950), the Iḥwān al-Safā' (xth century), Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037), and Ibn Zayla (d. 1048), as I have fully demonstrated elsewhere (*Stud.*, i. 101—105).

Seven different forms of viol are known to Islāmic peoples, viz.: 1. The Rectangular Viol, 2. the Circular Viol, 3. the Boat Shape Viol, 4. the Pear Shape Viol, 5. the Hemispherical Viol, 6. the Pandora Viol, and 7. the Open Chest Viol.

1. The Rectangular Viol. This consists of a wooden frame, more or less rectangular, over the face (*waḡh*) and back (*ṣabr*) of which is stretched a membrane (*ḡilla*). The neck (*unūḡ*) is cylindrical and is of wood, whilst the foot (*riḡl*) is of iron. It has either one or two strings (*awṭār*), generally of horsehair. Al-Ḥalīl (d. 791) says that "the ancient Arabs sang their poems to its [the *rabāb*'s] voice [not sound]" (Farmer, *Stud.*, i. 100). In the *Kaṣf al-Humūm* (fol. 267) we read that it was used to accompany the pre-Islāmic *ḡayda* and the elegaic poem. Probably the pre-Islāmic *rabāb* was of this rectangular form. Lane (*Lexicon*, p. 1005) held this latter view. Ibn Ḥalīl (d. 1435) [q. v.] describes this viol of the bedouin as rectangular (*murabba'*) and with a membrane face and back and one string of horsehair (fol. 78v). Niebuhr (i. 144) says that it was still called the *murabba'* in the xvith century. We certainly have a rectangular instrument shown in the frescoes of Ḳusair 'Amra (Masil, pl. xxxiv.), but it is played with the fingers and not with a bow. Yet even in modern times the *rabāb* of the desert was to be found played in this way as well as with a bow (Crichton, ii. 380; Burckhardt, *Bedouins*, p. 43; do., *Travels*, i. 389; Burton, *Persian Narrative*, iii. 76). Niebuhr (Tab. xxvi., F) delineates a rectangular viol of two strings, although he says that he saw a viol of one string in Cairo. Villoteau (722—724: 913—918) distinguishes between the two instruments. In Egypt, he says, the *rabāb al-ḡayr* (poet's viol) had one string, whilst the *rabāb al-sughannī* (singer's viol) had two strings. Lane (*Mod. Egypt.*, chaps. xviii., xxi.) also describes them. These instruments never form part of a concert orchestra, being relegated to the folk. For other delineations of the instrument see Fétis (*Hist.*, ii. 145), Engel

(*Catalogue*, p. 211; *Researches*, p. 88), Chouquet (p. 204), Sachs (*Reallex.*, p. 317). Actual specimens abound in museums, e.g. Brussels, N^o. 382 and New York, Nos. 242, 397.

2. The Circular Viol. The modern instrument of this form consists of a circular wooden frame or pan, the face, and sometimes the back, being covered with a membrane. There is no foot. There is no special reference to this form in Arabic literature nor is there any definite iconographic evidence of it earlier than the xviiith century when it is described and delineated by Niebuhr (i. 144; Tab. xvi. G) who found it at Basra. It had but one string. It is still found among the folk of Palestine (Sachse, p. 30; 40, Tab. 3, 17) and the Maghrib (Chotin, p. 50) where it is still known as the *rabāb* or *riḥāb*. For other delineations see Lavignac (p. 2790) and Chotin (pl. vi).

3. The Boat Shape Viol. This form is confined to the Maghrib. It consists of a piece of wood hollowed out into the shape of a boat. The chest (*ṣadr*) is covered with thin metal or wood pierced with ornamental rosettes (*nuṣṣārāt*), whilst the lower part is covered with a membrane. The head (*ra's*) is at right angles to the body, and it is generally furnished with two strings. It seems to have been used by the Arabs and Moors of Spain since their invasion of the peninsula. It is praised by their xth and xith century writers Abū Bakr Yahyā ibn Ḥudhail (see al-Shālūtī, fol. 15), and Ibn Ḥarm (see Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, p. 473), and doubtless they refer to either this instrument or the Pear Shape Viol (see *infra* 4) since the *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (xith century) equates *rabāb* with *lira dicta a varietate*. If we have no iconographic evidence of this viol from Arabian or Moorish sources, it certainly exists among the Spaniards, since the instruments in the *Censuraz de Santa Maria* (xiiith century) show definite oriental features; see Riaño (p. 129) and Ribera (pl. xi.). Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) is the first to describe this viol, although not very clearly (*Prolog.*, xvii. 354). It is not until the time of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Fāsi (ca. 1650) that we get any musical details of the instrument (*J.R.A.S.*, 1937, p. 366). European travellers (Addison, Windham, Hest, Shaw) mention the instrument as popular in the Maghrib, and to-day it is one of the principal instruments in concert music. Hest gives us one of the earliest delineations of the instrument from Eastern sources (Tab. xxi. 2). For a xixth century description see F. Salvador-Daniel (p. 80) and for a design see Christianowitch (pl. 1). Several delineations of both instruments and players may be seen in al-Hafnī (pl. 34, 39—52), Mahillon (i. 416—417), Fétis (*Hist.*, ii. 146), Engel (*Cat.*, p. 143), Chouquet (p. 205), Sachs (*Reallex.*, p. 317), etc. For the instrument of Northern India called the *ṣūrangi* see Lavignac (p. 350) and Fétis (ii. 298).

4. The Pear Shape Viol. Probably, the earliest Arabic reference to this instrument is that made by Ibn Khurḍādhliḥ (d. ca. 912) who, in an oration before Caliph al-Ma'tamid (d. 893), says that the Byzantines had a wooden instrument of five strings called the *lira* which was identical with the *rabāb* of the Arabs (al-Ma'sūdī, *Murūj*, viii. 91). We can probably identify the instrument in the famous Carrand Casket at Florence which dates from the ixth century (*L'Art*, 1896, p. 24). From the Siculo-Moorish woodwork of the Palatine

Chapel at Palermo (xiiith century) we see to better advantage what the Arabian instrument was like (*B.Z.*, 1893, ii. 383). It was this form of the *rabāb* probably, with which al-Fārābī (d. 950) deals (see Land, *Researches*, p. 130, 166). He gives full details of both the *accordatura* and scales. We know little about this instrument in Arabic speaking lands after the xiiith—xivth century, until it is described by Niebuhr (i. 143; Tab. xvi. D) in the xviiith century, and even then it appears to have been favoured only by the Greek population. It had three strings. It may have been used in the Maghrib (Jackson, p. 159—160), but neither Villoteau nor Lane know of it in Egypt. In Turkey, it appears to have been adopted from the Greeks, possibly in the xviiith century, and with the *ūd* and *tanbur* plays a prominent part in concert music to-day (Lavignac, p. 3015). Recently an attempt has been made to introduce this *rabāb turkī* or *arnaba*, as it is now called, into Egypt (al-Hafnī, p. 661, pl. 35). Designs of the instrument may be found in Engel (*Cat.*, p. 210) and Crosby Brown (iii. 22), where they represent specimens in collections at South Kensington (London) and New York.

5. The Hemispherical Viol. This is, perhaps, the best known form of the viol in the Islamic east. The body consists of a hemisphere of wood, coco-unt, or a gourd, over the aperture of which a membrane is stretched. The neck is of wood, generally cylindrical, and there is a foot of iron, although sometimes there is no foot. It is often known in Arabic as the *ḥamūdīya* or more rarely as the *ḥamūdīk*. The former is derived from the Persian *ḥamūdī* (dim. of *ḥūman*, "bow") whilst the latter is derived from the Persian and Turki *ḥamūdīk*, *ḥamūdīk*, *ḥamūdīk*, *ḥamūdīk*, etc., which may have had their origin in the Sanskrit *ḥamūdīka*, an instrument mentioned in the pre-Christian *Nāṭya-śāstra* (cap. xxxiii.). I believe that the words *ḥamūdīk* and *ḥamūdīk* mentioned in the *Iḥwān al-Ṣafā'* (Bombay ed., i. 97) and al-Shālūtī (fol. 12) respectively, are copyist's errors for *ḥamūdīk* and *ḥamūdīk*. The word *ḥamūdīya* is first mentioned in Arabic by Ibn al-Fakhīr (ca. 903) who says that it was used by both the Copts and the people of Sind (*B.G.A.*). Of course this need not mean that the instrument mentioned was a hemispherical viol, because, being a Persian by origin, the author may have used the word *ḥamūdīya* in its Persian generic sense meaning a viol. That Egypt had an early liking for the *ḥamūdīya* is borne out from various sources. Although in Egypt the hemispherical viol is nowadays called the *rabāb miṣrī* (Egyptian viol), in earlier days it was acknowledged that Egypt borrowed the instrument from Persia (*Kashf al-Humūn*, fol. 106). The *ḥamūdīya* was certainly popular at the courts of the Ayyūbid al-Kāmil (d. 1238) and the Mamlūk Baibars (d. 1277); see al-Makrīzī, i. 136; Lane-Poole, *Hist. of Egypt*, p. 249. In the Persian *Kanz al-Tuhaf* (xivth century) the hemispherical viol is described and figured as the *ḥamūdīk*, but in Ibn Qhāṭib (d. 1435) where both the *ḥamūdīk* and the *ḥamūdīya* are described, the former is a larger type of the latter, having, in addition to its two ordinary strings, eight sympathetic strings (*Kanz al-Tuhaf*, fol. 261; Ibn Qhāṭib, fol. 78). In the xviiith century the *ḥamūdīya* is delineated by Russell (i. 152—153, pl. iv.), and Niebuhr (i. 144, Tab. xvi. E). Both Villoteau (p. 900, pl. BB) and Lane (*Mod. Egypt*, chap. 18) give minute details

of the construction and *accordatura*. Mushāka also describes the Syrian *hamūdīya* (*hamūdīya*) of his day (*M. F. O. B.*, vi. 25, 81). For the modern Persian instrument see Advielle (14 and pl.) and Lavignac (p. 3074). Turkomanian instruments are given by Fitrat (p. 45) and Belaiev (p. 34). For Malaysia see Kaudern (p. 178); for India Lavignac (p. 349) and Fétis (ii. 295). For other designs see Farmer (*Stud.*, i. 76), Fétis (*Hist.*, ii. 136-137), Chouquet (p. 203), Sachs (*Reallex.*, p. 207).

6. The Pandore viol. This form is practically a *tanbur*, *sitar*, or the like, which is bowed instead of being plucked by the fingers or a plectrum. The two best known examples from India are the *erār* and *ṣār*. The former has a membrane on its face and has five strings played on with the bow together with a number of sympathetic strings. The latter is practically identical with the former but is adorned with the figure of a peacock (hence its name) at the bottom of the body of the instrument. See Lavignac (p. 351) and Mahillon (l. 131) for designs and details. With the Persians and Turkomans we see various kinds of pandores used with the bow. See Advielle (p. 14), Lavignac (p. 3074), Mironov (p. 27), Kinsky (p. 26).

7. The Open Chest Viol. This is unknown to the peoples of North Africa and the Near East, although it is popular in the Middle East. Unlike the preceding forms of the viol, the upper part of the face of the body or sound-chest is left open. The best known example of this is the *ṣarīnā* of India which has three strings. See Fétis (ii. 296), Lavignac (p. 351), Mahillon (l. 137) and Kinsky (p. 27), for both designs and details. In Turkomania a similar instrument known as the *ṣarīnā* is very popular. It has two strings. See Belaiev (p. 52), Mironov (p. 25), Fitrat (p. 43).

Bibliography: Printed Books: Farmer, *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, London 1931; Sachs, *Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente*, Berlin 1913; Land, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la gamme arabe* (*Actes du VI^{me} Congr. Inter. Orient.*, Leyden 1883); Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, Amsterdam 1776; Villoteau, in *Description de l'Égypte, état moderne*, i. Paris 1809-1826; Fétis, *Hist. gén. de la musique*, Paris 1869; Engel, *Deutscher Katalog der Musikinstrumente in der S. Kensington Museum*, London 1874; do., *Recherches... Violin Family*, 1883; Chouquet, *Le Musée du Conservatoire National de Musique*, Paris 1884; Sachsse, *Pallastismische Musikinstrumente* (*Z. D. P. V.*, Leipzig 1927); Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique*, 1913 etc.; Muḥammad b. Imāmī, *Safinat al-Mulk*, Cairo 1309; Ibn Khaldūn, in *N.E.*, xvii. 354; Hüst, *Nachrichten von Marokko und Fez*, Copenhagen 1781; Salvador-Daniel, *La musique arabe*, Algiers 1879; al-Hafat, *Recueil des Travaux du Congrès de Musique Arabe...*, Cairo 1934; Mahillon, *Catalogue... du Musée... du Conservatoire royal de Musique de Bruxelles*; Crosby Brown, *Catalogue of the Crosby Brown Coll. of Musical Instruments...*, New York 1904; Russell, *Nat. Hist. of Aleppo*, London 1794; Advielle, *La musique chez les Persans en 1885*, Paris 1885; Fitrat, *Ushk Ghilāzī Mushāka*, Tashkent 1927; Belaiev, *Musikalnye instrumenty Uzbekistana*, Moscow 1933; Mironov, *Obshche-musikalnye kulturnye usloviya i druzhnye naryady usheba*, Samarkand 1931; Kaudern, *Musical Instruments in Celebes*, Götting 1927;

Kinsky, *Geschichte der Musik in Bildern*, Leipzig 1929; Chottin, *Corpus de Musique Marocaine*, ii., Paris 1933.

Manuscripts: Ibn Ghāibī, *Djāmi' al-Aḥkām*, Bodleian Library, Marsh 282; Ibn Sinā, *Kitāb al-Shifā'*, India Office, N^o. 1811; Ibn Zailā, *Kitāb al-Kāfi*, British Museum, N^o. 2361; *Kāshf al-Humūn*, Topkapı Library, Constantinople; 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Fasī, *Kitāb al-Djāmi' fi 'Ilm al-Musīqī*, Berlin Staatsbibl., lgb. N^o. 516; *Kanz al-Tuhaf*, British Museum, Or. 2361.

(H. G. FARMER)

RABAD (A., pl. *arḥād*), district of a town, quarter, situated outside the central part or *madīna* [q. v.]. The term, which is very frequently found in the Arab historians of the middle ages in east as well as west, is the original of the Spanish word *arrabal* which means the same. Rabad also means the immediate vicinity of a town. The rabad usually had a name of its own. This is how there have been preserved for the Cordova of the caliphate of the xth century the names of twenty-one of the suburban districts. Rabad Ṣakunda [q. v.] or al-Rabad (for short) was the southern quarter of Cordova, on the other side of the Guadalquivir where in 108 (914) the famous "rebellion of the suburb" broke out which was stifled in blood by the emir al-Hakam I [q. v.] and earned him the epithet of al-Rahadī. The name *rahadī* was also given to the exiles who migrated at this time to the rest of al-Andalus, Morocco and to the east. In the castles (*ḥiṣṣ* or *ṣaḥṣ*) of Muslim Spain the name rabad was given to the civilian quarter below the strictly military quarters. Rabad was also the name given in the towns of the west to the lepers' quarter and to that of the prostitutes.

Bibliography: For the Muslim West, cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane du X^{me} siècle: institutions et vie sociale*, Paris 1932, p. 151, 203, 207; R. Dozy, *Suppl. aux Dict. Arabes*, s. v.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

RABAH Zubair-Pasha, Egyptian governor of Bahr al-Ghazāl in 1875, being recalled to Cairo left his son Sulaimān in charge. The latter thinking he was threatened by the hostility of Gordon, then Governor-General of the Sūdān, joined Hārūn, the dethroned sūlṭān of Dār-Fūr, in order to rebel against Egypt. His chief lieutenant was a certain Rabah, son of a negress who had been his father's nurse and was therefore his foster-brother. Gessi-Pasha sent by Gordon inflicted a severe defeat on Sulaimān and Rabah took to flight with the remnants of his master's army and to revictual his forces began a series of raids on the tribes of the northwest of Bahr al-Ghazāl (1878). Then pushing westwards he entered the land of the Banda in 1879 and in 1883 fell back on the Dār-Kūtī, installed a native chief named Sanūs there as sūlṭān, attacked Bagirmi in 1892 and in 1893 seized its capital which then was Bugomao. In the same year he attacked Hāshim, sūlṭān of Bornu [q. v.], defeated and slew him (Dec. 1893). He then attacked Gober or Tessāwa where Abū Bakr, nephew and successor of Hāshim, had taken refuge; checked by the army of the sūlṭān of Sokoto he turned against the little states of the south of Lake Chad, took Gulfey from the Būso, Kuṣi from the Mandara, Logone from the Kotoko, again invaded Bagirmi in 1898, burned Maseña, the old capital, pursued the king

or *whang* as far as Kuno, was there held up with his 8,000 men by some thirty Senegalese soldiers under the district commissioner Beetonnet and only overcame the resistance of this handful of heroes after eight hours fighting (July 18, 1899). On April 22, 1900, he was defeated at Kusri on the lower Chari by Commandant Lamy; Rabah and Lamy both fell in the battle. His extraordinary career had lasted 22 years and ruined a whole region of the Central Sudan.

(MAURICE DELAFOSSE)

RABAT, *Ar.* *Ribāṭ*, *al-Faṭṭā*, *vulg.* *er-Ribāṭ* (ethnic *Ribāṭī*, *vulg.* *Ribāṭī*), a town in Morocco, situated on the south bank at the mouth of the Wādī Abū Raḡrāḡ (Wed Bu Regreg) opposite the town of Salé (cf. *Salā*). Since the establishment of the French protectorate it has been the administrative capital of the Sharifian empire, the usual residence of the sultān of Morocco, and the headquarters of the *maḡāzīn* [q.v.] and of the French authorities. The choice of Rabat as the administrative centre of Morocco has brought this town considerable development in place of the somnolence in which it was sunk a quarter of a century ago.

The foundation of *Ribāṭ* al-Faṭṭā was the work of the Almohads [q.v.]. The site of the "Two Banks" (*al-Idawān*) of the estuary of the Bu Regreg had previously been the scene of Roman and pre-Roman settlements; the Punic, later Roman *Sala* was built on the left bank of the river higher up at the site of the royal Merinid necropolis of Chella (*Shella*; q.v.). The Muslim town of Salā on the right bank had, from the beginning of the tenth century to protect it against the inroads of the Berghawāṭa [q.v.] heretics at the time when it was the capital of a little Ifrānīd kingdom, fortified on the other side of the Bu Regreg a *ribāṭ* [q.v.], which was permanently occupied by devout volunteers who in this way desired to carry out their vow of *ḡhīzā* [q.v.]; the geographer Ibn Hawḡal is authority for its existence at this date (cf. *B. G. A.*, i, 56). But we know very little of the part played by this *ribāṭ* in the course of the sanguinary wars later fought between the Berghawāṭa and the Almoravids. It is not even possible to point out its exact situation. It was perhaps the same fortified spot that is mentioned in the middle of the thirteenth century under the name of *Ḳaṣr Banī Targā* by the geographer al-Faṣīrī.

The final and complete subjugation of the Berghawāṭa meant that a different part was to be played by the *ribāṭ* on the estuary of Bu Regreg. In 545 (1150), the founder of the dynasty of the Mu'minid Almohads, 'Abd al-Mu'min, chose the fort and its vicinity as the place of mobilisation for the troops intended to carry the holy war into Spain. A permanent camp was established there and he provided for a supply of fresh water by bringing a conduit from a neighbouring source, 'Ain ḡhabūla. The permanent establishments, — mosque, royal residence — formed a little town which received the name of al-Mahdiyya. On several occasions very large bodies of men were concentrated around the *ribāṭ*, and it was there that 'Abd al-Mu'min died on the eve of his departure for Spain in 558 (1163).

The development of the camp went on under 'Abd al-Mu'min's successor, Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf (558—580 = 1163—1184), but it was the following

prince of the Mu'minid dynasty, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr, who at the beginning of his reign gave the orders and opened the credits necessary for its completion. In memory of the victory gained in 1195 by the Almohads over Alfonso VIII of Castile at Alarcos [q.v.] it was given the name of *Ribāṭ* al-Faṭṭā. The camp was surrounded by a wall of earth flanked with square towers enclosing with the sea and the river an area of 450 hectares. The wall is still standing for the most part and is nearly four miles in length; two monumental gates, one now known as *Bāb al-Rawāḡ* (*Bāb er-Ruḡh*), the other which gives access to the *ḡhabūla* (Kasha of the Oudaya), date from this period. It was also Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr who ordered the building inside *Ribāṭ* al-Faṭṭā of a colossal mosque which was never finished; rectangular in plan it measured 610 feet long by 470 feet broad; the only mosque in the Muslim world of greater area was that of Sīmarrā [q.v.]. It was entered by 16 doors and in addition to three courts had a hall of prayer, supported by over 200 columns. In spite of recent excavations more or less successfully conducted this mosque still remains very much a puzzle from the architectural point of view. But the minaret, which also remained unfinished and was never given its upper lantern still surprises the traveller by its unusual dimensions. It is now called the Tower of Ḥaṣṣān (*ḡurḡ Ḥaṣṣān*). Built entirely of stones of uniform shape it is 160 feet high on a square base 55 feet square. Its walls are eight feet thick. The upper platform is reached by a ramp two yards broad with a gentle slope. This tower in its proportions, its arrangement and decoration is closely related to two Almohad minarets of the same period; that of the mosque of the Kutubiya at Marrāḡash [q.v.] and that of the great mosque of Seville [q.v.], the Giralda.

Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr's great foundation never received the population which its area might have held and the town opposite, Salé, retained under the last Almohads and in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries all its political and commercial importance. Rabat and Salé in 1248 passed under the rule of the Marinids and it seems that Rabat in those days was simply a military station of no great importance, sharing the fortunes of its neighbour which had gradually become a considerable port having busy commercial relations with the principal trading centres of the Mediterranean. But a chance circumstance was suddenly to give the town of the "Two Banks" a new aspect. The expulsion of the last Moriscos [q.v.] decided upon in 1650 by Philip III brought to Rabat and Salé an important colony of Andalusian fugitives who increased to a marked degree the number of their compatriots in these towns who had previously left Spain of their own free-will after the reconquest. While the population of the other Moroccan cities, Fās and Tetuwā principally, in which the exiles took refuge, very quickly absorbed the new arrivals whom they had welcomed without distrust, the people of Rabat and Salé could not see without misgivings this colony from Spain settle beside them, for they lived apart, never mingled with the older inhabitants and devoted themselves to piracy and soon completely dominated the two towns and their hinterland. Rabat, known in Europe as "New Salé" in contrast to Salé ("Old Salé"), soon became the centre of a regular little maritime republic

in the hands of the Spanish Moors who had either left of their own accord before 1610, the so-called "Moriscos", or had been expelled in 1610, the so-called "Moriscos", the former however being clearly in the majority. This republic, on the origin and life of which the documents from European archives published by H. de Castries and P. de Cenival have in recent years thrown new light, hardly recognised the suzerainty of the sharif who ruled over the rest of Morocco. While boasting of their *ghihad* against the Christians, the Andalusians of the "Two Banks" really found their activity at sea a considerable source of revenue. They had retained the use of the Spanish language and the mode of life they had been used to in Spain. They thus raised Rabat from its decadence. Their descendants still form the essential part of the Muslim population of the town and they have Spanish patronymics like Bargash (Vargas?), Palmino, Moreno, López, Pérez, Chiquito, Dinya (Span. Dénia), Runda (Span. Ronda), Mulin (Molino) etc.

The spirit of independence and the wealth of the Spanish Moors in Rabat soon made the town a most desirable object in the eyes of the sultans of Morocco. Nevertheless the little republic with periods of more or less unreal independence, was able to survive until the accession of the 'Alid sultan Saiyid Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh in 1757 (1757). This prince now endeavoured to organise for his own behalf the piracy hitherto practised by the sailors of the republic of the "Two Banks". He even ordered several ships of the line to be built. But the official character thus given to the pirates of Sale very soon resulted in the bombardment of Sale and Larache [q.v.] by a French fleet in 1765. The successors of Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh had very soon to renounce any further attempt to wage the "holy war" by sea. The result was a long period of decline for Sale which found expression not only in the gradual diminution of its trade but also in a very marked hatred of each town for the other. At the beginning of the 19th century, Rabat like Sale had completely lost its old importance. They were both occupied by French troops on July 19, 1911.

Rabat is one of the towns of Morocco, the population of which is both *hajarīya*, i.e. essentially town-dwelling, and *wasīṭīya*, i.e. used as residence by the sultan of the Sharifian empire. The non-European population has increased in a marked degree since the establishment of the protectorate and its choice as permanent capital of the sultan. The number of inhabitants at the census of 1931 was 27,086 Muslims and 4,218 Jews (20,432 and 3,676 in 1926; Sale which is a separate municipality had in 1931 23,145 Muslims and 2,387 Jews). They live almost entirely in the *madīna*, which is in the shape of a trapezoid, and its annexes formed by the Jewish *mitlās* [q.v.] and the *ḥajara* of the *Udāya*, a separate walled area with its own mosque, originally inhabited by contingents of the *giz* tribe (q.v.; Ar. *ḡāḡ*) of this name (Kaba of the *Udāya*). The chief mosques of Rabat are the foundations of 'Alid sultans, Mawla al-Rashid [q.v.] and Mawla Sulaimān (Moula Slima); the mosque near the imperial palace, the *Djama* al-Sana, was built in the second half of the 18th century. Besides the monumental gates there are several other entrances in the Almohad enclosure: the *Bab al-Uḡ* (Bab el-Aou) admits from the *madīna* to the cemetery and the cliffs

which rise up from the ocean; the gate called *Zaḥr* (Bab Za'ur) is in the immediate vicinity of the Marinid royal cemetery of Chella (Shella).

The French town of Rabat built outside the *madīna* is developing rapidly: the palace of the Resident-General, the public offices, fine esplanades, villas surrounded by gardens give the new town a particularly attractive appearance. French Rabat at the present day is a masterpiece, famed throughout the world, of successful town planning and architecture. It is connected by railway to Casablanca and Marrakech in the south, Tangier in the north, Fes and Algiers in the east. Since October 1935 it has been the final resting-place of Marshal Lyautey to whom it owes its position as capital and its reconstruction.

Bibliography: In the *Archives Marocaines*, the latest editor of which is Ed. Michaux-Bellaire and in the periodical *Hesperis* edited since 1921 by the present writer there are many articles on Rabat, its monuments, its industries and dialectal topography. Cf. also the important monograph *Villes et Tribus du Maroc*, publication de la Mission scientifique du Maroc, Rabat et sa région, 3 vol., Paris 1918-1920. — The maritime life and the Arabic dialect of Rabat have been studied by L. Brunot, *La mer et les traditions indigènes à Rabat et Salé* (P.I.H.E.M., vol. v., Paris 1920); do., *Notes lexicologiques sur le vocabulaire maritime de Rabat et Salé* (P.I.H.E.M., vol. vi., Paris 1920); do., *Textes arabes de Rabat* (P.I.H.E.M., vol. 22, Paris 1931). — On the Jews of Rabat: J. Gouven, *Les Mellahs de Rabat-Salé*, Paris 1927. — On the history of the seafaring republic of Rabat: H. de Castries, *Les Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*, Paris, index. — On the monuments of Almohad Rabat, cf. Dieulafoy, *La mosquée d'Hassan*, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, vol. xliii., p. 167 199; G. Marguin, *Manuel d'art musulman*, Paris 1926, vol. I; H. Terrasse, *L'art hispano-marocain des origines au XIII^e siècle* (P.I.H.E.M., vol. xxi., Paris 1932). — Cf. also Jérôme and Jean Tharaud, *Rabat en ses heures marocaines*, Paris 1918; P. Champin, *Rabat et Marrakech* (collection *Les villes d'art illustres*), Paris 1926; C. Mauchair, *Rabat et Salé*, Paris 1934; Léandre Vaillat, *Le voyage français du Maroc*, Paris 1931.

(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

RABB (Ar.), lord, God, master of a slave. Pre-Islamic Arabia probably applied this term to its gods or to some of them. In this sense the word corresponds to the terms like Ba'al, Adon in the Semitic languages of the north where rabb means "much, great". — In one of the oldest *sūras* (cvi. 3) Allāh is called the "lord of the temple". Similarly al-Lāt bore the epithet al-Rabbā, especially at Ta'if where she was worshipped in the image of a stone or of a rock. — In the *Kur'ān* rabb (especially with the possessive suffix) is one of the usual names of God. This explains why in *Ḥadīth* the slave is forbidden to address his master as *rabbī*, which he must replace by *sayyidī* (Muslim, *al-Aḥḥāḥ min al-Adab*, trad. 14, 15, etc.). — The abstract *rubbūḥa* is not found in either *Kur'ān* or *Ḥadīth*; it is in common use in mystic theology.

Bibliography: The Arabic dictionaries; Flügel, *Concordantiae Coran.*

(A. J. WENINK)

E. J. BRILL — PUBLISHER — LEIDEN

Just published

ANCIENT BUDDHISM IN JAPAN

SUTRAS AND CEREMONIES IN USE IN THE
SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES A.D.
AND THEIR HISTORY IN LATER TIMES

BY

Dr M. W. DE VISSER

late professor of Japanese in the University of Leiden

1928—1935. 2 vol. roy. 8°. XII, VIII, 768 pp.

Price guilders 22.—

Bound in Japanese silk guilders 25.—

STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE UND KULTUR

DES NAHEN UND FERNEN OSTENS

PAUL KAHLE

Zum 60. Geburtstag überreicht von Freunden und Schülern aus
dem Kreise des orientalischen Seminars der Universität Bonn,
herausgegeben von W. Heffening und W. Kirfel.

1935. With 3 text-figures and a portrait of Prof. Kahle.

8°. VIII and 232 pp.

Price guilders 9.—

Bound in buckram guilders 10.50

ORIENTALISTISCHE STUDIEN

ENNO LITTMANN

Zu seinem 60. Geburtstag am 16. September 1935 überreicht von
Schülern aus seiner Bonner und Tübinger Zeit,
herausgegeben von R. Paret.

1935. With 1 plate and a portrait of Prof. Littmann.

8°. VIII and 160 pp.

Price guilders 6.—

Bound in buckram guilders 7.10

1717/1
C 35 -
V. 11

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLĀM

A DICTIONARY OF THE GEOGRAPHY,
ETHNOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY OF THE
MUHAMMADAN PEOPLES

PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF LEADING ORIENTALISTS

EDITED BY

M. TH. HOUTSMA, A. J. WENSINCK

H. A. R. GIBB, W. HEFFENING and E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL

NUMBER 34

RABGHUM — RIBĀT

LEYDEN
LATE E. J. BRILL LTD 1936
PUBLISHERS AND PRINTERS

LONDON
LUZAC & CO
46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET

Abbreviations

Abh. G. W. Göt. = Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der
 Wissenschaften in Göttingen
 Abh. K. M. = Abhandlungen f. d. Kunde des Mor-
 genlandes
 Abh. Fr. Ak. W. = Abhandlungen d. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.
 Afr. Fr. B. = Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française
 Afr. Fr. RC = Bulletin du Com. de l'Afr. franç., Ren-
 seignements Coloniaux
 AM = Archives marocaines
 AMZ = Allgemeine Muslimezeitchrift
 Anth. = Anthropos
 Ann. Wiss. = Anzeigen der philol.-hist. Kl. d. Ak. der
 Wiss. Wien
 AO = Acta Orientalia
 AQR = Asiatic Quarterly Review
 AFW = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
 AL. Fr. B. = Bulletin du Comité de l'Asie française
 BAH = Bibliotheca Arabico-Islamica
 BGA = Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum ed. de
 Goeje
 BIE = Bulletin de l'Institut Egyptien
 BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie
 Orientale au Caire
 BSOS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,
 London Institution
 BTV = Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
 van Ned.-Indië
 BZ = Byzantinische Zeitschrift
 CIA = Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum
 CIS = Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum
 EC = L'Egypte Contemporaine
 GAL = Geschichte der arabischen Literatur
 GGA = Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen
 GJ = Geographical Journal
 GMS = Gibb Memorial Series
 GOR = Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches
 GOW = Bälzinger, Die Geschichtschreiber des Osmanen
 und ihre Werke
 Gr. I. Ph. = Grandis der Iranischen Philologie
 GSAI = Giornale della Soc. Asiatica Italiana
 HOP = Gibb, History of ottoman poetry
 IG = Indische Gids
 IRM = International Review of Missions
 Isl. = Der Islam
 JA = Journal Asiatique
 J. Afr. S. = Journal of the African Society
 J. Am. O.S. = Journal of the American Oriental Society
 J. Anthr. I. = Journal of the Anthropological Institute
 JASR = Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Soc.
 of Bengal
 JE = Jewish Encyclopedia
 JHS = Journal of the Jewish Historical Society
 JQR = Jewish Quarterly Review
 JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
 JRS = Journal of the Royal Geographical Society
 JSP Os. = Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne
 KCA = Körösi Csoma Archivum
 ER = Koloniale Rundschau
 KS = Keleti Szemle (Revue orientale)
 Mach. = Al-Machriq
 MDPV = Mitteilungen und Nachr. des Deutschen Pa-
 listina-Vereins
 MFOH (Syouth) = Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de
 Beyrouth
 MGG Wien = Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesell-
 schaft in Wien
 MGNM = Mitt. u. Geschichte der Medizin und Natur-
 wissenschaften
 MGW = Monatschrift f. d. Geschichte u. Wissenschaft
 des Judentums
 MI = Mir Islama
 MIEgypt. = Mémoires de l'Institut Egyptien
 MIFAO = Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Inst.
 Franç. d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire
 Mitt. DOG = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Orient-Gesell-
 schaft

MO = Le monde oriental
 MOG = Mitteilungen zur orientalischen Geschichte
 MSFO = Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne
 MSL = Mémoires de la Société Linguistique
 MSOS Afr. = Mitteilungen des Sem. für orient. Spra-
 chen, Afr. Studien
 MSOS As. = Mitteilungen des Sem. für orient. Spra-
 chen, Westasiat. Studien
 MTM = Müll. itchen'sches medienstud
 MW = The Modern World
 NE = Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Biblio-
 theque du Roi
 NGW Göt. = Nachrichten d. Gesellschaft d. Wiss.
 Göttingen
 NO = Der Neue Orient
 OA = Orientalisches Archiv
 OC = Oriens Christianus
 OLZ = Orientalische Literaturzeitung
 OM = Oriente Moderno
 PEFQS = Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement
 PELON oder P. Ka. Lang. Or. Vie. = Publications de
 l'école des langues orientales vivantes
 Pet. Mitt. = Petermanns Mitteilungen
 PRGS = Proceedings of the R. Geographical Society
 QDC = Questions diplomatiques et coloniales
 RAAD = Revue de l'Académie Arabe de Damas
 RAft. = Revue Africaine
 REJ = Revue des Etudes Juives
 RE Isl. = Revue des études islamiques
 RHR = Revue de l'histoire des Religions
 RI = Revue Indigène
 RMM = Revue du Monde Musulman
 RO = Romania Orientalis
 ROC = Revue de l'Orient Chrétien
 ROL = Revue de l'Orient latin
 RRAH = Rev. de la H. Academia de la Historia, Madrid
 RRAL = Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei,
 Classe di sc. mor., stor., e filol.
 RSO = Rivista degli studi orientali
 RT = Revue Tunisienne
 SBAL. Heidelberg = Sitzungsberichte der Ak. der Wiss.
 Heidelberg
 SBAL. Wien = Sitzungsberichte der Ak. der Wiss.
 in Wien
 SB Bayr. Ak. = Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Aka-
 demie der Wissenschaften
 SBPMS Erlg. = Sitzungsberichte d. Phys.-medicin. So-
 zietät in Erlangen
 SB Pr. Ak. W. = Sitzungsberichte der preuss. Ak. der
 Wiss. zu Berlin
 TBGKW = Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genoot-
 schap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen
 TOEM = Tarih-i 'Osmanî (Türk) Eskişenli Mü-
 minîyat, Revue Historique publiée par l'Institut
 d'Histoire Ottomane
 TTEN u. TOEM
 TTIV = Tijdschrift v. Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
 Verh. Ak. Amst. = Verhandlungen der Koninklijke Aka-
 demie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam
 Verh. Med. Ak. Amst. = Verslagen en Mededelingen
 der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen
 te Amsterdam
 WI = Die Welt des Islams
 Wiss. Veröff. DOG = Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichun-
 gen des Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
 WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Mor-
 genlandes
 ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
 Zap. = Zapiski
 ZATW = Zeitschrift f. alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
 ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen
 Gesellschaft
 ZDPV = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
 ZGEdk. Berl. = Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erd-
 kunde in Berlin

RABGHUZI [See RABGHUZI.]

RABI' (A), the name of the third and fourth months of the Muslim calendar. The name is an Aramaic loanword and in the Syriac translation of the Bible corresponds to the Hebrew *maḥṣāḥ* (late rain). This and the fact that the two months following Rabi' II are called *ḥijma* (month of frost) suggested to Wellhausen that these four months originally fell in winter and that the old Arab year began with the winter half-year (see *AL-MUHARRAM*). Rabi' means originally the season in which, as a result of the rains, the earth is covered with green; this later led to the name Rabi' being given to spring. Al-Birūnī expressly describes autumn (*ḥarīf*) as the season indicated by Rabi'. As a result of the Qur'anic prohibition of intercalation (see *NAṢI'*), since the beginning of the Muslim era the two months no longer fall at a regular season.

Bibliography: Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 97; Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, s.v.; al-Birūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, p. 60, 325.

(M. PLESSNER)

AL-RABI' B. YUNUS B. 'ABD ALLĪH B. ABĪ FARWĀ (so-called from his entering Medina with a bee on his back), emancipated slave of al-Ḥārith al-Ḥaffār (grave-digger), emancipated slave of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. He was really a bastard of obscure origin, a fact which was often brought up against him by his enemies later in his career. Born in slavery at Medina about 112 (730), he was bought by Ziyād b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥārithī who presented him to his master Abū 'l-Abbās al-Saffār, the first 'Abbāsid Caliph. All his life, he served, with varying fortune, three more 'Abbāsid Caliphs: al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī and al-Hādī.

He reached the zenith of his power under al-Manṣūr (136–158) who, finding him a capable and useful courtier, appointed him *ḥāfiẓ* and afterwards made him his wazir in succession to Abū Ayyūb al-Mawṣiriyyūnī. His son al-Faḍl b. al-Rabi', who was destined to play a prominent part in the forthcoming intrigues against the house of Barmak, took his father's duties as *ḥāfiẓ*. After the foundation of Baghdad, the new town was divided into four quarters, one of which was given in fee by al-Manṣūr to al-Rabi' and was thus named after him (*ḥāfiẓ al-Rabi'*).

During the reign of al-Mahdī (158–169), his influence seems to have dwindled for some time. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū 'Obaid Allāh (known as Abū 'Obaida) became wazir. Hence al-Rabi' participated in an intrigue which led to the downfall of his rival by exposing his son as a heretic (*nizārī*) in 165 (779–780). Even then al-Rabi' only retained his old office as *ḥāfiẓ* and never became Mahdī's wazir. It was 'Abd Allāh Abū Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd who succeeded the disgraced minister. On al-Hādī's accession (169 = 785), however, al-Rabi' was once more promoted to that dignity, but only for a period, after which he was entrusted with a secretaryship for the Caliph's *diwān* (*diwān al-mawṣi*). He remained in this capacity until his death after a short illness lasting eight days. His sudden end gave rise to the suggestion that he was poisoned by al-Hādī, but this is discredited by the most authentic sources. The exact date of his death is uncertain. While al-Djāhizīyārī and al-Tabarī place it in 169, al-Khatib al-Baghdādī and Ibn Khallikān assert that he died at the beginning of 170 (786).

Details about his administration are scanty, but it is certain that he was an able, industrious, temperate and tactful man of affairs. Even al-Mahdī, who was never lavish in showering favours on al-Rabi', once described him as the model of a good administrator (Ya'qūbī, II, 486). The literary sources, however, do not single him out as a patron of letters, a quality which both his 'Abbāsid masters and his Barmak successors possessed with distinction.

Bibliography: See indexes of following works: al-Khatib al-Baghdādī: *Tārīkh Baghad*, vol. viii, No. 4521, Cairo 1931; al-Djāhizīyārī, *Kitāb al-Waṣar*, ed. H. v. Misk, Leipzig 1926; al-Tabarī, ed. de Goeje, vols. ii, and iii, Leyden 1879–1901; Ibn Khallikān, *Kitāb Wafayāt al-A'yām*, ed. de Slane, Paris 1838 etc.; al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, ed. Houtsma, Leyden 1883; Gregory (Abū 'l-Faraj) called Bar Hebraeus, *Tārīkh Mukhtasar al-Dawal*, Beirut 1890; Ibn Khatima, *Uyūn al-Aḥbār*, 4 vols., Cairo 1925–1930; al-Iḥṣānī, *Kitāb al-Aḥbār*, vols. I and III, Cairo 1927, etc.; al-Djāhizī, *Kitāb al-Taḍī*, Cairo 1914; and al-Bayḥaqī *al-Taḍī*, 3 vols., Cairo 1926–1927; al-Sayūnī, *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'*, several editions. — G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, 3 vols., Mannheim 1846–1851; W. Muir, *Caliphate*, ed. T. H. Weir, Edinburgh 1924; Cl. Huart, *Histoire des Arabes*, 2 vols., Paris 1912–1913; G. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford 1924; E. de Zambani, *Manuel de généalogie etc.*, Hanover 1927; S. Lane-Poole, *Mohammedan Dynasties*, Paris 1925.

(A. S. ATLAS)

RAB'Ā AL-'ADAWIYA, a famous mystic and saint of Basra, a freedwoman of the Al-'Atik, a tribe of Kaṣb b. 'Adī, known also as al-Kalāya, born 95 (713–714) or 99, died and was buried at Basra in 185 (801). A few verses of hers are recorded; she is mentioned, and her teaching quoted, by most of the Sufi writers and the biographers of the imams.

Born into a poor home, she was stolen as a child and sold into slavery, but her sanctity secured her freedom, and she retired to a life of seclusion and celibacy, at first in the desert and then in Basra, where she gathered round her many disciples and associates, who came to seek her counsel or prayers or to listen to her teaching. These included Mālik b. Dīnār, the ascetic Rabāḥ al-Kānī, the traditionalist Saḥyūn al-Thawī and the Sufi Shāḥīk al-Balkhī. Her life was one of extreme asceticism and otherworldliness. Asked why she did not ask help from her friends, she said, "I should be ashamed to ask for this world's goods from Him to Whom it belongs, and how should I seek them from those to whom it does not belong?" To another friend she said, "Will God forget the poor because of their poverty or remember the rich because of their riches? Since He knows my state, what have I to remind Him of? What He wills, we should also will". Miracles were attributed to her as to other Muslim saints. Food was supplied by miraculous means for her guests, and to save her from starvation, a camel which died when she was on pilgrimage, was restored to life for her use; the lack of a lamp was made good by the light which shone round about the saint. It was related that when she was dying, she bade her friends depart and leave the way free for the messengers of God Most

High. As they went out, they heard her making her confession of faith, and a voice which responded, "O soul at rest, return to thy Lord, satisfied with Him, giving satisfaction to Him. So enter among My servants into My Paradise" (Sūra lxxxix. 27-30). After her death Rābī'a was seen in a dream and asked how she had escaped from Munkar and Nakir, the angels of death, when they asked her, "Who is your Lord?" and she replied, "I said, return and tell your Lord, 'Notwithstanding the thousands and thousands of Thy creatures, Thou hast not forgotten a weak old woman. I, who had only Thee in all the world, have never forgotten Thee, that Thou shouldst ask, Who is thy Lord?'"

Among the prayers recorded of Rābī'a is one she was accustomed to pray at night upon her roof: "O Lord, the stars are shining and the eyes of men are closed and kings have shut their doors and every lover is alone with his beloved, and here am I alone with Thee". Again she prayed, "O my Lord, if I worship Thee from fear of Hell, burn me therein, and if I worship Thee in hope of Paradise, exclude me thence, but if I worship Thee for Thine own sake, then withhold not from me Thine Eternal Beauty". Of Repentance, the beginning of the Sūfi Path, she said, "How can anyone repent unless his Lord gives him repentance and accepts him? If He turns towards you, you will turn towards Him". She held that Gratitude was the vision of the Giver, not the gift, and one spring day, when urged to come out to behold the works of God, she rejoined, "Come rather inside to behold their Maker. Contemplation of the Maker has turned me aside from contemplating what He has made". Asked what she thought of Paradise, Rābī'a replied, "First the Neighbour, then the house" (*al-ḥār ḥumma 'l-dār*) and Gharālibī, commenting on this, says she implied that no one who does not know God in this world will see him in the next, and he who does not find the joy of gnosis here will not find the joy of the Vision there, nor can anyone appeal to God in that world if he has not sought His friendship in this. None may reap who has not sown (*ḥayā*, iv. 269). The otherworldliness of her teaching is shown in her declaration that she had come from that world and to that world she was going, and she ate the bread of this world in sorrow, while doing the work of that world. One who heard her said derisively, "One so persuasive in speech is worthy to keep a rest-house" and Rābī'a responded, "I myself am keeping a rest-house; whatsoever is within, I do not allow it to go out and whatever is without, I do not allow to come in. I do not concern myself with those who pass in and out, for I am contemplating my own heart, not mere clay". Asked how she had attained to the rank of the saints, Rābī'a replied, "By abandoning what did not concern me and seeking fellowship with Him Who is eternal".

She was famed for her teaching on mystic love (*mahabbah*) and the fellowship with God (*un*) which is the pre-occupation of His lover. Every true lover, she said, seeks intimacy with the beloved, and she recited the lines:

*I have made Thee the Companion of my heart,
But my body is present for those who seek
its company,

And my body is friendly towards its guests.
But the Beloved of my heart is the guest of
my soul".

(*ḥayā*, iv. 358, margin)

She demonstrated the need for disinterested love and service by taking fire in one hand and water in the other and saying, when asked the meaning of her action, "I am going to light fire in Paradise and to pour water on to Hell, so that both vells may be taken away from those who journey towards God, and their purpose may be sure and they may look towards their Lord without any object of hope or motive of fear. What if the hope of Paradise and the fear of Hell did not exist? Not one would worship his Lord or obey Him" (Afāki, *Mawāḥib al-ʿArifin*, India Office, N^o. 1670, fol. 114^r). Questioned about her love for the Prophet she said, "I love him, but love of the Creator has turned me aside from love of His creatures", and again, "My love to God has so possessed me that no place remains for loving any save Him". Of her own service to God and its motive-force she said, "I have not served God from fear of Hell, for I should be but a wretched hireling if I did it from fear; nor from love of Paradise, for I should be a bad servant, if I served for the sake of what was given me, but I have served Him only for the love of Him and desire of Him". Her verses on the two types of love, that which seeks its own ends and that which seeks only God and His glory, are famous and much quoted:

*In two ways have I loved Thee, selfishly,
And with a love that worthy is of Thee.
In selfish love my joy in Thee I find,
While to all else, and others, I am blind.
But in that love which seeks Thee worthily,
The veil is raised that I may look on Thee.
Yet is the praise in that or this not mine,
In this and that the praise is wholly Thine".

Gharālibī again comments, "She meant, by the selfish love, the love of God for His favour and grace bestowed and for temporary happiness, and by the love worthy of Him, the love of His Beauty which was revealed to her, and this is the higher of the two loves and the finer of them" (*ḥayā*, iv. 267). Like all mystics, Rābī'a looked for union with the Divine (*waḥd*). In certain of her verses she says, "My hope is for union with Thee, for that is the goal of my desire", and again she said, "I have ceased to exist and have passed out of self. I have become one with God and am altogether His".

Rābī'a, therefore, differs from those of the early Sūfis who were simply ascetics and quietists, in that she was a true mystic, inspired by an ardent love, and conscious of having entered into the unitive life with God. She was one of the first of the Sūfis to teach the doctrine of Pure Love, the disinterested love of God for His own sake alone, and one of the first also to combine with her teaching on love the doctrine of *Kashf*, the unveiling, to the lover, of the Beatific Vision.

Bibliography: Chief biographies:

ʿAḥr, *Tadhkirat al-Awliya*, ed. Nicholson, i. 59-109; Tadh al-Din al-Husn, *Siyar al-Salihin*, Paris N^o. 2042, fol. 260-269; M. Zihni, *Mawāḥib al-Nisā*, Lahore 1902, p. 225; Ibn Khallikān, *Biographical Dictionary*, transl. de Slane, iii. 215; al-Munāwī, *al-Kawākib al-duriya*, Br.

Mus. Add. 23,369, fol. 50 *qq.*; al-Shāʿrānī, *al-Tabaqāt al-kubrā*, Cairo 1299, p. 56; Dīāmī, *Nafahāt al-Uns*, ed. Nassau-Lees, p. 716 *qq.* — Chief references to teaching: al-Ghazālī, *Ihyāʾ*, Cairo 1272, iv. 267, 269, 291, 308; Kalābādī, *Kitāb al-Tarraf*, ed. Arberry, Cairo 1934, p. 73, 121; al-Kushairī, *Risāla*, Būlak 1867, p. 80, 123, 192; al-Makkī, *Kitāb al-Kulūb*, Cairo 1310, i. 103, 156 *qq.*; ii. 40, 57 *qq.* — For a detailed account of life and teaching, with full references, cf. Margaret Smith, *Rabīʿa the Mystic and her Fellow-saints in Latakia*, Cambridge 1928. (MARGARET SMITH)

RABĪB AL-DAWLA AND MANṢŪR b. AḤI SHUJʿA MUHAMMAD b. AL-HUṢAYN, a vizier. When the vizier Abū Shujʿa Muhammad al-Rāḥawī (q. v.) made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 481 (1089) he appointed his son Rabīb al-Dawla and the *naṣīb al-naṣīb* Tiraḥ b. Muḥammad al-Zaynabī his deputies and in 507 (1113—1114) on the death of Abū ʿĪsāʾim ʿAlī b. Fakhr al-Dawla Muḥammad b. Dīḥir [see the article *DIḤIR*, 3] Rabīb al-Dawla was appointed vizier of the caliph al-Mustaḥḥir (q. v.). In Dhū ʿl-Hijja 511 (April 1118) the fourteen year old Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad succeeded his father as Saldjūq sultan and, when he was looking around for an able vizier, he was recommended to choose some one who had had the necessary training in the service of the caliph (*min tarbiyat dār al-khilāfa*), because there was no suitable man in the train of the young sultan. The choice therefore fell upon Rabīb al-Dawla who was at once summoned from Baghdad to Isfahān and, as we know from al-Bundārī also, proved himself in every way fit for his difficult task. But his tenure of office was of short duration: he died in Rabīʿ I 513 (June—July 1119); according to another statement he died as early as 512 (1118—1119).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Aṭṭar, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), i. 111, 349, 373, 387, 394; Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoudes*, ii. 115—126. (K. V. ZÄTTERSTEN)

RABĪṬA. [See *RINĀT*.]

RAQĀʾ or *RINĀʾ*, also *RAQĀʾA* (A.), suckling; as a technical term, the suckling which produces the impediment to marriage of foster-kinship. It is to be supposed that the idea of foster-kinship was already prevalent among the ancient Arabs (cf. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*², p. 176, 196, note 1); this is evident from, among other things, the way in which the prescription of the Qurʾān regarding this is interpreted in Tradition. In Sūra iv. 23, among the female relatives with whom marriage is forbidden are the foster-mother and the foster-sister. This must correspond exactly to the old Arab usage, which regarded blood-relationship also only in these two degrees as an impediment to marriage (cf. Robertson Smith, *loc. cit.*). But as the Qurʾān in the passage quoted extends the circle of prohibited relationships beyond that of blood-relationship, foster-kinship was treated accordingly contrary to the unambiguous language of the passage. To justify this, it is frequently laid down in traditions, in keeping with the principle of the old Arab attitude, that foster-kinship is an impediment in the same degree as blood-relationship. The isolated case, which is decisive for the principle, that of the prohibition of marriage with the daughter of a foster-brother, is brought into

close personal relationship with the Prophet. Through the prohibition of marriage laid down in Tradition between the foster-children of two wives of the same man, relationship by marriage becomes included in foster-relationship, and in the tradition which expounds the verse of the Qurʾān quoted, foster-kinship is given among the impediments to marriage on the ground of relationships in law. As a justification for this prohibition it is stated that the *semen genitale* (which the milk has produced) is the same; against the view that blood-relationship is not to be combined with foster-kinship, so that the brother of the husband of the foster-mother is not to be regarded as a foster-relationship, there is a polemic in a tradition (*Kanz al-Ummāl*, iii., No. 3911). The question of the amount of suckling necessary to produce foster-relationship is a very old point of dispute; some traditions do not consider isolated sucks by the suckling or one or two acts of suckling as sufficient, others demand not less than seven acts of suckling, others again say that the child must be fed entirely; on the other side, one group of traditions says the prohibition of marriage is the same whatever the amount of suckling that has been given. There is even said to have been a passage in the Qurʾān which in the older, later abrogated, version demanded ten feedings and in the later version five. This story which was obviously only intended to support this view is not trustworthy (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qurʾān*, i. 253 *qq.*; *Kanz al-Ummāl*, No. 3,923 *qq.*). That the practice of suckling adults in order to establish an artificial foster-kinship existed is certain; it is recognised by several traditions and by others directly or indirectly denied (by the legal maxim: *al-raḥāʾa min al-maḥḥāʾa*, "suckling demands hunger"). The chief case for the validity of such an act of suckling is described as a privilege granted by the Prophet personally (*Kanz al-Ummāl*, No. 3,919) and even the suckling of children to establish an impediment to marriage is in an isolated case described as illegal (*ibid.*, No. 3,885). To prove foster-kinship many traditions are content with the testimony of the foster-mother with or even without oath or with the testimony of a woman simply or with that of a man and of one woman; in refutation of this anomaly, obviously at one time permitted, another group of traditions demands the normal testimony of two men or of one man and two women. These points of difference found in tradition are continued in the differences of opinion among the older jurists. The views of the principal authorities are given in al-Shawkānī, *Nail al-Awṣar*, Cairo 1345, vii. 113 *qq.* The most important new point in dispute, discussed in this later period but scarcely touched upon in the traditions, is the period within which foster-kinship can be established by a child; sometimes it is said to be the period till weaning, sometimes the whole of childhood without an exact limitation, sometimes the fixed period of two years, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 or 7 years; for the period of two years the authority of the Qurʾān is quoted, Sūra ii. 235 ("Mothers shall suckle their children two full years if they wish to carry through the suckling to its end") (on the details cf. al-Shawkānī, *op. cit.*, p. 120). The four regular Sunni law-schools are agreed that foster-relationship exists between a man and all his descendants on the one side and his nurse, all her foster- and blood-relatives, her husband and all his foster- and blood-relations on

the other; on the other hand, no foster-relationship is assumed between a man and the ascendants or lateral relatives of his foster-brothers and sisters and between the nurse and the ascendants or lateral relatives of her foster-child. The Ḥanafis and the Mālikis demand no definite minimum period, the Shāfi'is however five acts of suckling. The period for feeding is with the Mālikis (unless previously weaned), the Shāfi'is and Hanbalis two years, with the Ḥanafis 2½ years; the Ḥāshimis also recognised the suckling of an adult. To establish the foster-relationship the Shāfi'is are content with the testimony of four women, the Mālikis with the evidence of two, if the fact is well known, and the Ḥanafis with the evidence of one woman.

Prominent Meccans have retained since before Islām to the present day the custom of having Beduin nurses for their children (cf. Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'hégire*, p. 101). The custom very common in the early period of Islām of hiring nurses in return for food and clothing has resulted in this arrangement, which is not in itself in accordance with the demands of the law, becoming recognised. In one tradition it is recommended that gratitude should be shown to a nurse by giving her a slave, male or female. The suckling of children by the mother or a hired nurse in a case where the marriage is dissolved is fully regulated on the basis of the Qur'anic passage, Sara ii. 233.

Bibliography: Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s. v. Nuraing; Juyuboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Geistes*, p. 219; do., *Handleitung*³, p. 185; Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malchito*, i. 161; for the ḥimāmis: Querry, *Droit musulman*, i. 657-199.

RĀDHANPŪR, a Muslim state in India now included in the Western India States Agency and situated to the south-west of Pālanpūr.

The rulers of Rādhānpūr trace their descent from a Muslim adventurer who came to India from Ispahān about the middle of the xviith century. His descendants became *jawāydārs* and farmers of revenue in the Mughal province of Gujjarāt [q. v.]. Early in the xviiith century Dīawān Mard Khān Bābi, the head of the family at that time, received a grant of Rādhānpūr and other districts (*Mir'āt-i Ahmadi*, Ethé, N^o. 3599, fol. 742). With the decline of the Mughal empire these districts passed into the hands of the Marāṭhis, but the Bābi family were confirmed in the possession of Rādhānpūr by Dāmādī Rāo Gaekwār.

British relations with Rādhānpūr date back to the year 1813 (Aitchison, vi., c.). Some years later the British were called upon to rid Rādhānpūr of plundering tribes from Sind who were committing serious depredations in the nawāb's territories. In return for this the nawāb agreed to become a tributary of the British government, but a few years later this tribute was remitted because it was felt that the state was unable to bear the expense. After the Mutiny, in 1862, the ruler of Rādhānpūr received an *adoption sanad* from the governor-general (cf. *etc.*, cii.). It was not until 1900 that the Dīwar-wāl currency previously in use was discontinued and replaced by British currency.

To-day Rādhānpūr covers an area of 1,150 square miles and supports a population of 70,530, of whom only 8,435 are Muhammadans. The town

of Rādhānpūr, the capital of the state, has a total population of 11,225, of whom 3,694 are Muhammadans (1931 Census Report).

Bibliography: see PĀLANPŪR.

(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

AL-RĀDĪ BI 'LLĀH, ABU 'L-'ABRĀS ARMAD (MUHAMMAD) A. AL-MUKTADIR, the twentieth 'Abbāsīd caliph. He was born in Rābī' II 297 (Dec. 909); his mother was a slave named Zālūm. He was proposed for the caliphate immediately after the assassination of his father al-Muktadir [q. v.] but the choice fell upon al-Kāhir [q. v.]. The latter had him thrown into prison; after the fall of al-Kāhir, he was released and put upon the throne (Djumdā I 322 = April 934). As his adviser in this difficult period al-Rādī chose al-Muktadir's vizier 'Alī b. 'Isā (see the art. MN AL-ḤABRĀS, 2) who however asked to be excused on account of his great age, whereupon Ibn Muḥla [q. v.] was given the office. The most influential official however continued to be Muhammad b. Yāqūt [q. v.] and only after his fall in Djumdā I 323 (April 935) did Ibn Muḥla gain control of the administration while the caliph himself fell completely into the background. But Ibn Muḥla's rule did not last long: in Djumdā I 324 (April 936) he was seized by al-Muẓaffar b. Yāqūt, brother of the above-mentioned Muhammad, and the impotent caliph had to dismiss him and in the same year summon the governor of Wasīṭ and Bayra, Muhammad b. Rā'ik [q. v.], to Baghdād and entrust him with complete authority as *amir al-umamā'*. This meant a complete breach with the past; the caliph was only allowed to retain the capital and its immediate vicinity and to abandon all influence on the business of government, while Ibn Rā'ik in combination with his secretary decided all the more important questions. Ibn Rā'ik held power for nearly two years; his name was actually mentioned in the *khutba* for the reigning dynasty along with that of the caliph; in Dhu 'l-Ḥa'da 326 (Sept. 938) however, he was replaced by Bedjken [q. v.].

To the financial difficulties and the constant quarrels of the viziers and emirs there was now added war with foreign foes. In 323 (935) al-Rādī endeavoured to remove from office the governor of al-Mawasil Nāṣir al-Dawla [q. v.], but failed, and a few years later Bedjken, accompanied by the caliph, attacked the Ḥamdānids in order to force them to pay tribute levied upon them but had to make peace because the fugitive Ibn Rā'ik suddenly appeared in Baghdād. The war with the Byzantines was also continued; the Ḥamdānids however in this war came forward as defenders of Islām. In Egypt Muhammad b. Tughdī founded the dynasty of the Ikhshīdids [q. v.] and at the same time Bedjken had to fight with the Buyids who were advancing on several sides and a few years later victoriously entered Baghdād.

In the capital itself al-Rādī had to take measures against the fanatical Hanbalis (323 = 935), who had many followers among the common people and committed all kinds of excesses. They entered private houses, destroyed musical instruments, ill-treated women singers, poured away wine that they found, interfered in business, annoyed passers-by in the streets, beat Shāfi'is and generally behaved as arbitrarily as if they represented a kind of tribunal of the Inquisition.

Al-Rādī died in the middle of Rābī' I 329 (Dec. 940) of dropsy. The Arab historians praise his

piety, justice, clemency and generosity as well as his interest in literature and it is said of him, for example (Ibn al-Tiktaḥ, *al-Fakhrī*, p. 380): "He was the last caliph, by whom a collection of poems exists, the last who retained his independence as a ruler, the last to preach a sermon from the pulpit on Fridays, the last to mix freely with his friends and to welcome men of learning, and the last who followed the principles of the earlier caliphs as regards rank, tokens of favour, servants and chamberlains". This characterisation may well be correct in its main lines but al-Radjī was not independent; he was on the contrary a ready tool in the hands of his viziers and emirs.

Bibliography: 'Arīb (ed. de Goeje), p. 33, 43–45, 57, 79, 92, 116, 139, 155, 168, 180, 183, 185; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab* (ed. Paris), i. 166; viii. 308–344; ix. 31, 48, 52; do., *al-Tanbih wa 'l-Ishraf* (ed. de Goeje), p. 105, 122, 154, 174, 193, 388–397; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kamil* (ed. Tomberg), viii, see index; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Annales* (ed. Relake), ii. 383 sqq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Iḥār*, iii. 396 sqq.; Abu 'l-Mahāsīn b. Taghrībardi, *al-Nuḥūḥ al-ashīra* (ed. Juyndoll and Matthies), ii, see index; Ibn al-Tiktaḥ, *al-Fakhrī* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 370 sq., 374, 379–385; Amedroz and Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, see index; Hamd Allāh Mustawfī-i Kazwīnī, *Ta'rikh-i guṣṭā* (ed. Browne), i. 339, 344–346, 778, 788; al-Sūh, *Aḥḥār ar-Rudī wal-Muttaḥ* (ed. J. H. Dunne); Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii. 650, 655–678; Muir, *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall* (new ed. by Weir), p. 569–572; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 155, 194 sq. (K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

RADIF. [See REDIF.]

RADJA. [See RUDJU.]

RADJAB (A.), the name of the seventh month in the Muslim calendar. In the Dīhīliyya it introduced the summer half year until, as a result of the abolition of the intercalated months, the months ceased to fall regularly at the same season of the year [see AL-MUHARRAM and NAṢI']. The month was a sacred one; in it the 'umra [q. v.], the essentially Meccan part of the pre-Muhammadan ceremonies of pilgrimage, took place. The peace of Allāh therefore prevailed in it; the forbidden war which was fought in Radjab between Kuraish and Hawāzin and in which the young Muhammad took part is called *Fijār* (perfidy) [q. v.].

In the Qur'ān, as recorded in the article AL-MUHARRAM, only "the" holy month is mentioned and not the four which have become traditional from the sole reference ix. 36. If the reference in Sūra v. 2, is to the 'umra we can therefore understand why the commentators in part identify the holy month mentioned in this verse with Radjab.

In Islām the month attained great importance through the memory of the Prophet's night journey to heaven which in later times was put on the 27th of the month (on the original dates see MĀRĀJ). This night is therefore called *Lailat al-Mi'rāj* and is celebrated with readings of the legends of the ascension.

Bibliography: Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*?, p. 97 sq.; al-Bīrūnī, *Āḥār*, ed. Sachau, p. 60 sqq.; Juyndoll, *Handbuch der islamischen Geistes*, 1910, p. 131 sq.; the works mentioned in the books and articles quoted.

(M. PLEISNER)

RADJM (A.), the casting of stones. *R-ḍ-j-m* is a Semitic root, derivatives from which are found in the Old Testament with the meaning of "to stone, to drive away or kill by throwing stones" an abominable creature; *radjma* is "a heap of stones, an assembly of men, cries, tumult". — In Arabic, the root means "to stone, to curse"; *radjman*, "heap of stones", also means simply the stones placed upon tombs either as flagstones or in a heap, a custom which ḥadīth condemns and recommends that a grave should be level with the surface of the ground. On the ḥadīth of 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥfāl, it is discussed whether *la turadji-ḡimū ḥabī* means "do not build my grave in a mound" or "do not utter imprecations there". — The lapidation and heaps of stones at Minā are called *ḡamra*, and *ḡamarāt al-'arab* means the groups of Beduin tribes; we find there the two old meanings of the root which can be taken back to *ḡ-m*, in Arabic *ḡamma* and *ḡama'a* "to reunite". The Arab grammarians derive *ḡamra* "lapidation" from *ḡamarāt al-'arab*; and we have to remember the double meaning of *radjma* and a metathesis from *ḡamar(a)* = *radjm*.

In addition to the meaning of "ritual stoning as a punishment for fornication", *radjm* means the casting of stones at Minā, which is one of the pre-Muhammadan rites preserved by Muhammad and inserted among the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. We may here refer the reader to the articles *ḡAMRA*, *ḤADJM* and *MINA* with their bibliographies.

The Qur'ān does not mention this rite; but it knows *radjama* in its Biblical sense of "stoning of prophets by unbelievers", and also *radjm* (= *marḡūm*) as an epithet of Satan, "driven away and struck with projectiles of fire by the angels", and lastly (xviii. 21) in an abstract sense which indicates a long semantic evolution.

The rite of casting stones at Minā was regulated by ḥadīths in the classical collections. There is a model *ḥadīṡ*, that of the Prophet which we find in the manuals of *manārik al-ḥadīṡ*, e.g. in the *Risāla* of Ibn Taimīyya (cf. Rif'at, i. 89 sqq.). Some ḥadīths of archaic form (e.g. Bukhārī, *Nikāḥ*, b. 2; *Ṣalāt*, b. 1 and 2; *Uṣṭāḥ*, viii. 480) show that Muhammad had to lay down rules for the essential question of the *wuḡūf*, the culmination of the *ḥadīṡ*. The *Ḥum*, i.e. the Kuraish and their allies, observed it at 'ḡam' (Murdalifa), in the *ḡaram*; the others, the 'Arab, at 'Arafa, outside of the *ḡaram* of Mecca. Having to choose between his companions of two different origins, the *Muhādḡirūn* and the *Anḡar*, Muhammad decided with the latter for 'Arafa; but he retained a secondary *wuḡūf* at Murdalifa, and the two *ifḡda*, the new combination of rites culminating in the throwing of stones at 'Akaba.

Situated at the bottom of the valley of Minā, on the slope of the defile towards Mecca, al-'Akaba is "not in Minā but it is its boundary on the side of Mecca" (*Uṣṭāḥ*, iv. 770). On the morning of the 10th Dhu 'l-Hiḡdja the pilgrim goes down into the valley, passes without saluting them in front of the great *ḡamra*, 500 yards farther on the middle one, and 400 yards beyond he comes to *ḡaurat al-'Akaba* (Rif'at, i. 328). There he throws 7 stones and this is one of the four ceremonies which on the tenth day are intended to remove his state of sanctity. He must also have his hair shaved (*ḡalḡ*), sacrifice a victim (*naḡḡ*)

and return in procession to Mecca (*ifā'a*). This last rite prepares the sexual deconsecration; the three others together abolish the prohibitions of the *ḥajj* but the legists are not agreed on the order in which they have to be accomplished. The *ḥadīth* say that the Prophet replied to the pilgrims who were worried, not having followed the order in which he had himself followed them: *lā ḥaraj* 'no harm (in that)' (Bukhārī, *Ḥadīth*, b. 125, 130 etc.). It is explained that the Prophet on this day of rejoicing did not wish to hurt the feelings of the ignorant Beduins. We may imagine that these 'Arab did not follow the customs of the Quraysh and that Muḥammad had neither the time nor the inclination to impose his own choice between the varying customs.

Muḥammad began with the lapidation at al-Akaba. After the *ḥalq*, the sacrifice and the *ifā'a*, he returned to spend the night in Minā. Then on the 11th, 12th and 13th, he cast 7 stones at the three *ḡamarāt* ending with that of al-Akaba. The pilgrims imitating him ought therefore to throw $7 + (7 \times 3) 3 = 70$ stones. But in general they take advantage of the liberty (*rukūḥa*) given them by the *ḥadīth* to leave Minā finally on the 12th and therefore only to throw $7 + (7 \times 2) 3 = 49$ stones. It is probable that there was no ancient usage; the presence of the bodies of the sacrificial victims made Minā a horrible place. It is difficult to see how Wavell (*Pilgrim*, p. 202) threw 63 stones, i.e. $(7 \times 3) 3$; this is however the number of victims which, according to tradition, Muḥammad sacrificed with his own hand, one for each year of his life.

The stoning of al-Akaba is done on the 10th by the pilgrims in *ḡharām*; those of the three days following by the deconsecrated pilgrims. The whole business is not a fundamental element of the pilgrimage (*rukūḥ*).

Little stones are thrown, larger than a lentil, but less than a nut, what the old Arabs called *ḥaṣa 'l-ḥajj* which were thrown either with the fingers or with a little lever of wood forming a kind of sling (*ṣikkāḥa*: Tirmidhī, iv. 123). A *ḥadīth* forbids this dangerous game, which might knock out an eye but is not strong enough to kill an enemy; it must therefore have had something magical or pagan in its character. The stones have to be collected of the proper size and not broken from a rock. Gold, silver, precious stones etc. are condemned; but some texts allow, in addition to date-stones, a piece of camel-dung or a dead sparrow which we find are the means used by the women of the *ḡhāthiyā* at the end of their period of isolation to remove the impurity of their widowhood and prepare a new personality. — It is recommended that the 7 stones for the lapidation of al-Akaba should be gathered at the *maḡḡar al-ḡharām* at Mudalifa, outside of Minā. As a rule the 63 others are gathered in the valley of Minā, but outside of the mosque and far from the *ḡamarāt* to avoid their having already been used (Ibn Taimiyya, p. 381). Besides it is thought that stones accepted by Allāh are carried away by angels. — Stones collected but not used should be buried; they have assumed a sacred character which makes them dangerous.

The model pilgrimage of the Prophet fixed the time of the *ḡamarat al-Akaba* for the day of the 10th. It shows him beginning the *ifā'a* of Mudalifa after the prayer at dawn (*ḡaḡr*) and casting the

stones after sunrise. But by survival of an ancient custom more than for reasons of convenience other times are allowed by law. Al-Shāfi', against the three other imāms, permits the Akaba ceremony before sunrise (Rif'at, i. 113); in general, the time is extended to the whole morning (*ḡuḡḡ*), till afternoon (*ṣawṣ*), till sunset, till night, till the morning of the day following: these infractions of the normal routine are atoned for by a sacrifice or alms, varying with the different schools. — The *ḡamarāt* of the three days of the *ḡaḡr* take place in the *ṣawṣ*: here again there are various opinions (Bukhārī, *Ḥadīth*, b. 134). — In fixing the time of the lapidations the law has always endeavoured to avoid any Muslim rite, e.g. prayer, coinciding with one of the three positions of the sun by day, rising, noon, setting. A. J. Wensinck has shown (*E. J.*, ii. 200) the probability of the solar character of the pagan *ḡadīḡ*.

Muḥammad made his lapidation at al-Akaba from the bottom of the valley, mounted on his camel, turned towards the *ḡamarā*, with the Ka'ba on his left and Minā on his right, standing at a distance of five cubits (eight feet). But there are other possible positions. — Rif'at (i. 328) gives the *ḡamarā* the following dimensions: 10 feet high and 6 feet broad on a rock 5 feet high (see the photographs, *ibid.*). It is said to have been removed at the beginning of Islām and replaced in 240 (854–855) (Azraqī, p. 212). — Muḥammad made the lapidations of the other two *ḡamarāt* on foot turning towards the *ḡibla*. In brief, the stones are cast in the attitude one happens to be in. The position facing the Great Devil is explained by the nature of the ground, but it would also be in keeping with the idea of a curse cast in the face of a fallen deity. The position which makes the pilgrim turn towards the Ka'ba is due to the Muslim legend of the tempter Satan and to the rule of the *ṭakbīr* which will be explained below.

According to the *ṣunna*, the stones are placed on the thumb and bent forefinger and thrown, one by one, as in the game of marbles. However the possibility of the stones having been thrown together in a handful has been foreseen, and it was decided that this should only count as one stone and that the omission could be made good. — The stone should not be thrown violently nor should one call "look out! look out!" (Tirmidhī, iv. 136), a pagan custom which the modern Beduins still retained quite recently (Rif'at, i. 89). It seems that Muḥammad put some strength into it for he raised his hand "to the level of his right eyebrow" (Tirmidhī, iv. 135) and showed his armpit (Bukhārī, *Ḥadīth*, b. 141).

In Islām the casting of each stone is accompanied by pious formulas. It is generally agreed that the *ṭakbīr* is no longer pronounced at 'Arafa or at least before the lapidation of al-Akaba (Bukhārī, *Ḥadīth*, b. 101); some writers however approve of it after al-Akaba. The *ṭakbīr* and *ṭakbīḥ* are permitted, but it is the *ṭakbīr* which is recommended (Ibn Taimiyya, p. 382; Bukhārī, *Ḥadīth*, b. 138 and 143). The spiritual evolution of the rites even sees in this the essential feature of the rite, the throwing of the stone and the figure formed in throwing it by the thumb and forefinger forming an 'aḡḡ which represents 70, being no more than symbolical and mnemonic gestures. "The throwing of the stones was only instituted to cause the name of God to be repeated" (Tirmidhī, iv. 139).

To Ghazālī (*Ihyāʾ*, i. 192) it is an act of submission to God and of resistance to Satan who seeks to turn man away from the fatigues of the *ḥajj* but the rite is without rational explanation *min ḥajrī ḥajjīn li 'l-ahlī wa 'l-naṣī fihī* (cf. Goldziher, *Richtungen*, p. 252). — The devout man adds a prayer (*duʿāʾ*) which is as a rule quasi-ritual. The usual one is: *Allāhuma 'l-ahlu ḥajjīn maḥrūn wa-dhūnā maḥḥūrūn wa-ḥajjūn maḥḥūrūn* "Lord, make this pilgrimage a pious one, pardon our sins and recompense our efforts". There is, as matter of fact, after the stoning a halt, a *waḥḥf*, before the two higher *ḥajj* rituals, that at the second being especially long: the duration is calculated by the recitation of the *sūra* of the Cow (II), or of Joseph (XII), or of the family of 'Imrān (III) by altering the indication in the *ḥadīth* (Bukhārī, *Ḥadīth*, b. 135, 136 and 137). This would take the place of an ancient ceremony of imprecation.

Branches of the rules for the performance of these diverse ceremonies, especially as regards the number of stones thrown and the time when they are thrown (*ʿUmda*, iv. 767 *seq.*; Rifʿat, i. 113), are punished by atonements the exact nature of which the legislators delight to vary from the sacrifice of a victim to the giving of a *mudd* of food in alms.

The Muslim teachers have sought to explain the lapidations of Minā. Some exegetists (e.g. Tabari, *Tafsīr*, xxv. 167) have seen quite clearly that they represent ancient rites and have compared the *ramy* of the tomb of Abū Riḍā. Others are known, for example at the well of Dhū 'l-Hulaifa (Lammens, *Études*, p. 94). The works quoted (*E. J.*) show the spread of this rite and the cases in which we are certain that it is a question of the driving away or the expulsion of evil; they might be further added to. Stones used to be thrown behind an individual whom one wished never to return (Hamadhāni, *Maḥmūd*, ed. Bairūt, p. 23). At Alexandria, tired people used to go and lie down on a fallen pillar, throw 7 stones behind them on a pile "like that of Minā", then go away quite recuperated (Ḳalāṣhandī, *Ṣubḥ al-ʿAshā*, iii. 322). But comparisons would take us out of Arabia (Lods, *Prophètes d'Israël*, p. 354).

Popular legend has connected the lapidation like many other rites with Abraham. It was Abraham or Hagar or Ishmael or even Muḥammad that Satan wished to deter from accomplishing the rites of the *ḥajj* and who chased him away with stones. If we conclude that he is *rādjī*, we are some way to the explanation of *Sūra* lxxvii. 5 (cf. above).

One would like to be able to locate the lapidations among the rites of the pre-Islamic pilgrimage. One would first have to have a clear idea of the meaning and details of the ceremonies and of the part played by lapidations and sacred piles of stones in Semitic and Mediterranean antiquity. — Stoning seems to have been a rite of expulsion of evil which coincided with the deconsecration of the pilgrim and seems to protect his return to everyday life. It is possible that lapidations at one time followed the sacrifices which perhaps took place at 'Arafā and Muzdalifa.

Bibliography: Add to the *Bibliographies* of the articles quoted: Ibrahim Rifʿat Paṣṣa, *Mirʾat al-Haramain*, Cairo 1344, 2 vols.; Ibn Taymiyya, *Riḥlat Manāṣik al-Ḥajj*, dans *Madḥūrat al-Rasāʾil al-kubrā*, Cairo 1323, ii. 355. (GAUDÉFROY-DEMOUËNES)

RĀDJPUTS, inhabitants of India, who claim to be the modern representatives of the Kṣatriyas of ancient tradition. (From the Sanskrit *rāḍjaputra* "a king's son". For the connection between Rājanyas and Kṣatriyas see Macdonell and Keith, *Pāṇini Index*, i. 1, s. v. Kṣatriya). The term Rājput has no racial significance. It simply denotes a tribe, clan, or warlike class, the members of which claim aristocratic rank, a claim generally reinforced by Brahman recognition.

The origin of the Rājputs is a problem which bristles with difficulties. The theory which at present holds the field is that propounded by Bhandarkar, Smith and Crooke. According to this theory the Rājputs can be divided into two main classes, the foreign and the indigenous. The foreign clans, such as the Čanhāns, Čālukyas, and Gūrdjars, are the descendants of invaders of the viii and viii centuries of the Christian era. The indigenous Rājputs include the Rāṣṭrākūtas of the Deccan, the Rāṭhōrs of Rājputāna proper, and the Čandēls and Bundēls of Bundēlkhand.

The theory that certain Rājput clans are of foreign extraction is chiefly based on Rājput legends and folklore according to which there are three branches of Rājputs: the Sūradjbanis, or Solar race; the Čandrabanis, or Lunar race; and the Agni Kula, or Fire-group. The legend relates how the Agni Kula Rājputs, that is, the Čanhāns, Čālukyas, Parihārs (Pratihāras), and the Prāmā, originated in a fire-pit around Mount Abu in southern Rājputāna. From this it has been concluded that the four clans in this group are related and that the fire-pit represents a rite of purgation by which the taint of foreign extraction was removed. Since these writers believed the Parihārs to be invaders of Gūrdjar stock, it was concluded that the other three Agni Kula clans were also invaders.

According to Smith the Gūrdjars were invaders who founded a kingdom around Mount Abu. In time the rulers of this kingdom who were known as Gūrdjara-Pratihāras conquered Kanawḍj and became the paramount power in northern India about 800 A.D. Smith contends that the Pratihāras were a clan of the Gūrdjara tribe. This seems to be the chief evidence produced by these writers for the foreign extraction of certain Rājput clans.

It seems wrong to base this theory of foreign descent principally upon the Agni Kula legend, for Waidya and other writers have proved this to be a myth first heard of in the *Prithvirāj-śāh* of the poet Cand who could not have composed this work before the thirteenth century A.D. Recent research has brought to light the fact that the inscriptions of the Pratihāras and Čanhāns before the xii century represent them as Solar Rājputs, while the Čālukyas are represented as of the Lunar race. The Agni Kula legend does not therefore deserve the prominence given to it by Smith and other writers. Even the contention that the Pratihāras were a branch of the Gūrdjara tribe has met with much hostile criticism.

According to the orthodox Hindu view the Rājputs are the direct descendants of the Kṣatriyas of the Vedic polity, but this claim is based on fictitious genealogies. The Kṣatriyas of ancient India disappear from history and this can probably be explained by invasions from Central Asia which shattered the ancient Hindu polity. It is accepted that these invading hordes, such as the Yüeh-čī and Hūnas, became rapidly Hinduized, and that

their leaders assumed Kshatriya rank and were recognized as such. Out of this chaos arose a new Hindu polity with new rulers, and the families of invaders which became supreme were recognized as Kshatriyas or Rājputa. In later times many chiefs of the so-called aboriginal tribes also assumed the title of Rājput.

It is therefore safe to assert that the Rājputa are a very heterogeneous body and probably contain some survivors of the older Kshatriyas. A mass of legend arose assigning to the various septa a descent from the sun and the moon, or from the heroes of the epic poems. These are the legendary pedigrees recorded in great detail by Tod. The main argument which can be brought forward in support of the foreign descent of certain Rājput clans is the incorporation of foreigners into the fold of Hinduism to which the whole history of India bears testimony. Even though the Agni Kula legend be discredited it is still possible to argue that the Rājputa are not a race. Anthropologically they are definitely of mixed origin. That some Rājputa were of foreign origin can be proved by the acceptance of the Hūnas in the recognized list of Rājput tribes.

Whatever may be the origin of the Rājputa we know that disorder and political disintegration followed the death of Harsha, and that until the Muslim invasions of northern India the chief characteristic of this period was the growth and development of the Rājput clans. Except for about two hundred years, when the Gujars-Pratihāras were the paramount power in Hindustan, there was constant internecine warfare between the various Rājput kingdoms. This weakness considerably facilitated the Muslim conquest. It was not however until the days of Muhammad of Ghūr that the Rājput dynasties in the plains were finally overthrown [see above, iii. 742^b]. Driven from Dihli and Kanawj they retreated into modern Rājputāna where they eventually built up a strong position and were able to resist the Muslim invader, for it cannot be said that the Sultans of Dihli ever really subdued the Rājputa of Rājputāna. Nevertheless, throughout this period there was constant warfare, fortresses and strongholds frequently changing hands. The Rājputa nearest to Dihli were naturally the weakest because the eastern frontier of Rājputāna was exposed to attack. The Sultans of Dihli appear to have realized the value of communications with the western coast and we find that the route between Dihli and Gujarat via Admēr was usually open to imperial armies. The chief menace to the Rājputa was not from Dihli but from the independent Muslim kingdoms of Gujarat [q.v.] and Mālwa [q.v.].

The outstanding feature of the period from the end of the so-called Saiyid rule to the final invasion of Bābur was the growth of Rājput power in northern India under Rānā Sangs of Mewār. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Lodis under Ibrahim [q.v.] and of the war between Gujarat and Mālwa he had extended his sway over the greater part of modern Rājputāna. The battle of Khanua in 1527, when Bābur shattered his power, marks a turning-point in the history of Muslim rule in India, for the Rājputa never again attempted to regain their lost dominions on the plains and contented themselves with remaining on the defensive. After Khanua the place of the Sesodias in Rājput politics was taken by the

Rāthors, the growth of whose power under Māldes of Mārwar was facilitated by the struggle between Humāyūn [q.v.] and Shēr Shāh. Akbar's Rājput policy was based on conquest and conciliation. The fall of Chitor and Ranthambhōr made him master of the greater part of Rājputāna, with the exception of Mewār which was not completely subdued until the reign of Djahāngir [q.v.]. The reversal of Akbar's conciliatory policy produced the great Hindu reaction of Aurangzeb's reign, when, faced at the same time with the Rājputa of the north and the Marāthās of the Deccan, Aurangzeb [q.v.] was unable to concentrate on either campaign. But internal dissensions once more prevented the Rājputa from taking advantage of the decline of Mughal power, and, in the second half of the eighteenth century, they proved no match for the Marāthās who easily overran their country. It was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century when the British were at war with the Marāthās that they entered into political relations with the Rājput states. Before the end of the year 1818 the group of states which now comprise Rājputāna had been taken under British protection.

To-day India contains 10,743,091 Rājputa distributed throughout the country as follows: United Provinces, 3,756,936; Panjab, 2,351,650; Bihār and Orissa, 1,412,440; Rājputāna, 669,516; Central Provinces and Berār, 506,087; Gwālūr, 393,076; Central India, 388,942; Bombay, 352,016; Djamsh and Kashmir, 256,020; Western India States, 227,153; Bengal, 156,978; Baroda, 94,893; and Haidarābad 88,434 (1931 Census Report). It will be noted that in Rājputāna only 669,516 Rājputa are to be found out of a total population of 11,225,712. The states of Rājputāna are ruled by Rājputa, with the exception of Tonk which is Muslim, and Bharatpur and Dholpur which are Diks. The chief Rājput clans in Rājputāna are the Rāthor, Kachwāha, Čauhān, Džādon, Sesodia, Poonwar, Parihār, Tonwar and Džhāla. Rājasthāni is the mother tongue of 77 per cent. of the inhabitants of this area. It is interesting to note that in some parts of India Rājputa have embraced Islām, as for example the Manhās, Kātīla, and Salāhīa of the Panjab.

Bibliography: In addition to the standard works on the history of India: C. U. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads*, vol. iii., 1909; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Gujarat*, in *J. B. R. A. S.*, vol. xxi., 1902—1904; W. Crooke, *Rajputs and Mahrattas*, in *J. R. Anthropological Institute*, xi., 1910; K. D. Erskine, *The Western Rajputana States*, 1909; R. C. Majumdar, *The Gujara-Pratihāras*, in *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, vol. x., 1923; M. S. Mehta, *Lord Hastings and the Indian States*, 1930; G. H. Ojha, *Rajputana Ka Itihās*, fasc. i., Admēr 1925; ii., 1927; B. N. Reu, *History of the Rāsttrakūṭas (Rāthodas)*, Jodhpur 1933; A. H. Rose, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Panjab and North-West Frontier Province*, vol. iii., s. v. Rajputs, 1914; R. V. Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, vol. iv., 1916; V. A. Smith, *The Gujara of Rajputana and Kanauj*, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1909; J. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, 3 vols., 1920; C. V. Vaidya, *History of Medieval Hindu India*, 3 vols., Poona 1921—1926.

(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

RAF. [See RAPA.]

RAFI' AL-DĪN, MAWLĀNĀ SHĀH MUHAMMAD, b. SHĀH WALI ALLĀH b. 'ABD AL-RĀHĪM AL-'OMARĪ (after the Caliph 'Omar b. al-Khaṭṭāb), was born in 1163 (1750) in Dihli, in a family which enjoyed the highest reputation in Muslim India for learning and piety, from the xviiith century onwards, and produced a number of eminent 'ulamā' up to the "Mutiny" (see Siddiq Hasan Khān, *Itḥāf al-Nubalā'*, Cawnpur 1288, p. 296 sq.; *J. A. S. B.*, xiii, 310). He studied *ḥadīth* with his father, who was the most celebrated traditionist in his time, in India.

After the death of his father in 1176, he was brought up by his elder brother Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz (1159—1239 = 1746—1823) with whom he completed his studies in the usual sciences, being specially interested in *ḥadīth*, *kalām* and *uṣūl*. When about twenty, he entered upon his career as *mufīd* and *muḍarris*, and later succeeded in these capacities his brother and teacher, who, in his old age, had lost his eye-sight, and had indifferent health. He died on the 6th Shawwāl 1233 (Aug. 9, 1818), at the age of 70 (lunar years), of cholera, and was buried in their family graveyard outside the city of Dihli.

He wrote about 20 works, mostly in Arabic and Persian, and a few in Urdu. He is praised for the subtlety of his ideas and the conciseness of his style. Among his works are:

In Urdu: 1. a translation of the Qur'ān, inter-linear to the Arabic text, which it follows closely and faithfully. He and his brother 'Abd al-Kādir [q. v.] were the pioneers in this field, though their work was considerably facilitated by their father, Shāh Wali Allāh's Persian translation of the Qur'ān (entitled *Faṭḥ al-Rahmān fī Tardjumat al-Qur'ān*). The first edition of Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn's translation appeared in Calcutta in 1254 (1838—1839) and another, in 1266 (1849—1850). For some of its numerous editions (from 1866 onwards) see Blumhardt, *Cat. of the Hindustani Printed Books of the Lib. of the British Museum*, London 1889, p. 290 sq., and the *Supplement* to the same, London 1909, p. 403.

In Arabic: 2. *Takmil al-Sinā'a or Takmil al-Sinā'at al-Adhān*, dealing with a. logic, b. *taḥṣīl*, i. e. principles of dialectics, teaching, learning, authorship and self-study, c. *Muḥāḍirāt min al-Uṣūl al-'Amma* (some metaphysical discussions) and d. *Taḥṣīl al-'Arā'* (i. e. an enquiry into the causes and the criteria for judging conflicting opinions in religious matters). A considerable portion of the work has been quoted in the *Aḥḍad al-'Ulūm*, p. 127—135 and 235—270; 3. *Muḥāḍimat al-'Ilm*; see *Aḥḍad al-'Ulūm*, p. 124; 4. *Risālat al-Maḥabbah*, a discourse on the all-pervading nature of love; see *Aḥḍad al-'Ulūm*, p. 254; 5. *Tafṣīr Aḥad al-Nūr*, a commentary on Sūra xxiv, 35; 6. *Risālat al-'Arād wa 'l-Kāfiya*; see *Aḥḍad*, p. 915; 7. *Damḥ al-Būṭil*, dealing with some abstruse problems of the 'ilm al-ḥalāl; 8. a gloss on Mir Zāhid al-Harawī's commentary on Kuth al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Risālat al-Taḥawwūt wa 'l-Taḍḍīḥ* (see Brockelmann, ii, 209); 9. *Ḥikm al-Barāhīn al-ḥikmīya 'alā Uṣūl al-Fuḥūm*. Nos. 4—9 are unpublished.

In Persian: 10. *Kiyyamat Nāmeh* (Lahore 1339; Haidarabad, undated ed.), on the last judgment, also called *Mahīhar Nāmeh* (see Browne's *Supplementary Handlist*, p. 189). For the two poetical

versions, in Urdu, of this popular work, viz., *Āḥḍar-i Maḥīhar* (chronogrammatic name, which gives 1250 as the date of composition), and *Āḥḍar-i Kiyyamat*, see Sprenger, *Oudh Catalogue*, p. 624, and Blumhardt, *Cat.*, p. 290, and for an Urdu prose version, *Kiyyamat Nāmeh or Da's al-Aḥḍar*, see Blumhardt, *loc. cit.*; 11. *Paṭwā*, Dihli 1322; 12. *Maḥmūdīn Tū' Rasūl*, Dihli 1314, small treatises on religious and mystical topics; 13. *Sharḥ al-Sudūr bi-Sharḥ Ḥal al-Mawṭā wa 'l-Kubūr*, an eschatological work, covering ff. 2002 of a small size, in a MS. copy in the Dār al-'Ulūm, Deoband, which institution also possesses the MS. of his 14. *Lafṣif Khamsa*, a mystical work (ff. 32).

Bibliography: Besides the references given above, *Mafṣūṭ Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz Muḥaddith Dihlawī* (composed 1233), Meerut 1314, p. 79, 83 sq.; Muhammad b. Vahyā (commonly known as al-Muḥsin) al-Tirhūtī, *al-Yānī al-djānī fī Asmā' al-Shāikh 'Abd al-Ghānī* (lithogr. on the margin of the *Kashf al-Aṣṭar 'an Rijāl Ma'ānī 'l-Aḥḍar*, and composed in Medina in 1280 [1863]), Deoband 1349, p. 75; Siddiq Hasan Khān, *Aḥḍad al-'Ulūm*, Bhopāl 1295, p. 124, 914 sq., and other places mentioned in the article; Karm al-Dīn, *Farā'id al-Dahr*, Dihli 1847, p. 410; Syed Ahmad Khān, *Āḥḍar al-Sanādīd*, Dihli 1270, p. 106; Fakr Muhammad Dihlami, *Ḥadīṣ al-Hanafīya*, Lucknow 1891, p. 469; Rahmān 'Alī, *Taḥkīr al-'Ulamā' al-Hind*, Lucknow 1914, p. 66 (and p. 4, 24, 51, 63, 223, 276 for notices etc. of the Shāh's sons and pupils); Baghir al-Dīn Ahmad, *Wāḥḍat Dihli*, Agra 1918, ii, 588 sq.; Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la littérature Hindoue et Hindoustanie*, 2nd ed., Paris 1870, ii, 548 sq.; Saksena, *History of Urdu Literature*, Allahabad 1927, p. 253; *Ma'ārif* (an Urdu monthly published from A'zamgarh, India) for Nov. 1928, p. 344 sq.; *The Oriental College Magazine, Lahore* (an Urdu quarterly) for Nov. 1925, p. 42—49 (life, including a biogr. notice from the unpublished *Nuḥḍat al-Khawāṣir* by Maw. 'Abd al-Hayy of Lucknow, and a list of works).

(MUHAMMAD SHAFI')

AL-RĀGHIB AL-ISFAHĀNĪ, ABU 'L-KĀSĪM AL-HUSAYN b. MUHAMMAD b. AL-MUFAḌḌAL (according to others: al-Faḍl, in al-Sayyid, *loc. cit.*, wrongly: al-Muḥaddad h. Muhammad), Arab theological writer, of the details of whose life nothing is known beyond that he died at the beginning of the viiith (xiiith) century, perhaps in 502 (1108). Some regarded him as a Mu'tazilī but Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in his *Arā' al-Taḥṣīl* established his orthodoxy. His work was concerned with Qur'ānic exegesis and edifying literature. His studies on the Qur'ān from which al-Baidāwī is said to have taken a great deal were opened with a *Risāla munabbihā 'alā Farā'id al-Qur'ān* now lost, perhaps identical with the *Muḥaddimat al-Tafṣīr*, p. at Cairo 1329 at the end of 'Abd al-Djabbār's *Tanẓīh al-Qur'ān 'anī 'l-Maḥṣin*. He next compiled an excellent dictionary of the Qur'ān arranged alphabetically according to the initial letters entitled *Risāla Muḥaddat Alfāz al-Qur'ān*, which in addition to the MSS. mentioned in *G. A. L.*, i, 289, survives in many others in Istanbul (see e. g. *M. O.*, vii, 106, 127) and in Bankipore (*Cat.*, xviii, 1484) and under the title *al-Muḥaddat fī Gharīb al-Qur'ān* was printed on the margin of Ibn al-Aṭhīr's *Nihāya*, Cairo 1322 and edited by Muhammad

al-Zuhri al-Ghumrāwī, Cairo 1324. In the preface he holds out the prospect of a second work which was to deal with the synonyms of the Qur'an (*al-ʿAlfāz al-mutawāḍiʿa ʿala l-Maʿna l-wāḥid wa-mā ḥaiṣahā min al-Furūḡ al-ghamīḡa*). The *Tafṣīr al-Kurʿān*, Aya Sofia 212, perhaps came to be compiled in this way. The reference might however be to the *Durrat al-Taʿwīl*, on the Qur'an verses found in more than one passage although expressed differently, Br. Mus. Or. 5784 (*Descriptive List*, by A. G. Ellis and E. Edwards, p. 3) which is probably identical with the *Hall Mulakhṣṣihāt al-Kurʿān*, Sтамбул, Rāghib 180. As a quotation in the preface shows he had already written his principal work on ethics *Kitāb al-Dhārʿa ilā Makārim al-Sharʿa*, before the *Kitāb Mufradāt al-Ghazālī* is said to have always had a copy of this by him. In addition to the MSS. mentioned in *G. A. L.* it is also preserved in Br. Mus. Or. 7016 (*Descript. List*, No. 62) and in Sтамбул (see e.g. *M. O.*, vii, 101—102; *M. F. O. B.*, v, 469) and printed Cairo 1299 (? Sarkis 1899), 1324. The *Kitāb Tafṣīl al-Naḥṣatayn wa-Tafṣīl al-Sādātayn*, pr. Cairo n.d., ed. by Ṭahīr al-Djāzārī from the Jerusalem MS. Khālidiya, No. 72, 31, of 963 A. H., Bairūt 1319, 1323 is a companion work; on both works see Aaín Palacios, *Abenhaman de Córdoba*, ii, 19. His most popular book was the work on *adab*: *Muḥḍarāt al-Uḍabʿa wa-Muḥḍarāt al-Shaʿarʿa wa l-Bulaghʿa* or simply *Kitāb al-Muḥḍarāt*, which is divided into 25 *ḥudūd*, which are again divided into *fajal* and *abwāb*, which deal with the usual *adab* themes beginning with intelligence and stupidity and ending with angels, djinns and animals in quotations in prose and verse; in addition to the MSS. mentioned in *G. A. L.*, it is also preserved in Sтамбул Selim Aghā, No. 987; Damascus, ʿUmūmiyya, *Sidjill*, 86, 5, 7; in Cairo, *Fikrī* 3, iii, 334. A synopsis by al-Suyūṭī, *ibid.*, p. 345; an anonymous Berlin, No. 8350 and Damascus, *loc. cit.*, 86, 2. In Europe the work was first made known in the part edited by G. Flügel as "Der vertraute Gefährte des Einsamen in schlagfertigen Gegenreden von Abū Mansūr Abduḥmelik ben Moḥammed ben Ismaʿil Etṭisālībī aus Nisabur mit einem Vorwort von Jos. v. Hammer" Vienna 1829 (see Gildemeister, *Z. D. M. G.*, xxiv, 171). The work (with Ibn Hūdja's *Ṭhamarāt al-Awāḥ* on the margin) in 2 vols., is printed in Bulāḡ 1284, 1287, 1305; Cairo (without the edition on the margin) 1310, 1324, 1326. Ibrāhīm Zaidān published in Cairo in 1902 a synopsis, which only contains 12 *ḥudūd*, which lacks 10 and 13 of the Vienna MS., and is abbreviated in other ways. A Persian translation entitled *al-Nawādir* by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad Bakīr al-Karwī is in Teheran (see V. Etṭessami, *Cat. de la Bibliothèque du Madjless*, ii, 308). Lastly there is an *Adab al-Shitrangī* in Kasan (see Menzel, in *Isl.*, xvii, 94). The work on *adab*: *Ṭabḥḥ al-Bayān* (on language and writing, ethics, dogmatics and philosophy, *ʿulūm al-awāʿil*) cited in the preface of the *Kitāb al-Sharʿa* is found in Mashhad, 5 (Oktaʿi, *Fikrī* 1, Kutubkhāna-i maḥaraka-i Asṭāni ʿUḍḍi Rāḡibī, 1845, i, 24, No. 56).

Bibliography: al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Waʿat*, p. 396; al-Dhahabī, *Tabḥḥ al-Mufarirīn* (Cod. Bankipote), fol. 121v; Muḥammad Bakīr al-Khūwāzī, *Rawḍat al-Zḥarīf*, p. 249; Sarkis, p. 922 sq.; Brockelmann, *G. A. L.*, i, 269.

(C. BROCKELMANN)

RAGUSA (*Rausium*), a town in Dalmatia, formerly a free state (now DUBROVNIK), on the south side of a peninsula which runs out into the Adriatic, picturesquely situated (50 feet) at the foot and on the slopes of Mount Sergius with about 14,500 inhabitants, mainly Croats, was founded in the viii century by Romance fugitives from Epidaurus which had been destroyed by the Slavs, later belonged to Byzantine Dalmatia which had been settled by a Romance population. At the end of the tenth century the town, which had become strong and rich through its prosperous maritime trade, was paying homage to the Venetians under whose suzerainty it remained after various interludes continuously from 1204 to 1358. In this year Ragusa passed to Hungary and soon attained such power through its flourishing trade that it formed a free state with an aristocratic form of government. Authority was in the hands of the nobles (Grand Council) who chose the Senate (45 members). The latter chose the Little Council (10, later 7 members) which chose every month a Rector (*retter*) as head of the state. Al-Idrisi [q. v.] mentions Ragusa in his *Kitāb al-Rodjīr* as رَغُوسَة (other readings: رَغُوسَة, رَغُوسَة)

and is evidently quoting Frankish sources (cf. thereon Wilh. Tomaschek, *Zur Kunde der Hünus-Halbinsl.* II. *Die Handelswege im XII. Jahrh. nach den Erkundungen des Arabers Idrisi*, Vienna 1887 = *S. B. Ak. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl., vol. cxiii, fasc. 1). In the Ottoman period the Slav name Dubrovnik is found exclusively, in place of Ragusa.

Ragusa's relations with Islām, at first completely hostile, go back to a remote date. When the Arabs in the ninth century conquered Sicily and established themselves on the mainland in Bari (Apulia) they besieged Ragusa on one occasion which defended itself bravely and was relieved by the navy of the emperor Basil I (867—886). Under the emperor Romanus III (1028—1034) the Ragusans distinguished themselves in the sea-fights between Byzantines and Arabs. It was not till a later date that relations became more peaceful when Ragusan commerce, which extended to Egypt and Syria, to Tunis and as far as the Black Sea, began to flourish. As early as the xiv century, corn was exported to Ragusa from the harbours of Anatolia and the relations to the petty states (*ṭawāʾif-i mülūk*) in Anatolia were well established. The first documented relations between Ragusa and the Ottoman empire belong to the period of Bāyand I. Yıldırım (1389—1402; q. v.) as the relations of the free state to Orkhan (q. v.) and Murād I [q. v.] mentioned in later Ragusan histories will not bear serious investigation. It is however certain that at quite an early date it became necessary for the Ragusans to remain on good terms with the Ottomans, who were advancing westward, for the sake of their trade. They were able to deal with tact and skill with their new neighbours. Ragusan trade in Turkey developed considerably as the many frontiers and customs offices of the numerous petty rulers of the Balkans, who had been dispossessed by the Turks, disappeared and the Turkish duties were uniform and low. Articles manufactured in Ragusa itself, like cloth, metal, soap, glass, wax etc. or goods imported from Italy for the Balkan peninsula were taken into the interior on safe roads. There was a caravan trade which went from Ragusa via Trebinje, Tien-

tište, Foča, Gorazde, Plevlje, Prijepolje, Trgoviste, Novibazar [q. v.], Nib, Sofia, Philippopolis to Adrianople and later to Stambul (cf. C. J. Jireček, *Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Rumänien während des Mittelalters*, Prag 1879, p. 74 sqq.; *Von Ragusa nach Nib*). In the interior of the Peninsula there were the factories of the Ragusans like Rudnik, Prizren, Novo Brdo, Pristina, Zvornik, Novibazar, Skoplje, Sofia with many other settlements extending as far as the mouths of the Danube. On May 12, 1392 the Little Council of Ragusa gave the nobleman Teodoro Gisla in Novo Brdo orders to travel to the Turkish sultan and to make representations about the capture of some Ragusan merchants. There is a Turkish safe-conduct (*ültras securitatis*) of June 20, 1396 prepared for Ragusan merchants. In 1397 Sultan Bayezid I allowed the Ragusans to trade unhindered in the Ottoman empire, and a few years later (1399), the first Ottoman embassy led by Kefalja Feris (Firta)-Beg arrived in Ragusa from the citadel of Zvečan (in Kosovo) (cf. F. v. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, *op. cit.*, p. 7). The first embassy from Ragusa to the Sublime Porte was however not sent until 1430. It was received by the sultan in his court at Adrianople and received from him the first extant charter of trading privileges, dated Adrianople, Dec. 6, 1430 (cf. Ciro Trubelka, *Turkologičeski spomenici dubrovačke arkive*, in *Glaznik zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo, vol. xliii. [1911], No. 2). To protect her widespread trade on the Balkan Peninsula Ragusa, after the first temporary conquest of Serbia by the Ottomans, found herself forced to offer the Porte an annual present of 1,000 ducats in silver plate (*argenteria*) but when Georg Branković restored the independence of Serbia in 1444 this promise was promptly withdrawn; on the final subjection of Serbia by the Turks in 1459 this tribute (*kharağ*) became a regular institution. From 1459 it was 1,500 ducats and gradually increased to 15,000 ducats. From 1481 it was 22,500 ducats and was annually brought to the imperial court by special *orators tributi* with very detailed instructions (cf. the text of one of these *commissions* for the Paladina Marino de' Gondola and Pietro di Lucari of 1458 and of a later one for the *ambasciatore del tributo* Giov. Mar. di Resti of 1572 in Lajo knez Vojnović, *Dubrovanik i osmanlika carstvo. Prva knjiga: Od prvoga ugovora s postom do uručenja Hercegovine*, Belgrad 1898, p. 118—155 and p. 256—266); cf. C. J. Jireček, *Die Bedeutung von Ragusa etc.*, note 49. A number of the earliest documents relating to these missions have been published by F. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst, in his *Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache aus der zweiten Hälfte des XV. Jahrhunderts* (= *S. B. Ab. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl., vol. 197, Vienna 1922); they come without exception from the archives of Ragusa, part of the Turkish portion of which is at present in Belgrad.

On their journey the envoys had to give all kinds of presents, for example to the Sandjakbey of the Herzegovina in Sarajevo [q. v.] and the Beglerbeg of Rumelia whose headquarters were in Sofia. The readiness with which the Ragusans adapted themselves to the requirements of dealings with the infidel Turks did not at first find approval at the Holy See. Paul II in 1468 gave the Ragusans express permission to trade with the heathen Ottomans (cf. W. Heyd, *Histoire du*

commerce du Levant, ii., Leipzig 1885, p. 347 sq. with further references to Ragusan trade with the Ottomans). The lands of the free state of Ragusa which stretched from the mouth of the Neretva to the Gulf of Cattaro (Kotor), thanks to the skilful policy of its leaders, thus remained intact till its end in 1808. Only occasionally the Ragusans had to suffer from the covetousness of Ottoman rulers, e.g. about 1667 when Kara Mustafa [q. v.] demanded from the Ragusan envoys 150,000 talers "blood money" for the Dutch ambassador G. Crook who perished in the great earthquake in Ragusa (April 6, 1667) (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vi. 203 sq.), or when ten years later the same grand vizier endeavoured to extort the same sum and threw the ambassadors of the free state into prison (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vi. 346). When Ragusa had fallen several years behind with the tribute, it had in 1695 to pay a considerable sum in compensation (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vi. 616). In 1722 a similar case occurred (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vii. 312 sq.) when the tribute was three years in arrears. It is however a fact that Ragusa cunningly used every opportunity to avoid its oppressive obligations (cf. the significant saying in the Levant quoted by von Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vii. 29: *Non siamo Christiani, non siamo Ebrei, ma poteri Ragusa*), until the peace of Carlowitz (1699) made it possible for the Ottomans to collect the tribute again (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vii. 29). From 1703 it was paid every three years and in 1804 delivered for the last time in Stambul by the envoys Paul Gorze and Blasius Menze.

In the Turkish wars of 1683–1699 and 1714–1718 the Venetians occupied the hinterland of Ragusa and Trebinje but at the peace of Carlowitz and Passarowitz the Ragusans, protected by Austria and the Porte, negotiated so skilfully that Turkey was not only left the land as far as the Ragusan frontier but also two strips of territory on the coast (Klek and Sutorina) so as not to become direct neighbours of Venice. This was the last great coup of Ragusan policy.

With the decline in Ragusan trade, which came about for the same reasons as the general decline of Italian trade in the Levant, the political decline of the republic set in. In 1808, Napoleon sent General Marmont, afterwards Duc de Raguse, to dissolve the Senate and a year later made Ragusa a province of Illyria. In 1815 the town passed to Austria and since 1918 it has belonged to Jugoslavia.

The Ottoman traveller Evliya Celebi [q. v.] in his *Siyahname* (vi. 443 sqq., esp. p. 445–453) gives a full description of *Dobru Venedik* which he contrasts with *Bundakani Venedik*, i.e. Venice (cf. on these terms F. Babinger, *Aus Südosteuropas Türkenzeit*, Berlin 1927, p. 38 note and H. v. Mik, *Beiträge zur Kartographie Albanien*, in *Geologica Hungarica*, series geologica, tomus III, Budapest 1929, p. 639 = 19, note 88). In 1074 (1664) he came via Ljubomir, Popovo to Dubrovnik from which he went on to Castelnovo (Hercegnovi). On Hungarian and Serbo-Croat translations of this section cf. Babinger, *Evliya Celebi's Reise in Albanien*, Berlin 1930, p. 1 and 2, note 8.

Statistics regarding the population of Ragusa in the older period are not available. The town had 800 houses. The whole district had 50,000 inhabitants. With the prosperity and long period of peace, a literary life began; poetry — Latin

and Slav — was definitely cultivated from the end of the xvth century. Latin was used in the offices for over 1,000 years, in recording the proceedings of the Senate till 1808. Within its walls Ragusa frequently sheltered illustrious fugitives from Turkish persecution (e.g. Skanderbeg).

The archives of Ragusa, kept in the Rector's palace, still await thorough study and contain a large number of unpublished Turkish documents and countless documents of value for the history of Turkish rule in S.E. Europe. Cf. Friedrich Giese, *Die osmanisch-türkischen Urkunden im Archiv des Rectoratspalastes in Dubrovnik (Ragusa)*, in *Festschrift für Georg Jacob zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag*, Leipzig 1932, p. 41—56. Cf. also J. Gelcich (Djelčić), *Dubrovnik arhiv*, in *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, xlii, Sarajevo 1910, and Milan v. Rešetar, *Dubrovnik arhiv*, in *Narodna Enciklopedija*, i, 584 sqq.

Ragusa had busy commercial relations with other Muslim states besides Turkey. In 1510 for example, Ragusa received from Kānsūh al-Qūhūrī [q. v.] a charter which gave its trade with Egypt protection and freedom (cf. Giacomo Lucari, *Copione ristretto degli Annali di Rausa*, Venice 1605, p. 126 and thereon Fr. M. Appendini, *Notizie sulle storico-critiche antichità, storia e letteratura di Ragusa*, Ragusa 1802, i, 213 with erroneous conclusions). The relations were, it is true, not always of a peaceful nature as the "state of war" in 1194 (1780) between Ragusa and Morocco showed (cf. thereon F. Babinger, *Ein marokkanisches Staatschreiben an den Freistaat Ragusa vom Jahre 1294 (1780)*, in *M. S. O. S.*, xxi, Berlin 1927, part ii, p. 191 sqq. and *ibid.*, xxxi, p. 98 sq.). The archives of Dubrovnik contain further unpublished Moroccan documents of the end of the xviiith century, e.g. a government document of the 9th Rabi II, 1195 (April 4, 1781).

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text cf. also the older travellers in so far as they describe the road through the Balkan Peninsula (Slavonia), especially Jean Chesneau, *Les Voyages de Monsieur d'Aramon* (1547), Paris 1887, ed. by Ch. Schefer; Sieur Des Hayes del' Courmenin, *Voyage du Levant fait par le commandement du roy en l'année 1622 par le Sieur D. C.*, Paris 1632; *Les Voyages de M. Quillet à Constantinople par terre*, Paris 1664 and frequently; Sir George Wheeler, *Journey into Greece*, London 1682 or French translation *Voyage de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant*, Amsterdam 1689, 2 vols. — A scholarly account, particularly one based on the documents, of the relations of Ragusa with the Ottoman Empire is still lacking as is a full commercial history of the republic. — The principal work on the history of Ragusa is the *Geschichte des Freistaates Ragusa*, Vienna 1807, by Johann Christ. v. Engel (1770–1814). On other relations between Ragusa and the lands of Islām see Vladimir Maluranić, *Südslaven im Dienste des Islams (vom X. bis ins XVI. Jahrhundert)*, transl. into German and publ. by Camilla Lucerna, Zagreb-Leipzig 1928, 55 p., a work which however does not on every point stand the test of strict examination. — On the coinage of Ragusa see Milan v. Rešetar, *Dubrovacka numismatika*, 2 parts, 1924–1926. — Of the Ragusan historians of the older period in addition to S. Razzi, *La storia di Ragusa*, Lucca 1588 and

Jun. Resti, *Chronica Ragusina* (in the *Monumenta Slav. Merid.*, vol. xxv., Agram 1893), Giacomo di Pietro Lucari [= Jakov Lukarević (1551–1615)] most deserves mention, but a thorough study of the probably unreliable sources of his *Copione ristretto degli annali di Rausa* (Venice 1605, xxxvi, 176 p., 4^o and Ragusa 1700, xxiii, 325 p., 8^o) is still a desideratum; cf. for the present Vl. Maluranić, *Izveštaji dubrovackoga historika Jakova Lukarevića*, in *Narodna Starina*, Zagreb 1924, No. 8, p. 121–153. — An excellent and exhaustive bibliography on Ragusa is given in the introduction to the work of Ivan Duičev, *Arhivi di Ragusa. Documenti sull' Impero turco nel secolo XVII e sulla guerra di Candia*, Rome 1935, which is also of great importance for the history of relations between Ragusa and Turkey. — There is no collection or edition of the surviving reports of Ragusan envoys on their journeys to the Porte on the lines of the long available Venetian *relazioni*. The only possible exception is the *Relazioni dello stato della religione nelle parti dell' Europa sottoposte al dominio del Turco* of Matthäus Gundalić (Gondola) who was in Turkey for 28 months until July 1674 written in Rome in 1675, ed. by Banduri, *Imperium Orientale*, Paris 1711, vol. ii.: *Animadversiones in Constant. Porphyrogen. de administratione imperii*, p. 99–106 (cf. thereon Drinov in *Periodična Spisanja* of Braila, ii, 65, who did not know this edition and published extracts from another manuscript). Nor is there a list of these envoys available (cf. J. von Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix, 318) among whom we find representatives of almost all the noble families of Ragusa, like the Bona, Caboga, Gozze, Gondola, Menze, Pozza, Resti etc. Ragusa being a tributary country the Porte never sent ambassadors to it but only commissioners (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix, 331), so that we have no Turkish reports at all.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

AL-RAḤBA, RAḤBAT MĀLIK b. ṬAWK of RAḤBAT AL-SHA'M, a town on the right bank of the Euphrates, the modern al-Miyādīn.

Hardly anything definite is known about the history of the town before the Muslim era. In the middle ages it was usually identified as the Rehōbōt han-Nāhār of the Bible (Gen. xxxvi. 37) i.e. Rehōbōt on the river (Euphrates) especially in the Talmud and by the Syriac authors (e.g. Mich. Syr., cf. index, p. 63^a; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 273 and *passim*), who usually call it Rehābōt, Rahabāt (M. Hartmann, in *Z. D. P. V.*, xxiii, p. 42, note 1). A Muslim (*The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, p. 340) takes it to be the Thapsakos of Ptolemy, which he — certainly wrongly — wants to distinguish from the well-known town of the name at the bend of the Euphrates (*ibid.*, p. 318–320) instead of seeing only an erroneous location by the Alexandrine geographers (cf. the article THAPSAKOS in Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, v., A, col. 1272–1280). The name al-Rahba is explained by Yāqūt (*Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 764 following the grammarian Naḡḡar b. Shumail) as the flat part of a wādī, where the water collects (E. Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, ii, 382; cf. A. Socin, in *Z. D. P. V.*, xxii, 45).

According to Arabic accounts it was at one time called Furdāt Nu'm (al-Tabari, ed. de Goeje, i, 917) or simply al-Furḡa (Ibn Miskawayh, *Taḡfir*,

ed. Caetani, p. 87); in the vicinity was a monastery, *Dair Nu'm* (Yāqūt, ii. 704; iv. 797).

According to al-Balādhurī (ed. de Goeje, p. 180), there was no evidence that al-Rahba below Karḥisiya is an old town; on the contrary it was only founded by Malik b. Tawḳ b. 'Attab al-Taḡhlībī (cf. Abu 'l-Mahāsīn, ed. Popper, ii. 34) in the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn (813–833) (a legendary embellishment of the story of its foundation by 'Umar al-Bisṭāmī in Yāqūt, ii. 764). The new foundation was in the form of a long rectangular head cloth (*ḥilāṣ*). After the death of its founder (Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, vii. 188) in 260 (873–874) he was succeeded as ruler of the town by his son Aḥmad who however was driven out of it in 885 by Ibn Abi 'l-Sāḍ, lord of al-Anḥār, Ṭarīk al-Furāt and Raḥbat Tawḳ (al-Ṭabarī, iii. 2039).

The Ḳarṣatīan Abū Ṭāhir took the town on March 3, 928 and killed many of its inhabitants (Ibn Miskawayh, *Taḡārīb*, ed. Amedroz, i. 182 sq.; al-Mas'ūdī, in *J. G. A.*, viii. 384 sq.; Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 132; Arib, ed. de Goeje, p. 134). In the following decades the town suffered much from civil wars until 'Adīl, who had been sent from Baghdad by Badīkam, in 350 (941–942) took possession of the town and the whole province of Ṭarīk al-Furāt and a part of al-Khābūr (Ibn al-Athīr, xiii. 266 sq., 295). In the reign of the Ḥamdānīd Naṣīr al-Dawla the Taḡhlībī Djamān rebelled in al-Rahba, and the town suffered very much; he was finally driven out and was drowned in the Euphrates (*op. cit.*, p. 357 sq.). After the death of Naṣīr al-Dawla (358 = 969) his sons Ḥamdān, Abū 'l-Barakāt and Abū Taḡhlīb disputed for the possession of the town which finally fell to the last-named, who had its walls rebuilt (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 437 sq.). He lost it again in 368 (978–979); it then passed to the Būyid 'Aḍad al-Dawla (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 511 sq.). Bahā' al-Dawla in 381 (991–992) at the wish of the inhabitants appointed a governor to al-Rahba (Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 64). Soon afterwards the town passed to Abū 'Alī b. Thimāl al-Khaḍrāḍī who was killed by the 'Ukailid 'Isā b. Khalāt in 399 (1008–1009). The latter in turn was defeated by an army sent by al-Ḥākim from Egypt and slain. The 'Ukailid Badrān b. Muḥallid was, it is true, able to drive back the Egyptian army but Lu'lu' of Damascus soon afterwards brought al-Rakka and al-Rahba into Egyptian power.

A citizen of the town, Ibn Muḥkīm, next made himself its independent master and also took 'Ana, an enterprise in which the Kilābī Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās of al-Hilla at first supported him but later killed him in order to make himself master of al-Rahba (Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 148; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIwar*, ed. Būlak, iv. 271). Between 447 (1055) and 450 (1058) Anṣār al-Basāsiri (q. v.) fled to al-Rahba in order to join up with the Egyptian caliph al-Mustansir from there (Yāqūt, i. 608). Ṣāliḥ's son, Thimāl, later lord of Ḥalab, followed him in possession of the town (Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 163). In the spring of 1060 his brother 'Alīya (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 8) captured it. He was driven from Ḥalab in 1065 by his nephew Maḥmūd, but remained lord of al-Rahba, A'ra, Manbij and Balis (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Ḥistīya Merdāsī-dārūn*, transl. J. J. Müller, p. 59). To the district of al-Rahba at this time (1063) there also belonged al-Khaḍra, Karḥisiya and Duwaira (Ibn al-Kalīnī, ed. Amedroz, p. 116). Malikshāh in 479 (1086–

1087) granted al-Rahba with the country round it, Ḥarrān, Sarūj, al-Rakka and al-Khābūr to Muḥammad b. Sharaf al-Dawla (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 105). In 489 (1096) Karḥiḳa of al-Hilla seized and plundered the town (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 177). After his death it passed (1102–1103) to Ḳayimāz, a former general of Alp Arslān, then to the Turk Ḥasan. It was taken from him by the sultan of Damascus who sent the Shaibānīd Muḥammad b. al-Sabbāk to govern it (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 249). On May 19, 1107 [Ḥawālī, the general of 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī, took the town through treachery (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 297; Ibn al-Kalīnī, ed. Amedroz, p. 156 sq.; Michael Syrus, transl. Chabot, iii. 193; iv. 392; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 273). 'Isa al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. al-Burwāḳ took it in 1127 shortly before his death (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 360 sq.; Mich. Syr., iii. 228 = iv. 610; Barhebr., *Chron. Syr.*, p. 287). His successors killed one another fighting for the succession and al-Rahba then passed to 'Isa al-Dīn's young brother for whom Djawālī governed it as vassal of Zangī (Ibn al-Athīr, x. 453 sq.). Kutb al-Dīn, son of Zangī, in 544 (1149–1150) occupied the town (Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 93). On Aug. 12, 1157, al-Rahba with Ḥamāh, Shaizar, Salamiya and other towns were destroyed by an earthquake (Ibn al-Kalīnī, ed. Amedroz, p. 344; Mich. Syr., iii. 316; Barhebr., *Chron. syr.*, p. 325 sq.). The Khāḍiḍja tribe who in 1161 had plundered the district of al-Hilla and al-Kūfa returned to Raḥbat al-Sha'm followed by the government troops where they were reinforced by other nomads and scattered the enemy (Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 182 sq.). Nūr al-Dīn granted the Kurd Asād al-Dīn Shirkūh b. Aḥmad b. Shādī of Dwaḥ, Saladin's uncle, in 559 (1164) al-Rahba and Ḥimz (Mich. Syr., iii. 325; Barhebr., *Chron. syr.*, p. 330). The latter entrusted the government of al-Rahba to an officer named Yūsuf b. Mallāḥ. Shirkūh built al-Rahbat al-Djadida with a citadel about a farsakh (3 miles) from the Euphrates because the town of Raḥbat Malik b. Tawḳ was now in ruins (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinand, p. 281; Ḥalḍīḍī Khālifa, *Djāhān-namā*, Stambul, p. 444). The new town of al-Rahba became an important caravan station between Syria and the 'Irāq, as we learn from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa amongst others (*Taḥṣa*, ed. Deffrémery and Sanguinetti, iv. 315) who travelled from there via al-Sukhna to Tadmur.

The town remained for a century in Shirkūh's family until in 1264 Balbars installed an Egyptian governor there (Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 341; xii. 189; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales Muslim.*, ed. Reiske-Adler, iv. 142; v. 16). Sonkor al-Ashkar of Damascus who rebelled against Ḳalā'ūn in 678 (1279) fled after a defeat to al-Rahba to the emir 'Isa and from there appealed to Aḥaka for protection (Barhebr., *Chron. syr.*, p. 543).

The Mongols under Kharbanda besieged al-Rahba in 712 (1312–1313) on their way to Syria. On his return Kharbanda left his siege-artillery behind; thereupon it was taken by the defenders of the town into the citadel (Abu 'l-Fidā', v. 268 sq.; al-Ḥasan b. Ḥabīb b. 'Umar, *Durrat al-Aṣṣāḥ fī Dawlat al-Aṣṣāḥ*, in H. E. Weijers, in *Orientalia*, ed. Juynboll, ii., Amsterdam 1846, p. 319). Its governor at the time, Ibn al-Arkashī, died in 715 (1315–1316) in Damascus (Abu 'l-Fidā', v. 300). Muḥanna and his family, the 'Isā, were driven from the district of Salamiya in the spring of 1320 and pursued by the Syrian troops as far as

Rahba and 'Ans (Abu 'l-Fidā', v. 340 sq.); the town was perhaps destroyed on this occasion.

In 1331 the Euphrates inundated the country round al-Rahba (Ibn al-Athir, Vienna MS. in Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, p. 3, note 3).

According to the Muslim geographers, al-Rahba lay on the Euphrates (Kudāma, in *B.G.A.*, vi. 233; al-Makdīst, in *B.G.A.*, iii. 138; al-Idrīsī, transl. Jaubert, ii. 137 sq.; al-Dimashqī, ed. Mehren, p. 93; Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p. 51) and also on the canal Sa'īd led off from it at Fam Sa'īd on the right bank, which rejoined the Euphrates below the town, the gardens of which it watered, and above al-Dāliya also called Dāliyat Mālik b. Ṭawḳ (Suhrah, ed. v. Mālik, in *Bibl. arab. Histor. u. Geogr.*, v., Leipzig 1930, p. 123; Yāqūt, iv. 840; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ta'wīm*, p. 281). The town lay 3 farsakhs from Karkisiya (al-'Azīzī, in Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p. 281) and, according to al-Makdīst (*B.G.A.*, iii. 149), a day's journey each from this town, al-Dāliya and Bīrā (the latter statement is quite inaccurate; cf. Musil, *op. cit.*, p. 253 sq.). Musil (*ibid.*, p. 250) wrongly takes al-Dāliya to be al-Sālihiya, which is impossible as 8–10 miles above it the Euphrates flows close to the foot of Djabal Abu 'l-Kāsim, so that the Sa'īd canal must have flowed north of it back into the Euphrates (cf. the *Karte von Mesopotamien* of the Prussian Survey, Feb. 1918, 1:400,000, sheet 3c; 'Ans; Cunault, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, Paris 1926, Atlas, pl. 1; *Cours de l'Euphrate entre Cireset et Doura-Europos d'après l'Aéronautique de l'Armée du Levant* on the same scale and the maps in Sarre-Hersfeld, *Arch. Reise*). The town of al-Rahba was a Jacobite bishopric (a list of the bishops in Mich. Syr., iii. 502); that it — for a time at least — was also a Nestorian bishopric is shown from a life of the Katholikos Eliyā I (on him see Baumstark, *Geschichte der syr. Literatur*, p. 286 sq.) who shortly before his death on May 6, 1049 appointed a bishop to this town (Assessment, in *B.O.*, iii. 263).

In the statements of the Arab geographers, it is clear that the old Rahbat Mālik b. Ṭawḳ lay on the bank of the Euphrates (al-Iṣṭakhri, in *B.G.A.*, i. 13, 72; Ibn Hawḳal, *B.G.A.*, ii. 17, 138; al-Makdīst, *B.G.A.*, iii. 138; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iii. 860; Ibn Khurdaḳḳib, *B.G.A.*, vi. 233) i.e. presumably corresponded to the modern al-Miyādīn (plur. of mīdān) (G. Hoffmann, *Année au syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, p. 165; E. Hersfeld, *Arch. Reise*, ii. 382, note 1; A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, p. 3, 253, 340) while the new al-Rahba, as we saw, was built a farsakh from it, where in the S.W. of al-Miyādīn there still are the ruins of the citadel al-Rahab or Rhaba. According to Abu 'l-Fidā' (ed. Reinaud, p. 281), towers were still standing among the ruins of the old town. Opposite al-Rahba on the left bank of the Euphrates stood a fortress, taken by Marwān II (744–750) in the fighting with Hishām (Maḥbūb of Maḥbūd, *Kitāb al-Ummūn*, ed. Vasiliev, in *Patr. Orient.*, viii. 517 sq.). In this fortress Musil (*op. cit.*, p. 338 sq.) has recognised al-Zaitūna (al-Balāḍhūrī, ed. de Goeje, p. 180; Tahart, ii. 1467 sq.; Ibn Khurdaḳḳib, p. 74) and the ancient Zaḳā which is still called al-Marwāniya after this caliph, but really is not opposite al-Miyādīn, but fourteen miles further down.

Ibn Hawḳal (*B.G.A.*, ii. 155) praises the fertility of the well-watered region of Rahba, where the

orchards on the east bank of Euphrates also produced date-palms; their quinces were also famous (al-Makdīst, in *B.G.A.*, iii. 145). The *Karte von Mesopotamien* (1:400,000) marks at 'Mejādīn' "the first (most northerly) palm". Dates really only ripen in specially favourable weather in the region of Albu Kamāl (Musil, *op. cit.*, p. 342). According to al-Iṣṭakhri (*B.G.A.*, i. 77), Rahbat Mālik b. Ṭawḳ was larger than Karkisiya; al-Makdīst (*B.G.A.*, iii. 142) calls it the centre of the Euphrates' district ('amal al-Furāt or nāhiyat al-Furāt) as in the early Muḥammadan period the fertile plain from Dair al-Zawr to Albu Kamāl with the towns of al-Rahba, Dāliya, 'Ans and al-Haditha was called (Hersfeld, *op. cit.*, ii. 382). According to him the town was built in a semi-circle on the edge of the desert and defended by a strong fortress.

Yāqūt visited the town, which according to him was eight days' journey from Damascus, five from Ḥalab, 100 farsakhs from Baghdād and a little over 20 farsakhs from al-Rakka. In al-Dimashqī (ed. Mehren, p. 202) it is called Rahbat al-Furātīya. In the time of Khalīf al-Zāhirī (Zuhdī, ed. Ravaisse, p. 50) it belonged to Ḥalab. According to al-'Umari, Syria, to be more exact, its eastern marches with the capital Hims, reached as far as al-Rahba; he mentions there "a citadel and a governorship and there are Bahrī's, cavalry, scouts and mercenaries stationed there" (al-'Umari, transl. R. Hartmann, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxx, 23, 30). Ibn Battūta (*op. cit.*) calls the town "the end of al-'Irāq and the beginning of al-Shām". Ḥādīdī Khalīfa reckons from 'Ans to al-Rahba three days' journey and from there to al-Dair one day's journey (*Djahān-namā*, Istanbul 1145, p. 483; cf. thereon Musil, *op. cit.*, p. 257).

The Venetian jeweller Gasparo Balbi who passed the town on Feb. 6, 1588 on the Euphrates says (*Viaggi dell' Indie orientali*, Venice 1590, without pagination): "vedemmo castello Rahabi appreso il qual castello si vede una città rovinata, ma in alcuni lati di essa habitata da alcune poche persone di nome di Rahablatia (on the form Rahabi, cf. M. Hartmann, in *Z.D.P.F.*, xxii. 44, on N^o 390). Pietro Della Valle (*Viaggi*, Venice 1544, i. 571) saw the town of "Rachba" at some distance from the Euphrates and heard that there were some old buildings there. Tavernier (*Les six voyages*, i., Paris 1676, p. 285) mentions a place called "Mached-raba", i.e. Maḥbūd al-Rahba (six miles S.W. of al-Rahba).

In modern times al-Miyādīn and the ruins of al-Rhaba (the usual formation) have been repeatedly visited (see *Bibl.*). The plan of the castle forms a triangle with flattened angles; pictures of the castle will be found in Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, p. 7, fig. 2 or Sarre-Hersfeld, *Arch. Reise*, iii. pl. lxxix. sq.

Bibliography: al-Iṣṭakhri, in *B.G.A.*, i. 77; Ibn Hawḳal, *B.G.A.*, ii. 155; al-Makdīst, *B.G.A.*, iii. 142, 145; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 734, 764; Saḳī al-Dīn, *Murūḥ al-Iṭīlā'*, i. 464; al-Balāḍhūrī, *Futūḥ al-Bulḍān*, ed. de Goeje, p. 180; Ibn Djbair, ed. Wright, p. 250; Karkashandī, *Daw'*, Cairo 1324, p. 291, cf. Gaudfroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, p. 77–80, 183, 245 sq., 254, 259; R. Hartmann, *Die geographischen Nachrichten über Palästina und Syrien in Khalīf al-Zāhirī's Zuhd al-Kashf al-Mamālīk*, dissert. Tübingen 1907, p. 62; K. Ritter, *Erd-*

lands, xl. 268, 693 sq., 706, 1433; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Martyrer*, p. 165; M. Hartmann, in *Z.D.P.F.*, xxiii. 42, 44 sq., 49, 61, 68, 113, 124, 127 sq.; O.L.Z., II, 1899, col. 311; B. Moritz, *Zur antiken Topographie der Palmyrene*, in *Abh. Fr. Ak. W.*, 1889, p. 36, 37, note 4; E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, p. 279 sq.; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 105, 124; do., *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, p. 517 sq.; R. Hartmann, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxx., 1916, p. 30, note 9; E. Reitemeyer, *Die Städtegründungen der Araber* (dissert. Heidelberg), Munich 1912, p. 85; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, p. 252 sq., 259, 454, note 2, 514; A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, p. 340—345 and *passim*, cf. index, p. 415 sq., s.v. ar-Rahba, Rahba Towk etc.; A. Poidebard, *La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie*, text, Paris 1934, p. 93, 104; E. Hersfeld in *Sarre-Hersfeld, Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, II, Berlin 1920, p. 382—384 and B. Schult, *ibid.*, p. 384—386, fig. 367—369; III, Berlin 1921, pl. lxxix. sq.

(E. HONIGMANN)

RAHBĀNIYA (A.), monasticism. The term is derived from *rāhīb* [q.v.]; it occurs in the Qur'an once only, in a passage (sūra lvii. 27) that has given rise to divergent interpretations: "And we put in the hearts of those who followed Jesus, compassion and mercy, and the monastic state, they instituted the same (we did not prescribe it to them) only out of a desire to please God. Yet they observed not the same as it ought truly to have been observed. And we gave unto such of them as believed, their reward; but many of them were wicked doers".

According to some of the exegetists the verb "we put" has two objects only, viz. compassion and mercy, whereas the words "and the monastic state" are the object of "they instituted". Accordingly the monastic state appears here as a purely human institution, which moreover has been degraded by evil doers.

According to others, however, the object of the words "and we put" is: compassion, mercy and the monastic state. According to this exegetis monasticism is called a divine institution. Professor Massignou has pointed out that this exegetis is the older one; the younger one expresses a feeling hostile to monasticism, which coined the tradition "No rahbāniya in Islām".

This tradition does not occur in the canonical collections. Yet, it is being prepared there. When the wife of 'Othmān b. Ma'īn [q.v.] complained of being neglected by her husband, Muhammad took her part, saying: Monasticism (rahbāniya) was not prescribed to us (Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi. 226; Dārimī, *Nikāh*, hāb 3). The following tradition is less exclusive: Do not trouble yourselves and God will not trouble you. Some have troubled themselves and God has troubled them. Their successors are in the hermitages and monasteries, "an institution we have not prescribed to them" (Abū Dāwūd, *Adab*, hāb 44).

Islām, thus rejecting monasticism, has replaced it by the holy war: "Every prophet has some kind of rahbāniya; the rahbāniya of this community is the holy war" (a tradition ascribed to

Muhammad in Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii. 266; to Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, *ibid.*, iii. 82). Cf. also *ṬARĪKA*, *zum.*

Bibliography: L. Massignou, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, p. 125 sqq.; the commentaries of the Qur'an on sūra lvii. 27; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, III/I, 287; Hariri, *Maṣūmāt*, ed. de Sacy, p. 570—571; Zamakhshari, *al-Fa'ik*, Haidarābād 1324, i. 269; Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāya*, s. v.; Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, I, 389; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, 394; do., in *R. H. R.*, xviii. 193—194; xxxvii. 314. (A. J. WENSINCK)

RAHIB (A., plur. *rahibān*, *rahibīn*, *rahibīna*), a monk. The figure of the monk is known to pre-Islamic poetry and to the Qur'an and Tradition. The pre-Islamic poets refer to the monk in his cell the light of which the traveller by night sees in the distance and which gives him the idea of shelter.

In the Qur'an the monk and the *ḥāṣī*, sometimes also the *qāḥṣ*, are the religious leaders of the Christians. In one place it is said that rabbis and monks live at the expense of other men (Sūra ix. 34) and that the Christians have taken as their masters instead of God their *qāḥṣ* and their monks as well as al-Masūh b. Maryam (Sūra ix. 31). In another passage the Christians are praised for their friendship to their fellow-believers which is explained from the fact that there are priests and monks among them (Sūra v. 87). In Hailith the *rāhib* is frequently encountered in stories of the nature of the *ḥijāz al-anbiyā'* (cf. Bukhārī, *Anbiyā'*, hāb 54; Muslim, *Zuhd*, Tr. 73; *Tawba*, Tr. 46, 47; Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra 85, Tr. 2; *Manāzil*, Tr. 3; Nassī, *Masājid*, Tr. 11; Ibn Mādjā, *Fitan*, Tr. 20, 23; Dārimī, *Faḍā'il al-Qur'an*, Tr. 16; Ahmad b. Hanbal, i. 461; II, 434; III, 337, 347; v. 4; VI, 17 *bi*).

From the fact that in the Muhammadan literature of the early centuries A. H. the epithet *rāhib* was given to various pious individuals it is evident that there was nothing odious about it then. Cf. however the article **RAHBĀNIYA**.

Bibliography: cf. that of **RAHBĀNIYA**.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

RĀHIL, in the Bible Rachel, wife of Jacob, mother of Joseph and Benjamin, is not mentioned in the Qur'an. There is however a reference to her in Sūra iv. 27: "Ye may not have two sisters to wife at the same time; if it has been done formerly God now exercises pardon and mercy". This is said to allude to Jacob's marriage with Liyā and Rāhil; before Moses revealed the Tora, such a marriage was valid. Ṭabari gives this explanation in the *Anuāl*, I, 356, 359 sq. Ibn al-Athīr, p. 90, adopts it. But already in *Tafsīr*, IV, 210, Ṭabari explains the verse correctly: Muhammad forbids for the future marriage with two sisters but he does not dissolve such marriages concluded before the prohibition. — Islamic tradition generally adopts the view that Ya'qūb only married Rāhil after Liyā's death. So already in Ṭabari, I, 355, Zamakhshari, Baiḍawī, Ibn al-Athīr etc. Al-Kisā'i even thinks that Ya'qūb only married Rāhil after the death of Liyā and of his two concubines. Here again Muslim legend differs from the Bible, in making him not marry Rāhil until after 14 years of service; in the Bible, Jacob serves seven years, marries Leah and after the wedding week Rachel

and serves another seven years. — Ya'qūb's wooing and Laban's trick by which he substitutes Liyā for Rāhil as "neither lamp nor candle-light" illuminate the bridal chamber, is embellished in Muslim legend.

Rāhil is also of importance in the story of Yūsuf. Yūsuf inherits his beauty from Rāhil; they had half of all the beauty in the world, according to others two-thirds, or even according to the old Haggadic scheme (*Kiddushin*, 49^b), nine tenths (*The'labt*, p. 69). — When Ya'qūb left Laban, he had no funds for the journey; at Rachel's suggestion, Yūsuf steals Laban's idols. — As Yūsuf, sold by his brothers, passes the tomb of Rāhil he throws himself from his camel on the grave and laments: "O mother, look on thy child, I have been deprived of my coat, thrown into a pit, stoned and sold as a slave". Then he hears a voice: "Trust in God". The old Haggada does not know this touching scene. But it has found its way into the late mediæval book of stories *Sefer Hayashar* (ed. Goldschmidt, p. 150). The Jewish-Persian poet Shāhin (xivth century) adapts this motif from Firdaws's *Pūrsu n-Zulāikā* in his book of Genesis.

Bibliography: Tabari, ed. de Goeje, I. 355-360, 371; *do.*, *Tafsir*, iv. 210; Tha'labi, *Kitaḥ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1325, p. 69, 74; Ibn al-Athir, ed. Tornberg, I. 90; al-Kisā'i, *Kitaḥ al-Anbiyā'*, ed. Eisenberg, p. 155 sq., 160; Neumann Kde, *A muhammedān Jenseits munda*, Budapest 1881, p. 12, 39 sq.; Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sprach- und Sagenkunde*, ed. F. Perles, Berlin 1901, p. 523, 534-538, 548; W. Bacher, *Zwei jüdisch-persische Dichter, Shāhin und Imrūn*, Budapest 1907, p. 119; s. also the articles YA'QUB, YUSUF.

(R. HELLER.)

RAHĪL. (See ALLĀH, I. 303^b, 304^a.)

AL-RAHĪL. (See KHURRAW FIRUZ.)

RAHMA, compassion (see ALLĀH, I. 303^b, 306).

RAHMĀN. (See ALLĀH, I. 303^b, 304^a.)

RAHMĀNIYA, Algerian Order (*ḥarīḥ*) called after Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ghazālī al-Djurdj al-Azhar Abū Kabrān, who died 1208 (1793-1794). It is a branch of the Khawāṭiyya and is said to have at one time been called Bakriya after Muṣṭafā b. Bakr al-Shāmī. At Nefta, in Tunisia, and some other places it is called 'Asūfiya after Muṣṭafā b. Muhammad b. 'Asūf.

Life of the Founder. His family belonged to the tribe Ait Smā'il, part of the confederation Ghaztala in the Kabiliya Djurdjura; having studied at his home, and then in Algiers, he made the pilgrimage in 1152 (1739-1740), and on his return spent some time as a student at al-Azhar in Cairo, where Muhammad b. Salīm al-Hafnawī (d. 1181: *Silk al-Durar*, iv. 50) initiated him into the Khawāṭiyya Order, and ordered him to propagate it in India and the Sudan; after an absence of thirty years he returned to Algeria, and commenced preaching in his native village, where he founded a *sūfiya*; he seems to have introduced some modifications into Khawāṭiyya practice, and in his Seven Visions of the Prophet Muhammad made some important claims for his person and his system; immunity from hell-fire was to be secured by affiliation to his order, love for himself or it, a visit to himself, stopping before his tomb, hearing his *ḥikm* recited. His success in winning adherents provoked the envy of the local *murshids*, in con-

sequence of which he migrated to Hamma in the neighbourhood of Algiers. Here too his activities met with opposition from the religious leaders, who summoned him to appear before a *maḥkūm* under the presidency of the Mālikite Mufti 'Alī b. Amīn; through the influence of the Turkish authorities, who were impressed by the following which he had acquired, he was acquitted of the charge of unorthodoxy, but he thought it prudent to return to his native village, where shortly afterwards he died, leaving as his successor 'Alī b. 'Isā al-Maghribi. His corpse is said to have been stolen by the Turks and buried with great pomp at Hamma with a *kubba* and a mosque over it. The Ait Smā'il however maintained that it had not left its original grave, whence it was supposed to have been miraculously duplicated, and the title *Abū Kabrān* "owner of two graves" was given him.

History and propagation of the Order. 'Alī b. 'Isā al-Maghribi was undisputed head from 1208 (1793-1794) to 1251 (1836-1837); his successor died shortly after, and from the following year, though the Order continued to win adherents, it divided into independent branches. This was owing to the objections raised by the Ait Smā'il to the succession of al-Haddādī Bashir, another Maghribi; in spite of the support of 'Abd al-Kādir (the famous enemy of the French) he had to quit his post, which was held for a time by the widow of 'Alī b. 'Isā, who, however, owing to the dwindling of the revenues of the *sūfiya* had ultimately to summon Bashir back. Meanwhile the founders of other *sūfiyas* were assuming independence. After the death of Bashir in 1259 (1843-1844) her son-in-law al-Haddādī 'Ammār succeeded to the headship. Finding his influence waning owing to his failure to participate in the attack on the French organized by Bū Baḥlā he in August 1856 called his followers to arms and obtained some initial successes; he was however compelled to surrender in the following year, and his wife (or mother-in-law) at the head of a hundred *ḥawān* shortly after. Bashir retired to Tunis, where he endeavoured to continue the exercise of his functions, but he was not generally recognized as head of the order, and his place among the Ait Smā'il was taken by Muhammad Amīn b. al-Haddādī of Šaddāq, who at the age of 80 on April 8, 1871 proclaimed *ḥikm* against the French, who had recently been defeated in the Franco-Prussian War. The insurrection met with little success, though it spread far, and on July 13 Ibn al-Haddādī surrendered to General Saussier, who sent him to Bougie. The original *sūfiya* was closed as a precautionary measure.

His son 'Asīz, who had been transported to New Caledonia, succeeded in escaping to Djidja, whence he endeavoured to govern the community; but various *muḥaddams* who had been appointed by his father, as well as other founders of *sūfiyas*, asserted their independence. Lists are given by Depont and Coppolani of these persons and their spheres of influence, which extend into Tunisia and the Sahara. In their work the numbers of the adherents to the Order are reckoned at 156,214 (1897). Rinn notices that the Rahmāniya of Tolga regularly maintained good relations with the French authorities.

Practices of the Order. The training of the *murid* consists in teaching him a series of seven

"names", of which the first is the formula *lā ilāhā illa 'llāh*, to be repeated from 12,000 to 70,000 times in a day and night, and followed by the others, if the *shahīd* is satisfied with the neophyte's progress; these are 2. *Allāh* three times; 3. *huwa*; 4. *ḥaqq* three times; 5. *ḥayy* three times; 6. *ḥayyūm* three times; 7. *ḥabīb* three times (Kinn's list differs slightly from this). Kinn states that the *dhikr* of the Order consists in repeating at least 80 times from the afternoon of Thursday to that of Friday the prayer ascribed to Shādhill, and on the other weekdays the formula *lā ilāhā illa 'llāh*. Favourite lessons are the "Verse of the Throne" followed by Sūras L, cxlii-cxlv. (prescribed in the Founder's diploma, translated by A. Delpech, in *R. A.*, 1874) and the Seven Visions mentioned above (translated by Kinn, p. 467).

Literature of the Order. Most of this would seem to be still in MS.; the founder is credited with several books. A. Cherbonneau, in *J. A.*, 1852, p. 517 describes a catechism called *al-Rahmānīya* by Muḥammad b. Bakhtari with a commentary by his son Mustafā, perhaps identical with a work called by French writers *Précis dominicain*. Another work belonging to the Order which they mention is called *al-Rawḍ al-bayḍ* (cf. *Manāḥib al-Shāhīh* Muḥammad b. al-Ḥāsim).

Bibliography: Private communication obtained from Caïd Benhassine Larba of Khanga Sidi Nadji by favour of M. P. Geuthner; E. de Neveu, *Les Khonun*, Paris 1846; L. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khonun*, Alger 1884; O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les Confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897; H. Garros, *Histoire générale de l'Algérie*, Algiers 1910.

(D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

RAHN (A.), pledge, security; *rahn*, the giver and *murtahin*, the taker of the pledge. The *Kur'ān* (ii. 283), obviously in confirmation of pre-Islamic legal usage, provides for the giving of pledges (*riḥān* = *mahbūḍa*) in business in which a definite period is concerned, if the preparation of a written document is impossible. The part here played by the security as evidence of the existence of an obligation is in Islamic law much less important than that of securing the fulfilment of a demand. From the latter point of view the traditions are mainly concerned with two questions: a. whether the security in case of non-fulfilment passes without more ado into the ownership of the creditor or not (the two answers are crystallized in the legal maxims *al-rahn bi-mā fih* or *al-rahn lā yughalib*); and b. who is entitled to use it and is bound to maintain it (the answer often found in earlier authorities that the taker of the pledge may enjoy its use if he sees to its maintenance, later fell out into disuse). According to the doctrine of Muslim law, the giver of the pledge is bound to maintain it, but can enjoy the use of it only according to the Shāfi'is; its use by the taker of the pledge is also forbidden (except by the Hanbalis); the yield (increase) belongs to the giver of the pledge but also becomes part of the security (except with the Shāfi'is); the taker of the pledge is responsible for it according to the Hanafis and (with limitations) the Mālikis. Among the Shāfi'is and the Hanbalis the agreement regarding the security is regarded as a bailment-relationship (with much less responsibility). The basis for the condition of a pledge must be a claim (*ḍān*); the accessory

character of the security is in general allowed; but exceptional cases are recognised in which the debt is extinguished by the disappearance of the security i.e. the risk passes to the taker of the pledge. While the ownership of the pledge remains with the debtor, he has no power of disposal over it and possession passes to the creditor; the latter has the right to sell it to satisfy his claim if the debt becomes overdue or is not paid. Mortgage is unknown as well as a graded series of rights to the same object of pledge. To be distinguished from the pledge is the detention (*ḥabṣ*) of a thing to enforce fulfilment of a legal claim, which represents a concrete right afforded by the law in individual cases so that it has contacts with the legal right to pledge.

Bibliography: J. Schacht, *G. Bergsträsser's Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 55 sq.; Guidi-Santilana, *Sommario del diritto musulmano*, ii. 285 sq.; López Ortiz, *Derecho musulmán*, p. 192 sq.; Sachau, *Muhammedanisches Recht*, p. 323 sq.; Querry, *Droit musulman*, i. 443 sq.; Th. W. Juynebol, *De hoofregelen der Sjakkitsche leer van het pandrecht*, Leyden (dissertation) 1893. (JOSEPH SCHACHT)

RA'IS AL-KUTTĀB, RA'IS ERYKTI. [See RĀTIS.]

RĀY, the ancient Ragha, a town in Media. Its ruins may be seen about 5 miles S. S. E. of Teheran [q. v.] to the south of a spur projecting from Elburz into the plain. The village and sanctuary of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm lie immediately south of the ruins. The geographical importance of the town lies in the fact that it was situated in the fertile zone which lies between the mountains and the desert, by which from time immemorial communication has taken place between the west and east of Irān. Several roads from Mārandārān [q. v.] converge on Rāy on the north side.

In the Avesta, *Widdwāt*, i. 15, Raghā is mentioned as the twelfth sacred place created by Ahura-Mazda. *Yasna*, xix. 18, calls it *lahurārat* Raghā *zarathustri* "Zoroastrian Raghā possessing four degrees of hierarchy" because at Raghā the representative of the prerogatives going back to Zoroaster (*zarathustri*) held also the powers of a prince (*varān dāyūmā*) while elsewhere these two dignitaries with the three categories of chief subordinates, formed five degrees of hierarchy. The Middle Persian commentary deduces from this that Zoroaster must have belonged to Raghā. The town is also called *tri-santu* (*Widdwāt*, i. 15), which Bartholomae interprets as possessing "three districts" (*drei Gāue besitzend*) although the explanation of the Middle Persian commentary is: "possessing three estates (social classes) for the priests, warriors and cultivators there were good" (cf. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, col. 579, 811, 1497; cf. Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 122). The later commentaries put Rāy in Atropatene in conformity with the late tendency to localize events in sacred history in this province.

In the Old Persian inscriptions (Bh. 2, 10-18) Raghā appears as the province of Media in which in the autumn of 521 B. C. the false king of Media Frawartish sought refuge in vain; from Raghā also Darius sent reinforcements to his father Wistaspas when the latter was putting down the rebellion in Parthia (Bh. 3, 1-10).

Rages is also mentioned in the apocrypha. Tobit sent his son Tobias from Nineveh to recover the silver deposited in Rages with Gabael, brother of

Gabrias (Tobit, i. 14). The book of Judith (i. 15) puts near Ragau (if it only were Ragha!) the plain in which Nebuchadnezzar defeated the king of Media, Arphaxad (Phraortes?).

In the summer of 330 B.C., Alexander the Great following Darius III took 11 days to go from Ecbatane to Rhagae (Arrian, 3, 20, 2). Diodorus relates that Antigonus passed near Rhagae after his victory over his rival Eumenes (316 B.C.). According to Strabo, xi. 9, 1 and xi. 13, 6, Seleucus Nicator (312—280) rebuilt Rhagae under the name of Eurōpos (in memory of his native town in Macedonia) and that near Eurōpos the towns of Laodicea, Apamea and Heraclea were peopled with Macedonians. After the coming of the Parthians the town was renamed Ariakia. It is however possible that all these towns although situated in the same locality occupied slightly different sites for they are mentioned side by side in the authorities. Rawlinson (*J. G. S.*, x. 119) would put Eurōpos at Warāmin [q. v.]. Athenaeus in *Deipnosophistae*, says that the Parthian kings spent the spring at Rhagae (*ἡ Πάγας*) and the winter at Babylon (see the details in A. V. W. Jackson, and Weissbach). The Greek popular etymologies which explain the name Rhaga as alluding to earthquakes seem to reflect the frequency of this phenomenon in this region so close to Damāvand.

In the Sāsānian period Yazdagird III in 641 issued from Raiy his last appeal to the nation before fleeing to Khurāsān. The sanctuary of Bibi Shahr-Bān situated on the south face of the already mentioned spur and accessible only to women is associated with the memory of the daughter of Yazdagird who, according to tradition, became the wife of Husain b. Ali. In the years 486, 499, 553 A.D. Raiy is mentioned as the see of bishops of the Eastern Syrian church.

Arab conquest. The year of the conquest is variously given (18—24 = 639—644) and it is possible that the Arab power was consolidated gradually. As late as 25 (646) a rebellion was suppressed in Raiy by Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās. The Arabs seem to have profited by the dissensions among the noble Persian families. Raiy was the fief of the Mihrān family and, in consequence of the resistance of Siyāwakhih b. Mihrān b. Bahram Čābin, Nu'sim b. Mukarrin had the old town destroyed and ordered Farrukhān b. Zainabi (Zainadi?) b. Kūla (cf. *MAṢMUMĪHĀN*) to build a new town (Tabari, i. 2655). In 71 (690) again a king of the family of Farrukhān is mentioned alongside of the Arab governor.

The passing of power from the Omayyads to the 'Abbasids took place at Raiy without incident but in 136 (753) the "Khurrami" Sunbadh, one of Abū Muslim's stalwarts, seized the town for a short time. The new era for Raiy began with the appointment of the heir to the throne Muhammad Mahdi to the governorship of the east (141—152 = 758—768). He rebuilt Raiy under the name of Muḥammadiya and surrounded it by a ditch. The suburb of Mahdi-Šādih was built for those of the inhabitants who had to give up their property in the old town. Hārūn al-Raḡhīd, son of Mahdi, was born in Raiy and used often to recall with pleasure his native town and its principal street. In 195 (810) Ma'mūn's general Tahir b. Husain won a victory over Amīn's troops near Raiy. In 250 (865) the struggle began in Raiy between the Zaidi 'Alids of Tabaristān and first the Tāhīrīds and later the caliph's Turkish generals. It was

not till 272 (885) that Adhghū-regin of Kāzwīn took the town from the 'Alids. In 261 (864) the caliph Mu'tamid wishing to consolidate his position appointed to Raiy his son, the future caliph Muktafi. Soon afterwards the Sāmānīds began to interfere in Raiy. Isma'il b. Ahmad seized Raiy in 289 (912) and the feat accomplished was confirmed by the caliph Muktafi. In 296 Ahmad b. Isma'il received investiture from Muktafi in Raiy (Gardizi, p. 21—22).

In the tenth century Raiy is described in detail in the works of the contemporary Arab geographers. In spite of the interest which Baghdad displayed in Raiy the number of Arabs there was insignificant and the population consisted of Persians of all classes (*ashraf*; Ya'qūbī, in *B. G. A.*, vii. 276). Among the products of Raiy Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 253, mentions silks and other stuffs, articles of wood and "lustre dishes", an interesting detail in view of the celebrity enjoyed by the ceramics "of Rhages". All writers emphasise the very great importance of Raiy as a commercial centre. According to Isṭakhri, p. 207, the town covered an area of $1\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{1}{2}$ farsakhs, the buildings were of clay (*fin*) but the use of bricks and plaster (*qīst* = *gaṣ*) was also known. The town had five great gates and eight large bazaars. Muḥaddasī, p. 391, calls Raiy one of the glories of the lands of Isfām and among other things mentions its library in the Rūdhā quarter which was watered by the Šīrkānī canal.

Dailami period. In 304 (916) the lord of Adharbāydjān Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj occupied Raiy out of which he drove the Dailami Muhammad b. 'Ali Sa'īd who represented the Sāmānīd Naṣr (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 74). This occupation, commemorated in coins struck by Yūsuf at Muḥammadiya, was the beginning of a troubled period. Raiy passed successively into the hands of the Dailami 'Alī b. Wahsūdihān, Waṣīf Bektimūrī, the Dailami Ahmad b. 'Ali and of Muṭfiḥ, slave of Yūsuf (in 313 = 925; cf. R. Vasmer, *O mentakhi Sa'djidev*, Baku 1927). Lastly the Sāmānīds encouraged by the caliph succeeded in bringing Raiy again within their sphere of influence but soon their general Asfār (a Dailami) became independent in Raiy. In 318 (930), Asfār was killed by his lieutenant Mardāwīdī [q. v.] (a native of Gilān and one of the founders of the Ziyārīd dynasty) who took over his master's lands (C. Huart, *Les Ziyārids*, 1922, p. 363 [= 11]).

After the assassination of Mardāwīdī (323 = 925) the Būyids established themselves in Raiy, which became the fief of the branch of Rukn al-Dawla which held out there for about 100 years. In 390 (1000) the last Sāmānīd al-Muntaḡir made an attempt to seize Raiy but failed. In 420 (1027) the Būyid Maḡdī al-Dawla was ill-advised enough to invoke against the Dailamis the help of Maḡmūd of Ghazni, who seized his lands (cf. Muhammad Nazim, *Sultān Maḡmūd*, 1931, p. 80—85). The brief rule of the Ghaznawids was marked by acts of obscurantism, like the destruction of books on philosophy and astrology and the atrocious persecutions of the Karmāṭians and Mu'tazilis (Gardizi, p. 91; Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 262).

The Saljūqs. The Ghuzz laid Raiy waste in 427 (1035) and in 434 (1042) the town, where Maḡdī al-Dawla still held out in the fort of Tabarak (Ibn al-Athīr, ix. 347), fell into the power of the Saljūqs and became one of their principal cities. The last Būyid al-Malik al-Raḡīm died a prisoner

in Tabarak in 450 (1058) (or in 455; cf. H. Bowen, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1929, p. 238) and the new lord Tughril [q. v.] also died at Raiy in 455 (1063). Henceforth Raiy is constantly mentioned in connection with events relating to the Great Saljuqs and their branch in Persian 'Irāk.

From the reign of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd (529-547 = 1133-1152) Raiy was ruled by the anāz Inandj whose daughter Inandj-Khātūn became the wife of Pahlawān, son of the famous atābeg of Adharbāidjān, Ildegiz. When the latter put on the throne Sultān Arslān-Shāh (whose mother he had married) Inandj opposed this nomination but was defeated in 555 (1160). Inandj withdrew to Bistām but with the help of the Khwārizmshāh Il-Arslān reoccupied Raiy. He was finally murdered at the instigation of Ildegiz who gave Raiy as a fief to Pahlawān. Later the town passed to Kutlugh Inandj b. Pahlawān who, like his maternal grandfather, brought about the intervention of the Khwārizmshāh Takish in the affairs of Persia (588 = 1192). Two years later in a battle near Raiy, the last Saljuq Tughril III was killed by Kutlugh Inandj but the country remained with the Khwārizmians. In 614 (1217) the atābeg of Fārs Sa'd b. Zangī succeeded in occupying Raiy but was almost immediately driven out by the Khwārizmshāh Jalāl al-Dīn (cf. Nasawi, ed. Houdas).

Civil wars. Muqaddasi, p. 391, 395-396 mentions the dissensions (*aqābiyyāt*) among the people of Raiy in matters of religion. Under 582 (1186-1187) Ibn al-Athīr, xi. 237, records the damage done in Raiy in the civil war between Sunnis and Shī'is: the inhabitants were killed or scattered and the town left in ruins. Yāqūt who, fleeing before the Mongols, went through Raiy in 617 (1220) gives the results of his enquiry about the three parties: the Hanafis, the Shāfi'is, and the Shī'is of which the two first began by wiping out the Shī'is who formed half the population of the town and the majority in the country. Later the Shāfi'is triumphed over the Hanafis. The result was that there only survived in Raiy the Shī'ī quarter which was the smallest. Yāqūt describes the underground houses at Raiy and the dark streets difficult of access which reflected the care of the inhabitants to protect themselves against enemies.

The Mongols. The Mongols who occupied Raiy after Yāqūt's visit dealt it the final blow. Ibn al-Athīr (xii. 184) goes so far as to say that all the population was massacred by the Mongols in 617 (1220) and the survivors put to death in 621 (1224). It is however possible that the historian, echoing the panic which seized the Muslim world, exaggerates the extent of the destruction. Djawaini (ed. Muhammad Khān Kaswini, i. 115) only says that the Mongol leaders put many people to death at Khwār Raiy (in the country inhabited by Shī'is) but in Raiy they were met by the (Shāfi'ī?) kāfi who submitted to the invaders (*il-ghāz*), after which the latter went on. Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Bérzine, in *Trudl V. O.*, xv. 135 [transl. p. 89]) admits that the Mongols under Djebek and Subudai killed and plundered (*kushīd wa-ghārat*) at "Raiy" but he seems to make a distinction between Raiy and Kum, in which the inhabitants were completely (*bo-kullī*) massacred.

The fact that life was not completely extinguished at Raiy is evident from the dates of pottery which apparently continued to be made in Raiy (cf. Gaest, *A dated Rayy bowl*, in *Burlington Magazine*, 1931,

p. 134-135: the painted bowl bears the date 640 = 1243). The citadel of Tabarak was rebuilt under Ghāzān Khān (1295-1304) but certain economic reasons (irrigation?) if not political and religious reasons, must have been against the restoration of Raiy and the centre of the new administrative Mongol division (the *timūn* of Raiy) became Warāmīn [q. v.] (cf. *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, in *G.M.S.*, p. 55). After the end of Hūlagū's dynasty, Raiy fell to the sphere of influence of Tughā-Timūr [q. v.] of Astarābād. In 1384, Timūr's troops occupied Raiy without striking a blow but this must mean the district and not the town of Raiy, for Clavijo (ed. Srennevsky, p. 187) who passed through this country in 1404 confirms that Raiy (*Nahariprey* = *Shahr-i Raiy*) was no longer inhabited (*agora deshabitée*). No importance is to be attached to the mention of "Raiy" in the time of Shāh-Rukh (*Mafīh al-Safāin*, under the year 841 = 1437) or of Shāh Ismā'īl, *Hatīb al-Siyar*.

The ruins of Raiy. Olivier in 1797 sought them in vain and it was Truilhier and Gardane who first discovered them. The earliest descriptions are by J. Morier, Ker Porter and Sir W. Ouseley. The first has preserved for us a sketch of a Sāsānian bas-relief which was later replaced by a sculpture of Fath 'Alī Shāh. The description and particularly the plan by Ker Porter (reproduced in Sarre and A. V. W. Jackson, *Persia*) are still of value because since his time the needs of agriculture and unsystematic digging have destroyed the walls and confused the strata. Large numbers of objects of archaeological interest and particularly the celebrated pottery covered with paintings have flooded the European and American markets as a result of the activity of the dealers. Scientific investigation was begun by the universities of Philadelphia and Boston in 1934 (cf. *The Illustrated London News*, June 22, 1935, p. 1122-1123; E. F. Schmidt, *The Persian Expedition [Rayy]*, in *Bulletin University Museum, Philadelphia*, v., 1935, p. 41-49; cf. p. 25-27). In the citadel hill, Dr. Erich Schmidt found a great variety of pottery and the remains of buildings among which the most interesting are the foundations of Mahdī's mosque (communication by A. Godard to the Congress of Persian Art at Leningrad in Sept. 1935). In an interesting passage, Muqaddasi, p. 210, speaks of the high domes which the Būyids built over their tombs. According to the *Siyarat-nāma*, p. 145, in the time of Fakhr al-Dawla a rich Zoroastrian built an *astūdān* with double roof (*sutūdān ba-da pūshīsh*) on the top of the hill of Tabarak, above the domed tomb (*gunbad*) of Fakhr al-Dawla. The *astūdān*, turned to a new use received the name of *dīda-yi sipāh-sālārān* "fort of the commandants" and was still in existence in the time of Nāṣir al-Mulk. The two towers now to be seen among the ruins of Raiy [both are round in plan, but the one repaired under Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh has ribbed flanks] are attributed to the Saljuqs but may continue the Dailami type of building. The hill of Tabarak on which was the citadel (destroyed in 588 [1192] by Tughril III) according to Yāqūt was situated to "the right" of the Khurāsān road while the high mountain was to "the left" of this road. Tabarak therefore must have been on the top of the hill opposite the great spur (hill G in Ker Porter's plan: "fortress finely built of stone and on the summit of an immense rock which commands the open

country to the south?); cf. the map in A. F. Stahl, *Die Umgegend v. Teheran*, in *Pet. Mitt.*, 1900.

Bibliography: Cf. the articles **YERKÂN** and **WAKMÎN**. — Description of the ruins: J. Morier, *A Journey*, 1812, p. 232, 403; do., *Second Journey*, 1818, p. 190; Ker Porter, *Travels*, 1821, i. 357—364 (map); Ouseley, *Travels*, 1823, iii. 174—199, plate lxx; Ritter, *Erdbunde*, vi/i, 1838, p. 595—604; Curzon, *Persia*, i. 347—352; F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin 1901, text, p. 55—58; A. V. W. Williams Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, 1905, p. 428—441 (plan by Ker Porter). — Ancient history: Marquart, *Erzählung*, p. 122—124; A. V. W. Jackson, *Persia*, loc. cit.; do., *Historical Sketch of Ragha*, in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1908, p. 237—245; do., in *Essays in Modern Theology to Ch. A. Briggs*, New York 1911, p. 93—97; Weissbach, art. *Arastia*, *Europae und Raga*, in *Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie*; Hensfeld, *Archäolog. Mitteil. aus Iran*, ii, 1930, p. 95—98. — Muslim History: A *Tarîkh Raiy* was written by Abû Sa'îd Mansûr b. Husain al-Abî (= Awa'i); the author was the vizier of the Buyid Madjîl al-Dawla and had access to very good sources; Yâkût often cites this history (i. 57, s. v. *Abû*); Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, p. 272—275 (many quotations from the *Muqbil al-Tawârikh*); Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. géographique*, 1861 (quotations from the *Haft Iqlim* of Ahmad Râzi); Bartholi, *Inter-geograf. über Iran*, 1903, p. 84—86; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 214—218; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p. 740—809 (very complete utilisation of the Arabic sources; complete list of the dependencies of Raiy). (V. MINORSKY)

RAK'Â. [See **ŞALÂT**.]

AL-RAKÂSHI. [See **ARÂN** b. 'ABD AL-ĤAMÎD.]

RAKÎM. [See **ASŪKÂ** AL-KAHF.]

AL-RAKKA, capital of Diyâr Muḍar in al-Djazira on the left bank of the Euphrates, shortly before it is joined by the Nahr Balikh (Barhaneh, Bāḥḥa, Bāḥḥar).

The town was in antiquity called Kallinikos. Nikephorion is to be located in the same region (Strabo, xvi. 747; Isidoros of Charax, in *Geogr. Graeci Min.*, ed. Müller, p. 247; Dio Cass., xl. 13; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, v. 86; vi. 119; Ptolemy, *Geogr.*, v. 17; Stephen Byz.); but its usual identification with Kallinikos is certainly wrong and it may be a case of two adjoining towns as with the "black" and "white al-Rakka" of the middle ages. Nikephorion was, according to Appian (Syr., p. 57), a foundation of Seleucus I Nikator; later it was ascribed to Alexander the Great (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 119; Isid. Char., c. 1) who can hardly have been here and it is hardly likely that towns were so shortly before the battle of Gaugamela (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, v., A, col. 1274, s. v. *Thapsakos*).

Kallinikos owed its name to Seleucus II Kallinikos, who founded the town in 244 or 242 B.C. (Chron. Pasch., ed. Dindorf, i. 330; Mich. Syr., ed. Chabot, iv. 78). Libanios (*Epist.*, p. 21, 2; *Opera*, ed. Förster, x. 19, 2—3) wishes to derive the name from the sophist Kallinikos who was murdered there; it is however hardly likely that the town, the name of which (Syrian Kallinikos, Kallinikos) the Christian Syrians retained in the middle ages, was called after a pagan victim, and

in any case, if it were so, we would expect a name like Kallinikeia. In any case the site of Kallinikos corresponds to that of the mediaeval al-Rakka, with which the Syrian historians always identified it. In the time of the emperor Julian, Kallinikos was a strong fortress and an important commercial centre (Ammian. Marcell., xlii. 3, 7). In the year 393 a Jewish synagogue was burned in the *Castrum Callinicum*; the emperor Theodosius therefore ordered the bishop of the town to rebuild it (Ambrosius, *Epist. ad Theodos.*; Migon, *Patrol. Lat.*, xvi., col. 1105 19.). The emperor Leo in 777 Sel. (466 A.D.) rebuilt Kallinikos in Osrhoene, called it Leontopolis and appointed a bishop there (probably the successor of the Damianos mentioned in 451 and 458) (*Edessene Chronicle*, ed. Hallier, in *Texte u. Untersuch.*, ix. 1, Leipzig 1893, p. 116, 152; Barhebr., *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 77; Leontopolis: Hierokl., *Synekdem.*, p. 715, 1; Geogr. Cypr., ed. Gelzer, p. 897). Towards the end of the year 503, Timostatos bravely defended the fortress against the Persians and took one of Kavadh's officers prisoner but had to release him as the king threatened to destroy the town completely (Joshua Stylites, ed. Martin, in *Abb. K. M.*, vi. 1, Leipzig 1876, p. lxx.). The Syrian church historians from the beginning of the 6th century frequently mention the monastery of Mar Zakkai, Arabic Dair Zakkâ, in the angle formed by the Nahr Balikh and the Euphrates or the Nahr al-Nil Canal not far from Kallinikos (*Vitae viror. apud monophysitas celeberr.*, ed. Brooks, in *C. S. C. O.*, ser. iii., vol. xxv., Paris 1907, p. 38; Mich. Syr., iv. 414 19.; al-Shābushānī, *Kitāb al-Diyārât*, cod. Berol., fol. 95; Yâkût, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 664; iv. 862). Between al-Rakka and Balis lay the celebrated monastery of Dair Hanninâ not far from Sura (G. Hoffmann on Zacharias Rhetor, transl. Akrens-Krüger, p. 159, 20; Johann. v. Ephes., iv. 22; Mich. Syr., ii. 301; iii. 453 and *passim*; Barhebr., *Chron. eccl.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i. 244, 250; F. Nau, in *R.O.C.*, xv., 1910, p. 63, note 1; Yâkût, ii. 350 and *passim*; often wrongly called "monastery of Hananis", e.g. in Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, p. 329).

In 529, Justinian enacted that trade with the Persians should be conducted at the frontier towns of Nisibis, Kallinikos and Artaxata (*Cod. Just.*, ed. Krüger, iv. 65, s. p. 188; Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, ii., 1923, p. 3). Khumaraw I on his third campaign against Syria (542) took the town without difficulty (Procop., *Bell. Pers.*, ii. 21, 31; *Anecd.*, iii. 31) because at the time the walls had been partly taken down in order to be rebuilt. The town was destroyed but later fortified again by Justinian with walls and bulwarks and "made impregnable" (Procop., *De aed.*, ii. 7; James of Edessa, *Chronol. Canon*, ed. Brooks, in *Z.D.M.G.*, liii. 300; Mich. Syr., ed. Chabot, iv. 287). The *emperor* Maurikios in 580 had to retire to Kallinikos before Adharmahan but put him to flight there (Theophyl. Sim., iii. 17, 2 19.; Chapot, *La Frontière de l'Euphrate*, p. 289, note 3 and E. Hensfeld, *Archäol. Zeits.*, i. 159 make the "emperor" Maurikios flee to the fortress before Hormisdas).

The Arabs in 18 (639) or 19 (640) under 'Iyâd b. Qaḥm encamped before the N.W. gate of the town, Bâb al-Ruḥâ; after 5 or 6 days the Patricius who governed the town asked for peace and surrendered it to him and the inhabitants

were promised security of life and property. Their churches were not to be destroyed or occupied so long as they paid their tribute and committed no act of hostility; on the other hand they were not to build new churches or sacred places and not to observe Christian customs or festivals publicly (al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-Buldan*, ed. de Goeje, p. 173 sq.; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, ii. 439). On the death of 'Iyād, Sa'īd b. 'Amir b. Dīdhān became governor of al-Djazīra; he built a mosque in al-Rakka (al-Balādhuri, p. 178; Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*, ii. 353). It was built of bricks of clay and marble taken from ancient buildings (Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, with fig. 324-329); its Manārat al-Munaiṣir still marks the ruins that represent the ancient al-Rakka.

In the great battle of Siffin in 36 (656) 'Alī crossed the Euphrates at al-Rakka on a bridge of boats, which he ordered the inhabitants to build, with his infantry and whole equipment to the Syrian bank (al-Tabarī, i. 3259; Ibn Miskawih, *Taḡrīb*, ed. Caetani, p. 571). According to the *Dimūn* of 'Ubayd Allāh b. Kaīs al-Ruḡaiyāt, who died in 690 (ed. Rhodokanakis, in *S. B. Ak. Wien*, cxliv/x., Vienna 1902, p. 222), al-Rakka and al-Qalas (?) were then in ruins and practically uninhabited but this is poetic exaggeration (Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, p. 329 sq.). He calls the town (p. 285) al-Rakka al-Sawda' to distinguish it from al-Rakka al-Balida', which is mentioned in the *Dimūn* of al-Akhtal for example (ed. Sālḥīnī, p. 304). The name al-Rakka itself may be of Arabic origin ("swampy marshes on a river with periodical inundations"); the similarity of the names of al-Rakka and al-Rāfiqa to those of two Aramaic tribes of the Assyrian period, Rakkīnu (*sic!*) and Rapiḡu (Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise* i. 159, note 9), is no doubt quite accidental.

On the south bank, opposite the town between two canals (al-Hanī wa 'l-Marī), was the suburb of Wasīt al-Rakka, where Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik built two palaces and a bridge over the Euphrates (Yāqūt, ii. 802; iv. 889, 994; Ps.-Dionys. of Tilmahre, ed. Chabot, p. 26, 31; Mich. Syr. iv. 457; Barhebr., *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 118).

The governor of al-Rakka, the Kaīsī Manṣūr b. Dja'wana b. al-Hārith al-'Amīr, after whom Hīn Manṣūr was called, was executed after his rebellion in 141 (758-759) by the 'amil of Abu 'l-'Abbās, al-Manṣūr, in al-Rakka (al-Balādhuri, p. 192).

The caliph al-Manṣūr in 155 (772) built alongside of al-Rakka a new town al-Rāfiqa and settled Khurāsānians there who were devoted to his dynasty (Ibn al-Fakhīr, in *B. G. A.*, v. 132). The superintendence of the building of the new town was given by him to al-Mahdī, the heir-apparent. It was planned in the shape of a horse-shoe and was in many respects modelled on the round city of al-Manṣūr in Baghdād (al-Tabarī, iii. 276, 372 sq.; Ibn Hawkal, in *B. G. A.*, ii. 153; al-Balādhuri, p. 179; al-Yāqūt, *Kiṭāb al-Buldan*, in *B. G. A.*, vii. 238, *Ta'riḥ*, ed. Houtsma, ii. 430; Ibn al-Fakhīr, in *B. G. A.*, v. 132; Yāqūt, *Muḍjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 734 sq.; Mich. Syr., ii. 526, iii. 10, 397 = iv. 476, 483, 640; Ps.-Dionys. of Tilmahre, p. 120 sq.; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, i. 160). Two canals were led from the Euphrates and from the region of Sarḥūj to supply the new town with water (Mich. Syr., iii. 10). This new town to which the name al-Rakka came to be transferred from the old town now falling into ruins, had, according to Arab authors (e.g. al-Balādhuri, p. 179), no remains

of antiquity and indeed the modern al-Rakka, the "horse-shoe city", except for a few fragments built into the walls seems to possess no ancient ruins. The ancient Kallinikos has therefore wrongly been located here (Suchau, *Reise in Syrien u. Mesop.*, p. 242; Chapot, *La Frontière de l'Euphrate*, p. 289 sq., where fig. 8 "Necropolis-Kallinikos" is really the plan of the medieval al-Rāfiqa!).

Between al-Rakka (al-Hamra' of Musil's map) and al-Rāfiqa there soon rose a suburb with bazaars to which the markets of al-Rakka (including the largest, Saḡ Hishām al-'Atīq) were transferred by 'Alī b. Salaimān b. 'Alī, governor of al-Djazīra, and as a result the two adjoining towns gradually developed into a twin city (al-Rakka) (al-Balādhuri, p. 179; Yāqūt, ii. 734, 802; Ibn Hawkal, *B. G. A.*, ii. 153). This suburb was burned in 1123 Sel. (812) by the rebels 'Amr and Naṣr b. Shabath along with the adjoining "pillared monastery" (Mich. Syr., iii. 26) 'Abd al-Malik b. Šālih [q. v.] died in the same year in al-Rakka. In the fighting that followed, the 'Akālāye (of al-Kūfa) became lords of al-Rakka and the Persians of al-Rāfiqa (Mich. Syr., iii. 30). In the reign of Ma'mūn in 816, Tāhir built a wall between al-Rakka and al-Rāfiqa (Mich. Syr., iii. 36).

The walls of the old town fell into ruins at quite an early date (Ahmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī in Yāqūt, *loc. cit.*), and in 375 (985-986) the old al-Rakka was now only a suburb of the western town. As the name al-Rakka came into use for the latter (Yāqūt, *loc. cit.*), in the end it became no longer possible to distinguish between al-Rakka and al-Rāfiqa (also al-Makdiat, cf. E. Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*, i. 160, note 7, p. 161). At the beginning of the thirteenth century the old al-Rakka was completely in ruins (Yāqūt, ii. 734, 751; Ibn Hawkal, p. 153; al-Makdiat, p. 141; Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p. 277).

Besides al-Rakka, the capital of Diyār Muṣṣar, al-Makdiat and others mention also "burned al-Rakka" (al-Rakka al-Muhtariqa), i.e. Rakka al-Sawda' on the Balḡh, a farrakh below the "white town" (Yāqūt, i. 31; ii. 802; Ibn Rusta, p. 90; al-Makdiat, p. 20, 54, 141). It was also called "crooked al-Rakka" (al-'Awdja') and corresponds to the present ruins of al-Rakka al-Samra'.

Badr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Iḥāṣakki (Ahlwardt, v. 413, on N^o. 6104) wrote a *riḍāla* on al-Rakka.

According to Herzfeld, the following larger groups of ruins lie in the area of al-Rakka in addition to Hiraḡa which is in the neighbourhood:

1. The "horse-shoe town" with high walls, still standing, which form a semicircle on the north, while in the south they run in a straight line along the banks of the Euphrates and enclose an area of 1.92 sq. km. (Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*, ii. 356 sq.; plan: plate lxi). It corresponds to al-Rāfiqa founded by Manṣūr, to which the name al-Rakka was later transferred. Roughly in the centre of the northern round part of this part of the town lie the ruins of a large mosque, the "mosque intra muros" the front of the court of which with a round minaret (Sarre-Herzfeld, ii. 359; iii., pl. lxxi-lxix. and fig. 33-340), according to an inscription, was restored by the Zangid Nūr al-Dīn Mahmūd in 561 (1165-1166) (van Berchem in Sarre-Herzfeld, i. 4-6). Nūr al-Dīn occupied al-Rakka in 554 (1159) and gave it from 562 (1167) to 566 (1171) to his brother Mawḍūd

(Ibn al-Athir, ed. Tornberg, xi. 167, 216; Kamāl al-Dīn, transl. Blochet, in *R.O.L.*, iii. 532, 550). Yāqūt mentions a gate called Bāh al-Ijīnān (Yāqūt, i. 443; ii. 125). The gate on the S.E. corner of al-Faṣṭā, a brick building on the inner side of the ditch, is still standing (Hersfeld, ii. 358; iii. pl. lxx.; fig. 330–332). Not far from it is the so-called palace, "a plaster-covered brick building with cramps of wood" without inscriptions (Hersfeld, ii. 363; pl. lxx. sq.; fig. 342–344). On the S.W. corner of this area of ruins is the modern village of al-Rakka.

2. East of the S.E. corner of the preceding area is a smaller site (called al-Hamr) on Musil's map) "the feature of which is a high quadrangular minaret called Ma'adhamat al-Munajir" which belonged to the "mosque extra muros" (Hersfeld, i. 156; ii. 354, fig. 327). This area of ruins corresponds to the ancient town.

3. An hour further east on the Balikh are the ruins of "grey Rakka" (Rakka al-Samra).

4. A little further north, still on the left bank of the Balikh is the high Tell Zāḥān now Tell Zāḥān, according to Hersfeld (i. 157, note 3; ii. 350) and Musil (*The Middle Euphrates*, p. 91, note 9) certainly the ancient Zenodotion.

In the area of these ruins are a number of Muslim saints' graves including those of the 226th [q. v.] 'Uwais al-Qarānī and 'Ummār b. Yāsir, whose names however were differently given to Sachau (*Reise in Syr. u. Mesop.*, p. 242–244) and Hersfeld (i. 157; ii. 350) in some cases.

The area of the "horseshoe town" is, according to Hersfeld, "burrowed through and through by treasure-seekers who search here for the Rakka ceramics which fetch exceedingly high prices" and also find glass and bronze, pieces of marble etc. (Hersfeld, i. 158). The blue glazed antique vases which look as if they were enamelled, in the form of amphorae in the Louvre, said to have been found in al-Rakka, therefore certainly came from the eastern old town (Sarre in Sarre-Hersfeld, iii. and iv., cf. *Littérature*; H. Rivière, *La céramique dans l'art musulman*, 2 vol., 1912–1913; F. Cumont, *Foilles de Douze-Europes*, Paris 1926, text, p. 460 sq.).

Bibliography: al-Iṣṣḥāq, in *B.G.A.*, i. 75; Ibn Hawqāl, *B.G.A.*, ii. 153; al-Makdīnī, *B.G.A.*, iii. 20, 54, 141; al-Kharrāzī, *Kitaḥ Sūrat al-Aḥq*, ed. v. Mālik, in *Bibl. arab. Histor. u. Geogr.*, iii., Leipzig 1926, p. 20 (N^o. 284); Suhraib, *Kitaḥ 'Adā'ib al-Aḥq*, ed. v. Mālik, *ibid.*, v., 1930, p. 25 (N^o. 188); al-Battānī, *al-Zīj*, ed. Nallino, ii. 41; iii. 238 (N^o. 150); Ibn Khundāshir, *B.G.A.*, vi. 73, 175; Yāqūt, *Ma'āḍim*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 31; ii. 734 sq., 751, 802; iv. 889, 994; al-Idrīsī, ed. Gildemeister, in *Z.D.P.F.*, viii. 25; transl., ii. 136, 155; Ibn Dūhair, ed. Wright, p. 250; Ibn al-Shihna, ed. Bairūt, index, p. 288; Ritter, *Erdbunde*, x. 1125–1127; J. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, i. 110, note 15; E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, p. 241–249; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 518; do., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 101 sq.; H. Rasmussen, *Arshur and the Land of Nimrod*, New York 1897, p. 320 sq.; J. H. Peters, *Nippur*, i., New York 1897, p. 106; M. Hartmann, in *Z.D.P.F.*, xliii., 1900, p. 19–41; V. Chapot, *La Frontière de l'Euphrate de Pompée à la capitale arabe*, Paris 1907, p. 188–290; H. Violette, *Description du palais*

de al-Moutasim, in *Mém. prés. par div. savants*, xii., ii., 1909, p. 2–5 with pl. i. sq.; G. L. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, London 1911, p. 53 sq. with fig. 34–45; E. Reitemeyer, *Die Siedlungsgründungen der Araber* (diss. Heidelberg), Munich 1912, p. 84 sq. (Rakka); F. Sarre and E. Hersfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, Berlin 1911–1920, i. 3–6 (van Berchem), 156–161; ii. 349–364, fig. 318–344; iii., pl. lxxiii.–lxxv., cxvi.–cxix., iv. 20–25 (Sarre, *Keramik: Die Kunst von Raqqa; Kleinfunde*) with fig. 385, 398 sq. and pl. cxl., cxlii.; A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, appendix xi., p. 325–331 and index, p. 415; A. Poidebard, *La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie*, Paris 1934, p. 88.

(E. HONIGMANN)

RAKKA, residential city of the Aghlabid emirs of Ifrikiya about 6 miles south of Kairawān, was founded in 263 (876) by Ibrāhīm II, seventh prince of the dynasty. Until then the Aghlabids had resided in 'Abbāsīya [q. v.] nearer the capital. A chance trip into the country by Ibrāhīm, it is said, determined the site of the new residence. The emir was suffering from insomnia and on the advice of his physician, Iḥṣāk b. Sulaimān, went out to take the air. Stopping in a certain place he fell into a deep sleep and decided to build a palace there which was called Rakka, the "soporific". The story is probably based on a popular etymology of the name, which is found elsewhere in North Africa. Another explanation, equally suspect, is that which attributes the name to the memory of a massacre of the Warfadjūma by the 'Ibādī chief Abū 'L-Khaṭṭāb [q. v.] in 141 (758) and the many dead left lying there.

In the same year that the work of building was begun, Ibrāhīm settled in Rakka in the Castle of Victory (*Kaṣr al-Faṭḥ*). He was to live there the rest of his life, as were his successors, except for the stays the emirs made in Tunisia. Rakka became a regular town as al-'Abbāsīya had been before it. Besides Kaṣr al-Faṭḥ (or Kaṣr Abī 'L-Faṭḥ) there were several other castles in it: Kaṣr al-Bahr (the castle on the lake), Kaṣr al-Shah (castle of the court), Kaṣr al-Mukhtār (castle of the elect) and Kaṣr Baghdād, a large mosque, baths, caravanserais and *ṣūf*. Al-Bakrī says that it had a circumference of 24,040 cubits (over 6 miles), al-Nuwairi makes it smaller (14,000, nearly 4 miles). A wall of brick and clay surrounded this vast area, and this wall was renovated by the last Aghlabid with a view to a final effort at resistance. Al-Bakrī further tells us that the greater part of the enceinte was filled with gardens. The soil was fertile and the air temperate. The emirs and their followers enjoyed in Rakka a liberty of movement which would have caused a scandal in Kairawān. The sale of *ṣūf* [q. v.], forbidden in the pious old city, was officially permitted in the royal residence.

It was from Rakka that Ziyādat Allāh III, the last of the Aghlabids, fled on the approach of the Shī'is. The victorious Abū 'Abd Allāh [q. v.] installed himself in Kaṣr al-Shah. His master, the Mahdī 'Ubayd Allāh, lived in Rakka until 308 (920) when he moved to al-Mahdiyya. After being deserted by the ruler, Rakka fell into ruins. In 342 (953) the caliph al-Mu'izz ordered what was left of it to be razed to the ground and ploughed over. The gardens alone were spared.

A few traces of the Aghlabid foundation are still to be seen at the present day. A great rectangular reservoir with thick walls strengthened by buttresses may be identified with the lake (*ḍaḡr*) which gave its name to one of the palaces. A pavilion (?) of four stories stood in the centre. Nothing is left of it, but on the west side of the reservoir may be seen the remains of a building which must have been reflected in the great mirror of water. Three rooms may still be distinguished with their mosaic pavements. The technique and style of decoration closely connect these Muḥammadan buildings of the third century A.H. with the Christian art of the country.

Bibliography: al-Nuwairi, in Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, I, 424, 441; al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Algiers 1911, p. 27; transl. de Slane, Algiers 1913, p. 62 199; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-muḡarīb*, ed. Dozy, I, 110, 144—145, 147, 157; transl. Fagnan, I, 152, 202, 203—206, 218—219; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Hulla al-siyarā*, ed. Müller, p. 261; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, vii, 215, 222; viii, 34; transl. Fagnan (*Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*), p. 252—255, 297; *Kitāb al-Idībār*, transl. Fagnan, p. 11—12; Fournel, *Les Berbères*, I, 526; Vonderheyden, *La Berbérie orientale sous la dynastie des Beni 'U-ʿAḡlab*, p. 193 and *passim*; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman*, I, 42—44, 52; *Enquête sur les installations hydrauliques en Tunisie*, 1900 (report by Captain Flick), I, 268—269.

(GEORGES MARÇAIS)

RAMADĀN (A.), name of the ninth month of the Muḥammadan calendar. The name from the root *r-m-d* refers to the heat of summer and therefore shows in what season the month fell when the ancient Arabs still endeavoured to equate their year with the solar year by intercalary months [see *NAṢĪʿ*].

Ramadān is the only month of the year to be mentioned in the Qurʾān (Sūra, II, 185; eastern numbering): "The month of Ramadān (is that) in which the Qurʾān was sent down", we are told in connection with the establishment of the fast of Ramadān. The discussion on the origin of this edict cannot yet be considered ended; to what has been said in the article *ṢAWM* have to be added the researches of F. Goitein, *Zur Entstehung des Ramadān*, in *Isl.*, xviii, (1929), p. 189 199, who in connection with the above mentioned verse of the Qurʾān calls attention to the parallelism between the mission of Muḥammad and the handing of the second tablets of the law to Moses, which according to Jewish tradition took place on the Day of Atonement (*ʿAshūrā*, the predecessor of Ramadān) and actually was the cause of its institution. Goitein suggests that the first arrangement to replace the *ʿAshūrā* [q.v.] was a period of ten days (*aiyām muʿdḍat*, Sūra II, 184), not a whole month, which ran parallel with the ten days of penance of the Jews preceding the Day of Atonement and survives to the present day in the 10 days of the *iʿtikāf* [q.v.]. If we consider further that the Muslim ideas of the *Lailat al-Kadr* which falls in Ramadān, in which according to Qurʾān lxxxvii, 1, the Qurʾān was sent down, coincide in many points with the Jewish on the Day of Atonement, we must concede a certain degree of probability to Goitein's suggestions, in spite of the undeniable chronological difficulties (alteration of the length of the period of the fast,

within a very short time) and although the final settlement of the term as a whole month is not thereby satisfactorily explained. On the other hand to strengthen Goitein's position, it ought perhaps to be pointed out that the *Lailat al-Barāʾa* [q.v.] precedes Ramadān in the middle of the preceding month of Shaʿbān. The ideas and practices described by Wensinck in the article *ḤAʿRĀN*, which are associated with this night really to some extent resemble Jewish conceptions associated with the New Year — which precedes the Day of Atonement by a rather shorter interval than the *Lailat al-Barāʾa* Ramadān — that the connection between the latter and the Day of Atonement is thereby strengthened. If we try to connect the so far unexplained word *Barāʾa* with the Hebrew *berāʾa* "creation" and reflect that according to the Jewish idea the world was created on New Year's Day (numerous references in the liturgy of the festival) we have perhaps a further link in the chain of proof; but first of all the age of the ideas associated with the *Lailat al-Barāʾa* must be ascertained.

The legal regulations connected with the fast of Ramadān are given in the article *ṢAWM* (cf. also *TARĀWĪṢ*). Of important days of the month, al-Birūnī, among others, mentions the 6th as birthday of the martyr Husain b. 'Alī, the 10th as the day of death of Khadija, the 17th as the day of the battle of Badr, the 19th as the day of the occupation of Mecca, the 21st as the day of 'Alī's death, and of the Imām 'Alī al-Riḍā's, the 22nd as birthday of 'Alī and finally the night of the 27th as *Lailat al-Kadr* [q.v.].

The name of this night is Qurʾānic; Sūra xcvi. is dedicated to it. It is there described as a night "better than a 1,000 months" in which the angels ascend free from every commission (*bi-ḥiḡḡ Allāh min kull amr*) and which means blessing till the appearance of the red of dawn. The revelation of the Qurʾān, as already mentioned, is expressly located in it. The same night is obviously referred to in Sūra xlv. 2 as a "blessed" one. The date, the 27th, is however not absolutely certain, the pious therefore use all the odd nights of the last ten days of Ramadān for good works, as one of them at any rate is the *Lailat al-Kadr* (cf. *iʿTIXṢ*).

Trade and industry are largely at a standstill during Ramadān, especially when it falls in the hot season. The people are therefore all the more inclined to make up during the night for the deprivations of the day. As sleeping is not forbidden during the fast, they often sleep a part of the day; and the night, in which one may be merry, is given up to all sorts of pleasures. In particular the nights of Ramadān are the time for public entertainments, the shadow play [cf. *KHAYAL-i JILL*] and other forms of the theatre.

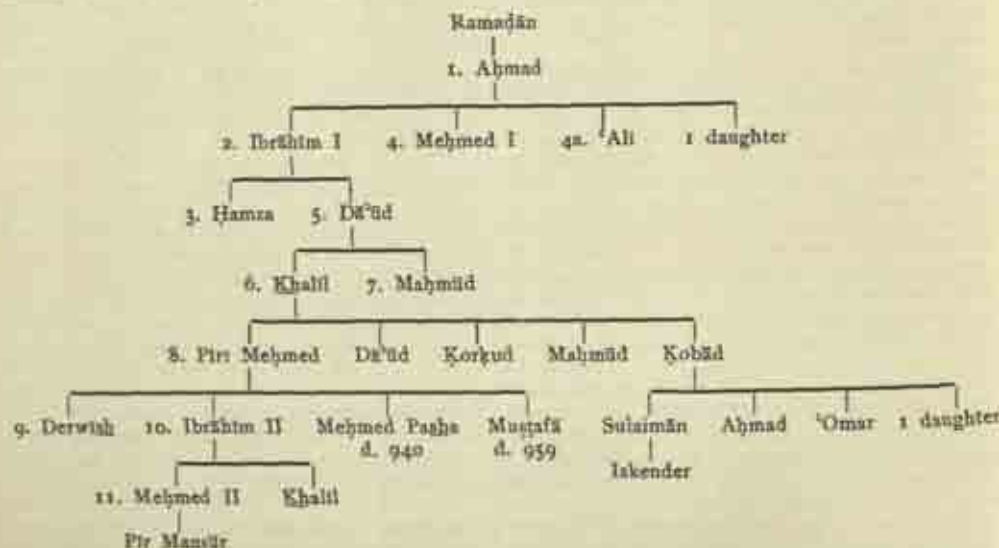
On the termination of the fast by the "little festival", cf. *ʿID AL-FITR*.

Bibliography: Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 97; al-Birūnī, *Āthār*, ed. Sachau, p. 60, 325, 331 199; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, II, 1; do., *De Afgheren*, I, 1; Lane, *Manners and Customs*, chap. 25; Mehmed Tevfik, *Ein Jahr in Konstantinopel*, 4. *Die Ramadan-Nächte*, transl. by Th. Menzel (T.B., III, 1905); Wensinck, *Arabic New Year*, in *Verh. Ak. Amsterdam*, N. S., xiv, 2; do., *The Muslim Creed*, p. 219 199; Pijper, *Fragmenta Islamica*; Littmann, *Über die Ehrennamen* etc. (*Isl.*, viii, 228 199).

(M. PLESSNER)

RAMADÂN-OGHULLARI, a petty Anatolian dynasty. The earlier history of the Ramadân-Oghullari is, like that of most of the minor Anatolian principalities (*temürlük müllük*), wrapped in obscurity. According to tradition, this Turkoman family came in Ertoghral's time from Central Asia to Anatolia where they settled in the region of Adana and founded their power. Their territory comprised the districts of Adana, Sis, Ayās, a part of the territory of the Warsak Turkomans, Tarsūs, etc. The date of the earliest known prince of the dynasty, Mir Ahmad b. Ramadân (see below), is put at 780-819 (1379-1416). Nothing definite is known about the real founder, Ramadân-Beg. The French traveller Bertrand de la Broquière thus characterizes Mir Ahmad b. Ramadân: "lequel estoit tresgrant personne d'homme et treshardy et la plus vaillante espée de tous les Turcs et le mieulx ferant d'une mache. Et avoit esté fils d'une femme crestienne laquelle l'avoit fait baptiser a la loy gregiesque pour luy enlever le flair et le senteur qu'ont ceulx qui ne sont point baptisiez. Il n'estoit ne bon crestien ne bon sarasin" (cf. *Le Voyage d'Outremer de Bertrand de la Broquière*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1892, p. 90 sq.). Mir Ahmad was succeeded by Ibrahim Beg (819-830 = 1416-1427). The beginning of his reign is put by some, e.g. Mehmed Nûzhet Bey, as early as 810, while its end is put in 819. Khalîl Edhem Bey was the first to propose a new chronology, which is here followed. Ibrahim Beg was deposed before his death (831) by his eldest son 'Isa al-Din Hamza-Beg, who reigned from 830. He was succeeded by his uncle Mehmed Beg b. Mir Ahmad and the latter's brother 'Ali, who seem to have reigned jointly. Of his successor, his nephew Arslân Dâ'ud b. Ibrahim, we only know that he

fell in 885 (1480) in a battle in the vicinity of Diyarbakr. His body was brought to Aleppo and buried there. The history of the Ramadân-Oghullari now becomes a little better known. His son and successor, Ghars al-Din Khalîl, known from a number of inscriptions (cf. Max v. Oppenheim and Max van Berchem, *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, Leipzig 1909, p. 109 sq., Nos. 141-145 of the years 808, 900, 906, 913) ruled for 34 years with his brother Mahmûd-Beg and died in battle in 916 (1510). The date of his death (beginning of Dîmûkâ I 916 = beginning of Aug. 1510) is known with certainty from his epitaph in Adana, in M. v. Oppenheim and Max van Berchem (*op. cit.*, p. 110, No. 145). His son Piri Mehmed Paşa, who appears as ruling from 916-976 (1510-1568), distinguished himself as an Ottoman vassal, fighting against the rebels of Rû-eli (Anatolia; cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iii. 71) in May 1528 (Sha'bân 934) as well as in the civil war between the princes Bâyard and Selim at Konya (May 1559; cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iii. 368 sq.). He died in 972 (1568) in his capital Adana. He had an equal command of Persian and Turkish and composed a *Divân*. His son Derwish-Beg, who had been *mutaqqarîf* of Tarsūs in his father's life-time became after his death governor (*wâllî*) of Adana but died young in 986 (1578). He was succeeded by his eldest brother Ibrahim Beg, who had previously been *sandjak-bey* of 'Aintâb. He acted as governor at his father's capital till his death in 1002 (1594). His son Mehmed Beg was the last dynast of the Ramadân-Oghlu but he can only have had a nominal rule. The family of the Ramadân-Oghlu however has survived to the present day. The following is the genealogical table:



Bibliography: Max v. Oppenheim and Max van Berchem, *Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien*, Leipzig 1909, p. 109 sq. (cf. the genealogical table based on the inscriptions at p. 112); Mehmed Nûzhet Bey, *Ramadân-oghullari*, in *T.O.A.M.*, No. 12, Stambul 1327, p. 769 sq.; Khalîl Edhem Bey, *Divân-ı İshânîye*, Stambul 1345 = 1927, p. 313 sq. (with

important corrections); E. v. Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, Hanover 1927, p. 157; G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, v. 136 sq.; C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, vol. ix., *Kleinasien*, part 2, Berlin 1859, p. 152 sq.

(FRANZ BARINGER)

AL-RAMĀDĪ, whose full name was ABŪ 'UMAR (wrongly ABŪ 'AMR) YUSUF b. HARŪN AL-KINDĪ AL-KUTUBĪ AL-RAMĀDĪ, poet of Muslim Spain, who lived in the fourth (tenth) century and died early in the fifth (eleventh) century in 403 (1013), on the day of the 'Aṣṣara or Feast of St. John (June 24), according to Ibn Ḥayyān (in Ibn Baṣṣakūwāl, cf. *Bibl.*), in 413 (1022–1023), according to al-Maḥḥārī (quoting the same Ibn Ḥayyān); he was buried in the cemetery of Cordova known as Maḥṣarat Kala'.

The ethnic al-Ramādī is explained in two ways: 1. the poet is said to have come from al-Rammāda, a little town between Alexandria and Barja; this explanation is to be rejected for al-Rammāda (with gemination of the *mīm* — and this orthography is attested by the geographers who mention the place, e.g. al-Ya'qūbī, al-Bakrī and al-Idrīsī —) would not give an ethnic like al-Ramādī (with one *m*); 2. the second explanation which derives Ramādī from *ramād*: "ordinary ashes" or "ashes for washing", is the only possible one; the poet perhaps in his youth followed the trade of an ash-merchant; in confirmation of this we may call attention to the Romance surname which was originally given him: *Abū Djanīs* (wrongly *Abū Sahl* in the *Yatimat al-Dahr*), i.e. *padre ceniza*, "father cinders" or "cinderman".

Al-Ramādī, a native of Cordova, spent all his life in his native town except for a brief period of exile in Saragossa. His life was dominated by three great factors: his attachment to Abū 'Alī al-Kālī, his devotion to the cause of the *ḥāḍir* Abū 'I-ḥasan al-Muḥaffī and his love for Khalwa.

Abū 'Alī al-Kālī, summoned from the east to Spain by the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāṣir (300–350 = 912–961) had from his arrival in Cordova in 330 (942) no more faithful disciple than al-Ramādī who studied under his direction the *Kitāb al-Nawādir* ("the book of philological rarities"). The young scholar's admiration found expression in a poem which has remained famous (rhyme *fi*, metre *kāmil*) of which some thirty lines are preserved in the *Yatimat al-Dahr* of al-Tha'libī and the *Maṣnawī al-Anfus* of al-Faṭḥ b. Khayyān (cf. *Bibl.*). It is this poem which gained him the title of Mutanabbī al-Ḥarab (which had already been given to Ibn Hānī al-Andalusī and which was later to be given to Ibn Darraḍī al-Kastallī and to Abū Ṭalīb 'Abd al-Djabbār). Al-Ramādī studied also under an Andalusian scholar named Abū Bakr Yahyā Ibn Ḥudhail al-Kaffī or al-'A'mī ("the blind"), of whom we know very little.

When at the height of his powers, al-Ramādī became laureate to the Umayyad caliph al-Hakam II al-Muṣṭansir (350–366 = 961–976), then to his son and successor Hishām II al-Mu'ayyad (366–399 = 976–1009); but his attachment to the cause of the *ḥāḍir* Abū 'I-ḥasan Dja'far b. 'Uthmān al-Muḥaffī and his participation in the plot fomented by the eunuch Djawḥar to overthrow Hakam II and proclaim another caliph than his son Hishām brought down upon him the wrath of the great minister al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī 'Amir. Thrown into prison at al-Zahrā', he suffered all sorts of ill-treatment; during his imprisonment, he wrote the most touching verses (including a poem in *ḡi*, metre *jawīl*, and another in *fuḥū*, metre *femil*) and he prepared a poetical work on birds, the description of which concluded with a poem

in praise of the heir-presumptive Hishām II. Liberated through the intercession of friends he had to go into exile. He went to Saragossa to the governor 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad al-Tudjībī whose merits he celebrated in a poem in *mi*. Amnestied by al-Manṣūr he was able to return to Cordova, but on condition that he did not go into society. Finally pardoned, he entered the entourage of the all-powerful *ḥāḍir* as a pensioner (*murtasīf*) and it was in this capacity that he took part in an expedition against Barcelona in 375 (985). During the *fitna* which was to lead to the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate and the formation of petty independent states ruled by the *mulūk al-ṭawā'if*, al-Ramādī led a miserable existence and it was in the greatest distress that he died in the early years of the fifth (eleventh) century.

Al-Ramādī became celebrated chiefly for his chaste love for the enigmatic Khalwa (wrongly: Halwa or Hulwa) whom he met one Friday in the public gardens of the Banū Marwān on the left bank of the Guadalquivir at the end of the bridge but was never able to see again. It was Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ḥazm al-Zahrī, whose ascetic tendencies on this subject are well known, who did most to spread this love-story; but it seems that the memory of Khalwa occupied the heart or mind of the poet only very little; if it still possessed him at Saragossa to the extent of inspiring all the *naṣīb* of the panegyric in honour of the Tudjībī governor, on his return to Cordova, it disappeared completely for we see al-Ramādī henceforth completely overwhelmed by a new passion, the object of which is not a woman but a Mozarab boy to whom the poet gives the name of Yahyā (John) or Nuṣair (Victor?).

The *Divān* of al-Ramādī never seems to have been collected; of his book on birds, *Kitāb al-Ṭayr*, written in prison, there survives only the *Lāmiya* in which he described the falcon hunting; the more important fragments that have survived have already been mentioned. A pupil of Abū 'Alī al-Kālī, al-Ramādī is inclined to imitate the poetry of the east, but after Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī and before 'Ubbāda b. Mi' al-Samā', he shows a marked fondness for the *sumnūkhah* into the construction of which, he introduced several innovations. In spite of its classical structure, his verse has a very personal character, especially when he calls upon Khalwa or describes his sufferings in the prison at al-Zahrā'. The few lines in which he alludes to the weakness of Hishām II and to his complete domination by his mother Ṣabb and by the *ḥāḍir* al-Manṣūr, those in which he speaks of Djawḥar's plot are not without historical interest; finally the information which he gives about Mozarabs (worship and costume) in connection with his favourite emblem us to check what Abū 'Amir Ibn Shubāhid says on the same subject and for this reason of some documentary importance.

Bibliography: Abu 'I-Walid al-Himyari, *al-Baḍ' fi Wasf al-Rab'*, Escor. MS. N^o. 353, *ṣairi* (verses describing flowers); Ibn Ḥazm, *Ṭawḥ al-Hamama*, ed. Petrof, p. 21–22; introd., p. xvi.—xvii.; transl. Nykl, *The Dove's Neck-Ring*, Paris 1931, p. 31–32 and notes, p. 225–226; Ibn Bassām, *al-Dihkhāra*, Paris MS., vol. i., fol. 124^b–^b; vol. ii. (Oxford), fol. 43^b–^b, 120^b, 128^b; Gotha MS., vol. iii., fol. 224^b; al-Tha'libī, *Yatimat al-Dahr*, ed. Damascus, i. 365, 434–436; al-Faṭḥ b. Khayyān, *Maṣnawī al-Anfus*, ed. Const.,

p. 69-74; ed. Cairo, p. 78-83; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *al-Sila*, No. 1376 (p. 613-614; 6 lines); Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yām*, Cairo 1310, ii. 410-411; transl. de Slane, iv. 569-572; al-Dabbī, *Bughyat al-Mulāmmis*, No. 1451 (p. 478-481); al-Kutubī, *Fawā'id al-Wafayāt*, i. 255; al-Marrākushī, *al-Mu'ajjib* (*Hist. des Aïm.*), p. 15-17; ed. Cairo, p. 14-16; transl. Fagnan, p. 403; Ibn al-Khatīb, *al-Ihṣā*, Cairo, ii. 71; al-Makḥārī, *Nafḥ al-Thīb* (*Analektes*), index (vol. ii, p. 440-443, reproduces the beginning of al-Dabbī, the end of Ibn Bashkuwāl — with the date 413 instead of 403 for the poet's death — and the whole *Maṣnūʿ*); M. Hartmann, *Das arab. Strophengedicht*, i. *Das Muṣawwīyah*, Weimar, 1897, No. 108, p. 75-78; Dozy, *Hist. Musul. d'Espagne*, ii. 223, 224-225; A. González Palencia, *El amor platónico en la Corte de los Califas*, in *Bolet. Acad. de...* Bellas letras... de Córdoba, Córdoba 1929, p. 3-4; E. García Gómez, *Poemas musulmanes*, in the same *Bolet.*, p. 13; *Poemas arabigo-andalucis*, Madrid 1930, No. 32, p. 78. — Isolated verses in Ibn Dūyā, *al-Muṣṣab*, London MS., fol. 5^a and 6^a; Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī, *ʿUṣṣān al-Murṣīʿ*, ed. Būlāq, p. 57; al-Nawairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, Cairo, x. 213; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmari, *Maṣālik*, Paris MS., No. 2327, fol. 5^h-6^b.

(H. PHARIS)

RĀM-HORMUZ (the contracted form *Rāmūs*, *Rāmūs* is found as early as the tenth century), a town and district in Khūzistān (q.v.). Rām-Hormuz lies about 55 miles southeast of Ahwāz, 65 miles S.S.E. of Shūshṭar, and 60 miles N.E. of Behbehān. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 43, reckons it 17 farsakhs from Ahwāz to Rām-Hormuz and 22 farsakhs from Rām-Hormuz to Arrādīn. Kādūmī, p. 194, who gives a more detailed list of stages, counts it 50 farsakhs from Wāsiṭ to Bagra, thence 35 farsakhs to Ahwāz, thence 20 farsakhs to Rām-Hormuz, and then 24 farsakhs to Arrādīn. The importance of Rām-Hormuz lay in the fact that it was situated at the intersection of the roads from Ahwāz, Shūshṭar, Isfahān and Fārs (via Arrādīn); that it is the natural market for the Bakhtiyārī and Kūlī-gūlī tribes (see the art. *LUX*) and that there is oil in its vicinity. The town lies between the rivers Āb-i Kūrdistān and Gūpāl. The first of these (also called *Djibūr*) is made up of the following streams: Āb-i Gūlī (Āb-i Zard), Āb-i A'la (coming from Mungashṭ), Rūd-i Pūtang and Āb-i Darra-yi Kūl. A canal is led from the right bank of the *Djibūr* to supply the town of Rām-Hormuz. Farther down, the *Djibūr* joins the Āb-i Mārūn which comes from the southeast in the region of Behbehān and of the old town of Arrādīn (q.v.). Their combined waters are known as the *Djarrābī*. The other little river (Gūpāl) runs north of Rām-Hormuz and is lost in marshes. Rām-Hormuz (500 feet above sea-level) is situated above the plain to the northeast of which rise the hills of Tāl-Gorḡūn 1,600 feet high.

The town is rarely mentioned by historians. The Pahlavi list of Iranian towns, § 46 (ed. Marquart, p. 19, 98) attributes the building of Rām-Hormuz to Ormizd b. Shāhpūr (272-273) (cf. also Tabari, i. 833). According to Hamza, ed. Gottwald, p. 46-47, the town was built by Ardashīr I and its name was *Rām-i Hormuz* (*Ardashīr*, which Marquart explains as 'the delight of Ahura Mazda is Ardashīr'). According to a tradition recorded by Isḥāki, p. 93, Mānī was

executed in Rām-Hormuz, but Tabari, i. 834, says that Mānī was exposed on the "gate of Mānī" at Djandē-Sābūr (cf. also al-Birūnī, *Chronology*, p. 208). The Nestorian bishops of Rām-Hormuz are mentioned in the years 577 and 587 (Marquart, *Erōnāhr*, p. 27, 145). Muḥaddasī, p. 414, says that 'Aḍud al-Dawla built a magnificent market near Rām-Hormuz and that the town had a library founded by Ibn Sawwār (according to Schwarz, the son of Sawwār b. 'Abd Allāh, governor of Bagra, who died in 157 = 773), and was a centre of Mu'tazilite teaching. According to Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 42, Rām-Hormuz was one of the 11 *kūras* of Khūzistān (Kādūmī, p. 242, and Muḥaddasī, p. 407; one of the 7 *kūras*). Its towns (Muḥaddasī) were Sanbil, Idhādī (q.v.), Tyrm (?), Bāzān, Lādī, Gh.rwa (?), Hābūdī, and Kūzūk, all situated in the highlands. To these Yāqūt, i. 185, adds Arḥuk (with a bridge, 2 farsakhs from Ahwāz). On the other places in the *kūra* of Rām-Hormuz (Āsāk, Būstān, Sasān, Tāshān, Ūr) see Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 341-345. According to Muḥaddasī, p. 407, Rām-Hormuz had palm-groves but no sugar-cane plantations (in the xvth century however, Mustawfī, *Nuḥḥat al-Kutub*, p. 111, says that Rām-Hormuz used to produce more sugar than cotton); among the products of Rām-Hormuz Isḥāki (p. 93) mentions silks (*thiyāb aḥṣām*) and Dimishḳī, p. 119 (transl. p. 153) the very volatile white naphtha which comes out of the rocks. At the present day the Anglo-Persian-Oil Company possesses deposits above Rām-Hormuz.

Bibliography: J. Macdonald Kinneir, *A geographical Memoir*, London 1813, p. 457; Rawlinson, *Notes on a March from Zohāb*, in *J.R.G.S.*, 1839, ix. 79 (region of Mungashṭ, in the N.E. of Rām-Hormuz); Bode, *Travels*, London 1845, i. 281 (Behbehān-Tāshān-Mandjān-Tūl-Mālamir-Shūshṭar), ii. 39, 76, 82 (distribution of tribes); Layard, *Description of Khūzistān*, in *J.R.G.S.*, 1846, p. 13 (country round Rām-Hormuz; in the town 250 families, taxes 3,000-5,000 *tomans*), p. 66 (valley of *Djarrābī*); Hefafel, *Eine Reise durch Luristan*, in *Pet. Mitt.*, 1907 (Ahwāz-Shākh-i Gūpāl-Medibciye (*Mir-bāci?)-Rāmūs (sic)-Pālin-Djāyūn-Behbehān); Ritter, *Erdenkunde*, ix. 145-152; Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, i. 332-345, cf. also the index; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 243, 247.

(V. MINORSKY)

AL-RĀMĪ, whose full name was ḤASAN b. MUHAMMAD SHARAF AL-DIN, a Persian stylist. No details of his life are known; even the few chronological references that we possess are rather vague. His importance lies in his well known work *Asnā al-Uṣṣāḥ*, a treatise on the most common poetical figures for describing the different parts of the human body. According to his own statement, the author made up his mind to compile this work while he was in Marāgha on a visit to the observatory of the famous Naṣr al-Din Tūsi. The book is dedicated to Sultān Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Uways Bahādur (1356-1373), Ilkhān of Adhurbāidjān, and according to Hādījī Khāṭibā (ed. Flügel, i. 488) was finished in Shawwāl 826 (Sept. 1423). This is in obvious contradiction to chronology for at this date Adhurbāidjān had belonged to the Timūrid Shāhrukh since 823 (1420). The author further mentions in this work the poet Awhādī (d. 738 = 1337) as his contemporary and a certain

Hasan b. Maḥmūd Kāshī (d. 710 = 1300) as his teacher. It may therefore be assumed that Ḥajjī Khālifa's statement is based on a misunderstanding and that the work was written not later than 1373. The work is divided into 19 chapters which begin with the hair of the head and end with the feet and deal with the human body from head to foot. Besides this book, which is of great value for the study of classical Persian poetry and was used by the great Turkish commentator Muṣṭafā b. Shāhīn Surūrī (d. 909 = 1561) in his *Baḥr al-Ma'ārif*, Sharaf al-Dīn Rāmi also prepared a commentary on the well-known work on poetics of Rashīd al-Dīn Waiṣṭī, *Ḥadā'iq al-Sīr* (new edition of the Persian text by 'Abbās Ikhāl, Teheran 1930) entitled *Ḥaḍā'iq al-Ḥadā'iq* or *Sanā'at al-Badā'iq* (Ḥajjī Khālifa, iii. 77), a work called *Ḥulyat al-Maddā'iq* of which nothing else is known (Ḥajjī Khālifa, iii. 112) and a *Diwān*, which consisted of *kaṣīdas*, *ḡaṣṣ*'s and quatrains, but as early as Dawlatshāh's time it could only be found in the 'Irāq, Aḥbarbārdīān and Fārs. Nothing of all these works has come down to us except the *Anis al-Ushshāḥ*. There is said to be a *kaṣīda* of Rāmi's in the *Diwān* al-Aṣrār (compiled in 840 = 1436-1437) of Shaikh Aḥbarī (d. 866 = 1461-1462) (Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkirat al-Shā'arā*, ed. E. Browne, p. 308).

Bibliography: H. Ethé, *Neupersische Literatur*, in *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii. 335, 343; 260. — French transl. of the *Anis al-Ushshāḥ*: Cl. Huart, *Anis al-Ushshāḥ, traité des termes figurés relatifs à la description de la beauté*, Paris 1875. — See also: E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii. 19, 83 and *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, p. 462. — Pavel de Costeille, in *J. A.*, vii. (1876), p. 588-591; Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens*, p. 27; Rieu, *Catalogue*, 814^o; Munich, *Katalog*, p. 122; Vienna, *Katalog*, i. 414. (E. BERTHELS)

RĀMĪ MEHMED PASHA, an Ottoman grand vizier and poet, was born in 1065 or 1066 (1654) in Eiyūb, a suburb of Istanbul, the son of a certain Hasan Agha. He entered the chancellery of the Re'is Efendi as a probationer (*shagird*) and through the poet Yūsuf Nāhī [q.v.] received an appointment as *naṣraf* *ḥāṭib*, i.e. secretary for the expenditure of the palace. In 1095 (1684) through the influence of his patron, the newly appointed Kapudan Pasha [q.v.] Muṣṭafā Pasha, he became *diwān-efendi*, i.e. chancellor of the Admiralty. He took part in his chief's journeys and campaigns (against Chiots) and on his return to Istanbul became *re'is kethidār*, i.e. pursebearer to the Re'is Efendi. In 1102 (1690) he was promoted Beylikdī, i.e. Vice-Chancellor and four years later Re'is Efendi in place of Abū Bakr, in which office he was succeeded in 1108 (1697) by Kātük Mehmed Çelebi. After the battle of Zenta (Sept. 12, 1697), he became Re'is Efendi for a second time and was one of the plenipotentiaries at the peace of Carlowitz by the conclusion of which "he put an end to the ravages of the Ten Years War but also for ever to the conquering power of the Ottomans" (J. v. Hammer). As a reward for his services at the peace negotiations he was appointed a vizier of the dome with 3 horse-tails (*tugā*) in 1114 (1703) and in Ramaḍān 6, 1114 (Jan. 24, 1703) appointed to the highest office in the kingdom in succession to the grand

vizier Daltahan Muṣṭafā Pasha. In this office he devoted particular attention to the thorough reform of the civil administration, through the abuses in which he saw the security of the state threatened (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vii. 64). "By lessening the burden of fortresses on the frontiers in east and west, by raising militia against the rebel Arabs, by securing the pay of the army from the revenues of certain estates, by making aqueducts, by restoring ruined mosques, by taking measures for the safety of the pilgrim caravans and for the security of Asia Minor, by settling Turkmen tribes, by ordering the Jewish cloth manufacturers in Selānik and the Greek silk manufacturers in Brūsa in future to make in their factories all the stuffs hitherto imported into Turkey from Europe" (J. v. Hammer), he exercised a most beneficent activity, which however soon aroused envy and hatred, and, especially as Rāmi Mehmed Pasha as a man of the pen entirely and not of the sword, was unpopular with the army, particularly the janissaries, finally was bound to lead to his fall (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vii. 72). In the great rising in Stambul which lasted four weeks, beginning with the enthronement of Sulṭān Muṣṭafā and ending with his deposition (9th Rabi' II, 1115 = Aug. 22, 1703), his career came to an end. He was disgraced, but pardoned in the same year and appointed governor, first of Cyprus, then of Egypt (Oct. 1704). His governorship there terminated as unhappily as his grand viziership (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vii. 133 following Rāshīd and La Motraye). In Džumādā I 1118 (Sept. 1706) he was dismissed and sent to the island of Rhodes, where he died in Džū l-Ḥijjā 1119 (March 1707) either under torture or a result of it (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vii. 134 quoting the interminable Talman). Rāmi Mehmed Pasha is regarded as a brilliant stylist, as the two collections of his official documents (*ṭaḥṣāt*) containing no less than 1,400 pieces, distinguished by their simple clear and elevated style, amply show (cf. the MSS. in Vienna, Nat. Bibl. Nos. 296 and 297 in G. Flügel, *Die arab. pers. u. türk. Hss.*, i. 271 sq.). Rāmi Mehmed Pasha also left a complete *Diwān* of which specimens are available in the printed *Tadhkirat* of Salīm (cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 272 sq.; Stambul 1315). His poetical gifts were inherited by his son 'Abd Allāh Re'fet (cf. Brūsālī Mehmed Tāhir, *'Othmānīl Mawāṣif*, ii. 187). His son-in-law was the *tadhkirat* Salīm [q.v.].

Bibliography: J. v. Hammer, *G.O.R.*, vii. *passim*; the history of the Stambul rising was written by Mehmed Shefik, q.v.; Brūsālī Mehmed Tāhir, *'Othmānīl Mawāṣif*, ii. 186 sq.; Salīm, *Tadhkirat*, p. 252-258; 'Othmānīl Mehmed Tāhir, *Ḥadīqat al-Waṣarā*, Stambul 1371, at the end; Aḥmad Resmī [q.v.], *Khāṣṣat al-Ru'asā*, Stambul 1269, p. 47 sq.; *Sigill-i 'Othmānī*, ii. 367 sq.; J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iv. 26 sqq.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

AL-RAMLĀ, capital of Filastīn, 25 miles E. N. E. of Jerusalem. The Umayyad caliphs liked to choose little country towns, usually places in Palestine, to live in rather than Damascus. Mu'awiya and after him Marwān and others frequently resided in al-Sionabra on the south bank of the Lake of al-Tabariya, Yazīd I in Hawwārin, Aḥrī's, 'Abd al-Malik in al-Djibiyā, Walīd in Usāin (now Tell Sais S. E. of Damascus) and al-Karyatāin and his

sons in al-Qaṣṭai, Yazid II also in al-Muwaḥḥar near Fudain or in Baṭ Ra's (Lammens, *La Bédouine et la Héra sous les Omeyyades*, in *M.F.O.S.*, iv, 1910, p. 91—112; A. Musil, *The country residences of the Omayyads*, in *Palmyrena*, New York 1928, p. 277—297).

In the reign of al-Walid his brother Sulaimān was governor of Filasṭīn. Stimulated by the examples of 'Abd al-Malik, the builder of the Qubbat al-Ṣakhrā in Jerusalem, and of his brother who had restored the mosque of Damascus (Yāqūt, *Ma'āḍim*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 818), he founded the new town of al-Ramla and removed to it the seat of the provincial government which had been in Ludd since the "plague of Amwās" (q.v.) in 18 (638—639). As caliph also he continued to live in al-Ramla (96—99 = 715—717).

The whole population of Ludd was transferred to the new capital of the Dīwān of Filasṭīn and the latter fortified, while Ludd was allowed to fall into ruins. Sulaimān first of all built his palace (*ḥaṣr*) then the "house of the dyers" (*ḥaṣr al-ṭabbāghīn*) which was provided with a huge cistern; at a later date it was confiscated with all the property of the Umayyads and came into the possession of the heir of the 'Abbāsids, Sāliḥ b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh. Sulaimān also began to build the mosque and continued it when caliph. It was finished under 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz although not on the scale originally intended. The financial management of the building of the palace and of the chief mosque was in the hands of a Christian of Ludd, al-Baṭrīḥ b. al-Nakā (al-Balāḍhūrī, ed. de Goeje, p. 143 sq.; var.: Baṭrīḥ b. Bakā in Ibn al-Fakīh, *B. G. A.*, v. 102, and Ibn Baṭrīḥ in Yāqūt, ii. 818). According to Yāqūt (ii. 817) the latter asked the people of Ludd to give him a house near the church, and when they refused he decided to pull down the church; according to al-Maḥdī (B. G. A., iii. 164 sq.), the caliph Hishām threatened the people of Ludd that he would destroy their church if they did not hand over the marble columns, which they had intended for a splendid building and concealed. Sulaimān also began to bring a canal called Barada to the new town and to dig wells of fresh water, as it was 12 miles distant from the nearest river, the Abū Futrus (Yāqūt, *B. G. A.*, vii. 328). The considerable cost of keeping up the canal was later taken over by the 'Abbāsid Caliphs and at first voted annually but from the time of al-Mu'tasim included as current expenditure in the budget.

The advantages and disadvantages of the new town are vividly described by al-Maḥdī. Rich in fruits, especially figs and palms, good water and all foodstuffs, it combined the advantages of town and country, those of a position in the plain with the proximity of hills and sea, of places of pilgrimage like Jerusalem and coast fortresses. It had a splendid chief mosque, fine *ḥāḥas*, comfortable baths, commodious dwellings and broad streets. On the other hand in winter, it was like a muddy island, in summer a sandbar and as it was not on a river the ground was hard and without grass, and the lack of ample running water was the chief defect of this otherwise so favoured town; for the little drinking water in the cisterns was not accessible to the poorer part of the population. The town covered an area of a whole square mile. Its buildings were of fine building stone and brick. The town's wares were exported chiefly to Egypt.

The chief gates of al-Ramla were: Darb Bīr al-Askar (called after the al-Askar quarter; cf. Yāqūt, iii. 674; Saḥī al-Dīn, *Marāṭid*, ii. 258), Darb Maḥdīd 'Annaba (as it was called, as de Goeje conjectured, from the town elsewhere however called 'Annaba 4 miles E. of al-Ramla), Darb Baṭ al-Maḥdī, Darb Bī'a (i.e. Bā'a or Bāgha) or Karyat al-'Inab, the ancient Karyat Ba'ala now Abū (Ḥawsh?), Darb Luḥd, Darb Vāṭa, Darb Mīr and Darb Dādūn, the latter called after a neighbouring town with a mosque, mainly inhabited by Samaritans (Bēth Dagon, now Baṭ Dedjan).

In the centre of the market-place of al-Ramla was the chief mosque Dīwān al-Abyaḍ, the *miḥrab* of which was regarded as the largest of all that were known, the pulpit of which was second only to that in Jerusalem and whose splendid minaret was much admired.

Whether there had been an older town on the site of al-Ramla is problematic. The old attempts to identify it with Arimathia, Ramathia or Ramathaim have now been generally abandoned. An ancient *Ἰασημολέ*, "Camp", should rather be considered, a place-name particularly frequent in Palestine, which was borne for example by the camp of Jerusalem (*Hebr.*, xiii. 11, 13; *Act. Apost.*, xxi. 34—xxiii. 32) and bishoprics in Palestine I. (now Bīr al-Zar'a, cf. Fédérin in Génier, *Ve de S. Euthyme le Grand*, p. 104—111) and in Phoinikē Libanensis (R. Aigrin, art. *Arabit*, in *Diet. S. hist.*, *et de géogr. ecclési.*, iii. 1194—1196); for the Egyptian al-Ramla 4 miles N.E. of Alexandria corresponds to an ancient Nicopolis and later Parenbole. But the Arabic writers say there was no town previously on this site but only a sandy area after which the town was named (al-Balāḍhūrī, p. 143 etc.).

The population of al-Ramla was in the time of al-Ya'qubī (*B. G. A.*, viii. 327 sq.) a mixture of Arabs and Persians (on the settlement of Persians in Syria cf. al-Kindī, *Governors of Egypt*, ed. Guest, p. 19); the clients were Samaritans.

The great cistern 'Unaiyya ('Anāṭiye) to the N. W. of al-Ramla near the road to Yaffa, known as the cistern of St. Helena, has a Kufic inscription of Dhū 'l-Hijja 172 (May 789), i.e. of the time of Harūn al-Rashīd (van Berchem, *Inscr. arabes de Syrie*, Cairo 1897, p. 4—7; M. de Vogüé, *La cistern de Ramla*, in *Comptes-rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, xxxix., 1911, p. 362 sq., 493 sq.).

By the Frankish pilgrims the town is first mentioned in 870 as 'Ramula'. The Crusaders made it a bishopric. In the 12th century was built the beautiful church of the Crusaders, now the mosque (Dīwān al-Kaṣb in the east of the town) with its noble Gothic portal, to which was later added very unskillfully an inscription of Salṭān Katbughā. It also has an inscription, according to which its square tower (now replaced by a round minaret) was built or restored in 714 (1314—1315) by Salṭān Muḥammad.

The old "white mosque" was restored by Saladin in 587 (1191) and given by Balbars in 666 (1267—1268) two domes, above the minaret and the *miḥrab*, and the gateway opposite it (Muḥdīr al-Dīn, *Bulak*, p. 418; transl. Sauvaire, p. 207; the inscription in van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 57—64). The minaret, the so-called "tower of al-Ramla" or "Tower of the 40 martyrs", was, according to Muḥdīr al-Dīn and an inscription over its gateway, rebuilt in

Shihān 718 (Oct. 1318) (*Zwei arabische Inschriften, in Jerusalem Warft*, lxxix, 1913, p. 100 sq.); the mosque as well as the minaret have both been wrongly taken for the work of the Crusaders (cf. against this van Berchem, *op. cit.*, p. 63 sq.).

Nāṣir-i Khusrāw who visited al-Ramla in Ramaḍān 438 (1047), calls it a large town with high and strong walls of stone and gates of copper; the inhabitants had a receptacle for the collection of rain-water at the door of each house. There was also a large cistern for general use in the middle of the Friday mosque.

An earthquake of Muharram 15, 425 (Dec. 10, 1033) destroyed a third of the town and its mosque fell into ruins (cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, l. 298).

Most of the public and private buildings were built of marble and adorned with fine sculptures and ornaments. Figs were the chief export of al-Ramla. The name of the province of Filastīn was also given to the capital al-Ramla (Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Arch. Orient.*, vi, 101).

Salāḍīn in 583 (1187) destroyed the town so that it might never again fall into the hands of the Franks and it remained in ruins (Yāqūt, i, 818; Saḥī al-Dīn, *Marāḥiḥ*, i, 483). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited it in 756 (1355); he mentions the Dīḡim' al-Abyaḍ in which, he was told, 300 prophets were buried. A Latin monastery was founded in 1420 in al-Ramla by Duke Philip the Good, and restored at a later date by Louis XIV.

In 1798 the town was Napoleon's headquarters. The modern al-Ramla has about 6,500 inhabitants; it has a healthy climate and fertile country round it.

Bibliography: al-Khwarizmi, *Kitāb Sūrat al-Ard*, ed. v. Maik, in *Bibl. arab. Hist. u. Geogr.*, iii, Leipzig 1926, p. 19 (N^o 250); Suhrah, *Kitāb 'Adḍiḥ al-Aḥḥāl*, ed. v. Maik, *ibid.*, v, 1930, p. 27 (N^o 220); al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 143; al-Maḥḍī, in *B.G.A.*, iii, 36, 54, 154-156, 164, 181, 184, 186; al-Ya'qūbī, in *B.G.A.*, vii, 327 sq.; Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, ed. Schefer, p. 21; al-Idrīsī, ed. Jaubert, i, 339, ed. Gildemeister, in *Z.D.P.V.*, viii, 4; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ii, 817 sq.; Saḥī al-Dīn, *Marāḥiḥ*, ed. Juynboll, i, 483; al-Dimashqī, ed. Mehren, p. 198-200; Abu 'l-Fida', ed. Reinaud, p. 48; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Defrémery-Sanguinetti, p. 128; K. Ritter, *Erdbunde*, xvi, 383 sq.; Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, iii, 36 sq.; *Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs*, ii, 264 sq.; Conder and Drake, *Palestine Expl. Fund. Quarterly*, 1874, p. 56 sq., 66; de Vogüé, *Églises de Terre Sainte*, p. 367; *La citern de Ramleh*, in *Compt. rend. de l'Acad. d. Inter. Lett.*, xxxix, 1911, p. 362 sq., 493 sq.; Guérin, *Description de la Judée*, i, 38 sq.; Clermont-Ganneau, in *R.A.O.*, i, 268, vi, 101; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, p. 15 sq., 20, 28, 39, 41, 56, 303-308; E. Reitmeyer, *Die Städtegründungen der Araber im Islam*, Diss. Heidelberg, Munich 1912, p. 73 sq.

(E. HONIGMANN)

RAMPUR, an Indian state in Rohilkhand under the political supervision of the government of the United Provinces. It is bounded on the north by the district of Naini Tāl; on the east by Bareilly; on the south by the Bikanī taluq of Budān; and on the west by the district of Morādābād.

The early history of Rampur is that of the growth of Rohilla power in Rohilkhand. After the establishment of Muslim rule in India large

bodies of Afghāns or Pathāns settled down in the country. So powerful did they become that they were twice able to establish their rule in northern India, under the Lodīs [q. v.] in the second half of the xvth century, and under the Sūras [q. v.] in the time of Shīr Shāh. After the death of Aurangzib and with the decline of the Mughal empire Afghān settlements increased until in the words of the *Siyar al-Mutākhkharin* "they seemed to shoot up out of the ground like so many blades of grass". The name Rohilla was applied to those Afghāns who settled in what is now known as Rohilkhand.

The real founders of Rohilla power were an Afghān adventurer, named Dāūd Khān, who arrived in India immediately after the death of Aurangzib, and his adopted son, 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, who succeeded him as leader of a band of mercenary troops. It was during the lifetime of 'Alī Muḥammad Khān that his possessions came to be called Rohilkhand or the land of the Rohillas. In course of time 'Alī Muḥammad Khān became so powerful that he refused any longer to pay his revenues to the central government, in which course he was encouraged by the anarchy consequent upon the invasion of Nādir Shāh [q. v.]. The growth of his power so alarmed Saḍar Dīwān of Oudh [see OUDH] that he persuaded the emperor to send an expedition against him, as a result of which 'Alī Muḥammad Khān surrendered to the imperial forces and was taken prisoner to Dīhli. After a time he was pardoned and appointed governor of Sirhind. In 1748, according to the *Gulistan-i Rahmat*, he was transferred to Rohilkhand, but it seems more probable that he took advantage of the invasion of Ahmād Shāh Durrānī [q. v.] to recover his former possessions. Two factors had contributed to the growth of Rohilla power: the weakness of the central government and the fact that they were able to take advantage of the internal struggles between the various Rājput chiefs and *samudars* of Rohilkhand.

'Alī Muḥammad Khān left six sons, but the absence of the two eldest in Afghanistan, combined with the extreme youth of the other four, meant that all real power remained in the hands of a group of Rohilla *sardars*, the most important of whom were Hāfi Rahmat Khān, and Dūndī Khān. This naturally produced intrigues and disputes and eventually weakened the Rohilla power.

In 1771 the Marāṭhas turned their attention to the conquest of Rohilkhand, whereupon the Rohillas applied for aid to Shudjā' al-Dawla, the nawāb-wazir of Oudh. It was agreed that Shudjā' al-Dawla should receive forty lakhs of rupees for his services (Aitchison, i, 6-7), but the Rohillas later refused to abide by their pecuniary engagements. In accordance with his promise at the Conference of Benares in 1773, Warren Hastings agreed to assist the nawāb-wazir in expelling the Rohillas from Rohilkhand, for which he was to receive forty lakhs of rupees. On April 23, 1774, the Rohillas were defeated and their leader, Hāfi Rahmat Khān, slain. At the end of this war Faizullah Khān, a son of 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, concluded a treaty with Shudjā' al-Dawla at Lal-dang (India Office MSS., Bengal Secret Consultations, October 31, 1774; see also extracts from the Persian interpreter's journal, February 14, 1775).

By this treaty Faizullah Khān received a *ḡajir* consisting of Rampur and other districts with a

revenue estimated at approximately fifteen lakhs of rupees. To prevent him from becoming a menace to Oudh he was not allowed to retain in his service more than 5,000 troops. After the death of Shuja' al-Dawla, in 1775, Faizullah Khan was informed that his engagements with the late nawab-wazir still continued in force with his son, Asaf al-Dawla (Bengal Secret Consultations, April 17, 1775. Draft correspondence with the Country Powers, No. 34).

In 1780 the English Company needed additional troops and Hastings urged Asaf al-Dawla to demand from Faizullah Khan the 5,000 horses he had engaged to supply by treaty. This demand for cavalry was an unwarrantable interpretation of the Treaty of Jaidang for which no justification has ever been attempted. In 1781 Hastings empowered Asaf al-Dawla to resume Faizullah Khan's *ghazir* but fortunately this order was never carried out, and it was eventually decided to solve the problem by means of a fresh agreement whereby the obligation to provide troops for the nawab-wazir's service was commuted under the Company's guarantee to a cash payment of fifteen lakhs of rupees. In 1801, on the cession of Rohilkhand to the British, Faizullah Khan's descendants were continued in their possessions. For his services in the Mutiny of 1857 Muhammad Yūsuf 'Ali Khan, the ruler of Rampur, received a grant of land and was assured by *sanad* that, on the failure of natural heirs, any succession in his state, which might be legitimate according to Muhammadan law, would be upheld by the Government of India.

Modern Rampur has an area of 893 square miles and supports a population of 465,225, of whom 217,297 are Muhammadans (1931 Census Report). It is divided for administrative purposes into six *talukhs*: the Hujūr, Shāhābād, Milāk, Bīlāspur, Sufr and Tānda (*Administration Report, 1932-1933*). Its rulers are patrons of Oriental learning. The celebrated Madrasa 'Aliya, an Arabic college, which is maintained from state funds, attracts students from all parts of India and even from Central Asia. Rampur city, which has a population of 74,080, possesses a fine library containing an exceptionally valuable collection of manuscripts. Almost every Pathān clan is represented in modern Rampur, the most numerous being the Yūsafzais and Orakzais. There are also large numbers of Khattaks, Banerwals, Muhammadzais, and Afridis.

Bibliography: *Administration Report of the Rampur State* (published annually); C. V. Atchison, *Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads*, vol. i., Calcutta 1909; *Bengal Secret Consultations* (India Office MSS.); *Gazetteer of the Rampur State*, Allahābād 1911; C. Hamilton, *An historical relation of the origin, progress, and final dissolution of the government of the Rohilla Afghans*, London 1787; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, s. v. Rampur; Hāfiy Rahmat Khān, *Khawāṭir al-Anāsib*; Mustadhib Khān, *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*; Naṣrullāh Qāni, *Akhbār al-Sanādīd*, 2 vols., Lucknow; Shiy Parshād, *Tārīkh-i-Faiyāzkhān*; J. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, vol. I, ch. II, and II, Calcutta 1932; Sayyid Ghulam Hussain Tabatabā'i, *Siyar al-Mudallihin*; A. L. Srivastava, *The first two Nawabs of Oudh*, Lucknow 1933; J. Strachey, *Hastings and the Rohilla War*, Oxford 1892. (C. COLLIS DAVIES)

RANGIN. Several Indian poets have used this (*ranghin*). The *Riyāṣ al-wifāḥ* of Dhū 'l-Fikār 'Alī, biographies of Indian poets who wrote in Persian, and the *Tadhkira* of Yūsuf 'Alī Khān (analysed by Sprenger, *A Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustani Mss. of the King of Oudh*, i. 168 and 280) mention five of them. The first, a native of Kashmir, lived in Dihli in the reign of Muhammad Shāh (1719-1748); his ghazels were sung by the dancing-girls. — The most celebrated, however, was Sa'adat Yār Khān of Dihli. His father, Tahmāsp Beg Khān Turānī, came to India with Nadir Shāh and settled in Dihli where he attained the rank of *Asaf-khān* and the title of Muḥkim al-Dawla. In his turn, Sa'adat Yār Khān entered the service of Mirza Sulaimān Shikuh, son of the emperor Shāh 'Ālam, who lived in Lucknow. He was a good horseman and able soldier; for a time he commanded a part of the artillery of the Nigām of Haidarābād but he gave up this post to go into business. He was in his youth a friend of the poet Inshā in Lucknow; a pupil of the poet Muhammad Hātim of Dihli (cf. Ram Baba Saksena, *A History of Urdu Literature*, p. 48; Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 235), he afterwards submitted all his verses to the criticism of Nihār (cf. Sprenger, p. 273), then of Muḥaffī (Saksena, p. 90); he died in 1251 (1835) aged eighty (or a year later; cf. Garcin de Tassy). — The following are his works in Urdu: *Mafhūmī Dīlāpur*, a poem of romantic adventures (1215 = 1798); *Tajd-i-Rangin*, a *maḥnawī* of fables and anecdotes (Lucknow 1847 and 1870); another *maḥnawī* of anecdotes: *Maḥar al-'Adīb* or *Gharā'ib al-Maḥār* (lith. Agra and Lucknow); four *divāns* collectively known as *Naw Ratan* ("the Nine Jewels"), the two first lyrical, the third humorous and partly in *rekhti* (language peculiar to women), the fourth in this same language with a preface by Rangin explaining the principal words (on the development of *rekhti* and Rangin's skill in this licentious genre, cf. the article *urdu* vol. IV, p. 1026^b, I. 1-11, and Saksena, *op. cit.*, p. 94); in prose a treatise on horsemanship (*Faras-nāma*, 1210 = 1775, several times edited) and a collection of critical observations on a number of poets, entitled *Maḥfāz-i-Rangin*. In Persian (if the work is really his; cf. Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 54, No. 462), Rangin under the title *Mīhr u-Māh*, sang of the adventure of a son of a *sayid* and of a daughter of a jeweller, based on an incident that occurred in Dihli in the reign of Dīlshāhir (cf. *Gr. l. Ph.*, II. 254).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text: Garcin de Tassy, *Litt. hindoue et hindoustanie*, I. 45 and III. 2; Pertsch, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königl. Bibl. zu Berlin*, IV, index, p. 1157; Blumhardt, *Cat. of the . . . Hindustani Mss. in the British Museum*, No. 74. (H. MASSE)

RANGOON. a city in the Pegu division of Burma lying on both sides of the Hlaing river at its point of junction with the Pegu river and the Pazundaung creek, twenty-one miles from the sea.

Legend, not entirely undocumented, relates that the great pagoda at Rangoon (Mon, *Kyauk Lagun*; Burmese, *Sone Dagon*) was founded during the life-time of the Buddha and was repaired by the emperor Aśoka (*J. B. R. S.*, xiv, 4 and 20).

History proper begins with the establishment of Pegu as the capital of a Mon kingdom in 1369.

A convenient port was required for this kingdom. Bassein, which had been the chief port of Burma in the early middle ages, was too distant and too difficult to control. Martaban on the Gulf of Sittang was nearer but had no good river connection with Pegu. It was natural, therefore, that the Rangoon or Hlaing river, of which the Pegu river is a tributary, should come into prominence as a line of approach for over-seas trade. Syriam, to the southeast of Dagon at the mouth of the Pegu river, and Dalla, now part of Rangoon on the opposite bank of the Hlaing, were the chief ports. But the Shwe Dagon pagoda standing on the last spur of the Pegu Yomas was a landmark to shipping coming up the river and was chosen by a succession of kings for the exercise of their piety.

An inscription on the Dagon pagoda hill, engraved by order of King Dhammazedi in 1845 A.D., records additions to the pagoda by his royal predecessors for a century back, as well as by himself (*J. B. R. S.*, xxiv. 8). Similar works of merit by subsequent kings are recorded in the histories (by this period fairly reliable) culminating in the rebuilding of the pagoda by King Bay in Nausg after it had been damaged by an earthquake in 1568 A.D. There are also frequent references by early travellers, such as Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, Caesar Frederick, and Gasparo Balbi to Dagon and its celebrated pagoda.

It was the customs revenue of the Rangoon river that financed the Portuguese adventurer de Brito, who rose to power in Syriam between 1600 and 1612. Later in the xviith century the Dutch, French and English from time to time maintained trading stations at Syriam.

The capital was transferred from Pegu to Ava in 1635 and royal authority gradually declined, but even the weakest kings contrived to keep control of the Irrawaddy and the now important customs station of Syriam. With the seizure of Syriam by the Pegu rebels in 1740 the kingdom of Ava, deprived of its revenues, necessarily came to an end.

The recovery of Syriam was one of the first objects of Alaungpaya, the founder of the dynasty which ended with King Thihaw. His siege operations were for some time unsuccessful and he had to be content with the capture of Dagon in 1755. It is recorded that as he had been successful over all his enemies (*yan akon*) he changed the name of the town to Yangon (Rangoon). Syriam fell in 1756 and was destroyed. A governor was appointed at Rangoon, which now replaced Syriam as the principal sea-port of Burma.

The policy of the early kings of the Alaungpaya dynasty was to encourage foreign trade. A British factory was established at Rangoon and maintained till 1782. First, Armenian and Muslim traders settled here and flourished. But with the weakening of the central government the exactions of the local officials increased and constituted a serious discouragement to commerce. Symes describes Rangoon as a flourishing port in 1795 and estimates its population at 30,000 (p. 214).

Rangoon was first captured by the British in 1824 during the first Burmese war but was evacuated in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Yandabo at the end of the war. According to the *Kon-sung set Maha-yawwingsi* (vol. iii, p. 15), a Burmese history of the Alaungpaya dynasty, King Tharawaddy visited Rangoon in

1841 (1203 B.E.) and founded a new town south and west of the Shwe Dagon pagoda, to which the population of the old town on the banks of the river was ordered to remove. The order was not at once obeyed, but, by the outbreak of the second Burmese war in 1852, the transfer of the population was pretty complete and the British government was unimpeded in the measures, which it lost no time in undertaking, for the reclamation and lay-out of the riverine area. In the space of three years Rangoon rose from a squalid collection of huts into a thriving and populous town. [For improvements to Rangoon and development of Pegu, see Fytche's *Burma Past and Present*, ii., appendix G]. To-day it is the capital of Burma and has a population of 400,415, of whom 70,791 are Muhammadans (1931 Census Report).

Bibliography: *Administration Report of the Province of Pegu* (1855 onwards); *Alaung Mingayagyi Ayedathobon*, Rangoon 1900; H. Cox, *Journal of a Residence in the Burmese Empire*, London 1821; E. Forchhammer, *Notes on the Early History and Geography of British Burma*, I., *The Shwe Dagon Pagoda*, Rangoon 1891; W. G. Fraser, *Old Rangoon*, in *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, x., part ii., 1920; J. S. Furnivall, *Syriam District Gazetteer*, vol. A.; G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, London 1925; *Imperial Gazetteer*, v. v. Rangoon; *Insulin District Gazetteer*, vol. A., 1914; J. A. Stewart, *Pegu District Gazetteer*, vol. A., 1917; M. Symes, *Embassy to Ava in 1795*, London ; Saya Thein, *Rangoon in 1832*, in *J. B. R. S.*, vol. ii., part ii., 1912; v., part ii., 1915; Pe Maung Tin, *The Shwe Dagon Pagoda*, in *J. B. R. S.*, xxiv., 1; Pe Maung Tin and G. Luce, *Glass Palace Chronicle*, Oxford 1925.

(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

RAPAK (Jav.; Ar. *rāf*²) is a technical term used among the Javanese, in this one case only, for the charge made by the wife, at the court for matters of religion, that the husband has not fulfilled the obligations which he took upon himself at the *ta'lik* of *fulāh* [see 747.13]. These obligations are of a varied and changing nature. Among the conditions the following always occurs: "If the man has been absent a certain time on land or (longer) over sea" i.e. without having transmitted *nafāq* [q. v.] to his wife. A clause that is never omitted is the following: "If the wife is not content with this". She is therefore at liberty to be quite satisfied with the husband's non-fulfilment of his vows, without taking steps for a divorce. The work of the court is only to ascertain the fulfilment of the condition and the arising of *fulāh*. As always, the *fulāh* is still entered in a register. — It is evident that this procedure guarantees the integrity of the law otherwise endangered.

Bibliography: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Afdeling*, Batavia 1893, t. 382; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Moh. wet.*, Leyden 1925, p. 210. (R. A. KEAN)

RĀS AL-ʿAIN (ʿAIN WARD), a town in al-Djazīra on the Khēbūr. In ancient times it was already known as Resain-Theodosiopolis (*Notitia dignitatum*, or. xxxvi. 20) or *Perna* (Steph. Byz.), Syriac Rēsh ʿAinā. On account of its position at the sources of the Khēbūr it has been identified with the road-station *Fons Sabora* of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (*fons Chabura* in Pliny, *Nat. hist.*, xxxi. 37; xxxii. 16) (E. Herzfeld, *Reise im Euphrat*,

u. Tigris-Gabriel, I, 191; A. Poidebard, *La Trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie*, p. 151 sq.). According to Iouanes Malalas (Bonn, p. 345 sq.) in whom the form *Peḡanā* is probably due to a confusion with the Syrian Raphanea, the town in 383 (according to the *Edessenische Chronik*, ed. Hallier, in *Texte und Untersuch. z. Gesch. d. altchristl. Literatur*, IX/1, p. 102, 149, N^o xxxv., as early as 692 Sel. = 380–381) received from Theodosius I city rights and the name Theodosiopolis, a name borne also by the Armenian town of Karin (Erzerüm) probably from the time of Theodosius II. As its new name was generally used without any distinguishing epithet, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish which of the two towns is intended. For example the siege of Theodosiopolis by Bahrām V Gūr in 421 (Theodoret., *Hist. eccl.*, v. 37, 7) which Weissbach (Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, v. A, p. 1945, s. v. *Theodosiopolis*, N^o 2) refers to the Armenian town, is told by Michael Syrus (transl. Chabot, II, 13 = Barhebr., *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 70) of Rēḡh 'Ainā; the Syriac chroniclers (Mich. Syr., II, 372; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, p. 92) further record that Khusrāw II gave back to the Byzantines Dārs and Rēḡh 'Ainā, while the other sources mention only Dārs and Martyropolis in addition to Armenia. The Persian general Adharmahan twice (578 and 580) destroyed the town (Mich. Syr., II, 322 sq.). In the reign of Phocas the Persians took Rēḡh 'Ainā from the Byzantines (*The Chronological Canon of James of Edessa*, transl. Brooks in *Z. D. M. G.*, lili, 1899, p. 323, N^o 284).

In the year 19 (640) 'Iyāl b. Ghāsum after the subjection of Osroene marched against the province of Mesopotamia and by Omar's orders sent 'Umayr b. Sa'īd against the town of 'Ain Warda or Rās al-'Ain, which was besieged and stormed by him (al-Baladhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 175–177). When a portion of the people of the town abandoned it, the Muslims confiscated their property. Among the rebels who rose against the caliph 'Abd al-Malik about 700 was 'Umayr b. Hubab of Rās al-'Ain (Abū 'l-Faraj, *Kitaḥ al-Aghani*, Būlak, xx, 127; Ibn al-Athir, ed. Tornberg, iv, 254 sq.; Mich. Syr., II, 469; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 111). In the reign of Ma'mūn, Hubab took the town in 1125 Sel. (814 A.D.) (Mich. Syr., III, 27; Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, p. 137). The Jacobite patriarch Yohannān III died on Dec. 3, 873 in Rēḡh 'Ainā (Mich. Syr., III, 116; Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, ed. Abbé Louis-Lamy, I, Lyons 1872, col. 387). After their campaign against Dārs and Nisibin (942 A.D.) the Byzantines in 943 took Rās al-'Ain, plundered it and carried off many prisoners (Ibn al-Athir, viii, 312). A man from Rās al-'Ain, Ahmad b. al-Husain Asfar Taghlibi, called al-Asfar, disguised as a dervish, in 395 (1005) with a body of Arabs made a raid into Byzantine territory as far as Shāsar and Maḥriya near Antakiya but was driven back by the Patricius Bighās. The governor Nicephorus Uranos in the following year undertook a punitive expedition to the region of Sarūḡ, defeated the Banu Numair and Kilāb and had al-Asfar thrown into prison by Lu'lu', lord of Ḥalab in 397 (1007) (Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Antākī, in *Parol. Orient.*, xiii, 1932, p. 466 sq.; Georg. Kedren-Sphlita, Bonn, II, 454, 5; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 329). About the year 323 (1122) the Franks were lords of the whole of Syria and Diyar Mudar and threatened Amid, Nisibin

and Rās al-'Ain. The latter was taken by Joscelin and a large part of the Arab population killed and the remainder taken prisoners (Mich. Syr., III, 228; Barhebr., *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 289). But the Franks cannot have held the town for very long.

Saif al-Din of Mawṣil and 'Izz al-Din Mas'ūd of Ḥalab in 570 (1174–1175) attacked Salāḥ al-Din and besieged Rās al-'Ain but were soon afterwards defeated by him at Kūrin Ḥamā. In 581 (1185–1186) Saladin crossed the Euphrates and marched via al-Ruhā, Rās al-'Ain and Dārs to Balad on the Tigris. His son al-Afdal in 597 (1200–1201) received from al-'Adil the towns of Samāsiḡ, Sarūḡ, Rās al-'Ain and Djumlin; when he then marched on Damascus, Nūr al-Din of Mawṣil and Kuṭb al-Din Muḥammad of Sindjār again took the Djazira from him but fell ill in Rās al-'Ain in the heat of summer and concluded peace again. In 599 (1202–1203) al-'Adil took from al-Afdal the towns of Sarūḡ, Rās al-'Ain and Djumlin (other fortresses also are mentioned). When the Kurḡ (Georgians) who had advanced as far as Khūṭ in 606 (1209–1210) learned that al-'Adil had reached Rās al-'Ain on his way against them, they withdrew (Kamāl al-Din, transl. Blochet, in *R. O. L.*, v, 46). Malik al-Ashraf, who had defeated Ibn al-Mashṭūb in 616 (1219–1220) forgave him for rebelling and gave him Rās al-'Ain as a fief (Kamāl al-Din, *op. cit.*, p. 61; according to Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, p. 439, however, Ibn al-Mashṭūb died in prison in Harrān).

Saladin's nephew al-Ashraf in 617 (1220–1221) was fighting against the lord of Mardin. The lord of Amid made peace between them, when Rās al-'Ain was ceded to al-Ashraf, Muwazzar and the district of Shabakhṭān (around Dunnaiṣ) to the lord of Amid. In exchange for Damascus, al-Ashraf, in 626 (1229) gave his brother al-Kāmil the towns of al-Ruhā, Harrān, al-Rakka, Sarūḡ, Rās al-'Ain, Muwazzar and Djumlin (Kamāl al-Din, in *R. O. L.*, v, 77; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, p. 458) who occupied them in 634 (1236–1237) (Kamāl al-Din, *op. cit.*, p. 92). After the defeat of the Khwārizmians at Djabal Djalashmān near al-Ruhā, the army of Ḥalab in 638 (1240–1241) took Harrān, al-Ruhā, Rās al-'Ain, Djumlin, al-Muazzar, al-Rakka and the district belonging to it (Kamāl al-Din, in *R. O. L.*, vi, 12). But in 639 (1241–1242) the Khwārizmians, who had made an alliance with al-Malik al-Muṣaffar of Maiyāfāriḡin, returned to Rās al-'Ain, where the inhabitants and the garrison, including a number of Frankish archers and crossbowmen, offered resistance. An arrangement was made by which they were admitted to the town by the inhabitants, whose lives were promised them, and captured the garrison. When al-Malik al-Muṣaffar had returned to Harrān and al-Muṣaffar had retired to Maiyāfāriḡin with the Khwārizmians, they sent their prisoners back (Kamāl al-Din, in *R. O. L.*, vi, 14). In the same year also the Tatars came to Rās al-'Ain (*ibid.*, p. 15). When the Khwārizmians and Turks raided al-Djazira, the army of Ḥalab under the emir Djamāl al-Dawla in Djumādā II 640 (1242–1243) went out against them and the two armies encamped opposite one another near Rās al-'Ain. The Khwārizmians combined with the lord of Mardin and finally a peace was made by which Rās al-'Ain was given to the Ortoqid ruler of Mardin (Kamāl al-Din, in *R. O. L.*, vi, 19).

Al-Rashid however did not stay long in al-Mawjil but went to Adharbājdān where he joined Dāwūd. Several emirs, dissatisfied with Mawūd, also made common cause with Dāwūd with the object of restoring al-Rashid to the throne; the latter however took no part in the military operations [see also the article MAWUD]. On Ramaḍān 25 or 26, 532 (June 6 or 7, 1138) the former caliph, who had not quite recovered from an illness, was murdered by Assassins near Isfahān.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg, x, 377, 394; xi, 17, 22—24, 26—30, 39—41; Abu 'l-Fidā, *Annals* (ed. Reiske), iii, 463 sqq.; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Ibar*, iii, 510 sqq.; Ibn al-Tikṭāk, *al-Fakhri* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 411 sq., 415 sq.; Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoukides*, ii, 178—185; Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifsm*, iii, 256—260; Le Strange, *Bagdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, see index.

(K. V. ZETTERSTERN)

RASHID, MEHMET, an Ottoman imperial historiographer, belonged to Stambul, where he was born as the son of the Kādi Mullī Muṣṭafā, a native of Malatya. He completed his studies in his native city where he was appointed official historiographer (*muḥarrir numis*, q. v.) in 1126 (1714). He held this office till his appointment as kādi at Aleppo in 1134 (1720). Later on he went as ambassador to Persia with the rank of Kādi of Mecca, became in Sha'bān 1142 (Feb. 1730) Kādi of Stambul, was dismissed a few months later and on 1st Jumādā 1147 (Oct. 1734) appointed *ḥāfi* 'asker of Anatolia. He died on 18th Šafar 1148 (July 10, 1735) in Stambul (cf. Şahhi, *Turikā*, fol. 13, 22, 66 remarkably brief) and was buried opposite the mosque of Afşarade in the Kaza Gümriük Street. On his tombstone see Brunsall Mehmed Tahir, *Ötkeni*! *Mu'ellifleri*, iii, 55 note.

Mehmed Rashid in continuation of Na'isā [q. v.] wrote a history of the Ottoman empire from 1071 (1060) to 1134 (1721) usually called briefly *Ta'rikh-i Rashid* (cf. Hādidi Khalifa, N^o. 14, 526) which is the authoritative source for this period. His successor in the office of imperial historiographer was Ismā'il 'Aşim, known as Kādik Çelebi-āide (cf. Rashid, *Ta'rikh*, iii, fol. 114).

In addition to numerous MSS. (cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 269 to which we have to add Upsala, N^o. 667—668 [Rashid's autograph]) and Stambul Lāli Ismā'il, N^o. 378) Rashid's history has been twice printed (folio, Stambul 1155, 4 vols.; octavo, 6 vols., Stambul 1282; cf. thereon *J.A.*, 1868, i, 477). Portions have been translated by M. Norberg, *Turkiska rikets annaler*, Hrnösand 1822, iii, 635—1079, and J. J. S. Sekowski, *Collectanea 2 Dniejowskiu Turckich*, ii, Warsaw 1825, p. 1—208.

Bibliography: cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 269 sq. (FRANZ BABINGER)

AL-RASHID. [See 'ABD AL-WAHID, HAKUN.]

AL-RASHID (MAWLAI) B. AL-SHA'IRI B. 'ALI B.

MUHAMMAD B. 'ALI, 'Alid Sultan of Morocco and the real founder of the dynasty which still rules the Shurfa empire. He was born in 1040 (1630—1631) in Tafilalet [q. v.] in the south of Morocco, where his ancestors, the Hama'i Shurfa' (Shurfa' [q. v.]) of Sidjilmassa [q. v.], had founded a flourishing sūmiya [q. v.] and gradually acquired a fairly considerable political influence, which increased with the decline of the Sa'dian [q. v.] dynasty.

Morocco being at this time plunged into anarchy, the Shurfa' of Tafilalet were able rapidly to become masters of the great tracts of steppe-like country to the north of the cordon of oases which formed their appanage. The eldest son of the chief of the sūmiya, Mawlii Maḥammad, having successfully fought the marabout of the sūmiya of Igh in al-Tāzarwāli (S. W. of Morocco), 'Alī Abū Ḥassān, who had political ambitions of his own, assumed a royal title in 1050 (1646). He did not however yet succeed in crushing the power of the marabouts of the sūmiya of al-Dila' in central Morocco; he had to be content, after a very brief occupation of Tāzā and Fās in 1650, with effective sovereignty over eastern Morocco only.

On the death of Mawlii al-Sharīf in 1069 (1659) his son, Mawlii al-Rashid, not trusting his brother, Mawlii Maḥammad, left the ancestral sūmiya for the rival sūmiya of al-Dila', where in spite of a superficially warm welcome, he was soon given the hint to go; he proceeded to Azra, then to Fās, which, regarded as an undesirable by the lord of the city, the adventurer al-Durnāfi, he was not allowed to enter. He next went to eastern Morocco, and very soon succeeded in gaining a large number of followers, particularly in the important tribe of the Banū Ināssan (Bani Saanen), the Shaikh al-Lawātī, a religious dignitary, then of great influence. At the same time he attacked a very rich Jew, who played the regular lord and lived in the mountains of the Banū Ināssan, at the little town called Dār Ibn Maḥ'al: al-Rashid slew him and seized his wealth. This coup vividly impressed the imagination of the people of the district and was to give rise, as P. de Central has brilliantly shown, to a legend, the memory of which still survives in the annual festival which follows the election of the 'sulṭān of the *ḥabās*' at Fās. Mawlii al-Rashid by this murder not only acquired considerable material resources, but also a real ascendancy over the people of the neighbourhood. In 1075 (1664) the large tribe of the Angād rallied to his authority, and he set up in Ujda [q. v.] as a regular ruler. On the news of the proclamation of al-Rashid, his brother Mawlii Maḥammad, much disturbed, hurried from Tafilalet to eastern Morocco; his troops were met by those of al-Rashid, and Mawlii Maḥammad having been killed early in the battle, his men then went over to the surviving prince. Thenceforth Mawlii al-Rashid went on from success to success.

He very soon seized Tāzā without difficulty, and directly threatened Fās, but he first of all took care to secure his power solidly at Tafilalet, the cradle of his line, and added to his lands the mountains of the Rif [q. v.] on the shores of the Mediterranean, which were then ruled by an enterprising individual named Abū Maḥammad 'Abd Allāh A'arrāḡ. This shaikh had made an agreement, first with the English and then with the French, for the establishment of factories on the Rif bay of Alhucemas (transcribed in the documents of the period as Alboursème). Mawlii al-Rashid deprived him of the Rif in March 1666, just when the Marseillais Roland Fréjus, having obtained from the King of France the privilege of trading in the Rif, was landing on the Moroccan coast. Fréjus then went to see Mawlii al-Rashid at Tāzā, but the negotiations into which he endeavoured to enter with the shaikh soon collapsed. Al-Rashid without delay turned his attention to

the capital of northern Morocco, Fās, which still withstood his authority. He laid siege to it and took it by storm on the 3rd Dhu 'l-Hijja 1076 (June 6, 1666); the adventurer in command there, al-Duraidi, took to flight. Al-Rashid took vigorous steps to punish certain of the notables of the town, and the people proclaimed him sultan. He was at the same time able to rally to his side the important group of Idrisid Shurfa' in the capital.

The years that followed were used by Mawla al-Rashid to extend his possessions towards west and south. He first made an expedition against the Gharb, out of which he drove the chief al-Khadir Ghailan, and seized al-Kasr al-Kabir (Alcazarquivir [q.v.]); he also took Meknes [q.v.] and Tetuan [q.v.] as well as Taza, the inhabitants of which had rebelled. In 1079 (1668) he took and destroyed the *sawiya* of al-Dila' after having routed its chief Muhammad al-Hadiji at Baïn Rumman. The same year, Mawla al-Rashid seized Marrakech and put to death there the local chief 'Abd al-Karim al-Shabbani, surnamed Karrim al-Hadiji. In 1081 (1670) he undertook an expedition into Sūs [q.v.] where agitators still disputed his authority. He took Tārdant [q.v.] and the fortress of Iligh and returned to Fās, now lord of all Morocco. At this time, says the chronicler al-Ifrānī, "all the Maghrib, from Tiemcen to the Wādī Nūl on the borders of the Sahara, was under the authority of Mawla al-Rashid".

The next year the sultan went from Fās to Marrakech where one of his nephews was endeavouring to set up as a pretender to the throne. During his sojourn in the southern capital, Mawla al-Rashid, not yet 42, died as the result of an accident on the 11th Dhu 'l-Hijja 1082 (April 9, 1672): the horse he was riding having reared, he fractured his skull against a branch of an orange-tree. He was buried at Marrakech, but later his body was brought to Fās where he was interred in the chapel of the saint 'Alī Ibn Hiraikim (vulg. Sidi Hiraem). His brother, Mawla al-Rashid al-Rashid [q.v.] who succeeded him, was proclaimed sultan on the 15th Dhu 'l-Hijja following.

The brief political career of Mawla al-Rashid was, we have seen, particularly active and fruitful. The Muslim historians of Morocco never tire of praising this ruler whose memory is still particularly bright, especially in Fās. It was he who built in the town the "Madrasa of the Rope-makers" (*Madrasat al-Sharrāfīn*), the bridge of al-Rashid, the *ḥajaba* of the Sharāda (Casba of the Cherarda) and 2½ miles east of Fās, a bridge of nine arches over the Wādī Sabā (Sebou).

Bibliography: al-Ifrānī, *Nuḥdat al-Hādī*, ed. and transl. Houdas (P.E.L.O.F., 3rd series, iii.), Paris 1889, p. 301-304 (text) and p. 501-503 (transl.); al-Zaynī, *al-Turūfūn al-Murā'ih*, ed. and transl. Houdas (Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812, in P.E.L.O.F., 2nd series, xviii.), Paris 1886; Akasū, *al-Diyāl al-'arāmīn*, Fās 1336 A.H., i. 38-63; al-Nāṣiri, *Kutub al-Istiqṣā'*, Cairo, vol. iv., 1312 H.; transl. Fumey (A.M. ix.), Paris 1906 (*Chronique de la dynastie 'alawī au Maroc*), index; al-Kādiri, *Najm al-Mathānī*, Fās, ii. 3-6; transl. E. Michaux-Bellaire (A.M., xiv.), Paris 1917, p. 211-217; most of the other Moroccan biographers (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chérifs*, Paris 1922, index); Mouette, *Histoire des conquêtes de Moulay Arḥay* [= al-Rashid], connu sous le nom de *roy du Tafilet*,

et de Moulay Isma'il, Paris 1683; H. de Castries, *Les Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, Paris, in course of publ. 2nd series, *passim*; P. de Cenival, *La légende du juif Ibn Meḥ'al et la fête du sultan des talba à Fās*, in *Hispania*, vol. 9, 1925, p. 137-218; A. Cour, *L'établissement des dynasties des Chérifs au Maroc et leur rivalité avec les Turcs de la Régence d'Alger* (1509-1830), Paris 1904; Ch. A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1931, p. 487-490 (reproduction of a portrait [authentic?] of Mawla al-Rashid, fig. 225, p. 481). — Cf. also the articles *SHURFA'*, *SHUMLASA* and *AFILAL*.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

RASHID AL-DIN SINAN (or, as the *Imā'iliya* themselves usually call him, Sinan Rāshid al-Dīn), the famous leader of the Syrian *Imā'iliya* in the second half of the xiiith century, is better known to the world as *Ḥaṣīb al-Dīn*, or the "Old Man of the Mountain". His full name was Abu 'l-Ḥasan Sinan b. Sulaimān b. Muḥammad. He was born near Basra, educated in Persia, and, in 558 (1163), was appointed by Imām Ḥasan of Alamūt as the head of the Syrian *Imā'iliya* (Nizārī) community. This post he occupied till his death at an advanced age in Ramadān 589 (Sept. 1193), at Masyaf. He played a prominent part in the Syrian and Egyptian politics of his time, successfully defending his people from the continuous pressure of the orthodox Maḥmādan rulers, especially the famous Salādin [q.v.], on the one hand, and against the Crusaders on the other. The fact that this small community still continues to exist (in the villages near Hamā), in spite of the persistently hostile attitude of its neighbours, must to a great extent be attributed to the solid foundations laid by him. References to him are to be found in the works of all historians who deal with the events of his period, but the most detailed account is given in the paper by Stanislas Guyard, *Un grand maître des Assassins, au temps de Saladin* (J. A., 1877, p. 324-489). It gives the original Arabic text of the *Faṣl*, a genuine *Imā'iliya* work probably by a contemporary of Sinan, containing the *manāḥib* about him, i.e. various anecdotes based on the oral tradition of the sect. This text is accompanied by a French translation and an introduction containing a detailed review of the historical information about Sinan, and the *Imā'iliya* sect in general, which, in the main, still preserves some value. The *Faṣl* appears to be now unknown to the Syrian *Imā'iliya*; they do not appear to have any reliable and genuine histories of their own community. The recently published *al-Falāḥ al-dawwār fī Samā' al-'Aḥmāt al-afḥār*, by an *Imā'iliya* author, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Murādā from Khawābi (Aleppo 1352 = 1933), shows no trace of such local tradition, and the account of Sinan given in it is entirely based on well-known general histories, such as those by Ibn al-Athīr, Abu 'l-Fida', etc.

The stories connected with Sinan chiefly centre around his organisation of *ḥaḍra*, which he used as an instrument for removing his political opponents by assassination. Undoubtedly there is some grain of truth in these stories; but it is obvious that excited bazaar rumours greatly exaggerated them, wrongly attributing to him and his organisation many exploits for which they were not responsible. Many historians state that

he was regarded as the supreme and superhuman head of the sect. Unfortunately, he is never referred to in any available genuine works of the Persian Ismā'īlīs, and it is difficult to ascertain what was his real position in the sectarian hierarchy. Most probably he occupied the highest rank after the Imām, i.e. that of the *ḥudūdī*, which, according to the reformed Nizārī doctrine, implied a considerable "dose" of the superhuman. In any case, there is no reason to think that he either claimed to be, or was regarded as an Imām, although, just as in the case of other eminent Ismā'īlīs, such as Nāyir-i Khuraw and Ḥasan b. al-Sabbāḥ, popular tradition furnished him with noble descent from 'Alī himself.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(W. IVANOW)

RASHĪD AL-DĪN ṬABĪB, one of the greatest historians of Persia. Fadl Allāh Rashīd al-Dīn b. 'Imād al-Dawla Abu 'I-Khair was born in Hamadshān about 1247. He began his career in the reign of the Mongol ruler Abūghā Khān (1265—1282) as a practising physician. But as in addition to a remarkable knowledge of medicine he was an exceedingly talented and farseeing statesman, he rose under Ghāzān Khān (1295—1304) from his earlier position to the rank of a *ṣadr* (and also court historian) which was given him after the execution of Ṣadr-i Dīhān Ṣadr al-Dīn Zandjāni (May 4, 1298). In 1303 he accompanied his sovereign in this capacity on a campaign against Syria. Under Uljāitū (1304—1316) Rashīd attained the zenith of his career. He used his fabulous income for a number of charitable buildings. For example in order to beautify the new capital of the Mongols in Persia, Sulṭāniya, he built a whole new suburb, called after him Rub'-i Rashīdiyya, which consisted of a mosque, a madrasa, a hospital and several thousand houses. At the same time he was working steadily on his history of the world, the first volume of which he presented to his sovereign on April 14, 1306. At this period there was no limit to his influence. He even succeeded in converting Uljāitū to the teaching of the Shī'īs. Two eminent Baghdad scholars, Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī and Ḥusām al-Dīn, who were accused of negotiating with Egypt and were expecting death, were rescued by him. In 1309 he resumed his building activity and erected a new suburb near Jihāriyā, east of Tabriz, the water for which he provided by a great canal from the Sarāwūd. But his high position now procured this great man a number of enemies. In 1315 he experienced considerable unpleasantness through the shortage of money which prevented the soldiers being paid. After Uljāitū's death his enemies exerted every effort to destroy Rashīd al-Dīn. In October 1317 he was dismissed from his high offices and the death of his patron Amir Sawādī (Jan. 1318) deprived him of his last support, until finally he was executed with his young son Khwādjā Ibrāhīm on a false charge of having poisoned his former master Uljāitū (July 18, 1318). His corpse was exposed to every contumely, his pride, the Rub'-i Rashīdī, destroyed and plundered. His elder son Ghibyāth al-Dīn, however, succeeded in retaining a high office even after his father's death, but in 1330 he also was sentenced to death. Even after death Rashīd's body was not allowed to rest in its grave, for eighty years later Timūr's son, the mad Miran-

shāh (1404—1407), had his bones dug up and buried in the Jewish cemetery (1399).

As already mentioned, Rashīd owes his fame to his immortal history, *Ḍiyā' al-Tawārīkh*, a history of the Mongols which he began by command of Ghāzān Khān (wherefore it is sometimes also known as the *Tārīkh-i Ghāzānī*). Uljāitū ordered the work to be continued and to be completed by a general history of the world of Islām and a geographical appendix. The work, according to the original plan, was to consist of two main parts: I. History of the Mongols and II. General History and Appendix. But when the work was finished in 1310—1311 it took the following form:

Vol. I. 1. History of the Turkish and Mongol tribes, their divisions, genealogy and legends.
2. Čingiz Khān, his predecessors and successors down to Ghāzān.

Vol. II. Preface, Adam, the Muslim and Hebrew Prophets.

1. The old Persian Kings.
2. Muḥammad and the caliphs to 1258. History of the ruling dynasties of Persia. The eastern and western Ismā'īlīs. The Oghuz and the Turks, Chinese, Jews, the Franks, their emperors and Popes, India, Buddha and his religion.

Rashīd had intended to add the history of Uljāitū's reign also, the beginning of which (1306—1307) was to open the second volume and the end to close it. Whether he did so is not yet known, as that portion as well as the geographical appendix is lacking in all extant manuscripts. The most remarkable feature of this great work is the conscientiousness with which Rashīd went to work and endeavoured to find the best and most reliable sources. Although the Mongol chronicles, the celebrated *Altan ṣūppa*, could hardly be accessible to him as a Persian, he obtained the necessary facts from them through his friend Pulād-bīk-sān and partly from Ghāzān himself, who had a remarkable knowledge of his people's history. The information about India was furnished him by an Indian *Mihirā*, about China by two Chinese scholars. The many-sidedness of Rashīd al-Dīn's learning is simply astounding in a mediæval scholar of the time. He knows of the struggles between Pope and Emperor, even knows that Scotland pays tribute to England and that there are no snakes in Ireland.

Rashīd al-Dīn was well aware of the importance of his work and endeavoured in all possible ways to ensure its survival. He ordered copies to be made for his friends and for different scholars; the works, written in Persian, were translated into Arabic and vice-versa. Every year he sent copies to the libraries of the great cities and allowed anyone to copy them freely. Yet all these measures proved in vain, for no single complete copy has come down to us.

Besides his great history, he also wrote: 1. *Kutūb al-Aḥyā* was *'I-Āḥḥār* in 24 chapters, which discussed questions of meteorology, agriculture, bee-keeping, suppression of snakes and other pests etc., and also notes on architecture, fortification, ship-building, mining and metallurgy. No copy has yet been found. 2. *Tawḥīdīyāt*, a mystic theological tractate in 19 chapters. 3. *Miftāḥ al-Tafāwūṣ*, on the eloquence of the Qur'ān, its commentaries etc. 4. *al-Riḥālat al-sulṭāniya* (finished on March 14, 1307), the result of a theological disputation in the presence of Uljāitū. 5. *Laṭā'if al-Haḥḥāṭ*,

14 letters of a mystical and theological nature. The last four works are written in Arabic and form what is known as the *Maḥmūdīy-i Rashīdiyya*. A fine copy of this collection made in 1310–1311 (probably at the request of the author himself) is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (de Slane, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, Paris 1883–1895, N^o 2324, p. 407). 6. *Bayān al-Haḥṣīḥ*, 17 letters of a theological nature, occasionally touching on medical questions. In the late Prof. E. G. Browne's private library was a valuable collection of 53 letters by Rashid al-Din to various notables. They were collected by his secretary Muḥammad Abarkūhi.

In spite of the immensely high value of Rashid al-Din's history we have so far no complete edition of the surviving portions, either in text or translations. The task is however not an easy one as the MSS. of the work, although fairly numerous, are not at all reliable and require much very difficult critical work. Even the oldest MSS. (Brit. Mus. Add. 16, 688, Rien, N^o 78–79) is rather defective. In W. Barthold's opinion the best manuscript known to him was that in the Leningrad Public Library (v. 3–1) copied in 1407–1408. A very valuable old manuscript (xivth or xvth century) is in the Central Asian Library in Tashkent (see E. K. Betger, *Jahresbericht der Mitt. As. Staatsbibliothek für das Jahr 1925* [in Russian] and W. Barthold, *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften der U.S.S.R.*, 1926, p. 217 sq. [in Russian]).

Bibliography: E. G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, Cambridge 1920; W. Barthold, *Turkistan down to the Mongol Invasion (G.M.S.)*, London 1928; E. Blochet, *Djaml al-Tawārikh, histoire générale du monde par Fakh Allāh Rashīd al-Dīn. Tawārikh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī, histoire des Mongols. Vol. II. Continuant l'histoire des empereurs mongols successeurs de Tékékhan Khaghān (G.M.S., xviii, 2)*, London 1911; E. Blochet, *Introduction à l'Histoire des Mongols de Fakh Allāh Rashīd al-Dīn*, Paris 1910; Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse (Fāḥ al-tawārikh)*, écrite en persan par Rashīd al-Dīn, publiée, traduite en français, accompagnée de notes et d'un mémoire sur la vie et les ouvrages de l'auteur, vol. I, Paris 1836 (good biography); J. Klaproth, *Description de la Chine sous le règne de la dynastie mongole traduite du persan de Rashīd al-Dīn et accompagnée de notes*, Paris 1833; T. v. Erdmann, *Vollständige Übersicht der ältesten türkischen, tatarischen und mongolischen Völkerstämme nach Rashīd al-Dīn. Vorgänge bearbeitet*, 1841; Quatremère, *Extrait de l'Histoire des Mongols de Rashīd al-Dīn. Texte persan. A l'usage des élèves de l'Ecole des langues orientales vivantes*, Paris 1844; И. Берзин, *Сборник Летописей. История Монголов, сочинение Рашида Эддина. Введение: о турецких и монгольских племенах. Перевод с персидского с введением и примечаниями. Труды Восточного Отделения И.А.О. том 5*, 7, 13, 15, 1885–1888. (E. BERTHELS)

RĀSIM, AHMAD, a Turkish writer born in 1283 (1866–1867) in Şarī Güzel. He early lost his father Bahā' al-Dīn and was brought up by his mother. In 1292 (1875) he entered the famous school Dīr al-Shafāq in Istanbul, which he left in 1300 (1883) with the leaving certificate.

Already in his last years at school he showed a fondness for art and literature and therefore decided to become a writer, and to this profession, or, as he himself calls it: the Sublime Porte Road (*Bāb-i 'ālī Dūddet*), he has remained faithful, untroubled by all the political changes that have taken place. Like many other writers he began as a journalist, and almost all the more important Turkish papers received contributions from his pen, such as the *Djerride-i Hawādith*, *Tercümān-i Hakikat*, *İkām*, *Subh*, *Tarīk*, *Sādet*, *Ma'lūmāt*, *Taḥwīr-i Afkār* and *Haḥṣ*, and periodicals like *Therest-i Funūn* and *Resmī Gazete*. He afterwards collected his numerous articles and essays, for example in the two volumes "Articles and entertaining Sketches" (*Maḥālat wa-Muḥābat*, 1305) and in the four volumes "Life of a man of Letters" (*Omri Edibi*, 1315–1318). The latter is not an account of his life but reflects his spiritual development and his feelings and emotions reflected in publications of different years.

Ahmad Rāsim's output became in time very extensive; in all there are said to be over 100 works of larger or smaller size from his pen. Nevertheless he was not a polygraph in the bad sense of the word, but before he dealt with a subject he always first studied it thoroughly and then wrote on it seriously, sometimes also in the lightly humorous fashion of which he is a master, or again in a pleasing conversational way, but always with artistic feeling and in a particular style which is his own. He always well knew the taste of his readers and he had great success with them. His style was a new one and independent of existing schools and coteries; he created a school himself and his influence must long and strongly be felt in Turkish literature.

His literary work covers the fields of the novel, long short story and tale, e.g. his early novels, "Heart's Inclination" (*Mai-i Dil*, 1890) and "Life's Experiences" (*Taḥṣīb-i Hayāt*, 1891; short analysis of both in Horn, *Geschichte der türkischen Moderne*, p. 46 sq.), also his patriotic novel "The Difficulties of Life" (*Maḥābb-i Hayāt*, 1308), the stories "Inexperienced Love" (*Taḥṣīb-i Ḥikm*, 1311), "My School-friend" (*Mektib Ardeşimim*, 1311), a little later "The Unfortunate Man" (*Nādam*, 1315) and another patriotic novel "A Soldier's Son" (*Aker-Öğlu*, 1315) and somewhat more lyrical "The Book of Grief" (*Kitābe-i Ghāmi*, 1315) and "Nightingale" (*Andalib*, in verse).

At the same time he had from the first a preference for history. He does not, of course, in any way claim to further the study of history by independent research but rather sees it his duty to arouse an interest in history among his countrymen by presenting it in popular form, and from this point of view his historical writings may be regarded as carefully prepared compilations. In his early period he wrote a history of ancient Rome (*Eski Roma'nlar*, 1304), a short history of civilisation (*Ta'rikh-i mukhtasar-i Beşer*, 1304), on the progress of knowledge and culture (*Tercümāt-i Umūmī wa-madaniye*, 1304), later essays on similar subjects entitled "History and Author" (*Ta'rikh wa-Muḥarrir*, 1320 = 1911), a history of Turkey from Selim III to Murād V, entitled *İstihlāṣ-ı İktisādīyyet-i milliyeye* in two volumes, 1341–1342, and a meritorious general survey of the history of Turkey, *Ötümüllü Ta'rikhi* in 4 volumes, 1326–1330. A valuable supplement to these historical works is

formed by the four volumes of "City Letters" (*Şehir Mektupları*, 1328-1329), in all 218 epistles, which we have an unsurpassed description of old Istanbul life in all its variety, written moreover in a very stimulating and vivid, sometimes bantering, fashion which makes it one of his best works. In "İslâm's Pages of Honour" (*Muâşşâ-i İslâm*, 1325), the Muslim festivals, mosques and other religious matters are dealt with.

It seems to be only recently that our author has turned to the history of literature, e.g. in his book on Shīnāsī [q. v.], which is intended to be an introduction to the history of the Turkish Moderns (*Maḥḥāṣiṭ-i Ta'rihiyye Madhḥūl. İlk büyük Muḥarrirlerden Shīnāsī*, 1927), while his personal recollections of Turkish writers are collected in another book (*Maḥḥāṣiṭ-i Khāṣṣiyyatından. Muḥarrir, Şair, Adīb*, 1924), also recollections of his own school-days and the old system of education in general, in his "Bastinado" (*Falaḥa*, 1927).

Ahmad Rāsim was also prolific as a writer of schoolbooks on grammar, rhetoric, history etc. He also wrote a letter-writer (*Ḥāmil-i Khāṣṣe-i Mektūbāt. zahat mühtemmel Muntahā*, 5th impression, 1318). In all his works are to be found translations, and a large collection from his early period is called "Selection from Western Literature" (*Adabiyat-ı Gharbiyyeden Bir Nabhā*, 1887).

For this great literary activity Ahmad Rāsim required considerable freedom, such as did not exist under 'Abd al-Hamid and such as he could hardly have had at all as a state official. He was however twice a member of a commission of the Ministry of Education, Conseil de l'Instruction Publique (*Enfjūmān-ı Teftiş ve Mu'ayyane*), but only for a very short time. He showed his interest in religious matters in 1924, when after the abolition of the caliphate he wrote an article in *Wahit* on March 4, 1924 on the relics (*amūlāt, mukhallaṣāt*) of the Prophet, cloak (*ḥiṣṣa*), banner (*ḥisā*), praying-carpet (*sajjada*) etc., which also appeared in Cairo and Damascus in Arabic. He proposed to make these relics accessible to the public in a Museum (cf. Nallino, in *O. M.*, iv, 1924, p. 220 sq.). In recent years Ahmad Rāsim has so far been politically active as to be a deputy for Istanbul along with men like 'Abd al-Hakk Hāmid and Khalīl Edhem (cf. *O. M.*, vii, 1927, p. 416 and xi, 1931, p. 227 and Mehmed Zeki, *Encyclopédie biographique de Turquie*, i, 1928, p. 23 and ii, 1929, p. 88).

Bibliography: (in addition to sources above quoted): *Newsāl-i millî*, i, 1330, p. 265-267; İsmâ'il Hābiş, *Türk Tefrîdud-i Adabiyatı Ta'rihi*, Istanbul 1935, p. 507-509; Ali Canip, *Adabiyat, İstanbul 1929*, p. 171-174; Bulkurisade Rıza, *Muntahā-i Bad'iyat-ı adabiyat*, Istanbul 1326, p. 347-350; Basmadjian, *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature ottomane*, Constantinople 1910, p. 277; Ahmet İhsan, *Matḥāṣiṭ-i kâṭırlarım 1888-1923*, Istanbul 1930, p. 76; Wl. Gorklewski, *Özellik ve umumî muhtemmel literatürü*, Moscow 1912, p. 76, 100; M. Hartmann, *Unpolitische Briefe aus der Türkei (Der islamische Orient, vol. ii)*, Leipzig 1910, Index, p. 252. (W. BLOKMAN)

RASSIDS, name of a dynasty. Zaidi historians make no distinction between the Zaidi imāms in Dailām [q. v.] and those in the Yaman [q. v.]; this article deals only with the Yaman. For some periods the Zaidi historians are detailed,

for others there are only casual references in writers whose main interest was elsewhere, so details are often uncertain and it is doubtful if some rulers claimed to be imāms. The name is taken from a property near Mecca, al-Rass by name, which belonged to the grandfather of the first imām, al-Kāsim al-Rassi, who was a descendant of Ḥasan, the son of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib. In 280 (893) Yahyā, named al-Ḥādī ilā 'l-Hakk, entered the Yaman from the Hīdžā and advanced nearly to San'a' [q. v.] but, failing to conquer the country, had to retreat. Later he was called back and in 284 he occupied Sa'da [q. v.] and conquered Naḍrān [q. v.] though his hold on these districts was not secure and there was constant fighting. He took San'a' more than once and his son was a captive there in 290. Then the Karmāṭians [q. v.] appeared in the Yaman, took San'a' in 294 and held it for three years, besides taking many other towns. The imām helped to drive them out of San'a' but could not hold the town for himself. He died in 298 (910-911). During his lifetime 'Abbāsīd governors and troops were in the Yaman. Yahyā fought seventy battles with the Karmāṭians and was so strong that he could obliterate the stamp on a coin with his finger. He was a Hanafī in law and wanted to set up an Islamic state where women wore the veil and soldiers divided booty according to the precepts of the Korān. He tried to make the *dhimma* [q. v.] of Naḍrān sell any land they had bought during Islam; he had to be content with imposing a tax of one ninth of the produce.

Homage was at once paid to his son Muḥammad who kept Sa'da as his capital and ruled Naḍrān, Hamḍān [q. v.], and Khawlān. He abdicated in 301 and was followed by his brother Ahmad who was always fighting various chiefs and the Karmāṭians. In 322 (934) he was defeated by the Banū Yaḥfur [q. v.] and died, Sa'da being occupied by the victors for four months. A son Ḥasan claimed to be imām but homage was paid to another son al-Kāsim al-Muḥṭār. Discord ensued and at last both brothers were deposed; still al-Kāsim could capture San'a' in 345 (956), though he was murdered before the end of the year. Ḥasan had died earlier. In the troubles that followed Yūsuf al-Dīlī was lord of San'a' until he was driven out by a new-comer from the north. In 388 (998) there was propaganda in the Yaman for al-Kāsim al-Manṣūr, then delegates met him in Būḥā [q. v.] and, helped by the tribe of Khath'am, he established himself in Sa'da and took San'a' while prayers were said in his name in Kahlān and Mikhliṣ Dja'far. He died in 393 and his son ruled from Alḥā to Sa'da and San'a' till he was killed in 404. Some said that he was not dead but was the *wahid* [q. v.]; another report says that he made this claim for himself. Up to this point one may perhaps speak of a dynasty of imāms; afterwards the name does not apply. The army consisted of about 1,000 horse and 3,000 foot. The next imām came from the Hīdžā and had some success; before he died another outsider, Abū 'l-Faṭḥ, came from Dailām in 430 (1038-1039), captured Sa'da and other places, and was killed fighting the Sulāhid [q. v.] sultan. It is said that Abū Tālib Yahyā (d. 520 = 1126), the imām in Dailām, was recognised in north Yaman where he appointed a governor. Ahmad b. Sulaimān was proclaimed in 532 and ruled

Sa'da, Nadjran and Djawf [q. v.]. In 545 a great assembly met and questioned him for eight days to test his fitness as imām. Followed by the tribes of Maḥḥid [q. v.] and Bakil [see ʿAḡḠID] he took Ṣanʿā' from the Ḥamdānīd sultān and otherwise defeated him. He held Zabīd [q. v.] for a few days and prayers were said in his name in Khaibar [q. v.] and Yanbu' [q. v.]. He also fought with success against the Ḳarmāṭians. In his old age he became blind and was taken prisoner by Fulaita b. al-Ḳāsim, to the disgust of all, even of the Ḳarmāṭians. He was set free and died in 566 (1170—1171). 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza set up as imām in 593 (1196—1197) and homage was paid to him in the following year after an examination (the Ḥamrī sharīfs took their name from his father). He held Ṣanʿā' for a short time but had to retire before the Ayyūbīd [q. v.] sultān. He established himself in the north and received taxes from Khaibar and Yanbu'. One writer speaks of troops from Baghdad being in the Ḳaṣīm; this may be an exaggeration of the report that the Mutarrifiya asked help from the caliph. In 611 (1214) he held Ṣanʿā' and Ḥamrā' [q. v.] and attacked Lahīj [q. v.]. He had to abandon Ṣanʿā' for his soldiers were tired of war. It is said that he ruled Gīlān [q. v.] and Dailām by his ḍa'ī. He died in 614. The history of the imāms for the next two hundred years is given in the article **RASULIDS**.

At the beginning of the rule of the Ṭāḥirids an imām in Ṣanʿā' fought against them; he was at last beaten, was captured as he fled by some townsmen, and handed over to Muṭahhar, another imām. The Ṭāḥirids took Ṣanʿā' and made a son of the imām governor of towns and castles. In 869 (1164—1165) the imām Muḥammad b. al-Nāsir retook Ṣanʿā' and in the following year al-Malik al-Zāfir the Ṭāḥirid was slain there.

Vahys Sharaf al-Dīn began in a small way in 912 (1506—1507). Later he called in Egyptian troops from Kamarān [q. v.] to help him against the Ṭāḥirids. They took Ta'izz [q. v.] and Ṣanʿā', but, as the news of the Turkish conquest of Egypt broke their spirit, they were soon driven out again. In spite of the Ṭāḥirids and recalcitrant sharīfs the imām conquered most of the highlands and even took Djazān and Abū 'Arīsh [q. v.] but failed to take 'Aden [q. v.] and Zabīd [q. v.]. Soon the Turks took Djazān, Ta'izz and Ṣanʿā', being helped by quarrels between the imām and his sons. The Ḳarmāṭians (i.e. Ismā'īlīs) were still dangerous enemies; eleven camel-loads of their books were captured and the imām's chief followers studied them so as to warn the common folk of the dangers in them. In 953 (1546—1547) the imām divided his realm among his sons. Though one of them, al-Muṭahhar, had submitted to the Turks he led an insurrection against them in 974 which was at first successful. This provoked the Turks to a systematic conquest. Al-Muṭahhar was defeated and allowed to retire to Sa'da with a Turkish garrison. Then an imām from a different family rose and maintained himself for seven years till he was taken prisoner. In 999 (1590) the conquest was complete. In 1006 however al-Ḳāsim, the ancestor of the present imām, declared himself. After varying fortunes his son drove out the Turks in 1045 (1635—1636) and since then the government has remained in this family. Sometimes a disputed succession has been settled by argument and some-

times by the sword, an unworthy imām has been deposed, and a son has taken the place of his decrepit father. About 1150 (1737) Abū 'Arīsh broke away from the Ḳaṣīm and in 1219 (1804) 'Asir [q. v.] became independent. The history of the imāms from this point is in the article **YAMAN**. Now the Wahhābī king has confined the imām to the Ḳaṣīm in a narrow sense of the name, and 'Asir is under the influence of Nadjd. Many of the imāms were industrious writers on things religious.

Bibliography: C. van Arendonk, *De Opkomst van het Zaiditische Imamaat in Yemen*, Leyden 1919; F. Wüstenfeld, *Yemen im XI. Jahrhundert*, 1884; *N.E.*, iv. 412—537; A. Rutgers, *Historia Yemenae sub Hazana Pascha*, Leyden 1838; C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1774; A. S. Tritton, *Rise of the Imams of Sanaa*, 1925; H. F. Jacob, *Kings of Arabia*, 1923; H. C. Kay, *Oman's History of Yemen*, 1892; *Admiralty Handbook of Arabia*; H. Nitzel, *Münster der Rasuliden*, 1891. — For unpublished material see van Arendonk, Kay and Tritton. — See also the *Bibliographies* to the articles mentioned in the text. (A. S. TRITTON)

RASUL (A., plur. *rasul*), messenger, apostle. The word is found in Arabic literature with the profane sense of envoy, messenger. Here we are only concerned with its religious acceptance. According to the Ḳur'ān, there is a close relation between the apostle and his people (*umma*; q. v.). To each *umma* God sends only one apostle (Sūra x. 48; xvi. 38; cf. xxiii. 46; xl. 5). These statements are parallel to those which mention the witness whom God will take from each *umma* at the Day of Judgment (Sūra iv. 45; xxviii. 75 and cf. the descriptions of the *rasul* who will cross the bridge to the other world at the head of his *umma*: Bukhārī, *Adhān*, bāb 129; *Riḍā*, bāb 52).

Muḥammad is sent to a people to whom Allāh has not yet sent an apostle (Sūra xxviii. 46; xxxii. 2; xxxiv. 43). The other individuals to whom the Ḳur'ān accords the dignity of *rasul* are Nūḥ, Lūṭ, Ismā'īl, Mūsā, Shu'aib, Hūd, Sālih and 'Isā.

The list of the prophets (cf. *naḥī*) is a longer one; it contains, besides the majority of the apostles, Biblical or quasi-Biblical characters like Ibrāhīm, Ishāq, Ya'qūb, Hārūn, Dāwūd, Sulaimān, Ayyūb, Dhū 'l-Nūn. Muḥammad in the Ḳur'ān is called sometimes *rasul*, sometimes *nabī*. It seems that the prophets are those sent by God as preachers and *nabī* to their people, but are not the head of an *umma* like the *rasul*. One is tempted to imagine a distinction between *rasul* and *nabī* such as is found in Christian literature: the apostle is at the same time a prophet, but the prophet is not necessarily at the same time an apostle. But this is not absolutely certain, the doctrine at the basis of the Ḳur'ānic utterances not being always clear.

As to the close relation which exists between the *rasul* and his *umma*, it may be compared with the doctrine of the *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, according to which the twelve apostles divided the whole world among them so that each one had the task of preaching the Gospel to a certain people.

As regards the term *rasul*, account must be taken of the use of the word apostle in Christianity, as well as of the use of the corresponding verb (*shalaḥ*) in connection with the prophets in the

Old Testament (Exodus, iii. 13 sq.; iv. 13; Isaiah, vi. 8; Jeremiah, i. 7). The term *rasul Allah* is used in its Syriac form (*ṣalḥāh dalāḥa*) *passim* in the apocryphal *Acts* of St. Thomas.

Post-Kur'anic teaching has increased the number of apostles to 313 or 315 without giving the names of all (Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, i. 10; *Fiḥḥ Akḥar III*, art. 22; Reland, *De religione mohammedica*, sec. ed., Utrecht 1717, p. 40).

The doctrine that they were free from mortal sin is part of the faith (see *ḥisma*). For the rest, the difference between *rasul* and *nabi* — apart from the considerable difference in point of numbers — seems in later literature to disappear in the general teaching about the prophets. Thus, in the *Aḥida* of Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Nasafi the two categories are treated together and the author makes no difference between *rasul* and *nabi*. Similarly al-Idrīs deals with prophets in general, so far as can be seen, including in them the *rasul*. If one difference can be pointed out, it is that the *rasul*, in contrast to the prophet, is a law-giver and provided with a book (commentary on the *Fiḥḥ Akḥar II* by Abū 'l-Munshā, Haidarābād 1321, p. 4). According to the catechism published by Reland (p. 40—44), the *rasul*-lawgivers were Adam, Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, 'Isā and Muḥammad.

In the catechism of Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Nasafi, the sending of the apostles (*risāla*) is called an act of wisdom on the part of God. Al-Taḥṣīl's commentary calls it *maḥḥib*, not in the sense of an obligation resting upon God but as a consequence arising from his wisdom. This semi-rationalist point of view is not however shared by all the scholastics: according to e.g. al-Sanūsī (cf. his *Umm al-Barrān*), it is *ḥaḥ* in itself but belief in it is obligatory.

Bibliography: A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, ii. 251 sqq.; Soouck Hurgrooie, *Verspreide Geschriften*, index, under "gezanten Gods"; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1926, p. 44 sqq.; Pautz, *Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung*, index; A. J. Wensinck, in *A.O.*, ii. 168 sqq.; do., *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, p. 203—204; al-Idrīs, *Mawāḥiḥ*, ed. Soerensen, p. 169 sqq. — Cf. also the *Bibliography* to the art. *NAḤ*.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

RASULIDS, name of a dynasty. The family of Rasūl came to the Yaman [q.v.] with Tūrknshāh, the Aiyūbid [q.v.] conqueror. Rasūl was probably a Turkmen though descent from the royal house of Ghassān [q.v.] was claimed for him; he got his name because a caliph employed him as ambassador. 'Alī b. Rasūl and his three sons became important. The last Aiyūbid Mas'ūd put two of the sons in prison in 624 (1227) but the third Nūr al-Dīn 'Umar, who had already been governor of Mecca, was made *asāḥ* [q.v.] and, on the departure of Mas'ūd, governor of the Yaman. Mas'ūd died on his way to Egypt so 'Umar prepared to make himself independent. Zabīd [q.v.] was his capital and from 627 on he captured many places in the hills, such as Sa'nā' [q.v.], Ta'izz [q.v.], and Kawkabān [q.v.]. After two temporary successes he took Mekka in 638 and held it for fifteen years. In 628 he made peace with the Zaidī sharifs and there was little fighting till the imām Ahmad b. Ḥusain declared himself in Dhūla [q.v.] in 646 (1248—1249). 'Umar may have declared himself independent in

628 but he was not recognised by the caliph till 632. In 645 his nephew, Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad, quarreled with his uncle and fled to Dhāmār [q.v.]. He allied himself with the imām but was soon reconciled to his uncle and fought against the sharifs, the descendants of the imām 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza. 'Umar was murdered in 647 by mamlūks in al-Dhānād. His kingdom stretched from Mecca to Ḥaḍramawt though many places in the hills were independent. He was a great builder of schools and mosques and a patron of letters like most of his family. His reign is an epitome of the dynasty; family quarrels, wars with the imām and the sharifs, who were often at variance with the imām.

The murderers won over the rest of the mamlūks, proclaimed a nephew of the dead man, and marched on Zabīd. Palace intrigues had banished al-Muḥaffar Yūsuf, the sultān's eldest son, to Mahdjam. With 150 horse he too marched on Zabīd where his wife inspired resistance to the pretender. He gathered troops as he advanced and the mamlūks surrendered to him the murderers and the pretender. He had to reconquer the country, for his two brothers each hoped to be sultān. Asad al-Dīn Muḥammad was in a strong position at Sa'nā', and the imām, Ahmad b. Ḥusain was active; even the caliph was disturbed at his power. At the end of three years Sa'nā', Ta'izz, and the strong fortress of Dūmlā'a had been retaken and peace made with the imām, who broke it by joining Asad al-Dīn; though the latter soon returned to his duty. In 658 he joined many of his kin in prison, staying there till his death. Sa'da was taken in 652 but could not be held. The imām Ahmad had been appointed with the approval of the family of his predecessor but dissensions arose so the sharifs with the help of the sultān fought and killed him in 656. One imām was captured in 658, another was taken and blinded in 660, and a third was proclaimed in 670. The sharifs were tribal or territorial chiefs, sometimes the enemies and sometimes the allies of the sultān. In 674 rebel mamlūks in Sa'nā' joined the imām and sharifs but the combination was signally defeated. Zafār [q.v.] in Ḥaḍramawt was taken in 678 and an embassy came from China. Yūsuf was a strong and successful ruler, and al-Kharāḍī calls him caliph at the end of his reign. He died in 694 (1294—1295).

His son and successor reigned only three years and encouraged the cultivation of palms round Zabīd where others had tried to introduce corn. His brother, the governor of Shīhr [q.v.], took 'Aden [q.v.] and tried to make himself sultān but was defeated and imprisoned. From prison he was called to rule as al-Mu'ayyad Dāwūd in 696. His reign was a succession of small fights both in the hills and the plains, the same places and opponents recurring again and again. In 697 (1247—1248) he took two castles from the Ḥarmatians [q.v.]. In 709 the Kurds in Dhāmār rebelled, joined the imām and attacked Sa'nā' and later some of the Kurds killed some of the Ḥuruz. In 712 peace was made with the imām Muḥammad b. Muḥḥir for ten years at a price of 3,000 dinārs yearly. Five years later the sultān broke the treaty. Warfare was savage and usually accompanied by the destruction of houses and trees; the heads of the slain were cut off. In 718 the army was reorganised on the Egyptian model. Towards the

end of the reign governors were changed frequently, perhaps a sign of weakness. It was easy for a foreigner to rise to high rank. More than once the same man was chief minister and chief judge. In 721 a son, al-Mudjahid 'Ali, succeeded but he was soon in prison where he stayed four months only till he was set free by his friends and the usurper took his place. In 724 he was a sultan without a kingdom; 'Aden was lost, one cousin al-Zahir was independent for ten years, other relatives set up for themselves in Bait al-Fakh (q.v.), mamluks attacked Ta'izz and took Zabid; it was not till they had been in rebellion some months that their pay was stopped. Sharifs defeated the mamluks; troops came from Egypt but did so much damage that all were glad when they soon left. The imām's death in 728 removed a dangerous enemy, and the sultan did establish some sort of order. Some and other relatives rebelled as did the mamluks because their pay was in arrears. The sultan crushed the Ma'asiba, a tribe of the plains or foothills, and made a woman chief of what was left. In 736 (1335-1336) the peasants fled from the district of Zabid because of a combination of taxes and a new coinage. An officer touring to collect taxes used his Ghuz escort to put to death an insubordinate chieftain. The sultan went on pilgrimage in 751 and was carried off to Egypt, being allowed to come back a year later. From this time on the Arabs of the plain gave trouble. Normally the tribes kept each other in check but the sultan had so weakened one side that now the Ma'asiba could raid at will, they even cut communications between Zabid and the north. The government policy was to deprive them of their horses. A tyrannical governor was killed and the murderer was not punished. Mahdjam was captured by a sharif, a rebel governor defied the sultan for two years, and three sons of the sultan rebelled. Al-Afjal al-'Abbās succeeded in 764. One of his rebel brothers joined the imām, attacked Hama, and later Shihr. Zabid was taken by the Arabs, other places by sharifs, the imām Salāh al-Dīn raided as far as Zabid, there was fighting round Dhamār, and the sultan died in 778. Al-Aghraf Isma'īl was chosen as successor. The mamluks mutilated, a sharif was lord of San'a', and the imām was actively hostile till his death in 793. His son 'Ali was driven out of San'a' by a rival and made Dhamār his capital. The imām seems to have been hereditary in one family for at least five generations. In 798 the imām 'Ali sent presents to the sultan. It is clear that much of the highlands was lost and there was continual trouble in the plains. Yet the sultan was still powerful; he kept a firm hand over his officers and received letters, presents, and embassies from India and Abyssinia. He died in 803 and is called a good ruler. The next sultan, al-Nāṣir Ahmad, worthily upheld the state. In the north he made Hall (q.v.) accept him as overlord, in the south he defeated the imām who had attacked his vassals, the Banū Tāhir, and in Wādī he captured forty castles. Rich gifts came to him from Mecca and China. A brother rebelled and was blinded. At his death in 827 the state rapidly went to pieces. A series of short reigns with many rebellions of the mamluks ushered in the end. The land was ravaged by plague, the imām died of it in 840 leaving his authority to a daughter. In the same year died another imām, Ahmad b. Yahyā, who was a prolific

writer. Civil war was complicated by attacks by the Arabs, who sacked Zabid in 846. A new imām, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, strengthened his position by marrying a granddaughter of 'Alī of Sa'da. The Banū Tāhir joined in the fighting and took Lahij and 'Aden, till in 858 (1454) the last Rasūlīd abdicated before them and went into exile at Mecca.

Most of the sultans were builders of mosques and madrasas, some were writers. In the heyday of the dynasty the sultan regularly spent a holiday in the palm groves of Zabid (these were called *ṭahūt*) and at the sea. The land was governed by officials or by vassal chiefs who paid tribute. In all big towns were two officers, one called *ṣāḥib* or *amir* and another called *nāṣir*, *sinām*, or *muḥidd*. High officers regularly went on tour to collect the taxes. The army consisted of the cavalry of the gate, mamluks both Kurds and Ghuz, and levies. A thousand horse and ten thousand foot made a big army. A man's horses were sometimes slain at his funeral.

Bibliography: al-Kharrāḍī, *The Pearl-String*, in *G.M.S.*, iii, 1918; H. Nitzel, *Münster der Rasuliden*, Berlin 1801; H. C. Kay, *Yaman. Its early medieval history etc.*, London 1892; C. T. Johannaes, *Historia Yemenit*, Bonn 1828. (A. S. TRISTON)

RĀTIB (a., plur. *rawātib*), a word meaning what is fixed and hence applied to certain non-obligatory *ṣalāts* or certain litanies. The term is not found in the *Qur'ān* nor as a technical term in *Ḥadīth*. On the first meaning see the article *NĀFILA*, p. 826^a. As to the second, it is applied to the *dhikr* which one recites alone, as well as to those which are recited in groups. We owe to M. Snouck Hurgronje a detailed description of the *rawātib* practised in Atchān.

Bibliography: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Achehens*, Batavia—Leyden 1893—1894, ii, 220 sqq.; English transl. by O'Sullivan, *The Achehnese*, Leyden 1906, ii, 216 sqq. (A. J. WENSINCK)

RATL, unit of weight dating from pre-Islamic times, varying with countries and periods. Makrizi (p. 3, 5) says that, except for the *mithqāl*, which had remained uniform, the pre-Islamic weights were double the Islamic ones, and that the ratl contained 12 *ūkiya* or 144 dirhems. In medieval Damascus it equalled 600 dirhems and in Aleppo 720 dirhems. In modern Egypt it is uniform = 1/100th *kanṭār* = 12 *ūkiya* = 144 dirhems = 0.449 kg. = 0.99 lb. avoird. 2.75 ratls = 1 *okka* = 1.248 kg. = 2 lb. 11 oz.

Bibliography: al-Makrizi, *Historia Mone-tae Arabicar*, ed. O. G. Tychsen, Rostock 1797; al-Kalkashandī, *Subḥ al-A'ṭhā*, 14 vols., 1913 etc.; J. A. Decourdemanche, *Peuples et mœurs des peuples anciens et des arabes*, Paris 1909; Godefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamlouks*, Paris 1938; Law No. 9, 1914 in *al-Waḥīd al-Miṣriya*, No. 129, September 30, 1914, for standardization of weights in Egypt. — See also *Bibliography* of article *ḤABBA*.

(A. S. ATIYA)
RĀWALPINDI, a division, district, *ṭahīl*, and town in the north-west of the Panjāb. The division has an area of 21,347 square miles and a population of 3,914,849 of whom 3,362,260 are Muhammadans. The district, which is divided for administrative purposes into four

ṭāqīqā, has an area of 2,050 square miles, with a population of 634,357 (524,965 Muhammadans). The *ṭāqīqā* covers an area of 770 square miles and supports a population of 289,073 (212,256 Muhammadans). The town and cantonment, situated on the north bank of the river Leh, have a population of 119,284, about half of whom are Muhammadans (1931 Census Report).

Since Rawalpindi lies in the path of invaders from the north-west much of its history resembles that of the Panditā [q. v.]. The district formed part of Gandhāra and was included in the Persian Empire of the Achaemenids. About ten miles to the north-west of the town lie the ruins of the ancient city of Takahāqila (Taxila) which was an important seat of learning in the fourth century B.C. The Muslim invaders experienced much trouble from the turbulent Gakkhar tribes of this area who are still the most important tribe socially in the district. In the days of Akbar [q. v.] the territories included in the modern district of Rawalpindi formed part of the *sarkar* of Sind Sūgar Dab in the *sūba* of Lahore (*Ain-i Akbari*, transl. Jarrett, ii. 324). To-day Rawalpindi is one of the most important military stations in northern India.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited in the article PANJĀB: *Imperial Gazetteer*, s. v. Rawalpindi; J. H. Marshall, *Archaeological Discoveries at Taxila*, 1913; do., *Guide to Taxila*, 1918; *Rawalpindi District Gazetteer*, 1907; H. A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, 1919, s. v. Gakkhars.

(C. COLLIN DAVIES)

RAWĀNDĪZ RUIYNDĪZ (the first word is composed of two elements: *rawān* of uncertain etymology and *dz* meaning fortress; the second means 'fortress of iron'), capital of the *ṭāqīqā* of this name in the *milḥiyat* of Mawṣil on the caravan route, halfway between this town and that of Sawdī-Bulāk [q. v.], including the following *maḥalla*s (the names and figures given in brackets are those of the corresponding Kurd tribe and the number of the hearths: a. nomad; s. settled): Halwān (Zarānī, s., 500); Harīr (Helīnī, n., 800); Māmsāl, n., 2,000; Māmsāl, s., 500); Wādīh (Bālek, s., 2,000); Dergel (Dergelī, s., 700); Dehī-i Dīrān (Bālekīyān, s., 800); Pīresīyān (Pīresīnī, s., 1,000); Rawendūk (Rawendūk, s., 600); Dehī-i Barazgīr (Barāzost, s., 1,000); Beresīyān and Mergesūr (Shīrīnī, s., 1,200). The Sīdān and the Serlātī, two subdivisions of the powerful tribe of the Herkī, number about 6,000 hearths and have their winter-quarters between Rawāndīz Ruiyndīz and Arbīl (Hawīr in Kurdiāh) while the Mīndān, the third section of this tribe, spend the winter around 'Akra. The summer pastures of all three are in Persia at Margawar. Under the Kurd feudal system the district of Rawāndīz Ruiyndīz contained the following subdivisions: Hevḍīyān, Sheteneh, Dīlemārī, Sulakān, Khakīrī, Pīresīnī, Dehī-i Sūrān, Bālekīyān, Rawāndīz, Akūlān, Bālekān. After the League of Nations (Dec. 1925) had given Mawṣil to the 'Irāk Rawāndīz Ruiyndīz became definitely a part of the mountainous Kurdiāh zone running along the Persian frontier which was given the name of Southern Kurdistan at the establishment of the British mandate. The figures given for the population here are only approximate, the tribes having in some cases been decimated by war and

influenza in 1918-1919. According to the census of 1935 the town of Rawāndīz Ruiyndīz had 2,176 inhabitants and the *ṭāqīqā* 38,342.

Topography. The district of Rawāndīz Ruiyndīz, which roughly speaking lies on the other side of the bend made by the Great Zab when it leaves the mountainous part of its course (running westwards to the Tigris), consists of parallel valleys and chains which rise gradually as they approach the Persian frontier and which have a general orientation from N.W. to S.E. The average height may be put at over 1,500 feet. The two principal watercourses of the region, the Rūhārī Rawāndīz and Rūhārī Rukūchuk, left bank tributaries of the Great Zab, have their sources on the Persian frontier. The roads are naturally more practicable in the direction N.W. to S.E. except the passages in the vicinity of the Great Zab with its deep gorges. The Great Zab is 500 feet above the level of the sea. Rawāndīz Ruiyndīz, at the present day an insignificant little town, owes its importance mainly to its position with relation to the roads of Kurdistan.

Road system. It would be in a way wrong to mention, in the matter of high roads which from all time have connected the Iranian plateau with the adjoining countries in the west, only 1. the silk route in the north (Justi, *Geschichte Irans*, p. 476) going from Trebizond via Khōi to Lithinos Pyrgos (the modern Tash Kurgān), and 2. the southern road, that from the Median gate or the defile of the Gyndes (Diyāla). Besides these two main arteries of traffic, axial to the route always taken by commercial and cultural relations and in time of war, and lying between them is the road which went from Nineveh to Media and forked twice at Arbīl and Rawāndīz. At Arbīl the road entered Persia by the pass of Gomehān, Khōi Sandjāb, Rāniya, Serdesht and thence by the pass of Korteḡ at Sawdī Bulāk [q. v.] via Afān.

The Achaemenid royal road also passed this way (Justi, *op. cit.*, p. 475). It was, we believe, the southern section, running towards the land of Elam, while, according to Th. Reinach (*Un peuple oublié, les Mésopotamiens*, in *Rev. des Et. Gr.*, vii, 1894), the main highway from Sardes ran through modern Armenia and central Kurdistan, although we cannot say exactly on which side of the Zagros it lay. Among the Arab geographers, Yaḡūt alone gives a few notes on the road through Rawāndīz Ruiyndīz (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 441). The road Arbīl-Marāgha was known to the Mongols after their occupation of Arbīl (1258). The itinerary by the pass of Garū Shīnka (Zinwe-Shāhīn) has been described by Perkins (*J. A. O. S.*, ii., 1853, p. 83 sq.) and Thielmann (*Streifzug im Kaukasus*, Leipzig 1875, p. 321 sq.). The latter (cf. Yaḡūt) mentions as stages, starting from the pass: Rāyat; Dergalā (ruins of a fortress); Rawāndīz; Kānī-Atmān (Kānī Wetmān?); Derre Brūsh (ford on the Great Zab, between Girdemānīsh and Kānān); Teo-Kherāb; Mawṣil, in all seven stages from Sawdī Bulāk. According to information received from Russian soldiers who took part in the expedition against Rawāndīz Ruiyndīz (summer of 1916), the pass of Garū Shīnka (6,000 feet) is a kind of promontory with valleys on either side starting from the ruins of Khāueh (Persian Lahījān) and joining on the other side in Turkish territory. There is a *siyāret* there under the Naḡshbandī Shāhīh Dīemāl to the influence of which is to be attributed the parti-

cipation of the neighbouring Kurdish tribes in the *gihād*. The name of the pass Zinwe *Shākh* is explained by the presence of this *ayāret*. The actual site of Rawāndīz Ruiyndīz is described in M. Bittner (*Der Kurdistan Utschnähe und die Stadt Urāmīye*, Vienna 1895). In the month of May the corn ripens at Rawāndīz Ruiyndīz, the arable land being on the right side of the Rūbārī Ruiyndīz. Like Arbīl, Ruiyndīz is also a point of bifurcation of roads. We have just mentioned the road over the Garū Shinka pass. Another, farther north, goes via Sidakān, Toprāwa, pass of Kel-Shin (10,000 feet with a famous stele), Dura to Uthū. J. de Morgan (*Mission scient. en Perse*, II, 46) wrongly thinks this is the only road from Persia to Mawāsil besides that which goes via Serdešt.

Lastly there is a road from Ruiyndīz to Shamdīnā, of which there are four variants: 1. Shaitāne, pass of Khadīdja, Kāni Rash, Cūmār; 2. Shaitāne, pass of Garau Cariya, Kekla, Begirhne; 3. Shaitāne, pass of Mergesūr, Kekla; 4. the route of the Turkish telegraph line by Rūbārī-Dibār and Cūmār. The first of these is the best and was taken in 1916 by the Russian column which came down the Rūš pass to the support of the movement converging via Garū Shinka on Ruiyndīz.

History. From what has already been said it will be evident that Rawāndīz Ruiyndīz, situated at the intersection of the communications of Kurdistan as well as of roads leading farther afield, has always owed its importance to its position. It should also be remembered that in the period of prosperity of the Nestorian church all this country played a great part, mainly on account of the influence of the Metropolitan see of Arbīl. We may mention (cf. Hoffmann, *Aussage*) the names of Dura, Hanitha, Shāklāwa (from which came one of the MSS. which enabled M. l'Abbe Chabot to establish the text of the *Synodicon Orientale*, Paris 1902) as well as the fact that there were many monasteries in these parts. According to the late Metropolitan Mar Hanānīshō, the *mohall* of Barīdost (not to be confused with the Barīdost of the Shīkāk Kurds to the north of Tergawar; cf. URMIYA) before the war had still a few Christian communities. From the point of view of Kurdish history the destinies of Ruiyndīz have been frequently those of *Shahrīār* of which it formed part at certain times. The Persian historian S. A. Kearewī Tabrizī (*Shāh-nāmā e Gernām*, II, *Rawāndīz*, Teherān 1308 = 1929) gives us some notes (p. 125, 133-136) on Ruiyndīz, in the time of the Atābeks under the Almedīlī (501-624 A. H.) the last representative of whom, a woman, became the wife of *Ḥajāl al-Dīn Khwārizmshāh*. A local history of the *wāls* of Ardolān, a résumé of which I published (in the *R.M.F.*, xlix, 70 *sqq.*), also contains some information about the families ruling in Rawāndīz down to 1249 A. H. It may be added that (*Shāret Nāwā*, II, p. 505), "the brothers of Albeh Southan released Southan Mourad son of Iaqonah big from the castle of Rouyindīz where he had been imprisoned by order of Southan Atbeh" (904 = 1498-1499). A Kurdish text in my possession enables me to give a few details about the last lord of Ruiyndīz. The beks of Ruiyndīz are said to be descended from an Arab of the tribe of *Shammar* (again this fondness for inventing an Arab descent which we frequently find in Kurd genealogies). For some years this ancestor was a

humble shepherd in the *dēst* of Ruiyndīz in the villages of Badlīān and Baplahtīān (should we not recognise in the these *ba* prefixes the remains of the Semitic *beth*) (cf. e.g. *BAKJAMIA*). Becoming rich — some say by having found a treasure —, the ancestor established himself at Badlīān, acquired houses and fields and became mayor there. His heirs in time became *agās*, then *agās*. Arrogant and rapacious, they had at the same time the reputation of being patrons of learning (*‘ilm u-ma’rifat*). At the beginning of the sixteenth century, one of them, Memed Bek the Blind, established at Rawāndīz, was honoured by Sulān Medjīd who gave him the title of *pāshā*, whence his sobriquet of *Pāshā-i Kūra*. He had some claims on Mergawar and Shīnā in which he met with the resistance of 'Azīs Bek of Letān near Nālos. With the help of guns founded for him at Rawāndīz by a certain *hūss* (= *uiss*) Redjeb, he broke this resistance. Since then the tribe of Letān has not had any independent tribal existence. Its remnants were absorbed into the neighbouring tribes of Shamdīnā. The Blind Pāshā next took possession of Arbīl Kerkuk, Sulāimāniye, Shamdīnā, 'Akra, 'Amādiya. The resistance he encountered in the tribe of Zibārī and notably that of its hero 'Azō of the village of Sawtī has become legendary. Taken prisoner, 'Azō is said to have replied to the offer to take him into his service by the Pāshā, who had no son, that he would make him one. The Pāshā built several fortified towers the ruins of which can still be seen (Sidakān; among the Shīrwāniyān; 'Akra, Rawāndīz, Darā). He also repaired the road in the pass of Ruiyndīz "with nails of iron". He built many schools. In his time plunder, robbery and rapine disappeared. "The grapes hung above the roads till autumn and no one dared to touch them". Justice was administered by '*ulama*'. Finally in 1836 the Pāshā was defeated by the Turks after a siege of four months and died soon afterwards in Constantinople, or others say in Cyprus. Of the descendants of the Pāshā his grandson Sa'īd Bek was *hā'imashāh* of Ruiyndīz. He was murdered by his servants. Yūsif Beg, son of Muṣṭafā Beg at Badlīān, *agās* of the tribe of Pīresīnān, was of the same line and in constant rivalry with Sa'īd Bek of Ruiyndīz. The memory of the Pāshā seems to have been kept alive in the tribe of Mūkri where F. de Morgan records a curious game of this name, in which one of the players pretends to be the "Blind Pāshā". A Kurdish work (*Mīrānī Shīrān* by Sayīd Husain Husain Mūkriānī, Rawāndīz 1935) gives a full account of the story of the Pāshā, his struggle with the Turks, his relations with Persia and with Mehmed 'Alī Pāshā of Egypt, giving as its principal source, a Kurdish MS. (*Mellāshā* by Mīrāz Muḥammedī Weḳāye' Nīgr). The Pāshā struck coins in his own name: *ḡarabā fī Rawāndīz al-Amīr al-Manṣūr Muḥammed Bīg*. — During the Great War the Rawāndīz road was used in the winter of 1914-1915 by Halil Bey's troops advancing on Urmiya (contrary to H. Grothe, *Die Türken und ihre Gegner*, Frankfurt a. M. 1915) and later in July 1916 by the Russian Rībalchenko, a column which Major K. Mason (*Central Kurdistan*, in *J. R. G. S.*, 1919) wrongly accuses of massacring 5,000 Kurds, women, children and old men at Ruiyndīz. After the armistice and during the period till Dec. 1925, when the League of Nations made its decision, Rawāndīz was occasionally the head-

quarters of an English political officer; sometimes it slipped from the English and was a centre of concentration for hostile Kurdish elements. Thus in Sept. 1922 (cf. B. Nikitine, *L'Iraq économique*, in *Rev. des Sc. Pol.*, July-Sept. 1923) the English were forced to withdraw their feeble forces from the mountains and to occupy the line Arbīl-Kirkūk-Kifri. A Kurdish government was then proclaimed in Sulaimāniye with a "Pādīshāh of Kurdistan", a role assumed by a certain Shaikh Mahmūd, of a noble Kurd family. Driven out by the English in 1919 after the rising, which he had led, he was pardoned in 1922 and his followers proclaimed him Pādīshāh. Threatened by English aeroplanes and without resources, Shaikh Mahmūd retired to Rawāndīz to the Turkish emissaries. Finally in April 1923, Ruiyndīz was taken by the Anglo-Mesopotamian troops composed almost exclusively of Assyro-Chaldean highlanders. Two months later in the name of H. M. King Faisal a more tractable Kurdish administration was installed there as throughout southern Kurdistan (cf. above). The first governor thus appointed was a certain Saliyid Ta of the family of Sadāte Nehri (cf. SHAMINĀN). A brief history of Ruiyndīz since the war is given in *Mifrii Sūrān*. At the present moment the Persian government is considering a system of roads which may give Rawāndīz a certain importance. It is a question of a carriage road connecting Tauris to Mawṣil via Rawāndīz. The Teberān government is anxious to have an outlet without the necessity of going through Transcaucasia.

Human Geography. The route through Rawāndīz as well as the roads leading from it have never played a part comparable to that of the two historic arteries of traffic. This is explained by the lack of security, which is the first condition for the making of a trade route. Now this region has always lain between two hostile states: Assyria and Media, Muṣaṣir and Zamua, Turkey and Persia, Turkey and the 'Irak. The configuration of the country, the mode of life of its people contribute rather to break them up than bind them together. The road, the means of communication, has here the character of a weapon or line of defence except for brief periods of peace.

Language. Kurdish is the language spoken in this region, except by the town dwellers (Arbīl, Alṭin Kepru, Kirkūk etc.) of Turkish origin. With the establishment of the Kurdish administration and the opening of Kurdish schools following the decisions of the League of Nations, Kurdish will probably develop still more and we may look for the creation of a Kurdish intellectual centre. According to O. Mann (*Die Mundart der Matri Kurden*, II, 205), the dialect of Rawāndīz is very like that of Shaminān, but E. B. Soane does not share this opinion (*Kurdish Grammar*, London 1913). F. Jardine's manual, *Bakdīnān Kurmanji, a grammar of the Kurmanji of the Kurds of Mosul division and surrounding districts of Kurdistan*, London 1922, is more particularly devoted to this dialect.

Cartography. The Government of India Survey is preparing a revision of the maps of this region. Until their results are published as well as those being prepared for other reasons by the Turkish Petroleum Co., there is accessible the excellent geographical material in the Report presented in 1925 to the League of Nations by the Commission of Enquiry whose task it was to collect material

of an ethnographical and economic nature regarding the wilāyat of Mawṣil (*League of Nations, Question of the Frontier between Turkey and 'Iraq. Report submitted by the Commission instituted by the Council Resolution of September 30, 1924* [C. 400 M. 147, 1925, vii]).

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text: Spiegel, *Erden* (p. 27-28); Rawlinson in *J.R.G.S.*, x. (p. 22 189); M. Streck, *Das Gebiet der heutigen Landschaften... Kurdistan*, in *Z.A.*, xv, 1900 (p. 267, 382), on the ancient and Sāsānid periods; Hammer, *Ilkhanen* (II, p. 125 and 337), on the Mongol period. The *Sheref Nāmah*, St. Petersburg 1860 (I, introd.) mentions the castle of *Roubān* (read *Ruiyān*).

(B. NIKITINE)

AL-RAWDA. One of the series of large islands in the bed of the Nile before it divides into the Damietta and Rosetta branches. Situated near Old Cairo and extending to Kaṣr al-Aini, it is separated from the right bank by a narrow canal known as al-Khalidj, while the river runs to full width on the other side between the Island and Giza (Djiza).

In early medieval times, it was used for three purposes: 1. as a convenient site for the Nilometer (cf. MUKYAS) on the S. E. side, rebuilt in the reign of al-Musta'in (862-866); 2. as a dockyard for the construction of the fleet (Mas'udi calls it "the island of shipbuilders") until the reign of the first Ikshidid who transferred the docks to the Miṣr bank of the Nile further north in the direction of the present port of Būlāq, which developed at a still later date; and 3. as a naturally fortified resort in case of danger on the mainland, by destroying the customary bridge of boats which connected it with the fort of Babylon. Muḥawḥas did so when he wished to preserve his freedom in negotiating with the Arabs. Realising this, too, Ibn Tūlun built a fort on the Island (c. 877) and al-Salīh Aiyūb built another where his body was concealed after his death by his wife Shadjar al-Durr [q. v.] until the defeat of the French at Manṣūra (1249). As a fortification, al-Rawda reached its highwater-mark under the Bahri Mamlūks who returned to it after the death of al-Salīh Aiyūb and, entrenched behind the water of the Nile, ruled Egypt for nearly a century and a half. They further strengthened the defence of the Island by building walls and towers along its shores. In earlier times it was occasionally used as a pleasure resort where spacious gardens were planted and magnificent palaces erected, such as the Hawḍaj built c. 1125 by the Caliph al-ʿAmir for a Bedouin mistress. During the Bahri Mamlūk period, noble buildings increased in number to house the rulers of Egypt and a mosque and a madrasa (whose remains are still to be seen) were established for the use of the inhabitants.

During the Burji Mamlūk period, Miṣr and the quarters outlying the Citadel were better favoured, though at the time of the Ottoman conquest Selīm I found in the Island a safer residence. When Egypt became an Ottoman province, Miṣr and the Citadel became the seat of the Turkish governor, while the Mamlūk forces took to the Djiza side of the River. As a result, al-Rawda was deserted, its fortifications ruined, and it furnished robbers and highwaymen with a refuge.

The Island did not again attract the rulers of Egypt until the time of Muḥammad 'Alī, whose

son Ibrāhīm Pasha ordered large gardens to be planted there. At present it has become an Egyptian residential quarter connected with Cairo by two bridges and with Dījā by a third. The facilities of modern means of communication have brought it within easy reach of the centre of the capital. The construction of a new large hospital is planned as a substitute for the antiquated Kaṣr al-Aini on the northern extremity of the island.

Bibliography: See *Bibliographies* of articles on CAIRO and MIKYA. An elaborate account of the island and especially the Mikyā may be found in 'Alī Pasha Muḥṣarak: *al-Kāfiyat al-Tawfiḡiya*, 20 vols., Cairo 1306, xviii, 2—111; Ibn Duḡmā, *Description de l'Égypte*, ed. Vollers, Cairo 1893, iv, 109—120. (A. S. ATIYA)

RA'Y (A.), opinion. As a technical term denoting the purely intellectual function it is used in the system of Islām in opposition to such terms as *'ilāh*, *ḥanā*, *Kutāb Allāh*, *dīn* and *ḥadīth*. See the art. FIḲH.

RAWSHANIYA, Afghān sect founded by Bāyazīd b. 'Abd Allāh, who took the title Pir-i Rawshan: called by their enemies *Tārīkīn*.

1. **Life of the Founder.** Bāyazīd was born at Djalindar in the Panjāb about 931 (1525), his father's native place being Kaniguram, an Afghān town, whither his parents returned. When his mother Banā was divorced by 'Abd Allāh, Bāyazīd became alienated from his father, who disapproved of his seeking the solution of religious difficulties from a poor relation, the ascetic Ismā'īl; he started earning his living by transporting goods from Samarḳand to Hindustān with Turkish horses. In the town Kalindjār, S. W. of Allāshābād, he became acquainted with one Muḥṣa Sulaimān from whom he imbibed Ismā'īlī doctrine. Returning to Kaniguram he lived as a hermit in a cave, and evolved eight precepts for his followers; he was in consequence attacked and wounded by his father. Thence he fled to Ningrahar, where he was given protection by a Mohmand chief Saljān Ahmad, and presently won adherents among the Ghoria Khel in the neighbourhood of Peshāwar from the Khālī and Mahmūdī, who had recently overrun the Peshāwar plain. He established himself at Kalidhar in the territory of the 'Umarzāi, and sent out missionaries who were also raiders. At this time one Saiyid 'Alī Tirmidhī aided by Akhund Derweh (one of the authorities for his biography) started controversy with him; they were unsuccessful, and Bāyazīd, who at some time had taken the title Pir-i Rawshan (Luminous Shaikh, parodied by his enemies as Pir-i Tārik), conceived the idea of annexing the empire of Akbar, on whose treasury he presently issued drafts. He was arrested by Muḥsin Khān Ghāzi, governor of Kābul, whither he was taken. He was there accused of heresy before the *'ulamā'*, who however, for a consideration, acquitted him. He retired first to Totai, thence to Tirāh, where he proposed to substitute a new religion for Islām. After a time many of his Tirāh followers reverted to Islām, and were expelled by him; they fled to Ningrahar, and were attacked by Bāyazīd, who however was defeated with great slaughter by Muḥsin Khān. He fled to a village in Kalapani, where he died (993 = 1585).

2. **Later history of the community.** Bāyazīd's activities were resumed by the eldest of his five sons, 'Umar, who attacked the Yūsufzāi,

a tribe which had followed Bāyazīd, but reverted to Islām; in the battle which ensued 'Umar was killed, as was also his brother Khair al-Dīn; another brother, Nūr al-Dīn, was put to death by the Gujjars. The youngest son, Djalāl al-Dīn, was captured by the Yūsufzāi, who surrendered him to Akbar in 989 A. H. Escaping from Akbar's court he returned to Tirāh, where he assumed the role of sovereign of Afghānistān, and Akbar found it necessary to send an army against him in 994. This army met with a serious defeat, which was repaired by a later expedition (995). The numbers of the Rawshānīs are given on this occasion as 20,000 foot and 3,000 horse. A further expedition was sent in 1000 A. H. (or 1001) which captured some 14,000 men (according to Badaoni) with Djalāl al-Dīn's wives and children, but not apparently himself; since in 1007 he took Ghazni, but was unable to maintain himself there, and on retiring was attacked by the Hazāra, wounded and put to death. This last affair is by some assigned to a son of his bearing the same name.

The next head of the community was Djalāl al-Dīn's son Aḥdād, who figures in the history of Djalālīnīr. In 1020 A. H. he surprised Kābul in the absence of its governor Khān Dewrān. The attack was beaten off with great loss to the raiders, yet in 1023 Aḥdād was again in the field, but sustained a serious defeat at Pish Bulagh. After a series of enterprises with varied success he was besieged in the fortress of Nuaghar, and killed by a musket-shot.

The historian of Shāh Djalāl, Muḥammad Sāliḥ Kambo, asserts that in the second year of his reign (1038) that monarch took effective steps to suppress the heresy started by Bāyazīd; nevertheless in the following year he records how the Afghān Kamāl al-Dīn was joined in the attack on Peshāwar by 'Abd al-Kādir, son of Aḥdād, and Kartmūdā, son of Djalālāh (Djalāl al-Dīn). The place was relieved by Sa'īd Khān, and 'Abd al-Kādir induced to submit; in 1043 he was recommended by Sa'īd Khān, "who had caused him to repent of his evil deeds" to Shāh Djalāl, who gave him a command of 1,600 horse. Other members of Aḥdād's family received honours and rewards in 1047. In the same year Kartmūdā, who had taken refuge in the Mohmand country, but had been recalled by the tribes of Bangash, was attacked, captured and executed by Sa'īd Khān. It is asserted that some relics of the community still exist in this region. A branch of the sect, called *'Isawī*, was founded at Swat by one Saiyid 'Isā of Peshāwar (T. C. Plowden, translation of the *Kālid-i Afghānī*, Lahore 1875).

3. **Doctrines of the sect.** According to the *Dabistān*, which is friendly to the sect, Bāyazīd's doctrine was extreme pantheism; "If I pray" he said, "I am a *mushrik*; if I pray not, I am a *kāfir*". He marked eight stages (*maḥām*) in religious progress: *shar'īa*, *ṭarīka*, *ḥakika*, *ma'rifa*, *ṭarika*, *maḥāda*, *maḥāda*, *maḥāda*; the four last are said to be technicalities of his system. The explanation of these stages, quoted from Bāyazīd's *Hādūmī*, inculcates lofty morality, e.g. to hurt no creature of God. The account which follows is inconsistent with this, as noxious persons were to be killed because they resembled wild creatures, harmless persons who did not possess self-knowledge might be killed, because they resembled domestic animals. They might be regarded as dead, and their property

might be seized by the "living". Farther he abrogated the direction of prayer and the preliminary ablution. Other details are furnished by a hostile writer, the historian of Shāh Dīhān quoted above, copied in *Muntahab al-Lubāb*. Marriage, he says, is without a contract, there being merely a feast at which a cow is slaughtered. Divorce is ratified by placing some pebbles in the wife's hand. The widow is deprived of inheritance, and indeed is at the disposal of the heirs, who may marry her themselves or sell her to some one else. When a son is born to one of them, an incision is made in the ear of an ass, and the blood dripped on the infant's tongue. This is in order to ensure that the infant shall be bloodthirsty and have the mind of an ass. Any stranger who falls into their hands is enslaved and can be bought or sold. Daughters receive no share in the inheritance. They massacre whole tribes when they conquer them. Even on the Day of Judgment their victims, though martyrs, will not hold them to account. — According to others, however, they recognized neither Paradise nor Hell.

4. Literature of the sect. Bāyazīd is said to have written much; works by him cited in the *Dabistān* are the *Hālmūme* or autobiography, mentioned above, and *Khair al-Bayān*, the sacred book of the sect, in the style of the *Kur'ān*, addressed by the Divine Being to Bāyazīd. This was issued in four languages: Arabic, Persian, Hindi and Pushto. A work in Arabic, *Makrūb al-Mu'minin*, by him is also mentioned.

Bibliography: The account of the sect given by J. Leyden, in *Asiatic Researches*, xi. 303-428, London 1810, based on the *Dabistān al-Muḥaddithin* (p. 247-253 in ed. Bomlay 1292) and the Pushto work *Muḥḥan al-Isām* of Akhund Derwesh, furnished the material for the account of the sect in Graf T. A. von Noer's *Kaiser Akbar*, Leyden 1883, ii. 179 sq., and largely for that in *Glossary of the Punjab Tribes and Castes*, Lahore 1915, iii. 335 sq. Notices of the sect were also got from Indian historical works; from the *Akbar-nāme* (printed, Calcutta 1881) by M. Elphinstone, *History of India*, London 1866, p. 317 etc.; from the *Tabaḥṭṭi Akbari* (lith., Lahore 1292) by H. Elliot, *History of India*, London 1873, v. 450; from the *Tuḥḥ-i Dīhāngīrī*, transl. A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, London 1909 by Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, Oxford 1922, who also uses the *Isām-nāme-i Dīhāngīrī*, Calcutta 1863. For Shāh Dīhān's time the *Shāh Dīhān-nāme* called *Amāl-i Sālīh* of Muḥammad Sālīh Kambo, ed. Ghulam Yasdani, Calcutta 1923 and 1927, is the chief authority. The printed text of the *Bādīshāh-nāme* (Calcutta 1867, 1868) which, according to *Muntahab al-Lubāb* (Calcutta 1869), should contain an exaggerated account of the atrocities of the sect, has very little about it. (D. S. MARGOLIOUTCH)

AL-RĀZĪ, ABU BAKR MUHAMMAD B. ZAKARIYĀ, a celebrated physician, alchemist and philosopher. Almost nothing is known of his life. He was born in 250 (864) at Ray. There he seems to have studied deeply in mathematics, philosophy, astronomy and belles-lettres. He perhaps also studied alchemy in his youth. It was only after attaining a rather advanced age that he devoted himself to medicine. Entering the service of the ruler of Ray, he soon became head of

the new hospital in this town and later we find him in the same capacity in Baghdād. We do not know exactly how long he remained there. The reputation of being the greatest physician of his time brought him from one court to another. The fickleness of the favour of princes as well as the uncertainty of the political situation are the causes of his unsettled life. He returned several times to his native town where he died in 313 (925) (according to al-Birūnī on 5th Shābān 313) or in 323.

We are no better informed regarding Rāzī's teachers. Several Arabic biographers regard him as a pupil of the physician 'Alī b. Rabbān al-Jābarī, which is chronologically impossible. As his teacher in philosophy the *Fihrist* mentions a certain Balḫī (not the geographer Abū Zaid al-Balḫī) from whom Rāzī is said to have taken some ideas. Naṣīr-i Khusrāw says the same thing about a rationalist philosopher with the curious name of Erānshahri (cf. *Zād al-Muḥarrir*, p. 73, 98; cf. also al-Birūnī, *Hind*, p. 4, 326; *Āthār*, p. 222, 225); it is very probable that the two sources refer to the same individual. Although the influence of Rāzī was considerable, we know nothing of his pupils. The philosopher Yahyā b. 'Adī, an Aristotelian, Jacobite and disciple of Fārābī, is said to have begun to study philosophy with Rāzī (cf. Mas'ūdi, *Kitaḥ al-Tanbīh wa 'l-Ishrāf*), and a later source (Hudjwiri, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, transl. Nicholson, p. 150) speaks of connections between him and the mystic al-Hallāj. It was in Shī'a circles that the philosophical doctrines of Rāzī left the deepest mark. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Nawbakht, a theologian of the "Twelver" Shī'a, borrows from him, in his *Kitaḥ al-Yaḥūt*, his theory of pleasure, and the Ismā'īlīans Abū Hātim al-Rāzī (d. 322 = 926), Kirmānī (d. after 412 = 1021) and Naṣīr-i Khusrāw (q.v.) attempted to refute certain parts of his philosophical system. Among the other authors who combated his views may be mentioned Fārābī, Ibn Haitham, 'Alī b. Ridwān and Maimonides.

Rāzī is above all a physician and he is rightly regarded as the greatest physician of Islām. In addition to numerous monographs on various maladies of which the most famous is his treatise on smallpox and measles (*Kitaḥ al-Dīḡārī wa 'l-Ḥaḡḡa*), he wrote several large manuals of medicine which were the most remarkable that the middle ages knew. A number of his works were translated into Latin and down to the xvth century the authority of al-Rāzī was undisputed. His *Manṣūrī* (*Liber Almanioris*) is dedicated to Manṣūr b. Ishāq, governor of Ray, and his *Mulūkī* (*Regius*) to 'Alī b. Wab-Sadḡhan of Tabaristān. The *Ḥawī* (probably the same as the *Djāmī*), is the largest medical encyclopaedia in Arabic. Rāzī is said to have devoted 15 years of his life to writing it and seems to have died before finishing it. The book is a compilation of extracts from all the Greek and Arab physicians on every problem of medicine and Rāzī concludes by giving the results of his own experience. While accepting earlier tradition, Rāzī is the least dogmatic of the Arab physicians and in the field of medical practice surpasses the knowledge of the ancients. We still possess his clinical notebook in which he describes very carefully the progress of his patients.

The same empirical spirit is found in the other branches of science which he studied. In chemistry, about which we are better informed, Rāzī, rejecting

all occultist and symbolical explanations of natural phenomena, confined himself exclusively to the classification of substances and processes as well as to the exact descriptions of his experiments. In spite of the statement of the *Fihrist*, Rāzī does not seem to have been acquainted with the alchemical writings attributed to Ḍjābir b. Haiyān. Pseudo-Maḍḍirī in his *Kitāb Ruḥat al-ḥakīm*, endeavoured to reconcile the alchemy of Rāzī with that of Ḍjābir. Of his writings on mechanics we only possess a synopsis of his treatise on the balance (*miṣāl pahlī*). All his works on physics, mathematics, astronomy and optics, of which a large number are enumerated by the bibliographers, have perished.

It is the same with his metaphysical works of which we only have a few fragments preserved in later authors. Besides the Shī'a theologians mentioned above, we must make particular mention of al-Birūnī, who in his various works frequently refers to Rāzī. He also devoted a complete *risāla* to a study of the life and works of Rāzī.

The following are the characteristic features of his metaphysics: Rāzī asserts the existence of five eternal (*ḥadīm*) principles which are the Creator, Soul, Matter, Time and Space. The eternity of the world is, according to Rāzī, the necessary corollary of the concept of God, the unique and immutable principle (the line of argument of the Aristotelian philosophers). Now Rāzī denies this eternity. Only the plurality of the eternal principles, their opposition and combination, can explain temporal creation. The origin and destinies of the world are imagined by Rāzī under the form of a myth with gnostic affinities. The Soul, the second eternal principle, possessing life but not knowing, is seized with the desire to unite with matter, and to produce within itself forms susceptible of procuring corporeal enjoyments. But matter is elusive. The Creator then in his pity creates this world, with its durable forms in order to permit the soul to enjoy it and to produce man. But the Creator also sends the intelligence (*ʿaql*) partaking of the substance of his divinity to awaken the sleeping soul in its abode (*hāikat*) which is man and to teach that this created world is not its true home, the place of its happiness and of its peace. To escape the bonds of matter there is only a single means for every man, which is the study of philosophy. When all human souls have attained liberation the world will dissolve and matter deprived of forms will return to its primitive state.

In his physics, Rāzī, an opponent of the Aristotelians and *mutakallimūn*, relies on the authority of Plato and the pre-Socratic philosophers. His atomism, fundamentally different from the parallel theories of the *kalām*, is related in many ways — an exceptional case in medieval philosophy — to the system of Democritus. In Rāzī's view matter in the primitive state before the creation of the world (*ḥayūlā muṣṭaḥa*) was composed of scattered atoms (*ḡne' tā yufuḡjazza*). Atoms possessed extent. Mixed in various proportions with particles of the Void — of which Rāzī against the Aristotelians affirms the positive existence, — these atoms produced the elements. The latter are five in number: earth, air, water, fire and the celestial element. All the properties of the elements (lightness and heaviness, opaqueness and transparency etc.) are determined by the proportions of Matter and Void entering into their composition. Earth and water,

dense elements, tend towards the centre of the earth, while air and fire in which particles of the void predominate, tend to rise. As to the celestial element, a balanced mixture of Matter and Void, circular movement is peculiar to it. Fire springs from the striking of iron on stone because iron as it moves cleaves the air and rarifies it so that it is transformed into fire.

Rāzī distinguished universal space (*makān kullī*) or absolute space (*makān muṣṭaḥ*) from partial (*ḡne'ī*) and relative (*muṣṭaḥ*) space. Absolute space, denied by the Aristotelians, is pure extent, independent of the body which it contains. It extends beyond the limits of the world, is infinite. There is reason to believe that Rāzī affirms the plurality of worlds. The term relative or partial space is applied to the size or extent of any particular body.

In his theory of time, which he says is Platonic, Rāzī differentiates in analogous fashion absolute (*muṣṭaḥ*) time and limited (*maḥṭūr*) time. It is only to limited time that the Aristotelian definition of time, considered as a number of movement (in the first place the movement of the celestial spheres), is applicable, according to the *Prior* and *Posterior Analytic*. Absolute time is an independent substance which flows. It existed before the creation of the world and will exist after its dissolution. Abandoning a distinction made in the *Timaeus* and handed down by the Neo-Platonists to the Arabic philosophers, Rāzī identifies it with eternity (*ḡahr*, *āw*). To attack the Aristotelian conceptions of space and time, Rāzī makes use of the view of the man in the street with a healthy mind not broken in to philosophical subtleties.

In his ethics, Rāzī, in spite of his pessimistic metaphysics, is against excessive asceticism. Socrates, whom he regards as his model, far from being the ascetic of cynical tradition, took an active part in public life. According to the maxim of Aristotle, blame cannot be attached to the human passions but only to their excessive indulgence. At the basis of his moral teaching is a special theory of pleasure and pain. Pleasure (*ḡawḡ*) is not something positive but the simple result of a return to normal conditions, the disturbance of which has caused pain (*ʿaḏā*). The *hira salafīya* (*ḡlōs ḡilōṣafīyā*) aspires, according to the saying of Plato (*Phaedrus*, p. 176b), to resemble the Creator to be, like him, just towards man, indulgent to his faults.

In view of the individualistic ethics of Rāzī, we can understand his critical attitude to established religion. In many writings he refuted the Mu'tazilī theologians (Ḍjābir, Nāshī, Abū Ḥ. Ḥāsim al-Balkhī, Mismā' (= Ibn Akhī Zurhān)) who attempted to introduce scientific arguments into theology. Nor was he sparing in his criticism of the extreme Shī'a (refutation of Ahmad al-Kāyāl) and of the Manichaeans. Among his adversaries in philosophy we find, besides the Dahī Abū Bakr Ḥumayn al-Tammār al-mutaḡabbib, the Sabaeen Thābit b. Qurra, the polyhistorian Mas'ūdī and Ahmad b. al-Tayyib al-Sarakhsī, a pupil of al-Kindī.

Unlike the Muslim Aristotelians Rāzī denies the possibility of a reconciliation between philosophy and religion. Two heretical writings figure in his bibliography: the *Muḡḡirāt al-Anbīyā* or *ḡiyāl al-Muṣṭaḥibīyā* was read in heretical circles in Isfahān and notably among the Ḳarmāṭians (cf. Baghdādī, *Faṣṭ*, p. 281). It seems even to have influenced the famous theme of the *De Trinitate*

Impostoribus, so dear to western rationalists from the time of Frederick II (cf. L. Massigou, in *R. H. R.*, 1920). The second, *Fi Nafā al-Adyān* is partly preserved in a refutation, the *Kitāb al-ʿĀm al-Nuḥūṣ* of the Ismāʿīlī Abū Ḥatīm al-Rāzī. The principal theses of this book are as follows: all men being by nature equal, the prophets cannot claim any intellectual or spiritual superiority. The miracles of the prophets are impostures or belong to the domain of pious legend. The teachings of religions are contrary to the one truth: the proof of this is that they contradict one another. It is tradition and lazy custom that have led men to trust their religious leaders. Religions are the sole cause of the wars which ravage humanity; they are hostile to philosophical speculation and to scientific research. The alleged holy scriptures are books without value. The writings of the ancients like Plato, Aristotle, Euclid and Hippocrates have rendered much greater service to humanity. — Rāzī's book undoubtedly contains the most violent polemic against religion that appeared in the course of the middle ages. It takes up to some extent the arguments of the contemporary Manichaeans against positive religions but above all it seems to be inspired by the criticism of religion in antiquity.

Rāzī believed in a progress of scientific and philosophical knowledge. He claims to have advanced beyond most of the ancient philosophers. He even thinks himself superior to Aristotle and Plato. As regards medicine, he had attained the level of Hippocrates and in philosophy he feels himself close to Socrates. But after him there should come other learned men who would reject some of his conclusions just as he had sought to supplant the teachings of his predecessors.

Bibliography: Lists of Rāzī's works with more or less anecdotal biographies will be found in the following works: *Fihrist*, p. 299—302, 358; Ibn al-Kiflī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ḥakamā*, ed. Lippert, p. 271—277; Ibn Abi Usayb'a, *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ*, ed. Müller, I, 309—321 (cf. G. S. A. Ranking, *The Life and Works of Rhazes [International Congress of Medicine, historical section, London 1913, p. 237—268]*); Brünli, *Risāla fi Fihrist Kutub Muh. b. Zak. al-Rāzī*, ed. P. Kraus, Paris 1931; part. transl. by J. Ruska, *al-Birūnī al-Ḥakīm*, in *Isis*, v, 1922, p. 26—50. — Other sources: Ibn Khallikān, p. 678; Abū Ḥatīm al-Andalusī, *Tubakāt al-Umam*, Bahrū 1912, p. 33 and 61; Abū ʿAlī al-Tanūkhī, *al-Furūq* b. d. al-Ḥadda, Cairo 1903—1904, II, 94—104; *Caḥār Maḥāla* (ed. Muḥammad Karīmī, in *G.M.S.*, xi, 1910), p. 74 sq.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fihl*, Cairo 1317, I, 3, 24—33, 34; Niḥām al-Mulk, *Siyāset Nāmā*, transl. Schefer, p. 288; Nāṣir al-Khwarizmi, *Zād al-Munāḥḥin*, Berlin 1341, p. 73 sqq., 103, 114 sqq., 231, 235, 318 sqq. (cf. L. Massigou, in *R. M. A.*, lxii, 218); do., *Risāla*, at the end of the *Dīwān*, Teheran 1304—1307, p. 572; Maimonides, *Dalālat al-Ḥāʾirīn*, ed. Munk, III, 18; do., *Kāḥḥat Taḥḥibhā*, Leipzig 1859, II, 28; Brünli, *Kitāb al-Hind*, do., *Albār*, p. 253; Elias of Nisibis, *Munāḥḥa* (cf. P. Azis, in *Anthropos*, v, 2, 444 sqq.) (criticism of the Arabic language); Dawūd Celebi, *Kitāb Maḥāḥat al-Mawḥil*, p. 58 (criticism of the Arabic script); Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, I, 33 sqq.; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der arabischen Ärzte*, Göttingen 1840, p. 40—49; L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la Médecine Arabe*, I, 337—354; E. G.

Brown, *Arabian Medicine*, Cambridge 1921, p. 44—53; P. de Koning, *Traité sur le calcul dans les reins et dans la vessie*, Leyden 1896; G. Elgood, *A Persian Manuscript attributed to Rhazes*, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1932, p. 905 sqq.; M. Meyerhof, *Thirty-three clinical observations by Rhazes (circa 900 A.D.)*, in *Isis*, xxiii, 2 (1935), p. 322 sqq.; J. Ruska, *al-Rāzī als Chemiker*, in *Zeitschr. f. angewandte Chemie*, 1922, p. 719 sqq.; do., *Über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Rāzī-Forschung*, in *Archivio di storia della scienza*, v, (1924), p. 335 sqq.; do., *Die Alchemie al-Rāzī's*, in *Der Islam*, xxii, (1935), p. 281 sqq.; do., *Übersetzung und Bearbeitungen von al-Rāzī's Buch Geheimnis der Geheimnisse*, in *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin*, IV, 1 (1935); Th. Ihel, *Die Wege im Altertum und Mittelalter*, Erlangen (diss.) 1906, p. 153 sqq.; Tj. de Boer, *De "Medicina Mentis" von den Arts Rāzī (Versl. Med. Ak. Amst.)*, vol. 53, series A, Amsterdam 1920; A. Baumstark, *Aristoteles bei den Syrern*, p. 115 sqq., 126 sqq.; Abbās Eghbāl, *Les Nawbakht*, Teheran 1933, p. 167, 170, 179; H. H. Schaefer, in *Z.D.M.G.*, lxxix, 228; 199; L. Massigou, *Recueil des Textes inédits*, p. 180 sqq.; P. Kraus, *Raziana*, in *Orientalia*, N.S., IV, (1935), p. 300 sqq.; v, (1936), p. 35 sqq.; S. Pines, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomlehre*, Berlin 1936. — A detailed bibliography is contained in G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, I, 609—610.

(P. KRAUS and S. PINES)

AL-RĀZĪ, the name of three historians of Muslim Spain. I. MUḤAMMAD b. MUḤA b. BASHIR b. DĪNĀD b. LAKT al-KINĀN al-RĀZĪ, who took his *nishā* from the town of al-Rāzī in Persia where he was born, came from the east to Cordova about the middle of the third century A.H. (864 A.D.) to trade there. His high degree of Arabic culture gave him a welcome in intellectual circles in the Umayyad capital and the emir Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān entrusted him on several occasions with diplomatic missions in the east or in Spain itself. His successor, his son al-Munshir, showed him the same confidence; it was on his return from an embassy to Elvira [q.v.] for this prince that al-Rāzī died in Rabīʿ II 273 (Sept. 5—Oct. 3, 886).

We would have known nothing of Muḥammad al-Rāzī as an historian but for a statement by Muḥammad Ibn Muzān reproduced by the Moroccan writer Muḥammad al-Wazir al-Ghassānī in his account of an embassy to Spain in 691, entitled *Riḥlat al-Wazir ʿaʿīn al-Aṣṣir* (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les Historiens des Chérifs*, Paris 1922, p. 284—286). Ibn Muzān there says that in 471 (1078—1079) he found in a library in Seville a little book by Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Rāzī entitled *Kitāb al-Rāyūt*, relating to the conquest of Spain by the Muslims and giving details of the Arab contingents, each distinguished by its standard (*raʾya*) who entered the Peninsula with Mūsā b. Nuṣair [q.v.]. The passage of Ibn Muzān has been reproduced in the Madrid edition of the *Fath al-Andalus* of Ibn Kūṭīya (cf. the *Bibl.*). However little we know of this work of Muḥammad al-Rāzī, we cannot but regret its loss bitterly.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Abbār, *Tahmilat al-Sila* (B. A. H., v), Madrid 1887, No. 1048; al-Maḥḥārī, *Nafā al-Th (Analects)*, vol. II, p. 76 (reproduces the notice of Ibn al-Abbār); R. Dorj,

introduction to his edition of *al-Bayān al-maḥrīb* of Ibn 'Idhār al-Marrākushī, p. 22; J. Ribera, *Historia de la conquista de España de Alenclibia al Cordobés*, Madrid 1926, p. 197 of the text and p. 170 of the transl.; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos arábigos-españoles*, Madrid 1898, N.º 4 and the references cited p. 45, note 2; A. González Palencia, *Historia de la literatura arábiga-española*, Barcelona-Buenos-Aires 1928, p. 130.

ii. AHMAD b. MUHAMMAD, son of the preceding, surnamed al-Ta'rikhī ('the chronicler'), the first in date of the great historians of al-Andalus. He was born in Spain on the 10th Dhu 'l-Hijja 174 (April 26, 888) and died on the 12th Rajab 344 (Nov. 1, 955). He was the pupil of Cordovan scholars of repute like Ahmad b. Khalid and Kāsim b. Asbagh. He wrote several monographs on the history of Spain: a *Tarikh Mamlūk al-Andalus*; a description of Cordova (*Kitāb fī Sifat Qurṭuba*) written on the plan of the description of Baghdad by Abu 'l-Faḥl Ibn Abī Tāhir; a book on the Spanish *mamlūk*; lastly a voluminous work on the genealogies of the Arabs of Spain, *Kitāb al-Istī'āḥ*, which was to form one of the essential sources of the *Djāmi'at al-Ansāb* of Ibn Hāzim [q. v.]. These various works have unfortunately not come down to us and until quite recently we had only a few quotations from Ahmad al-Rāzī preserved by later writers. The recent discovery of a fragmentary manuscript of a chronicle relating to the 10th century in Spain now puts at our disposal quite extensive extracts from this author and from his son 'Isā (see iii.); these passages are collected in *Documents inédits d'histoire hispano-umayyade*, to appear shortly.

The majority of Ahmad al-Rāzī's biographers do not attribute to him any geographical work, but some, e. g. al-Dabbī and Yāqūt, notice a Spanish geographer whom they call Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Ta'rikhī who is clearly Ahmad al-Rāzī; this individual, according to these authors (al-Maḥḥārī attributes it directly to Ahmad al-Rāzī), wrote a lengthy work on the routes (*maṣālik*) of al-Andalus, its anchorages (*marāṭ*), its principal towns (*umamāt al-mudun*) and the six Arab (*ḥumāt* [q. v.]) which were settled there after the conquest. This description of Spain has been preserved in a Castilian translation published in 1850 by P. de Gayangos as an appendix to his *Memoria sobre la autenticidad de la Crónica denominada del Moro Rasis* (supplemented by R. Menéndez Pidal, *Catálogo de la Real Biblioteca. Manuscritos. Crónicas generales de España*, Madrid 1898). The description forms the first part of this *Crónica* and in its present Castilian form comes from a translation into Portuguese, now lost, prepared by order of King Denis of Portugal towards the beginning of the 15th century by a cleric named Gil Pérez; the latter was no doubt the author of the second part and in the third he confined himself to summing up very briefly the historical work in the strict sense of Ahmad al-Rāzī.

The description of Spain by al-Rāzī, in spite of the many difficulties offered by the fact that it has passed through two translations, both often very inaccurate and corrupt in the place-names, is nevertheless a very important document from the geographical, as well as the political and social point of view for the Muhammadan part

of Spain in the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān III. After a number of general reflections on al-Andalus, its situation with regard to the rest of the inhabited world, and its climate, we have an individual description of each of the principal districts, of which special use was made by Yāqūt [q. v.] for the Spanish references in his *Ma'djam al-Buldān*. A comparison of the Spanish text of al-Rāzī's description with that of Yāqūt enables us to discover a close relationship between the two works. They both give the same number of administrative circles (*ḥara*) in Umayyad Spain of the 10th century, 41 in all: Cordova, Caba, Elvira, Jaen, Tadmir, Valencia, Tortosa, Tarragona, Lérida, Barbitania, Huesca, Tudela, Saragossa, Calatayud, Bāḥba, Madinaceli, Shantabanya, Racupel, Zorita, Guadalajara, Toledo, Oretu, Fāh al-Ballut (Llano de las bellotas), Fārish, Mérida, Badajoz, Béja, Osonoba, Santarem, Coimbra, Exitania, Lisbon, Niebla, Sevilla, Carmona, Moron, Sudona (Shadhāna), Algeciras, Reijo, Ecija and Takoronnā.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Farajī, *Tarikh 'Ulamā' al-Andalus* (B.A.H., vii.—viii.), Madrid 1892, N.º 135; al-Dabbī, *Bughyat al-Mulānīs* (B.A.H., iii.), Madrid 1885, N.º 329 and 330; al-Maḥḥārī, *Nafḥ al-Fih* (Analectes), ii. 111, 118; Yāqūt, *Irdhād al-Arḥ*, ed. D. S. Margolin (G. M. S., vi. 2), Leyden 1909, p. 76—77; R. Dozy, cf. above; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, N.º 23; A. González Palencia, *Hist. de la lit. ar. esp.*, p. 130—131; J. Alemany Bolufer, *La Geografía de la Península Ibérica en los escritores árabes*, Granada 1921, p. 28 sqq.

iii. 'ISĀ b. AHMAD b. MUHAMMAD, son of ii., grandson of i., continued his father's Umayyad chronicle down to his own time and extended the portions dealing with earlier periods by using sources which had not been available to Ahmad al-Rāzī. He has not been the subject of notice by any of the Spanish biographers already published but he is frequently quoted by later historians, notably by Ibn Hāyim [q. v.], Ibn Sa'id [q. v.] and Ibn al-Abbār [q. v.]. According to the latter, he also wrote a monograph on the *ḥadith* [q. v.] of the Umayyad court of Cordova: *Kitāb al-Ḥudūd al-'Iḥḥāḥ* li-'l-Khalifa li-'l-Ansār.

Bibliography: Ibn Hāyim, *al-Muṣṭahis*, Oxford ms., *passim*; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Hullat al-riyāḥ*, in Dozy, *Notices sur quelques manuscrits arabes*, Leyden 1847—1851, p. 74; al-Maḥḥārī, *Nafḥ al-Fih* (Analectes), ii. 671; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, N.º 41; A. González Palencia, *Hist. de la lit. ar. esp.*, p. 131.

(E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL)

AMIN AHMAD RĀZĪ, a Persian biographer. Hardly anything is known of his life. He belonged to Ray where his father Khwāja Mirzā Ahmad was celebrated for his wealth and benevolence. He was in high favour with Shāh Tahmasp and was appointed by him *kāfānār* of his native town. His paternal uncle Khwāja Muhammad Sharif was vizier of Khurāsān, Vaid and Isfahān, his cousin Chiyāsh-Beg a high official at the court of the Emperor Akbar. Amin himself is said to have visited India. The work to which he owes his fame is the great collection of biographies *Haft Ilm* (finished in 1002 = 1594). For many years he collected information about famous men until finally he yielded to the entreaties of one of his friends and arranged his material in book form. The final editing of it took six years. The

biographies are arranged geographically according to the 7 climes. In each clime the biographical part is preceded by a short geographical and historical introduction which is followed by notes on poets, 'ulama's, famous shaiḫs etc. in chronological order. The work is of special importance for the history of Persian literature, as the biographies of poets contain numerous specimens of their works, some of which are very rare. It contains the following sections: Clime I: Yaman, Bihār al-Zandj, Nabia, China. Clime II: Mecca, Medina, Yamama, Hurmuz, Dekkân, Ahmadnagar, Dawlatābād, Golkonda, Almadābād, Sīrat, Bengal, Orissa and Kūsh. Clime III: Irak, Baghdad, Kūfa, Naḥlaf, Bagra, Yand, Fars, Sistan, Kandahār, Ghaznin, Lahist, Dihli, India from the oldest times down to Akbar, Syria, Egypt. Clime IV: Khurāsān, Balkh, Herāt, Džām, Mashhad, Nishāpūr, Sabzawār, Isfahān, Isfahān, Kashān, Ħum, Suzā, Hamadshān, Ray and Tihān, Dāmāwād, Atarātād, Tabaristān, Mīnsāderān, Gilān, Kāzin, Adharbāidjān, Tabriz, Ardabil, Marāgha. Clime V: Shirwān, Gandjā, Khwārizm, Mā warā' al-Nahr, Samarkand, Bukhārā, Farḡāna. Clime VI: Turkistan, Fārah, Yarkand, Rūs, Constantinople, Rūm. Clime VII: Balghār, Saklab, Yādūd, Mādūd. — Unfortunately this valuable work has not yet been published. Mawlāwī 'Abd al-Muṭṭalīr began his edition in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, but so far only one part has appeared (Calcutta 1918).

Bibliography: Riez, *Catalogue* 335b; E. G. Brown, *A Hist. of Persian Literature in Modern Times*, Cambridge 1924, p. 448; H. Eshé, *Neupersische Literatur*, in *Gr. I. Ph.*, II, 213. (E. BERTHELE)

REDIF (Ar. *radif*), "what follows immediately after a person or thing (Faguan, *Additions*); one mounted on a croup, pillion-rider"; cf. for use in the figurative sense in a composite epithet in Turkish (Persian): *ardū-i zafer-redif*: "the victorious army (one which has victory on its croup)" (*Turk-i Džemdet*, 1270 A.H., I, 22). The synonyms *terdif* and, more rarely, *irdif*, "the act of causing to follow or join, to make to accompany", are also sometimes used in Turkish as well as the words *terdif* and *irdif*. As a technical term *radif*, pronounced *redif*, has been used: 1. in Persian and Turkish prosody; 2. in the Ottoman army.

1. Persian and Turkish prosody. — Redif is a kind of "hypermetre" (taking this word in a wider sense than in classical or even English prosody), i.e. the part of the line which follows the rhyme (*kāfiyye* in Neo-Turkish: *ayak*) or more exactly the last syllable of the latter (*rawī*), or which comes between two words forming a rhyme. The *radif* may consist of one or more suffixes, particles or independent words. The old theorists however disputed the quality of redif to repeated suffixes and gave different names to each of the (Arabic) letters representing them: *maḥ* (first letter); *sharḥ* (second); *manid* (third); *shāḥ* (fourth). In Persian and Turkish prosody the same redif is repeated at the end of all the lines of a piece of poetry.

Although it made its appearance in Turkish as early as the 13th century, the redif is an especially Persian invention. Indeed in the national Turkish poetry (syllabic metre) suffixes or particles repeated at the end of the lines count as rhyme (Kowalski, *Die strophische und formale poetische Indogermanische*, Cracow, 1922, p. 33). The redif existed in classical Arabic only in an embryonic form and

under another name (Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique*, p. 143). The redif fell into disuse in Turkey in the 15th century, probably under the influence of French poetry.

In addition to this special use in prosody the name redif is sometimes given to the second term of an *itlā'*, i.e. of a hemistich (*mishwafje*) of which the two terms rhyme or are alliterative; as for example Pers. *fulān kāhman, dāḡ u-lāḡ, khān u-lāḡ*, Turk. *purca purca, ufak ufak* (*Burhān-i jāpī*, Turk. transl. p. 128, 323, 328, 371). *Mutarādif* (*müterādif*) means "synonym".

2. Turkish military usage. — Mahmūd II gave the name of redif (*zühür redife-i mençure*) to the reserve army created in 1834 (Joanin and van Gaver, *Turquie*, p. 425). The historian Luṭfi (iv, 144) speaking of the project for this army, under the year 1249 (May 21 1833—May 9 1834) explains the meaning of the term by saying that it was a force that "came after" the regular army (*muwaffaq-ye redif olaraḡ*). They were therefore not soldiers who had, at need, to mount behind the cavalry on the croup, like the Roman velites. Redif was contrasted with *niḡān* or *zühür-i niḡāniye* or *zühür-i muwaffaq*, taken in the strict sense of active or regular army (standing army) and with *iftiyāl* "reserve of the regular army". For the lack of an exact equivalent we may say militia in English and "armée de réserve" or "garde nationale" in French. The German term "Landwehr" is perhaps nearest it but in the Prussian rather than the Austrian sense. Sometimes the redif are included in the *niḡāniye*, taking the latter term in a wider sense of regular or disciplined troops (synonym *mürettib*). Luṭfi (*loc. cit.*) calls the redif *bir newā'* *zühür-i niḡāniye* "a kind of regular troops".

The characteristic feature of the redif army was the existence of permanent cadres, whence its mixed character. It was linked with the regular army by its officers and with the reserve by its men (*efrād-i redife*). It was the object of its creators that this army should provide a large number of men if necessary without imposing too long a period of service on the rural population (Luṭfi, *op. cit.*).

It was decided from the first that the redif should consist of battalions (*tabur*) and indeed this organisation by battalion depots (*tabur dā'irleri*) remained in force as long as the redif existed. The commanders of these battalions (*biḡabāshī*) were at first chosen from the chief local families (*maḡalleri khānēdānīdan*). The first battalions formed in 1250 (May 10 1834 to April 28 1835) were those of the *sanḡaḡs* [q. v.] of Karaḡar Sāhib, Anḡara, K'angirī (Çankiri), Siroz and Monteshe. Ismā'il Bey, hereditary Kurd governor of Palu, was appointed colonel of the three battalions in the *kaḡs* known as those of the "Imperial Mines" (*ma'adin-i ḡumūyūn*) in the *eyālet* of Siwās (Luṭfi, iv, 171). There were three to four battalions to the *sanḡaḡ*, or 10 to 12 to the *eyālet*. The officers received a quarter of the usual pay, but were only expected to serve and wear uniform two days a week (Muṡṡaf Nuri Pāshā, *Ner-i dī al-Waḡā'at*, iv, 109).

In 1252 (April 18, 1836 to April 6, 1837), the redif was organised in wide groups with a high command: *maḡshirlik* (*mārshirlik*) or "marshalship" [cf. *mūshir*] of redif, conferred upon the *wāllis*. The first were those of the *eyālets* of Karaman (Konya), Khudwēndigār (Brussa: guard or *shāḡir*), Anḡara, Aydin, Erzurum, Edirne. At

the same time plans were made to raise the money required for this purpose. The wall-m Marshals were given the *şarwān* (*şarwān*) or cloaks of their new rank. Just as the troops of the line (*menşure*) were distinguished from those of the guard (*hāşş*) so there were *redif-i menşure* and *redif-i hāşş*. The appointment of commanders of divisions was to follow (for details see the *Takriri-ı ʿāl* or report of the grand vizier Mehmed Emin Ra'ûl Pasha in *Lütfi*, v. 165—170). If we may believe the *hāşş-i hümayûn* promulgated on this occasion by Mahmûd II, these first steps gave every satisfaction (*ibid.*, p. 74).

When the Military School (*mekteb-i harbiye*) instituted in 1251 began to supply officers, the redif under arms was converted into active forces and the officers were sent back to their *odjaks* (*Ner-i ʿidî ul-Wağûʿat*, iv. 109—110). The service as redif (*hâdimet-i redife*) was now definitely to assume the character of a kind of period of service in the reserve or intermittent service the duration of which (*müddet-i redife*) was to be fixed under conditions which we shall explain below.

In the *hāşş-i hümayûn* of Gülkhané (Nov. 31, 1839) there is an allusion to an approaching improvement in the system of regional recruiting. In 1838, five years had been fixed as the period of service in the regular army, previously practically unlimited (one saw young married soldiers leaving their families for life), but this measure did not immediately make its effect felt (cf. von Moltke, *Lettres sur l'Orient*, n.d., p. 211, letter N^o xlvii.).

On Sept. 6, 1843 the military law of the *ser-asker* Rıfâ Pasha (Engelhardt, i. 71) was promulgated, a law of fundamental importance, half French and half German in character, the principles of which have survived even in the most recent legislation; it confirmed the period of regular service at five years (later reduced to four), to be followed by a period of seven years during which a redif could be recalled to the colours for a month each year (later every two years). Each *ordu* (army corps) was to have its redif contingent (*inf-i redif*) placed in time of peace under the orders of a brigadier-general (*huz*, brigade) who lived at the headquarters of the *ordu*. In 1853 (Ubicini, i. 456) the redif were organised into 4 (out of 6) *ordus*, namely those of *hāşş* (Scutari [Asia] and Smyrna), *Derise-âdet* (Istanbul and Ankara), Rumeli (Manastir) and Anatolia (Harput). The *ordu* of Arabistân and the *Irâk* were still to be organised. Ubicini adds this observation: "By means of this organisation the government has secured.... a force at its disposal equal to the regular army and capable of being moved in a few weeks either to the line of the Balkans or to any other point in the empire". According to Bianchi (*Guide de la conversation*, 1852, p. 230), the organised reserve (*mürettib redif*) was then 150,000 men compared with 300,000 of the regular army.

Hüseyin 'Awat Pasha's law of 1869, more clearly French in character (Aristarchi, iii. 514; Engelhardt, ii. 37 *seq.*), provided for 4 years active service and one of *ihtiyâz* or in the active reserve, a period of 6 years in the redif in two bans (*inf-i muhaddem* and *inf-i tall*) of 3 years each (according to Engelhardt of 4 and 2 years respectively). In practice in 1877 there were 3 bans, the third (*inf-i thâlik*) being represented by the territorial army (*mustahf*) then mobilised (Zboinski, p. 98). A conscript who obtained a lucky number

in the draw was drafted directly into the redif army (art. 17).

The law of 27th Safar 1304 = 13rd Tishrin-i thâni 1302 (Nov. 25, 1886; résumé by Lamouche, p. 77 and Young, ii. 394) prepared by a commission of reorganisation which included Muzaffar Wall Rıfâ Pasha and von der Goltz Pasha, fixed the period of redif service at 9 years, but was soon afterwards followed by a special law (*redif kanunu*) of 10th Muharram 1305 (Sept. 28, 1887). According to this, which was however not put into force till 1892, the period of redif service was 8 years. The ranks in the redif were the same as in the regular army from general of division down to sergeant-major. These officers formed at the same time the personnel of the recruiting offices for the whole army.

According to the law regulating the uniforms of the army on land (*elbise-i askerîye nişân-nâmesi*) of the 29th Djamâdî I 1327 = 5th Hazirân 1325 (June 18, 1909), the redif soldiers wore as distinctive badge a dark green (*neşr*) piping (*zib*, Pers. *zib*, Arab. *zib*) at the bottom of the collar (*yaka*) of the tunic (*şifak* or *şifet*, modern spelling: *ceket*, *ceket*). The officers wore a piece of cloth of the same colour 7 centimetres in length fastened on the collar of the undress tunic (*ceket*) or the full dress tunic (*setre*, older *setri*; cf. Pers. *sudre*) (*Düstür, Terâbi-ı thâni*, i. 276; A. Biliotti and Ahmad Sedâd, *Législation ottomane*, Paris 1912, p. 171 *seq.*).

The redif system was abandoned by the Young Turks. The law of 18th Ramadân 1330 = 18th Aghastis 1328 (Aug. 31, 1912) without proclaiming the dissolution of the corps ordered the formation of units of *mustahf* with elements furnished by the battalion depots in the second inspection (*müfettişlik*) of redif (*Düstür, Terâbi-ı thâni*, iv. 615). The Young Turks have been reproached with this measure and some have even seen in it the cause of the Turkish defeat in the Balkan War.

Bibliography: 1. Garcin de Tassy, *Shéhérazade et proverbes des langues de l'Orient musulman*, Paris 1873, index under *redif*, *radif*, *tarâduf*, *muwâdîf*; Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols de Perse*, p. 28, note; Mu'allim Nâkî, *İftihâhât-ı idabiyi*, Istanbûl 1307, s.v. *redif*, *radif*, *müreddif*, p. 78, 84 and 86. Cf. also the Bibliography of the article 'ARDU.

2. Léon Lamouche, *L'organisation militaire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1895; II. Zboinski, *Armée Ottomane (loi de 1869)*, Paris 1877; L. v. Schöller, *Das türkische Heer*, Leipzig n.d.; Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, Paris 1853; Ed. Engelhardt, *La Turquie et le Tanzimat*, Paris 1882; Aristarchi Bey, *Législation Ottomane*, publ. by Démétrios Nicolaidès, part 3, Constantinople 1874; George Young, *Corps de Droit Ottoman*, vol. II., Oxford 1905. — (The collections of Turkish laws or *düstür* generally refrain from including the principal laws relating to the army and the two works just mentioned contain only a very few).

(J. DENY)

REFTİ, an Ottoman poet and Hurûfî. Of Refî's life we only have a few hints from himself; the Ottoman biographers and historians do not seem to mention him at all. He himself describes how in his youth he studied many branches of knowledge but did not know what he should believe, and how sometimes he turned to the Sunna, sometimes to philosophy and sometimes to

materialism. He often travelled a great distance to visit a particular scholar but always was disappointed. The poet Nesimi [q.v.] was the first to teach him the grace of God and the truth, and ordered him to teach this truth in his turn to the people of Rûm, and for this purpose he had to speak in Turkish. He therefore wrote his *Beşâr-nâme*, "the message of joy", which he finished on the first Friday of Ramadân 811 (Jan. 18, 1409). This work is not yet printed; it is quite short and written in the same metre as 'Ashk Paşa's *Gharibnâme*, a *remel* of six feet with irregular pseudo. The Hurîfî teaching is expounded in a very prosaic style, the merits of the names and letters, the sacred number 32, the prophets, the throne of God, the human countenance, the splitting of the moon, Faḍl Allāh [q.v.], the founder of the Hurîfî sect — all this is dealt with from the usual Hurîfî point of view. As sources an *'Arīknâme*, a *Ḍiyā'idān-nâme*, and a *Maḥabbat-nâme* are quoted; the first and third are probably the works of the same names by Faḍl Allāh, the second according to Rien was written by Aḍlāl Kāhī (d. 707 = 1307).

Another of Refî's works is the "Book of Treasure" (*Gemî'nâme*). It is printed in the Sтамбул edition of the *Divân* of Nesimi. The *Gemî'nâme* is better as poetry and on the whole less Hurîfî than generally Şafî in tone. Man from the Hurîfî and philosophic point of view, Faḍl Allāh and Ahmad (= Muhammad), the 72 sects, the greatest Name (*ism-i a'zam*), the water of life etc. are discussed in it.

Nesimi and his pupil Refî seem to be the only Ottoman Hurîfî poets of importance, and while the sect, in spite of all persecutions, continued to exist long after and even had connections with the Bektāshîye, these two poets as such do not seem to have produced any school. So far as I am aware know no historian of Turkish literature has taken any interest in Refî, until quite recently Köprülü-zâde Mehmed Fu'âd, who has even promised us a special study of him.

Bibliography: Gibb, *H.O.F.*, I, 336, 341, 344, 351, 369—380; Mehmed Fu'âd, *Türk Edebiyatında İbî Mânâvîler*, Sтамбул 1918, p. 363, 383. — MSS. of the *Beşâr-nâme*: Vienna, Flügel, II, 261 12, N° 1968 (incomplete) and 1970; London, British Museum, Riru, p. 164 19. Add. 5086; of the *Gemî'nâme*: Vienna, Flügel, I, 720, N° 778, fol. 5—8; printed in the *Divân-i Nesimi*, Sтамбул 1260 (1844), p. 9—14; both works in the Browne MS. A 43, Turkish, see E. G. Browne, *Further Notes on the Literature of the Hurîfîs and their connection with the Bektāshî Order of Dervishes*, in *J.R.A.S.*, xxix, 1907, p. 556—558; R. A. Nicholson, *A descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Mss. belonging to the late E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1932, p. 43, 49. (W. BJÖRKMAN)

RE'İS EL-KÜTTAB or **RE'İS EFENDİ** (Ar., used in Turkey), properly "chief of the men of the pen", a high Ottoman dignitary, directly under the grand vizier, originally head of the chancery of the Imperial Divân (*divân-i humâyûn*), later secretary of state or chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs. According to d'Herbelot he was called also *re'is kâtib*.

This office, unlike many others, is purely Ottoman, at least as regards the particular line of development that it took. Establishing itself at the expense of

the functions of the *nizâmîdî* [q.v.], we may say that it owes nothing to the influence of the more or less franciscan Saldjûks, nor to the Byzantines. In its origins it seems rather to be connected with a more general and more vague institution of the East, one which deserves more profound study: that of the secretaries of the *divân* or chiefs of the secretariat of the *divân*. This office is found in different Muslim countries under different names: *germân* among the Mongols of Persia, *divân begi* among the Timûrids, *munshi* in Persia, (cf. Chardin, VI, 175; Ekhlâḡ Celebi, II, 267). In the Ottoman provinces there was attached also to the *divân* an important official known as the *divân efendisi*; in Egypt, under Mehmed 'Alî, the *divân efendî* became a kind of president of the council of ministers. The *re'is ul-küttâb* were in brief the *divân efendisi* of the capital. It is perhaps to this that we owe the use of the title *re'is efendî*, by which they were more commonly known. We know that the term *efendî* was generally applied to people of the pen. This connection seems to have already been noticed by E. Blochet (*Voyage en Orient de Carlter Finon*, Paris 1920, p. 83).

Until the time of Sulaimân the Magnificent, the title *re'is ul-küttâb* (or *re'is efendî*) was not used. At least this is what we are told by Ahmed Resmî, who quotes in this connection the *Beda' ul-Wahâ'î* of the historian Kodja Hüseyin Efendî of Sarajevo (cf. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 186). The latter, who was himself *re'is ul-küttâb*, says that before Sulaimân, the official correspondence was in the hands of the *min-i aḥkâm* or "depository of the decisions (of the Divân)" along with the *nizâmîdî*. This point of view has been adopted by other historians (v. Hammer; cf. also the *Sûlûm-i Neḡret-i kâfirîyye*).

There is however no agreement as to who was the first *re'is ul-küttâb*; it is usually said to have been Lijālî (Djelâl)-zâde Mustafa Celebi [q.v.] (cf. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 102). This well known historian, whose genealogy is taken back to the legendary founder of Byzantium, Yanko b. Madyan, was *re'is ul-küttâb* in 931 (1524—1525) before becoming *nizâmîdî*, but the *Nuḥḥet ul-Tavâriḡ* of Mehmed b. Mehmed refers to the death in 930 (1523—1524) of a *re'is ul-küttâb* of the name of Haidar Efendî. According to other indications, it would even appear that the office goes back to Mehmed II [cf. the article *NIẒÂMÎDÎ*].

The *riyâset* or office of *re'is efendî* lasted over three centuries during which its holder changed 130 times, the average tenure of office being 2 years and 5 months, which reveals a remarkable lack of ministerial stability: some of the occupants held the office twice, thrice and even four times.

Duties of the *re'is efendî*. As secretary of state the *re'is* kept records of memoirs and reports (*tezkîr* and *taḥrîr*) presented to the sultân by the grand vizier acting as representative of the government and of the Divân. These documents which were prepared by the *imâdî divân-i humâyûn* or *imâdîdî* (referendar or reporter of the Imperial Divân) were brought in a bag (*hîr*) kept for the purpose to the ceremonial sittings of the Divân by the *re'is* himself who handed them to the grand vizier. After being read they were given to a special officer, the *tezkîdî*, whose duty it was to present them to the sultân.

As chancellor the *re'is* had a kind of jurisdiction over all the civil functionaries and was the immediate

head of the department of the Imperial Divân (*divân-ı hümayûn kâlemi*).

This chancellery was divided into three offices (*oda* or *kalem*):

1. the *beylik*, the most important, saw to the despatch of imperial rescripts (*firmân*), orders of the viziers, and in general all ordinances (*emâir*) other than those of the department of finance (*defterdâr dâ'irisi*). This office kept copies of them as did the grand vizier also. Ordinances bearing on the back the signatures of the clerk, of the chief editor (*mümevvis*), and of the head of the office (*beylikçisi*) were submitted by the latter to the *re'is* who placed his sign (*re'ia*) upon them and, if it was a *firmân*, sent it to the *nishânçisi* for the *ingâra* (q. v.) to be placed upon it. — The *beylik* in addition retained the originals of civil and military regulations (*kânûn* or *kânûn-nâme*) usually elaborated by the *nishânçisi* as well as of treaties and capitulations (*'ahd-nâme*) with foreign powers. The *re'is* had to consult these treaties, notably when certifying the *der-kenâr* or "marginal" answers put by his subordinates on the requests or notes, known as verbal (*tahtir*), which the ambassadors addressed to the grand vizier. It is this side of his activity which, gradually becoming more and more important and absorbing, ended by making the *re'is* a Minister of Foreign Affairs.

2. office of the *tekmil* or "annual renewal" of the diplomas of the governors of provinces (*kerâet*), of the brevets of the *mollâs* or judges in towns of the first class (*tahtîvî*), of the brevets of the timariots or holders of military fiefs (*paşâ firmânı*).

3. office of the *ru'ûs* or "provisions" of different officials, as well as of the orders for pensions from the treasury (*irâzî*) or from *wakfs* (cf. the details of the organisation of this office in Mooradgâ d'Ohsson, vii. 161).

The *re'is* accompanied the grand vizier to the audiences which the sultan gave him and to those which the grand vizier himself gave to ambassadors. He shared with his master the midday meal as did the *taunûh bâşî* (cf. ÇAWW) and the two *tekereddîs*, except on Wednesdays when these two were replaced by the four judges of Istanbul.

In the official protocol the *re'is* had the same rank as the *taunûh bâşî* with whom he walked in official processions, before the *defterdâr* (which showed he was of lower rank than the latter).

The *efşâb* or epistolary formula to which they were entitled will be found in Feridûn, *Münihâfât*, p. 10. It is the same as for the *aghas* of the stirrup (cf. RIK'ÂNDÂR) and the *defter imni*. For the dress of the *re'is* see Brindesi, *Ancient Costumes Turcs*, pl. 2; Castellan, iv. 107.

According to Mooradgâ d'Ohsson, the *re'is* used to act as agents for the khâns of the Crimea.

Administrative career of the *re'is*. The *re'is*, like all Ottoman officials, were chosen by the sultan or grand vizier as they pleased, but, except in case of appointment by favour, they followed a fixed line of promotion (*tarîf*) in the administration. It was in the administrative offices, i.e. among the *kâhfiyân* (Persian plur. which was given as an honorific title to the principal clerks or *kâhfiya* or *kâlem pâshîleri*) that this career was spent.

In examining the *Sefinet ul-Rûciâ* of Ahmed Resmî, we find that up to the *re'is* Boyallî Mehmed Efendi (Pâshâ) (d. 977 = 1569-1570) there is no information available about the career of the *re'is*,

but starting with him we find that the *re'is* were regularly chosen from among the former *tekereddîs* of the *matars* or of the grand vizier. From Sheikh-sâde 'Abdi Efendi (d. in 1014 = 1605-1606) the *re'is* were mainly taken from the *matars mektûbçisi* or private secretaries of the grand vizier. These secretaries were themselves at the head of an office (*oda*) which contained a very small number of officials (*kâhfiye* or *kâffa*, pl. *kâhfiyâ*); there were only two between the years 1090 and 1100. When the number increased (at a later date there were about 30) the career of the future *re'is* was as follows: *kâhfiye* in the office in question, called also *mektûbî-i gadr-i 'Alî adârî*, then *ser-kâhfiye* or *baş-kâffa* "chief clerk", then *mektûbçisi*. The post of *mektûbçisi* was much sought after. It brought its holder into close contact with the grand vizier and it was then very easy to advance oneself. More rarely the future *re'is* rose through the similar but less important office of secretary to the lieutenant to the grand vizier or Kâhya Bey (*kethüdâ kâtihi adârî*).

The *riyâset* did not mark the end of a career but gave access to still higher posts (see art. *nişânçisi* for the old rules of promotion by which the *re'is* became *nishânçisi*). It was one of what were known as the "six [principal] dignities", *sittü-i sâde*, namely, the *nishânçisi*, *defterdâr*, *re'is ul-kuttâb*, *defter imni*, *shikhs-i thâni defterdâr*, *shikhs-i thâlih defterdâr* (Ahmed Râim, *Târîkh*, p. 756).

According to the *Nâzhat-nâme* (p. 39-40 of the French translation; cf. this Encyclopedia, iv. 815-816), the *re'is* was under the authority of the Grand Defterdâr (for financial matters only).

Increasing importance of the office of *re'is*. — The growing influence of the *re'is* is explained by the increasing importance of foreign policy in Turkey (the Eastern question).

Down to the end of the xvth century the *nishânçisi* were certainly superior to the *re'is*: they controlled and even revised the orders and decisions of the *divân* (*ahkâm*), but from the xvth century onwards *re'is* like Okdu-sâde Mehmed Shâh Efendi, Lâmi 'Alî Çelebi and Hükmî Efendi shed a certain lustre on their office. From 1060 (1650) the incapacity of certain *nishânçisi* precipitated the decline of their office in spite of the ephemeral efforts by grand viziers like Shehid 'Alî Pâshâ and of the *nishânçisi* appointed by him (Râhid Efendi and Selim Efendi). It was in this period that the office of *beylikçisi* was created (cf. above).

The Ottoman protocol (*teahvîfât*) was nevertheless still to retain for a long time traces of the originally rather subordinate position of the *re'is*. For example they did not sit in the office of the *Divân* itself, called *Divân-khâne* (in the Top Kapu Sarayı or "Old Serai"), but remained seated outside of the room in a place called *re'is tahtîrî*, "the bench of the *re'is*", where there were also seats for certain other officials to wait upon. In the formal sittings, even in those like the distribution of pay (*culûfe*) to the Janissaries which took place in the presence of foreign ambassadors, the part played by the *re'is* was rather limited. He carried in with slow step and the sleeves of his *sar* turned up the bag containing the *tahtîrî* (cf. above). He kissed the hem (*etek*) of the grand vizier's robe, placed the bag on his left, kissed the hem of his robe again and withdrew to his place. He came in again to open the bag, handed the documents to

the grand vizier, took them back from him to fold them (*haghlamaş*), sealed them and gave them to the *al-hakim*. If he was unable to be present, the bag of the *al-hakim* was handed to the grand vizier by the *huyat kashraf* (*Kanun-nume* of 'Abd al-Rahmān Pasha, p. 85, 123 etc.).

Lucas (*Second Voyage*, Paris 1712, p. 216) writes that during the audience given by the grand vizier to the French Ambassador 'le Ray Affendy ou Grand Chancelier demoura debout et appuie contre la muraille'.

Things were changed at the reform of the Diwan effected at the beginning of his reign (1792) by Selim, desirous of limiting the power of the grand vizier. The old Diwan consisted of six *ustas* of the dome (having only one consultative voice), of the Mufti (Shaikh al-Islam) and the two *kashars*. The new Diwan was to consist of 10 members by right of office and others chosen in different ways (about 40 in all). The members by right of office were the Kiahya Bey, the Re'is Efendi, the Grand Defterdar, the Celebi Efendi, the Tersane Emiri, the Cawush Bashi etc. (Zinkeisen, *Geschichte*, vii., 1863, p. 311).

The office of *re'is* tended more and more to become the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Sublime Porte, parallel to the post of Kiahya Bey (Interior).

Suppression of the dignity of *re'is*. — The title of *re'is* was suppressed by the *khass-i kumayyir* of Sultan Mahmūd II addressed on Friday 23rd Ithm 'l-Ka'da 1251 (March 11, 1836) to the grand vizier Mehmed Emin Pasha. The Turkish text will be found in the *Silsüme* of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the French translation (or at least parts of it) was published in the *Memoirs Ottomans* of April 23, 1836 (according to A. Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, p. 38, note 1). This document at the same time created two new ministries (*neziwet*) which in memory of their origin remained to the end in the same building as the grand vizierate [cf. *Kanun 'Ali* in Suppl.: 1, the Ministry of the Interior (originally of civil affairs or *umūr-u mühtye*, later *al-hakim*) replacing the department of the Kiahya Bey, and 2, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*kharridjye*) replacing that of the *re'is*. The preamble said that, abandoning the old regulations of the service, the sultan had thought it advisable to create real posts of *neziwet* (*nezaret*) and not honorary ones, but without its being necessary to give the new *neziwet* of foreign affairs the title of *paşa* [q. v.], "which is mainly a military one".

Bibliography: By far the most important source is the work known as *Sefinet al-Ra'is* which consists of: 1. Ahmad Resm's work (Bühinger, *G.O.R.*, p. 309 77.) which contains the biographies of 64 *re'is* down to Raghīb Mehmed Efendi (1157 = 1744), and 2. its continuation by Sulaimān Fā'ik Efendi which contains the biographies of 30 *re'is* down to Ahmad Wā'il Efendi at the beginning of the sixteenth century. According to the preface to Sulaimān Fā'ik's (not Fā'ik) continuation, Ahmad Resm had entitled his work *Haftat al-Ra'is*, in imitation of the *Hadith al-Wuzar* of 'Othmān-ude Tā'ib, but changed it at the suggestion of Raghīb Pasha to *Sefinet al-Ra'is* (the references in the Catalogue of Turkish MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale by E. Blochet, ii. 158, should be corrected accordingly). The word *haftat* apparently makes no sense, that of *haftat* which is usually

found in other works (Flügel, *Cat.*, ii. 407, N^o. 1250; Bühinger; Brusall Mehmed Tahir, iii. 59 note), does not seem correct either. One ought undoubtedly to read *haftat* (which rhymes with the *haftat* of the prototype). The *Sefinet al-Ra'is* was published by the State Press in Istanbul in 1269.

Cf. also in addition to the references in the text: Mouradgea d'Ossion, *Etat de l'Empire Ottoman*, vii., 1824, index; Joseph von Hammer, *Die osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna 1815, ii., index; *Kanun-nume* of Tewki'i (*nishandis*) 'Abd al-Rahmān Pasha, written in 1087 (1676-1677) and ed. by F. Köprülü (*M. T. M.*, p. 308); Es'ad Efendi, *Tahtirifāt-i Devlet-i 'Aliya*, p. 85, 123 etc.; *Silsüme-i Nezaret-i Kharridjye*, 1st year, 1301 (1885), Impimerie Ebüzziya, Istanbul (contains in addition a historical resumé and a chronological list of all the grand viziers and all the *re'is*); Charles Petry, *A View of the Levant, particularly of Constantinople* etc., London 1743, p. 36. — On the *qāhik al-diwan* or *ra'is* (?) *al-diwan*, see Kalkashandī, *Sudh al-A'gha*, i. 101 199; vi. 14, 17-18, 50; Masak, *Code de la Chancellerie d'Etat*... d'Ithm al-Sayrafi, in *R. I. F. C.*, xi. 79 199. — Among the Saldjūks, the offices of *qāhik al-diwan* and *perwāna* were quite separate: cf. Houtuma, *Recueil d. Textes*... *Seldj.*, iii. 105. (J. DENV)

REIYO, the name given in Muslim Spain to the administrative circle (*kūra*) comprising the south of the Peninsula, the capital of which was successively Archidona (Arabic: *Urdjudhūna*) and Malaga. The usual Arabic orthography is رايو; in particular this is the form found in the *Muḥḥam al-Buldān* of Yāqūt; but some Spanish MSS. give the true orthography راي, more in keeping with the local pronunciation Reiyu (Raiyu) attested by Ibn Hawkal. It is only, as Dory thought, a transcription of the Latin *regio* (no doubt *Malacitana regio*); the suggestion put forward by Gayangos of a connection with the Persian town-name al-Ray is of course untenable.

When the fiefs in the south of Spain were assigned to the former companions of Balj b. Bishr [q. v.], the district of Reiyu was allotted to the *ghund* of Jordan (*al-Urdunn*). During the Umayyad caliphate of Cordova, the *kūra* of Reiyu was bounded by those of Cabra and Algeciras in the west, by the Mediterranean in the south and by the *kūra* of Elvira in the east.

Bibliography: al-Idrisi, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. and transl. Dory and de Goeje, p. 174, 204 of the text, 209, 250 of the transl.; Yāqūt, *Muḥḥam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 892 (cf. ii. 826); Ibn 'Abd al-Mu'nis al-Himyari, *al-Rawd al-mufar*, Spain, N^o. 81; Dory, *Recherches*, i. 317-320; Alemany Bolufer, *La geografía de la Península ibérica en los escritores árabes*, Granada 1921, p. 118; E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane au X^e siècle*, Paris 1932, p. 116-118.

(E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL)

RESHT, first a district, then a town and lastly the capital of the province of Gilan in Persia. As V. Barthold points out (*Gilan so rukopis' Tumansego*, in *Bull. de l'Inst. Cauc.-d'Hist. et d'Archéol.*, Tiflis 1927, vol. vi.), one

information regarding the history and historical geography of Gilān is so far very scanty. Le Strange's remark that the position of the chief towns of Gilān cannot be exactly given is still true. The Tamanski MS. (tenth century) is the earliest to inform us that before the foundation of towns their names were already in existence as those of districts. In particular seven districts are mentioned in the eastern part of Gilān on this side of the river — Biopish (Islām having penetrated there from the east), and eleven in the western part on the other side of the river — Biepas. Among the seven eastern districts we find one called Lāhidjān (i.e. Lāhidjān) and among the eleven western ones that of Resht. The towns of this name did not exist at this time. They are not mentioned, in fact, until the Mongol period.

General. Gilān is now divided into 19 districts (of which five are called *Hançe-ye-Tewānā*), that of Mawāt with Resht, capital of the province, being the most important. According to Rahino (1917), the town of Resht has a population of 30,000 and the district of Mawāt 90,500 out of the total of 339,300 for the province. These figures must have increased by now. Resht, also called Dār al-Marz or "frontierland", lies between two small rivers, the Sāhrūdār or Seigālān in the east and the Gowher-rūd in the west, which unite and flow into the Bay of Enzeli (now Peblewī), which is eight miles from the town. The bazars occupy a considerable part of the centre of the town, which is traversed by dark and narrow streets. Only a few years ago Resht had very few broad streets and was only partly paved. Recently there have been steps taken to improve matters. The town is divided into 7 *maḥalles*: Zahedān, Maḥalle-ye-bāzār, Khumairān, Khumairān-e-Zāhedān, Ustād Serā, Cumār Serā and Kiyāb. It has some 6,000 houses, 3,300 shops, 20 caravanserais for merchants and 25 for caravans, 40 mosques, 12 sanctuaries, 36 tekkes, 6 medresses, 35 baths, and 7 bridges (all these figures refer to the period before the War). Among the mosques only the Masjid-i Saḡī, the oldest, seems to be of any interest. Hasan Beg, author of the *Aḥsan al-Tawāriḡ*, calls it Masjid-i Saḡī and adds that when Ismā'il Shāh fled from Ardabil to Gilān, he spent some time near this mosque. In its courtyard there is a well into which women throw silver in order that their prayers may be granted. The Imām-Zāde Saiyid Abū Djā'far is the most important sanctuary of Resht, near the governor's palace. The holy man buried there is called by 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Fīmenī Ustādī Djā'far whence the name of the quarter Ustādī Serā. The ladies of Resht have always had the reputation of being of easy virtue. According to a poet of the country, Mewlā Sa'īd Gilānī: "the young women of Resht, like intoxicated peacocks, used to go seeking a purchaser in every bazaar, holding in their hands the knot of their trousers".

There are in Resht two important clans: the Tāife-ye Hājjī Samī (who came originally from Tabriz) and the Āle Umāḡhe (of very humble local country origin). The language of the common people of Resht is a dialect of Gileki. The upper and middle classes use Persian. Āzari-Turkish is also spoken. The inhabitants are all Shī'īs except for a few Bahā'īs. Gilān was converted to Islām only at the beginning of the tenth century by the 'Alid Imām Hasan b. 'Alī al-Utrush after a popular

rising against the Džustānids (cf. Barthold, *Istoriĭe-Geograficheski Očerĭ Iranu*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 156). All the people of the Biepas were of the Hanbali school except the chiefs of Fīmen and the inhabitants of Kūčepahān (Shāh'īs). It was only after the annexation of Gilān to the kingdom of Persia by the Šāfawīs that the people of the Biepas became converted from the Sunna to the Shī'a. According to another story however, Islām was preached in Dailam and Gilān in the year 290 (903) by the Saiyid Nāḡir Kabir, one of the 'Alid pretenders to the caliphate, who belonged to the Zaidī Shī'a, *of which he was one of the learned men and an author"; in this account the conversion to Islām is placed under the auspices of the Shī'a (cf. *Shekret-nāme ġam nām* by S. A. Kasrawī Tabriz, Teherān 1928, i. 32). The last traces of the religion of Zoroastrianism have not yet disappeared from Gilān. People look for white cocks because their crowing presages good fortune; the custom is observed of lighting a fire and jumping over it (*lār zhenbe-ye āgher-e sāl*). On the road from Fūmen, about one mile from Resht, a place preserves the name of Ategh-kade. S. A. Kasrawī (*op. cit.*, p. 31) does not however seem certain that Zoroastrianism was widespread in Gilān. Generally speaking, the people were indifferent in matters of religion. We may note however that many trees, called *saints*, *šir* or *busurg-wār*, are objects of worship, especially on the part of women (cf. notably: Wellān near the 'Arḡk bridge; Čehel Dokhter and Aghā Bībī Zainab).

Resht is the principal export and import market for trade with Russia. Its importance as the economic centre of Gilān varies with the rise and fall in the silk-culture. Barthold thinks (*op. cit.*) that the development of urban life and industry in Gilān belongs to a period later than the tenth century. The geographers of the tenth century mention the cultivation of the silkworm and silks only in Tabaristān. In the thirteenth century and later the silk of Gilān was particularly famous. At the end of this century, the silk of Gilān, according to Marco Polo, was sought by Genoese merchants, whose vessels first appeared in the Caspian shortly before Marco Polo wrote.

History. S. A. Kasrawī (*op. cit.*) gives a sketch of the dynasties of the Džustānids (end of the second to the beginning of the fourth century A.H.), Kangarids (beginning of the fourth to the middle of the fifth century A.H.), and Sillārids (fourth century) who, especially the first, played a certain part in the destinies of Gilān.

In Rahino's work we have a complete historical survey from the Mongol conquest (1307) to the Persian revolution. The Tamanski MS., unknown to Rahino, contains some information about the preceding period.

In it Gilān is described as a populous and wealthy country. All the work was done by women. The men had no occupation except fighting. Throughout Dailam and Gilān in every village there were one or two fights a day; every village fought with every other. Many people were often killed in a single day. These quarrels and battles went on until the men went to war or died or grew old. When they grew old they became pious and were called *muḥtāḡ mārāsker* (knowing the customs). In all the districts of Gilān, if any one insulted another or became intoxicated or committed any act that caused injury, he was punished with

40—80 beatings with a rod. They had little towns with mosques (*djams*) like Gilābād, Shāl, Dulāb, Ballamān Shahr, in which there were bazaras: the merchants in them were foreigners, all the others were the pious *sa'āfiyyūn*. In all parts the people lived on *šīr* (meaning unknown), rice and fish. From Gilān were exported brushes, felts, praying-carpets and fish to all the countries of the universe.

The Tumanski MS. does not give the distances between the towns nor any form of itinerary. The only one known is that of Maḳdiat who wrote some years later than the author of the Tumanski MS. The principal town of Gilān at this time was Dulāb. As Rabino points out, the only period of independence in the history of the district of Resht (Mawār) was between the beginning of the eighth century (706 = 1306—1307) and the end of the ninth (880 = 1475—1476) which was spent in fighting with neighbouring chiefs of Fūmen and Lāhidjān. The former were victorious and for a time the Biepas, including Resht, was under the lāshākid dynasty of Fūmen. With the coming of sulṭān Ahmad Khān of Biepiāh the Lāhidjān dynasty won the upper hand. This period lasted from 911 (1506) till 1592 i.e. till the annexation of Gilān to Persia by Shāh 'Abbās. Among the events of this period was the establishment in Gilān, of which Resht became the administrative and economic centre, of the "Muscovite Company" founded in 1557 (Anthony Jenkinson, Richard and Robert Johnson), who taking the Russian route sent ten expeditions into Persia between 1561 and 1581. It is to note-worthy that the last independent ruler of Gilān, Ahmad Shāh, sent ambassadors to Moscow to seek help against Shāh 'Abbās and obtained promises of protection which however came to nothing. The Cossacks at the same time were plundering in Gilān and Resht and trying to gain the support of the Persian court. The most notable invasion was that of Stenka Razin who sacked Resht in 1045 (1636). On the 2nd Safar 1082, the day of Stenka's execution, the Persians in Moscow at the time were invited to be present at it (cf. the magazine *Kāmeš*, No. 12, N.S., Dec. 1, 1921). From 1722 to 1734, Resht and Gilān were occupied by the Russians (Shipov, then Matushkin) invited by the governor who was threatened by the Afghāns. In 1734, Gilān was restored to Persia after a treaty. Rabino quotes a Persian testimony in favour of the Russian occupation. For military reasons the Russians cleared the jungle round Resht.

The history of Gilān and that of Resht, which has always played a preponderant part in it, merges into the general history of Persia after its annexation. We may however touch on a few points in the very modern period short of which Rabino's work stops. During the Persian Revolution, a body of Social Democrats was sent by the Regional Committee of the Caucasus to Resht, and there helped in Feb. 1909 to overthrow the authority of the Shāh and to establish a revolutionary committee which elected as governor the Sepehdār 'Āzam, who played a prominent part in the history of the period along with Serdār Asad Bakhtiyārī (cf. *Persia = Iran in its development*, by Pavlovic and Iranski, Moscow 1925). Resht then became the base of operations of the northern revolutionary army. A few years later, during the Great War, Resht again attracted attention in connection with the movement of the *ġingell*, created by Mirzā Kūzik Khān, the object of which was to fight

against foreign occupation of Persian territory. Assisted by German (von Passchen), Turkish and Russian officers, an armed force was organised to oppose the passage of the English troops under General Dunsterforce on their way to Baku, without much success however (battle of Mendjil, June 12, 1918). The English were able to force their way through with the help of Bicerākhov's detachment of Cossacks and established a garrison in Resht. A second battle with the *ġingell* in the town itself on July 20, 1918 also ended in an English victory. On Aug. 25, peace was signed with Kūzik Khān at Enzeli. At one time, at the end of March 1918, the position of Kūzik Khān was so strong that the capture not only of Āzarwin, but even of Teherān was feared. The English Vice-Consul at Resht, Mr. MacLaren, the manager of the Imperial Bank of Persia in this town, Mr. Oakshot, and Captain Noel of the Intelligence Service were taken prisoners by the *ġingell*, the latter being held for five months (cf. *The Adventures of Dunsterforce* by Maj. Gen. L. C. Dunsterforce, London 1920).

Resht again became the arena of the revolutionary movement in 1920. After the capture of Baku on April 28, 1920, by the Reds, the White Fleet sought refuge in the port of Enzeli, which was held by the English. Comrade Raskolnikov, commander of the Red Fleet in the Caspian, pursuing the Whites occupied Enzeli on May 18, 1920 and forced the English to beat a hurried retreat. The appearance of Soviet troops at Enzeli encouraged the revolutionary movement in Gilān and on June 4, a revolutionary and anti-English government of Northern Persia was proclaimed at Resht with Kūzik Khān at its head.

At the first appearance of Red forces at Enzeli and Resht, the peasants had refused to take the land which the communists proposed to take from the landowners. The peasants feared that the khāns would return and make them pay dearly for their expropriation. But at the second occupation (Oct. 1920) of Resht by the Reds the peasants greeted them frantically. Large numbers of them came among the Red soldiers and said that now they would not deliver rice to the landowners any longer and that they would seize all the harvest. The military situation was however confused. After the evacuation of Enzeli the English at first remained on in expectation of events, but they were forced to retire from Resht in June, setting fire to all their military stores. A month later they left Mendjil blowing up the bridge over the Sefid Rūd and began to return to Baghdad. In the meantime the Teherān Government had sent a military expedition against the revolutionaries in Resht. After initial successes, the Persian Cossack brigade suffered checks. It was after this that the second occupation of Resht by the Reds mentioned above took place.

On their side, the English demanded on Oct. 25, 1920 the dismissal of the Russian (White) officers, the instructors of the brigade, who were to be replaced by English. Muḥammad-Dawla's government refused to agree to this and resigned on Oct. 27. It was replaced on Nov. 1 by that of Sepehdār, which acceded to the English demands, so that all the armed forces of Persia were now under English control. The latter then on Dec. 19, 1920, sent an ultimatum to the Teherān government ordering the *sejids* to be summoned with a view

to the ratification of the Anglo-Persian treaty of Aug. 9, 1919. The English plans were however thwarted by the rapprochement between Persia and the Soviets. On May 20, 1920, Teherân notified Moscow of her recognition of the Soviet Republic of Aḡharbâidjân, and her desire to enter into pourparlers with the R. S. F. S. R. Having reached Moscow at the beginning of November the Persian delegate Muḡhṣar al-Memâlek opened negotiations for the conclusion of a treaty with the Soviets. On Nov. 28, Moscow asked Teherân to accept the Soviet envoy, M. Rothstein. After an attempt in Jan. 1921 to regain the position lost in the north of Persia, where the Soviets still had their troops, by inspiring the Persian note of Jan. 23, which demanded that the Soviets should withdraw their forces from Gilân, the English, in view of Moscow's firm refusal, took the first steps to remove their troops from Persia and on Febr. 26, 1921 Persia and the R. S. F. S. R. signed a treaty re-establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries. On April 25, 1921, M. Rothstein came to Teherân and in the course of the year the Soviet and English troops left Persian territory. Gilân and Reḡht then returned definitely to Persia. The last echoes of the revolution in Gilân were the risings of Kerbellâi Ibrâhim and of Saiyid Djalâl in 1921 and 1922.

Bibliography: H. L. Rabino's work, *Les Provinces Caspiennes de la Perse, Le Gilân*, in *R. M. M.*, xxxii, 1915—1916, is authoritative. It contains a very complete bibliography to which we can only add, in addition to a few books and articles mentioned above in the text, a curious brochure entitled *Tarwiye-ye Huḡûk*, written by Hâdjî Saiyid Mahmûd of Resht and published in 1910. It deals with the agrarian system in Gilân. — *La domination des Dâimâtes* by V. Minorsky (publ. by the Société des Études Iran., N° 3, Paris 1932) may also be mentioned.

(B. NIKITINE)

RESMÎ, AHMAD, Ottoman statesman and historian. Ahmad b. Ibrâhîm, known as Resmî, belonged to Rethymno (Turk. Resmo; hence his epithet?) in Crete and was of Greek descent (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, viii, 202). He was born in 1112 (1700) and came in 1146 (1733) to Stambul where he was educated, married a daughter of the Re'îs Efendi Ta'âddî Mustafâ and entered the service of the Porte. He held a number of offices in various towns (cf. *Sidjill-i 'otmânî*, ii, 380 sq.). In Şafar 1171 (Oct. 1757) he went as Ottoman envoy to Vienna and on his return made a written report of his impressions and experiences. In Dhû l-Ka'da 1176 (May 1763) he was again sent to Europe, this time as ambassador to the Prussian court in Berlin. He also wrote a very full account of this mission, which early attracted attention, in the west also, for its views on Prussian policy, its description of Berlin and its inhabitants and all sorts of observations on related topics. After filling a number of other important offices he died on the 2nd Shawwâl 1197 (Aug. 31, 1783; on this date cf. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 309, note 2) in Stambul. His tomb is in the Selimiye quarter of Scutari.

In addition to the descriptions already mentioned of his embassies (*safar-nâmâ's*) to Vienna and Berlin, Ahmad Resmî wrote in connection with the Russo-Turkish war and the peace of Küçük Kainardje (1769—1774) a treatise entitled *Ḥakâyet ul-Fitâḡ*, in which as a participator in the campaign

and eye-witness, he gave his impressions of this important period in the history of Turkey. Of especial value are his biographical collections, particularly his *Ḥakâyet ul-Rûḡâ* (composed in 1157—1744) with the biographies of 64 chancellors (*re'îs efendi*), and his *Humâyet* (*Hamlet?*) *ul-Rûḡâ*, in which he gives the lives of the chief eunuchs of the Imperial Harem (*kizlar aghalar*). Of a similar nature is his continuation (written in 1077—1766) of the "deaths" (*wafayat*) of Mehmed Emin b. Hâdjî Mehmed called Alay-Bey-zâde, in which he gives in twelve lists the deaths of famous men and women (cf. the accurate list of contents in J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, ix, 187 sq., N° 14). He also wrote several other works on geology and proverbs. The reports of his embassies are available in numerous manuscripts (cf. the list in Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 311, to which should be added: Berlin, Staatsbibl., MS. Or. 4° 1502, fol. 27^b to 46^b [incomplete]; Paris Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Turc N° 510 [?], Paris, Cl. Huart Coll.); printed editions and translations, which are listed by Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 311. To these is to be added the Polish translation *Podróż Reismy Ahmed-Efendego do Polski i powrotem jego do Prus 1177* (according to Wajfil, *Ta'âḡ*, i, 239 sq.) in J. J. S. Sekowski, *Colleciones i Dziejopisów Turckich*, vol. ii., Warsaw 1825, p. 222—289.

Bibliography: *Sidjill-i 'otmânî*, ii, 380 sq.; Brûssell Mehmed Tâhir, *'Othmânî Mu'el-ḡerri*, iii, 58 sq. (with list of works); F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 309—312.

(FRANK BABINGER)

REWÂNÎ, an Ottoman poet. His real name was Ilyâs or Şudjî and he belonged to Adrianople. He is said to have taken his pen-name of Rewânî from the river Tandja which flowed past (*remân*) his garden. He entered the service of Salṭân Bâyezîd II (1481—1512) in Stambul and was sent by him as administrator of the *jurte*, the annual sum for the poor of Mecca and Medina, to the holy cities to distribute the money. He embezzled a part of it however and on the accusation of the Meccans his salary was stopped; a malady of the eyes, which then affected Rewânî, was described by a poet hostile to him as the just punishment of God, whereupon Rewânî answered him, also in verse, and calmly confessed: "He who has honey licks his fingers". He then fled to the court of Prince Selim in Trebizond and entered his service. But he had to disappear from here also as he had committed some indiscretion and his property was confiscated (some sources put his appointment to the *jurte* at this date); he was however pardoned by Selim and henceforth served him all the more faithfully. When Selim in 918 (1512) came to Stambul to dethrone his father Bâyezîd, Rewânî is said at the last decisive council of war to have thrown his turban in the air with joy and to have praised the day. After Selim's accession he was appointed superintendent of the kitchen (*muḡbakkî emini*), then entrusted with the administration of the Aya Sofya and of the hot baths (*kahnuḡa*) in Brass. He built a mosque in the Kırk Çeşme quarter of Stambul which was called after him and he was buried there on his death in 930 (1523).

Rewânî left a *dîwân* and a *methnewî* entitled *'İshret-nâmâ* or *Kilâb-ı Wâḡ'il*. In the still unprinted *methnewî*, which is not very long, he describes the drinking bouts of his time in all

detail (wine, flagons, cups, candles, musical instruments, cupbearers etc.) so realistically and thoroughly that from it one can reconstruct this aspect of Turkish life of the time. He describes all this after years of experience towards the end of his life — he talks of his white beard and of the autumn of his life — so that his poem is a document of social life of the highest value. Rewânî was a thorough *bon vivant* who spent most of his time in taverns and described his life of pleasure in elegant and witty verse. His poem is not at all intended to be mystical and, if it can be so taken from his own words at the end, this is only the usual attempt of the poet to protect himself from possible attacks from the devout. His was not a very high character; in addition to the embellishment above mentioned, he is known as a plagiarist in Turkish literature (he and the poet Zâkir accuse each other of plagiarism), and his chief table companion was the equally lax poet İshâk Çelebi, but shortly before his death Rewânî is said to have repented of all his sins.

His *‘İshretnâme* is the first poem of this kind in Turkish literature and the habit of writing such *sâhnâme*'s only became popular a century later. His work is therefore original, and his own invention, and his wit and graceful and elegant, but at the same time simple and clear language are praised by the Ottoman historians of literature. According to Selhi, his *‘İshretnâme* is only one part of a *‘Khamûs-ı Rûm* and Tâhir mentions as another part of it a poem called *‘Dîvân-ı al-Nâzîk*. Nothing further however seems to be known of this.

Bibliography: Tedhkerê's: Selhi, p. 81 ff.; Ashik, MS. Vienna, Flügel, N^o. 1218; Khatibî Hasan, MS. Vienna, Flügel, N^o. 1228; Lâzî, p. 169—172; Kâfîkade, *Zuhdat Arâkât al-Ma'sûf*, MS. Vienna, Flügel, N^o. 699; Nazmi, *Nâzîr al-Ashâr*, Vienna, Flügel, N^o. 693; Hâdîdî Khalîfâ, iii. 281, N^o. 5437; iv. 212, N^o. 8151; Sâmî, *‘Izzat al-‘Ilâm*, p. 2306; Mehmed Thuriyâ, *Sigill-i ‘ahmâd*, ii. 420; Brunsli Mehmed Tâhir, *‘Othmânî Mûelliferi*, ii. 180; Ziya Paşa, *Kharâidat*, ii. 148; Hammer, *G.O.R.*, iii. 465; do., *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, i. 187—197; Gibb, *H.O.P.*, ii. 317—346 (the best compilation); Basmadjian, *Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature ottomane*, Paris and Constantinople 1910, p. 63 ff. — Catalogues of MSS. in Berlin, Pertsch, N^o. 27, 31, 41, 43, 53, 54, 55, 56, 4; Gotha, Pertsch, N^o. 22, iii. 156; Vienna, Flügel, i. 707, 714, 722bis; iii. 532, 536; Vienna, Consular Academy, Kraft, N^o. 214; 238, 241, 242; Cairo, *Fihrist al-Kutub al-Turkîya*, Cairo 1306, p. 118.

(W. BJÖRKMAN)

RHODES, the furthest island of the Archipelago to the east, Rhodes extends from S.W. to N.E. and is about twelve miles off the south coast of Asia Minor. Its length is approximately 45 miles and its greatest breadth from 20 to 25 miles. The island rises gradually from the sea to a central range of mountains, the highest peak of which is that of Mount Artamiti, 6,000 feet above sea-level. Its geographical situation within reasonable reach of the three Continents of the Old World explains its importance in maritime history, and its nearness to the empires of the Arabs, Egyptians and Ottomans in succession

brought it within the range of Islamic expeditions on several occasions.

In the first century of the Hijra, the Caliph Mu'awiya [q.v.] sent a fleet under the command of Djanâda b. Abi Umaiyâ al-Azdi to invade Rhodes. The date is variously placed in 52 and 53 (672—73) (see Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, for this variance in the sources). Little is known about this early expedition, except that the Arabs founded a short-lived settlement, which was evacuated in 60 (679—680) by the order of the second Umayyad Caliph Yazid [q.v.]. The island was thus recovered by the Byzantine Empire in whose historical sources the Arab occupation was long remembered by the complete destruction and sale of the famous bronze "Colossus of Rhodes" to a Jewish merchant of Emesa. The metal is said to have amounted to 880 camel-loads.

In 1308 or 1310 A.D., during the reign of Andronikos II. Palaeologos, Rhodes was seized by the Knights Hospitallers who had been expelled from 'Akka in 1291 by Sultan Khalil [q.v.], son of Kalâ'ûn. The Order of Saint John of Jerusalem now came to be known as the Knights of Rhodes, under whose rule the island became a thorn in the side of Islam as one of the strongest outposts of Latin Christianity in the Levant. Thence the Knights played a prominent part in most of the forthcoming crusades against Turkey and Egypt, notably in the capture of Smyrna in 1344, the sack of Alexandria in 1365 and in the Crusade of Nikopolis [q.v.] in 1396. The second of these attacks determined the Egyptians to start a series of counter-crusades against Cyprus and Rhodes. Three naval expeditions in 1424, 1425 and 1426 resulted in the annexation of Cyprus as a tributary state to Egypt.

The Mamlûks then turned their plans to the conquest of Rhodes during the reign of Çakmak. In 1440, they manned a flotilla of 15 galleys with 200 regulars and several hundred volunteers. These sailed from Damietta to Cyprus for re-arming and to 'Alsiya in Asia Minor, where its Muslim Amir reinforced them with more warriors and four galleys, then direct to Rhodes. The Knights were, however, prepared for the attack, and, after a few skirmishes, the Mamlûk fleet retreated under cover of night. In 1443, another fleet sailed from Damietta to Bairin, Tripoli, Larnaca, Limasol and Adalia to collect free provisions from subject and friendly states. Their first objective was the little island of Châteauroux or Castellorizo, known in the contemporary Arabic sources as Qashîl al-Rûdî. This island belonged to the Knights, and the Egyptians had no difficulty in reducing it. Afterwards they returned to Damietta owing to the approach of winter. In 1444, a third and more elaborate expedition was launched against Rhodes. The Egyptian fleet, carrying no less than a thousand Mamlûks, sailed from Damietta to Tripoli and direct to Rhodes. This time they succeeded in landing on the island and in setting siege to the city of Rhodes for a period of forty days, during which they pillaged all the neighbouring villages. Finally, the Knights sallied from the beleaguered town and took the offensive. Thus taken by surprise, the Egyptian army sustained considerable losses and sailed back to Damietta.

The success of the Knights in the repulse of so strong an enemy as Mamlûk Egypt may be ascribed to three main causes: first, the system

of espionage which the Order maintained in all hostile countries in order to keep their headquarters in perfect readiness for effective action at the appropriate moment; second, the great strength of the fortification of Rhodes which was made possible by its prosperity as one of the chief centres of trade in the Levant; and third, the nature of the military training of the Knights, their unity and their extraordinary valour in battle. Peace was eventually established between Egypt and Rhodes through the mediation of Jacques Cœur, the great French merchant prince of the fifteenth century, who was in favour at the court of the Sultan. The task of a decisive counter-crusade against Rhodes remained for the Ottoman Sultans. Muḥammad II besieged the capital with some slender measure of success in 1480; but it was not till the reign of Sulaimān the Magnificent [q. v.] that the Knights were finally overthrown after one of the most heroic defences ever known. On December 24, 1522, the island became the seat of a Turkish Pasha, and remained under Ottoman sovereignty until it was captured by Italy during the war of 1912 and finally passed to Italian rule by virtue of the Treaty of Lausanne (July 24, 1923).

Bibliography: Arab Invasion. See the sources mentioned by Caetani, *Chronographia Islamica*, under years 52, 53 and 60. — Crusades. Publications of the Société de l'Orient Latin. — J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes jusqu'à la mort de Philibert de Naillac 1310—1421*, Paris 1913; do., *La France en Orient au XIV^e siècle*, 2 vols., Paris 1886; N. Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières, 1327—1405, la croisade au XIV^e siècle*, Paris 1896; do., *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV^e siècle*, series 6, Paris and Bucarest 1899, etc.; Baron de Delabre, *Rhodes of the Knights*, Oxford 1909; A. S. Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis*, London 1934. — For the expedition of 1365 against Alexandria, the chief Arabic source is al-Ilmām (Ahlwārī, Cat. of Ar. MSS. at Berlin, No. 9815, Cairo MS. Hist. No. 1449), which has hitherto been regarded as anonymous; but I identify the author as Muḥammad b. Kāsim b. Muḥammad al-Nuwayrī al-Mīlīkī al-Iḥkādārī (see Berlin MS. fol. 120^v; Ibn Ḥajjar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, No. 375 in vol. iv.; and Fingel's edition of Ḥajjī Khalīfa, No. 2136). — Counter-crusades. Most sources of this section are still in MS. — Ibn Ḥajjar, *Taba' al-Ḥamir*, Brit. Mus., Rich. 7321 and Add. 23330; Maḡrībī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* vol. iv. (see Brockelmann, ii. 39, for various MSS.); al-Djāwharī, *Kitāb al-Tarīkh*, Bibl. Nat., fonds arabe No. 1791; al-Aḥmadī, various historical works (see Brockelmann, ii. 52—53); Abu 'l-Mahāsīn b. Taghrī-bardī, *al-Nuḡḡān al-zāhira*, ed. W. Popper, published by the University of California Press, 1915, etc.; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibā' al-mashāhīd*, Cairo 1896; *Firi Rē's Bakriyye*, 2 vols., ed. and transl. P. Kahle, Berlin and Leipzig 1926 (i. 61—64 and ii. 83—88). — General. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ed. J. B. Bury, 7 vols., London 1909; Finlay, *History of Greece*, 7 vols., ed. H. F. Tozer, Oxford 1877; W. Miller, *Essays on the Latins in the Levant*, Cambridge 1921; W. S. Davies, *Short History of the Near East*, London 1923; D. G. Hogarth, *The Nearer East*, London 1905; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au*

moyen-âge, 2 vols., Leipzig 1885—1886. — The antiquated work of Vertot, *Histoire des Chevaliers de Saint-Jean*, 7 vols., Amsterdam 1732, is still of considerable value. — For Lausanne Treaty, see Turkish Republic official history, *Tarih Türkiye Cumhuriyeti* (Istanbul 1931), iv. 125—131, and *Die Welt des Islams*, x. 74.

(A. S. ATIYA)

In the year 1912, during the war between Turkey and Italy, the Italians occupied the island of Rhodes and the Southern Sporades and held them till 1923 when Turkey (treaty of Lausanne) renounced all claim to Rhodes and the islands, which are now under the sovereignty of Italy, and constitute the "Possedimento delle Isole Italiane dell'Egeo"; the principal islands are 14 in number; we give them here with their historical Turkish names which are really Greek, in brackets (with the exception of Indjirli): Rodi (Rodos), Calchi (Karkli and Kharkli), Calino (Kalinno), Cazo (Kashit), Castellosso (Kastellorico, Meyia), Coo (Istanköy), Lero (Leros), Lisso (Lipsos), Nisiro (Nisiros, Indjirli), Patmo (Patmos), Piscopio (Piskopia, Tilos, Ellyäki), Scarpanto (Kerpe), Simi (Sümbeki), Stampalia (Astropalia).

The extent of the "Possedimento" is 2,697 km. and the total population 130,855 (census of April 21, 1931) of whom 54,818 are in the island of Rhodes. The inhabitants are distributed as regards language and religion as follows: 104,485 Greek Orthodox speaking Greek, 8,276 Muslims speaking Turkish, 4,481 Jews speaking Spanish Hebrew, 8,000 Roman Catholics speaking Italian. The Muslims are in the islands of Rhodes and Coo. Like the rest of the population, the Muslims are exempted from military service; they have elementary schools, a *medrese* in Rhodes, special tribunals at Rhodes and Coo for questions of private law.

Turkish and Muḥammadan monuments. The Turks did not modify very much the topography of Rhodes; at most they did something to intensify an appearance already generally oriental; they turned the churches into mosques and built new ones; the most remarkable are the mosque of İbrahim Paşa (947 = 1540—1541), the mosque of Redjeh Paşa (996 = 1587—1588), the mosque of Murād Re'is (celebrated *re'is* killed in a naval battle off Cyprus in 1609), built by Abū Bakr Paşa in 1046 (1636—1637) and repaired by Murādī Hasan Bey in 1212 (1717—1718), the mosque of Sulṭān Muḥṭafā (1178 = 1764). The mosque of Sulṭān Sulaimān is modern.

We may also mention the library at Rhodes which contains Arabic, Persian and Turkish MSS., founded as a *wāḡif* between 1791—1792 and 1799 by the Rhodian Ḥāfiy Ahmad Agha.

The Muslim cemeteries, which lie under the walls of the fortress, go back in part to the siege of 1522; there are many tombs of men of note who died in captivity or exile in Rhodes in the enclosure of the *tekke* of Murād Re'is; among them we may mention: İḷānī Girāy Khān (d. 1636), Shāhīn Girāy Khān (killed 1640), Sa'ūdī Girāy Khān (d. 1695); Sāfi (the pretended son of Husain, Shāh of Persia, d. 1175 = 1755—1756), the poet Hāshmet (d. 1182 = 1768—1769), the grand vizier Yūṣuf Paşa (killed in 1715), the general 'Abd al-Kārim Paşa (d. 1302 = 1884—1885).

Bibliography: Biliotti and Cottret, *L'île de Rhodes*, Rhodes 1881; C. Torr, *Rhodes in*

modern Times, Cambridge 1887; Ziwer Bey, *Radiis Tarihî*, Rhodes 1898-1899; A. Mainiri, *Rodi*, Rome 1921; A. Gabriel, *La cité de Rhodes*, 2 vols., Paris 1921-1923; Touring Club Italiano, *Possedimenti e Colonie*, Milan 1929; G. Jacopi, *Rodi*, Bergamo 1923; H. Baldacci, *Architettura turca in Rodi*, Milan 1932; E. Rossi, *Assedio e Conquista turca di Rodi nel 1522 secondo le relazioni, edite e inedite dei Turchi. Con un cenno sulla Biblioteca Hüdâ di Rodi*, Rome 1927; do., *Nuove ricerche sulle fonti turche relative all'assedio di Rodi nel 1522*, in *R.S.O.*, xv, (1934), 97-102; Vitalis Strumia, *Il "teich" di Murat Reis a Rodi*, in *Riv. delle Colonie Italiane*, Jan. 1934, p. 3-19. (ERRONE ROSSI)

RIBĀ (A.), lit. increase, as a technical term, usury and interest, and in general any unjustified increase of capital for which no compensation is given. Derivatives from the same root are used in other Semitic languages to describe interest.

1. Transactions with a fixed time limit and payment of interest, as well as speculations of all kinds formed an essential element in the highly developed trading system of Mecca (cf. Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'hégire*, p. 139 sqq., 155 sqq., 213 sq.). Among the details given by the Muslim sources we may believe at least the statement that a debtor who could not repay the capital (money or goods) with the accumulated interest at the time it fell due, was given an extension of time in which to pay, but at the same time the sum due was doubled. This is clearly referred to in two passages in the *Kur'ān* (*Sūra* iii. 130, xxx. 39) and is in keeping with a still usual practice. As early as *Sūra* xxx. 39 of the third Meccan period (on the dating cf. Noldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur'ān*, I.) the *Kur'ān* contrasts ribā with the obligation to pay *ṣakāt* but without directly forbidding it: "Whatever ye give in usury to gain interest from men's substance shall not bear interest with Allāh, but what ye give as *ṣakāt* in seeking the face of Allāh, these shall gain double". The express prohibition follows in *Sūra* iii. 130 (Medina, obviously earlier than the following passage): "Believers, devour not the ribā with continual doubling; fear God, perhaps it will go well with you". This prohibition had to be intensified in *Sūra* ii. 275-280 (evidently of the earlier Medinese period, cf. on the following passage): "Those who devour ribā shall only rise again as one whom Satan strikes with his touch; this because they say, 'selling is like usury'; but Allāh has permitted selling and forbidden usury. He therefore who receives a warning from his Lord and abstains shall have pardon for what is past and his affair is with Allāh; but they who relapse to usury, are the people of Hell, they shall remain in it for ever. Allāh abolishes usury and makes alms bring interest; Allāh loveth no sinful unbeliever... Believers, fear Allāh and remit the balance of the ribā if ye be believers. But if ye do not, be prepared for war from Allāh and his apostle. If ye repent, ye shall receive your capital without doing an injustice or suffering injustice. If any one is in difficulty, let there be a delay till he is able to pay, but it is better for you to remit if ye be wise". To evade the dogmatic difficulty of an eternal punishment for the sin of a believer, the passage in question (already presupposed in *Tahart*) has been interpreted to mean that by relapse is meant the holding lawful and not

the taking of interest; in any case the *Kur'ān* regards ribā as a practice of unbelievers and demands as a test of belief that it should be abandoned. It comes up again in *Sūra* iv. 161 (of the period between the end of the year 3 and the end of the year 5; this also gives a clue to the date of the preceding passage) in a passage which sums up the reproaches levelled against the Jews: "and because they take ribā, while it was forbidden them and devour uselessly the substance of the people". The fact that the principal passages against interest belong to the Medina period and that the Jews are reproached with breaking the prohibition, suggests that the Muslim prohibition of ribā owes less to conditions in Mecca than to the Prophet's closer acquaintance with Jewish doctrine and practice in Medina. In the later development of the teaching on the subject as we find it in tradition, Jewish influence is in any case undeniable (cf. Juynboll, *Hand-leiding*, p. 286).

2. The traditions give varying answers to the question what forms of business come under the *Kur'ānic* prohibition of ribā, none of which can be regarded as authentic. The ignorance of the correct interpretation is emphasised in a tendentious tradition, obviously put into circulation by interested individuals (the tradition is probably older than Lammens, *op. cit.*, p. 214, thinks); according to this view, the principal passage in *Sūra* ii. is the latest in the whole *Kur'ān*, which the Prophet could not expound before his death. That the rigid prohibition of usury in Muhammadan law only developed gradually is clear from many traditions. Alongside of the view repeatedly expressed, but also challenged, that ribā consists only in (the increase of substance in) a business agreement with a fixed period (*naṣ'a*, *naṣira*, *ḍa'in*) we have the still more distinct statement that there is no ribā if the transfer of ownership takes place immediately (*yadūn bi-yad*). But even in arrangements with a time limit, a number of traditions presuppose a general ignorance of the later restrictions; for example we are told that in Basra under Ziyād gold was sold on credit for silver (this may have an anti-Umayyad bias — cf. below on *Mu'tawiya* —, but it is illuminating); but at a later date such forms of the traditions against ribā were to some extent dropped. What was generally understood in the earliest period as the ribā forbidden in the *Kur'ān*, seems only to have been interest on loans (chiefly of money and foodstuffs); anything that goes beyond this is to be regarded as a later development. The reason for such prohibitions is at different times said to be the fear of ribā and sometimes we have underlying the recognition that there is no tradition of the Prophet relating to this. This is also expressed in the form that nine-tenths of the permitted is renounced or that ribā was conceived as going as far as ten times the capital. The view which later became authoritative is laid down in a group of traditions of which one characteristic example is as follows: "gold for gold, silver for silver, wheat for wheat, barley for barley, dates for dates, salt for salt, the same thing for the same thing, like for like, measure for measure; but if these things are different, sell them as you please if it is (only) done measure for measure". Another common tradition expressly forbids the exchange of different quantities of the same thing, but of different quality (cf. below).

Other traditions demand equality of quantity even in the sale of manufactured precious metals. This last case seems to have been especially discussed, and on more than one occasion Mu'awiya appears as champion of the opposite view and practice (this again has a distinctly anti-Umayyad bias). Particularly conscientious people went even farther in their limitation of ribā than the generality and would only exchange wheat for barley in equal quantities. Still stricter was the view that the exchange of even the same quantities of the same thing, especially of precious metals, was ribā. This view must be older than a difference from the usual opinion (e.g. Muslim, *Bāb hai 'al-ṭa'ām wa-ṭibā'at hi-mithli*), which is based on the secondary interpretation of an already recognised tradition, which obviously only forbade the exchange of different quantities of the same thing but of different quality (cf. above). This same general prohibition of exchange is also given for dates. The question whether one party to an agreement can voluntarily give the other a bonus, is denied for an exchange, but affirmed for a loan. The reduction of the amount of the debt if the loan is voluntarily paid before it falls due, is sometimes approved as the opposite of ribā, sometimes disapproved, sometimes forbidden as being equivalent to ribā; in any case it is clear that the practice existed. On the sale of an animal for an animal on credit, opinion is also not unanimous.

Numerous traditions forbid ribā without defining it more closely; the Prophet is said to have uttered this prohibition at his farewell pilgrimage (scarcely historical). Ribā is one of the gravest sins. Even the least of its many forms is as bad as incest and so on. All who take part in transaction involving ribā are cursed, the guilty are threatened with hell, various kind of punishment are described; in this world also gains from ribā will bring no good. In spite of all this tradition foresees that ribā will prevail.

In connection with ribā tradition mentions various antiquated forms of sale of special kinds, like *muḥāḍala*, *muḥāḍara*, *muḥāḍana* etc., which concern the exchange of different stages in the manufacture or development of the same thing, or of different qualities, and which are forbidden: an exception is made, obviously because of its undeniable practical and social necessity, of what is known as *'ariya* (plur. *'arāya*), fresh dates on trees intended to be eaten, which it is permitted to exchange in small quantities for dried dates.

3. While the existence of the Kūrānic prohibition of ribā has never been doubted, the difference of opinion that finds expression in tradition regarding the relevant facts is continued in the earliest stage of development of Muhammadan law. Unanimity prevails regarding the main lines of the limitations to be imposed upon the exchange of goods capable of ribā (*māl ribawī*); it is only permitted if transfer of ownership takes place at once and, so far as goods of the same kind are concerned, only in equal quantities. In the case of a loan it is forbidden to make a condition that a larger quantity shall be returned without regard to the kind of article. Gold and silver are generally regarded as *māl ribawī* (only quite exceptionally are coins of small denomination included). All the greater are the differences of opinion as to what things outside of the precious metals are liable to the ribā ordinances. In isolated cases one

still finds views that show themselves uninfluenced in principle by the authoritative group of traditions (cf. above), e.g. when everything realisable is subjected to the ribā ordinances (Ibn Kaṣṣān) or all business dealings in things of the same kind (Ibn Sirin, Hammād) or when everything liable to *sakāt* is considered capable of ribā (Rabī'a b. 'Abd al-Rahmān). Other opinions differ in the treatment of property capable of ribā from that group of traditions, although it is not known what they understand by this; possibly if at an exchange of the same kind of thing not equality of quantity but equality of value in two quantities is demanded (Ḥasan al-Basrī) or equality of quantity also in the exchange of different kinds apparently within a limited circle of goods capable of ribā (Sa'īd b. 'Ujaimī). The old interpretation that there is no ribā if the transfer of possession takes place at once is ascribed to 'Aṭā and the jurists of Medina. The views of most authorities however and in particular those which survive later in the law schools assume the literal acceptance of the text of that group of traditions and differ only in its interpretation. Thus there are mentioned as precursors of the later Zāhiri doctrine: Tāwūs, Maṣrūq, al-Sha'bī, Kaṭāda, 'Othmān al-Battī; as precursors of the Hanafī view: al-Zuhri, al-Hakam, Hammād (cf. however above), Sufyān al-Thawrī; as precursors of the earlier view of al-Shāfi'i: Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib and others; as precursors of his later view: al-Zuhri (cf. however above) and Vahyā b. Sa'īd. On the question whether a loan can be repaid in another kind and what is to be done if defects are revealed in an exchange of *māl ribawī* after it has changed hands, there are old differences of opinion.

4. In the above mentioned group of traditions the following goods in addition to gold and silver are expressly mentioned as bearing the prohibition of ribā at their exchange: wheat, barley, dates and salt (sometimes also raisins, butter and oil). The Zāhirīs, as a result of their refusal on principle to accept analogy (*hiyāz*), assume that the prohibition applies only to the six things especially named (the other kinds are rejected as not well attested). The other schools of law, on the other hand, consider the kinds mentioned in tradition only as examples of the variety of things that come under *māl ribawī*, but differ from one another in their lists of these things. According to the Hanafīs and Zaidīs (also al-Awāzī), gold and silver represent examples of the class of things defined by weight (*waswāw*) and the four other things those sold by measure (*maḳīl*). The Imāmī teaching is practically the same. According to the Mālikīs and Shāfi'īs, gold and silver represent the class of precious metals and the four other things the class of foodstuffs: the latter, in the Mālikī view, including actual estates so far as they can be preserved, according to the older view of al-Shāfi'i, provisions which are sold by weight and measure; according to his later view, which is also that of his school, foodstuffs without any qualification. The teaching of the Hanbalīs corresponds to that of the Hanafīs; as regards the "four kinds", two further opinions of Ahmad b. Hanbal are handed down which correspond to the two views held by al-Shāfi'i. In these, wheat and barley are regarded as two different kinds by the Hanafīs, the Shāfi'īs and the better known tradition of the Hanbalīs (as well as Zāhirīs, Zaidīs and Imāmīs); as one kind

according to the Hanbalis (also according to al-Laith b. Sa'd and al-Awāfi). The Hanafis and the Imāms, in contrast to the other schools, are content, in so far as it is not a question of the exchange of precious metals, with fixing the quantities, and do not demand actual change of ownership during the negotiation (*muḥlis*). The Ṣāhīris, in the strict interpretation of the text of one tradition, in every case demand a change of ownership in the fullest sense at once. The sale of fresh dates for dried dates is forbidden by all schools except the Hanafis on the authority of one tradition, the barter of *ʿarṣ* on the other hand is not permitted by the Hanafis, but regulated by the other schools, without any uniformity: as regards exchange of the same material in different stages of manufacture there are many differences of opinion. As regards the exchange of goods of the same kind which are not *mal ribawī*, the difference of quantity is generally permitted, postponement (*naḥā, naḥā*) of the single payment still forbidden by the Hanafis and Ṣāhīris but permitted by the other schools (with differences in detail). At the sale of wares, even of those which are *mal ribawī*, for precious metal, the payment at later date (*salām*) and sale on credit (*hai' al-ta'*) with postponement of delivery or of payment is permitted. The apparent contradiction of analogy in the *salām*, which forms a type of transaction by itself, has given rise to discussions on principle. The postponement of both sides of the transaction is regarded on the authority of a tradition as entirely forbidden in all agreements regarding sale or exchange.

5. The prohibition of ribā plays a considerable part in the system of Muhammadan law. The structure of the greater part of the law of contract is explained by the endeavour to enforce prohibition of ribā and *muḥlis* (i.e. risk; q.v.) to the last detail of the law (Bergsträsser, in *Isl.*, xiv, 79). Ribā in a loan exists not only when one insists upon the repayment of a larger quantity, but if any advantage at all is demanded. Therefore even exchange (*muḥlis*) is sometimes actually forbidden (as by the Ṣāhīris) because the vendor, who is regarded as the creditor, reaps the advantage of avoiding cost of transport. This did not prevent the wide spread of this arrangement in the Arabic middle ages and its influence upon European money-changing. But they were always conscious that a direct breach of the prohibition of ribā was a deadly sin. Pious Muslims to this day therefore not infrequently refuse to take bank interest. The importance of the prohibition of ribā on the one hand deeply affecting everyday life and the requirements of commerce on the other have given rise to a number of methods of evasion. Against some of these there is nothing formally to object from the standpoint of the law; they are therefore given in many lawbooks and expressly said to be permitted. The Ṣāhīris, the later Hanafis and the Imāms have recognised such methods of evasion while the Mālikis, the Hanbalis and the Ṣāhīris reject them. The recognition of these methods of evasion is not contrary to the strict enforcement of the prohibition in the *fiqh*. The inner significance of decrees of the divine law naturally cannot be understood by the mind of man. This is shown in the case of ribā in the limitation to certain kinds of goods. The Ṣāhīris are thus among the most energetic defenders of evasions of the prohibition of ribā. Their line of argument is based

not only on their formal negative rejection of deduction by analogy but also upon their positive estimation of the intention underlying the evasions. One of the oldest transactions of the kind, against which several traditions are already directed, is the double contract of sale (from one of its elements it is called *hai' al-ta'*, credit sale *par excellence*): one sells to someone who wants to lend money at interest something against the total sum of capital and interest which are to be due at a fixed date, and at the same time buys the article back for the capital which is at once handed over. This transaction was taken over in mediæval Europe under the name of *meubatra* (from the Ar. *muḥḥāḥira*; cf. Juynboll, *Handliiding*, p. 289, note 1, and E. Bassi, in *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano*, v., part 2). Another method of evasion consists of handing over to the creditor the use of a thing as interest by a fictitious agreement to sell or to pledge. All these practices are still in use and in spite of the prohibition of ribā money-lending is a flourishing business in most Muslim countries (50% is often regarded as moderate interest).

Bibliography: On the traditions cf. in addition to the references in Wessink, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, s.v. Usury, especially the collection of material in *Kanz al-Ummāl*, ii., No. 4623 sqq., 4951 sqq. The material of tradition is dealt with from the point of view of the respective authors in Ibn Ḥarm, *al-Muḥallā*, No. 1478 sqq.; al-San'ani, *Sabul al-Salām*, Cairo 1345, lit. 45 sqq.; al-Shawkānī, *Nail al-Awḥār*, Cairo 1345, v. 295 sqq. — Discussion of the various views in the authors mentioned and in al-Nawawī, *al-Maḥmūl*, Cairo 1348, ix. 390 sqq. — A survey of the differences among the great schools is given in Ibn Ḥabāra, *Kitāb al-Ḥiṣṣ*, Aleppo 1928, p. 164 sqq. — On ribā as a grave sin cf. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haitamī, *Kitāb al-Zawāḍir*, Balāḥ 1284, i. 231 sqq. — European treatment generally: Goldziher, *Die Zähriten*, p. 41 sqq.; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii. 141 sq., 152 sq., 244 sq.; Amedroz, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1916, p. 299 sqq.; Hanafis: Bergsträsser-Schacht, *Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, p. 62 sq.; Dimitroff, *Arch-Schubert*, in *M.S.O.S.*, x/ii., 105 sq., 156 sqq.; Ṣāhīris: Juynboll, *Handboek des islamischen Geestes*, p. 270 sqq.; do., *Handliiding*, p. 285 sqq.; Sachau, *Muhammadiyahsches Recht*, p. 279 sqq.; Mālikis: Guidi-Santillana, *Sommario del diritto malechita*, ii. 186 sqq., 282 sqq.; Imāmic: Querry, *Droit musulman*, i. 402 sqq. — On methods of evasion cf. Juynboll, *op. cit.*; Schacht, *Das Kitāb al-Ḥiṣṣ wa 'l-maḥḥāḥira* des al-Kāfirī, chap. 2 and 3 with transl. and commentary (this text is supposed to belong to Irāq c. 400 A.H.). — On the practice of taking interest cf. Juynboll, *op. cit.*, and the travellers, e.g. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part of the 19th century*, p. 4 sq.; Polak, *Persien*, i. 345.

(JOSEPH SCHACHY)

RIBĀT (A.), a fortified Muhammadan monastery. Of the various explanations that have been given of this word from the root *raḥaṭa*: "to bind, attach", the most reasonable is that which refers to the Qur'ān, viii. 62: "Prepare against them (the enemies of Allāh) all that ye possess of strength and places for horses..." (*min ribāṭ 'l-ahwān*). The ribāt is originally the place where the mounts are assembled and hobbled to

be kept in readiness for an expedition. Ribāṭ also has the closely related meanings of relay of horses for a courier, caravanserai. The word however was early applied to an establishment at once religious and military which seems quite specifically Muḥammadan.

The institution of the ribāṭ is connected with the duty of the holy war [see *ḤIḤĀḌ*], the defence of the lands of Islām and their extension by force of arms. The Byzantine empire was acquainted with the fortified monastery, like Mandrakion built at Carthage near the sea, mentioned by Procopius: but it seems doubtful if the monks living in it played any military part. The regular or occasional occupants of the ribāṭ are essentially fighters for the faith. The ribāṭ are primarily fortresses, places of concentration of troops at exposed points on the Muḥammadan frontier. Like western castles, they offer a refuge to the inhabitants of the surrounding country in time of danger. They serve as watch-towers from which an alarm can be given to the threatened populace and to the garrisons of the frontier and interior of the country who could support the efforts of the defenders. The structure of the ribāṭ therefore consisted of a fortified surrounding wall with living rooms, magazines of arms and storehouses for provisions and a tower for signalling. This architectural scheme, the development of which will be indicated below, was of course often very summarily treated. The ribāṭ in many cases was reduced to a watch-tower and a little fort like those the Byzantines built on their frontiers. This explains the considerable number of ribāṭs mentioned by the geographers. We are told that in Transoxiana alone there were no less than 10,000 (Ibn Khallikān, *transl. de Slane*, i. 139, N° 3). The coasts were also amply provided for. There were ribāṭs all along the coast of Palestine and of Africa. The fire-towers, attached to the ribāṭ or isolated, enabled messages, we are told, to be sent in one night from Alexandria to Ceuta. This is clearly an exaggeration. Nevertheless we may note a fairly rapid system of signalling and the mention of Alexandria, the pharos of which seems to have served as a ribāṭ. The Spanish coast also had its ribāṭs, as had the frontier against the Christian kingdoms, especially after the coming of the Almoravids, which saw an intensification of the *ḡhīḥ*. For Sicily, Ibn Hawḳal gives some curious information about the ribāṭs near Palermo and we know the little town of Rabato in the island of Gozo in the Maltese archipelago.

Devotion to religion stimulated individuals to multiply their foundations, notably in Ifrīqiya in the vicinity of towns like Tripolis and Sfax. It was a work of piety to build a ribāṭ at one's own expense or strengthen its defences. It was equally meritorious to urge men to go there to serve the cause of Islām, to revictual the garrison, lastly and above all to go there oneself. For the coast of Palestine, al-Maḳaddasī tells us of another use of the ribāṭ equally pleasing to Allāh. Their fires were used to signal the approach of Christian vessels bringing Muslim prisoners whose exchange had been arranged. Everyone endeavoured to take part in this according to his means.

The building of the large ribāṭs and of many of the smaller ones was naturally the task of the sovereigns of the country. In Ifrīqiya the first was that of Monastir (q.v.) built by the 'Abbāsīd governor Harthama b. A'yān (179—795). The

third (ninth) century was the golden age: the Aghlabids all along the eastern coasts multiplied ribāṭs in the strict sense and *maḡarras*; this word means a fortified area containing a small garrison or a watch-tower. Monastir retained the pre-eminence which the Prophet himself is said to have foretold for it. In the xiith century the deed was brought from al-Maḥdiyya to enjoy the blessing of being buried there. But the ribāṭ of Sūs founded by the Aghlabid Ziyādat Allāh in 206 (821) had assumed considerable importance. We know that Sūs was the port from which the troops embarked for the conquest of Sicily.

Compared with the east coast of Ifrīqiya, which was directly threatened by attacks of the Rūm or which was the base for expeditions across the sea, the rest of the Barbary coast was less well supplied. There were however ribāṭs on the coast of the extreme Maghrib, at Nakūr and Arzila to prevent raiding by the Norman pirates, and at Salé to facilitate the war against the Barghawāṭa [q.v.] heretics.

If the majority of the ribāṭs were official foundations, the service done by the combatants in them does not seem to have been in any way compulsory. The men of the ribāṭ, the *marābūṭs*, were volunteers, pious individuals who had taken a vow to devote themselves to the defence of Islām. Some may have entered the ribāṭ like a monastery, to end their days in it, but the great majority only stayed in them for longer or shorter periods, and the garrisons were changed completely several times a year. In the ribāṭ of Arzila, this change in the garrison took place with the festival of 'Aḡḡ-ā' (10th Muharram), the beginning of Ramaḍān and al-'īd al-Kabīr. An important fair was held on the occasion. In case of alarm the garrisons were reinforced by able-bodied men from the country round, summoned by the beating of drums (Palestine, according to al-Maḳaddasī).

Life in the ribāṭ was spent in military exercises and on guard, but also in devotional exercises. The marābūṭs prepared themselves for martyrdom by long prayers under the direction of a venerated shāikh. The traveller Ibn Hawḳal however reveals a dark side to this edifying picture. Speaking of the ribāṭs of Palermo in the fourth (tenth) century, he tells us that "they were the rendezvous of the bad characters of the country who thus found a means of livelihood outside of regular society and at the expense of the pious and charitable".

The double character — military and religious — of the life of the marābūṭs found expression in the architecture of the old ribāṭs that have survived. Tunisia has preserved those of Monastir and Sūs. The first is still very imposing but the frequent restorations have complicated the original plan. The second which is simple may be taken as typical. With its high square wall flanked with semi-circular towers at the corners and the middle of the sides, it recalls the Byzantine forts of the country. The only entrance was by one of the salients in the middle of the wall. A staircase went down in the interior into the central court surrounded by covered galleries and very simple cells. The first storey, reached by two staircases, also consisted of cells on three sides of the court. Along the fourth side was a hall with a *miḡrāb*. This was the oratory of the ribāṭ. The *ḡibla* wall was pierced with embrasures. On the level of the

terraces which are above this first storey, is the door of the signal tower, cylindrical in form, which rises from the square base of a salient at one corner and dominates the fortress from a height of about 60 feet. A little dome which also rises above the terraces crowns, as in the mosque of the period, the square area in front of the *ribāt* in the oratory.

The *ribāt* of Sās takes us back to the heroic times when the institution had distinctly a warlike character and these frontier posts played a strategic role on the borders of the lands of Islām. It retained this character in the xth–xvth century in the extreme Maghrib where the struggle with the Christians in Spain kept alive the tradition of the *ghilād*. We know that a *ribāt* built on an island in the Lower Senegal was the starting place of the career of the Lamtūna Berbers and gave them the name of Almoravids (*al-murābiṭūn*) under which they became famous in history (see ALMORAVIDS). The Almohads who succeeded them had also their *ribāts*, two of which at least are worth mentioning. The *ribāt* of Tāzā [q. v.] was fortified in 528 (1138) by 'Abd al-Mu'min at the time when he was conducting against the Almoravids a campaign which had all the appearance of a *ghilād*. The *Ribāt al-Fath*, the name of which survives in that of the town of Rabat [q. v.], was, if not the port of embarkation, at least the great camp of concentration for the armies preparing to cross to Spain. The prestige of this Almohad foundation survived the dynasty which built it. Rabat, or rather the adjoining little town of Shalla, also regarded as a *ribāt*, was the necropolis of the Marinid princes, who in being buried there hoped to share in the merit of the warriors of the faith.

In the xvth century to give warning of landings by the Christians on the coast, *maḥṣar* and signal towers were still being built "to serve as *ribāts*". Ibn Marzūq, the historiographer of the Marinid Abu 'l-Ḥasan, who tells of them, says however that these posts were occupied by paid soldiers. They were not true *ribāts*, the garrison of which consisted of volunteers. If however we find down to the xvth century, in the extreme Maghrib, a *ribāt* like that of Asfi playing a military part in the struggle with the Portuguese, in the east, in the lands where the infidels no longer threatened Islām, the institution had changed its character or rather the ascetic discipline and the pious remissions which were the regular practices in the old *ribāts* had entirely taken the place of military exercises. From the vth (xith) century or perhaps even earlier, the development of mysticism and the grouping of the Sūfis into communities gave these barracks a new *raison d'être* by making them monasteries. From Persia, where it originated, this evolution of the *ribāt* rapidly spread through the Muslim world. In the east the *ribāt* merged into the Persian *ḥiṣn*. Ibn Qutayba (ed. Wright and de Goeje, p. 243) refers to a *ḥiṣn* founded by Sūfis which was also called a *ribāt*, at Kās al-'Ain to the north of the Syrian desert. When however a writer like Ibn al-Shihna describing Aleppo seems to distinguish the *ḥiṣn* from the *ribāt*, the difference between them escapes us. It may be supposed that the *ḥiṣn* were inhabited by permanent residents who spent their whole lives there and that the *ribāts*, as before, received devout men for limited periods, but one cannot assert definitely that this was the distinction. In

any case the four *ribāts* within the city of Aleppo (one attached to a *madrasa* and the mausoleum of its founder with Kūfī readers and Sūfis) had no longer anything of a military character. It was the same with the two *ribāts* of Mecca mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. In Cairo the only inscription found by Van Berchem in which a *ribāt* is mentioned is that of the convent of Malik Ashraf 'Iṣṭ (860 = 1455).

In Barbary, which the wave of eastern mysticism had reached in the xth–xvth century, the term *ribāt* was likewise retained but applied to the *ṣūfiya* [q. v.] in which ascetics gathered round a *shaykh* in his tomb. As a matter of fact Ibn Marzūq in this connection makes a distinction which nevertheless still remains obscure. Speaking of the *ṣūfiya* founded by Abu 'l-Ḥasan, his master, he tells us first that *ḥiṣn*, a Persian word, has the same meaning as *ribāt* and adds: "In the terminology of the *ṣūfis*, one understands by *ribāt* the act of devoting oneself to the holy war and to guarding [the frontier]. Among the Sūfis it means on the contrary the place in which a man shuts himself up to worship the divinity". This last use of the word seems to be the usual one in his time. The *Ribāt al-Ubbūd* is the group of pious foundations near Tlemcen that have grown up around the tomb of the famous mystic Sidi 'Iṣṭ Madyan. The *ribāt* of Taskelīt to the south west of Oran is dedicated to a saint of the Banū Iznāsen; the *ribāt* of Tifertat on the borders of the Wādī Sbil contains the tomb mosque of two Marinid princes and apartments for *ṣūfīs* (Kūfī readers).

With this erroneous use of the old Arabic word we might connect the parallel change undergone by the word *marābiṭ* (marabout). It is applied to a saint, an individual who by his own merits or the mystic initiation which he had received or his relationship with a *ṣūfī* [q. v.] enjoys the veneration of those around him.

In Muslim Spain, the last land of the *ghilād*, we may suppose that the *ribāts* continued to stud the successive frontiers which the "reconquista" imposed on the lands of Islām; but to be certain we must wait until the study of the texts and the enquiry being conducted by F. Hernández and H. Terrasse into the military architecture of Muslim Spain give us precise details regarding the date of the castles and their object. The evolution in meaning of the word *ribāt* would lead one to think it had ceased to mean a fortress. Among the Arabic authors of Spain and al-Maqqarī as among the *ṣūfis* mentioned by Ibn Marzūq, *ribāt* is often used to mean a holy war, generally defensive, and it passed into Spanish in the form *rebat* as J. Oliver Asín has shown with the meaning of "sudden attack executed by a body of horsemen in keeping with Muslim tactics". If the Arabic term had lost its original meaning, however, another word derived from it was commonly used in a slightly different meaning. Spain saw the *ṣūfīs* multiplying and their memory is preserved in place-names in the forms Rāpita, Rāvita, Rābida. The word *ṣūfīya* was also known in Barbary. It meant "a hermitage to which a holy man retired and where he lived surrounded by his disciples and his religious servants" (cf. *Maḥṣar*, transl. Collin, p. 240 and the article ZAWIYA). Everything points to its having been the same in the Peninsula. The multiplication of *ṣūfīs* in Spain and their possible confusion with *ribāts* are

In preparation:

MATÉRIAUX POUR UN
DICTIONNAIRE ÉTYMOLOGIQUE
DE LA
LANGUE ARMÉNIENNE

ÉTYMOLOGIE, ORIGINE, COMPARAISON DE 10.000 MOTS

PAR

BEDROS KERESTEDJIAN

*Directeur des traductions et de la correspondance étrangère au
ministère des affaires de Turquie et auteur du dictionnaire
étymologique de la langue turque*

ÉDITÉ PAR

SON NEVEU HAIG F. R. A. S.

The 'Dictionnaire Etymologique de la langue Arménienne' by Bedros Kerestedjian, a recognised specialist on the subject, and the result of 30 years research, will be published by me in one volume of about 1000 pages and completed probably in 1937. The specimen pages represent the treatment of the linguistic technic and material in an abbreviated yet illustrative form.

The publication of such a scientific book of some 10.000 lemmata is naturally very costly, therefore, for the convenience of purchasers, the book will be published in about 10 parts of 80 pages at 2.50 guilders a part. Payment may be made upon receipt of a part.

It is respectfully requested that all interested students, kindly sign and return the enclosed card at the earliest convenience, so that I get an approximate idea as to the number of copies required, which will materially help to quicken the publication.

The publication will not be undertaken before at least one hundred subscriptions have been received. To ensure securing copies, therefore, subscriptions should be made now. Payment may be made upon receipt of a part. An order form is enclosed.

Once started the completion of the work will take about two years.

LEIDEN

Respectfully yours

1137 1/2
M/32
221100113
THE

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

A DICTIONARY OF THE GEOGRAPHY,
ETHNOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY OF THE
MUHAMMADAN PEOPLES

PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF LEADING ORIENTALISTS

EDITED BY

M. TH. HOUTSMA, A. J. WENSINCK

H. A. R. GIBB, W. HEFFENING and E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL

NUMBER 55

RIBĀT — RUZZIK & TALĀT



LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL

1936

LONDON
LUZAC & CO.

46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET

Abbreviations

Abh. G. W. Göt. = Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen
 Abh. K. M. = Abhandlungen f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes
 Abh. P. Ak. W. = Abhandlungen d. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.
 Ab. P. B. = Bulletin de Comité de l'Asie française
 Ab. P. B. C. = Bulletin d. Com. de l'Asie française, Koninkrijkswetenschapp. Genootschap
 AM = Archives maritimes
 AMZ = Allgemeine Missionenzeitung
 Anst. = Anstalt
 Ann. Wien = Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Kl. d. Ak. der Wiss. Wien
 AO = Asia Orientalis
 AQH = Asiatic Quarterly Review
 ARW = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
 As. P. B. = Bulletin de Comité de l'Asie française
 BAH = Bulletin der Arabisch-Islamischen
 BGA = Bibliotheca geographorum arabicarum vol. de Geogr.
 BIE = Bulletin de l'Institut Egyptien
 BIFA = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire
 BOSOS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution
 BTLV = Beiträge zur d. Tsch., Land- u. Völkerkunde von Nord-indien
 BZ = Byzantinische Zeitschrift
 CIA = Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum
 CIS = Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum
 EC = L'Egypte Contemporaine
 GAL = Geschichte der arabischen Literatur
 GGA = Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen
 GJ = Geographical Journal
 GMS = Göttinger Monatsblätter
 GOR = Geschichte des orientalischen Reiches
 GOW = Beiträge, die Geschichtswissenschaft der Osmanen und ihre Werke
 G. I. Ph. = Grundriss der französischen Philologie
 GSAI = Giornale della Soc. Asiatica Italiana
 HOP = Orbis, History of ottoman poetry
 HZ = Indische Götter
 IRM = International Review of Mission
 Id. = Der Islam
 JA = Journal Asiatique
 J. Afr. S. = Journal of the African Society
 J. Am. O. S. = Journal of the American Oriental Society
 J. Anth. 1 = Journal of the Anthropological Institute
 JASO = Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Soc. of Japan
 JE = Jewish Encyclopedia
 JHS = Journal of the Punjab Historical Society
 JQR = Jewish Quarterly Review
 JAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
 JGS = Journal of the Royal Geographical Society
 J. P. O. = Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne
 KCA = Kairoer Geogr. Archivum
 KJ = Kolonial-Jahrbuch
 KS = Kaiserliche Sammlung (Kaiserliche orientale)
 Mch. = Al-Machriq
 MDPV = Mitteilungen und Nachr. des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
 MFOH(egyptisch) = Mémoires de la Faculté Orientale de Beyrouth
 MGO Wien = Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien
 MIZEN = Mit. v. Geschichte der Medien und Naturwissenschaften
 MIZW = Mit. v. Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judentums
 MI = Mit. Islam
 MIZEGYPT = Mémoires de l'Institut Egyptien
 MIPAO = Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire
 Mit. MGO = Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientalischen Gesellschaft
 Mit. VAG = Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen

MGO = La monde oriental
 MGO = Mitteilungen der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft
 MSPO = Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne
 MSI = Mémoires de la Société Linguistique
 MSOS Afr. = Mitteilungen des Sem. für oriental. Sprachen, Afr. Studien
 MSOS As. = Mitteilungen des Sem. für oriental. Sprachen, Westasiat. Studien
 MTM = Mit. der türkischen Medizinal
 MW = The Modern World
 NE = Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi
 NGW Göt. = Nachrichten d. Gesellschaft d. Wiss. Göttingen
 NO = Der Neue Orient
 OA = Orientalisches Archiv
 OC = Orina Christiana
 OIZ = Orientalische Literaturzeitung
 OM = Oriente Moderno
 PEFQ = Palæstinian Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement
 PELÖV oder P. Ec. Lang. Or. Vie = Publications de l'École des langues orientales vivantes
 Pet. Mit. = Petermanns Mitteilungen
 PRGS = Proceedings of the R. Geographical Society
 QDC = Questions diplomatiques et coloniales
 RAAD = Revue de l'Académie Arabe de Damas
 RAfr. = Revue Africaine
 REJ = Revue des Études Juives
 RE Isl. = Revue des Études islamiques
 RHP = Revue de l'histoire des Religions
 RI = Revue Indigène
 RMM = Revue de Monde Musulman
 RO = Revue de l'Orient Chrétien
 ROG = Revue de l'Orient Chrétien
 ROL = Revue de l'Orient latin
 RRAH = Rev. de la R. Académie de la Historia, Madrid
 REAL = Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di sc. mor., stor., e filol.
 RSO = Rivista degli studi orientali
 RT = Revue Tunisienne
 SHAH. Hist. = Sitzungsberichte der Ak. der Wiss. in Berlin
 SHAH. Wien = Sitzungsberichte der Ak. der Wiss. in Wien
 SB Bayr. Ak. = Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
 SBPMS Erlg. = Sitzungsberichte d. Phys.-mathem. Societät in Erlangen
 SB P. Ak. W. = Sitzungsberichte der preuss. Ak. der Wiss. in Berlin
 TBGW = Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kennen en Wetenschappen
 TOEM = Türkisch-Ottomani (Türk) Enghuşun Medeniyet. Revue Historique publiée par l'Institut d'Histoire Ottomane
 TTEN = TOEM
 TTV = Tijdschrift v. Tsch., Land- u. Völkerkunde
 Verh. Ak. Amst. = Verhandlungen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam
 Verh. Med. Ak. Amst. = Verhandlungen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam
 WI = Die Welt des Islams
 Wm. Vers. DVO = Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientalischen Gesellschaft
 WZK = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
 ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
 Zap. = Zapiski
 ZATW = Zeitschrift f. altorientalische Wissenschaft
 ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
 ZDPV = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
 ZGZK = Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Ethnologie in Berlin
 ZI = Zeitschrift für Indologie u. Iranistik

connected with the great movement of mystic piety which, starting in Persia, had brought about the substitution of monasteries — *khānqāh* in the east, *zāwiyas* in Barbary — for the foundations, more military than religious, of the heroic age of Islam.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-'Arab, *Chants des savants de l'Iffriqiya*, ed. and transl. Bencheikh, Algiers 1920; al-Yahiri, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. and transl. de Slane, Algiers 1911-1913; al-Idrisi, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. and transl. Dozy and de Goeje, Leyden 1866; Ibn Hawkal, transl. du Slane, in *J. A.*, 1842, i, 168; do., *Description de l'Espagne*, transl. Amani, in *J. A.*, 1845, i, 96; Ibn Khallikān, transl. de Slane, *Biographisches Dictionary*, i, 159, N° 3; al-Miskaddasī, in *Le Strange, Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 23-24; Ibn al-Sīdha, *Les poètes choisis*, transl. Sauvaget, Beirut 1933, i, 107; Ibn Marash, *Muṣnāḥ*, ed. and transl. E. Lévi-Provençal, in *Hispania*, v, 1925; Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, s.v. *riḍā*, *muḥarrir*; Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Egyptiaca*, Paris 1894, p. 162, N° 3; 408, N° 4; Douiet, *Les Maraboutes*, in *R. H. A.*, xl-xli, pt. in part 1900; H. Basset and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chelba*, Paris 1923; G. Marguier, *Note sur les riḍās en Berbérie*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1925, ii, 395-430; do., *Manuel d'art musulman*, i, 45-46; Jaime Oliver Asín, *Origen árabe de rebates, arrebatos y ras humanos*, Madrid 1928; H. Basset and H. Terrasse, *Santuarios et festerías almohades* (coll. *Hispania*), 1932; The *riḍā* of Tū, p. 337-376. (GEORGEZ MARQUIER)

RIDĀ, an Ottoman biographer of poets. Mehmed Ridā b. Mehmed, called Zehir Mürşide, belonged to Adrianople. Of his life we know only that he was for a time *mufti* in Uzun Köprü (near Adrianople) and died in 1082 (1671) in his native city. Besides a collection of poems (*Diwān*) Ridā wrote a *Tedkikiat al-Shu'arā'*, a biographical collection in which he dealt successfully in alphabetical order with the poets who lived in the first half of the 11th century A. H., i.e. c. 1591-1640. In the introduction he dealt with eleven saltns who wrote poetry. The book was completed in 1060 (1640) so the *tertiq* shows. It has been edited by Ahmad Işewdet Bey (*Tedkikiat al-Ridā*, Samail 1316, 109 p. 8°).

Bibliography: J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte der romantischen Dichtkunst*, iii, 486; *Sigillat al-muḥarrir*, ii, 397; Brüssel Mehmed Tahir, *Öğretmek Müellâkleri*, ii, 185 sq.; F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 215 sq. (FRANK BABINGER)

RIDĀ KULĪ KHĀN & MUHAMMAD HADĪ & IMĀD KAMĀL, Persian scholar and man of letters, "l'un des hommes les plus spirituels et les plus aimables que j'aie rencontrés dans aucune partie du monde" (Gohlstein). A descendant of the poet Kamāl Khudjandī [q.v.], the grandfather of Ridā Kulī, chief of the notables of Cardek Kelat (district of Dāmghān), was put to death by the partisans of Karīm Khān Zand against whom he supported the Kājārs (cf. *Relation de l'ambassade de Karim*, transl. Schafer, p. 203). His father became one of the dignitaries of the court of the Kājārs; in 1215 (1800), while on a pilgrimage to Mashhad, he heard of the birth of a son in Teherān to whom he gave the name of the imam. Becoming an orphan in 1202, Ridā Kulī spent

his early years in Fārs; he was brought back from Fārs to Teherān, lived some time with relatives at Isfahān (Mānāndārān), then returned to Fārs where he received his education; he then entered the service of the state under the patronage of the governor-general of Fārs. His earliest efforts in poetry were published under the pseudonym of Cikh, which he soon changed to that of Hidayat. In 1229 on the occasion of Fath 'Alī Shāh's stay in Shirāz, he composed a panegyric and other poems which gained him the royal favour; but a serious illness prevented him from leaving Shirāz. In 1238 Muḥammad Shāh showed such esteem for him that he entrusted his son 'Abdā Mirzā's education to him. The political troubles that followed the Shāh's death in 1248 sent Ridā Kulī into retirement. In 1251 Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh recalled him and sent him on an embassy to Khiva. He was next appointed to the Ministry of Education, became Director of the Royal College (*dar al-funūn*), then fifteen years later, tutor (*ustādh*) to the crown prince Muḥammad al-Dīn whom he followed to Teherān where he spent several years. He returned to Teherān where he died in 1288 (1871).

Of his very numerous works, several are still unpublished, e.g. some treatises on theology and letters (we mention only the *Miftāḥ al-Kunūn*, a commentary on difficult verses in *Khāṣṣat*, and the *Nisān-nūmā-yi Sāḍat*—*al-fayḥ-nūmā*, an early Persian dictionary analysed in *J. A. A. S.*, xviii, p. 198). The bulk of his lyrical poetry (*Diwān*) is also still unpublished; it totals about 30,000 lines. Of his six *mathnawī*'s (enumerated by himself, *Majma' al-Fuṣṣal*, ii, 382) only the epic entitled *Bekāsh-nām* (or *Gulistan-i Irām*, lith. Teherān, 1270 = 1853) is published; it celebrates the tragic loves of the hero and the Persian poetess of Arab origin Rahī's Khidāri Balukh, known as Zain al-'Arab. His other works which are published are mainly of a documentary nature and therefore very important. The *Fihrist al-Tawārīkh* ("Repertory of Chronicles"), chronology, lith. in part at Teherān, was presented to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh before the author's departure to Khwarizm (1851); the *Asfahān al-Tawārīkh* (lith. Teherān 1283) is a short précis of the history of Persia composed for the crown prince Muḥammad al-Dīn; the *Kawāḍ al-Safā-yi Nāṣir*, continuation of the *Kawāḍ al-Safā* of Mir Khwānd down to 1270 (1853) (Teherān 1270, 3 vols. fol.), is a work of considerable size, based on eastern sources (of which several are still unpublished) and on official documents, most of which are reproduced in full; in addition to the record of political events the work contains much geographical, literary and artistic information. The *Riyāḍ al-Ḍarīfīn* ("Gardens of the Initiated"), biographies of mystical poets, with an excellent introduction on Sūfism, was prepared for Muḥammad Shāh (not lith. until 1305, Teherān). It is closely connected with the *Majma' al-Fuṣṣal* ("Assembly of eloquent individuals"), of first importance for the history of Persian poetry (lith. Teherān, 2 vols. fol., 1294); this last work, the author's best, contains after a general introduction on the history of Persian poetry, biographies and select pieces from all the poets (the poet-laureates form the first section); at the end is an autobiography and an anthology of the poems of Hidayat (ii, p. 681-678; autobiography and a number of the verses reproduced by the author of the *Fārs-nūmā-yi Nāṣir*, ii, 125-

127). The researches necessary for these last two works showed Hidayat the inadequacy of the dictionaries at his disposal; he intended to remedy this by his *Farhang-i anjuman-ara-yi Nāṣiri* (Ith. Teherān 1288) which, preceded by a remarkable introduction, gives the different meanings of each Persian word, with quotations from the classical poets. The work entitled *Madārij al-Balāgha* (Ith. 1331) is a glossary of rhetorical and poetical terms with many examples taken from different poets. Lastly we owe to Hidayat the first editions of the *Divān* of Manūchāhri (Ith. Teherān 1297), of the *Kāshī-nāme* (*ibid.* 1275) and of the *Nafīsat al-Majāz* (history of the fall of the Khwārizm empire) of Muḥammad Zaidarī (publ. posthumously, Teherān 1308). Its autobiographical character gives the attractive "Narrative of a Journey to Khwārizm" (*Safar-nāme-yi Khwārizm*, ed. and transl. Schefer, in *P.E.O.F.*, Paris 1879) a special place among his works; he undertook this journey in 1851 as ambassador sent to settle the differences between the courts of Teherān and Khiva. This journal is a valuable document for the history of the khānates and has been utilised by later Persian historians (notably Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān; q. v.); besides valuable historical, archaeological and geographical matter, the book, which is written in a simple and natural style, is a contribution to the study of the manners and customs of the period (notably conditions of travel); we find in it pretty pictures of native life and charming landscapes. Several of Hidayat's descendants have taken a prominent part in literature, politics and administration.

Bibliography: In addition to works already mentioned: Rieu, *Cat. of Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, Suppl. (index); Edwards, *Persian printed Books in the British Museum*; E. G. Browne, *Persian Literature in Modern Times* (index and portrait, p. 344); Gr. J. Pā. (H. index); de Gobioson, *Traité sur les Arts* (chap. "Les caractères"); S. Churchill, in *J.R.A.S.*, xviii. 196-204; xix. 163; A. Kégl, *Risā Kuli Khān als Dichter*, in *W.Z.K.M.*, 1897, xi. 63-74; Niğmā-ı Aṣḥā, *Chāhār Maḥallā*, in *G.M.S.*, index, p. 320, c. v. Maḥjma' al-Fuḥayḥ.

(H. MASSE)

RIDĪYA (1236-1240 A.D.), the only woman to succeed to the throne of Dihlī during the period of Muslim rule, and, with the exception of Shadjar al-Durr (q. v.) of Egypt, the only female sovereign in the history of Islam.

After the death of his eldest son, Iltutmish (q. v.), despite the protests of his advisers, nominated his daughter Ridīya as his successor on the grounds of her fitness to rule. On the death of Iltutmish the courtiers, disregarding the late king's wishes, raised one of his sons, Rukn al-Din Firuz, to the throne. The new king wasted his time in riotous living, all real power being in the hands of his mother, Shāh Turkān, whose cruelty disgusted the people and finally led to open revolt. Eventually in 634 (1236), despite the strong Muslim aversion to female rulers, Ridīya was proclaimed queen by the people of Dihlī and a certain section of the army. Although the wazīr, Niğm al-Mulk Muḥammad Djuṣalī, refused to acknowledge her she was astute enough to crush all opposition. She appointed Khwāzma Muḥammad al-Din Ḥusain as her wazīr and placed Malik Saif al-Din in charge of the army with the title of *qutlugh*

khān. Iktiyār al-Din Aitagin was made *amir-i kashghar*. The Turkish amirs, however, took great exception to the favours shown by the queen to an Abyssinian, Malik Djamāl al-Din Yāqūt who held the position of *amir-i āḥḥur* (Master of the Horse). Eventually the Turkish amirs rose in revolt, put the Abyssinian to death, imprisoned the queen, and placed her half-brother, Bahram Shāh, on the throne (Ramadān 636 = April 1240). Malik Ikhuyār al-Din Alḥūniya, the governor of Dhātūda, in whose custody the deposed queen had been placed by his fellow conspirators, decided to champion her cause. With this object in view he married her and marched on Dihlī, but was defeated near Kaithal. On the day following this defeat both he and Ridīya were put to death.

The only original source for her reign is the *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣiri* of Minhāj al-Din (see MINHAJ), the accounts of all later writers, such as Ibn Battūta, Firūzshāh, Badā'uni, and the author of the *Tabaqāt-i Akhbari* being untrustworthy. All that Minhāj al-Din relates is that she treated the *Hubabī* with favour, but this was enough to enable the later historians to interpret it as undue fondness on the queen's part. It was only towards the end of her reign that she laid aside her female attire and appeared in public clothed as a man and unveiled. The real cause of her downfall seems to have been the opposition of the Turkish amirs.

Bibliography: Minhāj al-Din, *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣiri*, translated by H. G. Raverty, London 1881, i. 637-648. (C. COLLIN DAVIES)

RIDWĀN (RIDWĀN) b. TUTUḤ, FAKHR AL-MULK (MULUK), a Salḡūk ruler in Ḥalab. Shortly before his death in Safar 488 (Feb. 1095) Tutuḥ b. Alp Arslān (q. v.) ordered his son Ridwān to go to the Irāk. The latter set out with a large army; on reaching the vicinity of Hīt (q. v.) he heard of his father's death and returned to Ḥalab, where he was recognised by the governor Abu 'l-Ḥasim al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Kh-wārizmī as the successor of Tutuḥ. He then attempted to seize Samlūj (q. v.) but Sukmān b. Ortok (q. v.) anticipated him and defended himself so energetically that Ridwān had to withdraw; on the other hand, he succeeded in taking Edessa, the citadel of which he entrusted to the lord of Antākīya, Yāghī Basān b. Muḥammad al-Turkumān. Soon afterwards he returned to Ḥalab because the emirs who were accompanying him, his step-father Djamāl al-Dawla al-Ḥusain b. Aitegin and Yāghī Basān, quarrelled with one another; the former went to Ḥalab and the latter to Antākīya accompanied by Abu 'l-Ḥasim al-Kh-wārizmī. Ridwān was very soon involved in a war with his brother Duḡāk, who had settled in Ḥalab after the death of Tutuḥ and had been asked by Sawtegin, commandant of the citadel in Damascus, to take this town. He therefore left Ḥalab, evaded the pursuit of the cavalry sent after him by his brother and reached Damascus where he was welcomed and recognised as lord of the city. He was joined by his step-father Tughtegin (q. v.) who soon afterwards appeared in Damascus with a number of officers who had served under Tutuḥ. After Duḡāk and Tughtegin had established themselves securely, they had Sawtegin put to death. But Ridwān also coveted Damascus. The city however proved to be too strongly defended, so he went to Nābulus and then to Jerusalem which had fallen into the hands of the Fātimids. There also he met with a vigorous re-

distance; his troops scattered and there was nothing left for him but to return to Halab. Yāghī Bāsān then went over to Duḡlāḡ and suggested he should besiege Rīdwān in Halab. The latter however appealed to Saḡmān b. Ortoḡ in Sarūḡ, who at once hurried to his assistance, and when the two brothers met at Kinnasrīn [q. v.], Duḡlāḡ was completely defeated and had to recognise Rīdwān as his overlord (489 = 1096 or 490 = 1097). In order to receive financial and military support from the Fāṭimids, Rīdwān for four weeks had prayers said for al-Musta'li, the caliph in Egypt; but on the representations of Saḡmān and Yāghī Bāsān, who had in the meanwhile made peace with him, he again paid homage to the Abbāsids and asked for forgiveness from the Caliph al-Mustaḡfir in Baghdad. About the same time Ḍjanāḡ al-Dawla left Rīdwān, settled in Hims and improved the defences of the town. He then took up a more independent attitude to his overlord Rīdwān than before.

In June 1098 Antākīya was stormed by the Crusaders and the Muslim army of relief, which included Rīdwān, repulsed whereupon Bohemund was recognised as prince of Antākīya. As his nearest neighbour, Rīdwān was soon at war with him. In Sha'bān 493 (July 1100), he set out to drive the Franks from the country round Halab but was defeated. He then joined forces with Ḍjanāḡ al-Dawla; but when the Christians withdrew and Rīdwān became jealous of his ally, Ḍjanāḡ al-Dawla returned to Hims. Soon afterwards the Christians under Bohemund and Tancred again threatened Aleppo; on the news of the siege of Malatya [q. v.] by a Muslim army (see DĀNIMUNDIYA), they suddenly withdrew. Bohemund fell into an ambush and was taken prisoner, Rīdwān and Ḍjanāḡ al-Dawla won several successes, but in the end quarrelled with one another, and a year or two later (495 = 1102 or 496 = 1103), the latter was murdered at the instigation of the Assassins of Halab. In Sha'bān 498 (April—May 1105) Tancred, who had succeeded Bohemund as prince of Antākīya and was also count of Edessa, won a brilliant victory over Rīdwān. When Tancred besieged the fortress of Artāḡ, the governor there appealed to Rīdwān for help. The latter appeared at the head of a powerful army and the two forces met near Kinnasrīn. On seeing the superiority of the Muslim forces, Tancred wanted to open peace negotiations; Rīdwān for his part was not unwilling to meet him but allowed himself to be persuaded by a subordinate commander to refuse, and when the battle began, the Franks at once took to flight but returned and cut down the Muslims while they were plundering; Tancred then occupied Artāḡ. In 499 (1105—1106) the latter also took the important fortress of Afāmiya (Apamea). An Assassin named Abū Ṭāhir (cf. ASSASSINS) who was on good terms with Rīdwān, had disposed of the commandant there, Khalaf b. Maṭā'ib. One of his sons fled to Tancred and asked him to expel the supporters of Rīdwān; Tancred who had already received an appeal from the Christians of Afāmiya, laid siege to the town. He withdrew after a time but soon returned and starved the town into surrender.

When Ḍawālī Saḡawa, governor of al-Mawṣil, lost the favour of the Salḡūḡ Sultān Muḡammad b. Maṭlikshāḡ [q. v.] and was replaced by Mawḡūd b. Altunṭegīn, he gave count Baldwin and Joscelin, who were prisoners there, their liberty on condition

that they paid a ransom, liberated Muslim prisoners and assisted him against his enemies. But when Tancred refused to restore the county of Edessa to Baldwin, hostilities broke out and the latter sought the help of Ḍawālī. After peace had been restored between the Frankish leaders and Edessa was restored to Baldwin, Rīdwān wrote to Tancred and warned him against Ḍawālī, who, he said, had already taken the town of Hālīs, and was now threatening Halab whereby he might become dangerous to Christian rule in this region. In Safar 502 (Sept.—Oct. 1108) Ḍawālī, who had joined Baldwin and Joscelin, was defeated at Tell Bāḡir [q. v.]. He lost Hālīs, and since he could not hold his own against Rīdwān and Mawḡūd, he had to make his peace with the sultān. The Christian princes then combined to besiege Tripolis. Saḡdā and Bāḡrūt. Tancred took the fortresses of al-Aḡḡrib and Zardānā and when the news reached them, the Muslims abandoned Manbidḡ and Hālīs also, and Rīdwān had to purchase peace very dearly (504 = 1110—1111). When sultān Muḡammad summoned the princes, his vassals, for a vigorous attack on the Franks under the leadership of Mawḡūd, the latter was appealed to for help by Rīdwān, whose lands the Christians were laying waste in revenge for the damage done by him in Syria. Mawḡūd came to his assistance but when he appeared before Halab, Rīdwān, who no longer needed him, shut the gates and took no part in the war against the common enemy.

Rīdwān died in the last days of Ḍumadān 1 507 (Nov. 1113). As a partisan of the Ismā'īlī Assassins he had a bad reputation; he even had two of his brothers, 'Alī Ṭāḡib and Bahramshūḡ, assassinated. Ibn al-Aḡḡir (x. 349) also says that his manner of life was by no means laudable (*ḡānat amār Rīdwān ḡayr mahmūdā*).

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, art. Turuḡ, ed. Wüstenfeld, N^o 121 (transl. de Slane, i. 274); Ibn al-Aḡḡir, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Tornberg, x. 158, 167—169, 174, 176, 183, 237, 271, 279, 281, 299, 295, 297, 324—326, 338, 341, 349, 431; Ibn al-Kalānī, *Ḍhail Ṭā'rikḡ Dimashḡ* (ed. Amedroz), p. 127, 130—135, 142, 148, 150, 157, 163, 170, 177, 182, 186, 189; Abū Ṭ-Fidā', *Annals*, ed. Reiske, iii. 299, 300; *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens orientaux*, i. iii., see index; Weil, *Gesch. der Chāḡlifen*, iii. 149—151, 154, 166, 179—181, 188, 191—193, 195, 198, 200; Röhrich, *Gesch. des Königreichs Jerusalem*, p. 27 f., 31, 34, 35, 55, 63, 73, 87—91, 97, 104. (K. V. ZETTERSTERN)

RIFĀ'Ā BEY al-ṬAḡṬĀWĪ, a famous writer of the last century and one of the principal creators of the modern Arabic "Renaissance". He was born at Ṭaḡṭa in upper Egypt in 1801. His parents, although of noble descent, were poor. When quite young, he devoted himself to the study of the Kur'ān; when a young man, he went to al-Aḡḡir where he studied seriously under the direction of Shaikh Ḥassān al-Aḡḡar.

On leaving al-Aḡḡir in 1824, he was appointed pay-master of the Egyptian army. At this period the celebrated Muḡammad (Meḡemet) 'Alī was ruling Egypt. The latter at the instigation of the French scholar Jomard sent to Paris in 1826 a group of students to learn French and study modern sciences. They were put under charge of Rīfā'a. In Paris the latter made the acquaintance

of Oriental scholars like Jaubert, Jomard, Sylvestre de Sacy and Caussin de Perceval. He made rapid progress and soon had a deep knowledge of the French language. From his stay in Paris dates a lively and interesting account entitled *Tahkik al-Ibrī* (Bulaq 1323) in which every line reveals a charming naïveté, and the enthusiasm aroused in this oriental mind by the manifold aspects and lights and shades of French life and culture (cf. Carra de Vaux, *Pemier*, v. 237 sq.). On his return to Egypt (1832) he was attached as interpreter and professor of French to the school of Medicine directed by Dr. Clot Bey and also entrusted with the editorship of the *Informations égyptiennes* which later became the *Journal Officiel*. In 1833 he was transferred to the School of Artillery and in 1835 appointed Director of the School of Foreign Languages (originally the "Translation Office"). He remained in this post until the accession of Abbās I. Unfortunately this ruler did not continue the brilliant work of his predecessor: the School of Languages was closed and its Director sent — a disgrace barely concealed — to the Sūdān to organise the High School at Khartūm.

On the death of Abbās, Rifā' returned to Egypt. Sa'īd Pasha appointed him Director of the Military School, for a very brief period, however, for the School in its turn was closed and Rifā' found himself unemployed.

In the reign of Ismā'īl in 1863, the School was reopened and our author again became Director of the "Translation Office". In 1876, he became editor in chief of the educational review *Kawā'id al-Madāris* (fortnightly) and died in 1873.

Rifā' Bey was one of the most important Arabic writers of the sixteenth century and his name is closely associated with the brilliant revival of literary and scientific activity in the modern east. An enquiring spirit of unusual intelligence, he left behind him a considerable amount of work in all fields: history, geography, grammar, law, literature, medicine etc.; details will be found in Sarkis, *Dictionnaire bibliographique*, p. 942-947. We may note here only his translations of Tilmacque, of Malte-Brun's *Geography* and the French *Code Civil*.

To appreciate the magnitude of the part he played, it must be remembered that at the dawn of the last century, the Arab world was in a state of semi-torpor and separated from European learning by a dense barrier: it was with difficulty that al-Azhar shed a dim light on the darkness that covered this period.

As a result of his works, his activity and the phalanx of experts and translators which he gave the country, Rifā' accomplished the miracle of popularising European science, of opening the east to modern ideas, enlightening the minds of his contemporaries, awakening dormant energies and preparing the future.

We can measure the effort if we reflect that he and his pupils translated into Arabic and Turkish nearly 2,000 works.

On the other hand by expanding the framework of the old classical language and by vivifying it and enriching it with a mass of new words, he enabled Arab thought to adapt itself to progress and to extend its light over modern Islam.

Bibliography. Shaikh, *al-Adab al-'arabiya fi 'l-karn al-ahd al-ahd*, Bairūt 1924-1926, II, 8; Dīdārī Zaidān, *Mashāhīd al-Sharq*,

Cairo 1922, II, 22 sqq.; do., *Ta'rikh Adab al-Lughā al-'arabiya*, Cairo 1914, IV, 295-97; al-Sandūbi, *A'yān al-Bayān*, Cairo 1914, p. 90 sqq.; Sarkis, *Dictionnaire Bibliographique*, Cairo 1928, p. 942-947; Vicomte Ph. de Tarrān, *Ta'rikh al-Sihāfa al-'arabiya*, Bairūt 1913, I, 93-96 (reproduction of Zaidān's article); *al-Sayyid* (weekly), Cairo, May 28, 1927, p. 20-22 (important article by Muḥammad Ḥusain); H. A. R. Gibb, *Studies in contemporary Arabic Literature*, in *B. S. O. S.*, IV, (1928), 748 ff.; Carra de Vaux, *Peinture de l'Islam*, Paris 1926, v. 235 ff.; Huart, *Littérature arabe*, Paris 1912, p. 406-407.

(MAURICE CHEMOUL)

AL-RIFĀ'Ī, AHMAD B. 'ALĪ ABU 'L-AUSĀ', founder of the Rifā'ī *ṭarīqa*, died 22nd Dhu-mādā I, 578 (Sept. 23, 1183) at Umm 'Abida, in the district of Wāsi. The date of his birth is given by some authorities as Muḥarram 500 (Sept. 1106), but others say Raddab 512 (Oct.-Nov. 1118), at Karyat Ḥasan, a village in the district of Baḡra. These places being in the region called al-Baṭā'ih [q. v.], he has the further *nisba* al-Baṭā'ihī; al-Rifā'ī is usually explained as referring to an ancestor Rifā', but by some is supposed to be a tribal name. This ancestor Rifā' is said to have migrated from Mecca to Seville in Spain in 317, whence Ahmad's grandfather came to Baḡra in 450. Hence he is also called al-Maghribī.

Ibn Khallikān's notice of him is meagre; more is given in Dhahabī's *Ta'rikh al-Islām* (Bodleian MS.), taken from a collection of his *Manāẓih* by Maḥyī 'l-Dīn Ahmad b. Sulaimān al-Ḥammāmī recited by him to a disciple in 680. This work does not appear in the lists of treatises on the same subject furnished by Abu 'l-Ḥudā Efendi al-Rāfi' al-Khalidi al-Sayyidi in his works *Tawarikh al-Akhbar* (Cairo 1306) and *Kilālat al-Djannāh* (Bairūt 1301), the latter of which is a copious biography, frequently citing *Tarikh al-Muḥallin* by Taḥt al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-Mahmūd al-Wāsi (d. 744; known to Ḥādīdī Khālifa), *Umm al-Barūkh* by Kāsim b. al-Ḥādīdī, *al-Nafha al-Mukhya* by 'Izz al-Dīn al-Fārūkh (d. 694), and others. Al-Ḥammāmī's statements are cited from one Yaḥyā b. Kurās, who acted as *mu'allif* for al-Rifā'ī. Great caution is required in the use of such materials.

Whereas according to some accounts he was a posthumous child, the majority date his father's death 519 in Baghdād, when Ahmad was seven years old. He was then brought up by his maternal uncle Maḥmūd al-Baṭā'ihī, resident at Nahr Daḡla in the neighbourhood of Baḡra. This Maḥmūd (of whom there is a notice in Sha'rānī's *Lawsāh al-Anwār*, I, 178) is represented as the head of a religious community, called by Ahmad (if he is correctly reported by his grandson, *Kalā'id*, p. 88) al-Rifā'īya; he sent his nephew to Wāsi to study under a Sha'fī doctor Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Alī al-Wāsi and a maternal uncle Abū Bakr al-Wāsi. His studies lasted till his 27th year, when he received an *ijāza* from Abū 'l-Faḍl, and the *shāhida* from his uncle Maḥmūd, who bade him establish himself in Umm 'Abida, where (it would seem) his mother's family had property, and where her father Yaḥyā al-Nadīdī al-Anṣārī was buried. In the following year (540) Maḥmūd died and bequeathed the leadership of his community (*manṣūbiya*) to Ahmad to the exclusion of his own son.

His activities appears to have been confined to

Umm 'Abida and neighbouring villages, whose names are unknown to the geographers; even Umm 'Abida is not mentioned by Yāqūt, though found in one copy of the *Marāʾiṭ al-Iṣṭilāḥ*. This fact renders incredible the huge figures cited by Abū 'I-Hudā for the number of his disciples (*murīdīn*) and even deputies (*ahkūṣa*), the princely style and the colossal buildings in which he entertained them. Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzi in *Mir'āt al-Zamān* (Chicago, 1907, p. 236) says that one of their shāikhs told him he had seen some 100,000 persons with al-Rifā'ī on a night of Shābān. In *Shāfi'arāt al-Dhahab* the experience is said to have been Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzi's own, though this person was born 581, three years after al-Rifā'ī's death. In *Tamwīl al-Aḥqār* (p. 7, 8) his grandfather as well as himself is credited with the assertion.

His followers do not attribute to him any treatises, but Abū 'I-Hudā produces 1. two discourses (*maḍāfir*) delivered by him in 577 (3rd Raddīyah) and 578 respectively; 2. a whole *ḥudūd* of odes; 3. a collection of prayers (*as'ā'iyā*), devotional exercises (*amrāṭ*), and incantations (*aḥṣāḥ*); 4. a great number of casual utterances, sometimes nearly of the length of sermons, swollen by frequent repetitions. Since in 1, 2 and 4 he claims descent from 'Alī and Fāṭima, and to be the substitute (*nā'ib*) for the Prophet on earth, whereas his biographers insist on his humility, and disclaiming such titles as *ḥuṭb*, *ḡhawṭ*, or even *shāikh*, the genuineness of these documents is questionable.

In *Shāfi'arāt al-Dhahab* (iv. 260) it is asserted that the marvellous performances associated with the Rifā'īs, such as sitting in heated ovens, riding lions, etc. (described by Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, i. 305) were unknown to the founder, and introduced after the Mongol invasion; in any case they were no invention of his, since the like are recorded by Tanḫīḥ in the fourth century A.H. The anecdotes produced by Dhahabī (repeated by Subḥī, *Taḥṣīl*, iv. 40) imply a doctrine similar to the Indian *ahimsā*, unwillingness to kill or give pain to living creatures, even lice and locusts. He is also said to have inculcated poverty, abstinence and non-resistance to injury. Thus *Mir'āt al-Zamān* records how he allowed his wife to belabour him with a poker, though his friends collected 500 dinārs to enable him to divorce her by returning her marriage gift. (The sum mentioned is inconsistent with his supposed poverty).

Inconsistent accounts are given of his relations with his contemporary 'Abd al-Qādir al-Gilānī. In *Bakīyat al-Aḥwāl* it is recorded by apparently faultless *inshā* on the authority of two nephews of al-Rifā'ī, and a man who visited him at Umm 'Abida in 576 that when 'Abd al-Qādir in Baghdad declared that his foot was on the neck of every saint, al-Rifā'ī was heard to say at Umm 'Abida "and on mine". Hence some make him a disciple of 'Abd al-Qādir. On the other hand, Abū 'I-Hudā's authorities make 'Abd al-Qādir one of those who witnessed in Medina in the year 555 the unique miracle of the Prophet holding out his hand from the tomb for al-Rifā'ī to kiss; further, in the list of his predecessors in the discourse of 578 al-Rifā'ī mentions Maṣṣūr, but not 'Abd al-Qādir. It is probable therefore that the two worked independently.

Details of his family are quoted from the work of al-Fārūqī, grandson of a disciple named 'Umar. According to him, al-Rifā'ī married first Maṣṣūr's

niece Khadīdja; after her death, her sister Rabī'a; after her death Nafīsa, daughter of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsimīya. There were many daughters; also three sons, who all died before their father. He was succeeded in the headship of his order by a sister's son, 'Alī b. 'Uthmān.

Bibliography: The sources of this account have been cited above.

(D. S. MARGOLISOUTH)

RIHĀ, the name of two towns.

1. The Arabs called the Jericho of the Bible Rihā or Arihā (Clermont-Ganneau, in *J.A.*, 1877, i. 498). The town, which was 12 *mi* E. of Jerusalem, was reckoned sometimes to the Djund of Filastīn (Yāqūt, *Ma'ājam*, iii. 915, c.g.) and sometimes to the district of al-Balqa' (Yāqūt, in *B.G.A.*, vii. 113); sometimes however it was called the capital of the province of Jordan (al-Urdunn) or of Ghawr, the broad low lying valley of the Jordan (Naḥr al-Urdunn) from which it was 10 *mi* distant (Yāqūt, i. 227). As a result of its warm moist climate and the rich irrigation of its fields the country round the town produced a sub-tropical vegetation; among its products are mentioned, some already known in ancient times, dates and bananas, fragrant flowers, indigo (prepared from the *maṣma* plant), sugar-cane, which yielded the best Ghawr sugar. Not far from the town were the only sulphur mines in Palestine (Abū 'I-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p. 236). There were however many snakes and scorpions there and large numbers of fleas. From the flesh of the snakes called *tiriyūḥiyya* found there was made the antidote called "Jerusalem *tiriyūḥ*" (*ṭarīqat ḡhawṭ*).

In the Qur'ān, Arihā is the town of the giants captured by Joshua; there was shown the tomb of Moses and the place where, according to the Christians, their saviour was baptised. The eponymous founder of the town (Arihā) was said to have been a grandson of Arphaxshad, grandson of Noah. The town was particularly prosperous during the Crusades but then began to decline and was in ruins in the 15th century. The modern Erhā in the Wādī el-Kelt occupies the site of the town of the Crusaders; it is about 800 feet below the level of the Mediterranean.

Bibliography: On the ancient city excavated in 1907-1909 by Sellin and again by Garstang (in the N. W. of Erhā near 'Ain al-Sulṭān) and the ancient Hierikōs: E. Sellin and C. Watzinger, *Jericho, die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, XXII. *Wiss. Veröff. der D.O.G.*, 1913; C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Jericho*, in *Klio*, xiv., 1914, p. 264; J. Garstang, *The Date of the Destruction of Jericho*, in *P.E.F.Q.S.*, lix., 1927, p. 96-100, 168; *Jericho*, in *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1930, p. 18; Boer, art. *Jericho*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, vol. ix., col. 922-928; P. Thomsen, art. *Jericho*, in *Reallexikon d. Vorgesch.*, vi., 1930, p. 153-157; C. Watzinger, *Zur Chronologie der Schichten von Jericho*, in *Z.D.M.G.*, N.F., v., 1926, p. 131-136; W. J. Phythian-Adams, *ibid.*, p. 34-47; on the Arab Rihā: al-Iṣṭilāḥ, in *B.G.A.*, i. 56, 58; Ibn Hawkal, in *B.G.A.*, ii. 111, 113; al-Makḥḥī, in *B.G.A.*, iii. 179 sq.; al-Yāqūt, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Houtsma, p. 113; Yāqūt, *Ma'ājam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i. 200, 227; ii. 884; iii. 823, 913; Ṣaḥī al-Dīn, *Marāʾiṭ al-Iṣṭilāḥ*, ed. Juybolli, i. 52, 496; ii. 322, 362; al-Idrīsī, ed. Gildemeister, in *Z.D.P.F.*, viii. 3; Abū 'I-Fidā', ed. Reinaud,

p. 48, 236; Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, p. 15, 18, 28—32, 53, 288, 381, 396 sq.

2. A little town in the district of Ḥalab. According to Yāqūt it stood in a wooded, well watered area "on the slopes of the Djabal Luhūdī". By this term the Arabs meant not only the Lebanon but also its northern continuation as far as the Orontes (Lamanea, *Notes sur le Liban*, ii. 6; M.F.O.B., i., 1906, p. 271). But in the present case the heights to the east of the Orontes are certainly wrongly included in the term. Rihā on the contrary is on the northern edge of the Djabal Banī 'Uslīm (Ibn al-Shihna, *Bairūt*, p. 102, 130), the modern Djebel Arba'in, a part of the Djebel Rihā or Djebel al-Zāwiye (cf. the map Djebel Rihā or Djebel al-Zāwiye by Rob. Garrett and F. A. Norris in *Public. of the Princeton Univ. Arch. Exp. de Syrie*, div. II, sect. B, part III, 1909).

M. Hartmann suggested that the name Rihā was concealed in the name of a *siyāḥ* *Maḡararīq* in the district of Apameia in an inscription of Concordia at Aquileia (*C.I.G.*, v. 8732 = *I.G.*, xiv. 2334), and that this corresponds to the Maḡhara about 6 miles south of Rihā, while Dussaud (*Topographie de la Syrie*, 204 sq., 212 sq.) wishes to identify it with Rihā itself. Hartmann wrote as follows in support of his view (*Z.D.P.V.*, xii. 145, note 3): "As in the case of Jericho, the form Arthā may have been current alongside of Rihā; in favour of this is the fact that Yāqūt, ii. 885, expressly protests against the spelling Arthā for the little town in the district of Ḥalab: it should not be written with *alif*, while both forms were usual for the town in the Qhawr". This supposition is certainly correct; for Ibn al-Shihna twice writes Arthā (p. 130 with the variant Rihā) and J. B. L. J. Rousseau (*Liste alphabétique...*, in *Recueil de voyages et de mémoires*, ii., Paris 1825, p. 215a) also knows of Arthā (Rihā) alongside of Rihā as the name of the place and of the *siyāḥ* (cf. also the *Sānāme* of Ḥalab for the year 1286, p. 118). But the identification of Maḡararīq with Maḡhara or with Rihā cannot however be maintained for the former is already found to the year 472 (1079) in Kamāl al-Dīn (*Zabdat Ḥalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab*, Paris, Bib. Nat., MS. Arab. No. 1066, fol. 101) as "Ma'ararīq" in the district of Kafarjāb" (E. Honigsmann, in *Syria*, x., 1929, p. 282; xii., 1931, p. 99) and is still found as Ma'ararīq about 20 miles south of Rihā (du Mesnil du Buisson, in *Syria*, xii. 99 sq., with sketch map).

The identification of Rihā with the *Rugia* or *Castel Rouge* of the Franks is also untenable; as Dussaud (*Topogr. de la Syrie*, p. 167, 174, 176, 213) rightly points out that this should rather be identified with al-Rūj of the Arabs.

There is a place noted for its ruins of antiquity called Ruwāḥa ("little Rihā") about 8 miles S. E. of Rihā.

Rihā is very frequently mentioned in modern travel literature as it was on the main road from Ḥalab to Hamā (Bitter, *Krdhande*, xii. 1502; Dussaud, *Topogr. de la Syrie*, p. 183), over which Nāḥi-i Shuraw (before 1047) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1326) travelled in their day. The town is therefore mentioned by Belon du Mans (1548), Pietro Della Valle (1616), Wansleb (1671), Pococke (1737), Drummond (1754), C. Niebuhr (1778),

Seetzen (1806—1807), Burckhardt (1810—1812) and many others.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Ma'djam*, ed. Wastefeld, ii. 885; Saḥī al-Dīn, *Ma'arid al-Istīlā'*, ed. Juydholl, i. 496; Ibn al-Shihna, *al-Durr al-muntakhab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab*, Bairūt 1909, p. 102, 130; Rich. Pococke, *Description of the East*, London 1745, ii., p. 31; Alex. Drummond, *Travels through different cities of Germany, Italy, Greece and several parts of Asia*, London 1754, p. 228, 290 (*Rhia*; on the Map of part of Syria, at p. 205, which is the anonymous map, referred to by Dussaud, *Topogr.*, p. viii., note 1: *Raia*); Niebuhr, *Reichsbeschreibung nach Arabien und anderen umliegenden Ländern*, Copenhagen 1778, ii., pl. III. (*Rahā*); J. B. L. J. Rousseau, *Description du Pachalik de Halep, in Fundgraben der Orient*, iv., Vienna 1814, p. 11 sq.; do., *Liste alphabétique...*, in *Recueil de voyages et de mémoires*, Paris 1825, p. 207—217; de Corancez, *Itinéraire d'une partie peu connue de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1816, p. 36: Rihā east (!) of Sarmin; Burckhardt, *Reisen in Syrien, Palästina und der Gegend des Berges Sinai*, ed. by W. Gesenius, i., Weimar 1828, p. 225, note 1 (*Rishā*); William M. Thomson, *Bibliotheca sacra*, v., New York 1848, p. 672; Seiff, *Ein Ritt durch das innere Syrien*, in *Z. G. Erdk.*, viii., 1873, p. 23; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, p. 520 sq.; M. Hartmann, in *Z.D.P.V.*, xii., 1899, p. 145; Dussaud, *Topographie de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, p. vi., note 2, viii., note 1, p. 174, 176, 183, 205 sq., 212 sq., 243. (E. HONIGSMANN)

RIKĀ. [See ARABIA, I. 387a.]

RIKĀB (A., Turkish pronunciation: *rikāb* and *rikāp*, "stirrup") in Persian and Turkish usage at Muhammadan courts: "the sovereign himself or his presence, the foot of the throne" (metonymy like those of *ghidmet* in Saldjūq usage; *hazret* or *hadrat*, *shāh-i pay* etc.).

In Turkish (Ottoman, Altai, Čaghatai) the stirrup was called *sengi* (*sengi*), older form *üsençü*, *sengi* (*Kudatgah Bilig*; Baṭṭāl, ed. Kāzım, p. 49). This word passed into certain foreign languages without the initial vowel: Ar. Syr. *sengiyya* and *sengawa* "stirrup, ladder or other means of assistance in mounting a horse" (Freytag, *Cuche*, *Kazimirski*, Boethor, *Belot*, *Berggren*; *sengiyya* is disputed by Dozy); Bulgarian *sengi* (alongside of *sengiyya* and *yusengiyya*, with a final *-ya* quite independent of that of the Arabic) "stirrup". In Turkish also there are traces of its use without the initial vowel: Čaghatai *sengi* "ladder, steps" (Favet de Courteille; cf. the Arabic *ullam* "steps, stirrup, mounting stone"), *sengi* *parisi* (old Turkish and Persian usage; cf. *rikāndān*). These comparisons show that at first a distinction was not always made between the stirrup and the mounting-stone (Ar. *ḥaḡḡar al-rikāb*, Turk. *binet taḡḡ*, Persian from the Ottoman usage *sengi rikāb*, as in the *Tārīkh-i Wāḡif*, Bulāḡ 1246, i. 179). (In spite of these semantic coincidences and correspondences like Turk. *sengi* "rich" for Persian *sengin* "heavy, precious", the resemblance of *sengi* and *üsençü* may be only accidental).

The figurative expression *rikāb-i ḥumūyān* (Turk. pronunciation: *rikāb-i ḥumūyān*), or (more rarely) *rikāb-i shāhān* or simply *rikāb* is already found in Persian of the Saldjūqid period applied to the sultan himself or his entourage in the field or

travelling. For example one said that so-and-so was "in the service of the imperial stirrup" (Houtsma, *Recueil*... *religieuses*, iv. 37; iii. 18) or "in the service of the pashal (later) of the imperial stirrup" (*ibid.*, iv. 7). In modern Persian one says "to be at the stirrup of a prince" for "to be attached to his court" (Kazimirski, *Dialogues*, p. 493 and 482-483).

In Turkish usage the same expressions were applied to:

1. The imperial cavalcade and the procession formed on this occasion. However, in order to avoid confusion with other uses of the word rikâb, there was also used, especially in the reigns of Mahmud II and 'Abd al-Medjid, the Turkish word *binîsh* which was applied to all public appearances of the sultan, whether on horseback or in a boat (Mouradgée d'Ohsson, vii. 141, 144; Jonanin and van Gaver, *Turquie*, p. 377 note; Andreassy, *Constantinople et le Bosphore*, p. 33, 494). The prince's procession was also called *marûb* (*mes-kib-i hümâyûn*) (Houtsma, iii. 18; on these words in Ottoman and Egyptian usage, cf. J. Deny, *Sommaire des Archives du Caire*, p. 104 and 564). Cf. also the name of rikâb *salâh* given to the eight *salâh* lieutenants who walked by the sultan's stirrup in the great procession (Mouradgée d'Ohsson, vii. 25, 317).

2. The audience given by the sultan (*razm-i rikâb* or simply *rikâb*), whether or not he was in procession. The grand vizier himself could only be introduced to the sultan's presence by the latter's formal order and his admission was called *rikâb*. There were ordinary *rikâb* and ceremonial *rikâb* (Mouradgée d'Ohsson, vii. 133, 199). Cf. details of the *hâim rikâb* *tehrîfât* in *Afû Târikhî*, i. 23; cf. Zenker, *Diit.*, i. 468; Ahmad Râsim, *Târikh*, iv. 1014.

3. The service of the sultan or simply his presence (Sekowski, *Collectanea*, Warsaw 1824, ii. 24). The presence was not necessarily immediate. Thus the expression *rikâb-i hümâyûnde* (in the locative) "with the sultan" was used in speaking of the troops (*şapu-kulu*) of the capital ('Abd al-Rahmân Sheref, *Târikh*, p. 292) or of the grand vizier in so far as he was endowed with the full powers of the sultan (*M. T. M.*, p. 528). Similarly the words *rikâb-i hümâyûnde* (in the dative) were used for petitions (*arzûş*) addressed to the sultan (Meninski, *Thesaurus*; "Sulaimân's Canon" or *Nasîhat-nâme*, p. 151), whence the expression *marûbât-i rikâbiye* applied to these petitions.

It is from this connection that we have the use of the words *rikâb-i hümâyûn* or *rikâb* in the sense of interim or substitute. When the grand vizier moved from place to place, the government was thought to go with him and there was appointed "to the sovereign a substitute for the grand vizier who was called *rikâb-i hümâyûn*" (Bianchi, *Diit.*, 1^{re} ed.; Perry, *A view of the Levant*, London 1743, p. 37). The other chief dignitaries of the Sublime Porte had also their substitutes "of the imperial stirrup".

Rikâb aghalari or *aghayân-i rikâb-i hümâyûn* or *üzengi aghalari*. — These names were applied to a certain number of important officers or dignitaries of the palace (from 4 to 11 according to the different sources). They were the *mir-alem* or "standard-bearer", the two *mir-ahkur* (*imbrohor*) or "squires", the *şapuğular başyast* or "chief usher" and other dignitaries with different offices

(cf. Luifi Pasha, *Afş-nâme*, in *Türk. Bibliotek*, xii. 18 and 21 of the Turk. text ed. by Tschudi; Beauvoisin, *Notice sur la Cour du Grand Seigneur*, 1809, p. 54; Mouradgée d'Ohsson, vii. 14; v. Hammer, *Staatsverf.*, ii. 61, with references to Castellan and 'Ali; esp. *M. T. M.*, p. 326, for the *hümân* or "usages" regarding the aghas of the stirrup; Feridûn, *Münâzât*, p. 10, for the *elâk* or protocol relating to them). The following is a translation of the passage in the *Afş-nâme* which is a comparatively old text (Luifi Pasha died in 1539): "The *üstüddâr* of the finances have precedence (*şapadâr*) over the *şapadâr beyi* and the *üzengi aghalari*. The principal (*baş olan*) of these is the agha of the Janissaries, next comes the *mir-alem*, then the *şapuğular başı*, after him the *mir-ahkur*, then the *şahîrî-şahî*, the *şahîrî-şahî* and the *şahîrî aghalari*" (starting with the agha of the Janissaries, we have here then an enumeration of the *üzengi aghalari*).

Considering the authority of these sources, we must conclude that the variations are the results of changes which actually took place, which leads us to conclude that the tradition of the palace left the sultan a certain freedom in this respect. We know moreover that admission to the rikâb was in general subject to the *ittifâk* or "approval, pleasure" of the sultan.

The most important function, at least in principle, of the aghas of the stirrup was exercised when the sultan mounted his horse: the grand *mir-ahkur* held the inner stirrup (*il rikâb*), the *baş-şapuğular başı* agha, the outer stirrup (*âh rikâb*); the *mir-alem* held the bridle and the *şahîrî-şahî* assisted the sultan by holding him under the arm or "under the armpit" (*kolucğa girmek*). The *şapuğular başı* or "chamberlains" stood all around and the *ahkur khalîfesi* (*halfast*) held the horse's head (*M. T. M.*, p. 526).

On the functions of the chamberlains, who to the number of 150, headed by the *baş-şapuğular başı*, already mentioned, were in the service of the stirrup, and for other details see Mouradgée d'Ohsson, vii. 18 and especially *M. T. M.*, loc. cit. Their duties were to take to the province important firmans and to carry out various confidential missions.

Sometimes epithets rhyming in *-âb* were added to the word rikâb in the language of the court: e.g. *rikâb-i şamserî* "stirrup shining like the moon" (*Târikh-i Wâsif*, i. 105); cf. also the epithets: *hümâyûn, gerdân şenâb, devlet-intişâb* (Meninski, *Thesaurus*).

The tribute which the Woiwods of Wallachia and Moldavia sent to the sultan in their own name, supplementary to that (*şifeye*) paid by their subjects, was known as rikâbiye and 'idye (Ahmad Râsim, i. 380; cf. Saineanu, *Infantia orientala*, Bucarest 1900, i. 249).

Bibliography: Cf. the works quoted in the text. (J. DENY)

RIKÂBDÂR or **RIKÎNDÂR**, a Persian derivative from the preceding (Turkish pronunciation *rikâbdâr, rikâbdâr, rikâptar* and *rikâptar*), properly "one put in charge of the stirrup, one who holds the stirrup, when his master mounts" (cf. French *attacher*, Ital. *staffiere*, Russ. *stremennoy*, English *groom of stirrup*, words formed from *stafu, stremâ, stirrup* = French *stirica*, mod. *strier*). In fact, remembering that the word rikâb has been given or has assumed a wider meaning [see the article],

rikâbdâr meant "a kind of squire, groom or riding attendant who had charge of the care and maintenance of harness and saddlery and of everything required for mounting on horseback". The pronunciation with an *i* in the second syllable (*rikâbdâr* or *rekâbdâr*) used alike in Egypt (Dory; Spiro, p. 198) and in Turkey (Moldavian-Wallachian *rechiptar* or *rechiptar* in Saineanu, li. 99) is due to a (Persian) corruption analogous to that found in the words *silâhdâr* for *silâhdâr* and *i'timâd* for *i'timâd* (cf. the Turkish translation of the *Burhân-i Kayî*, p. 405). In Arabic we find the forms *rikâbî* and *rikâb al-rikâb*. (Below we leave out of account the use of *rikâbdâr* in the sense of cup-bearer, derived from *rikâb* "cup" [used for drinking the "stirrup-cup"]?). If this explanation is correct, the two *rikâbdâr* may very well be the same).

Maqqari mentions a personage who was *rikâbî al-rikâb* already to the first Umayyad caliph of Spain (138—172 = 756—788; cf. *Anales*, i. 605; reference given by Dory). In Egypt at the court of the Fâtîmids, there were over 2,000 *rikâbî* or *rikâb al-rikâb al-khâss*, so called "on account of their costume (*lawî*)", whose duties were the same as those of the *silâhdâr* and *teherdâr* of the time of Kâlkashandî (*Sûbâ*, iii. 482).

As to the Persian form *rikâbdâr*, it must have been in use among the Saljûqs for we have to admit by analogy that it was from them that the Ayyûbids and later the Mamlûks borrowed the term, like many others of the same kind.

In Persia itself, the term *rikâbdâr* was replaced by its (Turkish) synonym *âsâncî* (or *zengî*) *kurtîrî* (cf. Chardin, 1711 ed., vi. 112; Fern. Rapha. du Mans, *Etat de la Perse*, p. 24). According to the *Burhân-i Kayî*, the *rikâbdâr* were replaced by the *âsâncî* (from *âsâncî*, bridle), but it should be noted that the office of the latter was contemporary with and independent of that of *âsâncî kurtîrî*.

In Egypt the *rikâbdâr*s of the Mamlûks, also called *rikâbî*, were members of the *rikâb-khâna*, like the other "men of the sword" (*arâb al-ayyâf*), such as the *sandjâbdâr*, *nahmîdâr*, *para-gûlâm* and *gûlâm-mamlûk*. The *rikâb-khâna* (the *khânat al-rikâbî* of the Fâtîmids) was the depot for harness and in general for all the material required for horses and stables. The heads of this service were called *mektâr* (cf. the Ottoman *mektâr* whose duties were different and humbler). The *rikâbdâr*s were under the command of the *emîr âfendâr*, "Marshal of the Court" (cf. the *kapîngûlar Naksh* of the Ottoman court). Cf. Kâlkashandî, iv. 12, 20; Khallî al-Zâhir, p. 1241; Gaudefoy-Demombynes, *Syrie*, p. 1111, lii.

The word *rikâbdâr* is found in the *1001 Nights*, where it is translated "palefrenier" by E. Gauttier, vi. 168 and "groom" by Burton, x. 365, note 2. From the context we might also suggest "riding attendant". Boecher gives (for Syria) *r-âbdâr* under the French "écuyer (qui enseigne à monter à cheval)" and *r-âbd al-âbdâr* under "groom (celui qui monte à cheval)". The synonymous expression *rikâb al-rikâb*, in the sense of "good squire, one who mounts a horse well", is found in the romance of *Antara*. In contemporary Egyptian usage *rikâbdâr* or *rekâbdâr* means "jockey, groom" (Spiro, Habeshé). (According to the *Burhân-i Kayî* [Turk. transl.], the *rikâbdâr* of Egypt were replaced by the *âsâncî* "saddler" mentioned by Volney and others).

Turkish usage. — In Turkey the office of *rikâbdâr* must have been taken over directly from the Saljûqs but instead of becoming assimilated to that of humble grooms or *rikâbî*, as in Egypt, it became an important dignity at the sultan's court reserved for a single officer. It is in the reign of Orkhan (1326—1360) that we find the first Ottoman *rikâbdâr*: he was called *Kodja Elyas Agha* ("Agha *Târîkhî*, i. 94). It was however only under Selim I (1512—1520) that the duties of the *rikâbdâr* were defined. According to the organisation at this time, the *rikâbdâr agha* was a *khâss-odâllî*, i.e. he was one of the *khâss-odâ* (and not *odâllî*) or "company of the corps (Mouradges d'Ohsson); chambrée suprême (Castellan); innkeeper Kammer (v. Hammer)" which was the first of the six groups of officers of the household (*il* or *enderûn*) of the Serail and consisted of the fixed number of 40 officers or pages including in theory the sultan himself. It had been formed by Sultan Selim to guard the relic of the Prophet's mantle (*khirqa-i peyğambar*) brought back after the conquest of Egypt (A'â, i. 208; for details of the organisation see *ibid.*, and Mouradges d'Ohsson, vii. 34 *app.*). The *rikâbdâr* was the third of these officers in order of precedence (following the *silâhdâr* and the *teherdâr* and preceding the *dûlbend agha*) and an officer passed in this order from one office to another. The four officers just mentioned were the only *khâss-odâllî* who had the right to wear the turban.

According to the usual definition repeated everywhere, the chief duty of the *rikâbdâr agha* was to hold the sultan's stirrup. It may have been so at first, but none of the documents available show the *rikâbdâr* performing this duty in practice. Indeed we have seen [cf. *rukân*] who were the "aghas of the stirrup" entrusted with this duty. Now in spite of his name, the *rikâbdâr* was not one of these. The Arabic version of the *Asaf-nâme* (Bairût, p. 9, note 7) and the German translation (*Türk. Abz.*, N° 12 [1910], p. 17, note 1) have therefore confused *rikâbdâr agha* and *rikâb agha*, which has given rise to an erroneous interpretation of the whole passage [cf. the corrected translation in the article *rukân*].

On the other hand, western writers of the xvth century mention as the third officer of the household (*loggia*) after the *silâhdâr* and *teherdâr* a "cup-bearer"! Theodore Spandone (Spandoun Cantacuzin) calls him *sharabdâr* (cf. Garzoni, 1573) and Leunclavius *sharabdâr* "bearer of the (water)-jar", a name also found in Lonicér (p. 69). This water-carrier was given other names later. D'Ohsson (pl. 158) and the *Agha Târîkhî* (i. 282) speak of a *ho-ârd* or "keeper of the *ho*, probably for the Arabic-Persian *hâs* (s) or water-jar". Wearing a *berâbe*, he carried a ewer (*masbûrâq*) of warm water at the end of a stick. V. Hammer calls this official *matarnâdjî* or bearer of the gourd (*matarnâdjî* for *masbûrâq*).

The use of warm water is easily explained by the fact that, as an author writing in 1631 tells us, the third gentleman of the sultan's chamber "carried him 'sherbet' to drink, and water to wash with" (De Stochove, *Voyage du Levant*, Brüssel 1663, p. 84: *Ichtophar*, for *rikâbdâr*; cf. Baudier who writes: *rechiptar*).

On the other hand, there was an officer whose duty it was to carry a stool (*aknâk*) plated with silver which the sultan used in mounting his horse when he did not prefer the assistance of a mute

who went on his hands and knees on the ground (Castellan, *Mœurs*..., iii. 139; *Asi. et. cit.*; d'Olivson, pl. 157). He was the *ikemle agha* or *ikemleghîr bakhî*, chosen from among the oldest grooms (*kapuân tikiş*). Wearing a *dolama* and a *kele*, he rode like the water-carrier on horseback in processions (*rikâb*). Probably through some confusion Castellan calls him *rikâbdâr*, but adds that in his time the *rikâbdâr* was chosen not from among the *kâhî-odâh*, but from the *lawânâ* (mistake for *kapuân*). Not must we confuse, as Saineanu (*Influences orientales*, ii. 104, s.v. *schenniağa*) does, the *ikemle* (or *ikemni*) *aghâ* with the special commissioner of this name who was charged, along with the *tanzîh aghâ*, to install on the throne (*evam*) the new *hetpodars* of Moldavia and Wallachia (cf. *Mémoires*, 1933, p. 202). There were also *ikemle aghâ* similar to those of the sultan in certain provinces (Rousseau, *Description du pachalik de Bagdad*, Paris 1809, p. 27).

Among the special duties of the *rikâbdâr*, we shall only mention the custody and care of the harness etc. of the sultan (as among the Mamlûks) and his *pabu* or shoes and *ham* or boots (*Kanûn* of Sulaimân or *Nâshat-nâmâ*, p. 152).

It should be noted that, according to the *Asî Târikhi* (l. 208), the services of the *rikâbdâr* like those of the *ishadâr* were only required on gala days (*ciyâm-ı resmîye*). This practice is said to have been introduced under Mustafa III (1757—1774) out of consideration for the age of these concerned for they were generally over 60 and had spent 40 years in the service of the court (*adâb yolu*). According to the same work, these duties were reduced to very little. During the ceremonies (*merasîm*) of the Prophet's birthday (*merasîd* or *merasîd*), the two *hâvânes* and at the *hâkîk* or ceremonial appearances of the sultan, the *rikâbdâr* sat opposite the sultan in the imperial barge with the *silâhdâr*, *kâhî-odâ* *bakhî* and the two *ishadâr*.

From all this we may conclude that if there really was a *rikâbdâr* in the time of Orkhan he performed not only the duties of a squire but also those of a "cup-bearer" and we know that in Persian *rikâbdâr* means "cup-bearer". In time, the *rikâbdâr* becoming a more and more important personage, these duties were divided between two special officers: on the one hand, the *şer-behîv* and similar officers, and on the other, the *ikemle aghâ*.

The *rikâbdâr aghâ*, like the *ishadâr*, received a daily salary or *akûfe* of 35 aspers (*akûfe*) while the *silâhdâr* drew 45 (Hesarienn, MS. A. F. T. of the Bibliothèque Nationale, fol. 18v). Like the *ishadâr* they had in their service two *halas* of the *kâhî-odâ*, a *harâkolluklu*, a *halâdji* with tasselled caps (*akûfû*), two *sofals*, a *halâdji* and two *zedeklis*. The *rikâbdâr* who did not attain the rank of *silâhdâr* were put on the retired list (became *lîrâk*) with a pension of 60—100,000 piastres. In the absence of the *ishadâr*, the *rikâbdâr* performed the duties of the *silâhdâr*. On the quarters in the palace occupied by the *rikâbdâr*, cf. *Asi.*, l. 312, =

The four chief officers of the *kâhî-odâ*, including the *rikâbdâr*, were often called by the name — not official, however — of *hâltûk wâstîrî* or "viziers of the armpit" because they had the privilege of touching the sultan, particularly of giving him their hand or taking him by the arm during a walk and they frequently attained the rank of

wâstîr (Cantemir, *Hist. Emp. Ott.*, Paris 1743, ix. 119—121). The *rikâb aghâlarî* [cf. *rikâb*] were also *hâltûk wâstîrî*.

The same four officers were also called *ury aghâlarî* because they had the right to present (*ury*) to the sultan any petition which reached them, like the master of petitions (Rycaut, Bk. i, p. 97 of the French transl.; Castellan, iii. 185). According to Ahmad Râim (ii. 639), in processions, the *ikemle aghâ* had the task of returning to those concerned petitions which were not granted.

The *rikâbdâr* were abolished by Mahmûd II, probably about the same time as the *şer-behîv* (in 1248 = 1832—1833; cf. Lutfi, iv. 68) and the *silâhdâr* (in 1246; cf. Lutfi, iv. 61); cf. v. Hammer, *Hist.*, xvii. 191.

Bibliography: See the works already quoted above of which the most important is the *Asî Târikhi*. See also Ahmad Râim, *Târikhi*, i. 186, 479; ii. 526; Hammer, *Hist.*, vii. 15 for references not used here. (J. DENVY)

RISÂLA. [See RASÛL.]

RIYÂDÎ, Ottoman biographer of poets. Molla Mehmed, known as Riyâdî, was the son of a certain Mustafa Efendi of Birge (S.E. of Smyrna) and was born in 980 (1572). He was first of all employed as a *muderris*, later became *şâhî* of Aleppo and died on 9th Safar 1054 (April 17, 1644) (according to J. v. Hammer, *G. O. W.*, vi. 44 in Cairo). He was known as *al-Azîmî*, the "dumb". His chief work is his *Riyâd al-Shu'arâ*, a biographical dictionary of poets containing 384 names. It is known to have been finished by 1018 (1609). He also wrote an abbreviated translation into Turkish of the *Wafayat al-A'yan* of Ibn Khallikân. The lexicon has not yet been published but is accessible in a number of manuscripts, a list of which is given by F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 178 (add: Stambul, *Lâli Lem'âl*, N^o. 314). On a German translation of an extract from it by V. v. Rosenzweig-Schwannau, cf. *Z. D. M. G.*, xx. (1866), p. 439. N^o. 5 (filling 20 pages).

Bibliography: Rijâ, *Tedkîr*, p. 38 sq.; *Sigillî-i Şekmânî*, ii. 425; J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iii. 367; Brunsall Mehmed Tâhir, *Osmanî Mî'âllîk*, ii. 183 sq. (with references); F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 177 sq. (FRANZ BARNOCK)

RIYÂH, an Arab tribe, the most powerful of those that, regarding themselves as descended from Hilâl [q.v.], left Upper Egypt and invaded Barbary in the middle of the 5th (xth) century. Their chief at that time was Munis b. Yahyâ of the family of Mirdâs. The Zirid emir al-Mu'izz [q.v.], who did not foresee the disastrous consequences of the entry of the Arabs into Ifrîkiya, tried to come to an arrangement with him and to win over the Riyâh. The latter were the first to lay his country waste. But thanks to the protection of the chiefs of the Riyâh, to whom he had married his daughters, al-Mu'izz himself succeeded in escaping from Kairawân and reaching al-Mahdiyya [q.v.].

At the first partition of Ifrîkiya which followed the invasion, the Riyâh were naturally the best served. They obtained the greater part of the plains, which the Berbers had abandoned to seek shelter among the mountains; they had thrust their relatives, the Athbîdî, towards the east. They held Bedja which the caliph in Cairo had allotted to them in anticipation. The people of Gabes took

the oath of loyalty to Mūnia. "It was", says Ibn Khaldūn, "the first real conquest of the Arabs". The Dhāmī, a family related to the Riyāh, made Gabes a regular little capital, which they adorned with their buildings. Lastly, a chief of the main tribe, Muḥrta b. Ziyād, made himself a fortress in al-Mu'allāḡa (a Roman circus?), among the ruins of Carthage. The powerful lords of al-Mu'allāḡa, however, supported the policy of the Zirids of al-Mahdiyya, and joined them in their resistance to the Almohads.

This resistance did not long impede the expeditions sent by the Maghribis against Ifrīkiya in anarchy. Defeated by 'Abd al-Mu'min in 546, 555, 583 (1152, 1160 and 1187), the Arabs were ordered to supply contingents for the holy war in Spain. 'Abd al-Mu'min, leaving a section of the Riyāh in Ifrīkiya under command of 'Asākir b. Saṭṭān, took the others to the Maghrib with their chief, 'Asākir's brother Ma'sūd, known as *al-bult* ("the axe"; cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 111). He settled them in the Moroccan plains to the north of Bū Regreg. This control was little in keeping with the traditions of the Riyāh; Ma'sūd fled to Ifrīkiya and there gave his support to the Banū Ghāniya [q. v.] who were trying to revive for their own advantage the Almoravid power.

We know how the trouble stirred up by the Banū Ghāniya led to the Almohad caliph's appointing a governor of Ifrīkiya invested with very extensive powers, Aḥmad Muḥammad of the Ḥafsid [q. v.] family. This governor naturally attacked the Riyāh and in order to be rid of them, encouraged the settlement in the country of the Salasin Arabs hitherto quartered in Tripolitania. Under the pressure of the Salasin, the Riyāh, the principal family of whom at this time was the Dawāwida, migrated to the plains of Constantine where they were henceforth to remain.

In their new home the position of the Riyāh remained a very strong one. They had rights over all the centre of the modern department of Constantine, approximately from the region of Guelma to that of Bougie. In the Zāb [q. v.] they were on terms — which were sometimes friendly but more often hostile — with the Banū Mornī of Bākra, who ruled this Ḥafsid province. This is how the Banū Mornī had to fight against that curious movement, at once religious and social, stirred up by the Riyāhid marabout Sa'ada. The Dawāwida, and in particular their most powerful family, the Aḥlād Muḥammad, held winter lands and enjoyed revenues paid by the people of the *ḡhar* in the Sahara region of the Wādī Righ.

During the whole of the 15th century, the two chief branches of the main tribe, the Aḥlād Muḥammad and the Aḥlād Siba', were actively engaged in the politics of the Ḥafsid princes and the 'Abd al-Wadīds of Tlemcen, in the enterprises of the pretenders who threatened their dynasties. The power of the Riyāh of central Barbary lasted till the 15th and 16th centuries. According to Bernardino de Mendosa, they had in 1536 10,000 horsemen and large numbers of foot. The 17th century saw them assisting the Turkish Bey of Constantine, to whom they were connected by marriage and the independent sultans of Taggart. In 1844, Carrette and Warnier noted that the name Dawāwida was still synonymous with "noble Arabs".

Another group of the Riyāh played a notable part in the history of the Zanāts states. In the

extreme Maghrib, bodies of them transported by the Almohads to the plains of the coast faithfully served this dynasty, by trying to check the advance of the Marinids [q. v.]. Defeated near the Wādī Shū in 614 (1217), the Riyāh were mercilessly punished by the victorious Marinids. Decimated and weakened, and driven northwards, they submitted to the humiliation of paying an annual tribute. Their name no longer figures on the map of modern Morocco except at a place near the road from al-Ksār to Tangiers.

Finally, at the other end of Barbary, in their first home, the name survives in the nomenclature of the tribes. The Tunisian caidate of the Riyāh lies between Teboursuk and the hills which surround the Gulf of Tunis.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, I, 19 199; transl. I, 34 199; and *passim*; Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, ed. Dozy, I, 300 199; transl. E. Fagnan, I, 433 199; Ibn al-Aṭlās, ed. Tornberg, ix, 387 199; transl. E. Fagnan (*Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*), p. 456 199; Elie de la Primaudaie, *Documents inédits sur l'histoire de l'occupation espagnole en Afrique*, in *R. Afr.*, 1877; Féraud, *Le Sahara de Constantine*, Algiers 1887; do., *Histoire des villes de la province de Constantine, Bordj bon Arreridj*, in *Recueil de la Société archéologique de Constantine*, xv.; Carrette and Warnier, *Notes*, in *Établissements français*, 1844; Bouaziz ben Gans, *Le cheikh el-Arab*, Algiers 1930; Michaud-Bellaire et Salmon, *Tribus arabes de la vallée de l'Oued Lekhous*, in *Archives marocaines*, iv, 38—59; G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie*, see index and genealogical table II.

(GEORGES MARÇAIS)

RIYĀL (A.), *riyal* *francés*, from the Spanish real (de plata), the name given in the Muslim world to the large European silver coins which formed the international currencies of the 17th and 18th century; the most important was the Spanish dollar (peso; properly 8 reales) but the name was also given to the Dutch, German and Austrian dollar, the French écu and Italian scudo. In the late 17th and 18th century the Austrian Maria Theresia dollar took the place of all its rivals and it still circulates to the present day around the Red Sea. The name *riyāl* survived with it.

In the currencies of the modern Muslim kingdoms of the 'Irāq and the Ḥidjāz *riyāl* is the name of the largest silver coin, the standard being that of the Maria Theresia dollar. A *riyāl* was also issued by the sultan of Zanzibar in 1880. In modern Persia *riyāl* is a money of account: originally (1930) 20 *riyāls* = £ 1 stg. but by the system finally adopted in 1933, 100 *ḡḡārs* = 1 *riyāl* = 1 *pahlavi* = £ 1 stg. (J. ALLAN)

RIYALA or RIYALA BEY, abbreviation of *riyala-i kāmūyān kapudan* "captain of the imperial [galley-] royal" from the Italian *riale* (secondary form from *reale*, abbrev. from *galia reale*, "the royal galley"), a general officer of the Ottoman navy who commanded the galley of the same name, later "rear-admiral". There was also a popular pronunciation *iryal* with the prosthetic *i* frequent in Turkish in loan-words with an initial *r* (cf. Hindoglu, p. 113 under "contre-amiral" and p. 457 under "reale"; the form *iryal* is found as early as Ewliya Celebi, viii, 466, 11). The Italian pronunciation *riyale* is attested in the *Itinéraire*

de *Ficoms Maurand d'Antibes à Constantinople* (1544), ed. by Léon Dorez, Paris 1901 (we also find there exceptionally *rialle*, *riale* and *rialle*). For the pronunciation we may compare the Turkish *riyala* with the Turkish *riyal*, Ar. *riyāl*, for the Spanish *real* (*del plato*), name of a coin [cf. RİYAL]; cf. the French "gros royal", Turk. *grişik*, *krush*, *grişik*, mod. *kuruş*; "piastre, formerly: écu" [cf. *grişik*]. Here also we find the prosthetic form *riyal* (Hindoglu, p. 200, s.v. "écu"; Aucher gives *riyal*, under "réal"). In the west, the Turkish word *riyala* was sometimes transcribed *real*, no doubt regarded as more correct (Herbette, *Une Ambassade turque sous le Directoire*, Paris 1902, p. 238). We cannot see whence comes the spelling with an aspirated *k* (*rikalla*), even in Arabic orthography, which we find in Garcin de Tassy, *Mémoire sur les noms propres*... *mus.*, p. 87 and in Jal under *riala* (we have perhaps a graphical reaction against the hiatus).

The rank of *riyala*, as well as those of *kapudana* and *patrona* to be discussed later, was at first known among the Turks only as applied to officers of the navies of Christianity (cf. e.g. Ewliya Çelebi and the Ottoman historians like Na'imî and others). These ranks came into use among the Turkish sailors, at first unofficially, in the time of Süleymen Mehmed IV, 1648—1687 (cf. below in connection with *patrona*). D'Osson, undoubtedly by confusion, says that they were used in the time of Mehmed II (1451—1481). We do not however find these titles of foreign origin in the *Tuhfet üs-Sükr* of Hadîdjî Khalîfa (1656) nor in Heuzfenn (d. 1691). It was, it appears, under 'Abd al-Hamid I (1774—1789) that they were officially adopted (Mehmed Şukri, *Esfâr-ü Şahiye-i 'osmâniye* [1306—1890], i. 145).

We are well informed about the hierarchy of the naval high command at this period, thanks to the *Tefhîrîs-ü Şadîm*, a work of Şahhâdî Şelkhi-zâde Es'ad Mehmed Efendi (d. 1848). On p. 102 *eqq.* we have a list of the old establishment which combined the non-sea-going officers of which we shall be content to give a list here, and the sea-going officers who will be dealt with in more detail because the *riyala* was one of them and bore like them a name taken from the Venetians.

a. General officers of the Admiralty (*terîâne-i 'amîrî*).

(All three seem to have had, but perhaps only from the beginning of the sixteenth century, the right to the title of *paşa*).

1. The *kapudana-paşa* [q.v.] having the rank of *vezir* (*dewlettî*). He was the Capitain del Mar (*kapudana-dî drya*) or, as was also said, the *kapudana* par excellence. The name *kapudana* from the Venetian *capitan(e)* and its modernised form, probably under the influence of English, *captain*, was further applied to any commander of a ship, small or large, foreign or Turkish. (The vowel *u* in the second syllable is due to the influence of the neighbouring labial *p* and Trévoux's Dictionary gives the intermediate form "capoutan" under *capitan-bacha*; cf. also *Relation des 2 rebelles arrivés à Constantinople en 1730 et 1731*, The Hague 1737, p. 23).

2. *Terîâne-i 'amîrî* *emîn ağa* (*el-dewlettî*) "Intendant de l'Arsenal" (d'Osson), Germ. "Intendant des Arsenaux" (Hammer), Engl. "Intendant of the Marine" (Perry). He took the place of the Grand

Admiral in his absence. From 1246 onwards: *müdir*.

3. *Terîâne-i 'amîrî* *keşîkbaşî* (*keşiyâî*) *ağâ* "Intendant des galères", "Intendant of the Arsenal", "Sachwalter des Arsenaux". He was particularly concerned with the police of the Admiralty.

b. Admirals with the title of *bey*.

(Except the 4th, these officers were sea-going admirals and took the name, of Venetian origin, of the vessels they commanded. The name might have the addition of *kümüryan* "imperial" in a Persian construction whence the official barbarisms: *bahşarda-i kümüryan*, *kapudana-i kümüryan*, etc. The full titles in theory were: *bahşarda-i kümüryan kapudana*, *kapudana-i kümüryan kapudana* etc.

1. *Bahşarda*, *bahşarda*, *bahşarda-i kümüryan* — Ital. *bastarda*, Fr. *bastarde* or *bastardelle*. This was not the largest unit of the fleet. In Turkish as in Venetian usage the *bastarda* was a galley larger than the *galea senile* (Turk. *şadîra* or *lekîrî*), but smaller than the *galeazza* or *gallivas* (Turk. *mauna*) and had a very rounded poop "like a water-melon" (*şarpus şilli*). Among the Turks it contained 26—36 *oturaş* or benches of 5—7 rowers. The one which had the *Kapudana Paşa* on board was called (*kapudana*) *paşa bahşarda* and had 26—36 *oturaş*. It was distinguished by the three lanterns (*fener*) attached to the poop in addition to that on the main mast (*Tuhf.*, fol. 69; *Djavid Paşa Tarih-i*, 1309, p. 131). As it flew the flag of the Grand Admiral, it was sometimes (Meninski, *Thesaurus*, i. 663; Barbier de Meynard) called "Captain" but we shall see that among the Turks this name was given to another vessel. Chance has willed it that the first syllable in the word *bahşarda* means in Turkish "head, chief" but it is difficult to say that the Ottomans gave first place to this ship simply as a result of a popular etymology. The disappearance of the ship propelled by oars resulted in the abolition of the *bahşarda*. Officially dissolved in 1764, according to d'Osson, it was still used from time to time on certain ceremonial occasions. The sailing-ship (*galyun*, "galion") which became the flagship of the *kapudana-paşa*, was commanded by the "Flag-Captain" who, according to d'Osson, was called in Turkish *süvari kapudana* "captain of the ship-commanders" and, according to von Hammer (*Staatverf.*, ii. 493), *canîşak kapudana*, Germ. "Flaggenkapitan", cf. Engl. "flag captain". Es'ad Mehmed Efendi calls this officer, probably by an archaism, *bahşarda(-i) kümüryan-i paşa* (commander of) the imperial *bahşarda* of the (*kapudana*) *paşa*.

2. *Kapudana bey*. *Kapudana* comes from the Venetian (*galea* or *nave*) *capitana* "galley or ship carrying the leader of a naval expedition, flagship" (Jal). In France it was called "la capitaine" or "capitaine" but these terms disappeared in 1669 with the office of general of the galleys, and in the French navy pride of place was given to the *Réale* (see below). On the *kapudana* which took part in the naval battle of Çeşme (1770) cf. Jaubert, *Grammaire*, appendix, p. 3. *Kapudana* and *kapudana* have often been confused (Hammer, *Staatverf.*, ii. 201; Blochet, *Voyage de Corlier de Pinon*, p. 128; Douin, *Nawarin*, p. 250, 276, 295, 311). We find the full title of *kapudana-i kümüryan kapudana*, e.g. in a letter from Mehmed 'Alî Paşa (of Egypt) to the grand vizier of the

29th Ramañân 1231 (July 1, 1821), register, No. 4, p. 71.

3. *Patrôna bey*. Patrôna comes from the Venetian (galleys or nave) *patrona* or *padrona*, Fr. la patronne "galley carrying the lieutenant-general or the next in command to the chief of the squadron" (Jal). The earliest mention of an officer of this rank known to us is connected with the years 1676-1685 (cf. *Sijill-i 'otmânî*, I. 112, *infra*). Patrôna Khalîl, a janissary, leader of the rebels who deposed Ahmad III in 1730, owed his epithet to the fact that he had been *levend* on board the *Patrôna* (*Relation des 2 rébellions*, p. 8; Engl. transl. in Charles Perry, *A View of the Levant*, London 1743, p. 64). — We also find the forms applied, it is true, to Christian ships: *paterna*, *patrona*, *laterna*, and even *botrona* (Ewliya Çelebi, viii. 579, 10; I. 104, 2; viii. 447, *infra*; p. 446, 30; Hasan Agha, *Diwânî al-Tawârîk*, MS. Bibl. Paris, S. T. 506, fol. 160v-161r). All these pronunciations show that the word was already well known, but was finding difficulty in being acclimatised in a correct form.

4. *Liman r'etî* "captain (admiral) of the port" of Constantinople, Germ. "Kapitän des Hafens". He was also commander of the mid-shipsmen (*mandeçî*).

5. *Riyâlâ bey*. Riyâlâ comes from the Venetian (galleys or nave) *reale* "galley which carried the king or prince" (the same name was often also applied as an epithet to vessels belonging to the king, i.e. to the state, in contrast to privately owned ships). For the lexicology of this borrowing from the Italian see the beginning of the article.

At the battle of Lepanto, Don John of Austria, Captain of the League, sailed in a Reale. A Patrôna Reale went astern of the Reale of the Prince and of the Capitana of the "General Capitana dell' Armata" of Venice. Except for these two ships, none of the 202 vessels of the allies was given the name of Reale (Contarini, *Historia delle cose... della guerra messa da Selim Ottomano a' Veneziani*, Venice 1572, fol. 36v-37r). In France the Reale also went in front of the Patrône and was the first ship of the navy, intended to carry the king, prince, the admiral of France or in their absence the general of the galleys (Jal). At the conquest of Cyprus, in 1570, Contarini (Venice 1595) gives for 185 Christian ships: 18 *capitana*, 7 *padrona* and 1 *bastardella* (no Reale); for the 276 Turkish ships: 1 *real* (sic) and 29 *capitana* (these terms do not correspond exactly to those of Turkish usage of that time).

It is not explained how the title of Reale came to descend among the Turks until it was applied to the ship of the admiral of lowest rank. We may suppose that they were misled by the second meaning of the word Reale [cf. above] or that they confused him with the English "rear-admiral".

Marsigli (*State Militaire*... 1732, I. 146) mentions the Turkish "commandante della Reale" as having a higher rank than the *gordân bağı* who was in turn superior to the captain of an ordinary galley. According to Es'ad Efendi, the *riyâlâ* came before the *balvanier Halîlî*.

All the officers here mentioned from the *kapudan paşa* to the *riyâlâ*, were *şâhîr deînek*, i.e. they had the right to carry, in imitation of their Venetian colleagues, a commander's baton or *cane*, *deînek*, also called *şâhîr deînek* (Es'ad Efendi, p. 109, 7) because it was decorated with another of pearl

of different colours [cf. below]. It was what the Venetians called the *giannetta* or *cane* (*canna*), from *canna d'India*, "Indian cane", often taken in the sense of "bamboo" from which we also have the English word "cane". They alone wore small turbans and fur-trimmed robes (cf. d'Ottomon, pl. 228).

When under 'Abd al-Hamid I [q. v.] or later under his successor Selim III, the naval hierarchy was organised and to some extent modernised, three grades of admiral were instituted (independent of the *kapudan paşa*, who was the Grand Admiral or "amiralissimo"). They were:

1. the *kapudana bey* "Admiral". Mehmed Shukri regards his rank as equivalent to the more modern one of *şûrâ-i bahriye r'etî* "president of the Higher Council of the Navy". He had a fixed monthly salary of 4,500 piastres (1 piastre = 3 frs.) and in addition received pay for 1,000 men (on which he was liable to make various grants) but with the obligation to give to the *kapudan-paşa* spices or *şâhîr* to the value of 4,000 piastres. He carried a green cane and had the right to have a pennon below the flag on the main mast (that of the *kapudan-paşa* was above).

2. *Patrôna bey* "vice-admiral" (Mehmed Shukri), modern Turkish *vis amiral* but we also find the French equivalent of "guidon" (Sâmi Bey: Tighir-Sinapien). Salary: 3,500 piastres. Pay of 800 men. *Şâhîr* to the *kapudan-paşa* of 3,000 piastres. Blue cane. Flag on the fore-mast.

3. *Riyâlâ bey* "rear-admiral" (Mehmed Shukri). Salary: 3,000 piastres. Pay of 700 men. *Şâhîr* to the *kapudan-paşa*: 2,500 piastres. Blue cane. Flag on the mizen-mast.

It may be noted that in theory there was only one officer of each of these ranks at one time.

All three took part in the battle of Navarino in 1827 (Doulis, *Navarin*, p. 250 and *passim*). They were under the command of Tahîr Paşa who had the rank of *mirnîrân*. He was himself patrôna but this does not mean duplicating the office of the patrôna who was subordinate to him because the commanders-in-chief of the fleet (*ser'acker* or *bağ-bağ*) were chosen without regard to rank. Hîrî-Elyas (*Enderûn Târîkî*, p. 481) mentions a *liman r'etî* with the rank of *patrôna* in 1826.

The flag-commander of the *kapudan-paşa* retained his functions but seems to have occupied a position on the edge of the hierarchy which the presence of the Grand Admiral on board sometimes made unenviable (v. Hammer, *Staatsverf.*, II. 293).

We do not know at what period these ranks were replaced by the more modern terms of *mirnîrân*, *ser'acker*, and *bağ-bağ*. The equations of rank varied considerably. The *riyâlâ* is regarded as *mir alay*, *mirnîrân*, *bağ-bağ*, *ser'acker* and even *mirnîrân* *ser'acker*. It is probable that it was necessary to choose a grade between these. At Sebastopol in 1854, the Turkish fleet was commanded by a *patrôna*, Ahmad Paşa (cf. Ahmad Râim, *Târîkî*, iv. 2015).

In Egypt under the Khedives there was for a time a *riyâlâ paşa* in command of the fleet.

Bibliography: Only d'Ottomon gives definite information about the officers mentioned above. Bk. viii. of vol. vii. (p. 420-438) (*Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman*), devoted to the Navy will be read with interest. Cf. also Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, second ed., Paris 1853, I. 484

(important); Jouannin, *Turquie*, p. 436. — A good history of the Turkish navy has still to be written. The archives of the Arsenal of Kâsim Paşa in Istanbul would probably supply valuable information to any one who has the courage to undertake the task. (J. DENY)

ROKAIYA, daughter of Muḥammad.

That he had four daughters by Khadija is repeated by all authorities, but there is no agreement regarding their order, which clearly shows that they aroused little interest in the early period. It is further suspicious that practically the same story is told of two of them, Rokaiya and Umm Kulthūm. They are both said to have married sons of Muḥammad's uncle Abū Lahab [q.v.] but were forced by their father to divorce them when Muḥammad began his career as a prophet. Still more suspicious is the circumstance that it is told of both that the marriages had not been completed when the divorces took place (*lam yakun dakhala* *ahla*) although some time must have passed before there was a breach between Abū Lahab and his nephew. If we wish to save the tradition, we must assume that the sisters, like 'Aṣṣa at a later date, were betrothed to Abū Lahab's sons and that the divorce took place before the wedding was carried through. It is however more probable that this story is an invention in order to keep the holy family pure from any contamination by relatives of the Prophet's arch-enemy [see also UMM KULTHŪM], but the difficulties which this involved were not clearly seen. After the divorce the fair Rokaiya was married by 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and went with him and other Muslims to Abyssinia, from which they returned after a time. They then went with the Prophet and other Muslims to Madīna. But when Muḥammad was preparing for his raiding expedition to Badr, Rokaiya fell ill and died before her father returned home victorious. After several miscarriages she presented 'Uthmān with a son who however lost his life as the result of an accident (a cock pecked him on the face).

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 121, 208 sq., 241; Wāḥidī, transl. v. Wellhausen, p. 66, 71, 83; Ibn Sa'd, ed. Sachau, vii. 24; Lammens, *Faṣiḥa et les filles de Mahomet*, 1912, p. 309. (Fr. Buhl.)

RONDA (Ar. RUNDĀ), ethn. al-Rundī, a town in the south of Spain to the north of Algeciras and west of Málaga, 2,400 feet above sea-level in the centre of a vast mountainous amphitheatre at the edge of a rocky plateau which ends in precipitous walls on the western side and is cut in two by the great natural cleft of the Tajo 500 feet in depth, at the bottom of which runs the torrent here known as Guadalevín (*Wādī al-Jahān*) and later known as Guadiaro (*Wādī Ara*). Its peculiar position makes it an almost impregnable natural fortress. At the present day the town is the capital of a *partido judicial* of the province of Málaga; it has a population of nearly 21,000 souls.

The Muslim town of Ronda, which succeeded the ancient Roman and Visigothic Arunda, was from the viith to the xvth centuries always reckoned one of the most important strongholds of Andalusia. Under the Umayyads [q.v.] it was the capital of the *āḥṣā* of Tákoronnā [q.v.]. A number of descriptions of it, unfortunately very brief, have been preserved by the Arab geographers; al-Idrisi

however does not mention it. We still see there several remains of the Muslim period, such as a remarkable gate in the suburb of San Francisco. The cathedral of Santa María La Mayor has taken the place of the great mosque; the ancient citadel or Alcázar of the Nasrid period was destroyed in 1808.

The principal fortress of the district of Tákoronnā was for a long period Bobastro [q.v.] which was the headquarters of the rebel 'Omar b. Ḥafṣūn [q.v.]. On the fall of the Umayyad caliphate of Spain, Ronda became the capital of a little independent state in the hands of the Berber Banū Ifrān; among these rulers were Abū Nūr Hishām b. Abī Qurra b. Dūns who was proclaimed in 431 (1039) and died in 449 (1058) after having been the prisoner of his redoubtable neighbour, the king of Seville, al-Mu'tamid [q.v.]. Ibn 'Abbād, and his son Abū Naṣr Fatūh, who after having held out for some months at the capital of his principality was killed at the instigation of the 'Abbāsid ruler, who annexed his state in 450 (1059). Ronda then became the residence of a prince of Seville until a son of al-Mu'tamid [q.v.], al-Rāḡi, had to surrender it to the Almoravid forces under Garrūr in 1091.

Ronda played an unimportant part under the Almoravids and Almohads. In the Nasrid period [q.v.] it was for some time the appanage of the vizier and family of the Banū 'l-Hakīm and was directly concerned in the interecine fighting of this period. It was taken by the Catholic Kings after a siege of 20 days on May 20, 1485.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 825; Abū 'l-Fidā', *Taḥṣīl al-Buldān*, ed. and transl. Reinhard and de Slane, p. 166—236; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, ed. and transl. Defremery and Sanguinetti, iv. 363; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Mi'yār al-Iḥṭiyār*, Fās 1325, p. 34—35; do., *Kitāb A'māl al-'Ālām*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1934, Index; al-Maḥḥart, *Nafḥ al-Fih* (*Analekten*), Leyden, Index; Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*, new ed., Index. (E. Lévi-Provençal.)

ROSETTA (Arabic Raṣhīd), a town in Egypt, situated at 31° 24' N., 30° 24' E., on the Western bank of the Rosetta branch of the Nile (the ancient Bolbitine) about ten miles above its mouth, which is known as al-Armūsiya and is dangerous to enter. Till the ixth century A.D., ships sailed direct to Fūwa; but owing to the excessive depositing of the silt in this region, Rosetta began to take its place during the reign of al-Muta-wakkil. In the xiiith century, however, Abū 'l-Fidā' remarks that it was still smaller than Fūwa; and, in the xivth, Ibn Duqmāṣ (v. 114) says that it was exclusively inhabited by garrison troops (*ahl ḥāḍirihī 'l-madīna kullahum murāḥibūn*). After the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517 A.D. and the decay of European trade through Alexandria, Rosetta became an important centre for maritime trade with Constantinople and the Aegean territory of the Turkish Empire. The Viceroy 'Alī Paṣhā, in 915 (1509), restored its old *ḥāḍir* (warehouses) and *fundiḥs* (hostelries); built new ones, and cleared the silt from its docks. The town continued to flourish until Muḥammad 'Alī [q.v.] reconstructed the Maḥmūdiyya Canal for navigation between Alexandria and the Nile, and thus diverted the course of trade from Rosetta which declined rapidly to a mere fishing town with but few minor local industries such as rough cotton weaving, rice pro-

duction and oil manufacture. Its population in 1907 was only 16,660.

The topography of the town is largely medieval in character and it still retains many noble buildings which mark its past prosperity. Its streets and lanes are both narrow and circuitous with only one large fish market. Till modern times its wall was maintained for defence against Arab raids. At the mouth of the River, near Kōm al-Afrāh, two castles guarded the waterway entrance to Rosetta in the past. Vansleb, who saw these castles in May 1672, describes them thus: "One stands at the East-side of the River, and the other on the West. That which is about a mile and a half from Rosetta is square, encompassed about with strong Walls, built according to the old Model, having four Towers. One hundred fourscore and four Janissaries are in the Garrison... The other Castle is but a Mosque, before it stands seven Pieces of Artillery on the Guard: Here commands also an *Agā* over a Company of *Moors*, who examine all that go in, or out of the City" (*State of Egypt*, London 1678, p. 105).

In history, only few events may be gleaned about Rosetta. In 132 (749–750) it was the scene of a serious but abortive Coptic revolt; in 307 (920) the 'Abbasid fleet of Tarsūs under the admiral Shaml routed the North African fleet of 'Obaid Allāh al-Mahdī [q. v.] commanded by a certain Sulaimān in the waters of Rosetta; in 1218 (1805) it witnessed al-Bardai's victory over the combined sea and land forces of the Ottoman Porte; and in 1222 (1807) it was seized by the English who came to help al-Alfi and his Mamlūk successors. It must also be remembered that in 1799 A.D. in the neighbourhood of the town, Bouchard, an officer of the French Expedition, discovered the famous Rosetta Stone now in the British Museum.

Bibliography: See works already mentioned in articles on other Egyptian towns.

(A. S. ATIYA)

RU'BA B. AL-'ADJĪDĪJ AL-TAMĪMĪ, an Arab poet. The name Ru'ba is more frequent among poets from eastern Arabia than is generally supposed. Arabic philologists give many explanations of this peculiar name; I am however certain that it is the Persian word *rūbāh* meaning "fox". Al-'Amīdī in the *Kitāb al-Mu'ta'īf* wa *l-Mu'ta'īf* mentions three poets of this name (p. 121–122), but only Ru'ba b. al-'Adjīdīj of the tribe of the Banū Malik b. Sa'd b. Zaid Manāf b. Tamīm became celebrated as a poet of *radjās*-verses, in which genre he surpassed both his father and the latter's rival Abū 'l-Nadīm al-'Idrī. Of his life very little is known. Like his father he spent most of his life in the desert (*Midya*) and only came into the towns when he sought presents for his panegyrics from the great. Born about 65 (685), in his middle years he went about with the armies which were spreading the power of Islām. His earliest productions are certainly lost, but we have a panegyric (N^o. 22) on al-Kāsim b. Muḥammad al-Thakafī, the conqueror of Sind, on his return from India in 94 (713). As in the following year al-Kāsim was thrown into prison and murdered, the date of this poem is fairly certain. Our poet then travelled in Eastern Persia, either as a soldier or a merchant, and a further poem by him (N^o. 26) is dedicated to another governor of Sind, 'Abd al-Malik b. Kāla al-Dhahī who was there about 20 years later.

Whether he was in Khurāsān during the troubles that broke out after the death of Kūtāiba b. Muslim (96 = 715) is not clear, but several poems are dedicated to individuals who took part in the fighting there. His poem attacking al-Muhallabī (N^o. 27) shows that he was against the Yamaniya as do his poems in praise of Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik who conquered Yazīd b. al-Muhallabī and killed him (102 = 720). But he must have again been in eastern Arabia or the 'Irāq, as is shown by his poems on Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kasrī, Abū b. al-Walīd al-Badīlī and al-Muhallabī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kilābī. At a later date, he dedicated poems to men who were active in Persia like Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath al-Khuzā'ī who was in Kirmān in 129 (747) and particularly Naṣr b. Saiyār, who failed to put down the rising of Abū Muslim and died in 131 (749). A poem (N^o. 41) is dedicated to the last Umayyad caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad of whom he still hopes that he will conquer all his enemies.

As he had in this way shown his attachment to the Umayyads, it is no matter for surprise that Ru'ba did not feel his life safe when he was summoned before Abū Muslim. Of the audience we only know that Abū Muslim showed himself a connoisseur of Arabic. Two poems in praise of Abū Muslim are to be found in Geyer's *Nachträge* (Diambs 4 and 6). Several other poems in praise of members of the new dynasty have survived; one (N^o. 55) is dedicated to Abū 'l-Aḥbās al-Saffār and two to his uncle Sulaimān b. 'Alī (Nrs. 45 and 47), and the latest poems of Ru'ba are in praise of al-Manṣūr, who succeeded his brother as Caliph in 136 (754) (N^o. 14 and Diambs 8). He was then an old man and is said to have died in 145 (762).

All Ru'ba's poems are in the *radjās* metre; the few verses in other metres ascribed to him I have found to be by other poets and wrongly attributed to him. He had learned the art from his father, whom he even accuses of having taken credit for his poems when Ru'ba began to write, and we actually have a poem by Ru'ba against his father (N^o. 37). From his father he also inherited a fondness for unusual words and his poems are among the most difficult in the Arabic language, as they are full of words which are never or only very rarely found in other poets. One even suspects that for the sake of effect the poet coined new words which did not previously exist. He is fondler than any other poet of a kind of alliteration or, to be more accurate, an accumulation of a number of forms from the same verbal root. No one can make this sort of thing beautiful and Ru'ba's poems have probably survived only because the lexicographers found them a rich quarry for unknown words. A proof of this is the number of lines from his poems which are quoted in the great dictionaries, and in the *Lisān al-'Arab*, for example, run to several thousands.

It is no wonder then that the learned men of al-Basra and, less often, of al-Kufa visited him to increase their knowledge of the *radjās* until he became tired of them. We even find that the Khilāwāihī in his *l-'arāṭ al-ḥalāqīn* Sūra quotes Ru'ba for readings of the Qur'ān which have no other justification than that they are different from the known readings. Ru'ba simply claimed to know better.

Ru'ba had two sons, 'Abd Allāh to whom two poems are dedicated (20 and 56), and 'Uḫba who

also wrote poems in the same metre as his father (Djāhiz, *Bayān*, I, 23; Ibn Kutāiba, *Shiʿr*; Marzubānī, *Muwajjahshah*, p. 218 and 366; Ibn Rāshiq, *ʿUmā*, I, 136).

Rubāʿi's poems were collected by several scholars, among them Abū ʿAmr al-Shāhīnī, Ibn al-ʿArabī and al-Sukkarī, of whom the two last named are probably represented by the surviving manuscripts (cf. Dilamb 40–44). The contents of these manuscripts have been edited by Ahlwardt (Berlin 1903), unfortunately without the commentary which is absolutely necessary for the poems of Rubāʿi, and in the alphabetical order of the rhymes which makes it difficult to recognise the original arrangement of the collection. As this edition was incomplete, Geyer in 1908 published in a collection of several *raʿīq* poets eleven further poems with the commentary under the title *Altarahische Djamān*. Ahlwardt had in his editions of other poets added a collection of verses which he had found in various works quoted as by Rubāʿi. This collection was extended by Geyer in his *Beiträge zum Dīwān des Rubāʿi* (S. B. Ak. Wien, vol. clxiii, 1910). Even then there remain lines attributed to Rubāʿi which have escaped both editors, while many lines are not by Rubāʿi but belong to other poets. Confusion seems to have begun at quite an early date between the poems of Rubāʿi and those of his father al-ʿAdjīdīj. Ahlwardt also published a complete German translation of the whole *Dīwān* in rhyme. The value of this translation is unfortunately small as it is really only a paraphrase and does not help us with the difficulties of the Arabic text.

Bibliography: Biographical notices on Rubāʿi are found in Djumālī, *Tahqīq*, ed. Hell, p. 147 (where unfortunately the MSS. have a lacuna); Ibn Kutāiba, *Kitaḥ al-Shiʿr*, ed. de Goeje, p. 376–381; Marzubānī, *Muwajjahshah*, p. 219; *Kitaḥ al-ʿAdhām*, xxi, 84–91; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Cairo 1310, I, 187. — Lines by Rubāʿi are quoted in large numbers in all the large dictionaries.

(F. KERNKOW)

RUBĀʿI, quatrain (plural *rubāʿiyyāt*, from the Arabic *rubʿī*, "quadrupartite"). Its fundamental characteristics have already been defined (cf. the article *ARĀḌ*, I, p. 470); on p. 468 *sq.* are given the forms of Arabic popular songs in quatrains. It consists of two distichs (*bayt*) or four hemistichs (*miṣrāʿ*) rhyming together with the exception of the third (*qaba*), the third being called *khafī* ("castrated"); the two hemistichs of the first *bayt* (*muṣawwarā*) must rhyme. The rubāʿi in which the four hemistichs have the same rhyme is found particularly among the old poets (cf. ʿUnṣur's *Dīwān*). The rubāʿi lends itself to every kind of inspiration. According to one theorist, the first three hemistichs serve as an introduction to the fourth which ought to be sublime (*buland*), subtle (*laṭīf*) or epigrammatic (*ṭī*). According to E. G. Browne (*Lit. Hist. of Persia*, I, 472), the rubāʿi is "almost certainly the oldest product of the poetical genius of Persia". The Persian philologists attribute the invention of this metre to a child playing at nuts with its playmates: one of the nuts having fallen out of the hole by a rebound then fallen back rolling, the child called out *ghaltūn ghaltūn hami rawand tā bun-i gar*, "rolling, rolling it goes to the bottom of the hole". According to the *Tadhkirah* of Dawlatshāh (ed. Browne, p. 30), the child was the son of the emir Yaʿqūb b. Laith

the Saffārid and the officials of the court recognised in this hemistich a variety of *hasadī*: "they added a second hemistich (*miṣrāʿ*) to it with the same scansion, then a second line (*bayt*) which they called *dū-bayt* ("poem in two verses"), but some scholars, considering that it consisted of four hemistichs (*miṣrāʿ*) adopted the name rubāʿi and Rūdaki was the first to excel in it" (it should be noted that Asadi's dictionary *Lughat-i Fārs*, ed. Horn, quotes two rubāʿi by poets at least as old: Abū ʿI-Muʿayyad, p. 68 and Shāhid, p. 112). The anecdote is again found in a work written in 1220 (nearly three centuries before Dawlatshāh), the *Muʿjam fi Maʿayir al-ʿAdhām* of Shams-i Kāis (ed. Mirzā Muḥammad and Browne, p. 88): one holiday, in a street of Ḥamīn, the poet Rūdaki ("at least I believe so", says the author) was watching some children playing at nuts: a boy of ten to fifteen improvised the same hemistich in the same conditions. "These words seemed to the poet to be a suitable metre, a pleasing poetical form; he consulted the rules of prosody and recognised in it one of the derivatives of the *hasadī*; ... on account of the high place which it held in his eyes, Rūdaki confined himself to two lines (*bayt*) for each poem; ... as the inventor of the metre was a young and innocent boy (*far*), Rūdaki called the metre *farān*" (cf. Horn, *Grundr. der neu-persischen Etymol.*, N^o 382 and n. 3; Nigāmī's hemistich is no doubt quoted from the *Farhang-i Dīkhāngī*: *har farānā farānā-i miṣrāʿ*, "every young man was singing verses"). The *Haft Kūzum* describes *farān* as the rubāʿi of which the four hemistichs (*miṣrāʿ*) have the same rhyme (which is at least disputable). According to Shams-i Kāis (*op. cit.*, p. 90), "the connoisseurs of poems set to music (*maḥbūḍāt*) called *farān* the rubāʿi set to music and *dū-bayt* the rubāʿi without music, because it had no more than two lines; the arabicised Persians (*mustaʿriba*) called the rubāʿi the *dū-bayt*, because in Arabic the *hasadī* has four *maṣāʾilun* [while in Persian it has eight]; each line of this [Persian] metre makes two Arabic lines [in other words: a Persian *miṣrāʿ* is equal to an Arabic *bayt*]. From the fact that the metrical change used in this metre did not exist in Arabic poetry, Arabic was not written in this metre, but now the modern poets use it freely. Arabic rubāʿi have become common in Arab lands". On this point in his *Dumyat al-Kaṣr* (Aleppo 1349, p. 174), al-Bākhārī (XIII century; q. v.) says that his father repeated several Arabic rubāʿi to him; these may be reckoned among the earliest in this language. In the Sāldūjī period the vogue of the rubāʿi seems to have reached its height. Rawandī (*Rāḥat al-Sūdūr*, ed. Muḥammad Iḥṣāl, p. 344) says a propos of a man of letters of Hamadhān: "He was called Nadjma (al-Dīn) Dūbaiti; he possessed wealth which he lavished on men of talent; with an inkwell and a pen he put into writing all rubāʿi that he found; he left neither property nor furniture; ... his heirs shared 50 *mann* of manuscripts containing *dū-bayt*". No Persian metre admits of so many variations. Indeed, the theorists number 24 types of rubāʿi derived, half from the *hasadī-i akhṣar*, half from the *hasadī-i akhṣar* (the latter more pleasing to the ear, according to Shams-i Kāis). The Khurāsānī philologist Ḥasan Kāṭibī divides these two series into two trees (*shajarā*) which figure in the treatises on prosody (Shams-i Kāis, p. 92; Blochmann, *Prosody of the Persians*, p. 68).

and which clearly show the variations (*anāḥif*) of the *ḥazāfī muthamman sālim* (*maf'ālun*, 8 times). Four different metres may figure in the four hemistichs of rubā'ī. Shams-i Kāis thus explains the mechanism of this poetical form: "The beginning of the hemistichs of the *dū-bait* is *muf'alu* (called *asṣarab*) or *muf'ulun* (called *asṣarom*). When the first foot is *muf'alu*, the second becomes *maf'ālun* (*ālun*) or *muf'ālun* (*mahfūf*) or *muf'ālun* (*mahfuf*); when the first foot is *muf'ālun*, the second becomes *muf'ālun* or *muf'alu* or *fā'ilun* (this last *aḥṣar*). When the second foot is *muf'ālun* or *muf'ālun*, the third becomes *muf'ālun* or *muf'alu*; when the second foot is *muf'ālun* or *fā'ilun* or *muf'alu*, the third becomes *muf'ālun* or *muf'ālun*. The (last) foot which follows *muf'ālun* or *muf'ālun* becomes *fa'* (*aḥṣar*) or even *fā'* (*anāl*); that which follows *muf'ālun* or *muf'alu* becomes *fā'il* (*aḥṣar*) or even *fā'il* (*mahfūf*). Further, according to Shams-i Kāis, some poets have written *muḥaffafā'* (pieces of several lines) in this metre, e.g. Abū Tāhir Kharrāzī (from whom he quotes a passage); Farrukhī also deliberately composed a *ḥafīda* [q.v.] in the *dū-bait* metre, sometimes retaining the same rhyme in the two hemistichs so that several rubā'ī can be taken from it. It may be recalled that the formula *fā' ḥawāṣ wa-fā' ḥawāṣ* illā h' illā (*muf'ālun muf'ālun muf'ālun fā'*) was used as *miḥrā'* in certain quatrains (quoted by Agha Ahmad 'Alī, *Riḥlat-i Tārāna*, ed. Blochmann, 1867, p. 9). Most Persian poets composed rubā'ī in the metres mentioned. Some owe their fame to this metre: Abū Sa'īd [q.v.]; 'Umar-i Khayyām; Bahā Afṣāl al-Dīn Kāshānī (ed. Sa'īd Naḥṣī, Teherān 1311 = 1933). A collection of them is attributed to Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (Stambal 1312, 400 p.). On the other hand, the name rubā'ī is wrongly but traditionally given to the quatrains of Bābā Ṭāhir [q.v.] in *ḥazāfī muthamman mahfūf* (*muf'ālun muf'ālun fā'ilun*) and other quatrains in dialect (*fahawziyāt*; cf. H. Kohi Kirmānī, *Tārīkh-i millī*, Teherān 1310); these are really *ḥafīda*. On the quatrain in Arabic, cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. *dū-bait*; Ben Cheneb, *Tahfat al-Adab fi Ḥadīth al-Andalus al-Aḥṣar* (Algiers 1928, p. 113-117); in Turkish: Göbb, *Ottoman Poetry*, I, p. 88; in Hindūstānī: Garcin de Tassy, *Litt. hindoue*, 2nd ed., I, p. 36-37 and his edition of the *Divān* of Wālī (passim).

Bibliography: In addition to the reference already given: Shams-i Kāis (*op. cit.*, p. 338); Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et Prosodie*, 2nd ed. 1873, p. 339 sq.; Rückert, *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser*, 1874, p. 65. (HENRI MAHIE)

RŪDĀKĪ, ABŪ 'AND ALLAH DĪYĀF B. MUHAMMAD B. HAKIM B. 'ARŪ AL-RAḤMĀN B. 'ADAM, a native of Rūdāk in the vicinity of Samarkand... he is said to have been the first good poet in the Persian language...; according to al-Bal'ānī, vizier of Ism'īl b. Ahmad, emir of Khurāsān, he had no equal among either Arabs or Persians; he died at Rūdāk in 329 (940-941) (Sam'ānī, *Ansab*, in *G.M.S.*, fol. 262; similar text in E. G. Browne, *Hand-List of Muhammadan MSS. in the University of Cambridge*, No. 701). To be more accurate, Rūdākī was born and died at Bannūjī (Yāqūt, *Ma'ājam*, s.v.) near Rūdāk. Some writers wrongly say that his *taḥṣīl* came from his skill in playing the lute (*rūd*, *rūdāk*). In any case the pronunciation Rūdākī should be

abandoned. We know few details of his life. From scattered allusions in his poems, it seems that Rūdākī left his native village to go to Bukhārā to the Sāmānīd amir Naṣr b. Aḥmad, whose panegyrist he became. Later he accompanied the amir to Bāghis and Herāt. There is located the incident, recounted by several biographers, of the courtiers desirous of returning to Bukhārā to spend the winter there begging Rūdākī to use his influence with the amir Naṣr; the poet composed his famous poem ("The scent of the river Malyān" etc.) which decided the prince to return at once; richly rewarded, Rūdākī returned to Samarkand, travelling sumptuously. Two verses attributed to Rūdākī refer to journeys to Sarakhs and to Nishāpūr. The poets Adīb Ṣāḥib and Sīzānī allude to a certain 'Aiyār, the favourite slave of Rūdākī. The biographers say that he was born blind, but a number of his verses which describe in glowing colours the beauties of the sensual world (quoted in Naṣṣī, p. 350 sq.), prove that he lost his sight at an advanced age; it has been supposed that the blindness was caused either by a clumsy oculist or was a reprisal on the protégés of the vizier Bal'ānī. Rūdākī, banished from the Sāmānīd court on the dismissal of the vizier (326), is said to have retired to his native village; from this period (his three last years) date the verses in which he regrets his youth and his brilliant past (Naṣṣī, p. 361). In his earlier days, according to his biographers and the allusions of later poets, his talents had considerably enriched him. Following Abū Sa'īd Idrīsī (d. 405), author of a history of Samarkand, Sam'ānī says that Rūdākī was buried at Bannūjī, "behind the garden of the village"; he adds that pilgrimage used to be made to it (which proves his fame after death). According to some writers, Rūdākī wrote 1,300,000 *ḥaf* six *maṣnawī* (the *Farhang-i Dīkhāngī* mentions one of them: *Dawān-i 'Aṣṣā*) in addition to his *divān* of lyrics; on the other hand, Tha'alibī, Firdawsi and others agree in saying that he put the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [q.v.] into verse from a translation into Persian prose by order of the Sāmānīd emir Naṣr. Of his works only a few fragments remain. E. Denison Ross (*J.R.A.S.*, 1924, p. 609 sq.) has shown that the edition of the *Divān* of Rūdākī (Teherān 1315) consists chiefly of the poems of Kāṣrān of Tabrīz [q.v.] who lived a century later. Does this confusion come from the name Naṣr, borne by the patron of both poets and figuring in their panegyrics? E. D. Ross agrees that this attribution took place early to supply the loss of the poems of Rūdākī, whose fame had remained. Hasan Rāzī b. Luṭf Allāh in his *taḥṣīr* entitled *Muḥṣana* (finished in 1040) says he had examined some twenty copies of Rūdākī's *Divān* and only attributed a dozen *ḥafīdas* and 20 quatrains after collation to Rūdākī, the remainder to Kāṣrān. In all, according to Ross, we may attribute to Rūdākī the authorship of the following: 1. the isolated verses quoted in the *Lughat-i Farṣi* of Asadī (ed. Horn, p. 15-19); 2. six distichs from the translation of the *Kalīla* quoted in the *Tahfat al-Mulūk* (*J.R.A.S.*, 1924, p. 638); 3. four pieces quoted by Balhākī (*J.R.A.S.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 639); 4. the 29 quotations in Shams-i Kāis (*Ma'ājam*, ed. Mirza Muhammad and Browne, *Index*); 5. the famous ode on the river Malyān (Niḡmī 'Arūḍī, *Chahar Maḥṣala*, transl. Browne, p. 33); 6. the *ḥafīda*, No. 6 in Eibé's collection (*Rūdākī, der*

Sāwānīdīndīchtter, in *N.G.W. Göttingen*, 1873, p. 696), a poem of poignant melancholy, in which we find the name of the *raṣmī* of Rūdākī (cf. *J.R.A.S.*, p. 655, and Jackson, p. 42); 7. the eleven quotations in 'Awfī's *Lubb al-Aḥbāb* (ed. Browne, index); 8. the very beautiful bacchic poem of 94 *bayt* (recognised as authentic by E. D. Ross and Mirāṣ Muḥammad Kaṣwīnī, publ. in *J.R.A.S.*, 1926, p. 213 *app.*). Some have said that Rūdākī is the oldest poet of Irān, although we know of precursors at least half a century earlier. His biographers say that he knew the Kurān by heart and wrote verses in his eighth year. In any case, his knowledge of the language is evident from the many quotations from him in the Persian lexiconographers (the *Lughat-i Furs* quotes him oftener than any other poet). Hādījī Khālifa credits him with a philological work (*Taḥḍīb al-Maṣāḥir* p. 1-*Lughat al-Furs*). One of his verses shows his acquaintance with Arabic poetry. Shams-i Kāis (*Muḥḍam*, p. 88) makes him the inventor of the *rubā'ī* [q. v.] but does not assert it definitely. Rūdākī holds a place of honour in the panegyric (the genre of Persian poetry of which the oldest examples have survived). Later poets recognise him as a master of it (Nafīsi, p. 597 *app.*); he is distinguished for his sincerity and dignity. In the *ghazal* [q. v.] 'Unqurī asserts his superiority. He was an innovator and excelled in bacchic poetry, notably in the already mentioned poem (N^o. 8), a subject later taken up by Miṣṣīḥī [q. v.]. He is remarkable for his original similes and paints nature vividly in various aspects. There are a number of proverbs (Nafīsi, p. 612) in the verses attributed to him; other lines are pithy expressions of a moral character. Some later poets inserted verses by Rūdākī among their own (Nafīsi, p. 616). Muḥḍī [q. v.] even tried to imitate the famous poem on the Mīlyān (N^o. 5), according to Niṣāmī 'Arūdī who, quoting the later piece, proclaims the superiority of Rūdākī (*Caḥr Maḥalla*, transl. Browne, p. 35-36); at a later date on the other hand, this poem is vigorously criticised by Dawlatīyāh (cf. E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, II, p. 16) which clearly shows the evolution of literary taste.

Bibliography. — In addition to the references already given: Niṣāmī 'Arūdī, *Caḥr Maḥalla*, transl. Browne, p. 113-114; Rūḥī Kūhī Khān, *Madḥma' al-Fuṣṣāḥ*, I, 236 *app.*; Sa'īd Nafīsi, *Aḥwāl wa-Aḥbāb-i Rūdākī*, Teherān 1310; A. W. Jackson, *Early Persian Poetry*, p. 32 *app.*; E. G. Browne, *A Lit. Hist. of Persia*, index; do., *The Sources of Dawlatīyāh*... with an Excursion on Bārbād and Rūdākī, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1899, p. 37 *app.*; Gr. J. P. A., II, index.

(HENRI MASSÉ)

RUDHRĀWĀR, a district in al-Djībālī (Medīa) south of Mount Alwand, halfway between Hamadān and Nihāwand. According to Ibn al-Fakīh, it was a valley in the district of Nihāwand, which was three farakhs in length and formed one of the most pleasing spots in the Sāsānīan empire with its 93 villages all linked up one another by an uninterrupted stretch of orchards and perennial streams. The principal product was a world renowned saffron which was exported through Nihāwand and also through Hamadān. There also grew there as a result of the mild climate in the shelter of the mountains on the north, grapes, pomegranates, walnuts, almonds, apples, pears and other fruits. According to al-Isṭakhrī,

the pulpit mosque of the district was in Karādī, known as Karādī Rūdhrawar to distinguish it from the same place near Ispahān, Karādī Abū Dulaf. Barkiyārūk in 495 (1101-1102) went from Rūdhrawar via Marāj Karātegin to Sāwa (Ibn al-Aṭhīr, II, 137). Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī calls the district Rūdārd with the towns of Sirkān and Tuwī. On modern maps we still find Sirkān at the southern base of the Alwand, and Tuwī after which the district is now called, a little farther south.

Not far from the village of Rūdhrawar, i.e. presumably of Karādī, was a village called Mushkān (al-Sayyid al-Murtadhā, *Taḍḍī al-'Arāṣ*, Cairo 1307, VII, 178; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, v, 552).

The present ruins of Rūdhrawar (De Morgan, *Mission en Perse*, II, 136) are certainly those of Karādī, capital of Rūdhrawar (Le Strange, *East Caliph.*, p. 197, note 1).

Bibliography: al-Isṭakhrī, in *H. G. A.*, I, 197, 199; Ibn Hawkal, *B. G. A.*, II, 258, 262; al-Makdī, *B. G. A.*, III, 51, 386, 393 *app.*; Ibn al-Fakīh, *B. G. A.*, v, 209, 236; Yāqūt, *Muḥḍam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, II, 832; Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī, Bombay 1311, p. 152 *app.*; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905 (1930), p. 197; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen*, IV, Leipzig 1921, p. 502-504; v., 1925, p. 519, 552; VII, 1929, p. 927, 941.

(E. HONIGMANN)

AL-RUDHRĀWĀRĪ ZAHIR AL-DĪN ABU SHUJĀ' MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤUSAIN B. MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. IBRAHĪM, an 'Abbāsid vizier. AL-RUDHRĀWĀRĪ was born in al-Aḥwās in 437 (1045-1046); his father Abū Ya'īz al-Ḥusain, who had died just as he was about to take over the vizierate to which he had been appointed by the Caliph al-Ḥā'im [q. v.] (460 = 1067-1068), was a native of Rūdhrawar, a little town near Hamadān. He studied in Baghdād under the direction of Shaikh Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī and in 471 (1078-1079) was appointed vizier by the Caliph al-Mu'tadī but dismissed after a short period of office. After the fall of 'Amīd al-Dawla b. Dīshūr (see *INN* 12AHRA 2.) al-Mu'tadī again gave him the vizierate in Shaḥān 476 (Dec. 1083-Jan. 1084), and this time he held office for several years. In Šafar or Rabi' I, 484 (April or May 1091) he was dismissed at the instigation of the Saljūq sultān Malikshāh [q. v.] and retired to Rūdhrawar. From there he went in 487 (1094) on the pilgrimage to Mecca; in the vicinity of al-Rabadha however, the caravan was attacked by Beduins and al-Rudhrāwārī is said to have been the only one who escaped. He then settled in Medina where he lived till his death in the middle of Djumādā II, 488 (June 1095). He was buried on the Bakī al-Gharqad near the tomb of Ibrāhīm, the son of the Prophet.

AL-RUDHRĀWĀRĪ is praised by eastern historians not only for his piety and devotion to duty, but also for his eloquence and poetical gifts. He wrote among other works a continuation of the *Taḍḍīb al-Umm* of Ibn Miskawāh [q. v.] (*Dhail Kitāb Taḍḍīb al-Umm*) containing the years 368-389 (979-999), edited and translated by Amedroz and Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate*, Oxford 1920-1921.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān* (ed. Wüstenfeld), N^o. 712 (transl. de

Slane, iii. 288 sqq.); Ibn al-Aḥṣr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg), x. 39, 74 sq., 78, 84, 94, 106, 111, 123 sq., 156, 171, 221; Ibn al-Tikṭāḩ, *al-Fahṣ* (ed. Derenbourg), p. 400–403.

(K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

RUDJŪ (أ. ر. ر. ر.), return in the neo-Platonic sense, forms the main subject of the apocryphal "Theology of Aristotle". The question deals mainly with the individual souls who have descended or fallen into this earthly world of bodies but are purified by knowledge and who return to their original home, the spiritual world, either in an ecstatic condition or after separation from their bodies by death. *Marjif* is used alongside of *radjū*; the verbal forms from *radjfa* are frequently employed; connected with these we find a number of expressions, sometimes related in meaning and sometimes giving a closer definition. The Arabic translators of the "Theology" took their terminology in part from the Kor'an and sacred tradition; we must however here confine ourselves to the neo-Platonic meaning and its reception into Islam.

In a certain sense the doctrine of return is a counterpart of the theory of emanation (cf. the article *ḥayr* in the Supplement). Everything comes from God and returns to him! Logos and (soul) myths are, however, more interwoven here than in the doctrine of *fa'īd*. There is a general presupposition of the purely spiritual substantiality of the intelligent soul (*nafs nāṭiqā*) and of its immortality, which has not only a philosophical foundation but is supported by appeal to the age-old cult of tombs and ancestors (see "Theology", ed. Dieterici, p. 7 sq.). Orphic-Pythagorean traditions and views of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle are combined and harmonised.

Let us begin with an outline from the "Theology" (p. 4–8 and *passim*). The human, i.e. intelligent soul does not feel at home in its association with an earthly body. Lying in the fifth of matter it longs for return to its pure origin. It was once a part of the elevated world soul produced by God through the intermediary of the intellect (*ʿaql*). So long as it was in the world-soul its place was in the centre of the all. The world-soul has a two-fold countenance: on the one side directed upwards, it looks to the *ʿaql* and by it to God; on the other it turns to the corporeal world which emanated from it and is guided by it (cf. "Theology", p. 20). In so far as the world-soul has caused the corporeal world, it knows its product, but as a spiritual being, it always remains within itself. It is however possible that parts of the all-soul may turn more deeply to the earthly, form an idea of it and demand to be united with it. This is the cause of the descent or fall of the individual souls (*ḥabāt*; also *nufūs*, *ḥayāt*, *ḥayawāt* etc. = Greek *ἄνθρωποι*). But as every individual soul partakes of spiritual being and immortal life it can never fall completely (cf. p. 132): in part it remains with itself in the upper world, in part it combines with the corporeal world and in part it wanders to and fro. Such migrations of the soul are naturally to be interpreted in the spiritual sense, i.e. independently of time and space.

The descent of the individual souls differs very much in degree. The deeper a soul sinks into matter, the more it forgets its heavenly origin. If it gives way to its passions and desires, it cannot rise again to its origin, and even after the separation from the body by death, only with great difficulty.

But the souls that turn away through asceticism from the sensual world, prepare themselves by good deeds and — this is the most important — purify and perfect themselves by love and knowledge, can, either in ecstasy ("Theology", p. 8; cf. thereon Massignon, *Textes inédits*, p. 131 sq.) or after death raise themselves to their origin (*yu'ūd*, *nufūs*, *irifā*, *tarāḩ* = Greek *ἁλόν*), where they see the *ʿaql* and through it God himself in light and beauty. Plato had already spoken of this elevation (e.g. *Republic*, vii., p. 517 B: *τὴν εἰς τὸν νοῦν τὴν αἰσθητικὴν*). According to the "Theology", p. 9 sqq., Herakleitos, Empedocles and Pythagoras also urged the soul to this ascent; the Ikhwān al-Safā add Ptolemy, the astronomer, and interpret the ascension of Christ and Muhammad's journey to heaven (*mi'rāḩ*) in a spiritual sense. Muslim philosophers and mystics did the same.

After what has been said, it is evident that the elevation (*yu'ūd*) of the soul to its origin (*ilā ʿaql*) can be called a return. It is more closely defined as a return to its interior, to its own being (*ilā ḥayātiki*). It is an entering into the self, a becoming conscious of one's own self; not a losing of being, not a destruction. The speculative mystics in Islam went a great deal farther in this direction.

According to the "Theology" (p. 18 sqq.), the return to the origin or being can only be a state (*ḥāl*) of the soul, not of the mind. The *ʿaql* always remains by itself and therefore never needs to return to itself; thinking, thinker and thought are always one in its being. When in the *Liber de causis* (ed. Bardenheuer, § 6, cf. § 14) a return to its being is predicated of the *ʿaql*, this can only be interpreted as an uninterrupted self-consciousness.

So far the doctrine of the fall and return of the soul can be presented as fairly uniform. It shows a pessimistic conception of the life of the soul in combination with the body. But it also finds an optimistic interpretation ("Theology", p. 10 sq.). With Plotinus it is observed that Plato talks another language in the *Timaeus* (cf. p. 28 sqq.) from that of the *Phaedrus*, *Phaedrus* and *Republic*. According to the *Timaeus*, God created this beautiful world and equipped it in his great goodness with mind (*ʿaql*) and life (= soul). Not only has he sent the all-soul into the world but also our (part-)souls so that the world may be as perfect as possible. If the individual soul can only conceive the sensual world correctly, i.e. as the image of the intelligible world, its combination with the physical world will not be a misfortune for it. Both worlds have come from God, the pure good. The only question is, what is the purpose of the soul in this world.

To this the "Theology" answers (p. 43 sq.) that the union of the soul with a body is not a final aim for the individual soul. In any case, union with the world soul and the contemplation of the *ʿaql* and of God gives it a higher bliss for which it longs; but first of all it has to prepare itself for this. It has a divine task. If it descends into the corporeal world, it receives strength from above to form and guide a body. Provided it does not sink too low, it derives advantage and knowledge from it. Its previously dormant strength and the nature of this now become known to it. This is its very purpose, that it should come to know itself and its origin. The journey through the corporeal world is for it a course of training. Therefore (p. 80) the individual soul should not be blamed for leaving the spiritual world and coming into this world to

adorn it and to reveal its own nature. After it completes its work it returns to its origin.

Both expositions of the fate of the soul, pessimistic and optimistic, have influenced Muslim thinkers. With the gnostics, the Ikhwān al-Safā' and many mystics, pessimism predominates, while from Fārābī onwards the philosophers are more inclined to optimism. It is to be noted that the terminology of the "Theology" was only partially adopted. *Rudjū'*, for example, is found only when from the context neo-Platonic influence can be deduced; but it did not become a proper technical term. In place of *rudjū'* and *murjū'* we usually find *ma'ād* and *'awad* which are explained as return in the neo-Platonic sense.

That the teaching of the Ikhwān al-Safā' turns almost entirely on the spiritual substantiality of the soul and its immortality is well known. Goldziher has often and expressly pointed this out (e.g. *Vorlesungen*, p. 31, 163 and *Koranauslegung*, p. 183 sqq.). The third part of their encyclopedia is wholly devoted to the soul (on *ma'ād*, especially *raḥīl* 32 and 38 sq., Bombay ed.). The 38th treatise is entitled: *Fi 'l-Hādith wa 'l-Nuḥūr wa 'l-Kiyāma*: these are three synonyms for resurrection, here interpreted in a spiritual sense. But in other parts of this work also (i. 3; ii. 27—29; iv. 43 sq.), there is much to the point. The famous passage in the "Theology" on the Plotinian ecstasy (i. 3, p. 69) is quoted, and the pseudo-Aristotelian "Book of the Apple" modelled on the *Phaedrus* of Plato is mentioned (iv. 2, p. 119 sq.). The value of life in the world is, it is true, sometimes recognised but the misery of the wandering soul is more strongly emphasised. It is frequently pointed out that the weak souls cannot help themselves, that they require advice and instruction from prophets and philosophers in a community of life and belief so that they may be put upon the right path of return. The principal thing is the gnosis, for what food and drink are to the body, knowledge and wisdom (*ʿilm* and *ḥikma*) are to the soul (ii. 27, p. 313 sq.). Like the physician Rāzī and the philosopher Kindī the Ikhwān chose the Socrates of Hellenistic tradition as their first leader; he is however not the only one. The individual souls require many philosophers and prophets and also living guides (generally a late Hellenistic principle). With their help the good, wise soul advances to union with the world soul and through this with the *ʿaḥl* and God. The union of the individual soul with the world-soul, is the minor resurrection (*ḥiyāma*); the major resurrection takes place when the world soul separates itself entirely from matter and returns to the higher world of the spirits and of God (cf. Tj. de Boer, *Wijze begeerte in den Islam*, Haarlem 1921, p. 77 sqq., esp. p. 98 sqq.).

The doctrine of the *ma'ād* became more complicated after the theory propounded by Fārābī and more clearly developed by Ibn Sīnā of the ten spirits of the spheres (*ʿuḥūl*). The individual souls endowed with intelligence, according to this, do not descend from the world-soul as parts of it, but they are, like the bodies of the earthly world, products of the last spirit in the series of emanation, i.e. of the *ʿaḥl fa'āl*. The purified soul longs for this spirit and its return is in the first place to it. Its longing goes further, to come as near as possible to God and to become like him, so far as it is possible for man. The philosophers are distinguished

from the speculative mystics by the fact that from Fārābī to Ibn Rūḥd the first question they put is: How is the union (*ittiḥād*) of our soul with its origin (the *ʿaḥl fa'āl*) possible? The mystics, on the other hand, however differently their inner states and stations are described, desire nothing else than becoming one with God himself (*ittiḥād*).

According to Fārābī, the soul finds its return by the way of right knowledge and pious acts, but knowledge is esteemed more highly than deeds. Deeds remain in the world but knowledge enters into the spirit [cf. the article 'AMAL in the Supplement].

With the doctrine of the ecstatic conditions of the soul Fārābī combines in exemplary fashion his prophethood, especially in the "Model State", a copy of Plato's republic, but interpreted in the cosmopolitan spirit of the Stoics. This turns upon the harmony of religion and philosophy. The agreement is based on the fact that they both come from the same source: the difference is explained by the fact that the souls of the prophets and philosophers take up different attitudes. In their ascent in the ecstatic condition to the *ʿaḥl fa'āl* the soul of the prophet receives revealed truth through its imagination, while the soul of the philosopher receives illuminating wisdom through its intellect. But the truth is one and the same, so the philosophers down to Ibn Rūḥd and Ibn Sab'īn (viii = xiii century), teach, and many mystics are of the same opinion. Cf. Fārābī, *Abhandlungen* ed. Dieterici, p. 69 sqq. and *Mustarṣat*, p. 46 sqq.

According to Ibn Sīnā's "Division of the Sciences of the Mind" (*qisām al-ʿUlūm al-ʿaqliyya* in *Tiḥāṣiṣ*, Constantinople, p. 76 sqq.), metaphysics (with Aristotle here called Theology) presents in its fundamental parts (*awḥāl*) among other things the theory of emanation, but on the other hand deals with the doctrine (*ʿilm*) of *ma'ād* along with prophethood as derived or applied parts (*furūʿ*). This means that the theory of *ʿaḥl fa'āl* possesses a higher place than the doctrine of the return.

Ibn Sīnā here again supports Fārābī. More definitely than the latter he adopts the neo-Platonic doctrine of the spirituality and immortality of the soul. This is not merely the form of its body, as Aristotle taught, of course inconsistently, but a spiritual and therefore indestructible substance. Against Plato and Pythagoras it is asserted that it has no pre-existence in the world-soul and does not migrate from one body to another. The *ʿaḥl fa'āl* gives (presumably from an inexhaustible supply) a suitable soul to each body that is sufficiently prepared for it. In a sense one can say that it has come into existence, but it will never perish. Fārābī was, as Ibn Tufail (*Hayy*, ed. Gauthier, p. 11) remarks, somewhat undecided in his opinion on the return of all souls, even of the wicked, Ibn Sīnā, on the other hand, not; but both interpreted the rewards and punishments in the next world in a spiritual sense, as was also the case with the Ikhwān al-Safā'. It is also to be noted that Ibn Sīnā, especially in his mystical writings, uses terms of a more Ṣūfī character than Fārābī.

Ghazālī took over from the philosophers just mentioned the doctrine of the spirituality and immortality of the soul, without however, at least in his principal works, drawing from this its logical spiritual deductions regarding the next world. In his *Tahāṣiṣ* (ed. Bouyges, p. 344 sqq.) he defends

the orthodox doctrine of the resurrection of the bodies on the last day, while in his esoteric writings he speaks in allegory after the Sūfī fashion (cf. Ibn Rushd, in *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, p. 380 199.). Ibn Rushd therefore accuses him of contradiction, defends the philosophers and observes that the Sūfīs believe in a spiritual return (*ma'ād rūḥānī*) and are still regarded as good Muslims. But what is the personal opinion of this philosopher? It looks as if he hesitated to come out with his real opinion. It must therefore be sought in his larger works on metaphysics and psychology which have not yet been sufficiently investigated. But it is often very difficult to say where the commentator on Aristotle stops and the philosopher begins. This much may safely be said that Ibn Rushd more than Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā regards the soul as the form of its body. With this its spiritual substantiality and individual immortality would disappear.

Bibliography: given in the article: cf. also Asín Palacios, *Alenmasurra y su escuela*, Madrid 1914, esp. p. 40 199., 110 199.; do., *La Escatología musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, Madrid 1919, p. 58 199.; I. Madkour, *La place d'al-Fārābī dans l'école philosophique musulmane*, Paris 1934, esp. p. 122 199. and 181 199.; see also art. TAĀWUṢ, *infra*, vol. iv., esp. p. 739 199. (T): DE BOER.

RUḤ. [See NAFS.]

RUḤ b. ḤATIM b. KAḤṢA, governor of Ifrīkiya, was appointed to this high office by the caliph Ḥārūn al-Raḡhīd in 171 (787). Under al-Manṣūr he had been *ḥājjib*, then governor of al-Baṣra; then he was appointed by al-Mahdī successively governor of al-Kūfā, Sīd, Tabaristān and Palestine. He must have been advanced in years when Ḥārūn al-Raḡhīd sent him to Ifrīkiya in the year after his accession to the throne. He belonged to the family of al-Muhallab, which had already sent two governors to the same province and was to supply two more after him. "It seems that at this period the caliph thought of entrusting the affairs of Ifrīkiya to a vassal family" (Vonderheyden). The governorship of the Muhallabids which preceded that of the Aghlabids, was very successful. The rebel Berbers appeared to be finally overcome and the Khāridjī agitation was suppressed; so satisfactory was the position that Ruḥ b. Ḥatīm when he arrived at Kairuān in Rajab 171 (Dec. 787—Jan. 788) had no serious difficulties to face. Besides, he had brought with him new contingents of the *ghna*, 500 horsemen, who were joined soon after by 1,500 others brought by his son Kaḥṣa. For the three years of his governorship, the country was peaceful. Ruḥ even succeeded in concluding a peace with 'Abd al-Wahhāb [q. v.], the Rustamid *imām* of Tāhert. The authors who are our authorities upon him, notably Abu l-'Arab and Ibn 'Idhārī, make special mention of his generosity, his stoicism in face of adversity and of his skill in disarming his opponents.

As he was showing signs of senility, the postmaster and a *ḥājjib* of the province requested the caliph to appoint a successor to him secretly, who would take his place if necessary. Following their advice, Ḥārūn al-Raḡhīd appointed Naṣr b. Ḥabīb. Ruḥ b. Ḥatīm died on 19th Ramadan 174 (Feb. 3, 791), and his son Kaḥṣa was formally recognised as his successor in the great mosque of Kairuān. But the postmaster and the *ḥājjib*

informed Naṣr, the governor designate, and Kaḥṣa had to give way to him.

Bibliography: Abu l-'Arab and Muhammad al-Khushan, *Classici dei savanti de l'Ifrīkiya*, ed. and transl. Ben Cheneb, *passim*; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dozy, i. 74-75; transl. E. Fagnan, i. 100-101; al-Nuwairī (appendix to Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, transl. de Slane, i. 387-388); Vonderheyden, *La Berbérie orientale sous la dynastie des Beni 'l-Aghlab*, p. 8-9. (G. MARÇAIS)

AL-RUHĀ'. [See ORFA.]

RŪḤI, is the *mukhlaf* of the historian, whose work was until 1925 known only from the references in 'Alī's [q. v.] *Kāsh al-Aghṣar* and in Münedjīmbashī [q. v.]. J. H. Mordtmann (*M. O. G.* ii., 129 199.) was the first to identify by conclusive arguments several manuscripts of the anonymous original work. They tell us practically nothing about the personality of the author and it is only a hypothesis (cf. F. Babinger *Die frühromanischen Jahrbücher des Urarisch*, Hannover 1925, p. xlii.) that connects the historian Rūḥī with a certain Rūḥī Fāḍil Efendi who, like Muḥyī al-Dīn Dīwānī (cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 72 199.), was a son of Zenbillī 'Alī Efendi, distinguished himself as a poet and died young, in 927 (1528) it is said. As he is also called Rūḥī Edrenwī, i. e. Rūḥī of Adrianople, this hypothesis may be correct. But elsewhere (cf. Sehi, *Tigheire*, p. 127), this Rūḥī Fāḍil Efendi is said to have been born and to have died in Stambul.

The history of Rūḥī entitled *Tawārīkh-i 'Alī 'Oṭmān* is written in a simple style and divided into two parts (*ḥisn*). The author calls the first *muḥāsib*, i. e. beginnings, the second *muḥāsib*, i. e. elucidations. The first part falls into two sections of a general nature, the second contains eight chapters each of which describes the reign of one sultan. The chronicle was written in the reign of Bāyazīd II (1481-1512) and ends in 917 (beg. March 31, 1511). Rūḥī's work has not been further investigated nor is there a critical edition of the text, which could easily be prepared from existing old and good manuscripts (Berlin, Oxford, Algiers; cf. F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 43). It is clear however that Luṭfī Pasha's [q. v.] *Chronicle* is dependent on that of Rūḥī.

Bibliography: *lit.*, xlii., 159; *M. O. G.*, ii. 129 199. (J. H. Mordtmann); F. Babinger, *G. O. W.*, p. 42 199. — In addition to Sehi, the following mention men named Rūḥī: Luṭfī, *Tigheire*, p. 172 and Mehmed Thureiyā, *Siddiq-i 'Oṭmānī*, ii. 421. Cf. Brüllall Mehmed Tahir, *'Oṭmānī Mu'allaferi*, iii. 54.

(FRANK BABINGER)

RUKN AL-DAWLA, ABU 'ALĪ AL-HASAN b. BUṬ, second in age of the three brothers that founded the Būyid dynasty [q. v.]. His fortunes followed those of the elder brother 'Alī (later 'Imād al-Dawla [q. v.]) up to the latter's occupation of Fārs in 322 (934); Rukn was then given the governorship of Kāzwin and other districts. But shortly afterwards he was forced by the 'Abbāsid general Yāḳūt, at whose expense the Būyid conquest of Fārs had been made, to seek refuge with his brother; and when Yāḳūt was in turn defeated by the Ziyārid Mardāwīdī [q. v.], the Būyids' former overlord against whom they had revolted, 'Imād, who then found it advisable to conciliate Mardāwīdī, sent Rukn to

him as a hostage. On Mardāwīd's assassination in the following year (323 = 935), Rukn escaped and rejoined 'Imād, by whom he was supplied with troops to dispute the possession of the Dībāl with Mardāwīd's brother and successor, Waṣṣḡir. Rukn succeeded at the outset in taking Iṣfahān; but the first round of his contest with Waṣṣḡir ended in Rukn's ejection from that city in 327 (939), when he again fled to Fārs.

In the next year Rukn's help was sought by his younger brother al-Humayn (later Mu'izz al-Dawla [q. v.]), who had meanwhile set himself up in Khuzistān, against the Barids [q. v.]; whereupon Rukn, being now possessed of no territory, attempted to take Wāsiṭ but was obliged to retire when the caliph al-Rāḍī [q. v.] and the amir Badjkam [q. v.] opposed him. Almost immediately afterwards, however, he succeeded in recovering Iṣfahān, owing to Waṣṣḡir's championship of Mākan b. Kākūy in a quarrel with the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad [q. v.]; and when the latter ruler died in 331 (943), Rukn, who had meanwhile supported the Sāmānid cause, was able to drive Waṣṣḡir as well from al-Raiy, of which he had momentarily regained possession on the retirement of the Sāmānid general Ibn Muḥtāj.

With al-Raiy Rukn gained control of the whole Dībāl; and but for two short intervals (of about a year in each case) retained it for the rest of his days. Up to 344 (955–956), however, his position was highly precarious. For not only Waṣṣḡir, but also the Sāmānids continued to challenge it. It was only by playing them off against each other and sowing dissensions between the Sāmānid princes and the officers they sent against him that Rukn was able to maintain it. Even so (as indicated above) he was driven from al-Raiy, and his representatives were expelled from most parts of the province, once in 333 (944–945) and again in 339 (950–951), in each case by Sāmānid forces. Indeed he was obliged in the end to become the Sāmānids' tributary (at least two agreements for the payment of tribute being recorded); it was on this basis that he first made peace with them in 344 (955–956) as again in 361 (971–972). In the course of his long contest with Waṣṣḡir, who, until he was killed in an accident in 357 (968) never ceased to intrigue with the Sāmānids against him, Rukn on several occasions invaded Tabaristān and Gurgān, but was unable to incorporate these provinces permanently in his dominions. And though in 337 (948–949), after he had defeated an attempt on al-Raiy made by the Salārid Marzubān b. Muḥammad, whom he took prisoner, he gained control of southern Adharbāidjān, his ejection two years later from al-Raiy itself (see above) naturally cost him this as well.

Rukn received his *laḥab* simultaneously with his brothers in 334 (945–946), on Mu'izz's entry into Baghdad; and on 'Imād's death in 338 (949), succeeded him as head of the family and *amir al-umara'* (though this title was also held by Mu'izz). The last two years of his life were rendered unhappy — so much so that he never recovered from the shock induced by the news — owing to the conduct of his son, 'Aḍud al-Dawla [q. v.], in taking advantage of an appeal for help sent by Bakhtiyār [q. v.] (son of Mu'izz and his successor in the rule of al-Isṭak), to imprison the latter, and, in conjunction with Rukn's own *wasir*

Abu 'l-Faḥl Ibn al-'Amīd [q. v.], who had been sent likewise with a force to Bakhtiyār's aid, to seize that province for himself. And though 'Aḍud obeyed his command to release Bakhtiyār and return to his government in Fārs, Rukn was only with difficulty persuaded to visit 'Aḍud in 365 (975–976) at Iṣfahān, in order to ensure that by receiving a confirmation of his appointment as heir, he should succeed without dispute. Rukn died at al-Raiy in Muḥarram of the next year (September 976).

Rukn al-Dawla was fortunate in his employment of the remarkable *wasir* Abu 'l-Faḥl Ibn al-'Amīd [q. v.] from 329 (941) for thirty years until his death in 359 (970), though, as that minister himself complained (see Miskawāh), he was prevented by the prince's lack of royal blood and of culture from governing properly. Rukn (so he said) was in fact no more than a predatory soldier, who could secure the allegiance of his supporters only by means of largesse, and was not able to forgo revenue in the expectation of subsequently increasing its yield. On the other hand he is said to have been just and humane towards his troops and his subjects, and gave proof — especially in connection with the episode of 'Aḍud al-Dawla mentioned above — of a tender sense of honour.

Bibliography: Miskawāh, *Taḡrīb al-Uṣūm*; Ibn al-Aṭhir, *Kāmil*, viii.; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, transl. de Slane, i. 407; Mir Khwānd, *Rawḍat al-Safā* (in Wilken, *Mirchond's Geschichte der Sultane aus dem Geschlechte Buḡhā*); Khwānd Amīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* (in Ranking, *History of the Minor Dynasties of Persia*); Ibn Khallikān, *Tabr*, iv.

(HAROLD BOWEN)

RUKN AL-DĪN, SULAIMĀN II b. KILĠJ
ARSLĀN II, a Salḡuk ruler in Asia Minor. His father KILĠJ Arslān b. Mas'ūd [q. v.] in his old age divided his kingdom among his many sons. The consequence of this was that the latter set up as independent rulers and began to fight with one another so that at his death in Sha'bān 388 (Aug. 1192) complete anarchy reigned. In the course of time however, Rukn al-Dīn brought the whole kingdom under his sway. Kuṭb al-Dīn Malikshāh who had received Siwās and Aḡsara, began by attacking his brother Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, lord of Kaisariya. The latter was killed and Kaisariya passed to Kuṭb al-Dīn. On the latter's death Rukn al-Dīn who ruled in Tokat (Döğü), attacked Siwās and took possession of it. He next seized the two towns of Aḡsara and Kaisariya. After some time, he turned against his other brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaikhuraw in Konya and laid siege to him. The latter had to give in and ceded his territory to his brother. In Ramaḍān 507 (June–July 1201) Malatya which belonged to Mu'izz al-Dīn Kaizarshāh b. KILĠJ Arslān was captured. Erzerüm was the next to pass to Rukn al-Dīn. When the latter's troops approached, the governor there, 'Alī al-Dīn b. Malikshāh, the last of the Saltuḡid dynasty, began negotiations by which the town was surrendered to Rukn al-Dīn who gave it to his brother Tuḡhrilshāh. Another brother, Muḥyī al-Dīn, who had obtained Angora when the kingdom was divided, long resisted Rukn al-Dīn's last for conquest, and only after a three years' siege found himself forced to capitulate when supplies were completely cut off, but was promised suitable compensation. Rukn al-Dīn promised him

a fortress in a remote part, but laid an ambush for him in which he was attacked and killed as he left the town. Soon afterwards however, Rukn al-Dīn fell ill and died before the news of his brother's murder reached him. He was succeeded by his son Kīlūj Arslān III [q. v.]. Ibn al-Athīr (xii. 128) gives the date of his death as the 6th Dhu 'l-Ka'da 600 (July 6, 1204); according to another statement (xii. 59) however, the surrender of Angora and the death of Rukn al-Dīn did not take place till 601 (1204-1205).

Ibn al-Athīr describes Rukn al-Dīn as a strong and vigorous ruler; he is said to have held certain heretical views (*maḥḥab al-falāḥiyya*) on religious matters which, however, he concealed from fear of his subjects.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (ed. Tornerberg), xii. 57-59, 111, 119, 125 ff., 128 ff., 132, 295; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annals* (ed. Reiske), iv. 193, 209; *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens orientaux*, vii. 69-72, 94; Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seljoukides*, iii. 15-25, 45-61, 72; iv. 5-9, 18-23, 28. (K. V. ZETTERSTEN)

RUKN AL-DĪN. [See BAIKAR I, BAKHIVARUK, TUJUBIL-BAG, KILUJ ARSLAN.]

RUKNĀBĀD (or **ĀB-i RUKN**: the water of Rukn al-Dawla), a canal (*qanāt*) which runs from a mountain (called Kalā'ā: P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, ii. 48, N^o. 7) about six miles from Shirāz. Enlarged by a secondary canal, it follows for a part of the way the road from Isfahān to Shirāz. Its waters reach as far as the vicinity of the town towards the cemetery in which Hāfiẓ is buried, when they are not entirely absorbed for irrigation purposes. According to Ḥasan Yaʿqūbī (*Furūṣ-nāma-i Nāṣiri*, part ii., p. 20), "all the waters of the plain of Shirāz come by subterranean channels except the water from the spring of Dīshk... The best waters are those of the Tangi and Ruknī canals.... The *Kanāt-i Ruknī* (i.e. Ruknābād) was made in 338 (949-950), one and a half farsakhs N. E. of Shirāz by Rukn al-Dawla Ḥasan the Dailamī [cf. *supra*]; its waters rise in the ravine of Tang-i Allāh Akbar a mile north of Shirāz; it waters the plain of al-Murallā [q. v.]. In the fourteenth century, Ruknābād is mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūta and by Ḥamīd Allāh Muṭawwī Kāsimī (*Nuḥbat al-Kulūb*, transl. Le Strange, in *G.M.S.*, p. 113: "The water comes from subterranean canals and the best is that of Ruknābād"). But it is to the poets that this canal really owes its fame. In the xiiith century Sa'dī declares himself charmed by the land of Shirāz and the waters of Ruknābād (*ʿAlīyūn*, Calcutta 1791, fol. 299b, l. 4). In the following century 'Ulaīdī Zakīm sings: "The zephyr which blows from al-Muṣallā and the wave of Ruknābād remove from the stranger the memory of his native land" (text quoted by E. G. Browne, who finds in it an echo of Sa'dī, *Persian Lit. under Tartar Dominion*, p. 23^b). Hāfiẓ in particular immortalised Ruknābād in his verses: "Pour out, cup-bearer, the wine that is left, for in Paradise thou shalt find neither the streams of Ruknābād nor the promenades of al-Muṣallā" (ed. Khalkhali, Teheran 1306, N^o. 3, v. 2); "Enter and the wave of Ruknī and the sweet breeze of the zephyr, blame them not, for they are the pride of the universe" (*ibid.*, N^o. 35, v. 7); "The zephyr which blows from al-Muṣallā and the wave of Ruknābād will never allow me to depart" (*ibid.*, N^o. 168,

v. 9); "May God a hundred times preserve our Ruknābād, for its limpid waters give a life as long as that of Khidr" [q. v.] (*ibid.*, N^o. 277, v. 2); and in a piece which may be apocryphal (*ibid.*, part 2, N^o. 71): "The water of Ruknī, like sugar, rises in al-Tang (i.e. Allāh Akbar)". According to later writers, Ruknābād, which Ibn Baṭṭūta called a great water-course (*al-nahr al-kabīr*), gradually dried up. Among the notable travellers of the xviiith century, Chardin, almost alone in mentioning it, saw only a large stream and gives Ruknābād the fanciful meaning "Ruknenabat, veine ou filet de sucre" (*Voyages*, ed. Langlès, viii. 241). At the end of the xviiith century, W. Franklin praises the sweetness and clearness of the waters of this little stream to which the natives attribute medicinal qualities. At the beginning of the xixth century Scott Waring notes that its breadth was nowhere more than six feet. Ker Porter observes that the canal has become choked up through neglect. The *Kulshūm nāma* deplores the disappearance of the groves that surrounded it. At a later date we have the same observation by Gobineau ("Cette onde poétique ne m'apparut que sous l'aspect d'un trou bourbeux"), Curzon ("a tiny channel filled with running water") and Sykes ("a diminutive stream").

The *Furūṣ-nāma-i Nāṣiri* mentions a second Ruknābād in Fārs: "The source of the warm stream of Ruknābād is part of the district of Bikhe-i Fāl (Lāristān); it is over a farsakh north of the village of Ruknābād; having a bad flavour and an unpleasant smell, it is of no use for agriculture; it cooks in a few minutes eggs put into it; one can only bathe in it at some distance from the spring" (ii. 318 middle and 388).

Bibliography: — In addition to the references in the text: Ibn Baṭṭūta, ed. Defrémery-Sanguinetti, Paris 1873-1879, ii. 53 and 87; Abu 'l-Abbās Ahmad b. Abī 'l-Khair Zarkūb Shirāzi (xivth century), *Shīrās-nāma*, Teheran 1305-1310, p. 23-24 (panegyric in a precious style); Zaim al-'Abidin Shirāzi (xvth century), *Riḍā al-Sirāḡ*, p. 336, u. l. and *Bustān al-Sayḡa*, p. 326 middle (short notices); *Kulshūm nāma*, transl. Thonnelier, *Le livre des dames de la Perse*, Paris 1881, p. 120; transl. Atkinson, *Customs and Manners of the Women of Persia*, London 1832, p. 77; L. Dubeux, *Le Perse*, Paris 1841, p. 34; W. Franklin, *Voyage du Bengale en Perse*, transl. Langlès, Paris, year vi., i. 107; Scott Waring, *A tour in Shirāz*, London 1807, p. 40; Motier, *A second journey through Persia*, London 1818, p. 69; Ouseley, *Travels*, London 1819, i. 318 and ii. 7; Porter, *Travels*, London 1821, i. 686 and 695; de Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie*, Paris 1822, i. 199; H. Brugsch, *Reise ... nach Persien*, Leipzig 1862, ii. 166; Curzon, *Persia*, London 1892, ii. 93 and 96; E. G. Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, London 1893, index; P. M. Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia*, London 1902, p. 323; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, p. 250 (on the water supply of Shirāz); Jackson, *Persia past and present*, New York 1906, p. 323.

RŪM, the name in Persian and Turkish for the Byzantine empire. Rūm means the land of the Rhomans (*Ῥωμαῖοι*) or Byzantines although in Central Asia Rūm is also used for the Roman empire. In course of time the conception

(H. MASSÉ).

became narrower. While Rüm still is the old name for Konya (q. v. and RÜM-SALİHİYES), in the early Ottoman period Rüm comprises the district of Amasia (q. v.) and Siwas (q. v.) while Anatolia included the so-called province with the capital Kütahya (q. v.) (cf. *Isl.*, x, 1920, p. 144, note 1). From the earlier name Rüm for old Hellas (cf. *Iskander-i Rümî*, i. e. Alexander the Great), Eastern Roman and Byzantine, it was applied in Turkey to designate the modern Greeks (also *Urüm*) in contrast to the ancient Greeks who were called *Yūnāniyān* or Ionians. Rüm also sometimes meant Turkey in general; cf. the expression *Rüm Pādī-ḡūhī* for the sultan. *Rūmī* later was used in a derogatory sense. *Rüm Mezherē* was said of the Greek character, faithless, unreliable, flattering.

Cf. also *HAZERUM* (i. e. *Erz-Rüm*) and *RUMELIA*.
(FRANZ BÄHRINGER)

RÜM KAL'A, a fortress in Northern Syria. According to Arnold Nöldeke's description, it is situated "on a steeply sloping tongue of rock, lying along the right bank of the Euphrates, which bars the direct road to the Euphrates from the west for its tributary the Merziman as it breaks through the edge of the plateau, so that it is forced to make a curve northwards around this tongue. The connection between this tongue of rock, some 1,300 feet long and about half as broad, and the plateau which rises above it is broken by a ditch made by man about 100 feet deep. The walls of the citadel with towers and salients follow the outlines of the rock along its edge at an average height of 150 feet above the level of the Euphrates, while the ridge extending along the middle of the longer axis rises 100 to 120 feet higher" (A. Nöldeke, in *Petersmanns Mitteil.*, 1920 p. 53 sq., where the main road up to the citadel, the buildings etc. are also described).

The unusual position of the fortress on a high cliff suggests that it corresponds to the tower of Shitumrat "hovering like a cloud in the sky" which Salmanassar III took in 855 B. C. (F. Honigsmann, art. *Syria*, in *Pauly-Wissowa, R.E.*, iv, A, col. 1569, 1592).

While Th. Nöldeke (*N. G. W. Mitt.*, 1876, p. 12, note 2) wished to distinguish Rüm Kal'a clearly from *Orum* and identify with the former place the modern Orum, Hörum on the Euphrates, above Balḡis, Urma is now generally identified with Rüm Kal'a (Marmier, B. Moritz, Cumont, Dussaud etc.). The name of the old bishopric of Urma last appears in Matt'ios of Edessa (ed. Watahrapat 1898, p. 323): in 561 A. M. (1112—1113 A. D.) the Armenian Kogh Wasil returned to Tancred of Antioch the lands of Harn Msur, Thorah and Uremn, which he had taken from the Franks. The first two are Hira Manḡūr and Trūh (Turkish) and Uremn is Urma (*Hist. or. des croisades, Docum. armén.*, i. 102; J. Markwart, *Südararmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, p. 182, note 1 of p. 177). The Syriac chronicles record (Mich. Syr., iii, p. 199; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 279) that Kogh Basil or after his death Kurig, who acted as governor for his widow, held the towns of Kaishūm, Ra'ūn, Bētheshē and Kal'a Rhōmaitā. It is very probable that the latter, the Syriac for Rüm Kal'a, here corresponds to the Uremn of the Armenians, which is later in Armenian always called Hromklay and by similar names.

Rüm Kal'a later belonged to the county of Edessa. The metropolitan Abu 'l-Faraj b. Shum-

mānā of Edessa, who after the second capture and destruction of this town by the Turks (1146) escaped to Samosata, was imprisoned for three years in Rüm Kal'a by Joscelin; he then wrote several *memoirs* "with an account of the events" which caused his imprisonment (Mich. Syr., iii, 277b; Baumstark, *Gesch. der syr. Literatur*, Bonn 1922, p. 293).

At the request of an Armenian of Kal'a Rhōmaitā named Michael in 1148 Beatrix, widow of Joscelin II of Edessa, and her son demanded that the Armenian Catholicos Grigor III Pahlavuni should move his residence to the "fortress of the Romans" (Arm. Hromklay) which belonged to their territory, the former county of Edessa (the capital of which since the fall of al-Ruhā in 1145 had been Tall Bāghir). The Catholicos had lived since 1125 in Cowk ("little lake"), i. e. the fortress of Kal'at Sōf in the Djabal Sawf (Sōf) to which Badr al-Din Mahmūd al-Aini fled in 803 (1400—1401) from Timurlenk (Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamelouks de l'Égypte*, t. II, 1840, p. 227), and recently visited by Haussknecht, as is evident from Armenian sources which mention the "little castle of Cowk" in the region of Tink' (Dallik, *Տըմուկ*) (Papken G. W. Gülsenecan, *Cowk, Cowk-Tink' und Hrom-Glay, eine historisch-topographische Studie* (Armen.), Vienna 1903, p. 33—44; Markwart, *Südararmenien*, p. 18 sq., still wrongly identified Cowk with Gōldjak). The Catholicos obeyed the summons and in 1150 purchased the fortress of Rüm Kal'a from the Franks but is said to have shown ingratitude to Michael for he deprived him of all his possessions and drove him out of the country (Mich. Syr., iii, 297; Barhebraeus, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 317). The Armenian Catholicos after that lived in the fortress from 1147/1148 till 1293 (*Chronique du royaume de la Petite Arménie*, in *Rev. hist. eccl.*, *Docum. arm.*, i. 618, under the year 390 A. M. = 1141—1142 A. D.).

Grigor's successor, the poet Nersēs IV Shnorhali, "the graceful" (patriarch 1166—1173), was called Klayec'i from his place of residence in May 1170 and March 1172 negotiations concerning a church union took place between him, Theodoros as ambassador of the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenos, and the bishop Iwannts (Elias) of Kaishūm and the monk Theodoros Bar Wahhūn as delegates of the Jacobite patriarch Michael the Great, who had remained in the monastery of Mar Bar Sawmā (*Ἐν τῇ κατὰλλοῦ ἀντὶ λέγεσθαι ἡ ἑνὶς Βυζαντίας*), in Rüm Kal'a (Syr. Kal'a Rōmaitā or Hēsā dher-Rōmāyē, Greek *Ρωμαίων Κολῆ*) and in Kaishūm (Syr. Kaishūm, Greek *Καϊσούμ*) (Migne, *Patr. Graec.*, cxxxiii, col. 124—298; Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, ed. Abbeloos, Lamy, i. 549—551; expanded in Mich. Syr., iii, 334—336).

After the death of Nersēs (Aug. 8, 1173) his younger nephew was proclaimed Catholicos in Rüm Kal'a. His older nephew however induced his brother-in-law Mleh of Cilicia to obtain from Nūr al-Din a charter, on the authority on which he threw his cousin into prison and had himself installed as Catholicos on Sept. 5, 1173 (Mich. Syr., iii, 353 sq.). As Grigor IV Tela (Degha, "the child") he was Catholicos from 1173—1193, the son of prince Wasil of Gerger, who was brother to Nersēs Shnorhali. Under him in 1179 took place the synod of Hromklay, at which Nersēs of Lampron delivered a famous speech in which he recommended the adoption of the Chalcedonian creed (Mansī, xii,

col. 197—206). But the proposed union of the churches fell through because Manuel Comnenos died on Sept. 24, 1180. In the same year Theodoros Bar Wabbūn, who had seceded from his teacher and godfather Michael the Great and was seeking assistance everywhere to oust him from the patriarchate, came to the Catholicos in Rūm Kal'a, who welcomed him kindly and sent him to Cilicia to Leon II (Syr. Lebḥōn; Armen. Lewon) of Little Armenia; the latter made him patriarch (1180—1193) of his whole kingdom (Mich. Syr., iii. 386 sq.; Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, i. col. 583—585; J. Geiser, *Zwei Briefe Barhebraeus*, Halle [diss.] 1911, p. 3—9).

When the emperor Frederick Barbarossa was on his way through Asia Minor, in 385 (1189—1190) the Armenian *ḡlīb* of Kal'a al-Rūm (i.e. Grigor IV) sent a letter to Saladin to ask for help; in the following year he (al-Kāghikūs) again sent a letter to him (Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Ram-dān*, in *Rec. hist. or. crois.*, *Hist. arab.*, iv. 435 sq., 453—456).

After the death of Grigor IV (July 1193), the Armenians made his young nephew Grigor V Manuḡ ("the young") or as Michael Syrus calls him, Dirāḡ ("the cleric") Catholicos (1193—1194; Mich. Syr., iii. 411 sq.). Leon of Cilicia in 1195 had him carried off and thrown into the fortress of Gulidara (Kopitar) where he perished in an attempt to escape. The Armenians thereupon made his predecessor's cousin, Gregoras, son of Shahān, his successor as Catholicos Grigor V known as Abirad ("the secondrel") (1194—1203; Mich. Syr., iii. 413; *Hist. or. des crois.*, *Decem. arm.*, i. p. exx.). His successors were: Howhannēs VI of Sis (1203—1221), Kostandin I Barzberde'i (1221—1267), Hakob I Klayec'i (1267—1286), Kostandin II (1286—1289) and Stephanos IV Hromklayec'i (1290—1293).

In Rūm Kal'a in the 12th century there were also many Jacobites, among whom the presbyter Ishō' (Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, i. 665) and his sons (Dens Ishō': Barhebraeus, i. 691, 695, 721, 751, 759), Ya'qūb (*ibid.*, i. 683—685, 751, 779), the presbyter and physician Shem'ōn (*ibid.*, i. 735, 747, 747, 759—767) with his followers (Bish Shem'ōn: *ibid.*, i. 759, 767, 769) and Ishō' Shankit (*ibid.*, i. 747) played an important part. The Jacobite patriarch Ignatius II (Rabban Dawūd, 1222—1252), celebrated for his wealth, endowed Kal'a Rōmān among other places with a splendid church (Barhebraeus, i. 665). Later he chose this fortress as the see of his patriarchate (Barhebraeus, i. 685). He did not come out openly against the Armenian Catholicos but he endeavoured as far as possible in secret to advance the Syrian church at the expense of the Armenian (Barhebraeus, i. 687—689). On the other hand, we are told that at this time, when the doubtless very profitable cult of the Jacobite saint Barṣawmā was at its height in the monastery at Gargar called after him (now Noršūn Kal'at between Malatya and Samalāt), the Armenians also "out of covetousness" built a monastery "called after Barṣawmā" in Rūm Kal'a and received many gifts from the people, to the vexation of the Jacobites. The patriarch Ignatius therefore resolved to build a Jacobite monastery there also and to buy a suitable site for it on the Nahr al-ḡharṣūn (Arab. Nahr Marṣabān, now Marṣi-man-Gal) from the Dens Ishō' and also to get from them an agreement of sale by which they

were to surrender any authority over the monks living there. When they stubbornly refused, the patriarch excommunicated them and established himself in a cave on the Euphrates but was brought back by the Armenian Catholicos. Later on he fell ill, and after a reconciliation with the Dens Ishō' through the offices of the Katholikos, died in Rūm Kal'a on June 14, 1252 (Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, i. 691 sqq.).

In 1260 Hülāgū crossed the Euphrates by bridges of boats at Malatya, Kal'at al-Rūm, Bira and Karkisiyā' (Barhebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar Ta'rikh al-Dawlat*, Bāḡrūt 1890, p. 486; *Chron. syr.*, ed. Bedjan, p. 509). In the decades following, the Jacobite patriarch Ignatius III (1264—1282) had to defend his possession of the Barṣawmā monastery at Gargar in a desperate struggle with the physician Shem'ōn of Kal'a Rōmān; both had received or alleged they had received new charters of ownership from Hülāgū and Abūkhā (Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, i. 753—766; li. 439 sqq.); later on they made up their quarrel (Barhebraeus, i. 769). After the death of Ignatius, the presbyter Ya'qūb of Kal'a Rōmān made his nephew Philoxenos or Nemrōd patriarch in 1283 (Ignatius IV). The latter died at the beginning of July 1292 in the monastery of Barṣawmā (Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, i. 781); after his death the Jacobite patriarchate disintegrated and three rivals appeared in Malatya, Cilicia (Gawikāt monastery) and Mardin and as a result of this permanent schism the Jacobite church sank to complete insignificance (Barṣawmā [?], additions to Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, i. 781 sqq.).

It was perhaps not merely chance that the end of the united Jacobite patriarchate which in recent years had been closely associated with the town of Rūm Kal'a, happened almost the same day as the collapse of the Armenian Catholicate of Hromklay.

In the reign of Kal'ān an Egyptian army of 9,000 horse and 4,000 foot under Bāḡārī as well as Syrian forces under Husām al-Dīn of 'Aināb had come to Rūm Kal'a and laid siege to the fortress on the Pharṣūnā on May 19, 1280. The sultan demanded that the Catholicos should surrender the fortress and move with his monks to Jerusalem, or if he preferred, to Cilicia. When the Catholicos refused to do so, the Egyptians laid waste the country around the town which was inhabited by Armenians, on the next day forced their way over a wall only recently built into the town and set it on fire. The whole population fled into the citadel. After the Egyptians had ravaged and plundered the country round for five days, they retired.

In the reign of al-Aḡḡāl Khālī they undertook a new expedition against Rūm Kal'a in 691 (1292) in which the prince of Hamā, Malik al-Muṣaffar, took part with Abū 'Iḡlā' in his retinue (Abū 'Iḡlā', *Annals Mamlūkī*, ed. Reiske-Adler, v. 102 sqq.). On Tuesday, the 8th Djumādī II, the Egyptians appeared before the town and erected 20 pieces of siege artillery. It fell after a siege of 33 days. On the 11th Rajab (June 29, 1292) it was plundered and a massacre carried out among the garrison of Armenians and Mongols. Among the 1,200 prisoners who were mostly taken to the sultan's arsenal on June 28 (al-Nawālī, MS. Paris, fol. 100 sq., in Quatremère, *Hist. des Sult. Mamlūk*, vii, p. 142, note 30) was the Armenian Catholicos (Arab. *Kāḡlī* al-Madīnā, whom they call *Kāḡlī* al-Madīnā, cf. Vāḡm, iv. 164), Stephanos IV of Rūm Kal'a with his monks; he died a prisoner

in Damascus (Barhebraeus, *Chron.* 1171, p. 579). According to the inscription of ownership in a Syrian manuscript (Brit. Mus., MS. Syr., No. 295), it belonged to a certain Rabban Barsamā of Kal'a Rōmānā, high priest of Rabban who in a note refers to the harsh imprisonment which he suffered from the Egyptians; Armenian verses on the fall of the fortress are preserved on a relic casket (Wright, *Catal. Syr. Mus. Brit. Mus.*, i. 231^b; Corrière, *Inscription d'un reliquaire arménien*, in *Mélanges orientaux*, Paris 1883, p. 210, note 1; Promis, *Mém. dell' accad. di Torino*, xxxv, 1884, p. 125-130). The inscription on the great gate of the citadel which was restored by al-Ashraf (cf. above, vol. II, p. 235^e) speaks of him as a victor who among other feats had put the Armenians to flight, an allusion to the capture of Rūm Kal'a (van Berchem, in *J. A.*, 1902, May-June, p. 456; the inscription published by Sobernheim, in *Ill.*, xv, 1906, p. 176). The sultan sent boastful bulletins of victory to the cities of Syria in which he proclaimed the capture of this impregnable citadel as an unprecedented feat of arms and concluded with the words: "After the capture of this fortress, the road is open to us to conquer the whole of the East, Asia Minor and the Irak so that with God's will we shall become owners of all the lands from the rising of the sun to its setting" (al-Nuwairi, MS. Leyden, fol. 58, transl. by Weil, *Geogr. d. Chaldäer*, iv. 183 sq.).

The fortress of Kal'a al-Rūm was rebuilt by orders of the sultan by the *na'ib* of Syria, Sanjar Shujai, and given the name of Kal'a al-Muslimin; another part of the town was left in ruins however (Quatremère, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, II, p. 139 sq.).

The successor of the imprisoned Armenian patriarch Stephanos, Grigor VII of Anavarza (1293-1307) took up his residence in Sis in Cilicia, which henceforth was the seat of the Catholics. Rūm Kal'a, in spite of its restoration as a frontier fortress (cf. also Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p. 226; al-Dimishqī, ed. Mehren, p. 214), under the Mamlūks never seems to have recovered from the blow. In 775 (1373-1374) much damage was done by floods in Kal'a al-Muslimin as well as in Halab, al-Ruha', al-Bira and Baghdad (al-Hasan b. Habib, *Durrat al-Asfār fī Dawlat al-Atrāk*, in Weijers, *Orientalia*, II, Amsterdam 1846, p. 435).

In the spring of the year 1477 the Mamlūk sultan Ka'itai made a tour of inspection as far as Kal'a al-Muslimin (described by al-Difān Abu 'l-Bakr, ed. R. V. Lanson, *Viaggio in Palestina e Siria di Kaid Ba*, Torino 1878; transl. R. L. Devonshire, in *Bulletin I. F. A. O.*, xx, Cairo 1921, p. 1-43). After the battle of Manj Dāhik, the fortress became Ottoman and in modern times came under the pashalik of Halab (Hādījī Khalifa, *Dihān-numā*, p. 598).

The Armenian and European authors give the name Rūm Kal'a or Kal'a al-Rūm in many forms. Among the Armenians we find the forms Htōm-klay, Klay-Hofomakan, vulg. Arm. Ouroum-gala (works of St. Nersēs, St. Petersburg, p. 80; his poems, Venice, p. 224, 277; Indjidean, *Altertümer Armeniens*, iii. 278; Saint-Martin, *Mémoires... de l'Arménie*, I, Paris 1818, p. 196). Gullielmus Tyrivus (*Hist.*, xvii. 16) writes *Ranculath*; but it is no doubt identical with his *Rangulath* (xl. 11; French text, ed. Paulin Paris, II, Paris 1880, p. 164), which however he takes to be a quarter

of Edessa. Schilliberger (*Reise*, p. 47) calls the fortress *Urumkula*.

Only a few remnants of the fortress now remain as well as of an Armenian monastery and a mosque (plans of the fortress in Moltke and following him in Humann-Puchstein, *Reisen...*, p. 175, and in A. Nöldeke, in *Peterm. Mitt.*, 1920, pl. 3, map; *Plan von R. K. in 1:2000*; photographs: F. Frech, in *Geogr. Zeitschr.*, xii, 1916, pl. 1; Cumont, *Études syriennes*, p. 170, fig. 54; from the north: Humann-Puchstein, *op. cit.*, p. 176, fig. 25; from the east with the Euphrates: A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, pl. 13).

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wustefeld, iv. 164; Saif al-Din, *Murā'id al-Istīlā'*, ed. Juynboll, II. 442; Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p. 226, 279; al-Dimishqī, ed. Mehren, p. 206, 214; Ibn al-Shihna, *al-Durr al-muntahā fī Tarīkh Mamlakat Halab*, Bairūt 1909, S. 157, 238 sq.; R. Pococke, *Description of the East*, London 1754, II. 155-157; Saint-Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, I, Paris 1818, p. 196; K. Ritter, *Erldunde*, x., 461 sq., 931-942; Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Égypte*, II, Paris 1842, p. 209, note 2; Th. Nöldeke, in *N. G. W. Z.*, 1876, p. 12, note 2; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, p. 42, 475 sq.; Humann-Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, Berlin 1890, p. 175-179 with pl. I, 1; Marmier, *La route de Samosate au Zeugma*, in *Société de Géographie de l'Est, Bulletin trimestriel*, Nancy 1890, p. 531-534; van Berchem, in *C. I. A.*, I, 503, note 1, p. 504, note 1; B. Moritz, in *M. S. O. S. A.*, I, Berlin 1898, p. 131 sq.; P. Rohrbach, in *Preuss. Jahrbücher*, civ., 1901, II. 471; Papken C. W. Gülesersan, *Comé, Comé-Tiak und Hrom-Glay, drei historisch-topographische Studien*, Vienna 1904, p. 61-88; *Hist. orient. des croisades, Docum. armén.*, I, p. cxxi; K. J. Basmadjian, in *R. O. C.*, xix, 1914, p. 361 (Catholical of Rūm Kal'a); R. Hartmann, in *Z. D. M. G.*, lxx, 1916, p. 32, note 10 sq.; F. Frech, in *Geogr. Zeitschr.*, xii, 1916, p. 5; F. Cumont, *Études syriennes*, Paris 1917, p. 167-171, 203, 247, 293, 329; A. Nöldeke, in *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, 1920, p. 53 sq.; Gamblefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamlouks*, Paris 1923, p. 80; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, p. 450, note 2.

(E. HONTIGMANN)

RUMELI, RUMELIA. The name *Rum-eli*, *Rum-ili* (i. e. land of the Rhomaeans) was given in the narrower sense to the province proper of this name, which comprised Thrace and Macedonia i. e. an area which was bounded on the north by the Balkans, in the east by the Black Sea and the Bosphorus, in the south by the sea of Marmara and the Aegean, the so-called White Sea, then by the Olympus range and in the west by the Pindos, Barnos and Sher-Dagh (Sar planina), embracing the old territories of Thrace, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Serbia and Albania as well as the ancient Hellas, with the exception however of the strip of coast and all the islands of the Aegean or Archipelago, which were a separate governorship (*Djessir*) under the Grand Admiral (*kapudan paşa*; q. v.); after 1849 the *Djessir-i Bahr-i Sefid* formed an *eyâlet*, cf. *Revue de l'Orient*, xvi. 117, and later a *mihâllet*.

The governorship of Rumelia (*Rum-eli eyâlet*)

was bounded in the north by Austria and Wallachia, in the northeast by Moldavia and Russia, in the east by the Black Sea, in the southwest by the Ionian Sea and in the west by the Adriatic, in the northwest by Austria and Bosnia [q. v.]. It is to be noted that these frontiers include the *sandjaks* [q. v.] belonging to the governorship of the Archipelago (*şirâir eyâlet*) Gallipoli [q. v.], Negropont (Eghripos, Euboea) and Ainebakhti (Naupectos), the former of which comprised the coast from Stambul to the exit of the Kâra Su into the Aegean Sea with a considerable stretch of land running into the interior, the second and third of which comprised the east and south coast of Greece proper with the exception of the Morea (Peloponnesus). The area of the province at its greatest extent was estimated at about 5,100 square miles while the population was estimated at not more than 5-5½ millions of different nationalities (*millîr*), Turks (Ottomans, who, although the ruling nation, formed the smallest part), Tatars, Greeks, Slavs, Arnauts, Armenians, Jews and Gipsies. The predominant religion was Islam, while of the Christian confessions that of the so-called non-uniat Greeks was the largest.

The residence of the *beglerbeg* of Rumelia was at first Philippopolis (Filibe, now Plovdiv), which was conquered by the Ottomans in 1393. The first governor to reside there was Lâle Şâhin Paşa, conqueror of that country, whose *türbe* is still to be seen not far from Stara Zagora. In 1787 (1385) there appears Timurtash-Beg [q. v.] as *beglerbeg* (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, i. 191, following Feridûn-Beg) with his residence in Sofia.

The governorship of Rumeli was divided into *sandjaks*, the number of which varied in course of time and the boundaries of which were constantly changing. About 1830 there were 24 of them, namely: Wiza, Kirk Kilise [q. v.], Silistria (Silistra), Nikopolis [q. v.], Vidin, Sofîa, Çirmen, Kuantendil, Seltînik [q. v.], Tirhala (Trikkala; q. v.), Yânîa (Ioannina), Delvînia (Delvina), Awlona (Valona), Elbasan (cf. F. Babinger, *Die Gründung von Elbasan*, in *M.S.O.S.*, ii. vol. xxiv, 1931, p. 84-93), İskenderiye (Scutari, Albania), Duplehin (Dukadzin), Ohri (Ohrid, Ochrida), Ferizîr (Prizren), Vekîterîa (Vuçitrn), Uskub (Skoplje), Aladja Hisâr (Kruševac) and Semendria (Semendria, Smenderovo). By an imperial *hâtt-i şerîf* of 6th Rabî' I 1252 (June 21, 1836) the area under the *Rûm-ül wâlid*, governor of Rumelia, was redefined. As previously the position of Sofia as the centre of administration had favoured the rebellion of treacherous vassals and attempts to secure independence by the mountain tribes especially in Albania, Monastir (Toli Monastir, now Bitolj) at the S. E. extremity of this area was chosen as the centre of government. The province of the *Rûm-ül wâlid* was divided as follows: 1. the district of the town of Monastir directly under the governor, 2. the personal estates of the sultan's mother (*valide*) or the land of Ohri, 3. the *sandjaks* of Elbasan, Kavaja, Tirzma [q. v.] and Lesh (Alessio), which were governed by Arnaut governors who could be dismissed, 4. the *paşaliks* of İshkodra (İskenderiye, Scutari), Ferizîr (Prizren) and İpek (Peć) which were under military officers (generals of division, *frif's*), 5. the *şeyhanlıks* Podgorica, Bar (Anivari), Ulcinj (Dulcigno), which were under native hereditary *şeyhs* whose powers

were very minutely regulated, 6. the districts of Zadrin, Mirdit, Dibra (Debar) which were under chiefs self-elected, the only Turkish officials being those who collected the taxes. The *paşaliks* of Pristina, Nis [q. v.] and Tetovo, originally part of the *eyâlet* of Rumili, were transferred in 1839 to the *mihîr* of Sofia. The *paşaliks* of Uskub (Skoplje) and Kaşkaniden (Tetovo) were only under the political supervision and not the administration of the *Rûm-ül wâlid*, while the northern Arnaut tribes and Montenegro (Karadagh), although nominally under the governor of Rumeli and in particular the pasha of Scutari, in reality were in no organic connection with the Ottoman government (cf. Josef Müller, *Albanien, Rumelien und die österreichisch-montenegrinische Gränzen*, Prague 1844, p. 2-3). The remainder of the former Rumili was divided into *paşaliks* of which Adrianople (formerly called "*sandjak* of Çirmen", as Adrianople was the chief residence of the sultan; in 1840 there were still law-courts in Çirmen) and the three Bulgarian *paşaliks* of Ruslûk [q. v.], Vidin and Silistria were the most important (cf. Ami Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, vol. iii, Paris 1840, p. 181-189 with further details of the division and of the officials in 1840). The division continued to change frequently so that J. Gg. v. Hahn in 1860 found the *eyâlet* of Rumelia divided into four *lîwâs*, namely İshkodra, Ohri, Monastir and Keutrie (Kastoria) of which Ochrida comprised the whole of Central Albania i.e. down to the coast of the Adriatic (cf. J. Gg. v. Hahn, *Krise von Belgrad nach Salonik*, Vienna 1861, p. 116 = *Dankeschriften der Wiener Ak. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.*, vol. xi.). Rumelia remained divided in this way until 1864, when the first *wilâyet* law — i.e. the law the object of which was to create larger provinces and entrust them to able governors — was promulgated. The new governors were to carry through the progressive plans of the government with the help of expert officials and numerous subordinate governors (*mutteğarrifs*). The governor-generalships, formerly *eyâlets*, now called *wilâyet*s at the head of which was a *wâlid*, remained divided into *lîwâs*, formerly *sandjaks*, at the head of which was a *mutteğarrif*. As a model province the Danube *wilâyet* (*Tuna wilâyeti*) was first created in Radjah 1281 (Dec. 1864) and entrusted to Midhat Paşa [q. v.] who had already made a name for himself as governor of Nis and Prizren. The *wilâyet*s of Salonica and Yânîa (Ioannina) were formed in 1867. The name Rumili, Rumelia disappeared completely until it was revived in 1878. In this year by the treaty of Berlin, the new principality of Bulgaria, which was declared an independent tributary principality recognising the suzerainty of the sultan, was created and limited to Bulgaria on the Danube, the former Danube *wilâyet* (*Tuna Wilâyet*). From the trans-Balkan district of southern Bulgaria, an autonomous province of Turkey was formed and called eastern Rumelia (cf. Carl v. Sax, *Geschichte des Machtverfalls der Türkei*, Berlin 1913, p. 373, 446). Aleko Paşa from 1879 to 1884 and Gavril Paşa from 1884 to 1885 acted as governors there. Western Rumelia formed part of the Ottoman empire and was divided into three *wilâyet*s: Adrianople, Salonica and Monastir. While Eastern Rumelia was occupied by the Bulgars in 1885, by the peace of Bucharest (1913) Monastir (Bitolj) was ceded to Serbia and Salonica to Greece and

only the *milâyet* of Adrianople [q. v.] remained to the Ottoman empire.

The history of Islam in Rumeli, which is closely associated with the expansion of Ottoman power on European soil, is still very obscure, at least as regards the xvth–xvth century. Political dissensions and the mixture of peoples favoured in Rumelia more than elsewhere the formation of sects, so that even directly after the arrival of the Ottoman on European soil (cf. Johs. Draeseke, *Der Übergang der Osmanen nach Europa im XIV. Jahrh., in: Neues Jahrbuch für das klassische Altertum*, xxi. 7 sqq. and H. A. Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford 1916), perhaps even earlier in the Byzantine period, as is clearly shown by the not sufficiently explained problem of the Shi'ite sectarian Şarî Salîk Dede (q. v.; i. e. "Father Yellow Pate", as an English traveller of 1632 explains the strange name), not to speak of the obscure history of the Turks in the Wardas valley (Wardariots), all kinds of Muslim sects developed in Rumeli, the study of which has not yet been begun. Islam was built upon all kinds of religious ideas and a kind of syncretism was created which raises difficult problems for the study of religions. In particular we must recall the converts to Islam, formerly Bogomiles, who inhabited certain areas of Bulgaria, Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and the Muslim sects and derwish monasteries of northern Bulgaria, where the Kizilbashs have flourished down to the present day, being undoubtedly favoured in their rise by the remarkable sectarian Shaikh Bâde al-Dîn Mahmûd (d. 1416 in Serres; cf. DR. SADI SIMAWNA and Fr. Babinger, *Shaikh Bâde al-Dîn, der Sohn des Richters von Simaw*, Berlin and Leipzig 1921), who gained an astonishingly large following in Southern Bulgaria, particularly in Deli Orman [q. v.]. Closely connected with the advance of Ottoman power is the history of the Bektaşis [q. v.] in Rumeli. They founded settlement everywhere (cf. F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929, 2 vols.), and quickly propagated Shi'a views as far as the coast of the Adriatic. At the same time in Bulgaria, in the inaccessible forests of the vast Deli Orman, the Kizilbashs seem to have made considerable progress (cf. thereon also T. Kowalski, *Les Turcs et la langue turque de la Bulgarie du Nord-Est*, Cracow 1933). Their still unelucidated history there seems to be closely connected with the holy man Demir Baba and his brothers and descendants who are still to be found there (cf. F. Babinger, *Das Bektaşikloster von Demir Baba*, in *M. S. O.* S. II, vol. xxxiv, Berlin 1931, p. 84 sqq.; cf. thereon already Ewliyâ Celebi, *Siyâhatnâme*, vol. v, p. 579). After the prohibition of the derwish orders in Turkey, banished shaikhs and monks to some extent have sought refuge here and found followers. As well as in Bulgaria the derwishs have flourished in the modern Southern Serbia where monasteries of the different orders are still to be found (cf. D. G. Gadžanow, in vol. I. of the *Makedoniki Freiged.*, Sofia 1925, p. 59–66). A problem not yet fully explained is raised by the Pomaks [q. v.] in the Rhodope mountains and round Lofça (now Loveç; the so-called *Pomak-shiye*; cf. A. Boué, *loc. cit.*, vol. II, p. 24) and the Gagauz on the coast of the Black Sea. Not even the history of official Islam in Rumelia still requires investigation. It is certain that in many places like Adrianople [q. v.], Philippopolis,

Sofia, Şumla (Şumen), Razgrad (Hezargrad), Dupnica, Küstendil, Lofça (Loveç), Plevna (Pleven) where there were the numerous and rich *imârs* and buildings of the Mişkal-oghlu; cf. Jordan Trifunov, *Istoria na grada Plevna do osvoboditel-na vojna*, Sofia 1933, p. 35–41), Üsküb, İstip (Štip), Prizren, Priştina, Kalkandelen (Tetovo), Prilep, Monastir (Toli-Monastir, Bitolj), and particularly in Thessaly and Macedonia, there were formed centres of Muslim culture, as the schools, mosques etc. founded there show. In these centres were born men who made a name for themselves in the intellectual history of Turkey. Üsküb, Prizren and Priştina in particular are rich in such names and it may be assumed that their bearers were mainly South Slavs converted to and Islam. Epirus Albania play a special part in the cultural history of Islam; from there the Ottoman empire, apart from Bosnia and the Herzegovina, drew its ablest and greatest statesmen and generals, for the supply was in the main maintained by the tribute of youths (*devşirme*; q. v.) levied in the Balkans. The number of men born in Rumelia who played an important part in the political and intellectual life of Turkey is legion. They were almost exclusively natives, not Ottoman immigrants, the number of whom must always have been small, as the Turks confined themselves to exploiting the land, divided into large and small fiefs (*şâ'ams* and *timâr*; q. v.). Ami Boué put the number of Turkish fiefs at 614 *şâ'ams* and 8,360 *timâr* (cf. A. Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, vol. III, Paris 1840, p. 182, without however saying to what date his figures refer).

The rule of the Ottomans in Rumeli, which began with the crossing of the Turks to European soil (1356–1357) and soon found visible expression in the capture of Adrianople in the spring of 1361 (cf. F. Babinger, in *M.O.G.*, II, 311 and the article ORHAN), is only very superficially known, so far as the xvth and even the first half of the xvth century is concerned. It is to be supposed that certain bases such as Salonica frequently changed hands, which is the simplest way to explain the different dates given of the capture of this town for example. In view of the great political dismemberment of S.E. Europe the advance of the Ottomans met with varying degrees of resistance, and it looks as if the great Ottoman generals of the xvth and xvth centuries, who distinguished themselves on Rumelian soil and soon won tremendous influence as margraves and great landowners — e.g. the Ewrenos-oghlu, the Mişkal-oghlu, the Timurtash-oghlu, the Malkoc-oghlu, the Kawanos-oghlu, a "feudal family of Asia Minor" (C. J. Jireček), who ruled in and around Tatar Bazarlık since the xvth century, but perhaps already much earlier, till the year 1835 when the *vali* of Rumelia for the second time Kawanos-şâde Husain Pasha died (cf. *Sağittâr-ı 'otmânî*, II, 223 sq. and *ibid.*, II, 206), families (see the articles on them) who were able to hold their hereditary estates in some cases down to the xixth century — were able to win over by an elastic policy the people who had lost their own princes and chiefs. In the course of centuries some tribal chiefs were here and there (especially in Albania and Epirus and in Thessaly) to make themselves more or less independent of the Porte so that they had to be granted a certain degree of autonomy. This is shown by the case of the Yürükbeys, of whom there were 7 in Rumelia about 1840, and

particularly of the *ayân* in Albania who were able to make themselves more or less independent. The case of 'Ali Pasha of Janina [q. v.] and his whole family is the most eloquent example of this. Although the decline of Turkish rule in Rumelia has now been going on for over a century, the influence of Turkish culture there is in many ways so distinct that even if there were no monuments of the Muslim period to recall the past, it will remain in manners, customs and traditions.

Bibliography. In addition to the numerous books of travel of all periods which form the most important source for the history of Turkish rule in Rumelia and of which the following are especially important: A. Griesbach, *Reise durch Rumelien und nach Brussa im Jahre 1839*, Göttingen 1841; Josef Müller, *Albanien, Rumelien etc.*, Prague 1844; Ami Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, Paris 1840 (fundamental work also in German: *Die europäische Türkei*, Vienna 1889); also his *Recueil d'itinéraires dans la Turquie d'Europe. Détails géographiques, topographiques et statistiques sur cet empire*, Vienna 1851; the following may also be consulted; Maximilian Friedrich Thilen, *Die europäische Türkei*, intended as a work of reference for the newspaper reader, Vienna 1828; also A. M. Perrot, *Itinéraire de la Turquie d'Europe et des provinces danubiennes. Description géographique et militaire de toutes les routes, villes, forteresses et ports de mer de cet empire*, Paris 1855; C. Moitras, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1873; E. Isambert, *Itinéraire descriptif de l'Orient*, Paris 1874; very full statistics regarding administration, population, religion etc. of Rumelia are given in the following: A. Ubicini and Pavel de Courteille, *Etat présent de l'Empire Ottoman d'après le Salnameh (annuaire impérial) pour l'année 1292 de l'hégire (1875—1876)*, Paris 1876 and T. X. Bianchi, *Le premier Annuaire de l'Empire ottoman, publié à Constantinople pour l'année de l'hégire 1263 (1847)*, Paris 1848; A. Ubicini, *Lettres sur la Turquie*, Paris 1854 (reprinted from the years 1850—1852 of the *Moniteur Universel*, also English *Letters on Turkey*, London 1856 and Italian *Lettre sulla Turchia*, Milan 1853); F. Crousse, *La Péninsule grecque-slave, son passé, son présent et son avenir*, Paris 1876; Bianconi, *Ethnographie et statistique de la Turquie*, Paris 1877; Jovan Cvijić, *La Péninsule balkanique*, Paris 1918; Paul de Regia, *La Turquie officielle*, Paris 1890; Guillaume Le Jean, *Ethnographie de la Turquie d'Europe*, Paris 1861; an able survey of social conditions in Turkey in Europe about 1840 is given by Jérôme-Adolphe Blanqui (1789—1854, called Blanqui also) in his *Considérations sur l'état social des populations de la Turquie d'Europe*, Paris 1841, German by Hch. Roth: *Betrachtungen über den gesellschaftlichen Zustand der europäischen Türkei*, Sudenburg-Magdeburg 1846, based on a journey made in Rumelia for the French Academy on which he gave a *Rapport sur l'état social des populations de la Turquie d'Europe*, Paris 1842, and described in his *Voyage en Bulgarie pendant l'année 1841*, Paris 1843. — On the educational system in European Turkey cf. François-Adolphe Beulin, *De l'instruction publique et du mouvement intellectuel en Orient*, reprinted from *Le Contemporain*, recue d'économie chrétienne, Paris 1866. — The Slav peoples of Rumelia are dealt with by: Albert Dumont, *Le Balkan. L'Adriatique. Les Bulgares et les Albanais. L'administration en Turquie. La vie des campagnes. Le Paulicisme et l'Hellénisme*, Paris 1873², Paris 1873; Cyprien Robert, *Les Slaves de Turquie, Serbes, Monténgrins, Bosniaques, Albanais et Bulgares, leurs sources, leurs tendances, et leur progrès politique*, Paris 1844 (? *ibid.*, 1852, with an *Introduction nouvelle sur leur situation pendant et depuis leurs insurrections de 1849 à 1851*); Mackenzie and Irby, *Travels in the Slavonian provinces of Turkey*, London 1866 etc.; suggestive descriptions of travel in Rumelia are given by A. Viquet, *Voyage dans la Turquie d'Europe. Description physique et géologique de la Thrace*, Paris 1856, with atlas; H. F. Tozer, *Risarches in the Highlands of Turkey*, 2 vols., London 1869; Anton Tama, *Die östliche Balkan-Halbinsel*, Vienna 1886; do., *Griechenland, Makedonien oder die südliche Balkan-Halbinsel*, Vienna 1888; Léon Hagounot, *La Turquie inconnue: Roumanie, Bulgarie, Macédoine, Albanie*, Paris 1885; Dora d'Istria (i. e. Helene Princessa Ghica), *Excursions en Roumilie et en Morie*, Paris 1862—1863; E. Parmentier, *Voyage dans la Turquie d'Europe*, Paris 1890; James Baker, *Turkey in Europe*², London 1877 (German transl.: *Die Türken in Europa*, transl. by Karl Emil Franke, 1st and 2nd [title] ed., Stuttgart 1878—1879; French: *La Turquie d'Europe*, Paris 1882); Sir Charles Eliot, *Turkey in Europe*², London 1908; Heinrich Barth, *Reise zur durch das Innere der europäischen Türkei* (in the *Berlin Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde*, 1863—1864, also separately). — The principal Ottoman sources for our knowledge of Rumelia are: Hadjji Khalifa [q. v.], *Rumeli und Bosna*, transl. by Jos. v. Hammer, Vienna 1812 (cf. thereon Fr. Tarschner, in *M.O.G.*, vol. ii., Hanover 1926, p. 308 *sqq.*), and the travels of Ewlijâ Celebi [q. v.], parts of whose sections on Rumelia have been translated into various European languages: Albania: cf. Fr. Bahinger, *Ewlijâ Celebi's Reisezüge in Albanien*, Berlin 1930; Greece: S. A. Hadaveroğlu Theodotos, in *Esthnia*, vol. iv., Athens 1931, p. 429—438 (cf. do., in *Messenger d'Athènes*, N^o. 2960 of Dec. 21, 1931: *Un voyageur turc en Grèce au XVII^e siècle*) and Ioannis Spatharis, in *Esthnia*, vol. iv., Athens 1933, p. 113—128, vol. v., Athens 1934, p. 179—217, also Jean Deny, *Un voyageur turc en Thracie*, in Hubert Pernot, *Introduction à l'étude du dialecte Thracien*, Paris 1934, p. 497—508; Bulgaria: D. G. Gadjanov, in *Periodičesko izpisanie na bulgarskoto kniževno društvo v Sofija*, vol. ix., Plovdiv 1909; on South Slavia cf. the literature collected by F. Bahinger, *Ewlijâ Celebi's Reisezüge in Albanien*, p. 3, note; on the Dobruđa, Rumania etc. cf. the extensive literature collected by F. Bahinger, *Robert Bargrave, ein vogelzug englisch in den pays roumains du temps de Basile Lupu (1652)* (= *Academia Română, Memoriile sectionii istorice, seria III, tomul XVII, num. 7, Bucarest 1936*), p. 10, note 3. — On the Ottoman geographer Mahmud Ashik b. Ömer, who included Rumelia in his work, cf. F. Bahinger, in *M.O.G.*, l. 163 *sqq.* and do., *G.O.W.*, p. 138 *sq.*

(FRANK BAHINGER)

RUMILI HİŞAR [See ANADOLİ HİŞAR.]

RUPIYA (P.), an Indian coin, a rupee. In the latter xvth and early xviith centuries the silver *tanka* [q.v.] of the sultans of Delhi had become so debased that when Sher Shah (1539–1545) reformed the coinage, the name could no longer be given to a silver coin. To his new silver coin, corresponding to the original fine silver *tanka*, he therefore gave the name *rupiya* = rupee, i.e. the silver coin (Sanskrit, *rūpya*, *rūpaka*), and *tanka* became a copper denomination. The weight of the rupee was 178 grains (11.53 grms.) and it rapidly established itself in popular favour. Under the Mughals it was struck all over India at over 200 mints and with the decline of Mughal power continued to be struck by their successors, notably the English East India Company. In the xviith century Akbar and Djahāngir struck many square rupees; on one coin of Akbar the name *rupiya* occurs. Djahāngir for a short period struck a heavy rupee of 220 grains (14.259 grms.), but on the whole the rupee has shown little variation in weight. In the sixth century the English rupee gradually drove the local issues out of circulation and with few exceptions the local mints have now been closed. Such native states as still issue their own rupees strike them on the same standard as the Indian government rupee.

Ahmad Shah Durrāni adopted the rupee as his monetary unit on becoming independent and until quite recently it remained the standard coin of Afghanistan. The Hindu kings of Assam also struck the rupee.

The Indian rupee having become current in British East Africa, it was adopted in 1890 as the standard coin of German East Africa also.

Bibliography: S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Moghul Coins in the British Museum*, 1893; James Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, London 1858; Edward Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, London 1871; R. Chalmers, *History of Currency in the British Colonies*, London 1893, p. 336–340; E. Thurston, *Coinage of the East India Company*, Madras 1890; H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson Johnson*, London 1903, s.v. rupee. (J. ALAN).

RUS, the Russians; at first the Normans, then the founders of the dukedom of Kiev.

The RUS of the west. In his description of Spain Ya'qūbī, *B.G.A.*, vii. 354, says that in 229 (843–844) "the Maǧīās called RUS" invaded Seville and committed all kinds of depredations. The name Maǧīās [q.v.] is regularly applied to the Normans. The name even passed into the Spanish *Primera Crónica General* (xiiith century) according to which the *Almouces* were worshippers of fire (!). The origin of this use of *maǧīās* is obscure. Did the Arabs and Spaniards allude to such rites as the cremation of the dead [cf. Ibn Faḍlān]: Ma'ūdī, *Atarūdī*, i. 364–365, speaking of events in Spain about 300 (912–913) also uses the term RUS although he gives it a special meaning.

The RUS of the east. There is quite a literature on the origin of the name of the Russians. The "Norman" school claims that the name *Rus'* belongs to the Normans; the Finns call the Swedes *Russii* whence in Russian *Rus'* (Русь), the name of the Finns *Suomi* similarly becomes in Russian *Sum'* (Сумь); the basis of *Rus'/Rus'* must be a Scandinavian word (cf. the names of the coast *Ruslāgen* and of its inhabitants

Rode-harlar "rowers"). The names of the earliest Russian princes are undoubtedly Scandinavian (R'urik < *Rusar*, Igor < *Igorar* etc.); the testimony of Constantine Porphyrogenetus (chap. ix.) is equally positive; in his list of the cataracts on the Dniepr, he gives the names "in Russian" (ῥωσσοὶ) and "in Slav" (σλαβωσσοὶ), e.g. Οὐλῆστος < in Scandinavian **ūlōm* "isle" + *fora* "rapids" = *Örtorpsöfvingar* < in Slav *otrovoŭdy* "of the isle" + *prag* "the cataract". The "anti-Norman" school pronounces in favour of the native origin of the name but its arguments are mainly useful to show certain contaminations of the term *Rus'* (in Greek Ῥώε, Ῥωσία) by names in Hebrew (רֹשֶׁת, Ezek., Septuag., xxxviii. 2–3; xxxix. 1), Greek (ῥοῖα ἑλάνθια "the red boats") etc. [It is evident that the *arḥāb al-Rās* mentioned in the Qur'an with the 'Ad and Thamūd (Sūra xxv. 40 and l. 12) have nothing to do with the Araxes or the Russians, in spite of the late texts, Dimighī, text, p. 106, transl. Mehren, p. 131 and the fancies of European commentators like v. Hammer, *Sur les origines de l'état russe*, St. Petersburg 1825, p. 24–29].

According to the Russian Chronicle, the Varangians (Var'ag; see below) came from beyond the sea in 859 and levied tribute on certain Slav and Finnish peoples until in 862 they were driven away by the latter. The civil wars which broke out soon afterwards among them, however, forced these tribes to invite from beyond the sea "the Varangians called Rus'". The *Rus'* at first settled in the region of the great Russian lakes (Ilmen, Ladoga) but in 882 Oleg (< *Helg*) moved to Kiev. This was certainly not the first appearance of the "Russians" for previously under 839 the *Annales Bertiniani* mention the arrival at the court of Louis the Pious of a Byzantine embassy accompanied by envoys from the *Rūs* whom their king *Chocanus* had sent to Constantinople and who now wished to return home. An enquiry as to their identity showed that they were Swedes (*gentis rite Suetonum*). The Normans in Kiev were not numerous and their marriages with Slav women accelerated their assimilation. Sviatoslav (born in 942) already has a Slav name and c. 1000 the process of slavisation of the Normans was complete (cf. Thomsen, *op. cit.*, p. 123–124).

The sources of the ixth and xth centuries. The Muslim sources are acquainted with the RUS from their first appearance in eastern Europe. Ibn Khurḍādhbih, p. 154, mentions only RUS merchants whom he regards as "a kind of Slavs" (*šims min al-Sakāliba*), and describes their journeys (by sea: from the remotest parts of the *Sakāliba* to the Black Sea, to the Khazar capital and the Caspian Sea, and by land: from Tangier to Damascus, Baghdad, Basra and then into India and China; or again they travelled still farther beyond [= to the north of] Rome through the Slav countries to reach the Khazar capital, Balkh, the lands of the Toghushunt and China; cf. Ibn Fakih, p. 271). Ibn Khurḍādhbih does not assign any definite territory to the RUS. It is true that the available text of his book is incomplete but another detail is significant. Ibn Khurḍādhbih, p. 154, speaks of *naḥr al-Sakāliba* which de Goeje identifies with the Tannīs (Don) [Marquart, *Sreisage*, p. 352, reads *Tin* for *Don*]. The term later disappears from geographical literature but Ibn Hawkal, p. 276, and the *Hudūd al-'Alam*

speak of a "river of the Rūs" and although the meaning they give to the term is doubtful, it is possible that their nomenclature indicates the transformation of the *Sakálka* into *Rūs* while Ibn Khurdādhbih reflects the situation before the consolidation of Norman power in Russia. [In *Iurisi*, ii. 385, the *Nahr al-Rūsiya* is certainly the Don].

On the other hand, the common source [Muslim b. Abi Muslim?; cf. Mas'ūdi, *Tanbih*, p. 190] used by Ibn Rusta, the *Ḥudūd al-'Alam*, Gardizi, 'Awfi, etc. formally distinguishes between the Rūs and the Slavs. The latter (probably the western Slavs) lived under their own princes, while the Rūs occupied an island three days' march in length and breadth, situated in the middle of a lake. Their king bore the title of *khāqān Rūs*. This version seems to refer to the sojourn of the Norman chiefs in the region of the great Russian lakes (cf. Novgorod, in Scandinavian *Helm gǫrðr* "the Town of the Lake"). The *Ḥudūd al-'Alam* adds that the Russians have many towns and Gardizi says that the population of the island is 100,000 men (*marāḥim*); these additions may reflect the gradual expansion of the Rūs or rather their amalgamation with the Slavs.

The third tradition is represented by Isṭakhri and Ibn Hawḳal (< Abu Zaid Balḥīṭ) who place the Rūs between Bulghār and the Slavs. The point from which the description starts must be the town of Bulghār on the Volga. Three groups of Rūs are described. The king of the group nearest the Bulghār lives in "Kāyāba (Kiev; Const. Porphy., ch. 9; *Kaēpā*, *Kaēpā*). The most remote are the *Salūsiya* (probably the original inhabitants of Novgorod, the *Slovēni*). The third group are the *Arṭāsiya* whose king lives in Arṭā (many variants, reading doubtful). They are savages who kill strangers; they come down the rivers to export the skins of black *sanūr* and lead (*erjār*). Since the time of Fræzbn, *Arṭā* has usually been explained as *Arda*, the name of the eastern branch of the Finnish people Mordva (in the basin of the Souma, a tributary of the Volga to the west of Kazan). Another explanation (Reinard, Chwolson) which starts with the variant *Arṭā* and explains "Arṭā" by Biarmia (Perm) is very doubtful. In both cases, it is necessary to suppose the previous subjection of these regions by the Rūs. In a recent work P. Smirnov seeks to prove the existence of a Russian "khāqānāt" in the region between the Volga and the Oka, cf. the incident quoted above from the *Annales Bertiniani*. Cf. also M. Vassmer, *Wikingersipuren in Russland*, in *S.B. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1937, p. 649-674, on the traces of Scandinavian place-names on the Upper Volga.

The fourth independent source is Mas'ūdi (cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 330-353). In the *Murūḳ*, ii. 15, he calls the Black Sea "Sea of the Rūs" for they are the only people who sail upon it and they live on one of its shores. This last allusion may be to the Russian colony of Tmutarakan (*Tamēraka*, the ancient *Θεσσαλονίκη* on the peninsula of Taman) [although Westberg and Marquart, *op. cit.*, suppose the Baltic to be meant here]. Among the many tribes that composed the Rūs, Mas'ūdi, *Murūḳ*, ii. 18, mentions *اللوزغانية* = *Tanūḳā*, p. 141; *الكوندكة*, who trade with Spain, Rome, Constantinople and the Khazars. This name is probably identical with *الرومانيون* *al-Rūmān* <

"Nordmān of the Arab chroniclers of Spain [cf. *Marḳūs*] and with the *Lordmān* of the Latin chronicles, i.e. the Northmen. [Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 352, prefers to connect the word with *الرومانيون* but in Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 155, this name refers to Jewish merchants].

An attempt to define the frontiers of Russian territory is made in the *Ḥudūd al-'Alam* (372-682) but it cannot be regarded as very successful.

Of first rate importance for our knowledge of the manners and customs of the Rūs is the narrative of Ibn Faḍlān [q.v.] who in 921-922 observed the customs and funeral rites of the Russians, somewhere on the Volga, perhaps near Bulghār, quoted in Vākūtī, ii. 834-840. The Arabs knew of the expeditions of Sviatoslav against the peoples of eastern Europe (Bulghār, Rurik, Khazar), cf. Ibn Hawḳal, p. 286, who dates the expedition in 358 (968-969), instead of 965 as in the Russian chronicles, but Barthold has rightly pointed out that this date really refers to the investigation conducted into the question by Ibn Hawḳal, p. 282, at Djurdjan. 'Awfi [q.v.] who wrote before 633 (1236) has preserved the name of St. Vladimir (*Bulādhmir*, popular etymology "prince of steel") who converted the Russians to Christianity in 988. 'Awfi's version (perhaps collected in Khwārizm) puts the date of this event in 300 (912) and adds that the Russians, whose only trade was war, had repented of their conversion and sent envoys to Khwārizm, from which an *imām* was sent to convert them to Islām (cf. Barthold, in *Zap.*, ix, 1895, p. 262-267). Ibn al-Athir, ix. 30 is better informed for he knows the circumstances of the marriage of the *malik al-Rūsiya* (Vladimir) to the sister of the two Byzantine emperors Basil and Constantine; but he puts the event in 375 (985-986; cf. Dimishki, transl. Mehren, p. 378).

The Russians on the Caspian Sea. The Muslim statements regarding Russian raids to the south of the Caspian Sea are of considerable value. At the time when the 'Alid Ḥasan b. Zaid (250-270=864-884) was ruling in Tabaristān the Rūs made a raid on Abūskān [q.v.]. In 297 (909-910) the Rūs coming in sixteen ships ravaged the same region. In the following year the Rūs penetrated as far as Sarr and Pandjāh-bazar but suffered a defeat in Gilān (cf. Ibn Isfandiyār, in *G.M.S.*, p. 199). This last raid, according to the commentators (F. B. Charmoy, Kunik), must have taken place in 301 (913) after Igor's accession. Mas'ūdi, *Murūḳ*, ii. 18-25, describes it in detail "after 300 (912)", during the reign of the Shīrwānshāh 'Alī b. Hātham. In 332 (943-944) the Rūs ascended the Kūr and seized Bardha's (q.v. and cf. *muḥarrir*); cf. the very circumstantial record in Ibn Miskawayh, *Tār al-Ḥillī*, ii. 62-67. Dorn's *Carpia*, a book written without any definite system but full of facts, deals especially with these raids. Cf. also Barthold, *Meise prikladnykh obozretii*, Iku 1925.

Warank. Another name applied to the Normans, *Warank* (old Russ. *Varęg*), usually explained as "member of a merchant association who has taken the oath", from the Scandinavian *var* "promise, contract", is found in Muslim literature at a much later date. Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinard, p. 35, says that he found the term *Baḥr-Warank* only in al-Birūnī and in the *Tadhkirah* of Naṣir al-Dīn Tūsī. Cf. al-Birūnī, *al-Taḥṣīn*, ed. R. Wright, 1934,

with Goxan, Haran and Benē 'Eden in Telassar. Ptolemy (*Geogr.*, v. 14, 19) mentions our town in Palmyrene as *Ṭarsāfa*; the *Tabula Peutingeriana* writes *Risapa*, the geographer of Ravenna (*Geogr.*, ii. 15, ed. Pinder-Parthey, p. 89, 1) *Risapha*, the *Notitia dignitatum* (*or.*, xxxiii. 5, 27) *Rosafa*, the Metropolitan Alexander of Hierapolis in a letter (*Acta Concil. Oecumen.*, ed. E. Schwartz, tom. i. vol. iv, p. 171, 2) *Rasapha*. The name (cf. *Rasif*) means "cemented road" (Clermont-Ganneau, in *N. A. O.*, iv, 1901, p. 112 29).

About 434 the town was raised to be a bishopric against the otherwise usual practice by the patriarch Ioannes of Antioch, not by the Metropolitan Alexander of Hierapolis. It was then famous for its church of St. Sergios dedicated to the memory of the martyrdom of the two officers of the imperial palace Sergios and Bacchos ("in the reign of Maximianus") (the *Acta Martyr.*, ed. in Greek by Delahaye, in *Anal. Boll.*, xiv. 373-395; in Syriac by Bedjan, *Acta marty. et sancter.*, lii. 283-322, do not bear historical criticism: Harnack, *Chronologie der altchristl. Litteratur*, ii. 481, note; Delahaye, in *Anal. Boll.*, xxiii. 478). The first bishop of *Ṭarsāfa* was Marinianus, who is mentioned in 434, 444 and 451 (is not mentioned in the list of bishops of Remapha-Sergiopolis in Le Quien, in *O. C.*, ii. 951 29; cf. E. Honigsmann, in *Oriens Christianus*, xii. 214-217). The emperor Anastasius (491-518) had the thumb of St. Sergios brought from Remapha to Constantinople and stories of the miracles associated with this relic spread even as far as Gaul (Gregor. Turonens., *Hist. Francor.*, vii. 31). In honour of this event the town was given the name Sergiopolis and the privileges of an ecclesiastical metropolis (Ioannes Diakrinomenos in Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca et Italica*, i. 109). Perhaps we have *Ṭarsāfa* as early as 512 in the trilingual inscription of Zebed (Neubauer in Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, p. 126, note 1; otherwise in Prentice, *Publ. of the Americ. Archaeol. Exped. Greek and Latin Inscrip.*, p. 262). Georgios Kyprios (ed. Geizer, v. 863) knows as a third name of the town *Ἀναστασιόπολις*, the correctness of which has wrongly been doubted; probably the great basilica in al-Rusāfa also dates from this emperor (Dussaud, *Topographie de la Syrie*, p. 254, who however also wrongly takes Tetrapiyrgia to be a name of al-Rusāfa). The Syriac name also remained in use (cf. *Ṭarsāfa*: Ioannes Moschos, *Pratum spirituale*, chap. 180, in Migne, *Patr. Græc.*, lxxxvii/iii, col. 3052). The Armenian Basileios who in the 11th century sought to transform the profane geography of Georgios Kyprios into an ecclesiastical handbook added to the town the epithet *ἡ ἐκκλησία Ṭarsāfa* (M. Hartmann, in *Z. A.*, xiv. 340 29; Chapot, *La Frontière de l'Euphrate*, p. 330, note 8).

Rabban Bar 'Idā (d. Jan. 8, 611), the teacher of the Persian Vahman who wrote his life (Baumstark, *Griech. d. chr. Litt.*, p. 203, 3 31b), was born in Rusāfa (E. A. W. Budge, *The History of Rabban Hormisdah the Persian and Rabban Bar 'Idā*, i., London 1902, p. 115).

The town, which was situated in the desert (*ἡ ἐκκλησία ἔστιν* (Procop., *Bell. Pers.*, ii. 5, 29; Theophyl. Simoc., ed. de Boor, v. 13, 3; Syriac, *Barbaria*: Kugener, in *Oriens Christ.*, 1907, p. 408-412), was at first defended against the Saracens only by fortifications of no great strength; Justinian is said to have been the first to surround

it with proper walls (probably before 542 A.D.) (Procop., *De aedif.*, ii. 9, 3; 9), a statement which however the results of modern archaeological research show to be exaggerated (Herafeld in *Sarre-Hersfeld, Archäol. Zeits.*, i. 138; Guyer, *ibid.*, ii. 28, 37). Justinian also built bazars and other fine buildings and large cisterns to provide the town with water (Procop., *De aed.*, ii. 9, 8 29).

Khusraw I, who on his campaign to Syria in 540 had been promised by Kandidos, bishop of Sergiopolis, 200 pounds of gold for the ransom of 12,000 captured inhabitants of Sūra on the Euphrates, on his third campaign in 542 took prisoner the bishop, who had come to meet him to make excuses for not carrying out his promises, and sent a force against the town, which had however soon to withdraw on account of the lack of water (Procop., *Bell. Pers.*, ii. 20, 2-14). Half a century later, the story was already told of the miraculous rescue of the defenceless city by St. Sergios and his heavenly forces (Eusebios, *Hist. eccl.*, iv. 28). About 570 there were five bishoprics under the metropolitan of Sergiopolis (*Notitia Antiochen.*, in *Byz. Zeitschr.*, xxv. 1924, p. 75, 83). Besides the already mentioned bishops Marinianus and Kandidos we know of the following metropolitans: in 524 Sargis (Sergios) of Bēth Rosāfa (Guidi, in *Atti della R. Accad. dei Lincei*, 1881, p. 507), in 550 Joseph, bishop of the Sacred Monastery of Rasāfa (Assemani, in *S. O.*, i. 117), 553 Abraham (Mansi, ix. 390; Wright, *Catal. syr. MSS. Brit. Mus.*, ii. 797b), between 793 and 985 Michael Syrus (*Chron.*, transl. Chabot, iii. 451 29, 501 29) mentions eleven further Jacobite bishops, and from inscriptions we know of a certain Sergios (between 910 and 922; cf. Mich. Syr., iii. 462, N^o 18) and Simeon, who, in 1093, restored the great Basilica (Musil, *Palmyrena*, p. 160, 267 29).

The veneration and pious awe which was generally felt with regard to the sanctity of the place is shown with particular clearness in the fact that the Ghassanid al-Mundhir b. Harith only dared to meet the Byzantine envoys here (summer of 578) as he felt himself safe nowhere else from their treachery (Johann. Ephes., vi. 4; Nöldeke, in *Abh. Fr. Ak. W.*, 1887, p. 24). At this time the town was apparently not in the possession of the Ghassanid; the inscription ascribed to him *καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία Ἀναστασιόπολις*, which was found at the "Central Church *extra muros*" also indicates that the inner town was still Roman at this date.

In the sanctuary of Sergios at a later date among the gifts dedicated to the saint was shown a richly decorated cross given by Justinian and Theodora, then taken to Persia by Khusraw I after the plundering of Kallinikos and Barbalissos (Mich. Syr., iv. 296), but given back by his grandson Khusraw II with another cross and a gift, both of which bore long inscriptions (Eusebios, *Hist. eccl.*, iv. 28; vi. 21; Niceph. Kallist., *Hist. eccl.*, xviii. 21 29; Theophyl. Sim., v. 13; Firdawsī 1946, in Nöldeke, *Fakari*, p. 287, note 1; C. de Boor, in *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, v. 315-322). On his flight to the Byzantines Khusraw II lived in 590 in Edessa in the house of the general Johannes Rōsāfya, a member of the family of the Bēth Rōsāfya (Mich. Syr., ii. 380, 412; Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccl.*, i. 271).

The cistern built by Justinian and later destroyed by a Lakhmid is said to have been restored by the Ghassanid Nu'mān b. al-Jārīth b. al-Aḥmām (Hamza al-Isfahānī, *Tarikh*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 120;

Yāqūt, ii. 784; against Nöldeke, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1887, p. 51, who says al-Hārith b. Djabala, cf. E. Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*, i. 138, note 5; *Jahrb. d. Preuss. K. u. L. M.*, 1921, p. 112 sq.).

In the Islamic period this desert town sprang into fame when the caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, who as a prince had moved his *hūdiya* from the midge-plagued Euphrates thither, made it his residence in 105 (723–724); he died and was buried here in 125 (743) (al-Tabarī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. de Goeje, ii. 1467, 1729 sq., 1737 sq.; al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 179 sq., 186; H. Lammens, in *M. F. O. B.*, iv. 94 sq.). The town therefore received the name of Ruṣāfat Hishām (al-Balādhuri, *op. cit.*, to distinguish it from Ruṣāfat Baghdad, the eastern suburb of Baghdad with the palace of the same name, cf. vol. i., p. 565); it was also called Ruṣāfat al-Shām. Whether Hishām did a great deal of building is doubtful (cf. E. Reitemeyer, *Die Städtegründungen der Araber*, p. 75).

Other Omayyads also lived occasionally in this town; for example Marwān, Sulaimān b. Hishām and Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (al-Tabarī, ii. 1897, 1908; iii. 95, 98; Yāqūt, ii. 786; Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise*, i. 139). Shortly after Hishām's death, his successor al-Walīd ordered the confiscation of all his predecessor's property in al-Ruṣāfa (al-Tabarī, ii. 1751). Sulaimān b. Hishām gathered an army in al-Ruṣāfa in 127 (745), and then encamped opposite Marwān II's army at Kinnasrīn; after his defeat he came back to al-Ruṣāfa (al-Tabarī, ii. 1896 sq., 1908; Mich. Syr., ii. 505). The 'Abbāsid 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī came in 132 (749–750) to al-Ruṣāfa and dishonoured and burned the embalmed body of Hishām (al-Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii. 427 sq.). 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī [q. v.] spent a night here when fleeing before the army of his nephew Abū Dhā'ir al-Manṣūr in 754 (Tabarī, iii. 98).

In the spring of 244 (858) Mutawakkil came from Damascus to visit the town in order to see the palace of Hishām and Sulaimān and the old Byzantine monastery (al-Bakrī, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 379). The sons of Zikrawīh b. Mihrwāh al-Karīmī fell upon the town in 289 (902) along with the Banī al-Aṭṭāḥ by order of Subh al-Dallāmī, a mawla of the caliph Mu'taḥid, murdered the inhabitants, burned the mosque and laid waste the neighbouring villages (Tabarī, iii. 2219). Ibn al-Fākih (in 295 = 908) again mentions al-Ruṣāfa as a flourishing town. Saif al-Dawla passed in 344 (955) from Salamiya via Tadmūr, 'Urd and al-Ruṣāfa to al-Rakka (M. Canard, *Sayf al-Dawla*, Algiers-Paris 1934, p. 226, 230).

The Arab geographers describe al-Ruṣāfa as situated in the middle of barren desert land; its inhabitants drank only water from cisterns within its walls or when this failed they had to bring water from the Euphrates 3–4 farsakhs distant. Al-Aṣma'i, who died in 215 (830), tutor of Hārūn al-Rashīd, identifies the town with al-Zawra' and mentions the wonderful monastery there. The inhabitants had to pay tribute to the Banī Khafāja in return for which they were protected. The rich inhabitants were merchants or landowners, the Beduina were labourers. As a flourishing domestic industry the weaving of woollen garments is mentioned (al-Aṣma'i in Yāqūt, ii. 784); in addition to articles of clothing, bags and sacks were manufactured (al-Karīmī, *Adf'is*, ed. Wü-

stenfeld, ii. 132 sq.). According to Ibn Baṭiān (in Yāqūt, ii. 784 sq.), Kaṣr al-Ruṣāfa was smaller than the Dār al-Khilāfa of Baghdad. He describes the church, the outside of which was adorned with gold mosaics, and says it was built by Constantine, son of Helena. Below this church and of the same dimensions was a subterranean cistern paneled with alabaster slabs. The inhabitants of the fortress were for the most part Christians who earned their living by guarding caravans and transporting merchandise, but they also made bargains with thieves and robbers. The desert around al-Ruṣāfa is so flat that one can see to the horizon on all sides. According to al-Idrīsī (transl. Jaubert, ii. 137), the town in his day (1154) had a flourishing market; a much used road led from there through the desert to Salamiya and Hama. Yāqūt was still able to see in the centre of Ruṣāfat Hishām the monastery of al-Ruṣāfa which, on account of its architectural beauty, he describes as one of the wonders of the world (Yāqūt, ii. 660 sq., s. v. *Dair al-Ruṣāfa*). Abū 'l-Fidā' (ed. Reinaud, p. 271) gives the distance of the town from the Euphrates as less than a day's journey.

In 1240 the Kh'arismians on their return from Syria came via Salamiya to al-Ruṣāfa; troops from Halab followed them and fought them at Siffin (Abū 'l-Fidā', *Annales Muslim.*, ed. Reiske-Adler, iv. 458). In 668 (1269) the inhabitants of al-Ruṣāfa fled from fear of the Mongols to Salamiya; henceforth the town remained uninhabited (B. Moritz, in *Z. G. Erdk. Berl.*, xiii. 174 sq.; *M. S. O. S. At.*, i., 1898, p. 144).

In 1300 al-Dimishqī (ed. Mehren, p. 205) includes Siffin and Ruṣāfat Hishām, which, as he knew occupied the site of a Greek city, in the district of Bālis, while Hādījī Khalīfa (Stambul 1145, p. 593) includes Bālis and al-Ruṣāfa in the province of Kinnasrīn with Halab as capital.

The imposing ruins of the town date almost entirely from ancient times. They have in modern times been several times surveyed, thoroughly examined and fully described.

Bibliography: al-Battānī, *Zīj*, ed. Nallino, *Pubblicazioni del Reale Osservatorio di Brera in Milano*, N. al., part iii., ii. 45; iii. 239 (N^o 201); Ibn al-Fākih, in *B. G. A.*, v. 111; al-Balādhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 179 sq.; Ibn Khurdaḍbih, *B. G. A.*, vi. 74; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 660 sq. (*Dair al-Ruṣāfa*), 784 sq., 955; Saif al-Din, *Marāji' al-tfīlā*, ed. Juynboll, i. 472, 521; Abū 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, p. 271; al-Idrīsī, ed. Gildemeister, in *Z. D. P. V.*, viii. 26; al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 379; al-Karīmī, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 132 sq.; al-Dimishqī, ed. Mehren, p. 205; Ibn al-Shihna, *Bairūt* 1909, p. 160; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, p. 36, 432 (*Dair al-Ruṣāfa*), p. 521–523 (the Ruṣāfa mentioned in the index on p. 382 is perhaps rather the place of the same name at Masaf); Østrop in *Det kgl. danske videnskabskabernes selskabs skrifter*, række vi., hist.-filos. Afd., vi/ii., p. 72–79, Copenhagen 1895; Sarre-Hersfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, i., Berlin 1911, p. 136–141; S. Guyer, *Ruṣāfa*, in Sarre-Hersfeld, *op. cit.*, ii., Berlin 1920, p. 1–44; H. Spanner and S. Guyer, *Ruṣāfa, die Wallfahrtsstadt des hl. Sergios*, Berlin 1926; A. Musil, *Palmyrena*, New York 1928, p. 64–67, 155–167, 260–272, and index s. v. *Anastasiopolis, Ar-Ruṣāfa*.

Ar-Ruṣṣa, Sergiopolis; Antonin Mendl, *A reconstruction of ar-Ruṣṣa*, in *Musil, op. cit.*, p. 299—326; on the ancient town: Beer, *art. Ruṣṣa*, in *Famly-Wissowa, R. E.*, vol. 1 A, p. 620; Honigsmann, *art. Sergiopolis*, *ibid.*, vol. II, A, p. 1684—1688.

(E. HONIGSMANN)

RUŞCŪK, capital of a district and port on the Danube in Bulgaria (often wrongly written and pronounced Ruṣṣuk) in Bulgarian *Ruse* (*Русе*; Roussé), is situated at the junction of the eastern Lom (Turk. *Kara Lom*) and the Danube, here 1,400 yards wide, opposite Giurgiu (Gjurgjevo, Turk. *Yer Kôkî*), in part high on the loess plateau, on the state railway from Ruṣcuk to Varna (since 1866) and Ruṣcuk to Tîrnovo and is one of Bulgaria's nine ports on the Danube (with about 50,000 inhabitants).

After the decay of the mediæval *Červen* some 15 miles inland, which survived as the name of a Bulgarian eparchy and the ruins of which could still be seen in the xviiith century (cf. Hadjidi Khalifa, *Rumeli und Buina*, transl. J. von Hammer, Vienna 1812, p. 44), the new *Ruse* arose on the Danube half a day's journey away. The Turkish name *Ruṣcuk*, by which the town is still almost exclusively known outside of Bulgaria, is undoubtedly a diminutive from *Ruse* (*Ruse* = *Ruṣcuk*; cf. the name of the island of Rhodes, Turk. *Rodos* and *Rodos-efk* for *Rodosto*; q. v.), but only seems to have come into being in the first third of the seventeenth century. In the two treaties concluded between the Porte and Hungary on Aug. 20, 1503 (cf. J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, II, 331 ff.) and the text on p. 618: *Ruse* = *Ruse*) and April 1, 1519 (cf. Thirner, *Monumenta Hungarica*, II, 624: *Ausly* for *Russy*) and in Mercator's map of 1584 the Bulgarian form still appears. The town must have already attained considerable prosperity in the xvith century. It quickly developed under Turkish rule and became an important centre of traffic, trade, industry and strategy in Danubian Bulgaria and surpassed the two fortified towns of Nicopolis [q. v.] and Silistria which played the leading part there at the beginning of Ottoman rule (cf. A. Ilirkov, *Bulgarien, Land und Leute*, Leipzig 1917, II, 102 ff.). The French traveller Pierre Lescapier, who reached Ruṣcuk on June 14, 1576, in his valuable journal, which has only been published in part, describes *Ruse* as a populous town: *cette ville est peuplée et y a quantité de marchandise de toutes sortes et des vivres en abondance et à bon prix* (cf. *Revue de l'Histoire diplomatique*, vol. xxxv., Paris 1921, p. 46). Shortly before, the famous Ottoman architect Sinân [q. v.] built a mosque there for the grand vizier Rustem Paṣha [q. v.] still admired in the xviiith century, presumably in the north at the water's edge. The figure given for the population as for mosques varies; of the latter Ruṣcuk had at one time a considerable number. The Franciscan Peter Bogdan Bakšić, later archbishop of Sofia, in 1640 found in *Ruṣcuk* 3,000 Turkish houses with 15,000 inhabitants and 10 mosques of stone (*fatti di pietra bianca*), and 200 Armenian houses with over 1,000 inhabitants and a citadel with five towers (cf. Eug. Fermentin, *Acta Bulgariae ecclesiastica* = vol. xviii. of the *Monumenta spectantia litterarum Slavorum meridionalium*, Agram 1887, p. 74). In 1659 Filip Stanoslovov counted 6,000 Turkish wooden houses with over 30 mosques (*ibid.*, p. 363; cf. also p. 7, 10, 26, 31, 83, 137, 299 [*Russi* &

Ruṣcuk: 1685], 300 with further particulars). Ewliya Çelebi (*Seyâhatnâme*, III, 313 ff.; cf. the Bulgarian transl. by D. G. Gadžanov, in *Periodičesko izpisanje na bulgarshoto kniževno drništvo v Sofija*, vol. Ixx., Plovdiv 1909, p. 654 ff.) about the same time mentions 2,200 houses of wood, also three Christian quarters, the mosque of Rustem Paṣha, baths and three caravan-serais in "*Uruscuk*". The only Jews, he says, were those who visited the place on their trading journeys. The people, whom he praises for their hospitality, lived by commerce and spoke Bulgarian as well as the "language of Wallachia and Moldavia". Ewliya Çelebi says the pumpkin (*şavun*) there was particularly good, to being sold for 1 *para* (e) (5 of which = 1 Vienna groschen or 3 kreuzers, 150 = 1 taler).

Ruṣcuk is regularly mentioned in the many records of travel on the Danube in the following centuries. References to the town in the xviiith and first half of the xixth century are in general agreement. The inhabitants seem at all times to have conducted a busy trade in wool, cotton, silk, leather and tobacco, which at an earlier period was for a considerable part in the hands of Ragusan merchants, who had a settlement there from 1673 to 1755. The English clergyman R. Walsh (1827) estimated the population at 18—20,000 souls. The streets of the town, which was surrounded by walls on three sides after the manner of Turkish fortresses, as a rule sloped steeply to the Danube which part was partly undefended. Turks, Greeks, Bulgars and Armenians lived in some 7,000 houses and conducted a busy trade with Turkey (cf. R. Walsh, *Narrative of a Journey from Constantinople to England*², London 1828, p. 207). Helmuth v. Moltke who visited Ruṣcuk in 1835 and described it (cf. *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei*², Berlin 1877, p. 11 199, 132 199, 424 199) was surprised that "this important Turkish fortress with its long, dominated and enfiladed lines without outer works, half armed and defectively planned" could offer the enemy such resistance. As an important frontier fortress Ruṣcuk suffered a great deal in course of centuries. Sieges, conflagrations and bombardments (the last by the Rumanians during the world war on Aug. 28, 1916) continually altered the appearance of the town which with its regular streets and large open spaces no longer has anything of an oriental appearance. In the Turkish period Ruṣcuk was the residence of a sandjak-bey, at one time of a paṣha (about 1840, when Bulgaria was divided into the three paṣhaliks of Ruṣcuk, Vidin and Silistria), until in 1864 it became the capital of the new Danube vilâyet (*Tuna vilâyeti*) with the so-called *lims* of Ruṣcuk, Varna, Vidin, Tulcea, Tîrnova (Tîrnovo), Sofia and Niš, created and administered by the reformer Midhat Paṣha [q. v.] and formed out of the *ryâlets* of Silistria, Vidin and Niš [q. v.]. A special printing press was instituted and in addition to a newspaper a *cahname* (*Tuna Vilâyeti Sâlnümei*) annually published, which gives a good survey of the administrative measures. After the devastation wrought in the Russo-Turkish wars of 1811 and 1828, Ruṣcuk attained new prosperity as the official residence of a governor (*wâli*). In 1854 Boucher de Perthes estimated that Ruṣcuk had about 30,000 inhabitants in 4,000 houses (cf. *Voyage à Constantinople*, vol. II, Paris 1855, p. 413 ff.); the German physician C.

W. Wutser who became acquainted with Rusčuk in the governor-generalship of Sa'id Mehmed Paşa, thought that the population was only 24—25,000. The number of mosques in Rusčuk is very variously given by travellers. In 1840 F. Hackländer says 29. C. W. Wutser in 1856 only 16. The fact is that many mosques were destroyed in the fighting. Nowadays (1935) Rusčuk has 19 mosques (*ğamâs*), 9 small mosques (*masâjid*) and the monastery of the Şahîdîlî darwishes founded in 1252 (1836). While in the great battle that raged on July 4, 1811 around Rusčuk the fortune of war decided in favour of the Turks under the grand vizier Ahmad Paşa, and the Russians under Kutusov blew up the defences of the stronghold and retired across the Danube after setting the whole town on fire, in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877—1878 on Feb. 21, 1878, the Ottomans under Kaiserill Ahmad Paşa had to surrender the town and fortress to the Russians after a long siege. The defences, renewed for the last time in 1877, were razed to the ground in 1881. Since that date the town has been a Bulgarian possession.

Rusčuk was the birth-place of the grand vizier Çelebi-âde Sherif Hasan Paşa (d. 1205 = 1791; q. v.), of the *Mâlib* Amâlî Çelebi (d. 1000 = 1591, according to J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, iii. 83) and of the famous Ottoman author Ahmad Şarîf Hasan Midhat Bey (1841—1912; cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 389 sq.).

Bibliography: (in addition to references in the text): Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, vol. iii., Hamburg 1837, p. 174; Michael J. Quin, *A Steam Voyage down the Danube*, Paris 1836, p. 181 sq.; do., *Voyage sur le Danube de Pest à Roustchouk* (sic!), *par manière de voyageur*, vol. I., Paris 1836, p. 276 sq.; Herr Jenne's *Reisen nach St. Petersburg*, nebst einem Reisejournal der Donaufahrt, Pest 1788, p. 210 sq.; Gygamos, *Reise von Bucharest, der Hauptstadt in der Wallachien, über Gurgoren, Ruschuk, durch Oberbulgarien, bis gegen die Grenzen von Rumelien, und dann durch Unterbulgarien über Silistria wieder zurück*, im Jahr 1789, Landshut 1812; Phil. v. Wussow, *Übersicht des Kriegszustandes der europäischen Türkei*, Coblenz 1828, p. 78 sq.; Hâdîdî Khâfîs, *Rumeli und Bosna*, transl. J. v. Hammer, Vienna 1812, p. 43 sq.; M. F. Thielens, *Die europäische Türkei*, Vienna 1828, p. 238 sq.; C. W. Wutser, *Reise in den Orient Europas und einen Theil Westasiens*, vol. i., Elberfeld 1860, p. 209 sq.; J. v. Hammer, *G. O. R.*, viii. 144 (*Rusčuk stormed by rebels in 1751*); F. Kanitz, *Donau-Bulgarien und der Balkan*, vol. I., Leipzig 1882, p. 123 sq.; C. J. Jireček, *Cerito Bulgarica*, Prague 1888, p. 191—194; do., *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, Leipzig 1891, p. 410 sq.; A. Grisebach, *Reise durch Rumelien und nach Brussa*, vol. I., Göttingen 1841, p. 23 sq.; C. Grubler, *Rusčuk, ein türkisches Städtchen*, in *Aus allen Welttheilen* (Monatschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde), vol. viii. (1877), p. 70—75; H. v. Moltke, *Der russisch-türkische Feldzug 1828 und 1829, dargestellt im Jahr 1845*, Berlin 1877; M. K. Sarafov, *Über die Bevölkerung der Städte Rusčuk, Varna und Samun (Samla)*, in *Periodische opisanie na bulgarskoto knižno slovesstvo*, year iii., Sofia 1884, p. 20; Karel Skorpiš, *Opis na starinite po teleniste na reka Ružnitski Lom*, vol. II., Sofia 1914; Nikola

G. Popov, *Opisanie na Rusčuk*, Russe 1928 (contains an account of the state of Rusčuk in 1860—1879); Mihajl Hadži Kostov, *Minaloto na Rusčuk*, Rusčuk 1929; the periodical, publ. in Rusčuk and now defunct, *Letopis* in its second year, Nos. 4, 5, 7, 8 and 9 contained contributions to the history of the town; Joha. Gellert, *Rusčuk*, in *Mittheilungen des Vereins der Geographen an der Universität Leipzig*, Heft 14—15, Leipzig 1936; Sâmi Bey Frâherî, *Şâmîs al-Âlâm*, iii. 2323. — The bookseller Simeon Simeonov in Rusčuk in 1929 published a guide (96 p.) *Rusčuk v minaloto i dnas, istorijski, geografski i statistički beleži* to the town but it paid little attention to Rusčuk's past.

(FRANZ BABINGER)

RUSTAMIDS, a dynasty of Ibâdî Khâridjîs of Tâherî. The first of the Rustamid imâms, 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Rustam, of Persian origin, had been made governor of Kairawân when the Khâridjî Berbers of the Djebel Nefûsa, led by Abu 'l-Khaṭṭâb al-Mu'farrî [q. v.] seized the town in 141 (758). Three years later (144 = 761), Muḥammad b. al-Aṣṭaṭh at the head of a strong Arab army recaptured Kairawân. Ibn Rustam fled to the west and founded Tâherî [q. v.] in a region where the Khâridjîs must already have been very numerous. Fifteen years later, the Ibâdîs conferred the imâmâte upon him. Six members of the same family in turn succeeded him. The chronology of their reigns is however rather uncertain. With certain gaps it may be arranged as follows:

- 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Rustam 160—168 (776—784)
- 'Abd al-Wahhâb b. 'Abd al-Rahmân 168—208 (784—823)
- Abu Sa'id al-Aṣṭaṭh b. 'Abd al-Wahhâb 208—258 (823—871)
- Abu Bakr b. al-Aṣṭaṭh, dethroned 258—? (871—?)
- Abu 'l-Yaḥyâ Muḥammad b. al-Aṣṭaṭh ?—281 (?—894)
- Abu Hâtim Yûsuf b. Muḥammad, dethroned 281—? (894—?)
- Ya'qûb b. al-Aṣṭaṭh, dethroned ?
- Abu Hâtim Yûsuf, restored ?
- Ya'qûb b. al-Aṣṭaṭh, restored 294—296 (906—908)

The history of the foreign relations of the Rustamids, all that authors like Ibn Khaldûn, Ibn 'Idhârî or al-Bakrî, knew of them, is limited to a few facts. Although the kingdom of Tâherî was surrounded by enemies (the territory of the Aghlabids of Kairawân included the Zab [q. v.] and the Idrisids of Fâs were suzerains of Tlemcen [q. v.]), its existence was not directly threatened for 150 years. We find the second imâm, 'Abd al-Wahhâb, associated in the attack by the Khâridjî Berbers (Huwwârî and Nefûsâ) on the town of Tripoli which was under the Aghlabid amîrs. At the same time the Rustamids, who could not recognise the 'Abbâsîd caliphate and had to defend themselves against the Aghlabids who were vassals of Baghdâd, seem to have sought the friendship of the Umayyads of Cordova. Ibn 'Idhârî under 207 (822) mentions the magnificent reception given by the Umayyad 'Abd al-Rahmân II to an embassy from Tâherî which included the son of the imâm 'Abd al-Wahhâb. We also know that this Umayyad had a Rustamid among his viziers (information supplied by É. Lévi-Provençal) and that in 239 (853) al-Aṣṭaṭh received a present of 100,000 dirhems from the

Umayyad Muhammad I. The reign of this imām al-Aḥaḍ saw a conflict between the Rustamids and the Berbers of the region of Tlemcen, partisans of the Idrisids of Fes, in which Tāherī was victorious. Lastly we know how in 296 (908) the kingdom of Tāherī collapsed in a few days before the onslaught of the Kutāma Berbers led by the Shīʿi missionary Abū ʿAbd Allāh [q.v.]. Several Rustamids were put to death and their heads sent to Raḡāda and carried through the streets of Kairuān. Others, among whom according to some authors were the imām Yaʿqūb and his son Abū Sulaymān, were able to escape and reach the oasis of Wargla.

What is of more importance than the relations with the other powers of Spain and Barbary, is the internal life of the Rustamid state which our usual sources ignore but of which we get a glimpse from Ibadī chroniclers like Abū Zakarīyā.

Although hereditary, the succession of imāms was in theory regulated by the vote of the Ibadī community. The imām, regarded as the most worthy, most honourable and best educated man, the temporal and spiritual chief of the state, whose prestige extended to the communities in the east, was in reality under the control of the religious caste; *shurāt*, *maḥāḍid*, *palata*, the guardians of the strict observance of the laws of the sect.

In a theocratic state of this kind, crises naturally took the form of schisms. The most serious took place during the reign of the second imām, ʿAlī al-Wahhīb. At the instigation of a rejected candidate for the imāmate a group of malcontents demanded that the elected imām should rule with the control of a regular assembly. This innovation was put to the Ibadī doctors in the east, who rejected the principle completely. The advocates of the reform separated from the community and formed the sect of the Nuḳkārīs [q.v.].

A second schism took place in the region of Tripoli on the death of a governor of the province and the question of his successor designated by the imām of Tāherī.

Crises no less serious which seem, however, to have been more of the character of dynastic rivalries disturbed the peace of Tāherī from the fourth imāmate. The claimants to the throne gained the support of an opposition formed of diverse elements. No less than the religious prestige of the imām, the resources of the region and the activity of its commerce attracted to Tāherī foreigners from Persia, the ancestral home of the Rustamids, or from different parts of Barbary, Arabs from Ifrīqiya, Naḡās from Tripolitania, and Christian Berbers. The Zenāṭa nomads of Ifrīqiya and the Central Maghrib frequented its markets and grew rich in them. Among these heterogeneous groups, some, like the Nafīs, Persians and Christians, showed themselves regularly the supporters of the established authority; while others, the Arabs in particular, and very often the nomads, were disposed to encourage the ambitions of pretenders.

Exposed to the troubles stirred up by his guests and his neighbours, this ideal state had then a somewhat agitated existence. The dynasty included able politicians, like al-Aḥaḍ who, using the maxim *divide et impera*, secured peace and whose reign marks the apogee of Rustamid power. Several Rustamids were learned imāms, caring less for their tasks as rulers than for theological speculations, and in various profound studies like astronomy. Their

surprising tolerance of foreigners, even those hostile to the sect, encouraged the entrance of dissident elements into the administration and prepared the way for the collapse of Tāherī and the annexation of the kingdom by the victorious Shīʿis.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, I. 154; transl., I. 242-243; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, ed. Dury, I. 150-151; transl. E. Fagnan, I. 209-210; al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, ed. de Slane (Algiers 1913), p. 67-69; transl. (Algiers 1911), p. 139-141; Abū Zakarīyā, *Kitaḥ al-Sīra wa-ʿAḥḥād al-Aʿwām*, partial transl. by Masqueray (*Chronique d'Abū Zakarīyā*), Algiers 1898; Ibn Saḡhūr, *Chronique... sur les imāms Rustamides de Tāherī*, ed. and transl. A. de C. Moutylinski (*Actes du XIV^{ème} Congrès des Orientalistes*, 3rd section, Algiers 1905); al-Barrādī, *Kitaḥ al-Djauābir*, Cairo 1302; al-Shamīḥkhi, *Kitaḥ al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301; R. Basset, *Les sanctuaires du Djebel Nefusa*, in *J. A.*, 1899, II.; do., *Étude sur la Zenatia du Makh d'Ourgla et de l'oued Rir* (*Publications de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger*, XII.); K. Strothmann, *Berber und Ibaditen*, in *lit.*, 1928.

(GEORGES MAXCAH)

RUSTEM PASHA, Ottoman grand vizier and historian, was born in 1500 in the vicinity of Sarajevo (q.v.); cf. the report of the Bailo B. Navagero in Alberi, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, ser. III., vol. 3, p. 89: *d'un canale appresso il serraglio da Roma*, i.e. Bonna-Seray, either in Botomle or perhaps on the western border of Sarajevsko polje (cf. Č. Traheška, in *Bezmek Fast*, Sarajevo 1912, No. 80, who comes to this conclusion because Rustem Pasha built a bridge with 15 arches over the Željeznica of which remains still exist), of parents probably originally Christian. In a *siḡill* of the Sheriat court in Sarajevo, "Nefis Khanum, daughter of Mustafa and sister of Rustem Pasha" in the middle of Shaʿbān 964 (June 1557) sold through her agent Hāḍḍī ʿAlī Beg b. Khair al-Dīn, *midmawlī* of Rustem Pasha's *darulīn* in Sarajevo, her house there; this gives the name of the father Mustafa. The family are said to have been originally called Opaković while Č. Traheška, *op. cit.*, says the name was Čigalić. The local tradition of Sarajevo knows Nefis Khanum as a sister of Rustem Pasha and daughter of a Mustafa Beg or Pasha. Rustem Pasha's brother was the *kapudan paṣa* (q.v.); grand admiral Sinān Paṣa. As a boy Rustem entered the school for pages in Stambul and then the service of the court. He became stirrup-holder (*rikāʿdār*; q.v.), gained the favour of the sultan and was appointed governor of Diyarbakr [q.v.], later of Anatolia. In 1533 he became third and in 1541 second vizier. On Dec. 1, 1544 he received the imperial seal for the first time. In 1553 at his own request Rustem Pasha was relieved of office and retired to Scutari where his wife Mihr-i Mah [q.v.], a daughter of Sulaymān I Kanūnī [q.v.], had built a palace. But by 1553 he was again grand vizier, and held this office until his death in July 10, 1561 (28th Shawwāl 968; of the various dates given, this must be the right one; J. H. Mordmann, in *M. S. O. S.*, xxii/2 [1929], 38, however, gives the 29th Shawwāl 978 [July 8, 1561] as the day of his death). He was buried in his own splendid *ruḥe* in Stambul beside the Shāh-nāḥ mosque (cf. *Hadīqat al-Wuṣṣāʾ*, p. 28 *seq.*).

and Husain b. Ismâ'îl, *Hadîth al-Djammâ*, I, 16; wrongly in *Sijill-i 'ethmânî*, II, 378). In addition to the many buildings, notably mosques, which he erected with his vast wealth in various parts of the empire and for which he employed the great architect Sinân, Rustem Pasha made a reputation for himself by a chronicle of the Ottoman empire, *Tamârîk-i Âl-i 'Othmân*, which goes under his name. In the complete version that has survived, it comes down to 968 (1560–1561). The narrative, as regards the earlier period, closely follows the anonymous *Tamârîk-i Âl-i 'Othmân* and the Annals of Muhyî al-Dîn Djemâlî and Nesrî (q. v.). It is only from the reign of Mehmed II the Conqueror, that it shows a certain independence, although perhaps here also an original source may be found. It only becomes important when it describes the events of his time. Although Rustem Pasha is known to have encouraged historical studies (cf. F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 82, note), it is by no means certain whether he is himself the author of the Chronicle that bears his name or whether he only had it compiled. A German translation of part of it was published by Dr. Ludwig Fötter under the title *Die osmanische Chronik des Rustem Pascha in der Türkischen Bibliothek*, xxi. (Leipzig 1923; cf. thereon *O.L.Z.*, xxviii, [1925], p. 246 sq.; *Id.*, xvi, [1925], p. 154 sq., and *Hist. Zeitschrift*, vol. cxviii, [1928], p. 371 sq.).

Bibliography: 'Othmânîde Ahmad Taib, *Hadîth al-Wuzarâ*, p. 28 sq.; Mehmed Thuralya, *Sijill-i 'ethmânî*, II, 377 sq.; F. Babinger, *G.O.W.*, p. 81 sq.; Mehmedbêg Kapetanović, in *Wissenschaftl. Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegowina*, Vienna 1895, p. 524 sq.; Hamdiya Krievljaković, *Rustempala, veliki vođa Sulejmana II*, in *Neslavljeni Vjesnik*, xxxii, Zagreb 1928, p. 272–287; Mehmed Handžić, *Kopljarni rat bosanske hercegovačke muslimana* (reprinted from the *Glasnik vrbanske sarajevske islamačke vjerske zajednice*), Sarajevo 1931, p. 35 sq.; Salvethog Halagöz, *Zaamânî Hırvat, Bulgarî i Herzegovî u Turkej Carvânı*, Zagreb 1931, p. 65. (FRANK BABINGER)

RÜYÂN, a district comprising the western half of Mâzandarân (q. v.).

Iranian tradition. According to Darmesteur, *Asiatica*, II, 416, Rüyân corresponds to the mountain called *Raudia* ("redish") in *Vajst*, 19, 2, and *Rüyân-Imâm* in *Bundahishn*, xii, 2, 27 (transl. West, p. 34). Birtini, *Chronologie*, ed. Sachau, p. 220, makes Rüyân the scene of the exploit of the archer Arîsh (cf. Zahir al-Dîn, p. 18 [*Vajst* 8, 6, in this connection mentions the hill Aryô-zabân]). In the letter addressed to the mobad Tansar by king "Gushnaspâh (III century A.D.), the latter claims to be lord of Tabaristân, Patashâ'ir-gar, Gilân, Dailamân, Rüyân and Damâwand.

Geography. According to Ibn Rusta, p. 150, and Ibn al-Fâkih, p. 304 (the latter cites Balâdhuri as authority, but the passage is lacking in the *Futuh al-Buldan*), Rüyân was at first an independent îra attached to Dailam. It was conquered by 'Umar b. al-'Alî (after 141 = 758) who built a town there with a *minâr* and attached it to Tabaristân. Rüyân comprised an extensive area the districts of which lay between two mountains [Ibn al-Fâkih: "between the mountains of Rüyân and Dailam"]; each township could supply from 400 to 1,000 soldiers [Ibn al-Fâkih: in all 50,000]. The *shahîd* levied on Rüyân by Hârrîn al-Râshid

was 400,050 dîhams. The town of Rüyân called Kadîja was the headquarters of the *mâlî*, Rüyân was near the mountains of Raiy and was reached via Raiy. The text of the two authors above quoted suggests that between Rüyân and unsubjected Dailam was a region which formed the military zone from which operations were conducted against Dailam. To this zone belonged Shâlâ (**Câsh*), a town called *al-Kadîra* (situated opposite Kadîja), another (?) town called al-Mahdatha and lastly Muzm. [But on these frontiers see the *Hudud al-'Âlam* and Zahir al-Dîn].

Istakhri, p. 206, enumerates the mountains of "Dailam" [in the broad sense] as the following: **Djîbâl Kârîn*, **Djîbâl *Fâdhûshân* and **Djîbâl al-Rûhandj* (according to Barthold: **al-Rûyandj* = Rüyân). In these last named highlands there were formerly kingdoms (*mamâlîk*); in the part adjoining Tabaristân the kings were of Tabaristân and in the part adjoining Raiy they were of Raiy.

According to the *Hudud al-'Âlam* (written in 372 = 982, ed. Barthold, fol. 30r), Nâtil (according to Istakhri, p. 217: one *marhala* west of Amul), *Câsh*, *Rûdhân* (= Rüyân) and Kâlâr (west of *Câsh*) formed a province of Tabaristân but the authority there belonged to a king named Ustundâr. Rûdhân produced red woolen materials for water-proofs and blue *gîlân* (a kind of carpet material).

Rustamdâr. From the Mongol period we find the geographical term *Rustamdâr*. According to the *Nashat al-Kulûb*, p. 161, the greater part of its territory was irrigated by the *Shâh-rûd* (!) and the *Tarîk-i Kârân*, ed. Dorn, p. 298, says that Talâshân (on the upper *Shâh-rûd*) adjoined Rustamdâr. On the other hand, Zahir al-Dîn gives the term a larger connotation and uses it sometimes as a synonym of Rüyân and sometimes with a special meaning. An examination of the passages leads R. Vaziri, *op. cit.*, p. 123–124 to the conclusion that Rustamdâr in the proper sense was situated towards Kadjar and Kâlâr while Rüyân primarily meant the country between Rustamdâr and Kârân (i.e. the country towards Raiy). According to Zahir al-Dîn (p. 19–20), the eastern frontier of Rustamdâr was originally at Si-sangûn (near the mouth of the river of Kudjâr), but in the time of the Saljûkî Sandjar was brought back to Altâja (near Amul!); the western frontier was at first at Mallî (near Lengerîd in Gîlân), but in 590 (1193) was brought back to Sakhtasâr (on the eastern frontier of Gîlân) and in 640 (1242) at Namak-âwa-rûd (west of Kalâsrâtk). It is curious that Zahir al-Dîn, p. 17 seems to place the "town of Rüyân" (Kadîja of Ibn Rusta) at Kudjâr but the passage is not very explicit and the legend of the foundation of the town given by Zahir al-Dîn may belong to a period before the appearance of the term Rustamdâr.

The princes of Rüyân. The title attested for the dynasty is Ustundâr (perhaps **Ustân-dâr* < **Ustân-dâr*; cf. Tabari, I, 2638). It is not clear if the dynasty also took the title of **pâghûrpân* (< **pâghûrpân*) which in Sasanian terminology was at first borne by the viceroys of the four great divisions of the empire, the prerogatives of which were lessened in time by the increase in power of the military commanders (**shahbâd*; cf. Christensen, *L'empire des Sâssanides*, p. 41, 43). The fact is that in the passage in Istakhri, p. 206, the mountain of **Fâdhûshân* is mentioned separately and, it seems, to the east of **Rûyandj* but it is possible that the

two names only mean the two parts of "Rūyān" which at this time were under Tabaristān and Raiy respectively. In any case, in the genealogy of the Ustundār (Zahr al-Dīn, p. 146—154 and 320—321), Pādshāp appears as the personal name of the eponymous founder and of certain princes only. The eponym Pādshāp (towards the end of the 11th century?) was regarded as one of the three sons of Gil-Ganāra, a descendant of the Sāsānian Dāmāp (who reigned 497—499). Towards the beginning of the 12th century (Istakhri, p. 206 [see above]), the dynasty seems to have passed through a crisis which it survived. After the death of Djalāl al-Dawla Kayūmārth b. Būstūn b. Gustāhm in 857 (1453) his possessions were divided between his two sons: the line of Kā'ūs reigned in Nūr, in the valley of the left bank tributary of the river of Amul (Haraz-pey), and that of Iskandar at Kūdūr, on the northern slopes of the mountains of Nūr.

On the feudal wars in Māzandarān see Zahr al-Dīn, ed. Dorn, index. The princes of Rustam-dār retained their autonomy down to the time of the Safavids. In 947 (1540) the expedition of Shāh Tahmāsp against Malik Djahāngir b. Malik Kā'ūs who had shut himself up in the fortress of Lāridjān, was a failure (cf. *Akām al-Tawārikh*, ed. Seddoui, p. 299). In 997 (1589) the maliks Djahāngir b. Asā of Nūr and Djahāngir b. Muḥammad of Kūdūr came to pay homage to Shāh 'Abbās but finally in 1003 (1594) they were both dispossessed of their lands: the ruler of Nūr submitted voluntarily while he of Kūdūr was seized by force (cf. *Alam-ārā*, p. 265, 334, 354—357).

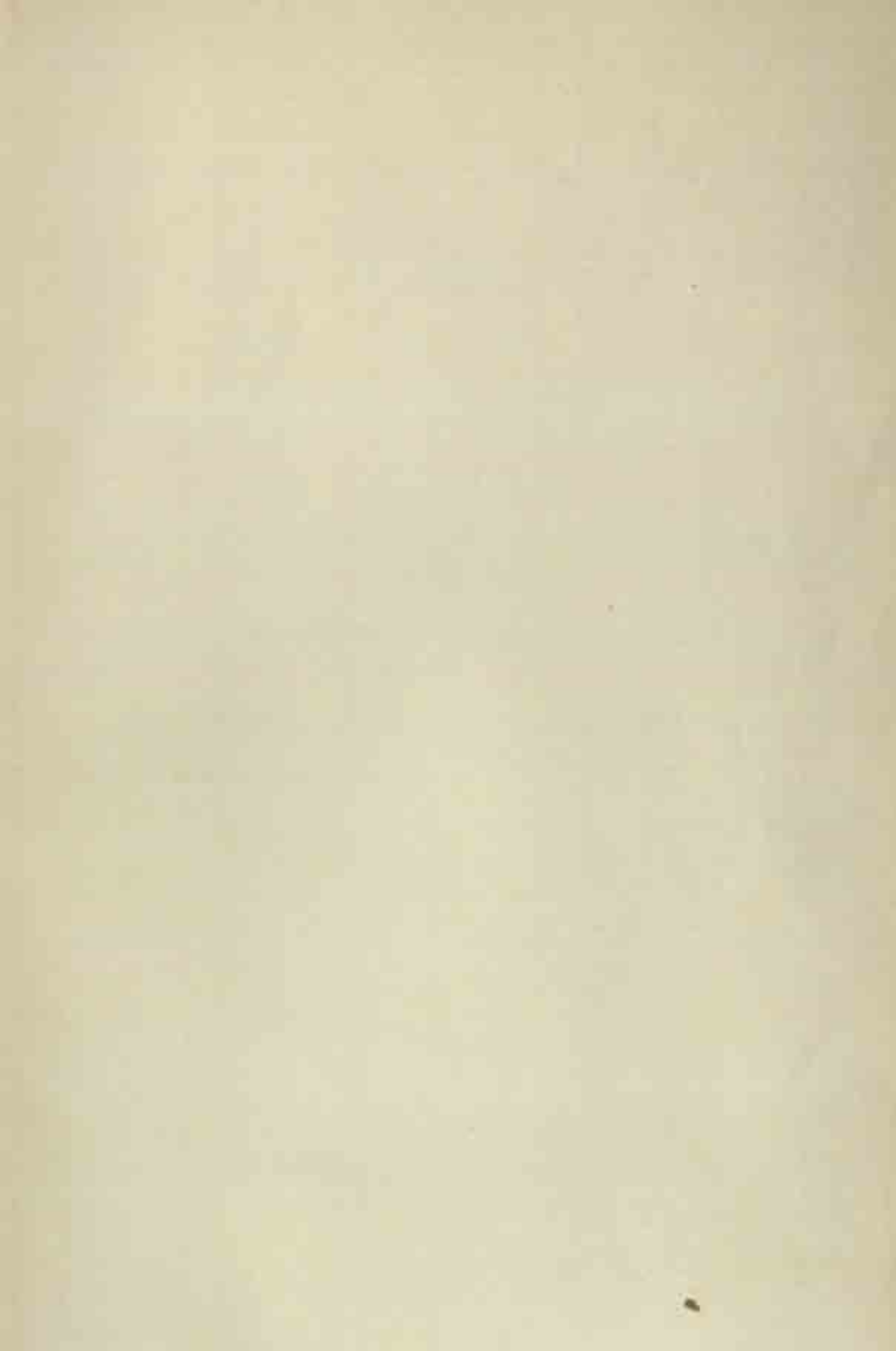
The Rhode Island School of Design (U.S.A.) possesses a sarcophagus of wood originally placed over the tomb of the Imām-rāda Abū 'l-Kāsim b. Mūsā al-Kāqim by al-malik al-a'zam iftikhār mulūk al-'adām malik Djalāl al-Dīn Gustāhm b. al-murshūm Malik Ashraf Ustundār dated Ramaḍān 877 [or 879?] = Feb. 1273 (cf. *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art in London, 1930—1932*, No. 141). This prince must be added to Justi's list. Perhaps the sarcophagus comes from the sanctuary of Ibn Imām Mūsā in the valley of Lār, i.e. immediately south of Nūr (cf. Rahino, *op. cit.*, p. 115 and the map: on the road from Baladsh to Toherān [via Afca]).

The names of the carpenters are Ahmad and Husain (?) b. Hasan (?), cf. the name of Ahmad b. Husain who carved a gateway at Würzburg in 870, Rahino, *op. cit.*, p. 14, and *ibid.*, p. 70, Husain b. Ahmad who carved the gate of Buland-Indām, near Ashraf, dated 873 (1468).

Bibliography: Cf. the art. MĀZANDARĀN; Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s. v. Pādshāp, Ustundār and p. 433—435; Marquart, *Erwählter*, p. 131, 135 (Kā'ūs); Barthold, *Literatur-geschichte Irans*, St. Petersburg 1903, p. 155 and 159; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 373—374; R. Vaumer, *Die Eroberung Tabaristāns durch die Araber*, in *Lilamita*, III/1, 1927, p. 115—125 (a detailed analysis of the sources); Rahino, *Māzandarān in G.M.S.*, 1928, see index. (V. MINORSKY)

RUZZĪK b. TALĀT AL-MALIK AL-'ADIL, RAḌĪ AL-DĪN ABŪ SHU'YBĀ MAJID AL-ISLĀM, Fātimid waṣir, of Armenian origin, succeeded his father Talāt [q.v.] after the latter's assassination on 20th Ramaḍān 556 (Sept. 12, 1161), and remained in office for fifteen months. The only event of importance during this period was a Berber invasion in 557 (1162) under Husain b. Nisār [see NIZK b. AL-MUSTANŠIR], who was captured and put to death. Ruzzik inherited the literary tastes of his father and is said to have governed well, but when, in the same year, he attempted to remove his rival Shāwar [q.v.] from the governorship of the Upper Šā'ūd, the latter, encouraged by the Caliph al-'Adid [q.v.], rebelled and marched on Cairo. The waṣir, deserted by his partisans (see DĪGHĀM), fled from the city (18th Muḥarram 558 = Dec. 29, 1162) but was betrayed, and executed by Tūy b. Shāwar. The historian al-Maḥrizi remarks (*Akhḥar*, II, 207—208) that Ruzzik was the last holder of the office of *nāṣir al-maḥālīm* in the Fātimid period.

Bibliography: Ibn Taghribardi, ed. Popper, III, 88, 94—95, 109; Ibn Ḥallikān, transl. de Slane, I, 608, 660; Sibṭ b. al-Djauzi, ed. Jewett, p. 146; Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥalabi, MS. Brit. Mus. Or. 3685, fol. 90b—91b; H. Derenbourg, *Ōmāra du Yémen*, 3 vols., in *P.E.I.F.*, 1897—1904. (H. A. R. GINN)



THE ENCYCLOPAEDIE OF ISLĀM

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLĀM

A DICTIONARY OF THE GEOGRAPHY,
ETHNOGRAPHY AND BIOGRAPHY OF THE
MUHAMMADAN PEOPLES

PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF LEADING ORIENTALISTS

EDITED BY

M. TH. HOUTSMA, A. J. WENSINCK

E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, H. A. R. GIBB et W. HEFFENING

VOLUME III

L—R

R 297.03
E.I.



LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL

1936

LONDON
LUZAC & Co.
46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET

Copyright 1936 by E. J. Brill, Leiden, Holland
All rights reserved, including the right to translate or to reproduce
this book or parts thereof in any form

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS.

PRINTED BY E. J. BRILL LEYDEN, (HOLLAND).

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- P. 1, read: M. is now a pretty little Arab town with 9,423 inhabitants. To the east of it is the *Blad*, which was formerly separated by a wall, now taken down, from the town which lay to the west of it. The whole area is surrounded by a wall which is pierced on the north by three, in the west by one, and in the south by three gates.
- P. 41^b, article LXX, l. 71, instead of: The clans (*ḡurūk*), read: The tribes (*ḡurūk*).
- P. 42^a, l. 28, instead of: *mutaffarika*, read: *mutaffarika*; l. 51, instead of: southern, read: northern.
- P. 43^a, l. 48, instead of: village, read: valley.
- P. 43^b, l. 62, instead of: like, read: as well as.
- P. 44^a, l. 11, instead of: *Būyūd*, read: *Ziyārid*.
- P. 44^b, l. 63, instead of: *Mākām*, read: *Mākām*.
- P. 62^b, l. 37, instead of: *Siyat*, read *Siyāt*.
- P. 76^a, l. 1 and p. 77^a, l. 6 from below, read *Rūmiya*, for *Rūmiya*.
- P. 76^b, add on l. 22 from below: From January to March 1928, L. Waterman conducted excavations in the region of Tell 'Umair for the American Schools of Oriental Research (cf. their *Bulletin*, No. 30, 1928). The mound seems to conceal a *cigurate* (tower built in successive stages) with a large temple adjoining it which continued to be used in the Graeco-Roman period; a Roman cemetery was laid bare in another part of the ruined area. From inscriptions found here the equation *Akshak-Upi* (Opi)-Seleucia is made quite certain. For *Akshak*, cf. also the article by Unger in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, vol. I., Berlin 1928, p. 64-65.
- P. 77^b, read iv. 447, 7 for v. 447, 7.
- P. 79, read al-Lūsiya for al-Sūsiya. Al-Lūsiya is contracted from al-Yūsufiya; cf. *Nahr al-Yūsufiya* in *Lughat al-'Arab*, iii, 289 c.
- Add to the *Bibliography* of the article AL-MADĀ'IN: Apart from the already mentioned poem of Patchachy, unimportant in matter, in the periodical *Lughat al-'Arab*, Baghdad, iii., 1914, p. 393, cf. especially the articles by F. Djebrān in the same periodical, iii. 136-141 (with corrections by Kāzīm al-Dudjaili, *op. cit.*, p. 292-294) and Kāzīm al-Dudjaili, *op. cit.*, p. 282-294. Djebrān deals particularly with the present settlements of Arab tribes in the region of al-Madā'in, al-Dudjaili also gives an account of the latter and gives interesting information also of the pilgrimages to the tomb of Salmān al-Fārisi, describes the interior of this "sanctuary" and gives notes on various mounds of ruins in the region of al-Madā'in which form a welcome addition to Herzfeld's topography.
- P. 117, add to the *Bibliography* of the art MAHĪŪ KHĀN: Geiger & Kuhn, *Grundriss der iran. Philologie*, ii. 562; Pavet de Courteille, *Dict. turc-oriental*, preface; Denison Ross has edited the grammar which serves as introduction to the dictionary *Sanglakh* (*Muḥāṣiṣat al-lughat*), being a grammar of the Turki language in Persian, *Bibl. Indica*, new ser., No. 1225, Calcutta 1910, in-8, xxiv., 142 p.; cf. Ch. Huart, in *J.A.*, 1911, xvii., p. 328-330; Edwards, *Cat. Pers. Books Brit. Mus.*, p. 502-504.
- P. 224^a, l. 29 and 33, instead of: Ma'mūnis, read: Ma'mūnids.
- P. 224^b, l. 3, instead of: Farighūnis, read: Farighūnids.
- P. 432^b, l. 11 *as infra*, add: According to Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg, l. 314, 375, cf. *Yāqūt*, iv. 294) Kawsūb desituted al-Mundhar b. Mi' al-Samā' because of his refusal to accept Mazdakism and appointed in his place the Kindite al-Hārith b. 'Amr, who had embraced the new faith. Whatever may be the truth, the relations between the king of Persia and the Arab have been influenced by Mazdakism.
- P. 496^b, l. 11, 12 *as infra*, read: Timur who stayed in Balat (Milet) on his return from Smyrna in the winter after the battle of Angora (1402) (Ducas, p. 76, ed. Bonn, various reading).
- P. 497^b, art. *Milar*, *Bibliography*: A complete discussion of the ruins of Peḍin by R. M. Kieffstahl will appear in *An archæological Journey in Southwestern Anatolia* (discussion of the inscriptions by P. Wittek).
- P. 505^b, l. 19, instead of: *Nuḡāt*, read: *Nuḡāt*.
- P. 514^b, art. *MIRYH*. To be added to the *Bibliography*: Peltier and Bousquet, *Les successions agnatiques mitigées*, Paris 1935.
- P. 530^b, l. 32, p. 543^a, l. 29, instead of: 828, read: 282.
- P. 640, art. AL-MUNĀJIRUNA. Add: In modern times the name Muḥājīrūn has been applied to those Muḥammadan emigrants who, as a result of the transfer of Muḥammadan territory to the non-Muḥammadan rule left their native land and went to a Muslim country in order not to be impeded in the exercise of their religious duties. For example, towards the end of the xviiith century and in the xixth century large bodies of such emigrants abandoned lands occupied by the Russians and sought a new home in Turkey. A similar phenomenon

accompanied the liberation of the Balkan peoples from Turkish rule and the rise of the independent Balkan states. The Mahammadans deported to Turkey from Greek territory after the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) as a result of an agreement with Greece were always called Muhâdjirîn, even in official language. Their affairs were regulated by a "General Office for Nomads and Emigrants" (*Akkâd-ı ve Muhâdjirîn Mâdriyyet-i umûmiyyet*). In modern Turkey the Muhâdjirîn constitute an important domestic and cultural problem. Their settlements which are distributed over the whole of Anatolia are as a rule centres for the advancement of Turkish culture. The word Muhâdjir also plays an important part in place-names in Turkish territory as an element in names, mainly of recent origin.

- P. 673^a, l. 9, 62, p. 674^a, l. 3, instead of: *Rev. Hist. Geogr.*, read: *Rev. d. textes rel. à l'Hist. d. Sépharades*.
- P. 673^b, l. 22, instead of: 1101, read: 1108.
l. 62, instead of: Guhar, read: Gubar.
- P. 674^b, l. 54, instead of: Sâ'ûd, read: Sâ'm.
- P. 688^a, l. 45, instead of: Wâkî'ahûgâr, read: Wâkî'a nigâr.
- P. 688^a, l. 43, 55, 63, instead of: Mir, read: Mere.
- P. 688^a, l. 66, instead of: in May 1624, read: in May 1624.
- T. 691^b, l. 23, to be added; 15. *ʿIḍ al-ḡawhar al-ḡawwâ* (extract in L. Massignon, *Revue*, p. 171, note 1).
- P. 692^a, l. 29, to be added: He has been buried at the feet of the poet Niyâz Mihrî at Kisten (Lemnos), where his tomb was still shown in 1916 (cf. L. Massignon, *Revue*, p. 164).
- P. 701^a, l. 48, to be added: In an early period Turkish has also known the form *muṭar* (from Sanskrit *mūṭra*, mong. *moter*, cf. W. Bang and A. von Gahain, *Türk. Turfan-Texte*, v. 53).
- P. 701^b, l. 66, to be added: Signature was something of a privilege. Of the surviving engravers of Istanbul two only possessed it: Yemni, the son of a famous father of that name, and 'Ashîk. The personal seals in Latin characters, made up to this day (1933), are, with a few exceptions, barbarous.
- The ethnographic museum at Ankara possesses a curious collection of metal seals provenient from the shaiḫs of the now dissolved *ṣarḫa* of the Bektaşîs.
- P. 702^a, Bibliography of the art. *MUNA*. To be added: Cf. *T. B.*, l. 28 197 (anecdote of a *muḥarrif* "Singelmeischer"). — On the "Sacred seal of the Prophet", cf. *T.O.S.M.*, vii, 372–377.
- P. 712, art. *MUḤAYYIL* K. *MULAIMÂN*. Maḥṣûl's commentary on the *Qur'ân* as is evident from manuscripts recently found by Ritter and Schacht is called *al-Taṣfir fî mutaḥabib al-Qur'ân* and deals with the different meanings of single words like *huda*, *ḥuṣr* etc. in different passages of the *Qur'ân*. There are manuscripts in Stambul, Hamidiya, N^o. 58, Faṣṣallâh, N^o. 79, Serây, N^o. 74, Umûmî, N^o. 361; cf. Ritter, *Id.*, xvii, 249, and Schacht, *Ans. den Bibliotheken*... l. 58; also al-Aḥṣarî *Maḥâṣir*, ed. Ritter, index, p. 46. According to Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Hallî*, p. 520, note 2 the commentary is quoted by Abu 'l-Husain al-Malaṭî, *Tanbîḥ wa-taḍdî* (Pers.) on p. 577. Massignon calls attention to Maḥṣûl's importance as a source for himsyms in which al-Shân'î followed him, cf. also p. 703. (M. FLEISSNER)
- P. 735^a, Bibliography of the art. *MURGIYTER*. To be added: Goldsamer, *Irjâ*, in *Z.D.M.G.* xlv. (1891), 161–171.
- P. 756^b, l. 60, instead of: 433 (1042), to be read: 453 (1061).
- P. 764^b, l. 59, instead of: *NIKAR*, to be read: *NIKAR*.
- P. 831^b, l. 14, instead of: *Sufrite*, to be read: *Sufrite*.
- P. 946^b, l. 67, instead of: *Leipzig*, to be read: *Upsala and Leipzig*.
- P. 927^b, Addition to the bibliography of the art. *MUN*: B. Lovrić, *Literija Nila, prilikom posredopodijetnja Konstantinova i Nemanjine grada* (11 januara 1878—11 januara 1928), Nish 1927 (a kind of illustrated monograph).



Just out:

ALTBABYLONISCHE PERSONENMIETE UND ERNTEARBEITERVERTRÄGE

VON

Dr iur JULIUS GEORG LAUTNER

Ord. Professor an der Universität Zürich

1936. xxii and 264 pp. With 1 plate. 8vo. price 10.— guilders

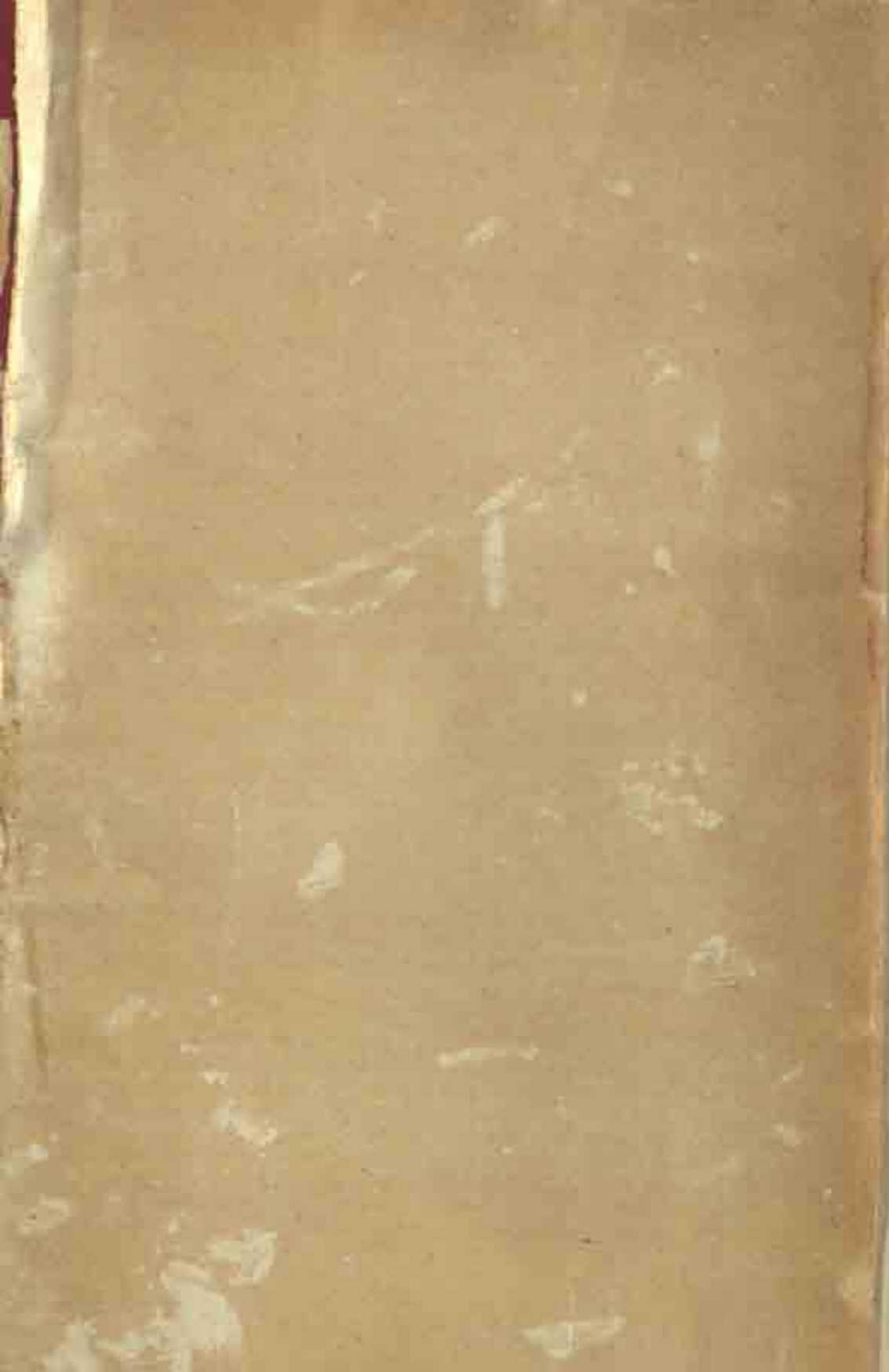
STUDIA ET DOCUMENTA AD IURA ORIENTIS ANTIQUA
PERTINENTIA VOLUMEN I

Contents:

- I Personenmiete und andere Verträge über Arbeitsleistung im Keilschriftrecht.
- II Die eigentliche Personenmiete des althabylonischen Rechts.
1. Terminologie. Der Aussteller der Urkunde und das Vertrags-
schema 2. Die Rechtsnatur des *agārum*-Vertrags. 3. Die Parteien
und die Vertragsabreden bei der Personenmiete.
- III Die Erntearbeiterverträge des althabylonischen Rechts. Gattungs-
miete.
- IV Hybride Formen der Personenmiete.
Quellenregister — Sachregister.

From the Preface:

„Die genaue Feststellung des rechtsgeschäftlichen Typus der Ernte-
arbeiterverträge und der Unterscheidungsmerkmale der beiden Ver-
tragsarten liess das Vorkommen bisher übersehener Mischformen
erkennen. Der günstige Stand der Quellen ermöglichte es, von den
verschiedenen Arten rechtsgeschäftlicher Verwertung menschlicher
Arbeitskraft für einen wichtigen Zeitabschnitt Babyloniens ein anschau-
liches Bild zu entwerfen, dessen Lebendigkeit durch Heranziehung
von Wirtschaftstexten erhöht werden konnte, die uns Aufschluss über
Arbeitsorganisation, Arbeitskontrolle und Lohnverrechnung gewahren“.



Col
128/1775-

Seg II

Archaeological Library

35061

Call No. R 297.03 / E. I.

Author—Houtama, S. Othman
(CFO)

Title—Encyclopedia of Islam
vol. 3

"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY
GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI

Please help us to keep the book
clean and moving.